

**RETHINKING LINEAR ACCOUNTS OF TRANSACTIONAL SEX IN
LITERATURE WITH STRUCTURATION THEORY.... FEMALE
NIGERIAN UNIVERSITY STUDENTS AS A CASE STUDY**

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ABSTRACT

Dominant transactional sex literature attribute Nigerian female university students' engagement in transactional sex to mostly their structures. In contrast, this thesis argues that both structure and agency are instantaneously implicated in transactional sex. To corroborate this stance, Giddens' structural duality construct is adapted to Stones' reconstruction of structuration theory for empirical research and used to interrogate, synthesize and re-orientate Nigerian transactional sex literature. Based on the analytical device of the students' context and conduct analysis, findings strongly indicate that components of the students' analytical external structure, such as gender structure, patterns their internal structure or habitus, such as their sexual scripts, which suggests that women depend on men for financial and material security in exchange for sex. The students' own knowledgeable about, and orientation toward transactional sex in turn, informs their agencies or active engagement in transactional sex, which produces intended outcomes, such as the students' acquisition of luxury goods, which enhances their social status on campus, and/or unintended outcomes, such as poor grades. These outcomes filter back into society through socialisation, peer ideologies and adaptation, which (un)intentionally renews the transactional sex structuration cycle. Essentially, findings corroborate this thesis claim that structure and agency are simultaneously implicated in female Nigerian university students' transactional sex – in a manner that grants neither structure nor agency instigative primacy.

Key Words: Nigeria, Female University Students, Transactional Sex, Structuration Theory, Consumerism

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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background - Nigeria

Several social problems plague Nigeria. Some examples include poverty, youth homelessness, unemployment, food insecurity, prostitution, physical insecurity, and so forth. However, none of these social problems attracts intense public, academic and institutional interest as challenges relating to prostitution and *premarital* sexualities,¹ especially Nigerian youth's engagement in commercial sex work (CSW) or transactional sex. Transactional sex describes female university students', especially undergraduates, discontinuous exploitation of sexual acts to earn money and/or accumulate consumer goods. Accordingly, transactional sex, similar to prostitution, 'provokes heated and heartfelt debates about morality, equality, personal autonomy and public safety' in Nigeria, and elsewhere (Canada Attorney General, 2014; para 9). More particularly, this thesis adopts Hunters' suggestion that:

Transactional sex has a number of similarities to prostitution. In both cases, non-marital sexual relationships, often with multiple partners, are underscored by the giving of gifts or cash. Transactional sex, however, differs from prostitution in important ways: participants are constructed as "girlfriends" and "boyfriends" and not "prostitutes" and "clients", and the exchange of gifts for sex is part of a broader set of obligations that might not involve a predetermined payment (2002:100-101; see also UNAIDS, 2001:13).

It is neither easy nor uncomplicated to distinguish transactional sex from prostitution because both entail the exchange of sex for material gifts and/or money. Nevertheless, people in sub-Saharan African contexts distinguish transactional sex from prostitution in their everyday lives (see Tade & Adekoya, 2012; Watson, 2011; Barnett, Maticka-Tyndale and HP4RY Team, 2011; Stoebenau, 2009). As a probably consequence, scholars of transactional sex do the same. Another

¹ This thesis is sensitized by World Health Organization (WHO) definition of sexuality as the 'central aspect of being human throughout life and encompasses sex, gender identities and roles, sexual orientation, eroticism, pleasure, intimacy and reproduction. Sexuality is experienced and expressed in thoughts, fantasies, desires, beliefs, attitudes, values, behaviours, practices, roles and relationships. While sexuality can include all of these dimensions, not all of them are always experienced or expressed. Sexuality is influenced by the interaction of biological, psychological, social, economic, political, cultural, ethical, legal, historical, religious, and spiritual factors (WHO Draft working definition, October 2002).

reason why the label transactional sex is preferred is that student-practitioners do not self-identify as prostitutes (see Tade & Adekoya, 2012; Barnett, Maticka-Tyndale and HP4RY Team, 2011; Stoebenau, 2009; Swidler & Watkins, 2006; Plummer et al., 2004; Kaufman & Stavrou, 2004). Instead, student-practitioners of transactional sex refer to themselves as *run-girls* or smart girls who use what they have to get what they want (see Tade & Adekoya, 2012). In contrast, most prostitutes accept their labelling, are locally called *ashawo*, and practitioners are routinely stigmatized, harassed, arrested and sometimes prosecuted by law enforcement agents.

Moreover, transactional sex differs from prostitution because female university students who engage in it are not illiterate, ignorant or poverty-stricken. This does not imply that the students are all rich, or come from wealthy backgrounds. Instead, the notion that the students are neither illiterate nor poverty-stricken suggests they enjoy different levels of steady monetary and material support from parents and relatives to remain on various university campuses. Consequently, most students do not need the monetary and material proceeds from transactional sex to meet their basic livelihood needs. Moreover, female students who engage in transactional sex do not often pre-negotiate the monetary and material costs of sexual acts required by sugar daddies before the acts. This is because transactional sex relationships are built-on gendered roles, expectations and responsibilities.

Futhermore, because the students who engage in transactional sex receive termly or monthly stipends for their upkeep from their families, they do not have to regularly engage in transactional sex as commercial sex workers do. Consequently, the students spend cash generated from transactional sex on their modernist desires, such as designer fashion and accessories. In contrast to the students, most commercial sex workers or prostitutes do not receive income or allowance from their families and/or relatives, are often barely literate and poor. Consequently, commercial sex workers pre-negotiate (with the johns), the kinds of sexual acts required, their material and monetary costs beforehand in order to earn money for their daily survival.

Drawing on the above sensitivities and distinctions, I define transactional sex as various non-professional and intermittent exchange of sex for indeterminate amounts of money and/or consumerist gifts. This definition of transactional sex, and its distinction from prostitution or sex work, recognizes that cash and gifts are imperative for the maintenance of all sexual relationships (premarital, marital and extra-marital) in all contexts - even though these sexual relationships are

not labelled as commercial sex work or prostitution (see Tade & Adekoya, 2012; Chatterji et al., 2005; Hunter, 2002; Cole, 2007).

It is important to delimit the scope of this thesis at the onset. This thesis is not motivated by any consideration of female university students who engage in transactional sex as deviants, immoral² or uniquely at-risk group. Indeed, young people globally engage in transactional sex (see UNAIDS, 2014 & 2012; EU-CDPC & WHO, 2012; Wellings *et al* 2006). Accordingly, this thesis will not engage in any moral debates and blame-allocation for transactional sex because Nigerian female university students under discussion are equally products of their context (structures) and actions. Action for this thesis is 'the capability of the individual to 'make a difference' to a pre-existing state of affairs or course of events' (Giddens, 1984:14). Instead, the primary objective of the thesis is to determine the roles of structure and/or agency, or their lack thereof, in compelling female university students to engage in transactional sex. That is, the thesis is preoccupied with issues of structurally³ conditioned socio-economic *equality* as they pattern knowledgeable,⁴ active, and bounded *personal autonomies* in situ, or their lack thereof, in female university students own accounts of transactional sex in literature.

It is also important to stress that the thesis' focus on female university students' who engage in transactional sex does not imply that male university students do not engage in transactional sex as well. On the contrary, the focus on female university students is one of scholarly convenience because while literature abound on Nigeria female university students' transactional sex, it is scarce on similar actions by male university students. Indeed, under similar

² When I use the word moral or morality, I refer to 'a large body of beliefs and convictions to the effect that there are certain kinds of acts that ought to be done' and others that ought not be done in society (Ross, 1939:1; Dewey, 2002). My thesis will not engage in these kinds of judgements, such as whether or not female university students ought to engage in transactional sex or not. My intention is to describe and demonstrate that structure and agency are interrelated and recursively implicated in Nigerian female university students' decisions to engage in transactional sex. Nevertheless, I will utilize and report on literature and authors who engage in moral reviews of female students' engagement in transactional sex in Nigeria.

³ Structure manifest to social actors as rules and resources (Giddens, 1984). While resources constrain or enable social actors' options and alternatives, rules tell actors the normative appropriateness or rank order of their preferences among bounded alternatives (see Bauman, 1999).

⁴ Knowledge embodied in the students' practical consciousness consists 'all the things which actors know tacitly about how to "go on" in the contexts of social life without being able to give them direct discursive expression' (Giddens, 1984, p. xxiii). This is likely what Willis intended when he observed that social agents are not cultural dopes but 'active appropriators who reproduce existing structures only through struggle, contestation and partial penetration of those structures' (Willis, 1981:175; see also Giddens, 1984).

structural constraints and enablement, it is likely that Nigerian male university students may adopt transactional sex. Unfortunately, for male university students in the Nigerian patriarchal and heteronormative context, masculine bodies are not similarly sexually valued⁵ and policed as feminine bodies. Moreover, there are currently few (for example, male gigolos) cultural and historic precedents of males' in transactional sex, which younger males could emulate in a Nigerian context of increasing agential freedom, which must be set against the background of structurally constrained materialist opportunities to realize personal goals.

Regardless of female university students' motivations or justifications for engaging in transactional sex in Nigeria, transactional sex is considered a moral and health vice, or problem, in Nigeria. On the one hand, considerations of transactional sex as a crisis of the ascendancy of western values over traditional values may derive from Nigerians' conservative values and religiosities, which strongly discourage premarital sex. On the other hand, emotive and moralistic public reactions to female university students' engagement in transactional sex are also driven by Nigeria's ongoing HIV/AIDs and post-abortion-care,⁶ crisis for which cross-generational and transactional sex are implicated (see Cadmus & Owoaje, 2011; Okonofua et al 2009; Mitsunaga, Larsen & Okonofua, 2005; Arowojolu *et al* 2002). HIV/AIDs treatment and post-abortion-care are added but avoidable burdens on the Nigerian moribund healthcare system. In essence:

Age at sexual initiation is of public health interest, since early initiation is more likely to be non-consensual and to be subsequently regretted, less likely to be protected against unplanned pregnancy and infection, and associated with larger lifetime numbers of sexual partners. Risk behaviours for sexually transmitted infections, such as multiple partnerships ... are included as are prevalence estimates of transactional sex, since clients of sex workers are important bridging groups in the transmission of sexually transmitted infections and HIV to wider sexual networks ... Women might be disadvantaged in protecting their sexual health if their partner is older than them, of higher status than

⁵ Values are 'enduring beliefs that a specific mode of conduct is personally or socially preferable to an opposite or converse mode of conduct or end-state of existence' (Rokeach, 1973: 5).

⁶ Abortion for unmarried people remains illegal in Nigeria. Accordingly, youths who engage in premarital sex resolve their unwanted pregnancy challenges with illegal abortion, which often produce complications referred to, and managed by under-staffed and under-resourced public hospitals.

them, or if they are beholden to a man for favours, goods, or money in return for sex (Wellings *et al* 2006:2 & 11).

Consequently, transactional sex has been investigated and programmed-upon in Nigeria with little success leveraging a wide variety of approaches (see Haruna & Ago, 2014; Amu, 2014; Olaore & Olaore, 2014). Nevertheless, interventions are often narrow probably because they are influenced by dominant structuralist approaches in the social sciences, which mostly attribute transactional sex to external influences, such as poverty or patriarchy.⁷ In seeming contradiction of motivating literature however, transactional sex interventions excessively focus on the active agencies of practitioners, which are historically easier to address, and systematically neglect motivating structures, which are historically more contentious and difficult to address. With such narrow focus on the external constraints that female university students' encounter routinely, dominant Nigerian transactional sex literature and interventions do not rigorously interrogate how the students internalize, engage with, and act within the constraints and opportunities presented by their contexts,⁸ as they imagine the constraints and opportunities, and as the constraints and opportunities unfold in time and space.

Assuming transactional sex scholars and interventionists were attentive to the students' active engagement with various constraints and opportunities of their context, they may have found that the students' knowledgeably and actively leverage transactional sex, despite other available options in Nigeria, to mitigate real and perceived structural constraints on their personal projects, lifestyles, peer and individually constructed notions of ontological security.⁹ The foregoing action-orientations of female university students are particularly salient in the Nigerian contexts that is notable for increasing individual freedom, and contradictorily, growing structural constraints on the means of expressing such freedoms.

⁷ Refers to social, religious, economic, and political arrangements and inequalities that privilege males in the Nigerian society.

⁸ Often, situated agents' perception and interpretation of modernist structural logic and cues neglect its bifurcated nature. That is, 'the character structure inherited from the nineteenth century - with its emphasis on self-discipline, delayed gratification, restraint- is still relevant to the demands of the social structure; but it clashes sharply with the culture, where such bourgeois values have been completely rejected - in part, as we shall see, and paradoxically, because of the workings of the capitalist economic system itself' (Bell, 1972:13-14).

⁹ Refers to 'confidence and trust that the natural and social worlds are as they appear to be, including basic existential parameters of self and social identity' (Giddens, 1984:375).

1.2 The Thesis' Use of Action and Practice

This thesis is primarily concerned with explaining and demonstrating how structure and agency influence Nigerian female university students' engagement (action) in transactional sex (a social practice). Thus, while an action is 'the capability of the individual to 'make a difference to a pre-existing state of affairs or course of events' (Giddens, 1984:14), 'practices are open-ended sets of [similar and multiple] actions' carried out in semantic or meaningful spaces (Schatzki, 2001:54). Alternatively, a practice 'is a routinized type of behaviour which consists of several elements, interconnected to one another: forms of bodily activities, forms of mental activities, "things" and their use, a background knowledge in the form of understanding, know-how, states of emotion and motivational knowledge' (Reckwitz, 2002:249; see also Barnes, 2001; Giddens, 1984).

Drawing-on the above definitions, action and practices are related because over time, a series of similar and multiple actions by situated agents often constitute unique practices or institutions, such as the social or economic institution. Thus, practice requires routine agential performance or knowledgeable action through *understandings, procedures and engagements* to thrive, form and maintain social institutions (Reckwitz, 2002). Notably, female university students, as bearers and activators of the transactional sex practices, 'are neither autonomous nor the judgmental dopes who conform to norms: they understand the world and themselves, and use know-how and motivational knowledge, according to the particular practice' of transactional sex to realize their modernist projects (Reckwitz, 2002: 256). My thesis is oriented in this manner because 'social practices, biting into space and time, are considered to be at the root of the constitution of both subject and social object' (Giddens, 1984: xxii).

1.3 Female University Students' Political-economic and Cultural Context

Nearly 170 million people composed of 350 ethnic groups call Nigeria home. With a 2.1% population growth rate, 40.9% of the Nigerian population are youths - 15-24 year olds. Of the Nigerian 350 ethnic groups, the Hausa/Fulani (mostly Muslims), Yoruba (a mix of Muslims, Christians and animist) and Igbos (a mix of Christians and animist) dominate the Nigerian socio-political economy (see GSMA Intelligence, 2014; EY, 2014; KPMG, 2012; National Planning Commission, 2004 & 2009). Moreover, Nigeria is endowed with various natural resources, such as low sulphur content crude oil; and reputed to be a middle-income country with the largest socio-

political economy in Africa, which is modernist¹⁰ in orientation, import-oriented and currently thriving with an annual growth rate of 7% (AfDB, OECD & UNDP, 2015; EY, 2014; PRB, 2009). However, individual elites in Nigeria appropriate the gains of thriving capitalist and modernist economic formations.¹¹ After all, as ‘a programme of the methodical destruction of collectives,’ capitalism ‘recognizes only individuals, whether it is dealing with companies, trade unions or families’ (Bourdieu, 1998:95-96). In essence, the dividends of a growing economy have not trickled-down to nearly 70% of Nigerians probably because of several contradictions that pattern the Nigerian polity, which renders capitalism in Nigeria excessively political¹² (see GSMA Intelligence, 2014; KPMG, 2012; Acemoglu, Johnson & Robinson, 2001).

Patterning contradictions includes (1) the Nigerian initial conditions, such as colonial exploitative governance heritage; which produces various insecurities, by nurturing and exploiting (2) tribalism and inter-ethnic competition, which promotes (3) corruption, capital flight, maladministration, and so forth (British Council and UKAID, 2012; Smith, 2007; Ake, 2000). Other factors limiting Nigeria’s development include (4) development mistakes associated with Nigerian development elites’ lack of political will (because of self-interests and international neoliberalist pressures) to think about development on different set of terms instead of their hasty and uncritical adoption of ever-changing¹³ macro-economic and development policies from the global North think-tanks (British Council and UKAID, 2012; Smith, 2007; Ake, 2000).

¹⁰ ‘When we speak of modernity...we refer to institutional transformations that have their origins in the West’ (Giddens, 1990:174). Often, situated agents’ perception and interpretation of modernist structural logic and cues neglect its bifurcated nature. That is, ‘the character structure inherited from the nineteenth century - with its emphasis on self-discipline, delayed gratification, restraint- is still relevant to the demands of the social structure; but it clashes sharply with the culture, where such bourgeois values have been completely rejected - in part, as we shall see, and paradoxically, because of the workings of the capitalist economic system itself’ (Bell, 1972:13-14).

¹¹ The array of often interrelated local, regional and global institutions, such as states and its coercive apparatuses, bi and multinational organizations, such as the World Bank and IMF, multinational corporations, the mass media, think-tanks, and so forth, that communicate rules and expend resources to further and reinforce bureaucratized capitalist stability and its self-justification apparatuses, such as democracy which nurture winner-take-all capitalism by covertly or overtly promoting individualism, wants and consumerism over more sustainable subsistence needs.

¹² Politicised capitalism requires politicians and state bureaucrats to tele-guide economic actors’ and market interactions in a context patterned by unfinished market reforms and significant state ownership of productive assets (see Polanyi, 1957[1944]).

¹³ Excellent examples of the ever-changing macro-economic and development principles include constructs of state-led development, structural adjustment programmes, privatization, market forces and the private sector led development, and so forth (see for example UN, 2007; Quilligan, 2002; Brundtland, 1987).

Development elites' dispositions and capacities to think about development on contextual terms would have promoted the formulation and implementation of the social protections and 'public policies ... necessary to correct (inevitable) market failures ... complement market mechanisms (and)... maintain social stability' with public spending directed at welfare services (United Nations, 2003:20; World Education Forum, 2015; words in parenthesis, by author). Such protections include unemployment insurance, health, education and training, and elimination of perennial gender gaps in life outcomes.

Other factors that negatively pattern the Nigerian polity are (5) the increasingly contested role of the Nigerian state in driving or supporting development, which is encouraged by current neoliberal orthodoxies and preferences for market-led development; (6) various traditional, hybrid and novel socio-cultural and economic fundamentals that preoccupy Nigerians, such as consumerism,¹⁴ and (7) unequal competition/exchange between developed countries and Nigeria which are driven by historic centre-periphery inequalities that nurture increasingly declining terms of trade. The above patterning contradictions of the Nigerian polity promotes the perennial lack of sustainable institutions for 'the rule of law, effective State institutions, transparency and accountability in the management of public affairs, respect for human rights, and opportunities for all citizens to participate in the decisions that affect their lives' (UN, 2007:15; GSMA Intelligence, 2014; KPMG, 2012; Treichel, 2010).

Moreover, Nigeria's economy is supported by a mass media, especially an advertising industry, which is 'ideologically the supportive informational infrastructure for' individualism and multinational corporations (Schiller, 1979:21). Expectedly, 'behaviour has been increasingly directed to individual advantage, habits and instincts because communal attitudes and objectives have lost out' (Hirsch, 1976:118). Accordingly, Nigeria is a rich haven for multi-national corporations and their local elite collaborators, comprising previous and current politicians, religious leaders and other nouveau riche individuals who may have difficulties explaining the original sources of their wealth (Ribadu, 2010; Ake, 2000). These individuals, foreigners and elite

¹⁴ 'We may say that 'consumerism is a type of social arrangement that results from recycling mundane, permanent and so to speak 'regime-neutral' human wants, desires and longings into the principal propelling and operating force of society, a force that coordinates systemic reproduction, social integration, social stratification and the formation of human individuals, as well as playing a major role in the processes of individual and group self-identification and in the selection and pursuit of individual life policies' (Bauman, 2007:28). Alternatively, consumerism describes the ascendancy of 'labels, logos and brands' as 'the [new] terms of the language of recognition' (Bauman, 2008:12).

Nigerians alike, participate in the competitive plundering of the Nigerian state treasury through public contracts, supply rackets, privatization initiatives, collaborative and outright theft from the Nigerian treasury (Global Witness, 2010; Ribadu, 2010; Smith, 2007; Ake, 2000).

To make matters worse, there is pervasive wealth and symbols of wealth display (flaunting) in Nigeria, which further recommends and strengthens situated agents' xenocentric¹⁵ and mimetic¹⁶ consumerist needs and cultures. Consequently, Nigeria's impressive GDP growth occurs against the contradictory backdrop of widespread poverty, low life-expectancy (52.05 years), joblessness, unemployment and/or underemployment, a neoliberalist¹⁷ and environmental damaging 'never ending pursuit of growth,' cyclical global economic crisis and an over-reliance on luxury goods importation (see LaTouche, 2009:2; KPMG, 2012; AU, 2011; United Nations, 2010; PRB, 2009; Treichel, 2010; NISER, 2007). It is important to note as well that these capitalist developments erode the influence of traditions, as a normative conduct frameworks and reflexive regulators, on the one hand, and as the provider of consensus-based community sanctions on excessive individualism, crass wealth displays, and so forth, which are common in Nigeria today, on the other.

Declines in moral values in Nigeria are exemplified by the activities of organized religious organizations, the former bastions of ethics and morality, who are collectively implicated in creating and exploiting insecurities among Nigerians. In fact, majority of organized religious groups in Nigeria advocate 'wealth not poverty, treasure not good deeds, flamboyance not the humble cassock, prosperity and earthly comfort not patience in tribulations' (Obiora, 1998: xiii; Umoh, 2013; Foster, 1985). Accordingly, Nigerian underdevelopment,¹⁸ amidst great human and

¹⁵ Nigerians increasingly have a preference for the products, styles, or ideas of North American and European culture rather than their own (see Umoh, 2013; Ake, 2000; Obiora, 1998).

¹⁶ According to Elias and Dunning, mimetic cultures are not 'representations of real life events but rather that the emotions - the affects aroused by them - are related to those experienced in "real life", situations, only transposed in a different key, and blended by a "kind of delight"' (1986: 80).

¹⁷ For this thesis, neoliberalism is 'a political rationality that tries to render the social domain economic and to link a reduction in (welfare) state services and security systems to the increasing call for 'personal responsibility' and 'self-care'' (Lemke, 2001:203).

¹⁸ Regardless of the above contradictions and constraints on substantive human development in Nigeria, the state remains rhetorically sensitized by three growth approaches and benchmarks. The benchmarks are (1) meeting basic human needs, which is measured by citizens capacities to meet nutritional and basic healthcare needs, access to public goods, such as water, sanitation, shelter and personal safety; (2) meeting the foundations of wellbeing, which is measured by citizens' attainment of basic literacy, education, wellness, access to information, communication technologies and sustainable ecosystems management, and (3) citizens access to opportunities regardless of gender,

natural resources, wealth and expanding capitalism, evokes Latour's (2014:3) observation that 'capitalism ... generates for most of people who don't benefit from its wealth, a feeling of helplessness and for a few people who benefits from it, an immense enthusiasm together with a dumbness of the senses,' which nurture in Nigerian elites' an insidious indifference to growing inequalities and life outcomes in situ.

To cite a few examples of systemic development failures in Nigeria, which are directly related to this thesis research problem, the content of university education remains divorced from local industry needs, which are best met by vocational education in Nigeria (see NIRP, 2014; Ejimudo, 2013; KPMG, 2012; Treichel, 2010; NISER, 2007). This is in spite of the stated goal of instituting transformational education that meets local industry needs that was specified in Nigeria's latest Vision 20:2020; the previous National Industrial Revolution Plan (NIRP) and National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (NEEDS I & II). The belief that Nigerian education is failing has become so pervasive that some observers claim that while the quality of education in Nigeria continues to deteriorate, costs to students, parents and guardians continue to rise (see Ejimudo, 2013; Eneh, 2011; Treichel, 2010). For example, most private universities are reputedly charging a minimum of N250, 000.00 (about USD\$1, 256. 00) per semester in a context where nearly 45% of youth (15-24) and 24.1% of working adults, are jobless, unemployed and underemployed (Ejimudo, 2013; Eneh, 2011; Treichel, 2010; NISER, 2007).

Moreover, 'the traditional faculty role of guarding academic integrity and quality faces challenges from the wave of consumerism' in Nigeria; despite national plans and prevarications about value re-orientation (Harris, 2007:192). Furthermore, other Nigerian development indicators are poor. For example, GNI per-capita is US\$3, government spending on healthcare is about US\$37 per person. In addition, crime and insecurity seem constant and life expectancy is low - estimated as 52.05 years (see NIRP, 2014; KPMG, 2012: Eneh, 2011; Onah, 2010; Ikeanyibe, 2009; Ologbenla, 2007). In essence, despite Nigeria's impressive GDP growth rate, as well as natural and human resource wealth, nearly 70% of Nigerians paradoxically live in poverty; and the country has consistently failed to meet her Millennium Development commitments (AfDB,

which is measured with citizens' access to personal, socio-economic and political rights and privileges (see NIRP, 2014; National Planning Commission, 2009).

OECD, UNDP, 2015; EY, 2014). In fact, Nigerians are experiencing what Latour (2014) described as:

the new “Chinese syndrome” according to which you could feel helpless in more ways than one: total lack of political freedom associated with the total domination by crony capitalism and total destruction of your lived environment; all of that in the name of radical modernization (Latour, 2014:8).

1.4 The Interdependent Relationships between Capitalism and Patriarchy

Capitalism and patriarchy are inherently exploitative and interdependent systems that value men and women unequally. These structures value men and women in terms of their socially constructed and gendered suitability and capacities to participate in the monetized productive or non-monetary reproductive spheres of society. Although patriarchy predates capitalism, the latter exploits the hierarchical sexual and productive order nurtured by the former for its exploitative class and economic structure. That is, capitalism ‘encounters pre-existing social forms and both destroys them and adapts to them’ (Hartmann, 1979: 14). Indeed, Connell’s (2000) description of the interrelated and interdependent relations between patriarchy and capitalism is very illuminating for the Nigerian version of the capitalist system. According to Connell (2000:45):

the colonial world saw the installation, on a very large scale, of institutions on the North Atlantic model: armies, states, bureaucracies, corporations, capital markets, labour markets, schools, law courts, transport systems. These are gendered institutions, and their functioning has directly reconstituted masculinities in the periphery.

Capitalism additionally transforms ‘patriarchy ... from being relatively simple family systems to something much larger and more complex as the tools and settings for practicing the religion of power’ (Johnson, 1997:42&43). Moreover, the functioning of the capitalist system continues to contract the sphere of influence of families by shifting socio-economic power to institutions governed by gender rules. The above processes thrive despite the fact that the mobilization of labour for the monetized productive sector which is dominated by males depends on the stability and marital support of women assigned to the non-monetary reproductive sector in society. For example, the ‘unlimited supply of unpaid female labour, able to compensate for any

adverse changes resulting from macro-economic policy' sustains family livelihoods, and by extension, capitalist institutions (Elson, 1994:42).

The above-described interrelationships between patriarchy and capitalism does not imply that capitalism in Nigeria is impervious to agential manipulation, adaptation and re-definition – even though capitalism seems intractable in Nigeria. With structuration theory as a sensitizing lens, it is accurate to state that capitalism requires the imagination and agencies of Nigerians to thrive, and that Nigerians require capitalist beliefs, attitudes, actions and products to thrive as well. This means that capitalist control of transformative material resources, and the power that such control generates in Nigeria, are classically embedded in, understood with, and routinely practiced with the signifying frames of patriarchal sexual distinctions, and sexual division of labour.

Such capitalist exploitative divisions thrive despite the fact that most Nigerian women participate in both the monetized productive sector, with lower remuneration in comparison to men, and in the reproductive sector as well, with no remuneration at all. In sum, capitalism instantiates and transforms patriarchy – and vice versa, to (re)produce conditions that disadvantage women, such as unequal education, work and pay opportunities. This is so because the patriarchal gendered rules and expectations of everyday life seep into capitalist workplaces to reinforce workers' covert and overt assumptions about the suitability and capacity of each sex to perform monetized productive and non-monetary reproductive work (see Acker 1990).

Modernist capitalism in Nigeria easily achieves the above feats because it systematically erodes previously mentioned traditional, and subsequently western religious virtues of 'truth, trust, acceptance, restraint, obligation,' morality and community, which are paradoxically, imperative for the smooth operation of neoliberal economies (Hirsch, 1976:141). The foregoing description of Nigeria's social and political economy has two broad and consequential effects on Nigerian female university students' structures and agencies – or their position-practices¹⁹ in relation to consumerism and transactional sex. One exemplary effect on female university students' structures, i.e. the consolidation of patriarchy in Nigeria, and agencies i.e. the systemic worsening

¹⁹ Position-practices or action-orientations in transactional sex refers to situated female university students, and indeed their older male accomplices, acquired dispositions from their various structural and personal socialisation and sexualisation, which orients them towards paying attention to pre-scripted sexuality rules and resources, and acting in pre-scripted ways that apply to their individual gendered positions which complement the position of accomplices - as these unfold in brief or extended relational chains in the Nigerian time and space.

of socio-economic inequalities in a consumerist culture, which orients female university students towards a dependence on men through transactional sex will be discussed next.

1.5 Effect 1: The Consolidation of Patriarchy in Nigeria

The Nigerian brand of capitalism, described earlier, is very much wedded to western versions of patriarchy imposed on Nigeria during her colonialization by Great Britain (Bakare-Yusuf, 2004; Mamdani, 1996; Ake, 1981; Lugard, 1906). Western patriarchy, to adopt Oyewumi's description of it, is rooted in essentialist biological determinism or a bio-logic, which leverages visual anatomic differences between men and women for distinction between the mind or logic (often ascribed to men), and the body or irrationality, passion and moral corruption (often ascribed to women) as the organizing principle for socio-economic, domestic and political participation in colonial Nigeria (1997:19; see also Bakare-Yusuf, 2004). Drawing on the above essentialist distinctions, which are derived from British 'segregated conjugal roles' (Bott, 1968:137), colonial bureaucrats leveraged the observable differences between men and women in Nigeria to construct and implement policies that govern participation in public and private realms of society. Essentially, such policies constrained women's material and public activities and relegated them to the domestic sphere.

Institutionalised gender differences were particularly advantageous to the colonial imperative to shift Nigeria's pre-capitalist economy from subsistence farming and mining to the familiar (to colonialists at least) and indirectly managed male dominated cash-crop farming and state owned mining operations, which supplied raw materials to British industries in exchange for imported goods (Acemoglu, Johnson & Robinson, 2001; Mamdani, 1996; Ake, 1981). The ensuing unequal gender structures and relations were further institutionalised by the colonial dual-educational system – one for males who support the colonial extractive administrations, and the other for females who manage the homestead with domestic and child rearing work (Okome, 2002; Oyewunmi, 1997; Mamdani, 1996). Significantly, vestiges of the colonial dual labour and education systems continue to thrive in Nigeria today (see Omoregie & Ihensekhien, 2009; Izugbara, 2004).

Nigerian pre-capitalist and modern capitalist arrangements, previously discussed, are thus rooted on male economic privilege and female economic disadvantage, which continue to consolidate patriarchy in Nigeria. This trend continues despite the realities of global cyclical

economic contractions and crisis, which compels women, who are expected to manage the reproductive sphere of life, to increasingly make temporary and/or permanent forays into the productive low-wage economic sphere (see Omadjohwoefe, 2011; Omoregie & Ihensekhien, 2009; Azodo, 2007). The foregoing unequal gender arrangements are now routinely reinforced during successive generations of the Nigerian child socialisation (Omadjohwoefe, 2011; Izugbara, 2004; Oyewunmi, 1997). The ensuing essentialist distinction between men and women; the association of masculinity with the productive sphere and various forms of capital generation, and femininity with the reproductive, emotive and domestic sphere entrenches non-elite women's subordination to, and materialist dependence on men in the Nigerian society.

With this dependence, man had to take on the role of provider and as such took to hunting, building houses and meeting all the other survival needs of the woman. Thus, the role men play became, not only valued, but also prestigious. In contrast, little prestige and values was given to ordinary routine, taken for granted activities of women. This marked the genesis of female minority status in society. (Omodjhowoefe, 2011:68)

Consequently, a significant proportion of non-elite Nigerian women's access to money, or purchasing capacities, depends mostly on constrained male relatives, when they are still in their families of orientation, and increasingly on male lovers and spouses, once they live home. This reality has great significance on female university students' engagement in transactional sex. It is probably why Connell (2000:47) describes the panoptic effects of modernist capitalism on local gender structures has been described as the 'globalizing masculinities' which combines 'an unusual level of violence and egocentric individualism' (Connell, 2000:47). Moreover, Nigeria's expanding capitalism also has unintended and disrupting effects on the reproductive sphere of life – especially child rearing and socialisation. The fact that non-elite Nigerian women have increasingly become active participants in the productive capital accumulation sphere (albeit in low-wage labour), in addition to their reproductive work (i.e. double day), implies that childcare and socialisation functions are now increasingly contracted to relatives, day-care centres, domestic helps, and indirectly, the electronic media, especially televisions. The role of televisions in early

childhood consumerist socialisation²⁰ of highly impressionable children cannot be exaggerated because ‘in-your-face advertising’ of xenocentric goods seem the norm of television commercials (Winship, 2000:42-43).

1.6 Effect 2: Worsening of Socio-Economic Inequalities in Nigeria

Another unintended consequence of perennial underdevelopment in Nigeria include significant socio-economic inequalities between regions in Nigeria, and between men and women. There are additional challenges with the perennial lack of, or shortage of public goods, worsening poverty, a youth bulge,²¹ individualism, unsupervised/abandoned children, low life expectancy (52.05 years), significant rural-urban migration, unemployment, waning traditional norms and behaviour control, various forms of corruption, and paradoxically, crass wealth displays with modern consumerist goods and services (KPMG, 2012; The World Bank 2011; Samuels et al. 2011; NBS, 2009).

The attraction of consumerist goods to Nigerians is that capitalism harnesses and orients latent selfish motives towards xenocentric consumption or ‘rampant consumerism,’ which stimulates import-oriented economies and facilitates difference making in society (Ariely, 2009:109). This is to the extent that despite mass poverty in Nigeria, ‘the bulk of household expenditure, even by the poor, is on items that are not necessary in any strictly material sense, but which serve to confer status’ (Skidelsky & Skidelsky, 2012:37). In fact, Nigerians seem to aggressively corroborate Connell’s (1998:16) description of trans-national business masculinity, which is underscored ‘by increasing egocentrism, very conditional loyalties (even to the state and corporation), and a declining sense of responsibility for others’ - unless they are exploited for distinction or difference making. The impact of the near Hobbesian features of the Nigerian society on citizens, which are described above, is that they develop what they imagine are capitalist personalities - underscored by individualism amidst rhetorical sociality, immediate personal gratification amidst injunctions for industry, and crass materialist displays amidst rhetoric of religiosity and humility. It is the opinion of this author that Nigerians’ peculiar responses to

²⁰ ‘The comprehensive and consistent induction of an individual into the objective world of a society or a sector of it’ (1967:130).

²¹ A youth bulge (15-24 years) is the product of paradoxical successes in reducing infant mortality while fertility rates remain high.

precarious existence²² are driven by national penchants for a creative and agential adjustment to hardships rather than protest or contest failed governance.

Precarious existence in Nigeria co-mingles with capitalist structures, especially consumerism, gender inequalities, and Nigerians' own subjectivities, to define new standards of sociality and modalities for attaining them in situ. For example, to cope in the Nigerian near Hobbesian context, some adults and young Nigerians alike adopt various forms of corruption, including kidnapping and transactional sex, to realize their immediate desires, whose importance are heightened in precarious conditions of existence. After all, having been socialised in the above described Nigerian context, citizens 'actively wish to join in and actively desire the opportunities for self-expression and display which are provided by the choices of the pink shopping malls' (Watson, 2005:37; Nwankwo & Ibegbunam, 1993). The above laissez-faire socio-economic atmosphere in Nigeria sets the background for female university students' transactional sex.

1.7 Research Problem

Notwithstanding the development failure of the Nigerian state; the gender and consumerist socialisation on xenocentric goods described above, and the normatively permissive environment in Nigeria, this thesis views majority of Nigerians as 'hapless, but far from innocent consumers' and as co-producers of modernist capitalism (Morris, 1996:11-2). This claim is supported by the fact that Nigerians, including female university students, are not social dupes. Instead, Nigerians actively and purposefully *draw-on* and *work-on* select features of their contexts, such as their gender socialisation, which furnishes them with cultural and interpretive schemes, or the practical/discursive consciousness, about how to mitigate external constraints with pre-scripted activities, such as transactional sex. This thesis will demonstrate the pre-scripted nature of transactional sex leveraging structuration theory to re-interrogate female university students' accounts of their transactional sex in selected Nigerian, and sub-Saharan African transactional sex literature.

²² Increasingly, precarious existence in Nigeria is contradictorily governed by 'a politics, not of *life chances*, but of *life styles*. It concerns disputes and struggles about how (as individuals and as collective humanity) we should live in a world where what used to be fixed either by nature or tradition is now subject to human decisions' (Giddens 1994:15).

With a structuration²³ theory as a methodological lens, the thesis will outline and explain what structures,²⁴ what agencies,²⁵ and the *(re)combinatory sequences* they assume to *compel* Nigerian female university students to engage in transactional sex for the pursuit of contextually valued socio-economic aspirations or wellbeing; in other words, ontological security (McLennan, 1984:125). In practical terms, this study will entail unpacking the modes in which social action (transactional sex) draw-on (societal) rules and resources to thrive ‘by virtue of duality²⁶ of structure’ in the Nigerian time and space (Giddens, 1984:25). Resolving the above research problem will contribute towards unshackling transactional sex activists, interventionists and researchers from their reflexive inclinations towards singularly structuralist or agential epistemologies and ontologies – especially their ‘phallogocentric imaginary’ of transactional sex (Scouler, 2004:345).

The conceptual and methodological re-orientation of dominant transactional sex literature will promote the realization that female university students’ engagement in transactional sex is influenced by a myriad of interrelated and non-hierarchical structural and agential influences. These include influences such as poverty, an acquired taste for expensive status goods, dislike for more mundane forms of labour, the influence of neighbourhoods, sensation-seeking, role modelling, the student’s own subjectivities as social and sexual agents, how they appraise structural constraints and opportunities - especially the possibilities of mitigating the effects of structural constraints within and outside the boundaries of tradition and

²³ According to Giddens, ‘analysing the structuration of social systems (for example commercial sex work) means studying the modes in which such systems, draw upon (societal) rules and resources in the diversity of action contexts, are produced and reproduced in interaction’ by virtue of duality of structure’ in space and time (Giddens, 1984:25). Structure has three components – signification (e.g. of communication for interaction), legitimation (e.g. of rules, norms and sanctions) and domination (e.g. of authoritative and allocative resources).

²⁴ According to Giddens, ‘structure is both medium and outcome of reproduction of practices. Structure enters simultaneously into the constitution of the agent and social practices, and ‘exists’ in the generating moments of this constitution’ (Giddens, 1979:5).

²⁵ ‘Agency refers not to the intentions people have in doing things but ... concerns events of which an individual is the perpetrator, in the sense that the individual could, at any phase in a given sequence of conduct, have acted differently’ (Giddens, 1984:9). Alternatively, agency ‘concerns the nature of individual freedom in the face of social constraints, the role of socialisation in the forming of “persons” and the place of particular ways of doing things in the reproduction of culture’ (Gardner, 2004:1). Although agency is primarily motivated by intended and salutary consequences, this does not obviate the fact that unforeseen and unintended consequences do follow purposeful action.

²⁶ That is, the thesis assumes that there are procedural, reciprocal and interactive relationships between structure and agency (Giddens, 1984).

legal rules in late modernity. More critically, this thesis will rigorously demonstrate that like all structurally constrained but knowledgeable, active and situated agents, Nigerian female university students are neither unaffected by structural asymmetries nor completely autonomous agents.

1.8 Objectives of Research

The thesis will:

1. Analyse Nigerian transactional sex literature (with theoretical content analysis) and aggregate evidence for the possible implication of agency, in concert with structure, in female university students' transactional sex;
2. Specify how agency and structure are implicated in female university students' transactional sex;
3. Contribute to the empirical testing and consolidation of structuration theory.

1.9 Research questions

To realize the broad objectives outlined above, the following research questions will guide the thesis:

1. Which macro-level, meso-level and/or micro-level processes or influences compel some Nigerian female university students to move from an intensely traditional, moral and/or religious socialisation into the stigmatized and illegal sub-sector of the Nigerian economy; despite the availability of alternative, albeit less rewarding and more tasking, but less stigmatized livelihood alternatives?
2. How are structure and agency implicated in female university students' engagement in transactional sex?
3. What interrelated and recursive issues would a more robust re-orientation of Nigerian transactional sex literature with structuration theory reveal?

1.10 Significance of Research

This thesis is significant because the overemphasis of structural determinants of transactional sex in academic research, and allied interventions, are inadequate for the formulation of policy, and development of interventions aimed at reducing the number of female university

students who engage in transactional sex in Nigeria. Program ineffectiveness continues to underscore associated interventions because the recursive interrelationships between critical structural and agential influences on female university students' engagement in transactional sex are routinely side-lined by scholars and interventionists in Nigeria's transactional sex industry, who over-emphasize structural constraints.

Fundamentally therefore, structure and agency equally matter in understanding, explaining, and in the development of sustainable interventions, which will reduce female university students' participation in transactional sex in Nigeria. In fact, a more robust approach to conceptualizing and explaining female university students' engagement in transactional sex is critical in this era of expanding modernist capitalism in Nigeria, which is governed by the logic of individualism, consumerism, utilitarian and recreational sexual action against the backdrop of vanishing traditional norms, constraints and sanctions on behaviour.

1.11 Thesis Structure

Against the backdrop of female university students' context, described in this introductory section, the remainder of this thesis is organized as follows. Chapter two presents the results of a rigorous review of Nigerian transactional sex literature for an overview of findings, constructs and theories (or their lack thereof), which have previously been employed by several Nigerian and non-Nigerian authors to interrogate female university students' transactional sex. Another goal of the review is to ascertain whether authors of Nigerian transactional sex literature have avoided 'the dualism associated with objectivism and subjectivism' especially how they operationalize and report on the 'constraining aspects of the structural properties of social systems'²⁷ (Giddens, 1984: xxvii). Exemplary properties of the gender structure include female subordination to males, double standard sexual scripts etc., while relevant examples of capitalist structures include individualism, money etc.

Chapter three critically examines four action theories for their potential application to the task of rigorously interrogating Nigerian transactional sex literature for what structures, agencies,

²⁷ Social systems are 'regularised patterns of interaction involving individuals and groups; they are not structures in themselves, but ... "have" structures, in the sense that they are structured by rules and resources' (Thompson, 1989:60, original italics).

and the combinatory sequences they assume, to compel (not determine) female university students' engagement in transactional sex. The theories include Max Weber, James Coleman and Michel Foucault action theories. Their strengths and limitations are highlighted before adopting Anthony Giddens' structuration theory as the most suited for advancing this thesis' objectives and research questions. However, it is pointed out that structuration theory, as originally formulated by Anthony Giddens (1984), has its own limitations which constrain empirical research and analysis of purposeful social action in context (see the theoretical framework section of the thesis).

The core limitation of structuration theory lies in Giddens' seeming conflation of structure and agency, and failure to advance methodological or empirical research guidelines (see Layder, 2006; Rose, 1998; Archer, 2010; Thompson, 1989; Turner, 1986 and so forth). Both limitations have been addressed by Stones' (2005) in the synthesis of critical and scholarly evaluations of structuration theory. Stones (2005) drew-on the strengths of Giddens' (1984) original formulation of structuration theory, and on some criticisms of the theory, mentioned above, to produce a quadripartite and interrelated framework that advances empirical research and analysis of social action such as transactional sex.

In chapter four, the thesis presents evidence on how Giddens' (1984) and Stones' (2005) quadruple stages of empirical structuration research is leveraged to conduct a theoretical content analysis of Nigerian transactional sex literature. The objective is to interrogate, understand and explain why studies that stress 'the pre-eminence of the social whole over ...its constituent actors, and vice versa, are incomplete. Another objective is to isolate, categorize and present representative circumstances or the social forces (i.e. context and institutional analysis) that Nigerian female university students encounter; and suggest how the students draw-on and work-on (conduct analysis) the identified features of their context or social forces to engage in transactional sex.

Sequentially, chapter five presents findings of a structuration theory patterned review of Nigerian transactional sex literature to unpack what structures, agencies, and the combinatory sequences they assume to compel (some) female Nigerian university students to engage in transactional sex. Findings are presented according to Stones' (2005) quadruple stages of the structuration of social action. The stages include (1) analytically external structures to female

university students, as they pattern (2) the students' internal structures or habitus,²⁸ which the students draw-on and work-on for (3) their knowledgeable and active agencies, that produce (4) intended and unintended outcomes which filter back again into external structures, pattern students' habitus, inform their active agencies, and produce outcomes. The influence cycle operates in a recursive cycle such that no single stage of the structuration of transactional sex attains instigative primacy.

Chapter six entails analyses and interpretation of findings of the thesis' interrogation of Nigerian transactional sex literature leveraging Stones' (2005) quadripartite framework and Giddens (1984) structural duality construct. Findings indicate that (1) analytically external structures to students, such as the capitalist and gender structures, pattern (2) the students' internal structures, dispositions or habitus, such as their avarice despite their status and material constraints, and orientations towards dating often older political and socio-economically successful males, which (3) the students draw on, and work on to engage in sexual partner selection (knowledgeable and active agencies) for transactional sex. Inter-relatedly, transactional sex produces (4) intended outcomes, such as *distinction or standing-out* on campus (Bourdieu, 1984). Nigerian female university students cultivate *distinction* with income and consumerist goods acquired from transactional sex. Moreover, transactional sex produces unintended outcomes, such as poor grades, which further orient the students towards similar acts with male lecturers for sexually transmitted grades. Both the intended and unintended outcomes of transactional sex usually filter back into society through discourse and/or sexual ideologies, to renew the structuration cycle of external structures, internal structures, active agency, and so on. To reiterate an earlier point, the structuration of transactional sex occurs in a recursive and interrelated cycle such that no individual stage of the transactional sex structuration attains instigative primacy.

The last chapter, which is chapter 7, synthesizes key ideas in previous chapters, draws conclusions that answer and illuminate the research objectives and questions. For example, the thesis found that transactional sex is concurrently influenced by various external constraints and

²⁸ 'The way society becomes deposited in persons in the form of lasting dispositions, or trained capacities and structured propensities to think, feel and act in determinant ways, which then guide them' (Wacquant, 2005:316).

opportunities (structures) that pattern female university students' habitus, such as their transformative gender and heteronormative action-orientations and rule-resource sets. The students knowledgeably and actively leverage their external structure motivated habitus to engage in transactional sex (agency) to mitigate structural constraints as they imagine them, encounter them, and as they unfold in context, to achieve distinction on campus. Chapter seven additionally presents policy recommendations for stakeholders interested in reducing the number of female university students engaging in transactional sex.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

A description of what transactional sex means is necessary for subsequent interrogation and re-orientation of Nigerian transactional sex literature. The objective is to unpack those macro, meso and micro processes, pressures, and/or influences, which compel some female Nigerian university students to undermine their intensely traditional, moral and/or religious socialisation and leverage their sexuality for transactional sex despite the availability of labour alternatives. Although the alternatives are less rewarding and more tasking, they include factory work, call-centre jobs, fast-food service jobs, janitorial services and so on.

Johanna Busza's (2006) three-fold categorization of sex work or sexual exchange is particularly useful for understanding and explaining female university students' participation in transactional sex. Busza's categories include (1) sex work, (2) transactional sex and (3) survival sex (2006:135). According to Busza, sex work is a 'professional' interaction governed by a 'financial arrangement whereby a client pays a sex worker an agreed fee for sexual services.' Similarly, financial transfers from male customers to female practitioners in exchange for sex govern transactional sex. However, transactional sex differs from sex work in that it operates on a continuum of 'relationships often characterised by friendship, affection, or romantic attachments' (Busza, 2006:135).

The term transactional sex is favoured by this thesis for several reasons. The reasons include (1) the fact that this thesis will not indulge in moralisation of the students' conducts, (2) female university students involved are full-time students in various universities and indulge in transactional sex discontinuously, and (3) because the students do not consider themselves sex workers or prostitutes. Instead, practitioners go by different labels such as *runs girls*, *escorts*, *aristo* (i.e. aristocrats) girls, and so forth (Omoregie *et al* 2003). Moreover, female university students' transactional sex differs from another kind of prostitution or sex work called survival sex. This is because income accruing from students' engagement in transactional sex are applied neither towards mitigating poverty nor towards paying school fees. School fees and daily upkeep, for

determined²⁹ students, are minimal (less than \$100 per annum) in federally owned universities in 2016; and too exorbitant (more than \$5000 per annum) for the students to afford themselves in privately owned universities in Nigeria.

In dominant transactional sex literature in Nigeria, structural asymmetries are often blamed for increasingly prevalent university students' engagement in transactional sex (Ankomah *et al* 2011; Okafor & Duru, 2010; Akindele-Oscar, 2009; Omoregie *et al* 2003). Similarly, a high prevalence of transactional sex has been reported among female students in other parts of Africa, such as neighbouring Cameroun and Ghana; and as farther away as in Uganda, Malawi and Mozambique, South Africa, etc. (Choudhry, 2015; Baba-Djara *et al* 2013; Ngambouk, 2011; Swidler & Watkins, 2006; Hawkins, Mussa & Abuxahama, 2005; Dunkle, 2004). However, the claim that transactional sex is common in sub-Saharan Africa should not be interpreted as evidence that young people in sub-Saharan Africa are somehow more sexually active or leverage their sexualities for material gains more than peers in Asia, Europe and North America. This means that in all considerations of Nigerian, and indeed African *sexualities*, one must eschew notions of:

Western strictness about sex and motivations: romantic love and/or personal pleasure (physical and psychological) as the 'proper' motives for engaging in sex, while strategic, materially-oriented uses of sexuality are strictly tabooed - being forcefully embodied in our image of 'the prostitute' (Helle-Valle, 2006:205-206).

In fact, as previously indicated in chapter one, global comparative studies strongly suggests that young people often exploit their sexualities to meet their wants (UNAIDS, 2014 & 2012; EU-CDPC & WHO, 2012; Wellings *et al* 2006). For example, Wellings and colleagues' (2006) unequivocally stated that 'the shift towards later marriage in most countries has led to an increase in premarital sex, the prevalence of which is generally higher in developed countries than in developing countries' (Wellings, *et al* 2006:16). Wellings and colleagues' inferred reasons for youth engagement in premarital sex globally are similar to those reported in Africa. They include poverty, education, employment, demographic changes, timing of marriage, increased mobility and migration, socio-political and economic disruptions, changing social norms and attitudes to

²⁹ Determination approximates the students' 'physical and moral constitution' in relation to completing their education despite constraints of their external environment (Durkheim, 1982:126).

sex, the internet, and so on (Wellings, et al 2006).

Similar to Wellings and colleagues' (2006) broader study above, more particular studies of transactional sex in Nigeria over-emphasize structural influences on female university students' engagement in transactional sex – without explaining how the influence processes function. For example, Nigerian transactional sex literature (authored by Nigerians and non-Nigerians alike) is weak in illuminating (1) 'the ways in which local institutions construct gender/sexual roles/practices and constrain 'choices,' on the one hand, and the ways in which (2) these 'choices are negotiated in contexts of poverty, conflict (and routine), or disease and of differentiated gender opportunities,' on the other (Dunne *et al* 2006:88; words in parenthesis, by author).

Nevertheless, it is possible to *retrospectively discern* strains of different social theories that pattern dominant Nigerian transactional sex literature. The relevant strains of social theory discernible include (1) social change, disorganization and moral decline perspective, (2) rational choice, functionalist & poverty perspective, (3) gendered sexual scripts perspective, (4) enterprise perspective, (5) feminist perspective, and (6) agency perspective. The review of literature will be organized according to the foregoing theoretical strains.

2.1 Social Change, Disorganization and Moral Decline Perspective

Exemplifying the social change, disorganization and moral decline perspective is Ekpo-Out (2013), Aderinto (2007) and Naanen (1991) argument that transactional sex is linkable to the introduction of monetized economy and rapid urbanization driven by British colonialist in Nigeria. In these authors' view, the monetization of the Nigerian economy, amidst rapid urbanization, instigated the geographical and moral separation (time-space distantiation) of families. The time-space separation of families reduced the effectiveness of traditional and normative sexual surveillance of youths, on the one hand, and the application of allied sanctions against premarital sexual activities, on the other (see also Ifeanacho, 2010; Aderinto, 2007; Opong, 1995).

In addition, the geometric increase in the incidence of Nigerian female university students' engaging in transactional sex has been linked to the implementation of the International Monetary Fund's (IMF) structural adjustment programme (SAP) in the 1980s (Ifeanacho, 2010; Aghatise 2004; Emeagwali, 1995; Anyanwu, 1992). The implementation of SAP in Nigeria, especially the government's removal of subsidies on essential public goods, such as kerosene,

gasoline, transportation costs, and house-rent, exponentially increased prices of commodities and services. The ensuing hardship hastened modernist capitalist penetration of Nigeria, by breaking down traditional family support and behaviour regulation systems – unleashing in their place the logic of individualism, rural-urban migration in search of scarce modern employment and education opportunities, and paradoxically, consumerism. The scarcity of modern employment and educational opportunities, and embedded gender constraints, are said to compel some women, such as female university students, to take-up prostitution, or be pressured into prostitution by relatives and acquaintances (Ifeanacho, 2010; Aghatise 2004; Emeagwali, 1995).

However, Aderinto (2012) convincingly challenged SAP-induced social disorganization thesis, which is common in Nigeria’s transactional sex literature. Indeed, the author demonstrates ‘that domestic and transnational prostitution was a staple in Nigerian and Gold Coast (now Ghana) cities’ even during the British colonial era in Nigeria (Aderinto, 2012:3; see also Naanen, 1991). Similarly, Florence Amagiya (2011), a writer for Vanguard Newspaper Nigeria, reports that female undergraduate students are turning to prostitution, or ‘sex for cash’ to meet the lifestyles they have constructed for themselves; and make their fortunes’ because of their increasing geographical distance from their families and limited supervision on campus. She reached this conclusion from a multi case study at Lagos State University (LASU), University of Benin (UNIBEN), and Enugu State University (ESUT). In fact, respondents in Arenyeka *et al* (2014) corroborate findings from other studies indicative above that female university students leverage transactional sex to pursue goods of modernity for identity construction projects (see also Akoni, 2014).

Other authors blame the general moral decline in Nigeria, and the lack of deterrence and sanctions³⁰ against transactional sex as the main driver of students’ entrance into transactional sex (Fayemi, 2009; Aderinto, 2007; Naanen, 1991). The decaying moral fabric in Nigeria is attributed by the authors to social change, which they assign to westernization, individualism, neoliberalism, consumerism, and increasing physical distance of students from normative control of tradition and relatives. The consequences of generalized moral decline are that normative sanctioning of sexual

³⁰ These sanctions are comparable to Durkheim’s widespread, repressive and restitutive sanctions customarily deployed to re-establish challenged norms/rules; and restore contextual normalcy (Durkheim, 1983 [1933]:104).

misconducts, such as transactional sex, has significantly weakened in comparison with the traditional past. In the past, social out-casting, community stigmatization, banishment from nuclear/extended families, and so on, may have been effective deterrents against female university students' engagement in transactional sex.

More specifically, a number of authors who advance the social change and moral decline argument often cite the example of what they consider indecent dressing on Nigerian university campuses, which has instigated a rash of dress-code policies on various university campuses in Nigeria (Asaju, 2013; Fayokun, Adedeji & Oyebade, 2009). Indecent or sexual anatomy-revealing dressing by female students is generally interpreted in Nigeria as evidence of perpetrators immorality, sexual advertisement, transactional sex solicitation, and promiscuity. For example, Fayokun, Adedeji & Oyebade's (2009) review of cases of indecent dressing on Nigerian university campuses likely informed their claim that:

Observation of the hallways of many higher institutions today reveals that students have pushed dress code to the limit. There are halter-tops and bare midriff, thigh underwear peeking above ultra-low-cut jeans, and bright-coloured bras shining through sheer shirts. "It's getting out of control" . . . "We have a dress code set by Hollywood" or by Britney Spears (Fayokun, Adedeji & Oyebade, 2009:59; see also Omoregie *et al* 2003).

In contrast, majority of female university students in Okonkwo's (2013) *related study* of sexual risk-taking on four university campuses in Nigeria disagree with the above masculine characterization of female dress style on campus. Representative opinions suggest that 'it is not my fault that boys are always staring at my body (prolonged laughter) . . . that is their problem, not mine. I dress the way I like . . . and it is very nice . . . I mean, you feel very good when you know the effect you have on them . . . even some lecturers (laughter) (Interview 2, female; Okonkwo, 2013:10; see also Bakare-Yusuf, 2012 for similar opinion).

Also assignable to social change and disorganization perspective of transactional sex is Izugbara's (2005) view that modernization and education compels female university students to engage in transactional sex as one means to obtain the status goods of modernity that they cannot afford, in an environment where women's income earning capacities and opportunities are

constrained by patriarchy³¹, (see also Caldwell, 1995). Other authors, such as Moore, Biddlecom & Zulu (2007) and Leclerc-Madlala (2004) corroborate Izugbara's modernity thesis elsewhere in Africa in their findings that transactional sex is partly driven by modernity, which accounts for female university students' engagement in the vice to obtain cash and/or gain access to articles of modernity, which they cannot ordinarily afford. However, Izugbara (2005) and similar minded authors, neglect to specify how social agents, such as female university students, comprehend and engage with modernist capitalist structures, whose offerings are neither free nor forced on situated agents in most democratic contexts, such as Nigeria.

On a slightly different note, several authors such as Ojebode, Togunde & Adelokun, 2010; Omoregie, 2003; Bamgbose, 2002, corroborate the social change and disorganization perspective by referencing the influence of sugar daddies (or rich older men) and male university lecturers on transactional sex. Although these socio-economically and politically successful males are normatively expected to provide guidance and care for young women sometimes under their care, they take advantage of their roles and statuses to sexually exploit them. Sugar daddies or their agents visit female hostels on Nigerian university campuses every weekend tempting, inducing and bargaining with select female students for temporal and semi-permanent intimate relationships. The students deduce wealth from sugar daddies and their agents' flashy cars and gifts, such as laptops, expensive mobile phones, ease and willingness to spend money. According to Omoregie et al (2003:27):

Fridays are party days. That is when the Aristos come to the campus to catch our babes. They return them on Saturday morning, sometimes Sunday afternoon, or Monday morning. We hear of instances when senators send boys from Abuja to bring babes, they will send them flight tickets. They come in flashy cars and line up to pack girls. Basically, weekdays are for boys ... an average boy on campus does not go to visit an Aristo chick on Friday night; she would not have time for you (see also Arenyeka *et al* 2014; Eller, 2014; Nyanzi, Pool & Kinsman, 2001).

Despite the persuasiveness of sugar-daddies influence, several studies in sub-Saharan African also report that women in their studies do not always feel obliged to visit sugar daddies or reciprocate cash-gifts from men with sex (Arenyeka *et al* 2014; Eller, 2014; Nyanzi, Pool & Kinsman, 2001). Smith's (2010:129) study in eastern Nigeria, for example, demonstrates how:

³¹ Refers to social, religious, economic, and political arrangements and inequalities that privilege men and disadvantages women in the Nigerian society.

Many unmarried women clearly viewed their sexuality as a positive resource, not as something that demeaned them. In a society where nearly everyone faces significant obstacles to attaining their social and economic goals, women's sexual agency offers numerous desired benefits, including opportunities to continue higher education, access to employment, and the ability to help kin. Indeed, the young women who are most likely to be married men's partners in sugar daddy relationships are not the poorest of the poor, trading sex for economic help because of abject poverty, but rather a more educated and fashionable group who are more disposed to see themselves as agentive (see also Eller, 2014).

Another theme, which is assignable to the sugar daddy category, is the influence of lecturers' sexual exploitation and victimization of female students in tertiary institutions (Bakari & Leach, 2009). There was agreement among participants in Bakari and Leach's (2009) study about the pervasiveness of sexual exploitation of students by their lecturers in tertiary institutions (see also Babatunde & Durowaiye, 2014a; Ankomah *et al* 2011; Morley, 2011). Typical narratives on the theme of sexual exploitation and victimization of female students by male lecturers indicate that:

Inviting female students to their office or sending them on errands were tactics employed by male staff to remind women of the asymmetry in the gender and authority/age relations of the college, and more broadly of Nigerian society, which made it more difficult for female students to refuse their sexual advances. Male staff appeared to consider the opportunity of a sexual relationship with students as a 'privilege' of their job. Some also used their position to secure a student in marriage (Bakari & Leach, 2009:12; see also Morley, 2011).

A number of scholars, such as Amagiya, 2011; Ojebode, Togunde & Adedokun, 2010; Smith, 2010; Omoregie et al 2003, report that majority of female university students actively seek sugar daddies and lecturers leveraging the way they dress; by maintaining active presence on various social media, and seeking-out surrogates to connect them with the sugar-daddies and lecturers. For example, it has been reported that in a university 'in urban Benin (Republic), female university students have compelling reasons to initiate or accept such relationships with their male professors despite the associated stigmas, and many actively pursue professors' in secure what the author called *sexually transmitted grades* (Eller, 2014:2).

The students feel their conducts are justified because peers consider them 'smart and lucky to have been able to grow a runs (develop sexual relations) with a rich and generous' older male (Ojebode, Togunde & Adedokun, 2011:319). It is important to note that male lecturers in these

studies claim that female students harass them sexually ‘through their dress, their make-up. Look, let us be sincere with ourselves. We are human beings; we are not woods [i.e. we have emotions]. A girl, a matured girl will put on half-dress, half-naked in front of you, mmh? [Laughed] It is harassment’ (Bakari & Leach, 2009:18; see also Babatunde & Durowaiye, 2014; Eller, 2014). A comparative study in Ghana and Tanzania by Morley (2011) highlights female students’ contradictory collusion in their own sexual exploitation. According to Morley’s respondents;

It’s been such a part of the culture that girls use it (sex with lecturers), they do use it as a way of getting through... but the issue is that it affects their ability to perform because you’re looking at them as sexual objects... the girls themselves don’t see themselves as academic achievers; they see themselves as having to use their sexuality in order to get through... (Female staff, public university, Ghana) (Morley, 2011:108; words in parenthesis, by author; see also Baba-Djara *et al* 2013).

Based on a nuanced review of Nigerian transactional sex literature, the influence of sugar daddies or exploitative lecturers on female university students’ transactional sex is indirect but significant. This is because such influences may orient (not force) the students towards transactional sex; normalize transactional sex, and instigate similar and further activities. However, transitioning from sex-for-good-grades with lecturers, as morally reprehensible as they are, to sex-for-money and modernity goods requires a capitalist disposition, knowledge and active agencies of the students concerned. On a different note, peers and close family members of the students, such as mothers and older sisters, and the students’ own belief, which is captured by the phrase ‘*no romance without finance*’ influence their entrance into transactional sex (Smith, 2010:133; Ankomah *et al* 2011; Tade & Adekoya, 2012; Nwokocha, 2007). For example, some of the students claim that they are ‘pressured’ by friends through persuasion, insults or perceived threats, which produces conforming action. Nwokocha (2007) succinctly captures peer and family influences on transactional sex;

Most...entered that business through their friends (some) were introduced into it by their mothers at tender ages for financial reasons. Being introduced by a friend involves some form of subtle persuasion. The person to be introduced (hereafter referred to as ‘the green’) is often a willing person. This is because envying each other is the basis of beginning the relationship between the green and the initiator...the initiator informs the green about prices of what she wears and generally has...they even become so intimate that they sleep in each other’s room and may even exchange rooms with either’s official roommate. With time, the green is introduced to a man friend...she is however told not to be faithful to the man and that she should not expect any serious

relationship. Immediately she is introduced to another man and she accepts, she needs no further monitoring. She is further taught sign languages concerning car flashes and referring to any client as their ‘uncle’, ‘brother’ or ‘daddy’ (Nwokocha, 2007:61; see Akoni, 2014 for similar accounts).

Equally assignable to the social change, disorganization and moral decline perspective is the unintended influence of the contraceptive revolution on female university students’ sexual activities. Although this sub-theme of social change perspective is scarce in Nigerian transactional sex literature, it was reported by Okonkwo (2013) in a related multi-case study that sought reasons for Nigerian university students’ sexual risk-taking. The study corroborated Giddens (1992) thesis about the effects of the contraceptive revolution on sexual conduct. According to participants in Okonkwo’s (2013) study, the increasing supply, and effectiveness of birth control technologies, such as condoms, pills, abortion, and so forth, frees male and female students from the fear of unintended/repetitive pregnancies and sexually transmitted infections, which increases sexual risk-taking (Okonkwo, 2013). In participants’ own words:

Condoms and contraceptives are not bad. But yes, they have increased sexual risk taking, because girls are not as scared of pregnancy today as they were before from the stories I have heard. They know what to do when they get pregnant (Interview 26, female; Okonkwo, 2013:7).

In Giddens’ (1992) opinion, to which this thesis subscribes, the contraceptive revolution inadvertently snatched sexuality from the dictates of patriarchy and kinship; transferred control of sexualities to ‘individuals and their transactions with one another’ - that is *plastic sexuality* (Giddens, 1992:27; words in parenthesis, by author). Nevertheless, the role of contraceptives in the promotion of transactional sex is controversial. It is controversial because condom and contraceptive makers and distributors claim they are protective devices and neglect to indicate that knowledgeable and situated agents may creatively apply contraceptives to meet other needs. The above discussed conflicts and contradictions between the changing ends and means of sexuality in Nigeria evokes Habermas’ (1989) lamentation of the ongoing ‘colonization of the lifeworld’ by capitalist systems. However, even Habermas (1989) is silent on how the components of the lifeworld actively engage with panoptic capitalist systems, which hastens the colonization of the lifeworld.

2.2 Rational Choice, Functionalist & Poverty Perspective

In a paper that explored ‘both the key factors that motivate some unmarried young people to engage in early sex and reasons why some delay,’ Ankomah and colleagues report that a major enticement to engage in premarital sex acknowledged by women in their studies is their pursuit of ‘perceived or real rewards, both financial and material’ (2011:81; see also Omoregie *et al* 2003). That is, female participants in their study engage in transactional sex to acquire both financial and material resources that facilitates the realization of personal projects, such as the acquisition of trendy goods that are associated with modernity, mitigating poverty, and so forth (Babatunde & Durowaiye, 2014b; Hawkins, Mussa & Abuxahama, 2005; Leclerc-Madlala, 2003). Correspondingly, a Zimbabwean study which challenged the pervasive attribution of transactional sex in Africa to poverty similarly reported ‘young women and the men they date ... use these relationships primarily to compete for social status in their peer groups as well as to fashion themselves as high-status, successful modern subjects’ (Masvawure, 2015:857).

I hasten to add that the students’ exploitation of transactional sex as a survival strategy (subsistence), or for conspicuous consumption, are not mutually exclusive ends. The above claim has been corroborated by a related study of the changing status of women in Benin City, Nigeria, which concludes ‘that many uneducated women still perceive trafficking and transactional sex as empowering initiatives to protect women from the oppressive culture, which hinders their access to critical economic resources, but privileges the male gender’ (Osezua, 2013:14; see also Aderinto, 2012; Barnett, Maticka-Tyndale & HP4RY Team, 2011).

In the same vein, Bamgbose (2002), frames female university students’ pursuit of financial and material rewards via transactional sex as motivated solely by poverty. Expanding on this theme, Bamgbose (2002) argues that among the different categories of sex workers in Nigeria, such as ‘night brides, floating prostitutes, call girls, and so forth, ‘many ... are students in secondary schools and universities who combine prostitution with schooling. They need the money to pay school fees or acquire material things, such as clothes and shoes’ (Bamgbose, 2002:573; Ankomah *et al* 2011). In contrast, Oyefara attributes women’s entrance into transactional sex to food insecurities (caused by poverty) experienced by adolescent girls – even though only ‘35.0% of the respondents joined the sex industry because of poverty and lack of other means of getting daily food’ out of a total sample of 320 respondents (2007:626).

Increasingly however, emerging studies from Nigeria and other sub-Saharan African

countries are challenging the primacy of poverty as the primary driver of transactional sex (see also Choudhry, 2015; Baba-Djara *et al* 2013; Ngambouk, 2011; Oshi *et al* 2007; Swidler & Watkins, 2006; Hawkins, Mussa, & Abuxahama, 2005; Dunkle, 2004; Leclerc-Madlala, 2003). For example, one study in South Africa challenges claims that transactional sex is ‘primarily resorted to as survival strategies by economically disadvantaged young women’ (Masvawure, 2010:857). In fact, the central theme among female students in Masvawure’s (2010) study is that alleviating poverty is not their primary motive for engaging in transactional sex:

I don’t even know what drove me to be in that relationship, coz my mother’s sister has got a salon. She always says if you want to have a new hairstyle, come to me. If you have got something you need, come to me. My brother works for some NGOs [and he too says] ‘I’ll give you anything that you need’. My mother is a teacher, of course, but she’s [also] a florist. She always sends me money. Of course, I just need to be flashy on campus. That’s what I wanted (Tendai, 20 years old; Masvawure 2010:861; see also Oshi *et al* 2007; Tade & Adekoya, 2012).

Oshi and colleagues’ (2007) study in Nigeria, and other studies from sub-Saharan Africa, such as Leclerc-Madlala (2003) study in Durban, South Africa, disprove of the primacy of poverty as the determinant of transactional sex. These latter studies confirm that female participants in these studies leverage transactional sex to accumulate goods of modernity (consumption), which elevate and/or maintain their social status on university campuses. For example, Oshi and colleagues (2007), in their multi-case study of university students’ perception of HIV risks, sexual conducts, and voluntary counselling and testing behaviour’ found that only a minority of students (13.9%) were from homes headed by parents who are petty-traders and artisans, such as mechanics – that is, very poor.

The majority of students in their study were from middle-class backgrounds because their parents were mostly mid-level and senior civil servants, affluent businessmen and women, and so forth. This implies that a majority of students in Nigerian universities are from families who can afford to provide their wards with food, accommodation, books, clothes and basic communication gadgets on campus – although the exact percentage of these students are currently unavailable in literature (Oshi *et al* 2007). In essence, poverty on a Nigerian university campus is comparative and relative - not absolute. Similarly, in Tade and Adekoya’s (2012) study, which investigated transactional sex in Nigerian universities, respondents typically claimed that:

Ordinarily, one would not expect a student from a rich home to be involved in campus runs (deviant or illegal activity), because they have everything they want at their door step. But because of greed and desire to achieve more than others at all cost, they engage in campus ‘runs’ (Runs-girl/IDI/24 years/300 level (Tade & Adekoya, 2012:246).

Such findings, as the above, serve as cautionary tales against studies advancing the primacy of poverty as the primary influence on Nigerian female university students taking-up transactional sex in this era of democratic capitalist modernity, which fosters comparatively minimal degrees of physical coercion, and significant degrees of ideological self-direction, in comparison to past eras. Accordingly, it will be ‘much too facile simply to say (that women who engage in transactional sex) have no choice’ (Willis, 1977:1). Alternative and less stigmatized forms of labour do exist in Nigeria for youths yet to graduate from any tertiary institutions or those with minimal qualifications – even though they are less-rewarding, perhaps more exerting. They include employment in fast-food organizations; haircare services, sales promotion services, childcare services, petty trading, janitorial services, factory/poultry work, secretariat/admin jobs, and so forth.

Similar cautionary tales about the primacy of poverty for explaining transactional sex have been provided by another sub-Saharan study titled ‘Milking the Cow’ (that is, milking male sexual partners in transactional sex). In their study, Hawkins, Mussa, and Abuxahama, (2005) report that ‘all narratives are explicit that the primary motive for transactional sex is economic, and young women have no emotional attachment or expectations beyond exchange of sex for money and other economic benefits’ (Hawkins, Mussa & Abuxahama, 2005: iv).

2.3 Gendered Sexual Scripts Perspective

A less common perspective of stimulus for transactional sex in sub-Saharan Africa is the influence of gendered norms, which female university students perceive as heterosexual scripts. Gender, for this thesis, is an internalised value, *drawn-on* and *worked-on* by situated agents from their socialisation as males or female, and from their creative adaptation to their context (Bakare-Yusuf, 2004; Oyewumi, 1997; Berger & Luckmann, 1967). Alternatively phrased, gender is comparable to Bourdieu’s habitus. It approximates those ‘automatic gestures or the apparently most insignificant techniques of the body,’ which reproduces social life and its inequalities – especially sexuality and its orienting scripts (Bourdieu, 1984:466). As a property of a

simultaneously constraining and enabling societal structure³² (Connell, 1987; Butler, 2005), gender and its scripts does not merely constrain³³ female university students' sexual activities. It concurrently enables female university students' expressive sexualities, which reinforces their status as 'gendered subjects' because of the students' '*gender performances and the performances of others towards*' them (Robinson, 2005:25; emphasis by author).

In essence, the dominant gender categories, for example femininity and masculinity are 'neither what we are, nor the traits we have, but the effects we produce by way of particular things we do' – especially the way we do them, and ultimately, justify our actions (Cameron, 1998:271). Better still, doing gender, in our case, acting sexually in a feminine or masculine manner, 'consists of managing such occasions so that, whatever the particulars, the outcome is seen and seeable in context as gender appropriate or, as the case may be, gender inappropriate - that is, accountable' (West & Zimmerman, 2002:12). Gender accounting in the realm of sexuality is governed by *sexual scripts*, which direct our attention to the reality that sexual action is 'learned from culturally available messages that define what 'counts' as sex, how to recognise sexual situations, and what to do in sexual encounters' (Frith & Kitzinger 2001:210; Babatunde & Durowaiye, 2014; Izugbara, 2004; Smith, 2004). Often, situated agents are oriented towards gender schemas or rule/resource sets which conforms to their lived gender identities and experience – femininity or masculinity. For example:

...to answer the question 'what should I do'? A person can look to see what is done by 'people like me'. Moreover, those who are similarly situated can be expected to have similar interest in a problem of uncertainty about appropriate scripts. It is easier to take advantage of this mutual interest with persons who are physically and socially close. One can question them directly about what they think and do and discuss matters with them. Those who are close can also be more easily observed to see what the consequences of various courses of action are (Reed & Weinberg, 1984:130).

³² Structure is employed here in a structurationist sense – involving 'rules and resources recursively implicated in social reproduction; institutionalized features of social systems have structural properties in the sense that relationships are stabilized across time and space' (Giddens, 1984: xxxi).

³³ 'Constraint here refers to the structuration of social systems as forms of asymmetrical power, in conjunction with which a range of normative sanctions may be deployed against those whose conduct is condemned, or disapproved of, by others' (Giddens, 1984:173).

Sexual scripts are believed to be outcomes of traditional gender norms, roles, and allied practice.³⁴ Scripts emanate from, and are reinforced by, such routine ideologies and practices as patriarchy, matriarchy, marriage, bride-wealth, polygamy, sugar-daddy practice, and various masculine and feminine routine identity construction and maintenance projects in sub-Saharan Africa (see Jewkes, Morrell & Dunkle, 2012; Nobelius *et al* 2010; Leclerc-Madlala, 2008; 2009; Izugbara, 2004; Smith, 2004). In relation to sexual action, for example, ‘first-date scripts consistently depict men as taking an active role and women as taking a passive one. Men are expected to initiate the date, plan the date activities, drive, pay for the date, and initiate sexual intimacy, whereas women are expected to wait for the man to initiate and decide to “accept/reject” date’s moves’ (Morr & Mongeau, 2004:6). Such scripts are learned and/or acquired during structural and self-socialisation and sexualisation, from peer ideologies, the reflexive observation of significant others’ actions, and allied rewards and sanctions in context. In this regard, Jackson (1993) conceptualization of sexual scripts is particularly relevant for understanding Nigerian female university students’ transactional sex. According to Jackson:

Girls learn to enact sexual scripts within the milieu of their peer groups, an environment which may be characterized as homosocial and heterosexual. So although their sexual interest is focused on the opposite sex, it is primarily to their same sex peers that adolescents will look for validation of their sexual attitudes and accomplishments. In such a situation, girls and boys develop markedly different sexual expectations and hence continue their psychosexual development along the divergent paths that have already been mapped out (Jackson, 1993:71).

Equally relevant to Nigerian sexual scripts is Flood’s (2008:350-354) rendition of Australian men’s (aged 18-26) sexual scripts, which was categorised as homosociality. According to Flood (2008) male homosociality organizes their sociality and sexuality in four basic ways. First is the prioritization of male friendships over male-female relationships. Second is the feminization of male-female relationships if they are platonic. Third is the exploitation of male sexual activity

³⁴This thesis is primarily concerned with how structure and agency influence Nigerian female students’ engagement in (action) transactional sex (a social practice). Thus, while an action is ‘the capability of the individual to ‘make a difference’ to a pre-existing state of affairs or course of events’ (Giddens, 1984:14), ‘practices are open-ended sets of [composite] action’ carried out in semantic spaces (Schatzki, 2001:54). Alternatively, practices are ‘socially recognized forms of (composite) activity, done on the basis of what members learn from others, and capable of being done well or badly, correctly or incorrectly’ (Barnes, 2001:27; see also Reckwitz, 2002; Giddens, 1984). Consequently, action and practices are related in that over time, series of similar actions by situated agents constitute unique practices or institutions, such as the social or economic institution.

to achieve masculine status, and fourth is the reinforcement of masculine relationships with stories of sexual escapades and conquest. The foregoing sexual scripts (or homosociality) intuitively and reflexively govern Nigerian males' expressive heterosexuality.

Another important script in Nigeria's near-compulsory heteronormative context is males' high valuation of sexual access to women, who ought not to freely give away the said sexual access. Instead, women are normatively expected to grant sexual access after elaborate wooing and gift-giving by males who have the most access to the public sphere and material goods therein on account of their gender, which allow them access to the public sphere. The foregoing script is governed by normative beliefs that males should provide materially for their intimate female sexual partner(s) who are 'protected' from risks and opportunities in the public sphere because of patriarchal belief that they are unable to protect themselves from sexual danger in the public sphere. Izugbara (2004) has corroborated the foregoing male scripts in the study of patriarchal ideology and discourses of sexuality in Nigeria. According to the author:

While male children are socialized to see themselves as future heads of households, breadwinners, and owners (in the literal sense, sometimes) of their wives and children, female children are taught that a good woman must be an obedient, submissive, meek, and a humble housekeeper (Izugbara, 2004:8).

Regardless of the persuasiveness of the above accounts of gendered sexual scripts, dominant transactional sex literature neglects to explain how female university students' adherence to sexual scripts are concurrent demonstrations of their concurrent structural constraint and enablement. This is likely what Giddens (1984:181) intended when he observed that 'the structural properties of a social system,' such as gender scripts, 'do not act, or "act on," anyone like forces of nature to "compel" him or her to behave in any particular way.' That is, female university students' adherences to the dominant sexual scripts are demonstrations of their active and knowledgeable penetration³⁵ of Nigerian structures (as concurrently constraining and enabling rule-resource bundles). The students' structural penetration manifest as their active exploitation of the above-described gendered sexual scripts, and sexual activities, to secure male intimate partners

³⁵ In contrast, male structural penetration is targeted at knowledgeably and actively securing repeated heterosexual access to their female intimate partners with wooing and cash/gift-giving.

purposefully for the ‘transfer of economically significant gifts,’ emotional capital and attachments from male lovers to themselves (Helle-Valle, 2006:23).

Several studies of transactional sex in Nigeria, and other parts of sub-Saharan Africa, illustrate the above argument that participants in transactional sex are knowledgeable and active – with acute agential penetration of constraining and enabling contextual structures - especially how to circumvent and/or exploit them (see Tade & Adekoya, 2012; Smith, 2010; Masvawure, 2010; Hunter, 2002). For example, in a study of the ‘transition from premarital sexual relationships and courtship to marriage and parenthood in south-eastern Nigeria,’ Smith (2010:123) documents how female study participants’ *expectations* of material support from their male intimate partners, and thereafter, the expectation that they grant sexual access, configure the sexual worldviews and actions of respondents. According to Smith:

I heard many young Nigerian women allude to having more than one sugar daddy, each of whom might be encouraged to play a different role economically - a fact underscored by the playful use of the terms Commissioner of Education, Commissioner of Transportation, Commissioner of Housing, and Commissioner of Finance to describe a particular man’s contribution (Smith, 2010:134; see also Tade & Adekoya, 2012; Masvawure, 2010).

Apparently, men involved in these relationships are also aware of:

young women’s economic strategies and their power in extracting resources I sometimes heard married men describe their young lovers as “razor blades,” an allusion to the capacity of these women to bleed men of their money (Smith, 2002:9).

Smith’s (2002 & 2010) findings, presented above, evokes Hunter’s (2002) earlier finding in South Africa where young female respondents claim that relationships with ‘sugar daddies are better. Why use a pencil (younger and less affluent lovers) when you can use a Bic? (Older and more affluent lovers) ... They are more experienced ... And they don’t like to have sex all the time like the young men, and sometimes they have TLC (Tender Loving Care)’ (Hunter, 2002:115; words in parenthesis, by author). Similarly, Tade & Adekoya’s (2012) study of Nigerian university students corroborate Smith’s (2002 & 2010) and Hunter’s (2002) findings that female university students prefer sugar daddies because they can afford to support them materially. According to respondents in Tade & Adekoya’s (2012) study:

I’m involved in campus runs so that I can afford my bills and make myself comfortable and happy. This is because I am challenged when I see my friends wearing things that are highly expensive

especially accessories. So for me to have support of others and have a sense of peer belonging, I have to join in campus runs (Runs-girl, IDI, 21 years, 200 level (Tade & Adekoya, 2012:247).

The point made is that female university students internalize and actively *draw-on* and *work-on* contextual heterosexual norms to enter transactional sex primarily in the service of their modernist consumption imperatives. Drawing on the above sexual scripts, one begins to understand (not condone) Nigerian truck drivers' relationships with multiple women along their driving routes; who they financially support in return for premarital and/or extramarital sex, on one hand, and the women's willingness to participate in such sexual encounters, on the other hand (Marck, 1999; see also Smith, 2010; Tade & Adekoya, 2012). Cumulatively, the above scripts and norms co-establish the very norms or rules of transactional sex, which male and female participants knowledgeably access through their active and knowledgeable penetration of Nigerian patriarchal structures. Sexuality features of the Nigerian patriarchal structures manifest to female university students in the mass media, peer ideologies, peer sexual behaviour, through trial and error, and so forth.

On a different note, Caldwell (1995) leverages a combination of patriarchy and rational choice perspective to elaborate what can be interpreted as female university students' agential penetration of their structural context, which informs their entrance into transactional sex in Nigeria and Thailand. The author reports that women in their study know that transactional sex is lucrative, and enter the stigmatized and illegal profession 'because men demand young women ... [and] to augment the support for themselves and their children ... save for later investment back home in form of a house and often a shop, investments which are very likely also to result in marriage' (Caldwell, 1995:168-170; see also Smith, 2010; Tade & Adekoya, 2012). Caldwell's (1995) functionalist perspective of transactional sex was subsequently corroborated by other scholars who found that women involved in prostitution are aware that it is a lucrative cash-earner in Nigeria (see also Izugbara, 2005; Okonofua et al 2004; Omoregie et al 2003). In fact, one respondent in Omoregie and colleagues' (2003) study declared that I call some 'my sugar uncles, maybe when am poor or I need money, they give it to me. I know I have to do that (sexual intercourse) (Omoregie et al 2003:26).

2.4 Enterprise Perspective

In contrast to the social disorganization, functionalist and sexual script perspectives, the enterprise model of transactional sex directs our attention to the reality that transactional sex is an enterprise. The enterprise of transactional sex exists because there is a strong demand for sex by men who are willing to pay for it, and the supply of sex by female university students who are willing to trade sex for money and/or material gifts. In essence, dynamic market forces (demand and supply), which are analytically independent of transactional sex practitioners and their patrons drive the controversial form of labour or vice.

Siegel (2012) claim that madams, some of whom were previously commercial sex workers themselves, run majority of the transactional sex business. Apparently, these madams transition to the management side of the business and supervise ‘every link in the prostitution chain, from recruiting new girls in Africa to putting them to work in brothels’ (Siegel, 2011:265; UNICRI, 2010). According to the United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute (UNICRI), criminal enterprises recruit trafficked women from urban and rural Nigeria through deception by exploiting young Nigerians’ tendency to migrate abroad. Criminal groups additionally exploit young people’s need for cash with which to travel abroad, leveraging symbolic rituals, oaths or voodoo to keep the recruited obedient, and by sending trafficked women and girls to surrogates in European cities who manage the subjugation and sexual exploitation of trafficked women (UNICRI, 2010:37-38).

Although the enterprise perspective of transactional sex is scarce in Nigeria, it is mostly found in explanations of a related vice – human trafficking (Aghatise, 2004; Otoide, 2000). Within this model, trafficked women are often constructed as ignorant and helpless to change ‘what is ahead of them’ (Agustín, 2005:101; Siegel 2012; Okojie, 2009; UNICRI, 2010). The foregoing moralist stance on transactional sex thrives despite findings that ‘the girls themselves are aware from the onset that they would be engaged in prostitution abroad and pay huge sums of money to an intermediary who assists them in obtaining papers or in ferrying them illegally to the migrating country’ (Okonofua *et al* 2004:1317; Oude Breuil *et al* 2011). In fact, a Nigerian commercial sex worker in Italy asserts that ‘those who come here saying they didn’t know are lying’ (Prina, 2003:22). Moreover, some of the formerly trafficked women are said to transition ‘towards the organizational side of the trafficking offense which is the most striking characteristic of the Nigerian sex trade industry’ (Iacono, 2014:110; Mancuso, 2013; UNICRI, 2010). This latter fact

is a testament of women who engage in transactional sex knowledge that the vice is lucrative, on the one hand, and an illustration of their active agencies in exploiting transactional sex to accrue wealth.

2.5 Feminism Perspectives

Different versions of feminist thought exist that could facilitate the understanding and explanation of students' engagement in transactional sex. These versions include Marxist-feminism; radical feminism, psychoanalytic feminism, gender (or cultural) feminism, postmodern feminism, maternal feminism, etc. While Marxist-feminists occupy themselves with theorizing issues concerning the reworking (for a new society) of capitalism and patriarchy from systems that exploit and constrain women to systems that recognizes and rewards women for their productive and reproductive work, radical feminists focus on how women's oppression are derived from their reproductive work – especially their socially constructed mothering and allied gender traits. As a remedy to women's generalized exploitation, radical feminists advocate that women emotionally and sexually absent themselves from men to realize their full potential (Daly, 1973; Frye, 1983; Hoagland, 1988).

For psychoanalytical feminists, women's nature is socially constructed and not biologically determined. Accordingly, women's oppression is the outcome of their childhood's gendered- socialization experiences and practices, which produces and reinforces gendered thinking and action. Psychoanalytical feminists' remedy for women's exploitative experiences is that women must struggle for citizenship rights, and more importantly, free themselves from the 'father within' which will nurture and maintain the space for independent thinking and action (Tong, 1998:171; Gilligan, 1993; Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger & Tarule, 1986).

In contrast, gender (or cultural) feminists emphasize that several traits and values attributed to women, such as modesty, supportiveness, sexual conservatism, empathy, gentleness etc. are morally superior to values and traits attributed to men, such as adventurousness, bravery, lack of emotions etc. (Tong, 1998:131). For cultural feminists, the liberation of women must proceed from women providing and communicating alternative habits of being, thinking, and speaking that would promote diversity, openness and difference (Faderman, 1981; Gilligan, 1982).

Postmodern feminists seem to challenge questions relating to universal ideas of history, theory, meaning and identity. For postmodern feminists, reality cannot be fully known because meaning and identity are impermanent. For example, the prevailing gendered and sexual identities and division of labour are not impervious to change or revision. Men and women could exhibit characteristic traits of either gender, perhaps, appropriate both gender identities and could transcend current gendered and sexual divisions of labour (Bonner, Goodman, Allen, Jones, & King, 1992; Butler, 1990; Radway, 1984). Notwithstanding, postmodern feminists are reluctant or unable to develop specific explanations and solutions for women's oppression. 'This poses major problems for feminist theory, this refusal also adds needed fuel to the feminist fuel of plurality, multiplicity, and difference' (Tong, 1998:193).

There are additionally maternal feminists who are convinced 'that [a] woman's special role as [a] mother gives her the duty and the right to participate in the public sphere' (Kealey, 1979:7; Adamson, Briskin & McPhail. 1988). This strand of feminist thought is similar to African Womanist thinking championed by Emecheta's 'feminism with a small f,' Ogun-dipe-Leslie's 'Stiwanism' and 'Motherism' (see Acholonu, 1995). The term, womanist, connotes an appreciation and preference of 'women's culture... sometimes loves individual men, sexually and/or nonsexually; (and is) committed to survival and wholeness of entire people, male and female' (Walker, 1983: xii; words in bracket, by author). Western maternal feminists seem to share African womanists' thoughts and approach to social change which accepts 'the emancipatory nature of feminism' but discards western feminists' 'violent and militant approach' to resolving women's marginalization and exploitation (Adebayo, 1996:4). That is, both maternal feminists and African Womanists do 'not accept the male stereotype passively...but used it as an instrument of their resistance...carrying the maternal myth into the public realm and struggling in its name for an expansion of their rightful share of responsibility' (Allen, 1991:6).

As an ideology maternal feminism incorporates key ideas from social feminism (e.g. the need for social reforms) and domestic feminism (e.g. the need for women's increased autonomy within the family). Maternal feminists also propose that women are a collective body with common experiences and interests which motivates their attempts to assist their poorer counterparts. Ruddick (1984:244) frames women's shared experiences and interests as flowing 'from the act and symbol of birth and from the passionate labour of women who, throughout most of history, have assumed the responsibilities of protection and care.' Whitbeck (1984:186)

agrees with Ruddick's (1984) opinion above by claiming that when people use the term maternal instincts, 'what they seem to be discussing are the inner promptings which induce women to care for their offspring,' and that these traits and habits of 'caring' could be applied to resolve social problems.

Nevertheless, it must be noted that majority of Nigerian scholars are wary about being labelled feminists. This is probably because of the concept's close association with Western feminist writings and projects that are generally interpreted in sub-Saharan Africa as driven by feminists hatred of men and sexual frustration (Oyewumi, 2001; Adebayo, 1996; Acholonu, 1995; Ogunyemi, 1985). Instead, Nigerian scholars who subscribe to feminists' thought and projects prefer the label womanist. For example, a prominent Nigerian writer, Flora Nwapa, is quoted as saying: 'I don't think that I am a radical feminist. I don't even accept that I am a feminist. I accept that I'm an ordinary woman who is writing about what she knows' (cited in Ogunyemi, 1985; see also Makinde, 2007; Ogun-dipe-Leslie, 1994; Oyewumi, 2001; Acholonu, 1995; Mohanty, 1991).

As can be deduced from the above synopsis of feminist research perspectives, most are essentialist in orientation in my opinion. This is because feminists attribute certain *easily falsifiable* and *socially constructed* traits, orientation and functions either to men and women. For example, while all women are not mothers or display the gendered trait of 'caring,' not all men are sexually adventurous, brave and hegemonic in their masculine displays. Moreover, feminist research perspectives tend to over-emphasize structural influences on women's exploitative experiences, statuses and action in society. While feminist perspectives are rich in specifying intersectional factors that compel women into transactional sex, they fail to specify women's knowledgeable, active and purposive roles in participating in, maintaining and perpetuating societal asymmetrical structures and institutions, such the gender structure, the marriage institution, and the transactional sex system in Nigeria. For example, feminist perspectives of transactional sex cannot specify (because they focus on factors external to female students) how the students engage in transactional sex with knowledge and purpose, or how they could have done otherwise in Nigeria by seeking alternative income sources from paid employment in child care centres, call centres, poultry farms, factories etc. Similarly, men who participate in transactional sex are knowledgeably active and purposive agents who could have done otherwise as well; by remaining faithful to their wives, by abstaining from premarital and extra marital sex, by getting married etc.

Notwithstanding, self-identified feminists³⁶ have not robustly engaged with the transactional sex conundrum in Nigeria. The Weberian *verstehen* or the understanding perspective of sociological inquiry probably motivates feminist-oriented authors who engage with the transactional sex debate. Accordingly, their research output leverages emotion, group experience, folklore and theoretical conjectures to pronounce that transactional sex unilaterally serves patriarchy, is forced on women, and is bad for women (see Farley, 2004; Raymond, 2004). Similar to dominant feminist traditions, proponents of the African version of feminism or womanism argue that transactional sex is morally and legally objectionable.

Aghatise (2004), for example, detail the processes of luring young girls to Europe for prostitution and sexual slavery; blaming the *luring* on the unintended economic consequences of the mid-1980s Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP), and on a nation that cherishes crass materialism over other socio-economically productive virtues (Aghatise, 2004; see also Emeagwali, 1995). A variant of feminists in Africa, who choose to be identified as womanists or *African-ethico feminist* share the view held by western radical feminists up to a point. Representative opinion among African-ethico feminist indicate that transactional sex and/or prostitution is intrinsically wrong, immoral, objectifies, and is forced on women (Fayemi, 2009; see also Farley, 2004; Raymond, 2004 for similar arguments).

Unlike western feminists however, African-ethico feminists are more democratic in their condemnation of every participant in the transactional sex system. For example, African-ethico feminists condemn commercial sex workers for participating in their own sexual objectification and their male clients for their patronage. In fact, African-ethico feminists advocate that all participants in the transactional sex system be arrested and prosecuted (see Fayemi, 2009).

³⁶ It must be noted that majority of Nigerian scholars are wary about being labelled feminists because of the concept's close association with Western feminists as men-hating and frustrated; and their own subjectivities as wives, mothers, and so on. Instead, Nigerian scholars prefer the label womanism – a term which 'appreciates and prefers women's culture... sometimes loves individual men, sexually and/or nonsexually. Committed to survival and wholeness of entire people, male and female' (Walker, 1983: xii). Other variants of African feminism range from Emecheta 'feminism with a small f,' Ogun-dipe-Leslie's 'Stiwanism,' 'Motherism' (see Acholonu, 1995). For example, a prominent Nigerian writer, Flora Nwapa, is quoted as saying: 'I don't think that I am a radical feminist. I don't even accept that I am a feminist. I accept that I'm an ordinary woman who is writing about what she knows' (cited in Ogunyemi, 1985; see also Makinde, 2007; Ogun-dipe-Leslie, 1994; Oyewumi, 2001; Acholonu, 1995; Mohanty, 1991). The major difference between African womanists and radical feminists is that 'while accepting the emancipatory nature of feminism, the African feminist has discarded its violent and militant approach' (Adebayo: 1996: 4).

Furthermore, unlike western radical feminists, African-ethico feminists argue that the problematization of male sexuality, the regulation of prostitution and/or its criminalization are ultimately ineffective mitigation methods. According to Fayemi:

African ethico-feminism unlike radical feminism, condemns not only the acts of prostitution and female trafficking on both moral and legal grounds, but in addition, condemns prostitutes, their clients, pimps (traffickers) and the trafficked as immoral agents. Hence, supports their vigorous prosecution by the law (Fayemi, 2009:208).

The argument of scholars advancing a direct relationship between the implementation of SAP and the increasing commonality of transactional sex in Nigeria, which are presented above, are undercut by the fact that different forms of prostitution thrived in Nigeria before the mid-1980s Structural Adjustment Programme was implemented by President Ibrahim Babangida. In this regard, Ekpo-Out (2013) recalls how the colonial government in Nigeria made concerted efforts ‘to contain a phenomenon (*prostitution*) that undermined normative conjugal and family relations and also muddled the packaging of a colonial identity’ (Ekpo-Out, 2013:72; see also Aderinto, 2007; Naanen, 1991; word in parenthesis, by author). The lesson from studies that challenge feminists’ stance on transactional sex is that unpacking societal structures are important but insufficient basis for understanding transactional sex, which seems to pre-exist periodic destabilizing political- economic changes in Nigeria.

2.6 Agency Perspective

Under-elaborated in Nigerian transactional sex literature are similarly narrow agential influences on transactional sex. This latter perspective of transactional sex posits that women who engage in transactional sex are knowledgeable social agents who *freely* chose to enter transactional sex for its material and/or emancipatory benefits - irrespective of structural constraints (see Tade & Adekoya, 2012; Barnett, Maticka-Tyndale and HP4RY Team, 2011; Weissman *et al* 2006; Okonofua *et al*, 2004 a&b; Omoregie *et al* 2003).

Such perspectives of transactional sex in Nigeria, and sub-Saharan Africa, which are not explicitly framed as agency in structuration terms, include women’s taste for expensive material goods they cannot afford; inclinations towards dating older men (Sugar Daddies), their need to do well in exams without corresponding work or sexually transmitted grades (STG) and so on (see Arenyeka *et al* 2014; Eller, 2014; Tade & Adekoya, 2012; Ankomah *et al* 2011; Smith, 2010; Swidler & Watkins, 2006; Hawkins, Mussa, & Abuxahama, 2005; Dunkle, 2004; Leclerc-

Madlala, 2003). In Tade & Adekoya's (2012) study of Nigerian university students who participate in transactional sex, for example, the authors report active agencies of the students because 'clients are recruited on and off campus through mastery of routine activities of 'aristocrats' on campus, connection and referrals ... (and that) 'aristocratic' transactional sex is sustained by erotic capital, including dexterous bed skills' (Tade & Adekoya, 2012:239; see also Smith, 2010; Masvawure, 2010; Swidler & Watkins, 2006; Hawkins, Mussa & Abuxahama, 2005).

In a related study that examined 'the practice of directly exchanging goods for sexual intercourse' in southern Nigeria, Barnett, Maticka-Tyndale and HP4RY Team conclude that 'sexual exchange still represents an arena where girls have some power. Exchange provides a space for girls to manoeuvre ... It both enables and restricts agency' (Barnett, Maticka-Tyndale and HP4RY Team, 2011:358). The fact that women exercise agency in negotiated sexual encounters likely motivated Jolly's (2007) caution against the development industry's over-emphasis of:

the dangers of sex and sexuality – in relation to population control, disease and violence. This negative approach to sex has been filtered through a view of gender which stereotypes men as predators, women as victims ... and that women only ever have unsafe sex because we lack power to negotiate with male partners, never due to our own desires (Jolly, 1977:3&11).

Jolly proceeded to pose important questions, which most transactional sex scholars are reluctant or neglect to pose to their respondents. 'Do women really have no desire, agency or room for manoeuvre? Do women have no pleasure or hope of pleasure in sex?' (Jolly, 1977:11). Another study, which is very relevant to Nigeria, is Eller's (2014) study of an urban university in neighbouring Benin Republic, which examined the power dynamics and sexual relationships between male professors and students. Eller (2014) found that transactional sex is a means for female students to concurrently meet their economic needs, pass examinations (i.e. sexually transmitted grades), and achieve independence on campus. According to Eller, female university students do not engage in sexual relations with 'a single man who could exercise control over them, but with a changing and flexible network of men, none of who is able to wield power over them' (Honwana, 2013:44). In fact, Eller's (2014) study in Benin Republic largely substantiates Masvawure's (2010) in Zimbabwe, which was corroborated by Tade & Adekoya's (2012) study at the University of Ibadan, Nigeria, where the authors found that:

After an initial induction tutorial into 'runs'(transactional sex) by the experienced runs girls, the new initiate relies on the existing structure or connections of the experienced RGs to get 'aristos'.

Other strategies include hanging out at night, attending parties and positioning themselves where postgraduate students take their classes and/or recreate. This category of students includes professionals, corporate heads and personnel of organizations. It also includes politicians, government functionaries, military personnel on promotional courses (Tade & Adekoya, 2012:249; see also Masvawure, 2010; Barnett, Maticka-Tyndale and HP4RY Team, 2011).

A similar study by Weissman *et al* (2006), which addressed transactional sex among young people in Malawi, against the backdrop of gender constraints and HIV/AIDS prevention, adopts Save the Children's 'Continuum of Volition' perspective to explain their findings. The Continuum of Volition perspective:

suggests that we should not consider all young people as vulnerable and passive when they are involved in sexual relationships with persons who are older or more powerful. Rather, there are empowered young people who choose to engage in sexual relationships with older people for emotional security, such as sex for pleasure, sex as part of a love relationship, or potentially to demonstrate fertility and/or bear a child' (Weissman et al 2006:86).

Corroborating the foregoing study, Ngambouk (2011) in a Cameroonian study of the factors that predispose young women towards transactional sex reports that 'women's personal accumulation strategies are adaptive - drawing on time and space specific modes of capitalist accumulation and kinship systems of power ... which gave women the latitude to claim some form of sexual and economic agency' (Ngambouk, 2011:166). Regardless of the persuasiveness of the foregoing agency perspectives, the nuanced reading of Nigerian transactional sex literature strongly suggests that structural constraints, such poverty and limited opportunities, are also implicated in female university students' engagement in transactional sex.

Accordingly, structure and agency perspectives of transactional sex need not be dichotomous. Drawing on structural theory, structure and agency are interdependent and have recursive influences on social action, and vice versa. Therefore, scholars need to specify and describe how structural influences inform their participants' habitus, which patterns their active agencies or actions, in a manner that disqualifies singular notions of helplessness, determinism, or overly rationalist explanations of actions in situ. The foregoing deduction raises several critical questions. How, for example, do female university students comprehend and engage with contextual structures? Does their secretive engagement in transactional sex - a normatively undesirable means to achieve contextually desirable ends - signify passivity or active knowledgeable agencies?

Or is Hunter's (2002:57) claim, based on a study in South Africa, that women's engagement in transactional sex is an evidence of 'alternative forms of power' amidst structural constraints valid? Or is Masvawure (2010) conclusion, based on a study in Zimbabwe that students exploit transactional sex to avoid 'the usual encumbrances of emotional commitment and sexual exclusiveness associated with standard boyfriend/girlfriend relationships' equally valid? (2010: 858; see also Smith, 2010). Perhaps, it is Smith's observation, based on a study in eastern Nigeria that 'many young Nigerian women allude to having more than one sugar daddy, each of whom might be encouraged to play a different role economically - a fact underscored by the playful use of the terms Commissioner of Education, Commissioner of Transportation, Commissioner of Housing, and Commissioner of Finance to describe a particular man's contribution' that is more valid (2010:134).

A rigorous analysis of the above queries may suggest that the variables listed are not mutually exclusive, nor exhaustive. It is most likely that a combination of two or more of the above-listed influences on transactional sex empirically informs female university students' position-practices in relation to transactional sex - dependent on individual needs, contexts, constraints and enablement. For example, the need to acquire articles of modernity, which facilitates being flashy and elevates female university students' statuses on campus is as important in any sociological analysis as subsistence imperatives, gendered sexual scripts, and so on, which cumulatively pre-script transactional sex interactions. Consequently, the major argument of this thesis is that any robust accounting for female university students' transactional sex must accommodate the concurrent influence of multiple and interrelated *structures* and *knowledgeable agencies*. In other words, the central and dominant variables determining entrance into, and the practice of transactional sex, are to be concurrently found in *contextual structures* and *active agencies* of the female university students.

CHAPTER 3
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The review of Nigerian transactional sex literature in Chapter 2 demonstrate that transactional sex is a ‘bifurcated event’ – neither fully a market transaction nor a fulfilment of private desires (Zatz, 1997:303). Probably as a consequence, dominant accounts tend to be empirical - prima-facie non-theoretical. Accordingly, existing transactional sex literature in Nigeria offer little help in relation to suggesting a useful action theory that concurrently considers structure and agency as interrelated and recursive (repetitive) drivers of transactional sex. Nevertheless, there are several action theories in sociology that would advance this thesis’ core objective of bringing agency³⁷ back into a predominantly structure³⁸-oriented transactional sex literature. The theorists I will considered includes Max Weber, Michel Foucault, James Coleman and Anthony Giddens’ action theories.

3.1 Max Weber’s Action Theory

A potentially useful theory for this thesis, which may have influenced some transactional sex scholarship in Nigeria, is Max Weber’s actor-centric³⁹ social action theory, which is grounded on a means-ends consideration. I so classify Weber’s action theory because Webber simultaneously advocates the consideration of (1) actors’ subjective meanings, (2) actors’ action orientations towards others, and (3) actors’ purposefully directed action (instrumental means) at given ends as they pattern society.

³⁷ Agency, for this thesis may be defined in a variety of ways. For example, agency ‘concern events of which an individual is the perpetrator, in the sense that the individual could, at any phase in a given sequence of conduct, have acted differently’ (Giddens, 1984:9). Alternatively, agency is ‘the capacity of actors to critically shape their own responsiveness to problematic situations’ (Emirbayer & Mische, 1998:971); or ‘concerns the nature of individual freedom in the face of social constraints, the role of socialisation in the forming of “persons” and the place of particular ways of doing things in the reproduction of culture’ (Gardner, 2004:1). Although agency is primarily motivated by intended and salutary consequences, this does not obviate the fact that unforeseen and unintended consequences do follow purposeful action. This is why agency does not mainly concern intentions but the effects we cause, not our intentions, in society.

³⁸ ‘Structure is both medium and outcome of reproduction of practices. Structure enters simultaneously into the constitution of the agent and social practices, and 'exists' in the generating moments of this constitution’ (Giddens, 1979:5).

³⁹ Weber classifies action into two self-explanatory categories - meaningful action and reactive behaviour.

That is, unlike methods used in the natural sciences, Weber's action theory combines objective knowledge and hermeneutic understanding of action as conditioned by contextual socio-economic patterned beliefs, ideas and conceptions in a social research programme whose validity is determinable by the logical structure of the investigation. Critically for Weber, 'social action which includes both failure to act and passive acquiescence, may, be oriented to the past, present, or expected future behaviour of others (Weber, 1978:22).

The utility of Weber's action theory and method for this thesis is to be found in his guiding definition of sociology as 'a science which attempts the interpretive understanding of social action,' such as the students' transactional sex, in order to arrive at a causal explanation for its cause, course and consequences with *verstehen* or interpretive understanding (Weber, 1978:4). Leveraging Weber's *verstehen* construct, the central task (among others) for this thesis, is to understand and unpack the students 'actual existing meaning in the given concrete case of a particular actor' and/or 'to the average or approximate meaning attributable to a given plurality of actors' for their action (Weber, 1978:4). More interestingly, action or transactional sex in the Weberian action framework is social only if it is oriented towards the behaviour of other social agents, such as the sugar-daddies, who are implicated in transactional sex.

With Weber's notion of interpretive understanding, one would elaborate how consciously thinking and reflective individuals, such as female university students, interact with male sexual partners via purposive or rational action, whose collectives create and maintain the transactional sex system⁴⁰ in Nigeria. In particular, one would tease-out how the conducts of female university students becomes action, 'insofar as the acting individual attaches a subjective meaning to his (or her) behaviour – be it overt or covert, omission or acquiescence' (Weber, 1978:4). In addition, one would interrogate 'both failure to act and passive acquiescence' of female university students; and how they are 'oriented to the past, present, or expected future behaviour of others' (Weber, 1978:22; words in parenthesis, by author).

As can be inferred from the above conceptualization of action, Weberian social

⁴⁰ Systems are 'reproduced relations between actors or collectivities as regular social practices' (1979:66).

action covers a wide spectrum of social agents' activities, such as transactional sex. This is because female university students have (1) subjective meanings for their actions, (2) their actions are orientated towards their male sexual partners and (3) their actions are directed at given ends. Moreover, female university students' engagement in transactional sex, from a Weberian action perspective, is social because they know from living in the Nigerian socio-economic context that males value, and are willing to pay for the sexual services they offer in both fleeting and semi-permanent relationships, which are patterned by shared expectations of service and payment.

Operationally, Weber's action research programme mandates the deduction, from Nigerian transactional sex literature, what their authors' document that consciously thinking and reflexive female university students' claim influenced or determined their entry and/or remaining in transactional sex (social action). This objective will be achieved by unpacking female university students' socioeconomic context patterned 'vocabularies, phrases or outlooks, which, far from being rationalizations or mystifications of interests, act as motive forces for action itself'⁴¹ (Walton, 1971:391). Towards this end, Weber developed a four-fold classification of ideal-types of social action, and meaning orientations, which would facilitate an empathetic and causal explanation of female university students' transactional sex. However, Weber cautions that the ideal action type:

in its conceptual purity ... cannot be found empirically anywhere in reality. It is a utopia. Historical research faces the task of determining in each individual case, the extent to which this ideal-construct approximates or diverges from reality (Weber, 1949:90).

With the above caveat in mind, the first category of Weber's ideal action type is instrumentally rational action. For this thesis, unpacking instrumentally rational action would entail interrogating students' knowledge and expectations of male customers' sexual behaviour, which are the conditions or the means of their own 'rationally pursued and calculated ends' (Weber, 1978:24). Weber called the second action type value-rational, which is 'determined by a conscious belief in the value for its own sake, of some ethical,

⁴¹ This approach is informed by Walton's re-interpretation of C. Wright Mills' (1940) earlier interpretation of Weber's notion of 'complex of subjective meaning' (Weber, 1966:98).

aesthetic, religious, or other form of behaviour, independently of its prospects of success' (Weber, 1978:25). Based on the review of literature, this classification does not apply to students' transactional sex in Nigeria because female university students do not engage in transactional sex 'for its own sake or toward some ethical, aesthetic, religious end' (Weber, 1978:25). Instead, the students enter and remain practitioners of transactional sex, until they graduate or secure a husband, for very specific ends, such as meeting their modernist consumption wants.

Furthermore, Weber describes 'affectual' or emotional kind of action, which is conditioned by the students' dispositional and emotional states (Weber, 1978:25). Affectual action, and its influence on transactional sex, is under-researched in Nigeria. Regardless, it is very likely that affectual or emotional states may initially or subsequently orient the students towards entering or remaining in transactional sex work, and/or attachments to particular clients. Finally, the fourth kind of action is traditional action, which Weber argues is 'determined by ingrained habituation' - driven by socialisation, experience and actors' need for ontological security⁴² (Weber, 1978:25). At first glance, one would conclude that the traditional class of action does not apply to this thesis because no tradition or culture on earth normatively prescribe transactional sex for women. Regardless, the traditional action type may assume explanatory prominence among female university students several years after entering transactional sex (i.e. as habituation progresses).

Additionally, Weber developed empirical research guidelines that would facilitate sociologists' investigation of the meaning and consequences of purposive action. The first research guide specifies that investigators be empathetic and accurate. In Weber's formulation, this implies that researchers ought to acquire 'a completely clear intellectual grasp of the action-elements' through an understanding and appreciation of 'the emotional context in which the action (transactional sex) took place' or thrives (Weber, 1978:5). Moreover, Weber cautions sociologists on the likelihood of bias towards the action under investigation because of differences in values and ends between female university students and researchers. In Weber's own words the more radically [the ends] differ from our own

⁴² 'Confidence or trust that the natural and social worlds are as they appear to be, including the basic existential parameters of self and social identity' (Giddens, 1984:375).

ultimate values, the more difficult it is for us to understand them empathically' (Weber, 1978:5). For example, while I may analytically understand why the students engage in transactional sex, it is unlikely that I would be as sympathetic, as Weber cautioned, towards the students' seeming means-ends rationalities.

Irrespective of the robustness and coherency of Weber's action theory and allied research methods, and his stipulation that the action categories are methodological devices, Weber's action theory is limited by a number of shortcomings. The first limitation of Weber's action framework is that female university students' meanings for engaging in transactional sex will be hardly the same at the beginning, during and after their actions. This is mainly because 'actors in any given situation are often subject to opposing and conflicting impulses' dependent of the dynamic wants, needs, times and location (Weber, 1978: 10). Consequently, which motive or meaning advanced by female university students for engaging in transactional sex should an investigator focus upon?

The second limitation is Weber's curious recommendation that the so-called irrational and affectual actions be treated 'as factors of deviation' from his preferred ideal type - instrumental rational action (Weber, 1978:6). In essence, non-rational action or 'emotional reactions as anxiety, anger, ambition, envy, jealousy, love, enthusiasm, pride, vengefulness, loyalty, devotion, and appetites of all sorts, and to the 'irrational' conduct which grows out of them' are to be treated as comparatively error-ridden, deviations, ambiguities, and uncertainties (Weber, 1978:25). Are we to assume that non-rational action, such as love, hate or loyalty, which are ways of perceiving and engaging with the world lack instrumental ends even though our daily experiences suggest otherwise? Furthermore, what happens if female university students, who Weber proposes are knowledgeable and reflexive agents, advance non-rational reasons for entering transactional sex? For example, entering transactional sex to annoy or force parents' attention; or to reduce boredom. Do we reject such answers or explanations as irrational despite Weber's advocacy of *verstehen* (understanding)?

The third limitation of Weber's action theory is that he seemingly ignores the need for a social analysis of societal resource-access-control issues and power asymmetries (e.g. their sources, origins and maintenance schemes), which breed domination, conflict and inequality in social life that disadvantages female university students in a manner that limits

and/or over-emphasizes instrumental action. In other words, Weber seems to conflate power with social actors' wills, determination and intentions thereby neglecting the role of unequal resource and power distribution in patterning social action.

The fourth limitation of Weber's social action theory is that he seemingly conflates social meanings (conventions) of action with actor's cited reasons (intentions) for action. Additionally, Weber excessively focuses on conscious action and meaning and side-tracks the unconscious as an important motivation for action in situ; in his exclusion of reaction as an action category. Furthermore, Weber did not advance reasons for social actors' repeated adherence to expectations and conventions – although he presents a good analysis of how social actors interpret them. Neither does Weber deal with situations where actions are unexpected by the students or what happens when the students and their male sexual partners do not adhere to expected norms guiding transactional sex (e.g. violent episodes). For the reasons discussed above, this thesis will not use Max Weber's action theory because it seems too interpretive. That is, Weber's account of action places significant emphasis on research participants' unstable meanings, understanding, values and reconstructed accounts of their actions and a dissimilar emphasis on their structures.

3.2 Michel Foucault and Sexuality

The next theory I considered was Michel Foucault's (1980) repressive sexuality construct, which presents sexuality as the product discourse, ubiquitous power/knowledge ..., embodiment and self-reflexivity – seemingly without active agents (see Turner, 1984). Foucault takes the view that human agents are not active because humans, according to him, are only recently discursively constructed in history. In Foucault's own words, 'man is only a recent invention, a figure not yet two centuries old, and... he will disappear again as soon as ... knowledge has discovered a new form' (Foucault, 1994: xxiii). For Foucault therefore, sexuality is not a product of structure-agency interactions but governed and made manifest by disciplinary power and discourse, which suppresses perversion and produces docile or inactive bodies. With the foregoing epistemological stance, Foucault dissolves agency into disciplinary power and discourse.

Elaborating on the dissolved agency theme, Foucault claims that 'the subject who knows, the object to be known and the modalities of knowledge must be regarded as so

many effects of the fundamental implications of power/knowledge and their historical transformations' (Foucault, 1991:27). In essence, agency is not a self-evident property of human beings but established by ubiquitous power relations - and that 'power is everywhere' (Foucault, 1978:93). Based on the foregoing structuralist conceptualization of humans and action in society, agency in Foucault's view, cannot be determined before a subject's constitution within power relations. That is, agency does not precede situated agents; nor is agency a property of, or innate quality of a man or woman. With this conceptual move, Foucault dissolves knowledgeable and active agents – presenting actors in context as subsumed in autonomous and self-referential discourse, which are themselves produced by the exercise of power and discourse (Foucault, 2000). Critiquing Foucault's denial of active agency, Giddens observes that:

That 'history has no subject' can be readily accepted. But Foucault's history tends to have no active subjects at all. It is history with the agency removed. The individuals who appear in Foucault's analyses seem impotent to determine their own destinies. (Giddens, 1987:98)

For this thesis, which seeks to bring agency into a dominantly structural transactional sex literature in Nigeria, Foucault's expressed denial of human agent's creative (and/or destructive) role in society, and his analysis of agency as a product of complex power relations and discourse, is a significant constraint. Drawing on a comprehensive and critical review of literature, transactional sex is not a subjectless activity, nor is it primarily a product of autonomous 'discursive practices' (see Newton, 1998). Neither are the 'bodies' or participants in transactional sex altogether docile or repressed by ubiquitous power (see Osezua, 2013; Tade & Adekoya, 2012; Smith, 2010).

In other words, even though the students' transactional sex are bound up with modern institutional constraints and their concurrent enablement, their reported active quest for sugar daddies, participation in sexual acts, concerted attempts to keep their participation in transactional sex a secret from significant others, such as parents, are unequivocal testaments of their knowledgeable and active agency – patterned by structural constraints/enablement of course (see Osezua, 2013; Tade & Adekoya, 2012; Smith, 2010; Omoregie et al 2003). We should recall that agency 'refers not to the intentions people have in doing things but ... concerns events of which an individual is the perpetrator, in the sense

that the individual could, at any phase in a given sequence of conduct, have acted differently' (Giddens, 1984:9). There is little doubt that the students could have acted differently, for example discontinue, even after their first participation in transactional sex.

Moreover, the review of transactional sex literature strongly indicates that the students' transactional sexual acts are neither entirely constrained by disciplinary-patriarchal power nor the dictates of reproduction because the students engage in normatively illicit transactional sex. In fact, students seem to exploit features of patriarchal power, such as near-compulsory heteronormativity⁴³ and allied sexual double standards in Nigeria, to secure the transfer of cash and other articles of modernity from male patrons to themselves (see Tade & Adekoya, 2012; Olugbile, Abu & Adelokun, 2008). Another testament to the students' keen awareness that transactional sex is normatively stigmatized in Nigeria is that while they participate in transactional sex with subterfuge – exploiting the security and freedoms associated with university campuses, they take extraordinary precautions to keep their participation secret by attributing accumulated wealth to parents, relatives and benevolent uncles (see Tade & Adekoya, 2012; Aderinto, 2012; Ankomah et al 2011; Barnett, Maticka-Tyndale & HP4RY Team, 2011). Female university students' knowledgeable and active agencies, described above, collectively challenge Foucault's repressive hypothesis of sexuality wherein discourse and disciplinary power produce docile bodies.

Unlike Foucault, I conceptualize transactional sex as concurrently a societal and human achievement, and/or vice – depending on one's point of view. In fact, I consider Foucault's claim that 'the subject who knows, the object to be known and the modalities of knowledge must be regarded as so many effects of the fundamental implications of power/knowledge and their historical transformations' as an incomplete perspective of action in situ (Foucault, 1991:27). Indeed, the subject who knows, the object to be known are concurrently accessible to investigators from individuals and groups own accounts of

⁴³ 'By heteronormativity we mean the institutions, structures of understanding and practical orientations that make heterosexuality seem not only coherent – that is, organised as a sexuality – but also privileged. Its coherence is always provisional, and its privilege can take several (sometimes-contradictory) forms: unmarked, as the basic idiom of the personal and the social; or marked as a natural state; or projected as an ideal or moral accomplishment. It consists less of norms that could be summarized as a body of doctrine than of a sense of rightness produced in contradictory manifestations – often unconscious, immanent to practice or to institutions' (Berlant & Warner, 1998:548).

their actions, detached observations, active participation, and from discourse. Moreover, this thesis falls under *scientia sexualis*, which Foucault condemns because practitioners, such as myself, ‘seek to know in order to organize’ or mitigate transactional sex with ‘liberal values, (which) are themselves inextricably expressions of domination’ (Turner, 1984:158).

Based on the above review, Foucault’s construct of sexuality is unsuitable for this thesis because it forces an investigator to adopt an incomplete perspective of transactional sex. This is because Foucault rejects ‘influences, traditions, causes, and continuities’ of action in context, which I believe give meaning and direction to female university students’ transactional sex within patriarchal and modernist capitalist formations (Polis, 1987:401, citing Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1983). In contrast, this thesis focuses on the aforementioned influences, traditions,⁴⁴ causes, and continuities, such as subsistence or livelihood insecurities, consumerism, romantic love, and so forth (Barnett, Maticka-Tyndale and HP4RY Team, 2011; Izugbara, 2005; Aghatise, 2004; Ojebode, Togunde & Adelokun, 2011). The thesis will equally focus on the students’ agency. Consequently, unlike Foucault who is too structuralist in his denial of human active agency; who is seemingly preoccupied with sexuality as resistance, and who insists on a focus on ‘how the subject is created by power-knowledge complexes of history’ (Shiner, 1982:387), this thesis is driven by the objective of unpacking how structure and agency (re)combine to authorize or compel female university students to take-up transactional sex – not necessarily as an oppositional practice.

3.3 James Coleman’s Rational Choice/Exchange Perspective

The third theorist I considered was James Coleman and his rational choice/exchange perspective of human action in situ. Similar to Foucault, James Coleman is interested in power – especially how power is distributed and accumulated in society, and not necessarily what power produces. In his own words, Coleman seeks to advance our ‘understanding of

⁴⁴ The thesis agrees with Giddens that ‘tradition ... is bound up with memory, specifically what Maurice Halbwachs term ‘collective memory’; it involves ritual; is connected with what I shall call a *formulaic notion of truth*; has ‘guardians’; and, unlike custom, has binding force which has a combined moral and emotional content (Giddens, 1996:14).

how natural persons can best satisfy their interests in a social system populated with large corporate actors' (Coleman 1990:651). Towards the foregoing end, Coleman stipulates that:

A minimal basis for a social system of action is two actors, each having control over resources of interest to the other. It is each one's interest in resources under the other's control that leads the two, as purposive actors, to engage in actions that involve each other (Coleman, 1990: 29).

The empirical utility of Coleman's rational choice perspective for this thesis would have been his emphasis on actors' connection to, and interest in resources, as they pattern their interest maximization drives through 'the transfer of control over one's action to another ... made unilaterally' (Coleman, 1990:198). This is likely why Coleman defined agents as individuals who are 'purposeful and goal directed, guided by interests and by the rewards and constraints imposed by the social environment' (Coleman 1986:1310). In a significant sense, Coleman's exchange theory evokes Zelizer (1996) theorization of situated agents' exploitation of varied forms of payment to organize, communicate, and set boundaries for different kinds of heterosexual relationships. For example:

Money as compensation implies an equal exchange of values and a certain distance, contingency, bargaining, and accountability among the parties. Money as an entitlement implies strong claims to power and autonomy by the recipient. Money as a gift implies subordination and arbitrariness (Zelizer, 1996:482).

For this thesis, adopting Coleman's rational choice perspective would necessitate changes to this thesis epistemological stance. First, it will entail the conceptualization of female university students' bodies and sexualities as commodities or exchangeable resources; which may be an inaccurate, perhaps a limited, conceptualization of the human body and sexuality. Second, adopting Coleman's perspective would necessitate accepting that female university students have singular motivation for engaging in transactional sex (instead of experientially multiple motivations), which is maximizing their material *interests* - (see Barnett, Maticka-Tyndale & HP4RY Team, 2011; Ojebode, Togunde & Adedokun, 2011; Aghatise, 2004; Ilesanmi & Lewis, 1997). Third, Coleman's perspective would entail the acceptance that there is a rationalist and shared consensus among actors (female university students and their male customers) 'over rights of control over action'

i.e. transactional sex (Coleman, 1990: 203–215; words in parenthesis, by author); when it is more likely that no such consensus exists because transactional sex relationships are continuously (re)negotiated as the material fortunes and statuses of participants rise or fall.

Thus, the promise of Coleman’s action theory is eroded by his insistence that social exchange primarily drives action and its structures, such as authority, systems of trust, collective behaviour, and norms in society. In addition, the utility of Coleman’s functionalist, contractarian and overly instrumentalists’ perspective of action is further diminished because he equates the expressive actions of agents in context with instinctive rationalities. Charles Tilly referred to this latter shortcoming as a neglect ‘to specify causal mechanisms’ (Tilly, 1997:85). This thesis is primarily interested in specifying these causal mechanisms, or influences, on female university students’ transactional sex; particularly how structure and agency (re)combine to compel or authorize the stigmatized action.

Moreover, Coleman erroneously assumed that the transfer of control from one purposive actor to another is ‘unblocked’ or unhindered by macro-level, meso-level and micro-level asymmetries, such as gender asymmetries (see Molyneux, 2002). Our experiences ‘being-in-the-world’ contradicts much of Coleman’s (1990) rational choice/exchange perspective of social action (Bleicher, 1980: 118, citing Heidegger, 1949). Such experiences suggest that social actors are not perpetually motivated by instrumental rationalities. Moreover, social actors are not ignorant of structural constraints and enablement, nor are they under the perpetual control of social forces, such as patriarchy, or slaves to their personal dispositions, such as hedonism and selfishness.

The critical review of several action theories, such as Max Webber, Foucault and Coleman discussed above indicates that the theories are strong on elaborating either structural or agential constraints on action. This is regardless of the fact that much of our actions in life are performed with unconscious, knowledgeable and active exploitation of prevalent structures (as rules and resources) for our ontological security – and not necessarily in (un)conscious opposition to the dominant societal structures. Consequently, I elect to sensitize this thesis with Anthony Giddens’ structuration theory, which accommodates the foregoing considerations.

3.4 Rationale for adopting Structuration Theory

Anthony Giddens structuration theory is appropriate for this thesis because it seeks to ‘escape from the dualism associated with subjectivism and objectivism,’ which is common in the social sciences and transactional sex literature (Giddens, 1984: xxvii). Giddens’ aim was to draw attention to the concurrency of structural constraints and enablement,⁴⁵ on the one hand, and social actors knowledgeable and active engagement with the same structures in their day-to-day lives, on the other. In addition, Giddens lays bare the fact that situated actors’ engagement with contextual structures, as transformative rules and resources, produces intended and unintended consequences that feed back into, and renews structure and agency (Giddens, 1984; 1979; 1976; see also Sewell, 1992; Emirbayer & Goodwin, 1994).

Moreover, unlike other action theories reviewed herein, structuration theory does not impose a third-party meaning, a priori, on active and situated agents’ activities. This is likely why Giddens claimed that ‘by the rationalization of action, I mean that actors - also routinely and for the most part without fuss - maintain a continuing ‘theoretical understanding’ of the grounds of their activity’ (Giddens, 1984:5), which are available in published Nigerian transactional sex literature. Indeed, with structuration theory as a sensitizing device, female university students are conceived as possessing discursive consciousness, which approximates ‘what actors are able to say, or give verbal expression to, about social conditions, including especially the conditions of their own action; awareness which has a discursive form’ (Giddens, 1984:374).

In fact, as knowledgeable, purposive and active agents, female university students have reasons for their activities and are ‘able, if asked, to elaborate discursively upon those reasons (including lying about them)’ (Giddens, 1984:3). Such narratives are available in transactional sex literature. The foregoing strengths of structuration theory makes it amenable to this thesis objective of discovering, interrogating and re-orientating various reasons female university students give for participating in transactional sex, which are available in published transactional sex literature.

⁴⁵ Structure manifest to social actors as rules and resources (Giddens, 1984). While resources enable, constrain and increase social actors options and alternatives, rules tell actors the normative appropriateness or rank order of their preferences among bounded alternatives (see Bauman, 1999).

Finally, sensitizing this thesis with structuration theory additionally reveals that the students have relational and authoritative power. This implies that female university students' participation in transactional sex may more accurately be a demonstration of their concurrent autonomy from, and dependence on, near-compulsory heteronormativity in Nigeria, which privilege males, for their ontological security. Female university students accrue relational and authoritative power from their being gendered as women in society, their socialisation and sexual self-presentations. They routinely augment their gendered socialisation with information, resources and sexual practices reflexively gathered from society, drawing on and working on their gendered socialisation and agential adaptation (especially ideological manipulation and adaptation) of prevailing sexuality mores about what they can do, or cannot do, sexually in Nigeria.

Giddens conceives such relational and authoritative power, which the students routinely exercise for their sexual self-constitution, 'the dialectic of control' (Giddens 1984:374). The dialectic of control, in relation to peers and heterosexual sexual partners, which arises despite (or because of) structural constraints, approximates how 'the less powerful manages resources in such a way as to exert control over the more powerful in established power relationship' (Giddens 1984:374). Giddens' stance on power facilitates this thesis operationalization of power relations as:

sustained in the regularised practices constituting social systems (which) can be considered as reproduced relations of autonomy and dependence in interactions. Domination refers to structured asymmetries of resources drawn upon and reconstituted in such power relations. "Domination" here is used in the sense of "permitting dominion over", "dominion" concerning the sway actors have over others, and over the material world they inhabit (Giddens, 1981:50; words in parenthesis by author).

3.5 Structuration Theory

To presume the structuration of transactional sex (a social action within a social system), is 'to study the ways in which that system, via the application of generative rules and resources, and in the context of unintended outcomes, is produced and reproduced in interaction' by virtue of structural duality (Giddens, 1979:66). Analytically, structures are virtual and not physical entities that are external to situated social agents. Structures, broadly conceived as patterning institutions and the agencies they pattern, endow situated agents with practical consciousness or the knowledge about how to carry-on in social life;

and with the discursive consciousness or the capacities to generate and narrate socially (in)appropriate accounts of their actions, which are governed by structural duality (Giddens, 1984). For this thesis, the (un)consciousness of female university students, as knowledgeable and active agents, are set against the background of increasing commodification of life wherein ‘every item of culture becomes a commodity and becomes subordinated to the logic of the market either through a direct, economic mechanism or an indirect, psychological one’ (Bauman, 1987:166).

The construct of structural duality invites our consideration of how structure is ‘the medium and outcome of the conduct it recursively organizes’ (Giddens, 1984:374). That is, proposing the structuration of transactional sex requires the illumination of how ‘the properties of the elements of social phenomena’ (transactional sex), ‘obtain many of their characteristics from the larger phenomena of which they are a part’ (the Nigerian and/or global patriarchal and sexuality systems⁴⁶), ‘while the larger entities obtain their characteristics mostly from the relations between the parts (e.g. societal and self-sexualisation, sexual self-presentations, heteronormativity, and so forth) of which they are composed’ (Cohen, 1968:11-12; words in parenthesis, by author). In essence, while not necessarily seeking to reproduce or maintain social systems and society, female university students manage perceived structural constraints by leveraging their concurrent enablement by the same structures, especially their knowledge of activities they can engage-in such as transactional sex, to manage encountered and/or perceived constraints for their ontological security.

3.6 Structure in Structuration Theory

According to Giddens, ‘human social activities, like some self-reproducing items in nature, are recursive (or repetitive) ... In and through their activities agents reproduce the conditions that make these activities possible’ (1984:2; words in parenthesis, by author). The condition that make society and interaction possible is broadly speaking, the social structure, which is comparable to a two-sided coin. On one side of the structuration coin

⁴⁶ Social systems are ‘regularised patterns of interaction involving individuals and groups; they are not structures in themselves, but ... “have” structures, in the sense that they are structured by rules and resources’ (Thompson, 1989:60, original italics).

are rules and resources bundles emanating from modernist capitalist formations, which seemingly prescribe privatisation and commodification of life,⁴⁷ and on the other side are the active agencies that structures pattern, such as the commodification of intimate relationships, and vice versa, through the twin process of socialisation and adaptation.

Relevant socialisation and adapted position-practices of the students include those identified by Twenge (2006) that agents of socialisation ‘promote the equally powerful concepts of socially sanctioned self-focus, the unquestioned importance of the individual, and an unfettered optimism about young people's future prospects’ (Twenge, 2006:72) – often realizable within the constraints and enablement of transformative rules and resources – or structure.

Structure is composed of constraining and enabling rules, which are generalizable procedures, rights, obligations, organizing norms and interpretive schemes that knowledgeable and active agents have as stocks of knowledge because of their contextual socialisation, and tendencies for rule-practice adaptation (Giddens, 1984). Knowledgeable and active agents, such as female university students, tacitly know these often informal and widely sanctioned heteronormative rules and resources, and monitor peer conducts with practical consciousness, assimilating and adapting accruing lessons, which they draw-on and work-on to participate in transactional sex, and when asked, rationalize their activities discursively. Intergenerationally, female university students’ ‘routinization of (transactional sex) encounters is of major significance in binding the fleeting encounter to social reproduction and thus to the seeming 'fixity' of institutions,’ such as transactional sex (Giddens, 1984:72).

Returning to rules or norms as a sub-component of one side of the structurationist coin, for example, several fashion rules or norms, traditionally categorized as self-obsession, have attained the status of near-compulsory fashion rules today, and orient female university students towards transactional sex to accumulate cash for fashion compliance. Twenge (2006) list some of these rules and resources of appearance obsession

⁴⁷ The process is panoptic, such that ‘every item of culture becomes a commodity and becomes subordinated to the logic of the market either through a direct, economic mechanism or an indirect, psychological one’ (Bauman, 1987:166).

that female university students can hardly afford that they nevertheless crave, which orients them towards transactional sex. According to Twenge, ‘more and more people every year get nose jobs, breast implants, facelifts, and a long list of less invasive procedures like Botox, injections and lip plumping. Eyebrow waxing has become a near requirement for women, and today's body-hugging fashions are enough to make women long for the big-shirt-and-leggings days of the early 1990s’ (2006:94). Apparently, modernist capitalist ethos, such as looking good now equals feeling good and living well as they are promoted by key agents of socialisation, such as the family, mass media and peers.

In structurationist terms therefore, there are three kinds of rules that are implicated in transactional sex. The first set of rules that govern action are the rules of signification, which approximates female university students’ shared understandings of the dominant heterosexuality in Nigeria, which they access from their societal and self-socialisation and sexualisation, peer ideologies, the mass media, the reflexive monitoring of peers, and so forth, which projects transactional sex as a means of mitigating actual and perceived structural constraints. The second set of rules are the rules of legitimation, for example, sexual activities as media for personal pleasure and self-fulfilment, which are reinforced by the prevalent normative order. The prevalent normative order is:

morally ‘adiaphoric’ (indifferent, neutral) ..., thereby relieving the actors of responsibility for each other: that unconditional responsibility which love, for better or worse, promises and struggles to build and preserve. ‘The creation of a good and lasting mutual relationship’, in stark opposition to seeking enjoyment through objects of consumption, ‘requires enormous effort’— a point that the ‘pure relationship’ emphatically denies, in the name of some other values among which the ethically fundamental responsibility for the other does not figure (Bauman, 2007:22).

The third set of rules implicated in transactional sex are the rules of domination, such as those emanating from patriarchal socio-political and economic arrangements, and other gender asymmetries, which seemingly compel female university students to adopt transactional sex to mitigate allied constraints. It is important to reiterate at this juncture that structural influences, for this thesis, are essentially set against the backdrop of modernist capitalist transformative rules and resources under which female university students are socialized and are sexualized by key institutions making-up the social

structure; and socialize and sexualize themselves through adaptation of capitalist sexualities.⁴⁸ Hay (2005) describes the essential features of, and theory supporting, modernist capitalist formations as:

political-economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating (individual and collective) entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private rights, free markets, and free trade. The role of the state is to create and preserve an institutional framework appropriate to such practices. The state has to guarantee, for example the quality and integrity of money. It must also set up those military, defence, police, and legal structures and functions required to secure private property rights and to guarantee, by force if need be, the proper functioning of the markets. Furthermore, if markets do not exist (in areas such as land, water, education, health care, social security, or environmental pollution) then they must be created, by state action if necessary. But beyond these tasks the state should not venture...according to this theory, the state cannot possibly possess enough information to second-guess market signals (prices) and because powerful interest groups will inevitably distort and bias state interventions (particularly in democracies) for their own benefit (Harvey 2005:2).

However, the above-described contradictory and conflict-prone processes of structural socialisation of female university students for unregulated individualism and consumerism are not bereft of their agential (unconscious and/or conscious) collusion. This idea is excellently captured by Frank (2000):

Market populism was just the thing for a social order requiring constant doses of legitimacy. Taking as fact the notion that business gives people what they want, market populism proceeds to build all manner of populist fantasies: Of businessmen as public servants; of industrial and cultural production as a simple reflection of popular desire, of the box office as voting booth. By consuming the fruits of industry, we the people are endorsing the industrial system, voting for it in a plebiscite far more democratic than a mere election.... Since markets express the will of the people, virtually any criticism of business could be described as an act of despicable contempt for the common man... (Frank, 2000:30).

Through structural and self-socialisation, examples of which are described above, female university students are converted into Millennials⁴⁹ or members of 'Me' (born

⁴⁸ Capitalist sexuality encompass bio-social sexual practices bereft of traditional reproductive and emancipatory contents, and as a consequence, are deployed primarily for one individual to realize often immediate private goals, such as good grades, cash, electronic gadgets, and so forth, which temporarily mitigates their subsistence and/or consumerist needs and/or wants, and for the other individual's realization of their private sexual needs, wants and/or fantasies without entangling emotions and societal responsibilities.

⁴⁹ Joel Stein, a writer for Time Magazine, catalogues the position-practices or action orientations of the Millennials in the USA, which is likely applicable to their peers in Nigeria. According to Stein (2013), 'the incidence of narcissistic

between 1980-2000s) generation whose defining characteristics seem to be individualism or narcissism, and instant materialist gratification (Stein, 2013). It is important to note that each generation of students seem more narcissistic than previous generations because of the panoptic reach of modernist capitalist formations, the students' socialisation, and their propensities to actively adapt modernist capitalist ethos. Consequently, in place of structuring traditions, modernist capitalist institutions, via their rules and resources, compel 'a psychic reorganisation' and exploration of the self 'as part of a reflective process of connecting personal and social change' – accentuating individualism, instant gratification through consumerism, and other immediate, materialist and sensory pleasures (Giddens 1991:32). For example, common on various university campuses in Nigeria are features related to keeping-up with the Joneses described by Twenge (2006):

college students are fully engrained into these attitudes-the new trend is designer dorm rooms with coordinated bedding and new couches. College kids spend \$2.6 billion a year on decorating their spaces, about \$1,200 each on average. Materialism is the most obvious outcome of a straightforward, practical focus on the self: you want more things for yourself. You feel entitled to get the best in life: the best clothes, the best house, the best car. You're special; you deserve special things (Twenge, 2006:100).

The sway of instant materialist gratification everywhere is such that 'it did not occur to either the managers of capitalist factories, nor the preachers of modern reason that the two enemies (reality and pleasure) could strike a deal and become allies, that pleasure could be miraculously transmogrified into the mainstay of reality and that the search for pleasure could become the major (and sufficient) instrument of pattern maintenance' (Bauman,

personality disorder is nearly three times as high for people in their 20's as for the generation that's now 65 or older, according to the National Institutes of Health; 58% more college students scored higher on a narcissism scale in 2009 than in 1982. Millennials got so many participation trophies growing up that a recent study showed that 40% believe they should be promoted every two years, regardless of performance. They are fame-obsessed: three times as many middle school girls want to grow up to be a personal assistant to a famous person as want to be a Senator, according to a 2007 survey; four times as many would pick the assistant job over CEO of a major corporation. They're so convinced of their own greatness that the National Study of Youth and Religion found the guiding morality of 60% of millennials in any situation is that they'll just be able to feel what's right. Their development is stunted: more people ages 18 to 29 live with their parents than with a spouse, according to the 2012 Clark University Poll of Emerging Adults. And they are lazy. In 1992, the nonprofit Families and Work Institute reported that 80% of people under 23 wanted to one day have a job with greater responsibility; 10 years later, only 60% did' (Stein, 2013:1; see also Twenge, 2006).

2002:187). More precisely, the power and attractiveness of modernist capitalist value-orientations reside in their increasing emphasis of individual rights, which is increasingly realized through consumerism, and a concurrent de-emphasis of previously ascribed and entrenched basis for (dis)advantage that are based on class, gender and ethnicity (Bauman 2007; Sennett, 1998). This is how modernist capitalism erodes the previous stranglehold of tradition, religion, class, the family, gender, ethnicity and environmental stewardship, which would have constrained female university students' exploitation of transactional sex for their various identity construction and maintenance projects.

In addition, psychic reorganisations among female university students are especially promoted by modernist capitalist formations, technologies and projects, such as the contraceptive revolution, fashion and various human rights projects, which in turn promote female university students' reflexive⁵⁰ and knowledgeable structural penetration – especially those relating to fast and efficient ways to circumnavigate contextual heteronormative rules and resource constraints that disadvantage them. The preceding structural context, and female university students position-practices, offer transformational rules and resources which elevate their subscription to, and practice of, 'institutionalised individualism⁵¹' (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim 2002:xxi; Giddens, 1991); amorality, avarice, shamelessness, and materialist oriented exploitation⁵² of their sexuality, as a form of relational power and resource, to obtain advantages they would ordinarily not have because of society gendering them as women. The foregoing description of female university students corroborates Bauman's observation that:

⁵⁰ 'It is the specifically reflexive form of knowledgeability of human agents that is most deeply involved in the recursive ordering of social practices' (Giddens, 1984:3).

⁵¹ Institutionalized individualism is driven by 'central institutions of modern society – basic civil, political and social rights... [which] are geared to the individual and not to the group. Insofar as basic rights are internalized and everyone wants to or must be economically active to earn their livelihood, the spiral of individualization destroys the given foundations of social coexistence. So – to give a simple definition – "individualization" means disembedding without reembedding' (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002:xxi-xxii).

⁵² It is important to reiterate that this thesis does not take any moral stance on the students' position-practices described above because they are products of their largely involuntary situatedness at the intersection of historical change, institutional contradictions and constructivist biographies. Nevertheless, the emergent character of female university students may be contrasted with those concerning 'the personal traits which we value in ourselves and for which we seek to be valued by others' (Sennett, 1998:10).

The concepts of responsibility and responsible choice, which resided before in the semantic field of ethical duty and moral concern for the Other, have shifted or have been moved to the realm of self-fulfilment and the calculation of risks. In the process, 'the Other' as the trigger, the target and the yardstick of a responsibility recognized, assumed and fulfilled has all but disappeared from view, elbowed out or overshadowed by the actor's own self. 'Responsibility' now means, first and last, responsibility to oneself ('you owe this to yourself', 'you deserve it', as the traders in 'relief from responsibility' put it), while 'responsible choices' are, first and last, those moves serving the interests and satisfying the desires of the self (Bauman, 2007:92).

A good example of female university students' psychic reorganisations despite traditions and contextually constraining rules, is their ubiquitous preference for anatomy revealing clothing, leveraged for sexual self-presentations and identity communications, which scholars of sexuality and Nigerian university authorities consider indecent and legislate against (Asaju, 2013; Fayokun, Adedeji & Oyebade, 2009). Rules, in this instance, are composed of contextual guides for dressing (university dress codes). University dress codes are supposed to inform students about how they can dress, or cannot dress, on university campuses. Regardless, female university students reportedly circumvent university dress codes by leveraging their knowledge of the larger societal fashion and mass media's sexualized models that are more compelling than university prescribed dress codes. More critically, female university students are said to dress indecently, unlike how they would normally dress under the purview of familial and traditional surveillance, which allegedly nurture environments for sexual harassment (Asaju, 2013; Fayokun, Adedeji & Oyebade, 2009).

In concert with transformational rules, the same side of structure under discussion, which was earlier compared to a two-sided coin, offer situated agents' transformative resources, which are of the authoritative and allocative kinds. Authoritative resources are 'non-material resources involved in the generation of power, deriving from the capability of harnessing the activities of human beings; authoritative resources result from the dominion of some actors over others.' In contrast, 'allocative resources constitute the material basis for action or resources involved in the generation of power, including the natural environment and physical artefacts; allocative resources derive from human domination over nature' (Giddens, 1984:373). Combined, structural rules and resources facilitate female university students 'capabilities of making things happen,' bringing about

‘particular states of affairs’ – and for this thesis, participating in transactional sex (Giddens, 1981:170).

Authoritative resources, for example, being beautiful, charismatic and/or having a sexy physique, endow female university students who possess these attributes, with the capacity to manipulate, control, influence, and/or coordinate the sexual compliance of male intimate sexual partners – already in the market for transactional sex. In contrast, female university students seek and leverage allocative resources, such as sexy dressing and communication gadgets, to secure ‘material products or aspects of the material world’ such as securing targeted males sexual/emotional compliance and cash transfers, which would have been uncontrollable without allocative resources (Giddens, 1984 p.xxxvi; see Tade & Adekoya, 2012; Aderinto, 2012).

3.7 Agency in Structuration Theory

Regardless of the compelling nature of modernist capitalist formations, whose rules and resources, over time, transforms into structures, it is this thesis contention that Nigerians, particularly female university students, do not passively engage with structural rules and resources, as they know or imagine them, and as they unfold in situ.⁵³ On the contrary, majority of Nigerians, especially female university students, desire and embrace modernist capitalist rules and resources - especially their materialist and symbolic standards of being. Female university students’ active subscription to, or embrace of modernist capitalist rules and resources, conditions, patterns or configures their agencies, which to reiterate ‘concerns events of which an individual is the perpetrator, in the sense that the individual could, at any phase in a given sequence of conduct, have acted differently’ in a context populated by interacting actors (Giddens, 1984:9).

It is unequivocal that female university students could act differently at different stages that culminate in transactional sex, such as the contemplative, active and post-active stages of transactional sex. Female university students’ agencies, or the possibility of their doing otherwise, is accentuated by the relative freedom that students enjoy on university

⁵³ This is because ‘individuals may operate with false theories, descriptions or accounts both of the context of their own action and of the characteristics of more encompassing social systems’ (Giddens, 1984:92).

campuses, which are sites for freedom and identity formation, in comparison to the traditional past, because of important achievements of various movements and institutions in society, such as human rights projects (see Bauman, 2007; 2008; Giddens, 1992). The preceding claim is easily supported with Ericsson ConsumerLab (2015) study in Nigeria, which demonstrates that students in Nigeria constitute (45%) of internet users in Africa, with active agencies, the second side of the structurationist coin (see Terragon Insights, 2013; Ericsson ConsumerLab, 2015). The Ericsson ConsumerLab report, which aims to highlight the underlying desires of consumers in Nigeria, declares that:

From the marketplace to the boardroom, from schools to households, the free flow of ideas and information shapes our lives and our everyday decisions. Having access to relevant information at any time and location has become integral for consumers across the globe. Nigeria is no different, with its growing economy and a population that is eager to explore new ways of performing different activities (Ericsson ConsumerLab, 2015:3; Broadcasting Board of Governors, online).

In an unrelated and unpublished study in 2010, I found that the internet, especially the online shopping and social media sites, are increasingly precursors, sites and vehicles for locating, acquiring and competitively communicating materialist accumulation and consumption, and the allied statuses or identities they signify, regardless of individual, societal and environmental costs. Terragon Insights corroborated the above deduction in 2013 with the report that the commonest online activity and purchases of Netizens (internet citizens 78% of whom are aged between 19 and 35 years old) are social wants, such as fashion items, books, computers, and internet related products and services. Consequently, this thesis presents female university students as actively engaged with both patriarchy and modernist capitalist formations, and the insidious socio-economic and sexual actions they nurture, with the ‘politics of individualist lifestyle’ (Giddens, 1991:214) or ‘affective individualism’ (Stone, 1977:282), which are driven by the:

Central institutions of modern society – basic civil, political and social rights...are geared to the individual and not to the group. Insofar as basic rights are internalised and everyone wants to or must be economically active to earn their livelihood, the spiral of individualization destroys the given foundations of social coexistence. So – to give a simple definition – “individualization” means dis-embedding without re-embedding (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002:xxi-xxii).

Modernist technicist developments and movements include increasingly common contraceptives and abortion technologies, reproductive anatomy-enhancement technologies, various human emancipatory projects, and so forth, which continue to liberate women from the absolute control of patriarchy, tradition, and concerns about repetitive pregnancies. The liberation of women from traditional controls incidentally nurture the freedoms and opportunities conducive for amoral individualist pursuits, such as transactional sex, and directly benefits capitalist labour requirements. Moreover, much of human action is motivated⁵⁴ by the unconscious and routinization,⁵⁵ the reflexive monitoring of peers, the interpretation and response to peers' activities, among other influences. To be exact, actors' motivations, in the case of university female university students, often derive from their reflexive monitoring of peers and their own conducts, which patterns (not determine) their construction/definition of the self, and the maintenance of their socially constructed selves – in contextually meaningful ways. It is important to note that peer activities, and their reflexive monitoring, are pre-scripted but not determined by contextual structural, self-socialisation, and sexualisation of female university students.

Structural and self-socialisation and sexualisation of female university students' in Nigeria functions to make social interactions predictable, reduce anxiety, build confidence, and ultimately, ontological security - against the background of modernist capitalist formations. The institutions of modernity 'do all they can to manufacture consumers' and succeed 'to a large extent' by cultivating and communicating rules and resources that support the ascendancy of social needs (presented as autonomous choices) over sustainable subsistence needs (Lefebvre 2002:10). However, as compelling as modernist capitalists' structures are, they function interdependently with female university students' habitus⁵⁶ and

⁵⁴ Motivation refers to potential for action rather than to the mode in which action is chronically carried on by the agent. Motives tend to have a direct purchase on action only in relatively unusual circumstances, situations which in some way break with the routine. (Giddens, 1984:6).

⁵⁵ Routine is integral both to the continuity of the personality of the agent, as he or she moves along the paths of daily activities, and to the institutions of society, which are such only through their continued reproduction. (Giddens, 1984:60).

⁵⁶ Defined by Bourdieu as 'systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the

agencies, and vice versa, by rewarding individualist values and pursuits, such as transactional sex, as a means of securing increasingly self and peer defined ontological security.⁵⁷

The consequences of implicating agency (in conjunction with structure) in transactional sex, apart from exciting controversy among scholars and interventionists, is that it introduces the construct of power into transactional sex praxis. Power for this thesis is ‘the capacity to achieve outcomes; whether or not these are connected to purely sectional interests is not germane to its definition. Power is not, as such, an obstacle to freedom or emancipation but is their very medium’ (Giddens 1984:257). In other words, modernist capitalist formations’ induced psychic reorganisation of female university students towards individualisation and immediate gratification of social needs, orient the students towards knowledgeable and active participation in transactional sex in Nigeria. It does so by effectively challenging traditions, and removing female university students ‘from traditional commitments and support relationships’ (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002:203) - compelling (not force) their need to transform their identities ‘from a given’ into a ‘task’ and charging the actors with the responsibility for performing that task’ (Bauman, 2000:31).

The above interrelationship between structure and agency is what radical and liberal feminists, such as Dworkin (1996), MacKinnon (2011) and Farley (2004), ignore in their fundamentally structuralist accounts of transactional sex, which rejects the influence of agency on commercial or transactional sex altogether (MacKinnon, 2011:273; 2006; Farley, 2004). Neglected in feminist conjectures⁵⁸ about transactional sex are empirical findings from contexts, such as Nigeria, Ghana, Uganda, Malawi, Mozambique, South Africa, and so forth, which strongly suggests that transactional sex has significant agency, as well as structural, inputs (see Tade & Adekoya, 2012; Barnett, Maticka-Tyndale and

operations necessary in order to attain them. Objectively ‘regulated’ and ‘regular’ without being in any way the product of obedience to rules, they can be collectively orchestrated without being the product of the organizing action of a conductor. (1990:53).

⁵⁷ Refers to ‘confidence and trust that the natural and social worlds are as they appear to be, including basic existential parameters of self and social identity’ (Giddens, 1984:375).

⁵⁸ Majority of radical feminist writings on sex work are conjectures about what ought to be, and not what is because most do not conduct empirical research themselves, and usually ignore contrary empirical evidence as false consciousness - even those coming from sex workers themselves.

HP4RY Team, 2011; Choudhry, 2015; Baba-Djara *et al* 2013; Ngambouk, 2011; Swidler & Watkins, 2006; Hawkins, Mussa & Abuxahama, 2005; Dunkle, 2004).

The point theoretically demonstrated so far is that transactional sex is not always, or solely driven, by structural influences, such as poverty, as is the case with female university students, who are neither ignorant nor poverty-stricken.⁵⁹ There are significant agential inputs into transactional sex as well. The traditional neglect of the structure/agency interaction in transactional sex literature is likely why Jeffreys (2009) insists, and this writer agrees, that ‘the problem with ... (dominant analysis of sex work) is that prostitution is not caused by women's poverty. Men suffer poverty too, but there is no ready market for their bodies, and certainly not amongst women, who are not the buyers in prostitution’ (Jeffreys, 2009:317; word in parenthesis, by author). In fact, Martha Nussbaum presaged Jeffreys’ (2009) critique of radical and liberal feminists’ conceptualization of women who participate in transactional sex as wholly helpless and ignorant in her opinion that:

All of us, with the exception of wealthy and unemployed, take money for the use of our body. Professors, factory workers, lawyers, opera singers, prostitutes, doctors, legislators – we all do things with parts of our bodies, for which we receive a wage in return. Some people get good wages and some do not; some have a relatively high degree of control over their working conditions and some have little control; some have many employment options and some have very few. And some are socially stigmatised and some are not. (Nussbaum, 1998:693-694).

The foregoing quote accentuates Kempadoo’s (2001) argument that ‘the global sex trade cannot be simply reduced to one monolithic explanation of (exploitation and) violence to women’ (2001:28; words in parenthesis, by author). Consequently, female university students are conceived after Miriam (2005) and Nussbaum (1998) as ‘sexual agents’ who decide when to temporarily exchange their bodies, and sexual services, for a negotiated or agreeable price and gifts from mostly married male customers. Based on the above conceptualization of transactional sex, structures, such as rules emanating from patriarchy,

⁵⁹ For example, studies demonstrate that university admission, continuance and graduation in Nigeria is an expensive venture because of the combined effects of Nigeria’s youth bulge, national quota systems, godfathers’ and godmothers’ syndrome, outright corruption, and so forth (see Moja, 2000; Agboola & Ofoegbu, 2010). Accordingly, not every aspiring student, especially the poor, have the necessary social capital, networks and money to secure admission and remain in university. The university entrance application form (JAMB Form) currently cost about N4, 500.00 (about US\$23.00).

need not ‘be conceptualized as simply placing constraints’ on female university students, ‘but as enabling’ their sexual agencies leveraged to secure resource transfer from men to women.

From a structurationist perspective therefore, female university students are not social dopes (Giddens, 1984), as dominant transactional sex scholars would want us to believe (MacKinnon, 2011; Satz, 2010; Dworkin, 1996; Farley (2004). Female university students are knowledgeable and active social agents, well versed in the politics of, and modalities for managing contextual structural constraints by exploiting concurrent structural enablement, such as Nigeria’s compulsive heteronormativity scripts to participate in transactional sex. Accordingly, this thesis will lay emphasis on contingent but non-deterministic structure-agency interactions which orient female university students towards transactional sex - the fastest and most efficient means of mitigating contextual constraints, among other available but more tasking and less rewarding livelihood and identity construction alternatives in Nigeria.

3.8 Challenges of Giddens’ Structuration Theory

Although Giddens attempted to resolve what Archer (1995:1) described as ‘the vexatious task of understanding the linkage between structure and agency,’ several authors have criticized his attempt (see Mouzelis, 1989; Gregson, 1989). Leading the critical charge is Margaret Archer (1995;1988; 2000) who characterized Giddens’ conception of structure-agency relationship as conflationary; a reification of agency, and failing to provide a replicable research methodology, which would establish a specific and definitive cause and effect relationships between structure and agency (see also Mouzelis, 1989; Gregson, 1989). In Archer’s view, for example, Giddens structural duality construct or emphasis of the contingent nature of structure and agency in patterning social action amounts to a conflation - or renders the task of examining their interplay impossible (Archer, 1988:80; see also Archer, 2000).

Similarly, McLennan (1984) claimed that Giddens failed to practically specify ‘which structures, what agencies, in what sequences go to make up the object of enquiry of social theory’ (1984:125; see also Bryant, 1992:141, for similar criticism). Other scholars criticize Giddens for ignoring the roles and influences of intermediate or intersectional

variables, such as class, gender, ethnicity, level of education, and so forth, which often constrain agency, and pattern action and society (Gregory, 1994). Indeed, Giddens neglect of meso-level variables may have prompted Sibley's claim that structuration theory represents the hegemonic epistemologies, practices and outcomes of 'white, heterosexual male domination of the western knowledge industry' (Sibley, 1995:115).

In my view, these criticisms are likely driven by Giddens' reliance on abstract language, linguistic metaphors, technicist schematic drawings, and perhaps, his limited attention to the practical needs of empirical researchers because of a reluctance 'to wield a methodological scalpel' (Giddens, 1984: xxx). I take this position because the core architecture of structuration theory, which is the illumination of 'how the concepts of action, meaning and subjectivity should be specified and how they might relate to notions of structure' and agency, accommodates⁶⁰ various critical research issues raised above. Accordingly, Giddens considers much of the criticisms against structuration theory as driven by critics' needs to return to 'the comfort of established views,' such as structural determinants of action, which can 'easily be a cover for intellectual' laziness (Giddens, 1984: xxii).

Moreover, in relation to research methods, Giddens is critical of wholesale importation of structuration theory into any empirical research (1991; 1984; 1979; 1976). His stated preference is for a selective application of structuration theory 'concepts, either from the logical framework of structuration theory, or other aspects of my writings ... used in a sparing and critical fashion' (Giddens, 1991:213). Accordingly, I choose to sensitize my thesis with Giddens' (1984) structural duality construct, which will be adapted to Stones' (2005) reworking of structuration theory for empirical research.

Stones (2005) strengthened the empirical utilities of Giddens' (1984, 1979) original formulation of structuration theory by incorporating ideas and constructs from critics and supporters of structuration theory, such as Mouzelis and Bourdieu into Giddens' structural duality construct. Based on this synthesis, Stones (2005) produced what he called strong

⁶⁰ Indeed, Giddens addressed criticisms of neglecting gender directly with the observation that although he has 'not accorded questions of gender the attention they undeniably deserve ... gender is constructed and reconstructed in the flow of interaction in day-to-day social life' (Giddens, 1989:282-285).

structuration theory (SST), which is essentially a quadripartite framework of interrelated and recursive components of the structuration cycle. Stones' (2005) strong structuration theory framework is discussed next.

3.9 Stones' (2005) Resolution of Limitations of Structuration Theory

The outcome of Stones' (2005) reworking of structuration theory, for empirical research, is the seamless alignment of Giddens structural duality construct with key ideas from supporters and critics, such as Pierre Bourdieu (construct of habitus), John B. Thompson (call for more sociological and empirical specificity), Margret Archer and Nicos Mouzelis (argument for the inadequacy of analytical duality), John Urry, and so on. Stones' (2005) effort re-focuses attention on epistemological and methodological issues that Giddens (1984; 1979; 1976) did not fully elaborate in detail. According to Stones, the:

revised project of structuration ...incorporates central elements of Giddens' original exposition, and continues the spirit of that project, but it also advances and consolidates that spirit: by more carefully delineating the scope of the structuration project; by these developing and reconfiguring some of the older concepts that fall within these parameters; by adding a substantial number of new complementary conceptual categories; and, finally, by thinking more systematically about the relation of each of these elements to questions of methodology, evidence, and the specificity of research orientations (Stones, 2005:1).

In practical terms, Stones' contribution lies in the recognition and inclusion of three interrelated research interests and levels. These are (1) the abstract or theoretical level of empirical research, (2) meso-level of empirical research, where real and situated actors and institutions thrive in complexity and, (3) ontic or meso-level of empirical research, which traverses the abstract and meso-levels of empirical research, and facilitate inquiry into, and discussions about, abstract ontological concepts in relative degrees, such as 'fewer or greater number of choices available to,' or the intensities of female university students materialist constraints and desires in situ (Stones, 2005:76-77).

Stones' (2005) reworking of structuration theory for empirical research produced four moments or components of structuration of action. These include (1) external structures to female university students, which pattern their (2) internal structures, habitus, dispositions or knowledge of what they can do, or cannot do sexually in the Nigerian context. Female university students' habitus or internal structures subsequently inform their

(3) active agencies, which are vehicles for action in situ, which produce, (4) intended and unintended outcomes, which feed-back into the social structure via discourse, social learning, modelling, imitation and adaptation - to renew the structuration cycle and/or maintain the social structure (Stones, 2005:84-85).

It must be stressed that the application of structuration theory to analyse literature on Nigerian female university students' transactional sex will follow the format presented next in Figure 1. Note that the different stages or influence levels in the structuration of transactional sex are interrelated and non-hierarchical. Thus, social agents may confront different influence levels or stages dependent on their felt-needs, contexts and time.

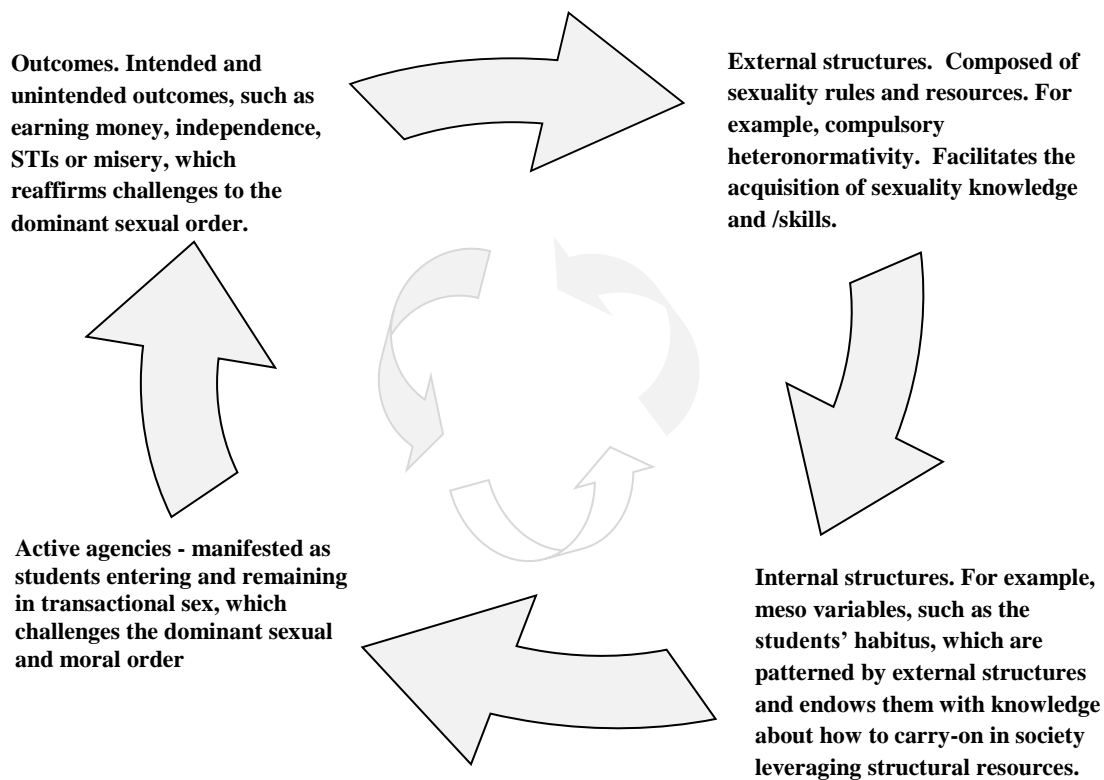


Figure 1: Anticipated Recursive Structuration Cycle of Transactional Sex in Nigeria - Adapted from Okonkwo (2013:14).

As operationalized herein, the requirements of Stones' (2005) formulation of external structures mandates unpacking from Nigerian transactional sex literature what their authors report as influences, which predate the students in time and space, as

conditions for their action or participation in transactional sex. In structurationist terms however, these influences are not altogether external to female university students, but inhabit their habitus or position-practices. In Nigeria, a good example of such influences on transactional sex would be patriarchy or the gender structure and allied scripts that prescribe men materially support their sexual partners, which patterns the students' dispositions, desires, worldviews and sexual practices.

In addition, features of female university students' internal structures or habitus will be isolated and categorized in structurationist terms from Nigerian transactional sex literature. The objective is to demonstrate how female university students' internal structures (habitus or dispositions) are configured or patterned by their external structural conditions. Internal structures within the students are composed of two analytical kinds. The first kind of internal structures may be exemplified with female university students taken-for-granted 'conjuncturally⁶¹ specific knowledge of external structures' and the second is their general-dispositional orientation to external structures (Stones, 2005: 84-85).

Conjuncturally specific knowledge of external structures relates to female university students' 'knowledge of the interpretive schemes, power capacities, and normative expectations and principles of the agents within' Nigeria, which evolve over time (Stones, 2005:91). This class of internal structures are patterned by female university students' socialisation, positional identities as women, normative expectations and patterned practices in situ, which informs the students about what they can do, and cannot do, sexually in Nigeria. The general dispositional, as a component of female university students' internal structures, are products of structural conditionings of female university students as well, and evoke West & Zimmerman (2002) idea about 'doing gender' or Bourdieu's habitus, which are:

transposable skills and dispositions, including generalized world-views and cultural schemas, classifications, typifications of things, peoples and networks, principles of action, typified recipes of action, deep binary frameworks of signification, associative chains and connotations of discourse, habits of speech and gesture, and methodologies for adapting this range of particular practices in particular locations in time and space (Stones, 2005:88).

⁶¹ A critical combination of knowledge of external structures or structural penetration.

Once the sources of female university students' internal structures are unpacked, they will be analytically linked to the active agencies they unleash, which is the third component of Stones' (2005) strong structuration theory. Recall that 'agency concern events of which an individual is the perpetrator, in the sense that the individual could, at any phase in a given sequence of conduct, have acted differently' (Giddens, 1984:9). Thus, the thesis will interrogate and present examples of how female university students actively chose to participate in transactional sex – despite the availability of action alternatives in Nigeria, or their capacities to do otherwise. The deconstruction of the students active and purposive agencies in transactional sex will be governed by the consideration that the students:

even as subordinate players, always play an active part that goes beyond the dichotomy of victimization/acceptance, a dichotomy that flattens out a complex and ambiguous agency in which women accept, accommodate, ignore, resist, or protest - sometimes all at the same time (MacLeod, 1992:534).

Finally, the thesis will isolate, outline and interrogate features that make-up Stones' (2005) fourth structurationist moment - the intended and unintended outcomes of transactional sex, as both structures and events, whose sources are traceable to a combination of female university students' external structural conditionings of their internal structures or habitus, which the students draw-upon with active agencies to participate in transactional sex. The outcomes of transactional sex include the intended outcomes of transactional sex, such as earning fast cash, which often promote further and similar activities. In addition, the thesis will elicit from literature what the students know about the unintended outcomes of transactional sex, which may include STDs or intimate partner violence (IPV), which invariably filter back into the external structure (society) to instigate social discourse and interventionist actions, which paradoxically, render transactional sex more visible to the ignorant through media promotions and social discourse.

CHAPTER 4 METHODS

Data aggregation and analysis for this thesis is structured by the assumption that the students ‘know a great deal, discursively and tacitly’ about the Nigerian patriarchal and heteronormative context⁶² in which they are embedded (Giddens, 1984:289). With complex knowledge and skills, female university students actively *draw on* and *work on* knowledge of their patriarchal and heteronormative context, as they imagine them or as they unfold in context. The students actively engage with their structure leveraging and/or circumventing dominant and/or sub-cultural sexuality interpretative schemes (e.g. shared stocks of knowledge), facilities (e.g. resources or vehicles of action), and norms (e.g. rules and sanctions) to participate in the normatively discouraged transactional sex (Giddens, 1984).

Because of the students’ partial structural penetration, the female university students additionally know that their participation in transactional sex have both intended and unintended consequences. For example, they could earn money and accumulate material symbols of modernity, on one hand, or are ostracised, if discovered by significant others, as sanctions for their engagement in transactional sex, on the other. Inadvertently, the students’ engagement in transactional sex contributes to the reinforcement of the original patriarchal structures, which disadvantaged them in the first instance, which they attempted to mitigate with transactional sex.

Transactional sex reinforces the original disadvantageous structures because despite the students’ partial penetration of Nigerian patriarchy, they seem willing to exploit its heteronormative sexual double standards to mitigate associated material constraints. Inevitably, the students thus ‘constitute themselves as abstract’ sexual power (Giddens, 1984:303). Accordingly, the thesis will demonstrate how the female university students seeming oppositional engagement in transactional sex effectively promotes the integration of their sexual actions with the same patriarchal order they seemingly oppose. This is how knowledgeable and active agents are implicated in the reinforcement of external constraints ‘not as some force of

⁶² ‘Context involves ... (a) time-space boundaries ... around interaction scripts; (b) the co-presence of actors, making possible the visibility of a diversity of facial expressions, bodily gestures, linguistic and other media of communication; (c) awareness and use of these phenomena reflexively to influence or control the flow of interaction’ (Giddens, 1984:282).

which they are passive recipients' (Giddens, 1984:289).

Leveraging Stones' (2005) strong structuration⁶³ theory (SST) quadruple stages discussed subsequently, this thesis will isolate, categorize and present representative *circumstances* or the *social forces* (context and institutional analysis), which the students encounter, and how the students *draw-on* and *work-on* (conduct analysis) the features of the social forces identified to engage in transactional sex. These circumstances which compel the students to engage in transactional sex manifest to them as gendered asymmetries emanating from societal structures of domination (e.g. patriarchy), signification (e.g. gendered sexual scripts or peer heterosexual ideologies), and legitimation (e.g. campus sexuality norms and sanctions). The foregoing will constitute substantive explanations for the macro, meso (intermediate), and micro influences on female university students' transactional sex.⁶⁴

4.1 Data sources

The aggregation and description of '*which structures, what agencies, in what sequences*' (McLennan, 1984:125) they combine to *compel* female university students to engage in transactional sex is facilitated by a systematic review of Nigerian transactional sex literature. Literature by Nigerians and non-Nigerians are included in this category as long as they are relevant to the thesis topic and objective. Nigerian transactional sex literature is assumed to be a repository of students' own accounts of influences on transactional sex. This author's reliance on transactional sex literature is grounded on the logic that the students are 'purposive agent(s), who both [have] reasons for [their] activities and [are] able, if asked, to elaborate discursively upon those reasons (including lying about them)' (Giddens, 1984:3; words in parenthesis, by author).

Reiteratively, this thesis seeks to unpack and explain what interrelated structures, influence processes and agencies compel female university students who have intensely traditional, moral and/or religious socialisation to engage-in transactional sex, a highly

⁶³ The 'conditions governing the continuity or transformation of structures, and therefore the reproduction of systems' (Giddens, 1979:66).

⁶⁴ This approach is predicated on the fact that structuration theory is a version of 'social theory concerned with the intersection between knowledgeable and capable social agents and the wider social systems and structures in which they are implicated' (Gregory, 1994:600).

stigmatized form of temporary livelihood, despite the availability of alternatives, albeit less rewarding and more tasking alternatives. The following databases will be searched for relevant published and grey literature. The databases include SocINDEX with Full Text; Sociological Abstracts; Social Services Abstracts; Academic Search Complete (ASC); Web of Science Core Collection; Google Scholar, Google and International Bibliography of the Social Sciences. The search term is ‘Nigeria+university students+prostitution+transactional sex.’

4.2 Iterative data analysis and interpretative process

Information gathered will be subjected to theoretical content analysis. Initially developed by Harold Lasswell (1927), content analysis is now considered ‘the fastest-growing technique over the past 20 years or so,’ which is leveraged by social science researchers to explain action and society (Neuendorf, 2002: 1; Riffe & Freitag, 1997). ‘Content analysis is a technique which aims at describing, with optimum objectivity, precision, and generality, what is said on a given subject in a given place at a given time (Lasswell, Lerner & Pool, 1952:34).

There are three approaches to qualitative content analysis. The approaches include (1) coding categories from transcribed data (grounded theory development), (2) deriving coding categories from an earlier illuminated theory - in the service of validating the theory (a directed approach to content analysis), and (3), counting words or manifest content analysis of the selected medium or media, and subsequently extending analysis to the discovery of latent themes and meanings inherent in raw information (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005).

Of the three approaches, I elect to use the directed approach to content analysis, or theoretical content analysis (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). The justification for adopting theoretical content analysis is to test the validity of, and/or extend Anthony Giddens’ structuration theory. The test and/or extension of structuration theory will be facilitated by existing literature on female Nigerian university students’ reasons for engaging-in transactional sex. Since rigour in content analysis ‘stands or falls by its categories’ (Berelson, 1952:147), the coding categories for theoretical content analysis will be derived directly from Stones (2005:84-85) quadruple and interrelated stages of the structuration of action. Reiteratively, the stages include teasing-out and explaining how:

- 1) the external structures, which independently exist from the students, and are the

irresistible conditions transaction for transactional sex. For example, patriarchy; *as it patterns,*

- 2) the students' internal structures, or their habitus, which concurrently embody and facilitates the students' re-enactment of features of the male privileging external structure by engaging in transactional sex. For example, female university students' subscriptions to, and/or performance of gendered sexual scripts. Recall that habitus 'is a mediating notion that revokes the common sense duality between the individual and the social by capturing 'the internalisation of externality and the externalisation of internality' [in the famous expression of Bourdieu], that is, the way society becomes deposited in persons in the form of lasting dispositions, or trained capacities and structured propensities to think, feel, and act in determinate ways, which then guide them in their creative responses to the constraints and solicitations of their extant milieu' (Wacquant, 2005, 316); *as habitus patterns,*
- 3) the students knowledgeable and active agencies. For example, the students' engagement in transactional sex despite capacities to do otherwise, and availability of alternatives, which are informed by their pre-reflective, routine and/or critical access to their internal structures or habitus, which were initially conditioned by the students' external structures; *as the students' agencies produce,*
- 4) intended and unintended outcomes, and are compelling events, which filter back into the external structure, internal structure, agency, and so on, in a non-deterministic but recursive loops such that no individual stage of the structuration cycle attains instigative primacy.

4.3 Theoretical content analysis – the process

To achieve the thesis analytical objectives, aggregated transactional sex literature will be subjected to several processes of content analysis, drawing on Miles and Huberman (1994) suggested procedures for a systematic and transparent content analysis. The first step requires the downloading and aggregation of various transactional sex literature from diverse discursive fields and formations. The second step entails the definition of coding units to cover data in the transactional sex literature reviewed (Graneheim & Lundman 2004). The coding units or categories will be mutually exclusive, albeit interrelated, and derived from by Stones' (2005)

quadruple structurationist data collection and analytical stages, and the third step requires the validation of this thesis' coding scheme for clarity and consistency of category definitions.

Subsequently, the fourth stage necessitates a purposeful distillation and assignation of conceptual themes isolated in the analysed transactional sex literature to one of the quadruple structuration moments. These are (1) *external structures* as compelling conditions for s female university students' actions; as they pattern influential themes assignable to the students' (2) *internal structures* or habitus, which pattern themes assignable to students' (3) *active agencies*, as these produce themes assignable to (4) the *intended and unintended outcomes*.

The fifth stage of theoretical content analysis requires that theme assignation to the quadruple structuration moments is checked and rechecked to ensure accuracy, consistency, and fidelity to Stones' (2005) quadripartite but interrelated stages of the structuration of action. In contrast, the sixth stage entails the reporting of findings while the seventh stage entails data interpretation: that is, the drawing of sociologically relevant conclusions from data. Moreover, at the seventh stage, there will be a robust exploration of the properties, dimensions and relationships among the seemingly isolated themes in transactional sex literature.

The objective is to specify how the identified themes are interrelated and recursive in their operations, such that no structurationist stage attains instigative primacy over others. A further objective is to provide 'sufficient description to allow the reader to understand the basis for the (structurationist) interpretation, and sufficient interpretation to allow the reader to understand the description' of the students' reasons for engaging in transactional sex (Patton, 2002:503-504). The eighth step will entail the drawing of theoretical and policy conclusions from findings.

4.4 Data interpretation- the process

Recall that the thesis foundational proposition is that the four structurationist moments of *external structures*, *internal structures*, *agency* and *outcomes* (i.e. structure and agency) of purposive action inter-relatedly compel transactional sex. Accordingly, the aggregated and categorized Nigerian transactional sex literature will be leveraged to explain how the interrelated influences combines with the students knowledgeable and active agencies to authorise transactional sex to mitigate allied structural constraints.

The aim is to demonstrate how *external structures*, such as patriarchy, however the students imagine them or as they unfold in context, act as pressures on, and as the strategic

context for the students' culturally and phenomenologically mediated *internal structures*, habitus, cultural world-views, values, desires, emotions and knowledge of context (see Stones, 2005). The students knowledgeably *draw on* and *work on* their internal structures, or habitus, to *engage-in* transactional sex (action), which produces *intended and unintended outcomes* (such as earning livelihoods or sexually transmitted infection (STIs) for practitioners. These outcomes manifest in the external world and renew the structuration cycle of external and internal structures, agency and outcomes (see Figure 1:71).

Alternatively phrased, with structuration theory, this thesis teases-out (1) what Nigerian transactional sex literature authors report that female university students know and/or say about the Nigerian context (for example, *contextual structure patterned life constraints*), which are assignable to elements of the external structure, as they pattern; (2) what the students know and/or say about their internal structures or habitus, a product of their life experiences in the Nigerian context, which patterns their agencies. Moreover, the thesis will elicit from literature what their authors report about (3) the students' purposive and active agencies, against the background that they could have done otherwise.

We should recall that students under focus agencies are co-patterned by their contextual structural constraints and enablement, and their habitus (internal structures); which they cumulatively leverage to engage in transactional sex to mitigate structural constraints, as they imagine them or as they unfold in context (for example, dating older men for cash, better grades etc.). Finally, the thesis will interrogate how the students knowledgeable and active agencies produces (4), intended and unintended outcomes; and how these outcomes filter-back into the external structure, internal structure, agency, and so on, in a non-deterministic, recursive and interrelated sequence.

Phrased in more technical structurationist language, the thesis data analysis will account for those moments 'between large historical, spatial and social forces, on the one hand, and the situated actions of individual agents (i.e. transactional sex as compelled by contextual social forces), on the other ... to identify intermediate-level networks of relations and practices' (i.e. transactional sex as a product of what the students know about the social forces), which are attributable to the duality of structure and agency (Stones, 2005:6; see also Figure 1).

4.5 The utilities of the thesis' information collection and analytical approach

Among other things, theoretical content analysis facilitates the synthesis of existing studies into a collective of what is known about the *structures* and *agencies*, or their lack thereof, which compels female university students to engage in transactional sex. Content analysis additionally facilitates the demonstration of how what is known about influences on transactional sex are interrelated and recursive, leveraging Stone's (2005) quadripartite structurationist research/analytical framework. This approach is imperative because structure and agency presuppose one another; and 'structure must be regarded as a process, not as a steady state' (Sewell, 1992:4; Giddens, 1984).

Thus, while structure provides the compelling conditions and non-deterministic prototypes of action, 'it is the agency of each individual which is ever responsible for animating' structure (Rapport & Overing, 2000:123). The students animate structure by *drawing on* and *working on* its rules and resources to mitigate (action) allied constraints, as the students imagine them, or as the constraints unfold in context. Critically, the students' animation of contextual structures, these structures 'would simply remain inert cultural matter' (Rapport & Overing 2000:123 & 210).

The students' agency in transactional sex is operationalized against the background that they 'could, at any phase of in a given sequence of conduct (the transactional sex process), have acted differently' (1984:9; words in parenthesis, by author). For example, they could seek jobs in call centres, branded goods promotion agencies, childcare centres, supermarkets, and so on. By not acting differently, the students animate the Nigerian near compulsory heteronormative structures with 'their mental and bodily, verbal and behavioural presence' (Rapport & Overing 2000:288). Theoretical content analysis equally facilitates the development of the thesis' core argument that an alternative and more robust conceptualization of transactional sex is needed. Finally, theoretical content analysis offers a guiding structure for the thesis, which follow-up studies could replicate, validate or refute.

CHAPTER 5

FINDINGS

This chapter will present findings drawn from the rigorous review of transactional sex literature, which are relevant to Nigerian female university students. Findings encompass narratives and deductions from diverse research and informed scholarly opinions on what influences female Nigerian university students to engage in transactional sex, which are presented in very linear terms. The linearity of dominant Nigerian transactional sex literature inspired this thesis, which seeks to re-imagine available transactional sex literature with structuration theory. The objective is to demonstrate that the identified influences in Nigerian transactional sex literature are interrelated and recursive, on one hand, and to describe the interrelationships among identified influences on transactional sex, on the other.

However, structuration theory, as originally formulated by Anthony Giddens (1984), has certain limitations that constrain empirical research and analysis of purposeful social action in context (see the theoretical framework section of the thesis). The core of these limitations concern Giddens' seeming conflation of structure and agency, and failure to advance methodological or empirical research guidelines (see Layder, 2006; Rose, 1998; Archer, 2010; Thompson, 1989; Turner, 1986; Bourdieu, 1977; and so forth). These limitations have been addressed by Stones' (2005) synthesis of critical scholarly evaluations of structuration theory. Stones (2005) drew on the strengths of Giddens' (1984) original formulation of structuration theory, and criticisms discussed above to produce a quadripartite and interrelated framework for researching, understanding and explaining social action, such as transactional sex.

To reiterate, the stages in Stones' (2005) quadripartite framework include (1) analytically external structures to female university students, as they pattern (2) their internal structures, dispositions or habitus, which patterns (3) the students' active agencies, which in turn produce (4) compelling intended and unintended outcomes that filter back into society to renew the structurationist cycle. Specific elements of each structurationist stage will be purposefully selected to illustrate how transactional sex is influenced by both structure and agency. The objective of selecting given elements of each phase is to limit analytical focus to them, and provide a clearer empirical evidence to support this thesis' claim that structure and agency are simultaneously implicated in female Nigerian university students' transactional sex.

In other words, this chapter will leverage Stones (2005) quadripartite structuration framework to present findings relating to various macro, meso and micro processes, and/or influences, which compel Nigerian female university students to move from an intensely traditional, moral and/or religious socialisation into transactional sex – a highly stigmatized and illegal sub-sector of the Nigerian economy despite the availability of alternative forms of livelihoods. Two examples of each structure or influences will be presented to illustrate how findings support this thesis’ foundational argument that structure and agency co-pattern female university students’ engagement in transactional sex in Nigeria.

5.1 External structures as conditions for transactional sex

Analytical external structures to female university students are concurrently virtual and ‘material constraints, negative social sanctions and also “structural constraints” that derive from the “given” character of structural properties vis-à-vis situated actors’ (Giddens, 1984:176). A good example of structural properties are rules (including sanctions) and resources emanating from the gender structure, which produces and nurtures various gendered asymmetries in society. External structures are thus bundles of rules and resources that pattern female university students’ worldviews, habitus or mental frames relating to transactional sex. Although external structures have virtual⁶⁵ existence, that is, they thrive outside of time and space as virtual entities or metal frames, they come-alive or are instantiated when the students draw-on them for transactional sex. Exemplary components of external structures to be discussed include (1) the gender structure, (2) the lure of modernist capitalist goods/technologies and good grades, and (3) the influence of politically and socio-economically successful men, as transactional sex co-instigators.

5.1.1 Gender as a compelling external structure

Gender is an example of an external structure (with rules and resources), which is analytically external to female university students, whose hierarchies exert pressures on them, independent of their contexts, to act in seemingly pre-scripted ways, such as engage in transactional to mitigate perceived and real structural asymmetries. Gender is operationalized by this thesis ‘as a social structure because it has normative rules and resources that simultaneously

⁶⁵ This author agrees with Giddens that structure has a virtual existence - existing ‘paradigmatically, as an absent set of differences, temporally ‘present’ only in [its] instantiation, in the constituting moments of social systems’ (Giddens, 1979: 63–64).

constrain and enable transactional sex (see also Risman, 2004). However, gender is not an expression of biology or a fixed dichotomy in human life or character. That is, ‘one is not born, but rather becomes a woman’ or man through performance (de Beauvoir, 1949:293; Butler, 1999). Consequently, gender is culturally ‘laid down in the form of permanent stances, gaits and postures which are the realization, or rather, the naturalization of an ethic’ (Bourdieu, 2001:27). In other words, gender embodies ethical and normative social arrangements, which patterns our everyday action; and allied accounting for our actions (Connell, 2009; Risman, 2004; West & Zimmerman, 1987). As a consequence, gender is ‘a condition actively under construction’ (Connell, 2009:5); it is performative (Butler, 1999), and essentially the things we do, and the way we do those things (West & Zimmerman, 1987).

For this thesis therefore, gender is a ‘structure of social relations that centres on the (re)productive arena, and the set of practices that bring (re)productive distinctions between bodies in to social processes’ (Connell, 2009:11), which requires constant self and public performance and policing to ensure conformity (McRobbie, 2004; Adkins, 2004; Butler, 1999). This implies that gender strictures are fluid, impermanent, and manipulable – yet seems contextually intractable to social agents because of its contextually normative constraints, sanctions and opportunities.

Regardless of the fluidity of the gender structure presented above, gender regimes in Nigeria assume a deterministic and heteronormative façade. In their most essentialist form, the gender structure prescribes that males in society are ideally dominant, aggressive, sexually opportunistic, and should provide materially for their female sexual partners. In contrast, females are expected to be subordinate to males, sexually passive and non-promiscuous, and materially dependent on their male sexual partners (Risman, Lober & Sherwood, 2012; Ankomah et al. 2011; Marston & King, 2006; Izugbara, 2004; Forbes, 2004). Critically, the Nigerian society endows female sexuality with value, and evolved norms, such as virginity, chastity and fidelity mores for its surveillance.

Corroborating the existence of gendered sex roles in Nigeria, Izugbara (2004:8) observes that ‘while male children are socialized to see themselves as future heads of households, breadwinners, and owners (in the literal sense, sometimes) of their wives and children, female children are taught that a good woman must be an obedient, submissive, meek, and a humble housekeeper’ (Izugbara, 2004:8). The gender structure creates the above asymmetry by granting males seeming unlimited access to the public sphere, and the privilege of material accumulation

while actively circumscribing women's access and exploitation of the public sphere. The social construction of gender in the manner described above generates and sustains socio-political and 'economic inequalities, which in turn drive overlapping risk behaviours, including age-disparate sexual encounters, sexual exchange or transactional sex, coerced sex, gender-based violence and inability to negotiate sex and safer sex practices (UNDP, 2014:22).

The above gendered worldviews, and ways of behaving, may explain a Southern African study by Hunter (2002), which implicates materialism in everyday sexual relations. In fact, Hunter suggests that transactional sex may constitute an 'alternative form of power' (2002:57); that is, bottom power in Nigerian parlance. Spronk (2005:273) finds that young Kenyan women receive 'gifts' from male sexual partners but cautions that such gifts be constructed as males showing appreciation for their female sexual partners, drawing on dominant gender structures, which cast men as 'financial providers' (see also Nyanzi, 2001). Similarly, Smith (2010:134) based on the study of youth sexual relations in Nigeria reports that:

I heard many young Nigerian women allude to having more than one sugar daddy, each of whom might be encouraged to play a different role economically - a fact underscored by the playful use of the terms Commissioner of Education, Commissioner of Transportation, Commissioner of Housing, and Commissioner of Finance to describe a particular man's contribution (see also Tade & Adekoya, 2012; Masvawure, 2010; Leclerc-Madlala, 2003; Campbell, 2002; Buss & Schmitt, 1993).

A related study, which explored the ways in which female university students in urban Benin (Benin Republic) toe the line between empowered agent and victim, which is very relevant to Nigeria, produced similar narratives suggestive that female university students believe that:

Most girls cheat on their boyfriends. We say there are three things girls look for in a man: love, sexual satisfaction, and money. And it's almost impossible to find all three in one person, so lots of girls have multiple men. She'll have the guy she really loves, really connects with, and then another who knows how to make love to her, and another to pay the bills (cited in Eller, 2014:6; see also Amo-Adjei, Kumi-Kyereme & Tuoyire, 2014; Zaggi, 2014]

The consequences of the above gender norms or rules is that 'girls reported little or no control over how, when and where playing sex occurred, while boys viewed girls as readily available to satisfy their sexual needs. They felt playing sex was their duty, an expectation of their friends, kin and society. Girls described sex as just an ordinary part of life, an obligation to boys and men' (Maticka-Tyndale et al. 2005:36; see also Babatunde & Durowaiye, 2014; Izugbara,

2004; Smith, 2004 a&b). It ought to be reiterated that the gendered sexual scripts described above are re-enacted against the background of prevalent socio-economic and political inequalities and hierarchies, sexual valuations and the consumption imperatives produced by the gender structure to maintain differences in sex roles (domination and subordination).

5.1.2 Consumerism or the lure of modernist goods, technologies and good grades

Another important influence on female university students' engagement in transactional sex is their immoderate attraction to modernist capitalist goods and technologies, despite their economic insecurities. In the literature review chapter, we saw how the students' defining characteristics seem to be individualism,⁶⁶ narcissism, orientation and obligation to freedom of choice and instant materialist gratification 'in the setting of a *society* of consumers' (Bauman 2005:82). These personality features are outcomes of the students' structural socialisation, their *adaptation and adoption* of modernist consumerist ethos and practices, such as *de jure* autonomies (you can be anything you want to be), which orients the students towards the construction of materialist and symbolical difference from peers, despite the gap between individual autonomy and actual life chances (Bauman, 2000: 32&38).

The culpable structures, in conjunction with the students' own agencies, responsible for their narcissist personalities include elements of the military-industrial-complex, such as the mass media (especially the internet and advertising), and the culture industry (see Bauman, 2007; Hallman, 2004; Beck & Beck-Gernsheim 2002; Giddens 1991). These institutions create 'the code in which our "life policy" is scripted' by the imperative of shopping (Bauman, 2000:74). It must be emphasized that the socializing effects of the above-listed modernist capitalist formations, or inter-linked⁶⁷ institutions of modernity, are reinforced with neoliberal ideologies propagated and supported by local and international bi-lateral and multilateral organizations and states. These includes the Nigerian state, Chamber of Industries, the IMF, World Bank, and so forth. Ideologies and practices⁶⁸ communicated by these interlocking institutions are speedily replacing the

⁶⁶ Individualization consists of transforming human 'identity' from a given' into a 'task' and charging the actors with the responsibility for performing that task" (Bauman, 2000: 31).

⁶⁷ This writer agrees with Giddens that the power and reach of interlocking institutions of modernity seem to overwhelm individual actor's lukewarm efforts (because they crave modernity) to cherish traditions. This makes 'western expansion seemingly irresistible' (Giddens, 1990: 63).

⁶⁸ The interlocking institutions of modernity exist to further 'the production of new enticements' which turn out 'to be the major vehicle of social integration and peaceful coexistence' (1991:237). Unlike Bauman however, I believe states,

erstwhile structuring roles of traditions, which often combines with the students' own orientations toward, and active adaptation of consumerist ideologies and cultures. For example, in a paper that examined emerging fashion trends among female students at selected Nigerian universities, Pogoson (2013:20) observed that:

Our survey indicates that students essentially perceive themselves to be young adults who need to adopt fashionable clothing patterns in order to be attractive to the opposite sex through suggestive dressing; secure the attention of peers, teachers and the members of the school community; exhibit parental socio-economic status or class in some cases; assume the role of a pace-setter in being the gatekeepers of fashions trends; cover up a sense of failure in academic efforts through displacement efforts in clothing; imitate certain role models especially media celebrities; and exhibit novel and attractive foreign dress patterns (Pogoson, 2013:20).

In an acknowledgement of the above tensions and contradictions between female university students' socialisation by components of modernist capitalist formations and the students' own adoption and adaptation of consumerist ethos, a United Nations' Department of Economic and Social Affairs document noted that:

The problem, especially in developing countries, is that the images of consumerism are everywhere, but many have to be satisfied with the promise of what could be, as the advertised items and lifestyles are not always accessible, particularly to the poorer members of society. The global culture has become a fundamental building block in many young people's lives. However, their relationship with it is very fragile because youth, more than any other group, are exposed to and have come to rely on the global consumer culture, but probably have the fewest resources and the most to lose should global culture not provide the satisfaction they demand of it (World Youth Report, 2004:302).

In practical terms, modernist capitalist formations communicate individualist and consumerist lifestyle rules and resources to young people, which they actively adapt and adopt. They prescribe and actively encourage young people, such as female university students, to crave and acquire the advertised and circulating luxury goods and foods money can buy. Some of the desired goods, which have been implicated in transactional sex across sub-Saharan Africa, have been dubbed the 'four Cs' (Cash, Cars, Cell phones and Clothes (Tade & Adekoya, 2012; Masvawure, 2010; Meekers & Calve, 1997; Hunter, 2002). Nevertheless, female university

family, and so on, are intimately involved in the promotion of consumerism through various industrial incentives and policies.

students' consumerist desires are not unique. They are comparable to those of American, United Kingdom and Dutch youths who have 'orientations emphasising possessions and money for personal happiness and social progress' (Ward & Wackman, 1971:426; Nairn, Ormrod & Bottomley, 2007; Flouri, 2004; Buijzen & Valkenburg, 2003).

In fact, studies of American youths describe *money, new clothes and my own cell phone* as objects that make them happy (Chaplin & John 2007; Goldberg et al. 2003). Similar consumerist cultures pattern the female university students' materialist acquisitive worldviews, aspirations, taste, lifestyles and practices - even though they can ill-afford the goods, which partly explains their engagement in transactional sex. According to one study of transactional sex among female students at the University of Ibadan, Nigeria:

In this age of globalization, there is an increasing urge to possess global products. Some of these products, including BlackBerry phones, and I-Pods, among others, have made some undergraduates join the group of university runs-girls (transactional sex practitioners). For this category, dating an aristo (aristocrat) is all they need to have comfort and show off on campus as 'big girls'. They also, in the course of this exchange system are well connected (Tade & Adekoya, 2012:246).

Correspondingly, Ojebode, Togunde & Adedokun's (2011:318) study, which examined the appropriation of the new media by female undergraduate students involved in cross-generational dating in south-western Nigeria report similar materialist influences:

You can facie (abandon) an aristo who sends [sic] you a small recharge card (mobile phone usage credit) or gave you a yeye (cheap) Chinco4 Nokia (a brand of mobile phone). You can press 'Delete' for him, as in, control X him. But when a Papa buys you a laptop, or pays for your internet one year, you self-go-know say that man mean [sic] business (see also Swidler & Watkins, 2007; Izugbara, 2005; Hunter, 2002; Stoebenau et al. 2013).

Similarly, in a study titled 'I just need to be flashy on campus:' female students and transactional sex at a university in Zimbabwe,' Masvawure (2010:864) observed how female students' need to obtain various trappings of modernity patterns peer conversations or *girl talk*, which 'usually revolves around five topics ... (1) hairstyles, (2) fashion, (3) movies, (4) music, and (5) boyfriends' - in non-hierarchical order (Masvawure, 2010:864). The above discussions are additional evidence that female university students' narcissism, and orientation towards instant

modernist materialist gratifications, are compelling influences on their engagement in transactional sex.

5.1.3 The influence of political and socio-economically successful men on transactional sex

An under-investigated influence on transactional sex is the sexual abuse/exploitation of minors, and/or men offering money, material incentives and good grades to young women in exchange for sex. In relation to sexual abuse, there seems to be some consensus among researchers that early sexual abuse is an experience common to most commercial sex workers (see Farley & Barkan, 1998; Nadon, Koverola & Schudermann, 1998; Foti, 1994). It does not require any stretch of the imagination to link students' experiences of sexual abuse, such as sexual harassment by male lecturers on Nigerian university campuses, with their purposeful trading of sex for money or good grades - even though the linkages are indirect. In other words, early sexual abuse and/or ongoing sexual harassment socialize female university students on, and normalize transactional sex for them. Men exchange money, modernist goods and good grades for sex mainly:

to obtain sex acts they could not get from a partner; because they consider buying sex an addiction; to avoid emotional involvement and commitment; and to obtain a sense of companionship ... including their own use of pornography, their understanding of the constructs of masculinity, and peer pressures and influences in the workplace' (Durchslag & Goswam, 2008:12; Sanders, 2008).

Accordingly, several studies of transactional sex in Nigeria, and elsewhere, document evidence on predatory sexual harassment and exploitation of female university students by invading aristocrats (socio-economic and politically successful men), male lecturers, and their minions (Eller, 2014; Tade & Adekoya, 2012; Bakari & Leach, 2007; Morley, 2011). For example, Ojebode, Togunde & Adelokun (2011:315) report the opinions of participants in their study of new media and transactional sex on three Nigerian university campuses:

Interviewees discussed mass recruitment of ladies for large scale parties such as one organised by prestigious clubs and wealthy men especially politicians. According to them, many of such men have in their employment younger men whose terms of reference included handling social parties which almost invariably included recruiting ladies for parties. Such employees have contacts among aristo ladies on campus and are, therefore, able to recruit ladies with ease. Only few of such men asked the ladies for money since recruiting was part of their 'official'

duties and since their continued employment depended on their success in recruiting ladies which in turn depended on the ladies' cooperation (see also Tade & Adekoya, 2012).

Correspondingly, drawing on their study of sexual promiscuity among female undergraduates and the attendant health implications, Okafor and Duru (2008:102) citing Misi (2008) report that:

Politicians and government officials are not left out in the cause of female students' sexual promiscuity..., anytime these politicians and government officials visit the university town on official work, the pimps recruit for them young university girls for their relaxation and entertainment, at the end of which they settle them with huge sums of ill-gotten money. Due to the fact that the girls glorify wealth, some of them therefore do what it takes to belong by taking to promiscuity (see also Wusu, 2010).

An analogous influence on the students' transactional sex, which needs separate emphasis, is sexual harassment by male lecturers in exchange for mostly good grades. Sexual harassment and exploitation of female university students by male lecturers' alert students, previously unaware of the monetized potentials of their sexual capabilities, to its means-ends or utilitarian applications. That is, the possibility of leveraging sex for good grades, earn money and accumulate goods of modernity they can ordinarily not afford. In addition, male lecturers' sexual harassment of female students hastens the processes governing female students' conversion of wants to needs, and orients them towards seeking material and academic success with their erotic capabilities. Incidentally, sexual harassment/exploitation, which is linked to sex for grades, is widespread on various Nigerian university campuses. In a study that sought to validate the prevalence of sexual harassment in academia in Nigeria, for example, participants confirmed that sexual harassment in return for good grades is common on Nigerian university campuses;

Guys are doing it (having sexual affairs with their students), oh; and you better believe it some of our people (faculty staff) are sleeping with the girls, and in some cases the girls will come to you. You may not know because you are not in that circle. But those who do it know themselves (cited in Ladebo, 2003:124; see also Abdullahi & Abdullahi, 2013; Nwadiwe, 2007; Eller, 2014).

A study at Kaduna Polytechnic, Nigeria, reports comparable trends:

Definitely some lecturers will tell a girl that if she will not have sex with him he will fail her and he can even connive with other lecturers who are his friends to fail her. There was a case

of my friend, our lecturer asked her to come and meet him in his office in the night. The girl went with her friend but he did not allow them to enter. The following day she went alone and he gave her a warm welcome, she then denied him the sex, later when the result came out, she failed and not only his test but he connived with his friend in the department and they both failed her. And there was nothing she could do because the following year she had to succumb and that was how she passed the two courses (Zaggi, 2014: 47; see also Bakari & Leach, 2007; Morley, 2011).

Corresponding trends, and more, have been reported elsewhere in Africa (see Eller, 2014; Morley, 2011). For example, participants in a study that examined ‘the distinction between transactional sex and sexual harassment in the context of professor-student relationships and their inherent power dynamics’ in neighbouring Benin Republic argues that ‘some women choose to go out with their professors to get ahead: to ensure good grades and access to scholarships and potential internship or job opportunities. Professors are usually well-connected in their fields of study, and access to their professional networks is extremely valuable’ (Eller, 2014:5).

5.2 Internal structures within female university students or their habitus

When we speak of female university students’ drawing on internal or virtual structures to engage in transactional sex, we also refer to their ‘ideational and/or perceptual grasp of their social context,’ as simultaneously constraining and enabling, which ‘inform and guide the action itself’ (Stones, 2005:55). To identify the students’ internal structures, we may unpack how features of their external structures, such as various gendered constraints and opportunities associated with sexual behaviour, are discernible in their ‘mental or cognitive structures’ and behaviour (Ritzer, 2008: 531; Bourdieu, 1977). That is, their knowledge about what they can do, or cannot do, sexually in Nigeria. In this regard, leveraging their gendered habitus, the students are ‘creative, inventive, *but* within the limits of [their] structures’ (1992: 19; word in parenthesis, by author).

It is important to note that female university students’ habitus or mental or cognitive internal structures are essentially internalized and embodied external structures, which they leverage to understand their social world, and their place in it. Representative components of the students’ internal structures or habitus to be discussed, which are implicated in transactional sex, include (1) sexual scripts, (2) their greed and avarice, and (3) confidence in the restorative powers of morning-after-pills and abortion.

5.2.1 Sexual scripts as they influence transactional sex

In the sexuality realm, the gender structure, presented previously as an external structure, manifests to female university students as sexual scripts, norms and related sanctions for deviance. Sexual scripts are ‘involved in learning the meaning of internal states, organizing the sequences of specific sexual acts, decoding novel situations, setting limits on sexual responses and linking meanings from nonsexual aspects of life to specifically sexual experience’ (Gagnon & Simon, 1973:19). Female university students apprehend and comprehend gender on three analytical levels.

These are at (1) a personal level, when scripts are internalized via primary and secondary socialisation, (2) at a social or cultural level, where scripts are institutionalized or encased in groups, especially in peer sexual ideologies and practices, and (3) at the interpersonal or relationship level, such as in transactional sex relations, where scripts are continuously re-enacted and (re)negotiated by sexual partners (see Gagnon, 1990; Gagnon & Simon, 1987; see also Connell, 2009; Greer & Buss, 1994). Such scripts are exemplified by various values and beliefs associated with males and females’ sexual conducts. For example, drawing on their gender socialisation and practices, men are essentialised or rarefied as:

holding more permissive sexual standards for all types of relationships than women; initiate sexual interaction more often than women, rate physical pleasure as a more important reason to engage in sex than do women, and are more likely than women to engage in extramarital sex. Men are more likely than women to assume that others are sexually interested (Sprecher & McKinney, 1993:149).

Probably drawing on the above gendered scripts, that is, drawing on ‘meanings from nonsexual aspects of life to specifically sexual experience’ (Gagnon & Simon, 1973:19), a study that interrogated sexuality, lifestyles, and the lures of modernity in the Nigerian Niger Delta noted that adolescents engage in sexual relations with older men based on the scripted belief that older lovers provide comparatively more emotional and financial security than younger lovers. Consequently, it:

is more acceptable and safer to engage in sexual intercourse with older men, who are more matured, responsible, and capable of supporting them.... Older men give more financial and emotional support and are more willing to establish permanent relationships if they get you pregnant unexpectedly. On the contrary, younger men are more likely to desert a pregnant female partner, at times denying that they ever had sexual intercourse with them. This brings ridicule and shame to both the girl and her family in the community (cited in Omorodion, 2006:100-101).

Similarly, another study of contraceptive knowledge and practices among students in Federal Polytechnic Kaduna, Nigeria, reported similar trends:

Yes, students especially female students go into sexual relationships with men outside the polytechnic, men who are even old enough to be their fathers, but because these men are rich and some of them (the girls) believe that since these men are married or are more exposed to women they will know how to take care of a woman more than boys of their age. So when they go out with these men, the men control them in everything, if they say let us have sex without condom they will accept because they cannot question his authority because it is like arguing with your father or your mother (Zaggi, 2014: 81-82)

Moreover, ‘first-date scripts consistently depict men as taking an active role and women as taking a passive one. Men are expected to initiate the date, plan the date activities, drive, pay for the date, and initiate sexual intimacy, whereas women are expected to wait for the man to initiate and decide to “accept/reject date’s moves’ based on emotional or relational considerations (Rose & Frieze, 1993, cited in Morr & Mongeau, 2004:6; see also Seal & Ehrhardt, 2003; Isiugo-Abanihe, 2007; Moore, Biddlecom & Zulu, 2007; Swidler & Watkins, 2006; Hunter, 2002). Empirical research in Nigeria captures the influence of the above scripts on transactional sex in Nigeria. For example, Omorodion’s (2006:100) study of the lure of modernity on transactional sex in the Niger Delta, reports that:

Male adolescents interviewed claimed that sex is natural and acceptable if done solely for affection and fondness. On the contrary, the female adolescents noted that sex is a means of expressing gratitude to a man bearing the responsibility of meeting their personal needs (cited in Omorodion, 2006:100).

It is important to note that scripts often assume the normative façade of rules with allied sanctions; and patterns the figurative meaning of sex, and how it is practiced in context. Discourse and practice subsequently institutionalize sexual scripts – transforming them into interpersonal scripts, which assume concrete facades to situated agents (Laws & Schwartz, 1977). Interpersonal scripts are subsequently transformed into intrapsychic scripts when scripts are learned, internalized and practiced. Regardless of the foregoing, sexual scripts are not closed systems or deterministic. They change, evolve and/or are abandoned ‘as new elements are added and old elements are reworked’ (Gagnon, 1973:6). Notwithstanding, the social *construction* of sexual scripts, such as

older socio-economically successful men's enticement of younger women with cash and/or gifts in the manner eloquently described by Berger and Luckmann (1967), sexual scripts invariably elicit a predictable yet non-deterministic responses in context. This is why this thesis presents sexual scripts as important components of the students' habitus or structuring sexual structures, which partly explains their engagement in transactional sex.

Accordingly, transactional sex is presented as female university students' knowledgeable and active tactics for managing unequal gender and socio-economic relations in the Nigerian society with their knowledgeable and active exchange of sexual favours for the socio-economic patronage of materially richer and influential males. Several studies of transactional sex in Nigeria corroborate the preceding construction of transactional sex. For example, a study of the intersection of gender, inequality, infidelity, marriage, poverty and transactional sex in Nigeria observes that:

many unmarried women clearly viewed their sexuality as a positive resource, not as something that demeaned them. In a society where nearly everyone faces significant obstacles to attaining their social and economic goals, women's sexual agency offers numerous desired benefits, including opportunities to continue higher education, access to employment, and the ability to help kin. Indeed, the young women who are most likely to be married men's partners in sugar daddy relationships are not the poorest of the poor, trading sex for economic help because of abject poverty, but rather a more educated and fashionable group who are more disposed to see themselves as agentive (Smith, 2010:129; see also Eller, 2014; Ankomah et al. 2011).

Correspondingly, claims that poverty, especially food insecurity influence a similar vice, prostitution (see Oyefara, 2007), may not apply to female university students' engagement in transactional sex. This is because food bought by men, which are often jointly consumed in transactional sex relationships, are frequently of the non-basic variety. That is, food and beverages bought and consumed are often of the luxury, elitist and western imports and high-end local varieties, which are not necessary for the female university students' survival. These include a variety of high-end Nigerian delicacy called pepper-soup, suya (seasoned dried beef), alcohol, french-fries, pizza and other modernist pastries constructed as symbols of elite cuisine in Nigeria. Accordingly, one of the major drivers of transactional sex among female university students in Nigeria is the money and/or gifts for sex script, which occurs in the context of various gender asymmetries, among other influences.

5.2.2 Female Students' Acquisitiveness

An often under-specified influence on female university students' engagement in transactional sex is their acquisitiveness for materials and symbols of modernity, which similarly situated peers may have that they can ordinarily not afford. This element of the students' habitus or structuring structures (Bourdieu, 1990) are partly by-products of their structural and self-socialisation in context, or in much complex terms, products of their 'being in the world' – a consumerist world (Bleicher 1980: 118, citing Heidegger, 1949).

Female university students being-in-world orient them towards becoming consumers – with personality attributes oriented to transactional sex. As consumers, the students could be described as rebels; snobs, imitators, slaves, collectors, sovereigns, and entrepreneurs (Sassatelli, 2007). Alternatively, they may be described as hedonists, victims, rebels, activists, citizen choosers, communicators, explorers and identity-seekers (Gabriel & Lang, 2006). To reiterate, these personality attributes are consequences of female university students' modernist institutional and self-socialisation in context. Apparently, female university students interviewed by various scholars of transactional sex in Nigeria agree that:

Students engage in pre-marital sex for material goods. The desire for high social status or fashion and material goods among the students is another factor for engaging in premarital sex. Most students, (males and females) after satisfying all their basic needs, go ahead to acquire things like sound sets, expensive dresses to enable them feel they 'belong' (Abdullahi & Abdullahi, 2013:44; see also Luke, 2005)

Students' greed and covetousness are set against the structuring background of the increasing commodification of life wherein 'every item of culture becomes a commodity and becomes subordinated to the logic of the market either through a direct, economic mechanism or an indirect, psychological one' (Bauman, 1987:166). Sexual relations exemplify such commoditized item of culture. Corroborating the above, and drawing on data from their study of aristocratic transactional sex relationships at University of Ibadan, Nigeria, Tade & Adekoya (2012:246) report that:

BlackBerry phones, and I-Pods, among others, have made some undergraduates join the group of university runs-girls (RGs or transactional sex practitioners). For this category, dating an aristo (political and socio-economically affluent men) is all they need to have comfort and show off on campus as 'big girls.' They also, in the course of this exchange system become well connected (see also Ankomah et al. 2011; Masvawure, 2010).

Equally, in a study of the challenges of prostitution in Ojoo, a community in Ibadan close to the University of Ibadan, Nigeria, Kangiwa (2015:75) agrees with the dominant finding by transactional sex scholars in Nigeria that greed and covetousness motivate female university students' participation in transactional sex:

The most touted factor or reason for prostitution including campus prostitution is the greed and the urge to compete with other girls in dressing. To be regarded as a 'senior girl' one must keep up to certain standard of living and dressing. One must be up to date in a fashion world and must live up for fellow girls to see that one has arrived (see also Moore, Biddlecom & Zulu, 2007; Leclerc-Madlala, 2004).

The increasing commodification of existence is advanced by modern capitalist formations, such as the military-industrial complex, states and the culture industry. These interrelated formations and/or institutions extrapolate and anticipate female university students' neurotic orientations, wants and personal projects. These extrapolations and anticipations influence the 'manufacture (of) consumers' which succeed 'to a large extent' by cultivating and communicating rules and resources supporting the ascendancy of social needs (presented as autonomous choices) over sustainable subsistence needs (Lefebvre, 2002:10). Greed and covetousness, as components of the students' habitus or internal structures, transform university campuses into a 'neurotic society, a society of comparison' (Fanon, 1952:165); and of cross-class taste and distinction. Such neurotic orientations have been corroborated by transactional sex scholars elsewhere in sub-Saharan Africa (findings are instructive for Nigeria), such as Zimbabwean university campuses:

The pressure is there, like right now you go into campus and you see the other girls are flashy and all that . . . so you get the pressure that 'Oh! I'm wearing these clothes. I've had them for so long' . . . Basically, it's all about clothes. With girls it's about looking nice. Getting your hair done. I know most girls, some go out with ministers and all that, who are doing it just to get their hair done or something (Masvawure, 2010:863; see also Nobelius et al 2010).

Similar materialist orientations and comments were advanced by students justifying their participation in transactional sex in Cameroun:

I felt that I have had sex before and if there is the need to give sex for money, why not. My virginity was already broken. You know girls want fashionable things, should have a rich man as a boyfriend, even want a car but I find these things not necessary now. [I have received]

phones, laptop, shopping money, ticket to travel outside the country. (20 years old female sociology and social work student) [cited in Baba-Djara, 2013:23; see also Leclerc-Madlala, 2003].

In various campus sub-cultures, the students seem enslaved by their neurotic materialist orientations and perceived inferiority and/or superiority complexes. Such socially constructed and ephemeral life challenges include puzzles relating to *does she have more symbolic goods of modernity than I? Does she dress in more trendy fashion than I? Does she dine in more exclusive high-end establishments than I? Does she have more socially affluent friends than I?* And so forth. In Bauman's terms, a critical question for the students is 'have I used my means to the best advantage?' (2000:63). To resolve these socially constructed and ephemeral life-on-campus challenges, female university students engage in transactional sex.

5.2.3 Confidence in the restorative powers of morning-after-pills and illegal abortion

While the contraceptive revolution (a by-product of modernity and allied technologies) is intended to free humans from the stranglehold of fate, customs and conventions, its increasing availability in the form of morning-after-pills⁶⁹ and illegal abortions, has the unintended consequences of weakening university students' abstention resolutions and capabilities (for similar deductions, see Atkins, 2014; Kurt, 2014; Shafii, Stovel & Holmes, 2007; Simelela, 2006; McKean, 2006). That is, an unintended consequence of the contraceptive revolution and availability of illegal abortions in Nigeria is that transactional sex participants' have minimal concerns over the public discovery of premarital pregnancies (see Fayemi & Oladepo, 2011; Luke & Kurz, 2002; Akerlof et al., 1997).

Although the influence of contraceptives on transactional sex is under-studied in Nigeria, it may explain respondents' claims in Omorodion's (2006:102) study that 'pregnancy is never in our minds when we engage in sex. It's the last thing we think about or discuss' (see also Cadmus & Owoaje, 2011; Adewole & Lawoyin, 2004). Such opinions, as the above, are probably held by students because contraceptives, especially emergency contraceptive pills (ECPs), are now readily

⁶⁹ 'The morning-after pill is very effective at reducing the risk of pregnancy. Studies have shown that it reduces the risk of pregnancy when taken up to 120 hours after unprotected intercourse' (Planned Parenthood, 2015:2).

available and affordable in Nigeria. Despite female university students' dread⁷⁰ of using contraceptives, their use promises a convenient way to prevent conception, and a speedy termination of unplanned pregnancies, if they arise. These utilities of contraceptives and abortions facilitate the students' uninterrupted continuation of *normal* campus life after intermittent pregnancies linkable to transactional sex. Participants in Zaggi's study at Kaduna Polytechnic corroborate the role of contraceptives in mitigating pregnancy concerns:

the most common methods of contraceptives available is the (oral) pills and condom, but most girls will resist using the pills because they believe it will affect their womb, so they prefer condoms, or you just remove (the penis) before releasing, the withdrawal method (cited in Zaggi, 2014:68).

Unfortunately, female university students' contraceptive use is not always effective because of access, quality and inconsistent use issues related to cultural beliefs (Otoide, Oronsaye & Okonofua, 2001; Okonofua et al., 2009). When contraceptives fail, Nigerian youths resort to crude abortion agents such as quinine, and illegal abortions, which are nevertheless secretly offered by trained and untrained health workers and professionals in Nigeria for a fee. Probably as a consequence, unplanned pregnancies, and illegal abortions are reportedly common among university students in Nigeria (Cadmus & Owoaje, 2011; Okonofua et al 2009; Mitsunaga, Larsen & Okonofua, 2005; Arowojolu et al., 2002). The students terminate unplanned pregnancies:

For various reasons including fear of expulsion from school, denial by spouse and failed contraception. The commonest reason given by the respondents in this study for terminating the unwanted pregnancy was unpreparedness for child bearing. Other reasons given included young age and fear of future consequences as the female might not be able to complete her studies (Cadmus & Owoaje, 2011:23).

The outcome of the above is that 'roughly one in five pregnancies each year in Nigeria are unplanned; of those, slightly more than half end in abortion' (Guttmacher Institute, 2006:1; World Youth Report, 2004; Renne, 1996). In fact, an 'estimate of unsafe abortion revealed that in the African region, youth aged between 15-24 years old account for more than 50% of all abortion

⁷⁰ Nigerian youths contradictorily believe that one-off abortions are safer than long-term contraceptive use based on their assumption that daily contraceptive use causes future infertility (Otoide, Oronsaye & Okonofua, 2001; Okonofua et al 2009).

related mortality' (Cadmus & Owoaje, 2011:1; Okonofua et al. 2009). The commonality of unplanned pregnancies and abortion among young unmarried women aged 15 - 25 years in Nigeria has been documented by various transactional sex scholars:

All the girls in this community have become experts in abortion. Those who are ignorant solicit the advice of friends or relatives. Hawkers of prescriptive and non-prescriptive drugs, as well as the "small doctors" provide abortion-inducing drugs for these girls (cited in Omorodion, 2006:102; see also Okereke, 2010; Aliko, 2012; Abdulraheem & Fawole, 2009].

Equally, a 23-year-old tertiary student in another study remarked that:

many girls are doing something to prevent getting pregnant. They use safe period or sometimes drugs like ergometrin or ampicillin (cited in Otoide, Oronsaye & Okonofua, 2001:79; see also Omorodion, 2006).

The core argument advanced in this sub-section is that female university students' awareness of contraceptives and abortion services pattern their sexual "habitus". That is, their awareness and confidence in the preventive capacities of pills, and the restorative powers of illegal abortions reduces their primal fears about public discovery of premarital pregnancies; and nurtures the worldview that the benefits of transactional sex outweigh allied and manageable risks. This unintended effects of the contraceptive revolution on the students' sexual "habitus" are under-elaborated in Nigerian transactional sex literature. Reasons for the uncritical treatment of contraceptives and abortions influence on transactional sex in literature may revolve around their positive advantages, such as 'readily available contraceptives are one means of reducing the risk of contracting STDs (such as gonorrhoea, syphilis and HIV) and preventing unwanted pregnancies;' and the corresponding reproductive health stakeholders' drive to increase women's access to contraceptives globally (World Youth Report, 2003:252; see also Ross, Stover & Adelaja, 2006; Sachs et al. 2004).

5.3. Active agencies of female university students

We will recall that agency,⁷¹ for structuration theory, ‘concern events of which an individual is the perpetrator, in the sense that the individual could, at any phase in a given sequence of conduct, have acted differently’ (Giddens, 1984:9). These phases or stages of transactional sex, when the students could have done otherwise, include (1) pre-contemplative phase, (2) contemplative phase, (3) decision phase, (4) action phase, (5) action maintenance phase, and (6) quitting/relapsing phase. In different re-combinations, these analytical stages or phases of transactional sex operates as a *duree* or a ‘continuous flow of’ action and/or reflexivity - especially the ‘continuous monitoring of action which human beings display and expect others to display (1984:3).

In particular, agency, against the backdrop of modernist capitalist formations entails ‘taking charge of one's life’ (which) involves risk (without letting perceived risks determine action), because it means confronting a diversity of open possibilities ... and to contemplate novel courses of action that cannot simply be guided by established habits’ or prescriptive traditions (Giddens, 1991: 73; words in parenthesis by author). Active agencies include a wide range of features, knowledge and transposable dispositions implicated in the flow of action, which are unleashed when female university students draw-on and work-on their habitus or internal structures for transactional sex.

An assortment of agencies facilitates students’ answers to what Giddens constructs as the central problem of modernity – ‘how shall I live’ (1991: 14); and more contextually, how shall I be perceived on campus. This puzzle patterns female university students’ day-to-day reflexive projects and decisions about personal conduct, clothing, food, entertainment, and so forth, which must communicate trendy modernity. Three examples of practical action will be discussed. They include (1) sexual self-presentations on the internet, (2) partner(s)’ selection for transactional sex, and (3) active rejection of the prostitution label and decisive intentions to quit.

5.3.1 Sexual self-presentation with the internet, mobile phones & instant messaging

Nigerian university students widely use the internet, mobile phones and instant messaging applications for a variety of purposes (Fasae & Aladeniyi, 2012; Udende & Azeez, 2010; Ani,

⁷¹ Alternatively defined, agency ‘concerns the nature of individual freedom in the face of social constraints, the role of socialisation in the forming of “persons” and the place of particular ways of doing things in the reproduction of culture’ (Gardner, 2004:1).

2010; Awoleye, Siyanbola & Oladipo, 2008). However, the students use these media for sexual self-presentations and/or client recruitment purposes - an active adaptation of these 'media to their needs more readily than the media overpowers them' (Katz, Gurevitch & Haas, 1973:164-165). For example, Tade and Adekoya's (2012:247) study at the University of Ibadan revealed that 'the digitalisation of transactional sex on university campuses in Nigeria has made possession of 'BlackBerry phones' a luxury. 'BB', as it is called, is a tool for connecting with clients and obtaining information from cohorts and pimps' (see also Bernstein, 2007a&b; Arvidsson, 2006; Ibekwe, 2000). Similarly, in a study of the influence of the new media on intimate relations in Africa on three Nigerian university campuses, Ojebode, Togunde & Adhlakun's (2011:307) respondents reveal:

That female students involved in cross generational dating employ the new media to connect with older male partners, nurse the connections and/or to disconnect. The respondents also reveal that the new media are highly valued because they ensure secrecy, which is important in their practice of cross-generational dating. Through their utility in tracking members of the group, the new media are helpful for security purpose. The media have also come to be a status symbol within and outside the group, and to signify a currency of exchange. There is a reciprocal relationship between cross-generational dating and the use of exotic new media accessories: each accelerates and improves the other (see also Longe et al. 2007; Barrack & Fisher, 2005).

On the other hand, that:

When they meet you online, maybe in [sic] Facebook, they know that you are 'tush', as in, you're enlightened, an international babe. They can't give you shit. You talk dollars. They respect you. As in, they know you are not one of those useless girls they pick by the roadside (Ojebode, Togunde & Adhlakun, 2011:319)

Subsequent to the students' sexual self-presentations leveraging the internet, mobile phones and instant messaging, interested male suitors assume a pre-scripted leading role in the transactional sex process. They do this by initiating romantic contact through various wooing mechanisms, such as display of material resources with symbolic applications that the students are known to covet, gifting some of these materials in exchange for transactional sex and/or companionship, which may subsequently orient the relationship towards emotional and romantic ties. Males follow the above scripts because they are known to be effective in securing sexual access to the students, and because they know that female university students consider 'sex without

at least lip service to love places the girl in danger of developing a [bad] reputation' (Wilson, 1978:115). It is important to emphasize that the internet, similar to other societal structures, does not force transactional sex.

The internet is merely a tool or resource uniquely leveraged by students predisposed to transactional sex, among its multiple uses, to advertise their sexuality and communicate their availability to discerning male patrons. For example, 'the guy saw me on Facebook and called me. We got talking and he said his boss would like to meet me. They came to pick me and we've been on...six months now' (Ojebode, Togunde & Adelokun, 2011:314). Another multi-institution study in Delta State, Nigeria, by Ufuophu-Biri & Iwu (2014:86) found that 'students' use of the social media plays significant role in their involvement in prostitution.' It is likely that female university students exploit the internet, mobile phones and instant messages in this manner because:

Cyberspace makes talking with strangers easier. The fundamental point of many cyber-realms, such as chat rooms, is to make new acquaintances. By contrast, in most urban settings, few environments encourage us to walk up to strangers and start chatting. In many cities, doing so would amount to a physical threat (Kang, 2000:1161).

Similarly, Adebayo, Udegbe & Sunmola's (2006:748) study, which examined the influence of gender and internet use on the sexual behaviour orientation of young adults in Nigeria:

Reveals that gender and Internet use were significantly and positively related to reported sexual behaviour orientation of young adults. In other words, as the amount of time spent on the Internet increased, the extent of reported levels of sexual behaviour increased for male and female respondents (see also Longe et al. 2009).

In essence, drawing on, and working on the habitus of their gendered sexual socialisation, the students exploit the internet and mobile phones, especially social networking sites, such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, and various chatrooms, as resources to facilitate sexual self-presentations to men who seek, and willing to pay for, sexual and/or escort services provided by female university students. Among members of the gay community in more developed contexts, online sexual self-presentations are associated with risk behaviours, such as multiple sexual partners and increased frequency of unprotected sex (Blackwell, 2008; Garofalo et al. 2007). It is likely that female university students face similar risks.

5.3.2 Partner(s)' selection for transactional sex

An often under-elaborated evidence of women's agency in transactional sex is their decisive roles in male transactional sex partner selection. Without female university students acquiescing to older male attempts to engage them in transactional sex, the act will be impossible; otherwise, rape is committed. Female university students' power in targeting socio-political and economical successful older males, accepting and/or rejecting their gifts and sexual intentions pervade the transactional sex sub-culture despite the essentialist⁷² construction of Nigerian women as sexually reticent or inactive. This is likely why female students in Tade and Adekoya's (2012:248) study revealed that the:

Level of wealth of your client is very important. The first thing I need is money and not connection, because some people are popular but they do not have money. How many rich men can someone know? Once we agree on the price, the scenario starts. Even some girls that perform very good on bed are given additional money by the Aristo daddies. Had it been they are not rich, how will they settle (pay) us.

Equally, respondents in Zaggi (2014) study which explored contraceptive knowledge and practices among students (18 to 25 years of age) at the Federal Polytechnic Kaduna, Nigeria, claim that transactional sex is motivated by material and other benefits coveted by female university students:

Yes, transactional sex happens, I can say they are up to 40%, even student and lecturers do it. Students goes to lecturers and sleep (have sex) with them to get marks. It is more common among female students. I can't believe why a little girl of about 23 years or so will be visiting a lecturer in a hotel room, for what? Definitely it is for such kind of activities. They have a need; it could be for money or marks. There must be a satisfaction from both ways (cited in Zaggi, 2014: 45-46; see also Omoregie et al., 2003).

Mate selection for transactional sex, similar to longer-term mating, are patterned by males' competitive, aesthetic or material displays, and female university students' interpretation of the displays as evidence of material wealth, which they value and covet. The students recognize socio-economically successful males with their large cars, reputations, and other accessories of wealth.

⁷² Over time, the asymmetrical valuation of male and female sexuality, and gendered scripting of sex roles in Nigeria nurture an attitude of least interest or culturally prescribed and simulated disinterest in sex among women. This attitude approximates a consciousness orienting 'the person who is perceived by the other as the less interested, the more indifferent, to the exchange is apt to have the greater power' (Homans, 1974:70-83).

Apparently, female university students have scripted preferences for much older, dominant, socio-economically more successful males than their male peers. Simply put, in Nigeria as in most heterosexual contexts, ‘sex is understood to be something females have that males want’ (Symons, 1979: 253); and are willing to pay different forms of prices for. Accordingly, the students are sexual gatekeepers in transactional sex encounters – with mate selection, timing of visit, and granting of sexual access powers. A study at the University of Ibadan confirms the above assessment:

I meet my clients through different means. One can meet a client anywhere in the faculty, most especially among the big master’s students. Our clients could even be undergraduate students, especially the yahoo guys (advance fee fraudsters), or even among the so-called lecturers in the school environment. Although, I will say the truth that we meet better aristos in any clean and neat place, probably hotels (cited in Tade & Adekoya, 2012:249; see also Ojebode, Togunde & Adelokun, 2011; Omoregie et al., 2003).

Majority of female university students, who participate in transactional sex, compete for socio-economically successful males who can materially provision and protect them, and are willing to gift materials of modernity in exchange for sex and/or companionship of younger females. The general rule of thumb seems to be that the more youthful, prettier and sexually accomplished the students are, the more they are highly sought-after by indigenous and expatriate socio-economically and politically more accomplished males called aristos (aristocrats) or sugar daddies.

5.3.3 Active rejection of being labelled prostitutes and intentions to quit

The students actively contest and reject being labelled prostitutes despite engaging in transactional sex. Moreover, they view their engagement in transactional sex as temporary and have strong intentions to quit the part-time job on securing a husband, a formal job, and/or on or after graduation. The preceding complex position-practices are under-elaborated elements of the students’ knowledgeable ‘agencies, which are products of their full or partial penetration of contextual sexuality and gender norms, which condemns women’s participation in transactional sex. The students’ partial and/or full penetration of the Nigerian sexuality system seem to nurtures residual shame about their participation in transactional sex, which underscores their contestations of the label *prostitutes*, and elaborate secrecy surrounding their engagement in the vice. Instead,

they prefer labels such as runs-girls, senior girls, and so on. In one study of transactional sex among female university students at the University of Ibadan, for example, the authors report that:

Respondents were unanimous in the rejection of the label, prostitution. However, they substituted prostitution with 'runs' and the actors, 'runs-girl'. 'Runs' is the redefinition of the act of transactional sex in ivory towers by negating prostitution seen as a negative label. Rather than seeing themselves as prostitutes, these female undergraduates categorized themselves as a distinct group from prostitutes. Runs-girls, as they call themselves, is conceived as a social group of educated, classy, choosy female undergraduates who rely on their erotic advantages to cope with economic, social, political and labour market strains (Tade & Adekoya, 2012:245; see also Baba-Djara et al. 2013)

For other scholars, such as Ojebode, Togunde & Adedokun's (2011) study of the appropriation of the new media by female undergraduate students involved in cross-generational dating, elaborate secrecy surrounds the students' transactional sex practice:

Among Nigerian female undergraduate students, cross-generational dating is still shrouded in some secrecy. No one comes out boldly to declare that she or he is involved in the practice. Even when friends and classmates know it, it is fashionable for a lady to deny it so as to avoid being perceived as greedy or labelled as a home wrecker. On occasions that ladies have to introduce their older partners, such partners are referred to as uncles (Ojebode, Togunde & Adedokun, 2011:316; see also Amo-Adjei, Kumi-Kyereme & Tuoyire, 2014).

The authors advance alternative and persuasive reasons for the active secrecy surrounding transactional sex on Nigerian university campuses as well. The reasons are that:

Maintaining some level of secrecy is important for the ladies because they often date their aristos alongside the real boyfriends they intend to marry, or as some claimed, they double-date aristos especially if the affair has not become a relationship. For the older men, secrecy is important because they are often married and so must ensure that their wives do not know of their extra-marital affairs. Much better than the old media of mediated interpersonal relationship, such as land lines and letters, the new media help maintain this needed secrecy (Ojebode, Togunde & Adedokun, 2011:316).

The perceived immorality of the above sexual practices apparently nurtures a feeling of shame in the students. This shame and discomfort are often linkable to the dominant construction and stigmatization of transactional sex in Nigeria as degrading, bad and dishonourable practice, which only women from disreputable family backgrounds and low self-esteem engage-in. The preceding behavioural norms are inculcated in women during their gendered socialisation, which emphasizes a dichotomy between good women (ideally sexually chaste), and bad women

(theoretically and/or empirically sexually promiscuous). While the former (good women) enjoy contextual esteem and honour, the latter (bad women) daily contend with increasingly eroding self and community respect or esteem, and in some instance culturally sanctioned dishonouring acts (see Cimino, 2013; Sallmann, 2010).

Another sub-theme, illustrating female university students' knowledgeable and active agencies, is their near-universal intentions to quit what is essentially a part-time job (transactional sex). Female university students anticipate quitting transactional sex for reasons different from more professional sex workers, such as 'the sum total of daily hassles, acute traumas, and chronic conditions' encountered in context (Williamson & Folaron, 2003:283). Unlike professional sex workers, the female university students plan to quit for two major reasons – shame over engaging in transactional sex, and plans to marry younger, unmarried suitors and age appropriate suitors who are often unaware of their past. These sentiments were articulately expressed by a female university student in a Ghanaian study of transactional sex on university campuses. Speaking about her older lover, the students claimed 'I don't love him ... it is just for fun, companionship (not love) and material benefits, I will definitely stop because I want to marry ... and I can't be a second wife' (cited in Amo-Adjei, Kumi-Kyereme & Tuoyire, 2014: 477).

5.4. Intended and unintended outcomes of transactional sex

The outcomes of transactional sex, or the concrete realization of female university students' goals for engaging in transactional sex, such as accumulating symbolic goods of modernity, have 'overlapping but differential effects' on various phases of transactional sex (Stones, 2005:85). These effects will be specified in the discussion and analysis section. Nonetheless, the outcomes of transactional sex are of two basic kinds – intended and unintended outcomes. These outcomes variously affect the students 'external and internal structures, and active agencies anew. Intended and unintended outcomes of transactional sex are additionally compelling and influential events in themselves – patterning and reinforcing 'the properties of agents that are emergent from interaction' (Stones, 2005:85).

For presentational purposes, exemplary intended and unintended outcomes that will be discussed in the thesis include (1) female university students' enhanced social status on various university campuses, as an example of 'success... of agents' purposes irrespective of their effects upon structures;' and (2) poor grades and/or orientation towards sex-for-grades as an example of failure 'of agents' purposes irrespective of their effects upon structures' (Stones, 2005:85).

5.4.1 Intended outcome - enhanced social status on various university campuses

Available literature on transactional sex are increasingly unanimous about the influence of modernist consumerism, which enhances the students' statuses on various university campuses as their primary reason for engaging in transactional sex. To paraphrase Mahatma Gandhi, the students are afflicted or 'enslaved by temptation of money and of the luxuries that money can buy' (1946:26). Not surprisingly, a study at the University of Lagos, Nigeria, which explored factors influencing multiple sexual partnerships among Nigerian undergraduates found that 'when you are looking for money, you are ready to sleep with 10 people at the same time because you need that money' (Olaniran, Persson & Oyekanmi, 2013:14). Other studies corroborate the preceding assessment in Nigeria, and elsewhere. For example, a study at the University of Ibadan found that:

luxury possessions, such as cars, BlackBerry phones and social security (job placement) after school life are the perceived derivable benefits of transactional sex (Tade & Adekoya, 2012:239; see also Ojebode, Togunde & Adedokun, 2011; Amo-Adjei, Kumi-Kyereme & Tuoyire, 2014; Baba-Djara et al. 2013).

Money, and luxuries money can buy, apparently fulfils the students' social status construction and maintenance projects, entertainment needs, equalizes them with those who already own and display such goods, and enhances their superiority complexes and statuses in relation to peers, which cumulatively promote their happiness and wellbeing, as they imagine them, on various university campuses. Expressly corroborating these deductions, participants in a study of students' use of the mobile phones and internet for cross-generational dating on three Nigerian university campuses explained the basic utility of transactional sex, and how its proceeds are deployed to influence novice students:

I can say that I didn't start this thing just like that on my own. You know, these girls are well dressed; their room is well furnished and so on. And you want to dress like them. They are also friendly. So they tell you, these things don't fall from heaven. It takes runs (transactional sex) to get them. They tell you that you need connections with big men for your future. If you keep saying no to them, you lose their friendship; they also mock you (Ojebode, Togunde & Adedokun, 2011:319; see also Abdullahi & Umar, 2013; Ojebode, Togunde & Adedokun, 2011).

We must remember that the students are obsessed (*habitus*) with modernist goods that enhance their status, and knowledgeably leverage their erotic capabilities to engage in transactional sex (*agency*) to obtain symbolic goods of modernity (*outcomes*), because ‘they have so little real economic or political power’ (external structural constraints) (Milner, 2004: 4; words in parenthesis by author). In a significant sense therefore, transactional sex may constitute female university students’ adaptations to rapid and contemporaneous socio-economic change and challenges in context. It is important to comment on the various modernist luxuries money can buy in Nigeria, which female university students covet for status communication and/or maintenance, which orients them to further engage in transactional sex.

Broadly speaking, these goods could be categorized into three groups. Group one, which transactional sex literature often confuse with subsistence include western food, beverages and snacks sold locally, better-still, imported into Nigeria. Items in these category include foreign pastries, fast food, expensive chocolates and alcoholic beverages considered superior to local cuisines and Nigerian brands by the students. Some local cuisines that may qualify include *suya* (seasoned and slow-roasted beef meat), *friend rice*, chicken and chips, and so on. These are not subsistence foods in Nigeria by any standard. Although this sub-theme is under-researched in Nigeria, participants in a comparable study in Ghana narrates female university students’ value of these luxury class of foods:

You see, my parents pay my fees, accommodation and provide me with money for my clothing and feeding. However, I don’t eat from the Science Market because their food is not tasty. Even though my parents give me money for feeding, you see when I am on campus, I like going out with my female friends. One thing too is that, we girls, we like new things so we buy new things a lot. We like changing our hairstyle, dress and one or two things (cited in Amo-Adjei, Kumi-Kyereme & Tuoyire, 2014:478).

Group two consist mainly of electronic gadgets, such as high-end mobile phones (and recharge cards), laptops, tablets, TV sets and so forth. The third category of modernist and symbolic goods coveted by the students include various fashion (especially designer labels) items and accessories, such as cloths, perfumes, handbags, shoes, and so on. Additionally, there are beauty creams, lotions and make-up kits leveraged to enhance femininity, as female university students imagine them, and as they unfold in context. These class of modernist goods communicate their wearers’ trendiness to onlookers and peers because they are simultaneously designer labels,

expensive and imported. According to in the authors of the study of new media and transactional sex on three Nigerian university campuses:

Among the female undergraduate students whom we interviewed, having expensive new media accessories enhanced in-group status. When a lady possessed an expensive phone, camera, palmtop or laptop, bought for her by her aristo (aristocrats), members of her cross-generational dating circle not only envied her, they also gave her some measure of respect. According to them, it meant the lady was smart and lucky to have been able to grow a runs with a rich and generous aristo into a relationship (Ojebode, Togunde & Adelokun, 2011:319; see also Tade & Adekoya, 2012)

Wusu (2010:14), in a study that explores the dimensions of transactional sex among Lagos State University undergraduates, report similar application of cash and gifts earned from transactional sex for status communication, maintenance and peer influence:

She was a roommate to two of her friends who were having nice time with their Aristos. When this lady got admission, she was a very decent girl who did not believe in having sex to make money. However, her roommates would always bring the money made out of their 'sugar daddies' into the room. They dangled thousands of naira before this innocent girl from day to day. Along the line she began to accompany her friends out, sometimes their Aristos would buy things for her too. Gradually, she developed interest and she joined them in patronizing men who offered money for sex (see also Tade & Adekoya, 2012; Omorodion, 2006)

The last class of symbolic goods coveted by the students are often the preserve of longer-term practitioners of transactional sex. These include ownership and/or access to trending flats, houses and cars – courtesy of particular sugar-daddies or aristocrats. In sum, modernist capitalist formations have redefined, but not determined, female university students' agential appropriation of its products and features (Beck, Giddens & Lash, 1994). The above findings likely motivated Leclerc-Madlala, drawing on data from a comparable study of transactional sex in Durban, South Africa, to argue that transactional sex 'is the means used by women ... to pursue images and ideals largely created by the media and globalisation (2003: 213; see also Stoebenau et al., 2013; Masvawure, 2010; Hunter, 2002).

5.4.2 Unintended outcome - poor grades and/or orientation towards sex-for-grades

Phrased in Mertonian (1936) language, unintended outcomes of transactional sex constitute female university students' least considered outcomes of engaging in transactional sex. Poor grades, and consequently, further orientation towards sex-for-grades, are examples of

unanticipated consequences of female university students' transactional sex, which exemplify one of three Mertonian unintended consequences of action.⁷³ That is, the occurrence of *unexpected drawback* or negative effect (poor grades) of action, in addition to their intended consequences of transactional sex (high social status on campus).

Drivers of various unintended consequences of transactional sex include (1) the immediacy of female university students' basic values (hedonistic and materialist⁷⁴ values); (2) ignorance arising from the students' partial structural penetration (on account of their inexperience and social status) and, (3) errors in female university students' constraint-solution analysis, (4) imperious immediacy of their interests (pursuit of material pleasure (fun) without hesitation) and, (5) self-defeating prophecies, exemplified by the students' initial fears of obtaining poor grades, which drives them into sex-for-grades, before this problem arises (see Merton, 1936:904).

Moreover, poor grades and/or orientation towards sex-for-grades are examples of outcomes and actions 'which are functional for designated systems (sexuality and education systems), and have 'latent functions' because they instigate similar and further action. (Merton 1968, 105; words in parenthesis, by author). Poor grades for class participation, assignments and examinations are outcomes of the students' intermittent needs to travel outside university campuses for transactional sex assignments. Corroborating the above assessments, participants in Oyeoku et al., (2014:47) study of transactional sex claim that success in the vice necessitates:

Travelling every now and then, not consistent in lecture attendance and school activities, poor academic coping skills, bartering sex for marks, not really bordering about knowledge acquisition, don't care about knowing just care about certificates, poorly focused on academic matters, generally laissez faire attitude to scholarship and low cumulative grade point averages (Oyeoku et al. 2014:47).

Correspondingly, participants in Tade and Adekoya's (2012: 250-251) study agree with the above sentiments:

⁷³ Another unintended consequence of purposive action is unexpected benefits, which could be exemplified with a serendipitous occurrence such as a student-under-focus acquisition of a husband or job because of participating in transactional sex. The third unintended consequence of purposive action is the occurrence of perverse results from transactional sex, such as a student-under-focus contracting HIV/AIDS that she originally did not intend, which worsens her experiences of the originally compelling and constraining structures.

⁷⁴ This thesis defines materialism as 'a cultural system in which material interests are not made subservient to other social goals and in which material self-interest is preminent' (Mukerji, 1983:8)

There is no time I don't go for runs (transactional sex), but it depends mainly on the amount and the calibre of people that take me out. I have once been out of school for 2 weeks when I went to Abuja. In this case, I do miss classes and later when I come back I do copy note (see also Oyeoku et al. 2014).

Poor grades, or female university students concerns over potential poor grades because of their intermittent trips to meet their transactional sex partners have the unintended consequences of further orienting the students to sex-for-grades or granting sexual favours to male lecturers for good grades. In fact, respondents in Tade and Adekoya's (2012) study at the University of Ibadan declare that:

I read whenever I have the chance, mostly during exam period. I have missed series of test, but I have never missed exams. Sometimes I buy gift and recharge cards to my lecturers as a form of lobby whenever I want to bail myself out (Tade & Adekoya, 2012:251; see also Ella, 2014; Manuh, Gariba & Budu, 2007).

Equally, participants in Wusu's (2010) study at Lagos State University apparently agrees with the above observation:

Undergraduates sexual partners are sometimes highly placed in the society, at least of higher status than them [selves] or rich enough to offer them what they don't have, this category of individuals include lecturers who offer grades for sex (quid pro quo), young persons and others who have money and others who have money and other materials that are attractive to their prey (Wusu, 2010:2; see also Zaggi, 2014; see also Nwadiuwe, 2007; Bakari & Leach (2007).

The next section, data analysis and interpretation, will resolve what Margaret Archer framed as 'the vexatious task of understanding the linkage between structure and agency' (1995:1). This challenge was earlier framed by Mills (1959:6) as a requirement for a social analyst to have a robust 'grasp [of] history and biography and the relations between the two within society.' That is, there is a sociological requirement to describe the ways and manners that elements of female university students' external and internal structures, agency and outcomes, which were presented in the findings chapter, inter-relatedly compel their engagement in transactional sex.

CHAPTER 6

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

A persistent challenge in sociology is ‘relating action to structure’ in a manner that neither achieves instigative primacy (Giddens 1984:219). In practical terms, this challenge translates into specifying how the tension-ridden, and often contradictory, influences on transactional sex presented in the previous chapter (re)combines to compel the female university students’ (hereafter called students) engagement in transactional sex in furtherance of their xenocentric and mimetic consumption needs, despite the availability of other income generation alternatives. The alternatives, which are often less rewarding and more energy demanding, include working in department stores, call-centres, day-care centres, and so forth. That is, findings are neither narrowly structural nor agential. Instead, findings paint ‘pluralistic and flexible pictures of the constitution of social life that generally oppose hypostatized unities, root order in local contexts, and/or successfully accommodate complexities, differences and particularities’ (Schatzki, 1996:12).

So far, this thesis has been an attempt to clarify the above puzzle with Anthony Giddens (1984) structuration theory, strengthened by Stones (2005) reformulation of the theory for empirical research. It is important to note that a structurationist re-thinking of Nigerian transactional sex literature requires certain essential analytical operations. The first feature is that accounts of structural influences in structuration theory, unlike in structuralist perspectives in sociology, are intrinsically linked to symbolically acting subjects (i.e. students) in society. This feature of structuration theory attempts to transcend voluntarism or determinism - the dominant approaches in the social sciences. The second essential feature of structuration theory specifies the need to link the students’ ability to engage (agency) in transactional sex (action) to their contexts (structures – conceived as transformative rule and resource sets). The second requirement of structuration theory is operationalised by employing the notion of students’ knowledgeable and self-interest in leveraging contextual structural principles,⁷⁵ such as gendered sexual-action rules

⁷⁵ ‘Structural principles involve using rules and resources to create congeries of generalized formulas and facilities that "stretch systems across time and space" and that allow for "system integration’ (Turner, 1986: 972). Gendered sexual-action rules can be exemplified by the dominant heteronormative sexual standards in Nigeria while gendered resources may include standards of affected beauty and erotic capital. Both structural rules and resources guide students’ engagement in transactional sex in Nigeria.

and resources, to engage in transactional sex. Structural principles, are emergent structural principles.

To reiterate an earlier point, the above indispensable features of Giddens' (1984) formulation of structuration theory are rendered empirically and analytically operational by Stones' (2005) analytical brackets of agents' context and conduct analysis (see also Giddens, 1984:282). The students' context and conduct analysis are analytical and discussion devices for elaborating the *stratification model* of action, which is 'an interpretation of the human agent stressing three 'layers' of cognition/motivation: discursive consciousness, practical consciousness and the unconscious' (Giddens, 1984:376). These forms of consciousness are patterned by the students' external structure patterned motivations for action and interactions in context - especially imitative action and reflexive monitoring of peers conducts, which are all 'embedded sets of processes,' which compels the students' engagement in transactional sex. To be exact, the students' contexts and conducts' analysis facilitates the seamless aggregation and integration of components of their external and internal structures, agency and outcomes of action, as embedded and interrelated sets of processes that accounts for their engagement in transactional sex in Nigeria.

6.1 The students' context analysis

The students' 'context analysis can be used to analyse the terrain (material and nonmaterial constraints and enablement of action) that constitutes the range of possibilities and limits to the possible' in Nigeria – as far as the students are concerned (Stones, 2005:122; words in parenthesis, by author). More critically, the students' context 'analysis also allows the social researcher a perspective from which to identify and assess the range of relevant causal influences, the potential courses of action, and the probable consequences of both, and to judge these assessments against those of the' students (*ibid*). Exemplary features of the Nigerian terrain, which simultaneously constrain and enable the students' engagement in transactional sex, which were presented in the findings chapter, include the gender structure, the lure of modernist goods/technologies and good grades, and the influence of political and socio-economically successful men as transactional sex co-instigators. How do these representative features of the students' terrain (re)combine to compel their engagement in transactional sex?

Literature on transactional sex in Nigeria is unequivocal about the influence of the gender and consumerist structures as the motivation⁷⁶ and guide for the students' engagement in transactional sex. The gender and consumerist structures achieve such stranglehold on students because of their primary and secondary socialisation,⁷⁷ - especially their self-socialisation and sexualisation, which often occur in 'absence of any external pressure to behave in a sex-stereotyped manner' (Bem, 1983:601). In addition, gender and consumerism facilitates the students' construction and maintenance of what Turner (1980) called a *social skin* on campus. The students construct and maintain distinctive social skins with fashion, electronic gadgets, exotic foods, body enhancements, attitudes, the body and gestures – leveraging these to communicate taste and difference on various university campuses.

To be exact, the students' structural, self-socialisation and sexualisation merely predispose them to certain action-orientations, it does not determine what they eventually do. While Wacquant (2005:316) describes primary socialisation as how 'society becomes deposited in persons in the form of lasting dispositions,⁷⁸ or trained capacities and structured propensities to think, feel and act in determinant ways, which then guide' action, such as transactional sex, Bauman (2000:74)

⁷⁶ 'Motivation refers to potential for action rather than to the mode in which action is chronically carried on by the agent... motives supply overall plans or programmes ... within which a range of conduct is enacted' (Giddens, 1984:6). However, most of our daily actions are not directly motivated but driven by routine, which 'is integral both to the continuity of the personality of the agent, as he or she moves along the paths of daily activities, and to the institutions of society, which are such only through their continued reproduction (Giddens, 1984:60).

⁷⁷ This thesis adopts Berger and Luckmann's (1967) definitions of primary and secondary socialisation. According to the authors, 'primary socialisation creates in the child's consciousness a progressive abstraction from the roles and attitude of specific others to roles and attitudes in general' while 'secondary socialisation is the internalization of institutional or institution-based 'sub-worlds,' such as consumerism (1967:151 & 158). It is important to note that primary and secondary socialisation approximates various non-deterministic processes involved in training and indoctrinating (because of sanctions) individual(s) to internalize, and be oriented towards past, current and future societal and individual pursuits.

⁷⁸ Stones conceives the dispositional to encompass 'transposable skills and dispositions, including generalised world-views and cultural schemas, classifications, typifications of things, people and networks, principles of action, typified recipes of action, deep binary frameworks of signification, associative chains and connotations of discourse, habits of speech and gesture, and methodologies for adapting this generalised knowledge to a range of particular practices in particular locations of time and space (Stones, 2005:88).

described secondary socialisation or biographical learning⁷⁹ as institutions⁸⁰ and agents co-creating ‘the code in which our “life policy” is scripted’ by the imperative of consumerism. Secondary socialisation and adaptation, especially relate to the students’ active adoption of modernist consumerist ethos, which promotes the habitus⁸¹ or a ‘generative (if not creative) capacity inscribed in the system of dispositions as an art’ of individualisation and xenocentric taste/desire and consumption for identity boundary-making and maintenance on various university campuses (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:122).

Individualisation, according to Bauman (2000:31), ‘consists of transforming human ‘identity’ from a given’ into a ‘task’ and charging the actors with the responsibility for performing that task.’ The habitus of individualist taste and consumption, in turn, produces narcissist and covetous students into whom the dominant consumerist ‘social order is progressively inscribed’ (Bourdieu, 1984:471). Secondary socialisation and adaptation are additionally how the students acquire their mimetic and xenocentric tastes in upper-class, elite and nouveau riche beauty and femininity enhancing commodities that they can hardly afford. Consequently, the students engage in transactional sex for recompense. Students are attracted to, and invest themselves in the conflated goods of sex, fashion and beauty because they are communicated by the industrial complex as, and imagined by the students as, the essence of sophisticated femininity, material and sexual autonomy.

Expectedly, gender and consumerist structures, in all instances encountered in Nigerian transactional sex literature, patterns ‘social relations that centres on the (re)productive arena, and the set of practices that bring (re)productive distinctions between bodies into social processes’

⁷⁹ Alheit defines biographical learning as ‘a self-willed, ‘autopoietic’ accomplishment on the part of active subjects ..., in which they reflexively ‘organise’ their experience in such a way that they also generate personal coherence, identity, a meaning to their life history, and a communicable, socially viable lifeworld perspective for guiding their actions’ (Alheit. 2005:209).

⁸⁰ ‘Institutions by definition are the more enduring features of social life. In speaking of the structural properties of systems I mean their institutionalized features, giving ‘solidity’ across time and space. I use the concept of ‘structures’ to get at relations of transformation and mediation which are the ‘circuit switches’ underlying observed conditions of system reproduction’ (Giddens, 1984:24).

⁸¹ We should recall that Bourdieu (1990:53) defined habitus as ‘structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them.’

(Connell, 2009:11; parenthesis, by author). The students leverage structural templates from the gender and consumerist structures for an active ideation of desires relating to their present and future; and employ allied social processes /practices, such as transactional sex, which promises the resolution of their real and perceived consumerist constraints in context. The social processes in question include the students' active social identity construction and maintenance projects - leveraging modernist consumer goods⁸² to become, and to communicate their achieved statuses as powerful sexually autonomous women 'in pursuit of their own pleasures' in Nigeria (Juffer, 1998:147).

Such identities, i.e. powerful sexually autonomous women, are 'markers in the virtual time-space of structure ... associated with [the students] normative rights, obligations and sanctions which, within specific collectivities form roles' (Giddens, 1984:60). Moreover, identities as powerful sexually autonomous women grant the students some measure of achieved security,⁸³ which is unobtainable from their mundane academic life on campus – a significant point in their socio-sexual and academic development. However, to be effective, gender rules and consumerist resources deployed by the students for their identity construction and maintenance projects require constant self and public enactment, monitoring and sanctions by the students themselves, and peers in context⁸⁴ (McRobbie, 2004; Adkins, 2004; Butler, 1999). This is to the extent that 'envy, admiration, and imitation are complicities' (Dewey, 2002:16-17).

The gender structure (see Figure 1 below), in conjunction with modernist consumerism, attain such influence on the students' sexual position-practices because 'in the settings of modernity... the altered self has to be explored and constructed [with agency] as part of a reflective process of connecting [the] personal and social change ... [which is] marked by the radicalising

⁸² This thesis agrees with Galbraith that 'the individual serves the industrial system not by supplying it with savings and the resulting capital; (s)he serves it by consuming its products. On no other matter, religious, political, or moral, is he so elaborately and skilfully and expensively instructed' (1972:49; words in parenthesis, by author).

⁸³ The security is to be found in the varying measures of 'dominance ... prestige, authority, individual autonomy and ability to control others that accrues in increasing measure to' students adjudged to have taste and distinction on campus (Turner, 2012:500).

⁸⁴ Context, for this thesis, is operationalised after Giddens as involving '(a) the time-space boundaries (usually having symbolic or physical markers) around interaction strips; (b) the co-presence of actors, making possible the visibility of a diversity of facial expressions, bodily gestures, linguistic and other media of communication; (c) awareness and use of these phenomena reflexively to influence or control the flow of social interaction' (Giddens, 1984:282).

and globalising of basic traits of modernity’ (Giddens 1991:32 & 243; see also Connell, 2009; Bourdieu, 1984; words in parenthesis, by author). One such enabling rule/norm, despite material constraints, is the belief that women like to shop; and the fact that majority of women engage in consumerist shopping.

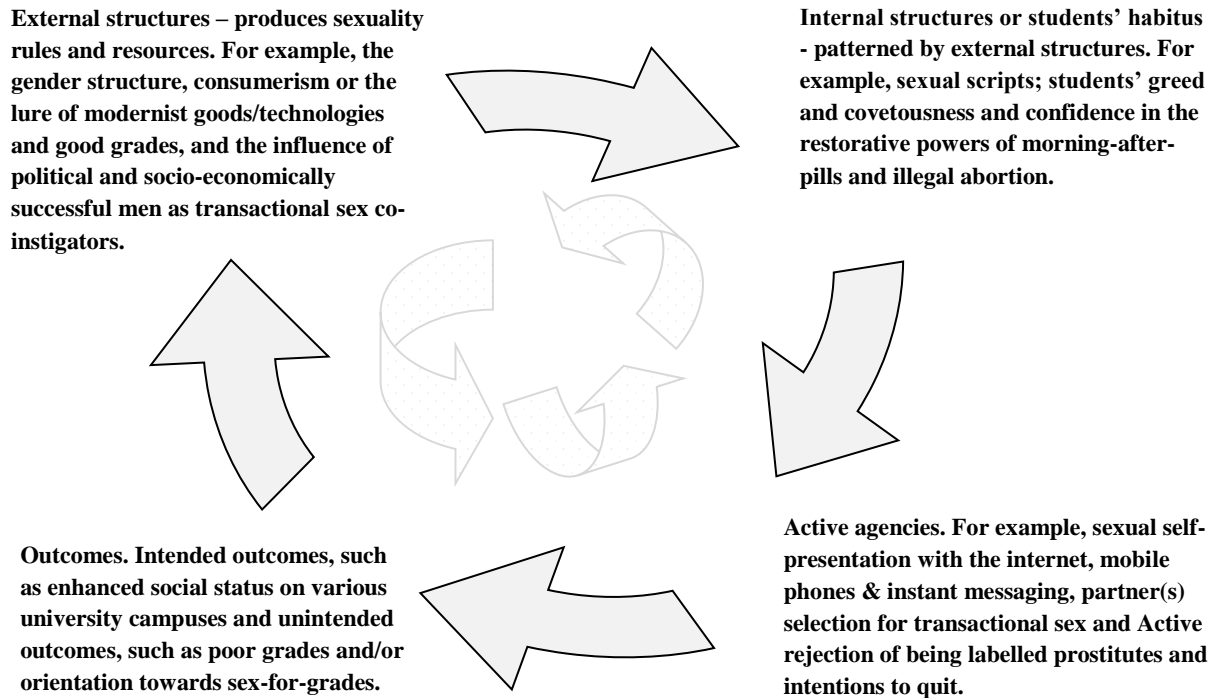


Figure 2: Actual Recursive Structuration Cycle of Transactional Sex in Nigeria - Adapted from Okonkwo (2013:14)

The potency of the gender and consumerist structures today are accelerated by the significant weakening of the previous patterning roles of traditions and normative sanctions on individuals and contextual action. The traits of modernity under discussion is xenocentric consumerism, which is facilitated by transactional sex that female students leverage to communicate their taste and distinction (difference) to present and networked others online, on the one hand, and to create and maintain other systems of relationships – including transactional sex, on the other. Unfortunately, taste and difference making, to adapt Luhmann (1990), particularly advances gender *stratification and functional differentiation* among the sexes, and ultimately androcentrism. Androcentrism is the belief that:

humanity is male and man defines woman not in herself but as relative to him; she is not regarded as an autonomous being She is defined and differentiated with reference to man and not he with reference to her; she is the incidental, the inessential as opposed to the essential. He is the Subject, he is the Absolute--she is the Other (de Beauvoir, 1949/1952: xv-xvi).

In Nigeria, as in other contexts, androcentrism contribute to the creation and nurturing of the *Doctrine of Two Spheres* or dualism (see Lewin, 1984). The *Doctrine of Two Spheres* signifies or communicates the essentialist belief that men and women's expressive sexual behaviour, socio-economic interests, productive and reproductive roles and capacities, and materialist consumption patterns are divergent – but male privileging. The functioning of the gender structure in the manner described above signifies, promotes and legitimizes male's significant domination of women materially, and consequently, sexually in Nigeria. This is because Nigerian males have near-monopoly over access to 'allocative resources [which] refer to capabilities – or more accurately, to forms of transformative capacity – generating command over objects or material phenomena ... and authoritative resources [which] refer to types of transformative capacity generating command over person or actors' (Giddens, 1984:33; words in parenthesis, by author). The foregoing reality often translates into political and socio-economically successful males' material and authoritative influence over the circumstances of female students' sexual action in the service of consumerism (Giddens, 1984:283).

Significantly, cultural capital accruing from the purposeful and transformative deployment of xenocentric consumption is exploited everywhere in Nigeria, by adults and youths alike, to construct and maintain status-boundaries to the extent that 'social exclusion exists to various degrees throughout the social fabric' (Bourdieu, 1984:31). In fact, it is through consumption that the students make active investments 'in [their] own social membership [of campus sub-culture], which in a society of consumers translates as 'saleability' (Bauman, 2001:56). The purposeful exploitation of consumption for difference making across Nigeria is possible because the country has become a 'society of consumers' ... the kind of society that promotes, encourages or enforces the choice of a consumerist lifestyle and life strategy, and dislikes all alternative cultural options' (Bauman, 2007:53). Female university students are socialised in, and thrive in the above-described gender and consumerist context.

The above-described context provides female university students' with generalizable and specific 'meanings ... frameworks and basis for decisions and choices' on campus (Willis, 1981:174). Such frameworks include templates for subjective and objective perception of

structural constraints on their consumerist aspirations, and allied constraint mitigation with income and materials accruing from the students' active participation in transactional sex. In particular, the students engage in transactional sex drawing on and working on their generalizable and specific knowledge of masculine sexual 'meanings ... frameworks and basis for decisions and choices,' such as the propensity to exchange cash and other materials for sex with younger women (Willis, *ibid*; words in parenthesis, by author).

It is important to note however, that female university students actively aspire to become sophisticated sexually autonomous and powerful women in Nigeria through 'confident, self-engrossed narcissism' (Myers, 1987:197). Thus, in sociological terms, the students' consumerist position-practices, despite their socio-economic status and constraints, are attributable to their drawing on taken-for-granted and generalizable stocks of knowledge, meanings, role schemas, frameworks, decisions and choices from contextual gender structures, about how to carry-on sexually in a masculine dominated world, and realize their various consumerist projects – against the background of similar conducts by 'the ghost of networked others that continually informs action' (Thrift, 1996:54). The foregoing likely explains why various Nigerian transactional sex scholars insist that 'the most touted factor or reason for prostitution including campus prostitution is the greed and the urge to compete with other girls in dressing' (Kangiwa, 2015:75; see also Tade & Adekoya, 2012; Ankomah et al. 2011).

Another stereotype purports that unlike men who are sexually voracious; women are uninterested in sex yet *vulnerable to male seduction with cash and gifts* in Nigeria. Such stereotypical construction of sex differences and roles orient and communicate societal sexuality worldviews and expectations to students, on one hand, and pattern how the students re-enact various gendered activities, such as transactional sex, on the other. Moreover, such stereotype as the above, likely explains why the students' belief that it 'is more acceptable and safer to engage in sexual intercourse with older men, who are more matured, responsible, and capable of supporting them ... if they get you pregnant unexpectedly' (cited in Omorodion, 2006:100). We should recall that male material inducement of women for sex occurs against the background of women's constrained access to the public sphere and consequently material resources therein,

because of the twin operation of the mutual guardians of the gender structure - patriarchy and matriarchy;⁸⁵ in conjunction with the students' self and peer surveillance.

The students apprehend sexual stereotypes from their concurrent structural/self-socialisation, sexualisation, peer ideologies and individual partial penetration⁸⁶ of contextual constraints (or limitations) and enablement. The outlined stereotypes pattern the students' sexual "habitus" and position-practices in relation to choice and expectations of male lovers – especially in ephemeral transactional sex encounters. Probably drawing on and working on the above stereotypes, the students normatively and temporarily surrender control of their sexual selves to politically and socio-economically successful men in exchange for money and/or various goods of modernity, such as communication gadgets, designer and provocative⁸⁷ attires and accessories, which are exploited for further sexual communication targeted at resource-advantaged men.

6.2 The Students' conduct analysis

The analytical device of students' conduct analysis will further our understanding of the co-influence of agency (in concert with structure) on transactional sex. Students' conduct analysis 'draws upon the ontological category of knowledgeability ... in a way that lead us back to [each student], her reflexive monitoring, her ordering of concerns into a hierarchy of purposes, her motives, her desires, and the way she carries out the work of action and interaction within an unfolding sequence' (Stones, 2005:121-122). In the last chapter, we saw how the students acquire various knowledge and orientations that privilege consumerist concerns because of their gender, consumerist self-socialisation and sexualisation. The students' institutional and self-socialisation,

⁸⁵ Structures of matriarchy and patriarchy propagate and maintain 'the attributes of True Womanhood, by which a woman judged herself and was judged by her husband, her neighbours and society could be divided into four cardinal virtues - piety, purity, submissiveness and domesticity. Put them all together and they spelled mother, daughter, sister, wife - woman. Without them, no matter whether there was fame, achievement or wealth, all was ashes. With them she was promised happiness and power' (Welter, 1966:152).

⁸⁶ According to Willis, penetration refers to 'impulses with a cultural form towards the penetration of the conditions of existence of its members and their position with the social whole but in a way which is not centred, essentialist or individualist. In contrast, 'limitation is meant to designate those blocks, diversions and ideological effects which confuse and impede the full development and expression of these impulses' (Willis, 1981:119).

⁸⁷ Provocative attires, which are synonyms for sexy and revealing, approximate perception of male or 'female appearance styles that deviate from the acceptable norm of a specific social situation toward the direction of sexual suggestiveness and/or body exposure' (Lynch, 2007:186).

and sexualisation, occurs against the backdrop of students' reflexive 'monitoring of action which human beings display and expect others to display' (Giddens, 1984:3).

Gendered consumerist knowledge and orientations, in a context where the students' access to material resources are minimal at best, orient the students towards transactional sex, which is the easiest and least physically demanding means for individualistic women to earn money and/or accumulate articles of modernity. However, the students are not merely *constrained* by features of contextual Nigerian gendered and heteronormative context. Their engagement in transactional sex is paradoxically facilitated by their knowledge of *enabling* features of the same contextual gender structure, such as sexual scripts. A relevant script purports that males are sexually indiscriminate and materially support their female sexual partners. By engaging in transactional sex however, the students unconsciously contribute to the maintenance of prevailing gender structures and asymmetries, which they exploited for action in the first instance. Giddens (1979:69) refer to the above recurrent process as the duality of structure, which approximates the 'essential recursiveness [repetitiveness] of social life, as constituted in social practices: structure is both medium and outcome of the reproduction of practices.' The foregoing is why the students' seeming *means-ends* exploitation of transactional sex to secure capital or materials that satisfies their elitist consumption wants are also construed as agential accomplishments; in addition to structural productions. In fact, there is agreement among transactional sex scholars that:

for young unmarried women who partner with older married men, economic motivations are prominent. It would not be wrong to suggest that the fact that women utilize their sexuality for economic purposes is a consequence, in part, of gender inequality. But such an interpretation misses the degree to which, for many young women, the ability to employ their sexuality for strategic goals is experienced as agential (Smith, 2010; 129; see also Tade & Adekoya, 2012; Masvawure, 2010; Barnett, Maticka-Tyndale and HP4RY Team, 2011).

Consequently, transactional sex is an agential accomplishment, which is patterned by strategy and tactics acquired from the students' active engagement with prevailing structures. The preceding underscores the fact that students' engagement in transactional sex is not accidental or predetermined – even though it is pre-scripted and follows definitive stages that requires conscious thought, choice and action in a context where alternative income generation opportunities, previously enumerated, exist. The definitive stages or phases of transactional sex include: (1) pre-contemplative stage, (2) contemplative stage, (3) decision stage, (4) action stage, (5) action

maintenance stage, and (6) quitting/relapsing stage. Preparation, planning and action often include self-advertisements online or by word of mouth, targeting and selecting male partners while simulating the process as male choice, learning about, and acquiring sexual prowess, travelling to meet the selected partners for sexual assignments, engaging in transactional sex (performance), and so forth. Several authors of Nigerian transactional sex literature have corroborated the claim that transactional sex is not accidental but purposive. For example:

after an initial induction tutorial into ‘runs’ (transactional sex) by the experienced runs girls, the new initiate relies on ... hanging out at night, attending parties and positioning themselves where ... professionals, corporate heads and personnel of organizations’ take postgraduate classes to select male aristocrats such as politicians, government functionaries, military personnel on promotional courses (Tade & Adekoya, 2012:249; see also Masvawure, 2010; Barnett, Maticka-Tyndale and HP4RY Team, 2011; words in parenthesis, by author).

Critically, the claim that transactional sex is purposive action likely explains why every female student involved in transactional sex is conceived by this thesis as an agent or ‘someone who acts and brings about change, and whose achievements can be judged in terms of her own values and objectives’ (Sen, 1985:169&195). Other income options in Nigeria include part-time work in call-centres, day-care centres, department stores, poultry farms, data entry jobs, sales promotion in advertisement and Public Relations agencies, and so forth. The availability of options, however distasteful or less rewarding, evokes the notion of choice and corroborates Giddens’ analysis that ‘in a post-traditional social universe, an indefinite range of potential courses of action (with their attendant risks) is at any given moment open to individuals and collectivities’ in such a manner that ‘choosing among such alternatives is always an ‘as if’ matter, a question of selecting between possible worlds’ (Giddens, 1991:29). The availability of income generation options is the reason why most women encountering gendered structural asymmetries do not end up engaging in transactional sex.

In relation to consuming xenocentric goods, the students actively seek to acquire these goods through transactional sex because they give them a sense of identity (one of several), which ‘can be a source of richness and warmth’ (Sen, 2006:4); ontological security (Giddens, 1984), or contextual wellbeing on various university campuses. We must remember that university campuses, similar to other collectivities in the Nigerian context, are neurotic communities of comparison, taste and distinction. To adapt Fanon, the students are driven by a need for ‘comparison ... that is, [s]he is constantly preoccupied with self-evaluation and with the ego-ideal

[inner image]. Whenever [s]he comes into contact with someone else, the question of value, of merit, arises' (Fanon, 1952:164). Moreover, in their choice and purposeful pursuit of consumerist goods with transactional sex, the students are knowledgeable and active agents because they attempt to *recreate* the larger Nigerian consumerist and symbolic hierarchies. The students attempt to recreate the larger Nigerian societal hierarchies as subcultures or brand tribes,⁸⁸ who socially (re)constitute or (re)interpret the properties of modernist consumer goods as either tasteful, distinctive (or not); and consequently worthy of acquisition (Hennion, 2007; Berger & Luckmann, 1967).

Moreover, the students' choices require the mobilisation of their personalities (in their discursive⁸⁹ and practical⁹⁰ forms), which have initially been patterned by their external and internal structures. From these structures, the students draw their stocks of knowledge and interpretative schemes about how to carry-on in Nigeria to mitigate perceived and actual constraints on their consumerist desires. In different (re)combinations, these discursive and practical capabilities of the students orient them towards 'the positive possibilities of sexuality, exploration of the body, curiosity, intimacy, sensuality, adventure, excitement, (and) human connection ... (as) not only worthwhile but provide sustaining energy' (Vance, 1994:17; words in parenthesis, by author). The above development occurs despite the 'wide and growing gap between the condition of individuals *de jure* and their [*de facto*] chances ... to gain control over their fate and make the choices they truly desire; (Bauman, 2000:39).

In a more technical structuration language, the students, initially conditioned by their external structure (e.g. gender constraints and consumerism), which patterns their internal structure (or habitus e.g. sexual worldviews, scripts and acquisitiveness) and orients them towards reflexive monitoring of peer conducts, knowledgeable and active leveraging of their external structural

⁸⁸ It is arguable that students-under-focus constitute brand tribes which are 'characterised by fluidity, occasional gathering and dispersal' (Maffesoli 1996:76); arise from shared passions or interests (Cova & Cova, 2002), with often vague boundaries (Nancarrow & Nancarrow, 2007; Otnes & Maclarant, 2007).

⁸⁹ Discursive consciousness approximates 'what actors are able to say, or to give verbal expression to, about social conditions, including especially the conditions of their own action; awareness which has a discursive form' (Giddens, 1984:374).

⁹⁰ Practical consciousness approximates 'what actors know (believe) about social conditions, including especially the conditions of their own action, but cannot express discursively' (Giddens, 1984:374).

templates⁹¹ for action (e.g. knowledge about things to do, or not do, in Nigeria). The students leverage one, among several, external structural templates of action to mitigate contextual constraints and engage in transactional sex (active agency) as a routine means to achieve their consumerist ends (intended outcomes of action) and/or poor grades (unintended outcomes). Both outcomes filter back into external structures, internal structures, and so on, through discourse, peer ideologies, the mass media, and so forth, in a recursive loop to renew the transactional sex structuration cycle (see Figure 2, p.5).

Thus, the students engage in transactional sex because of the wide gap between their self-asserting consumerist projects and limited capacities to pay for them. Equally, the students engage in transactional sex because they understand and leverage enabling features of contextual gender structures, such as older males' sexual proclivities and proprietary financial and material generosities towards female sexual partners in Nigeria. Therefore, the students exploit their knowledge of contextual structures and their own agencies to engage in transactional sex, which they know is a comparatively easier and more efficient means, among available alternatives in Nigeria, of realizing their consumerist goals. To reiterate, the wide materialist and authority gap is an outcome of gender constraints and/or the students' own subjectivities in context.

Since there is a wide gap between the students' self-asserting consumerist projects and their capacities to pay for them, the students temporarily commodify themselves and exchange erotic capital for transformative economic and/or cultural capital in the form of modernist consumer goods. Accordingly, several transactional sex scholars have found that the 'level of wealth of your client is very important. The first thing I need is money Once we agree on the price, the scenario starts. Even some girls that perform very well in bed are given additional money by the Aristo daddies (Tade & Adekoya, 2012:248; see also Zaggi, 2014; Ojebode, Togunde & Adelokun, 2011; Omoregie et al., 2003). Students' consequential engagement in transactional sex in the manner described above validates Bauman's observation that:

in the society of consumers, no one can become a subject without first turning into a commodity, and no one can keep his or her subjectness secure without perpetually resuscitating, resurrecting and replenishing the capacities expected and required of a sellable commodity (Bauman 2007:12).

⁹¹ Giddens refers to such a template for action as a formula, which 'is a generalizable procedure ... because it applies over a wide range of contexts and occasions, a procedure because it allows for the methodical continuation of an established sequence' (Giddens, 1984:20-21).

As co-creators, participants and nurturers of difference-making in society, transactional sex-enabled mimetic consumption is imperative for students' symbolic demarcation of themselves from peers (distinction), and the concomitant need to establish and communicate taste and distinction on campus (see Bourdieu, 1984). However, unlike Bourdieu's treatment of taste as homology, or determined by social class across fields, the students are omnivorous in their consumption of elite and/or popular culture goods and services (Bennett, Emmison & Frow, 1999; Peterson & Simkus, 1992). That is, students do not necessarily consume modernist goods that conforms to their socio-economic class or status because they reflexively monitor peer conducts on campus (see Bennett et al., 2009; Katz-Gerro, 1999). Observers may wonder about the importance female students place on imitative consumption on various Nigerian university campuses. Mimetic consumption is imperative on various university campuses in Nigeria where 'judgements of taste are not only understood as a question of aesthetics but ... are also matters of moral, ethical and communal sensibility' (Woodward & Emmison, 2001:296-297). Several transactional sex scholars corroborate the foregoing analysis by Woodward & Emmison (2001). Reports strongly suggest:

that students essentially perceive themselves to be young adults who need to adopt fashionable clothing patterns in order to be attractive to the opposite sex through suggestive dressing; secure the attention of peers, teachers and the members of the school community; exhibit parental socio-economic status or class in some cases; assume the role of a pace-setter in being the gatekeepers of fashions trends' (Pogoso, 2013:20; see also Tade & Adekoya, 2012; Ojebode, Togunde & Adelokun, 2011).

Moreover, the students are oriented towards mimetic tastes and consumption because they facilitate an ease 'to tease the norms of their non-leisure life' – their often boring and monotonous campus life in a manner that ostensibly create minimal offence to society (Elias & Dunning, 1986:100). The preceding condition and/or expectation of students' actions on campus remain true until public discovery of STIs and unwanted pregnancies among students. It is important to note that the students pursue materials accruing from transactional sex and minimize concerns for sexually transmitted infections (STIs) and unplanned pregnancies. The students' seeming lack of concern over the latter, unplanned pregnancies, is particularly supported by their knowledge, confidence and secretive access to the restorative powers of contextually (structure) available pharmaceuticals, such as morning-after-pills, on the one hand, and illegal abortions, on the other.

Yet another evidence of the students' active agencies in transactional sex surround their knowledge that the vice is immoral, if not illegal, in Nigeria. However, the students exploit increasingly weakened (by modernization) moral/religious constraints, contextual sanctions against transactional sex and their geographical distancing from significant others in Nigeria to exchange their erotic capital for economic and social capital. The foregoing forcefully draws our attention to the unequivocal fact that the students maintain 'a continuing 'theoretical understanding' of the grounds of their activity' – and actively contest and observe dominant and subcultural norms with their cautious engagement in transactional sex (Giddens 1984:5). This latter fact is at best under-elaborated, or at worst, ignored by dominant transactional sex scholars in Nigeria. The preceding, or the students' partial or full penetration of their context, is additionally the likely reason why the students exert considerable narrative energy contesting being labelled prostitutes; and have near-universal intentions to quit transactional sex. The students contest the label prostitutes by discursively establishing biographic and practice distance between their engagement in transactional sex and other women who engage in prostitution or commercial sex work in Nigeria. As a matter of fact:

rather than seeing themselves as prostitutes, these female undergraduates categorized themselves as ... a social group of educated, classy, choosy female undergraduates who rely on their erotic advantages to cope with economic, social, political and labour market strains (Tade & Adekoya, 2012:245; see also Pogonson, 2013; Ojebode, Togunde & Adelokun, 2011; Baba-Djara et al. 2013).

A further evidence of the students knowledgeable and active agencies in transactional sex surround their careful efforts to maintain 'secrecy [which] is important for the ladies because they often date their aristos (aristocrats) alongside the real boyfriends they intend to marry, or as some claimed, they double-date aristos' (Ojebode, Togunde & Adelokun, 2011:316). Such secretive double-dealings, as the above, directs our attention to the fact that 'all social actors, no matter how lowly, have some degree of penetration of the social forms which oppress them' (Giddens, 1984:72).

A related matter, which is critical for a structurationist understanding and explanation of action, is that the students' engagement in transactional sex produces intended outcomes (e.g. social status) and unintended outcomes (e.g. poor grades). These outcomes filter back into societal structures and renew the transactional sex structuration process. Corroborative studies about

intended outcomes found that ‘among the female undergraduate students ..., having expensive new media accessories enhanced in-group status ... members of her cross-generational dating circle not only envied her, they also gave her some measure of respect’ (Ojebode, Togunde & Adelokun, 2011:319; see also Tade & Adekoya, 2012; Amo-Adjei, Kumi-Kyereme & Tuoyire, 2014; Baba-Djara et al. 2013). Evidently, intended outcomes confers enhanced social status on the students on various university campuses. Enhanced social status concurrently orient the students, and situated peers, to further engage in transactional sex because students whose social status is enhanced by xenocentric goods are easily noticed and popular to intermittently invading male aristocrats.

The principal unintended outcome discussed in transactional sex literature is poor grades and/or students’ orientations towards sexually transmitted grades. These unintended outcomes are the products of the students’ intermittent need to travel for sexual trysts outside their university campuses. Consequently, the students forego lectures, assignments, and sometimes examinations. Authors of Nigerian transactional sex literature seem to agree that ‘travelling every now and then’ often produce ‘poor academic coping skills, bartering sex for marks [and a] laissez faire attitude to scholarship’ (Oyeoku et al. 2014:47; Ella, 2014; Manuh, Gariba & Budu, 2007; Wusu, 2010). The students themselves agree with the above assessment with such opinions as ‘I have missed series of test.... Sometimes I buy gift and (mobile phone) recharge cards for my lecturers as a form of lobby whenever I want to bail myself out’ (Tade & Adekoya, 2012:251; see also Ella, 2014; Manuh, Gariba & Budu, 2007).

The intended outcome of transactional sex, such as enhanced social status, is a compelling event to reflexive peers on campus. They serve as ‘causal loops which have a feedback effect in’ transactional sex system reproduction where the feedback is substantially influenced by knowledge which agents [students] have of the mechanisms of system reproduction and employ to control it’ (Giddens, 1984:376). That is, by engaging in transactional sex, the students reaffirm the taken-for-granted and seemingly inconsequential nature of masculine resource and sexual privilege/domination, and their own subordinate statuses. Similarly, the unintended outcome of transactional sex, such as poor grades, especially their management with sexually transmitted grades, are also compelling events and learning opportunities for observing peers.

The above outcomes of transactional sex filter back into the external structure (reinforcing sexuality rules and resources), internal structures (students’ habitus), renews the students’ agencies

through discourse, peer ideologies, the mass media, and so forth. This is how the students' transactional sex contribute to the renewal of the originally influential asymmetrical structures in Nigeria. In other words, 'in and through the [students' transactional sex, which constitute their knowledgeable and agential response to prevailing gendered socio-economic asymmetries in Nigeria, the students] reproduce the conditions that make [transactional sex] possible' in the first instance (Giddens, 1984:2; words in parenthesis, by author).

CHAPTER 7

DISCUSSIONS AND CONCLUSION

This thesis endeavoured to rigorously interrogate the literature on Nigerian transactional sex and its over-emphasis of either structure or agency as the primary influence on female university students' engagement in transactional sex. This thesis interrogated Nigerian transactional sex literature for macro level, meso level and micro level processes, pressures, and/or influences that compel some female university students to undermine their intensely traditional, moral and/or religious socialization by leveraging their erotic capital for transactional sex. It is important to note that transactional sex is not the only income generation activity available to students in Nigeria. Other income generation options, which may be more physically tasking and/or less rewarding, include part-time call-centre jobs; factory work, janitorial services, petty trading, day-care centres, departmental stores, and so on. It is unequivocal that female university students can obtain the positional goods they seek through these latter kinds of enterprise; although time and energy requirements will outstrip those necessary for engagement in transactional sex.

The interrogation of literature was rendered in a very practical and accessible manner with Giddens' structural duality construct, which was adapted to Stones reformulation of structuration theory for empirical research. Accordingly, this thesis' approach to literature review was attentive to various recursive⁹² social processes (i.e. duality of structure and agency) involved in students' purposive engagement in transactional sex; in advancement of their desires to become modern and 'confident, self-engrossed' consumers (Myers, 1987:197; Simon, 1996). Consequently, this thesis finds that social action (transactional sex) is influenced by both Nigerian structures, such as the gender and heteronormative structures, the functioning of consumerist capitalism, and the influence of socio-economically successful men (i.e. external structures).

The above-listed structures, which are analytically external to female university students, patterns the students' habitus, such as their sexual scripts and avarice (i.e. their internal structures) or their unconscious and sometimes conscious calculation of what is sexually conceivable or inconceivable, practical and impractical in the Nigerian heteronormative context. Female students'

⁹² As practice, transactional sex is routinized and recursive because it is 'not brought into being by social actors but continually recreated by them via the very means whereby they express themselves *as* actors. In and through their activities agents reproduce the conditions that make these activities possible' (Giddens, 1984:2).

dispositions or habitus, once formed, entrenched and embodied, compels them in an emotional and corporeal sense to act within particular social practices they are pre-disposed to. Successively, the students actively draw-on and work-on their habitus or internal structures to engage (agency) in transactional sex in furtherance of their consumerist projects (outcomes), which manifest outcomes in their external structures, influence internal structures, agency and outcomes of action anew. Consequently, the students' engagement in transactional sex 'and the moments of consumption' are co-joined to the extent that the students 'confront moments of [transactional sex and] consumption neither as sovereign choosers nor as dupes' (Warde, 2005:146; words in parenthesis, by author).

The above conclusion corroborates Giddens' (1984) observation that social practices, such as transactional sex, are recursive. This means that transactional sex is not created by any single generation of female university students 'but continually recreated by them via the very means whereby they express themselves as actors,' such as consumerism (Giddens, 1984:2). In fact, by actively and purposively engaging in transactional sex primarily for consumerism, the students inadvertently reproduce the same constraining gender and allied structures (in the same or slightly altered forms) that originally compelled their engagement in transactional sex in the first instance. To restate the above point in Giddens' phraseology, 'in and through their activities agents reproduce the conditions that make these activities possible' (Giddens, 1984:2). It should be stressed that female university students' socialisation by, and active engagement with, external structures produces and reinforces their sexual and consumerist action-orientations or position-practices; that is, their practical consciousness.

The students *work-on* and *draw-on* their practical consciousness, which entails everything they tacitly know about how to exist or thrive in the Nigerian context 'without being able to give them direct discursive expression' (Giddens, 198: xxiii; Bourdieu, 2005). Relevant components of female university students' practical consciousness include their instinctive and experiential knowledge of Nigerian males' premarital and extramarital sexual proclivities, which they exploit in transactional sex to realise their consumerist projects. The foregoing likely clarify Giddens' observation that 'the structural properties of a social system,' such as gender scripts, 'do not act, or "act on," anyone like forces of nature to "compel" him or her to behave in any particular way' (Giddens, 1984:181). Structural properties lack such deterministic powers or influence because

female university students could, as always, have done otherwise (and some do) by leveraging other income generation opportunities in Nigeria to realize their consumerist projects.

The foregoing action-orientations and power facilitates female university students' acuity in the intermittent transformation of their bodies into erotic capital, and the active and purposive exchange of transformative erotic capital into the sexual resources that socio-economically successful men crave in the service of their consumerist projects. The claim that socio-economically marginalized women have power in transactional sex encounters often excite controversy and debate (see Farley, 2004; Raymond, 2004; Kesler, 2002; Dworkin, 1997). These controversies and debates are specious because 'power ... is at the very origin of the capabilities of agents to bring about intended outcomes of action' – and not merely constraints⁹³ (Giddens, 1984:173). Incidentally, the effectiveness of contextual sexual sanctions or power over female university students, such as 'sanctions of various kinds, ranging from the direct application of force or violence, or the threat of such application, to mild expression of disapproval' of their engagement in transactional sex, 'no matter how oppressive and comprehensive..., demand some kind of acquiescence from' the students themselves (Giddens, 1984:175).

Female university students' demonstrated their loose acquiescence to vanishing sexual sanctions in Nigeria, and agential capabilities despite contextual constraints, with their *narrative efforts* to differentiate their transactional sex from prostitution. Rather than define themselves as prostitutes, the students construct their engagement in transactional sex as 'runs' which approximates their knowledgeable, purposeful, active and discontinuous conversion of their bodies into, and the exploitation of their, erotic capital to acquire transformative consumerist goods to build and/or maintain their distinction or status on various Nigerian university campuses. Incidentally, the above analysis corroborates Giddens' assertion that 'all forms of dependence offer some resources whereby those who are subordinate can influence the activities of their superiors;' that is, agency despite contextual constraints (1984:16). The foregoing illustrates how structure and agency practically matter in transactional sex.

It is important to restate the primacy of consumerist projects in motivating the students' transactional sex. Consumerist projects are imperative for the students because materialist displays

⁹³ Constraints '*is best described as placing limits upon the range of options open to an actor, or plurality of actors, in a given circumstances or type of circumstance.*' In fact, structural constraints do not operate independently of the motives and reasons that agents have for what they do' (Giddens, 1984:175 & 181; original italics).

to peers are the ultimate and focal point of their' transactional sex. That is, female students are motivated by a need to impose their consumerist values on peers in order to be recognised by peers as modernist sexual individuals. Moreover, when students who engage in transactional sex return to their various university campuses with cash and material symbols of modernity acquired, their actions become significantly more influential or convincing to peers than moral/religious prohibitions, sentiments, weakened sanctions, and indeed, behaviour change messages to the contrary.

The above described transactional sex influence cycle corroborates Giddens contention that 'the constitution of agents and structures are not two independently given sets of phenomena, a dualism, but represent a duality;' that is, 'the structural properties of social systems are both medium and outcome of the practices that recursively organize' (1984:25). Consequently, this thesis finds that both structure and agency equally matter in female university students knowledgeable, active, purposeful engagement in transactional sex in Nigeria. It is consequently too simplistic to claim, as the dominant Nigerian transactional sex literature does, that either structures or the students' agencies, operating alone, compels female university students to engage in transactional sex. Alternatively phrased, it is facile to claim that the students either have no choice or voluntarily engage in transactional sex on Nigerian university campuses. In other words, 'there is no sense in which structure determines action or vice versa' (Giddens 1984:219).

7.1 Role of Social Class in Transactional Sex

None of the sub-Saharan African literature reviewed for this thesis investigated or addressed issues relating to the social class and/or the incidence rate of transactional sex among Nigerian female university students who engage in transactional sex. Accordingly, I cannot speculate on these crucial sociological variables. What is unequivocal from my critical reading of sub-Saharan African transactional sex literature is that female students' engagement in transactional sex seems to be growing across the Nigerian North/South divide (see Abdullahi & Abdullahi, 2013; Tade & Adekoya, 2012; Nwokocha, 2007; Okonofua et al., 2004b). In my view, it is additionally apparent that transactional sex affords female students opportunities to collapse, or temporarily suppress, foundational social class and materialist distinctions with proceeds from transactional sex which are expended on similar cross-cultural and cross-class xenocentric consumerism. The students engage in xenocentric consumerism to communicate their modernity,

distinction and difference (and gain prestige) on campus without necessarily communicating or simulating consumption activities of particular social classes in Nigeria.

More realistically therefore, the students are seemingly driven by their need for, and subjection to peer comparison and differentiation. That is, female university students are 'constantly preoccupied with (consumerist) self-evaluation' in comparison to peers (Fanon, 1952:164; word in bracket, by author). Interestingly, the students do not necessarily consume modernist goods that conform to any particular socio-economic class in Nigeria because they reflexively monitor peers' modernist consumption patterns on campus and in the mass media (see Bennett et al., 2009; Katz-Gerro, 1999). Consequently, unlike Bourdieu's treatment of taste as driven by shared social class values or homology, the students are omnivorous in their consumption of popular culture goods and services (see Bennett, Emmison & Frow, 1999; Peterson & Simkus, 1992).

Notwithstanding these views, future studies may be better funded and equipped to clarify puzzles, such as the form the Nigerian socio-economic context, gender structure and agency, which are currently implicated in transactional sex, will assume in the next 5 to 10 years. What would be the consumerist and difference-making concerns and projects of female students in 5-10 years from now? How will these projects be realized?

Another class of questions that may be pursued by future researchers surround the class dimensions of transactional sex practice on various university campuses. For example, if female university students engage in transactional sex to acquire consumer goods they could not otherwise afford, and not for the purpose of mitigating poverty, what are the class implications of such proposition? What can we learn from existing empirical research about the difference in nature and extent of transactional sex amongst different classes of students in federally owned and funded versus privately owned and funded universities? Finally, future research may address the qualitative and quantitative incidence rates of transactional sex amongst female university students. The resolution of questions, such as the above will enrich academic and interventionists understanding, explanation, and sexual reproductive health programmes.

The call for future research is justified by the reality that capitalist structures, and the allied agencies they unleash in Nigerians, are very attuned to fast-paced consumerist expansion, the weakening of traditions and normative sanctions; and these systems thrive against the background of seemingly intractable gender asymmetries. If the current structure/agency configuration in

Nigeria remains unchanged, the likelihood that an increasing number of female university students will engage in transactional sex in future is very high. This is because women in Nigeria will continue to experience contextual structural constraints as they unfold in the Nigerian context, as the women imagine them, and as they more or less engage with them.

7.2 Transactional sex as Resistance

One may well ask, do the students engage in transactional sex as a form of everyday resistance or opposition to constraining structures? That is, are the students' intermittent engagement in transactional sex 'small scale,' 'relatively safe,' 'promise vital material gains' and 'require little or no formal coordination'? (Scott 1989:35). The answer seems to be a categorical yes – even though literature reviewed did not associate transactional sex with resistance. However, 'by not openly contesting norms of law, custom, politeness, deference, loyalty and so on leaves the dominant in command of the public stage' (Scott, 1989:57). The above implies that student practitioners of transactional sex may further advance their own marginalization in the Nigerian society. The foregoing deduction may have influenced Hollander and Einwohner's (2004:549) claim that 'even while resisting power, individuals or groups may simultaneously support the structures of domination that necessitate resistance in the first place' (see also Weitz 2001; Constable 2007 for similar perspectives on the impurity of resistance).

Furthermore, by adapting Bourdieu and Wacquant's (1992:82) analysis of the futility of everyday resistance as *spontaneous populism* to analyse Nigerian transactional sex literature, one finds that the students' engagement in transactional sex actually wedds them closer to the gender and patriarchal structures that originally co-instigated transactional sex in the first instance, in two ways. The first is through their co-optation into the exploitative patriarchal structures as sexual gratifiers of men for a fee, and the second is that female university students who engage in transactional sex often experience several unintended outcomes, which have negative socio-economic consequences for them. The consequences of transactional sex for the students include their potential discovery and expulsion from universities; unintended pregnancies, illegal abortion, STIs, and intimate partner violence, to name a few (see Abdullahi & Abdullahi, 2013; Tade & Adekoya, 2012; Nwokocha, 2007; Okonofua et al., 2004b). The above realities may have informed the student practitioners of transactional sex conscious and/or unconscious precautions to keep their activities secret from significant others, and university authorities.

Based on the rigorous review of sub-Saharan African transactional sex literature, it seems more accurate to depict female university students transactional sex as mostly performative. This means that female university students' engagement in transactional sex 'is not a radical choice or project that reflects a merely individual choice, but neither is it imposed or inscribed upon the individual, as some post-structuralist displacements of the subject would contend' (Butler, 1988: 526). In essence, the students leverage their knowledge of various constraining and enabling rules and resources in society to manage real and perceived structural constraints - without necessarily intending to resist such structures. That is, analytically less powerful female university students who deliberately maintain 'a public posture of consent,' for their contextual self-preservation, while secretly practicing transactional sex are often unable to engage in the kinds of resistance that are popular among western feminists because the students reside in Nigerian communities where 'language, social practices and customs set limits ...[and] provides the conceptual tools through which 'reality' makes sense' (Bleiker, 2000:193).

7.3 Theoretical and policy implications of the study

The primary theoretical implication of this study is that interventionists must acknowledge and operationalize the reality that female university students' structures and agencies equally matter in inducing (not determining) their engagement in transactional sex. The foregoing, and the increasing commonality of transactional sex on Nigerian university campuses, suggests that there are urgent needs for new mitigation policy development. Specific and robust intervention policies and strategies, which would 'wage a sustained campaign against ... prostitution and trafficking of women' are already outlined in Chapter 4 of Nigeria's National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (NEEDS; see Nigeria National Planning Commission, 2004:28-46). Select policy thrusts and targets specified in the document seeks 'to fully integrate women by enhancing their capacity to participate in the economic, social, political, and cultural life of the country' by:

- 'Ensuring equitable representation of women all over the country in all aspects of national life by using affirmative action to ensure that women represent at least 30 percent of the workforce, where feasible.
- Implementing the provisions of the UN Convention on Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women
- Supporting legislation for the abolition of all forms of harmful traditional practices against women

- Promoting access to microfinance and other poverty alleviation strategies, with a view to reducing poverty among women
- Establishing scholarship schemes at the secondary and tertiary levels to expand educational opportunities for female students where necessary. Expand adult and vocational education (including sex education) programmes that cater to women beyond formal school age
- Providing social security for unemployed women, youth, and poor children,' and so forth (Nigeria National Planning Commission, 2004: 28-46).

In future, however, two broad standards must guide policy and interventions targeted at reducing Nigerian female university students' engagement in transactional sex. First, all interventions must acknowledge that macro features of society, or structures, inform meso and micro actions (agency and interactions), and vice versa. Accordingly, interventionists must avoid the propagation of 'moral principles (that) exalt themselves' (Dewey, 2002: 2) by demeaning male or female sexual natures because action, such as transactional sex, proceeds from men and women in concert, then:

sets up reactions in the surroundings. Others approve, disapprove, protest, encourage.... Even letting a (wo)man alone is a definite response. Envy, admiration, and imitation are complicities. Neutrality is non-existence. Conduct is always shared...it is social whether bad or good (Dewey, 2002:16-17; word in parenthesis, by author)

Second, the construct of duality of structure and agency should inform and guide advocates that interventions should not be oriented towards either structural or agential programme models alone. Unfortunately, this latter guide on sexual reproductive health programming is practically difficult to adhere to because properties of any structural context are not easily amenable to change. For example, gender asymmetries have proven intractable in most social contexts, regardless of good intentions and contextual efforts. Consequently, change agents tend to excessively focus on situated agents' agencies, with programmes such as sex education and consistent condom use. In an ideal world however, a recursive focus on the interaction between structure and agential influences on transactional sex is imperative for sustainable behaviour change. This means that change agents must simultaneously attempt to alter female university students' environments (structure) and position-practices (habitus, agencies and sexual interactions).

The logic behind this second guide to sustainable transactional sex interventions is that normatively undesirable action, such as transactional sex, is generated at the intersection of structural constraints/enablement, and female university students' own orientations and actions. Accordingly, interventionists must first seek to understand transactional sex with structural duality perspective before developing programs and projects that would jointly address influential structures and university students' active purposive agencies in engaging in transactional sex. Regrettably, policy development and interventions in Nigeria continue to be hampered by religious, moral, ideological and emotional positionalities of interventionists and the Nigerian state elites which are similarly difficult to speedily change.

Moreover, there is a reflexive and normative adult opposition to premarital and transactional sex among various Nigerian ethnicities and religious groups, which often hamper sustainable policy development and implementation. Such challenges are worsened by certain features of the Nigerian polity, which are not easily amenable to change, or reforms. The constraining features of the Nigerian polity include (a) the increasing expansion of panoptic neoliberalism and capitalism, (b) the contested role of the Nigerian state in driving or supporting development, and (c) various traditional, hybrid and novel socio-cultural and economic fundamentals, such as consumerism, with which Nigerians are perennially preoccupied (see GSMA Intelligence, 2014; EY, 2014; KPMG, 2012).

The above paragraph could be illustrated with the functioning of expanding neoliberalism and capitalism in Nigeria, which continues to promote development with features of the so-called developed nations' as benchmarks. Drawing on developed nations models, successive Nigerian development plans since independence, have been insidiously governed by Rostow's (1960) stages of growth model,⁹⁴ which relentlessly conflates development and wellbeing with xenocentric modernization and consumption – and not material production. The foregoing fact which is often unacknowledged by development elites and stakeholders, is discernible in Nigeria's development policy, which explicitly promotes a *de facto* structuralist trickle-down model⁹⁵ of economic

⁹⁴ Rostow (1960) proposes that development follows a predetermined path namely: (1) traditional society, (2) preconditions for take-off, (3) take-off, (4) drive to maturity, (5) age of high mass consumption.

⁹⁵ Structuralist models of economic growth thrive in Nigeria because of socio-political instabilities, corrupt bureaucracies, low state response to popular needs for development goods, acute gender asymmetries, significantly skewed income and wealth distribution, mass unemployment, underemployment, and poverty against the background

growth, which eclipses the *de jure* human development rhetoric of the same development plan (see Nigeria National Planning Commission, 2004; Ch 4&5). That is, the Nigerian state assumes that economic gains accruing from her systemic policy/cash incentivisation and promotion of private enterprise (mostly owned by foreigners and their domestic collaborators) will trickle-down to the Nigerian poor – currently estimated at nearly 70% of the Nigerian population of 160 million people (see EY, 2014; KPMG, 2012). The above-described complacent Washington consensus on development, have proven illusory in most of the global south (see Stiglitz, 2002 & 1990; Ake, 2000).

Another feature of the Nigerian polity, which is not easily changed as well, is the gendered consumerist orientations, and actions, of female university students themselves, which is increasingly protected by global and local human rights values and movements. After all, we live in an era of increasing individual freedom and choice to live as we wish, despite materialist constraints and asymmetries; and to communicate and maintain our freedoms with consumerism. In different re-combinations, the above features of the Nigerian polity ensure the intractability of any socio-economic and political vice (essentially active and agential responses to structural inadequacies or state failures) that arises in Nigeria. The above intractable features of the Nigerian *structure* co-ensures that the corresponding *agencies* of female Nigerian university students, which they leverage to engage in transactional sex and mitigate constraints in situ, are not easily changed as well - despite noble intentions and/or standardized development elites' rhetoric and practice.

Notwithstanding the foregoing, there are practical resiliency or mitigating factors that could be promoted to mitigate Nigerian female university students' transactional sex even though contextual structures are not easily amenable to change. For example, consumerist capitalism continues to expand its panoptic grip on Nigerians. These resiliency factors are intended to expand students' knowledge of their contexts, options or scope of gendered action. These include leveraging interactive awareness workshops to increase female university students' (a) 'power to resist [transactional sex] without endangering the conditions of possibility for the realisation of core [consumerist] commitments;' (b) increasing and emphasizing university students' 'knowledge of alternative and possible courses of action and their probable consequences,' such

of natural resource wealth and economy that experts consider robust (see ActionAid, 2015; British Council and UKAID, 2012; USAID, 2006; Ake, 2000).

as alternative income generation opportunities, and (c) encouraging female university students to create ‘adequate critical distance in order to take up a strategic stance in relation to a particular external structure [constraints] and its ‘situational pressures’ (see Stones, 2005:115; words in parenthesis, by author).

7.4 Limitations of the Study

Although theoretical content analysis facilitates the support and extension of an existing theory, such as structuration theory, it nevertheless has certain limitations. The first limitation of using an existing theory is that the thesis approaches the phenomena of transactional sex with an informed but strong bias. The likely consequence of an informed but strong bias is that the thesis may be oriented towards finding supportive rather than unsupportive evidence from transactional sex literature. This thesis manages this limitation by relying on a comprehensive review of third party research on transactional sex, which were neither motivated by, nor validated structuration theory.

Another limitation of this thesis may be the fact that the accuracy of transactional sex literature reviewed cannot be guaranteed. However, this thesis managed this potential limitation by adopting a rigorous definition of, and adherence to, inclusion and exclusion criteria for literature reviewed for this meta-synthesis. For example, literature inclusion criteria include relevance, quality, credibility (in relation to journal), accuracy of literature, the source (e.g. primary studies in databases) comprehensiveness, and so forth, all triangulated to this thesis primary research question (see Hek & Langton, 2000; Colling, 2003; Newell & Burnard, 2006). Despite the foregoing inclusion/exclusion criteria, it is possible that certain studies may have been missed because of poor key word search framing, lack of availability, and allied databases editorial restrictions.

Other limitations to theoretical content analysis are challenges associated with neutrality, confirmability and trustworthiness of research (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). This challenge may arise because of a researcher’s tendency to seek, and/or participants’ inclinations to give socially conformist answers to research questions. Fortunately, this limitation does not apply to this thesis because of the author’s purposeful dependence on third-party published information about female Nigerian university students’ own reasons for engaging in transactional sex, which are neither motivated by, nor sought to validate structuration theory. Moreover, the thesis employment of a

thematic audit with Stones' (2005) four interrelated stages of the structuration influence cycle, after category codes assignment, ensured rigor, validity and replicability (theoretical stringency) of research methodology.

Another limitation of the thesis data source, which future studies could address, is the inattention paid to the potential influence of social class on university students' transactional sex among by the authors of various literature reviewed. The inattention to the potential influences of class on transactional sex probably accounts for the notable over-emphasis of structural influences in literature reviewed. Future research may be developed to tease out similarities and differences, if any, among the causes, nature and extent of transactional sex between different classes of students attending federally owned and funded universities, on the one hand, and privately owned and funded universities, on the other.

A related limitation of this thesis is that quantitative figures for the number of students engaged in transactional sex across Nigeria are currently unavailable. Current thinking on the increasing prevalence of transactional sex in Nigeria are deduced from increasing research on the subject across Nigeria – especially those emanating from more conservative northern Nigerian institutions (see Olaore & Olaore, 2014; Zaggi, 2014; Haruna & Ago, 2014; Abdullahi & Abdullahi, 2013; Bakari & Leach, 2007). Future and better-funded studies may be able to collect quantitative data on the number of students engaged in transactional sex although such studies will continue to be constrained by the various challenges associated with investigating an illegal and stigmatised social action, such as transactional sex. For example, practitioners are often unwilling to self-identify.

A final limitation of this study is associated with Wallerstein's (1984:27) idea that social reality, such as transactional sex, operates in a dynamic state of flux such that we 'tend to forget that the reality changes as we encapsulate it, and by virtue of that fact' (Wallerstein, 1984:27). This study re-captures moments of female university students' transactional sex, which were already captured in existing Nigerian transactional sex literature. Consequently, it is possible that the realities re-captured and reimagined by this thesis may have been undergoing the changes espoused by Wallerstein (1984:27).

7.5 Conclusion and Recommendations for Future Study

We have seen how the Nigerian transactional sex literature advances the artificial dichotomy between structure and agency by attributing causality or instigative primacy for the

normatively stigmatized female university students' engagement in transactional sex to either the students' structure or agency. On the contrary, this thesis' rigorous interrogation of dominant Nigerian transactional sex literature with Anthony Giddens' structuration theory suggests that both structure, that is, various constraining and enabling features of students' material and socio-cultural contexts, and their agency, that is, students' reasoning, capacities for action and actions, generates and maintains female university students' needs to engage in transactional sex. In other words, the students strategically and practically exploit properties of their contextual structures and agency for transactional sex, which give them access to material capital used for difference making on campus.

Thus, this thesis answers the primary research question of what structures and agencies influence Nigerian female university students to engage in transactional sex despite their intensely traditional, moral and/or religious socialization by isolating the concurrent and recursive influences of critical features of the Nigerian *external structures*, (such as gender asymmetries and older males sexual inducements), which pattern the students' habitus or *internal structures*, (such as their propensities to date older socio-economically successful men and avarice). The foregoing consumerist habitus or position-practices inform female university students' purposive exploitation of sexual self-presentations and mate selection activities (active agencies) to engage in transactional sex in pursuit to accumulate consumerist goods and enhance their sociality and distinction on campus (intended outcomes). Intended outcomes filter back into contextual structures via discourse, peer ideologies, imitation, and so on, to renew the transactional sex structuration cycle, and so on.

Nevertheless, it will be considerably worthwhile in the near future to challenge, refute and/or corroborate this thesis methods and findings with the opinions of similarly situated Nigerian female university students' about why they engage in transactional sex. The justification for this call for future studies is that capitalist and consumerist expansion, and their allied weakening of traditions and normative sanctions, are ongoing in Nigeria against the background of seemingly intractable gender asymmetries. Accordingly, it is unlikely that Nigerian female university students will cease engaging in transactional sex to mitigate contextual constraints as they imagine them, more or less engage with them, and/or as they unfold in the Nigerian context. The foregoing existential facts raise interesting questions that future studies may answer. One question revolves around describing the form the Nigerian socio-economic context and gender structure will assume

in 5 to 10 years. Such research questions are to be considered against the realities of ongoing capitalist and consumerist expansion in Nigeria, the increasing materialist freedoms and constraints that men and women must confront in their day-to-day lives. What would be the consumerist and difference-making concerns and projects of female students in 5-10 years from now?

Another class of questions to be pursued by future research is the class dimensions of the practice. For example, if female university students engage in transactional sex not for the purpose of mitigating poverty, but instead to acquire consumer goods they could not otherwise afford, what are the class implications of this argument? What can we learn from existing empirical research about the difference in nature and extent of transactional sex amongst different classes of students. For example, those attending the federally owned and funded versus privately owned and funded universities? Finally, future research may address the qualitative and quantitative incidence rates of transactional sex amongst female university students.

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