



University of HUDDERSFIELD

University of Huddersfield Repository

Azende, Peter M.

Sexuality and Sexual Agency among Female Adolescents in North Central Nigeria: A Grounded Theory Approach.

Original Citation

Azende, Peter M. (2018) Sexuality and Sexual Agency among Female Adolescents in North Central Nigeria: A Grounded Theory Approach. Doctoral thesis, University of Huddersfield.

This version is available at <http://eprints.hud.ac.uk/id/eprint/34796/>

The University Repository is a digital collection of the research output of the University, available on Open Access. Copyright and Moral Rights for the items on this site are retained by the individual author and/or other copyright owners. Users may access full items free of charge; copies of full text items generally can be reproduced, displayed or performed and given to third parties in any format or medium for personal research or study, educational or not-for-profit purposes without prior permission or charge, provided:

- The authors, title and full bibliographic details is credited in any copy;
- A hyperlink and/or URL is included for the original metadata page; and
- The content is not changed in any way.

For more information, including our policy and submission procedure, please contact the Repository Team at: E.mailbox@hud.ac.uk.

<http://eprints.hud.ac.uk/>

**Sexuality and Sexual Agency among Female Adolescents in North
Central Nigeria: A Grounded Theory Approach.**

By

Peter Msuega Azende

A thesis submitted to the University of Huddersfield in partial fulfilment of the requirement
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

August 2018

Copyright Statement

The author of this thesis (including any appendices and/ or schedules to this thesis) owns any copyright in it (the “Copyright”) and s/he has given The University of Huddersfield the right to use such Copyright for any administrative, promotional, educational and/or teaching purposes.

Copies of this thesis, either in full or in extracts, may be made only in accordance with the regulations of the University Library. Details of these regulations may be obtained from the Librarian. This page must form part of any such copies made.

The ownership of any patents, designs, trademarks and any and all other intellectual property rights except for the Copyright (the “Intellectual Property Rights”) and any reproductions of copyright works, for example graphs and tables (“Reproductions”), which may be described in this thesis, may not be owned by the author and may be owned by third parties. Such Intellectual Property Rights and Reproductions cannot and must not be made available for use without permission of the owner(s) of the relevant Intellectual Property Rights and/or Reproductions.

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to two exceptional women. The first is my adorable wife, Mrs Magdalene N. Azende for her unyielding support and encouragement throughout my doctoral research journey. The second is my lovely mother, Mrs Racheal K. Azende for her sacrifice and prayers for success in my education.

Acknowledgements

Primarily, I would like to thank God for giving me the strength and making this doctoral research journey possible. Next, I gratefully acknowledge my principle supervisor, Professor Adele Jones. It has been a wonderful experience doing research under her tutelage. Her generous guidance, encouragement and continuous support made this long journey a smooth one. She has been a dear friend to my family and me. I am so blessed to have met her. Adele, I will forever be thankful to you for your phenomenal contribution to the success of this study. In addition, I am very grateful to my associate supervisor Dr. Jo Woodiwiss for the advice and suggestions that have shaped the research process. I am very grateful to both for their valuable supervision.

I acknowledge the young women and parents that participated in this study. Their names are not mentioned for reasons of confidentiality. Without them, this thesis would not have been possible. I am indebted to my wife Magdalene for the immeasurable help that she provided throughout the study period. I was fortunate to have you along the way during this exciting journey. I also acknowledge my children Tomuter, Adele and Tertsua.

I would also like to thank my dear friends and colleagues; Dr. Sidi Mohammed, Tim Dlamini, Dr. Egena Ode, Dr. Darius Ikyanyon, Mpem Terungwa and Gemanen Asema. I own a very special thanks to Miss Joyce Rumun Akpenpuun for her support during data collection for this study. I would also like to express my gratitude to Dr. Femi Tinuola for playing a role in who I am as a teacher and researcher.

I also want to thank my mother for her prayers and my elder brother, Dr. Terungwa Azende, for showing me that success is a result of hard work and continuous effort. To my other siblings, Isaiah, Nguevese, Sughtor, and Nadoo, I hope I have made you all proud.

Abstract

Within Tiv society, the prevailing sociocultural context in which young people live plays a significant role in their knowledge and experiences about sexuality. With a grounded theory approach, this study focuses on tracking the influence of sociocultural forces on the sexual world of young women and contributes to the culturally specific understanding of how female adolescents experience their sexuality. Qualitative methods were used to elicit data for this study. Four focus group discussions were conducted with young women between the ages of 14 and 19 years. In addition, individual in-depth interviews were conducted with twenty parents. Additionally, another set of young women participated in thirteen individual Skype in-depth interviews. Data were recorded, transcribed and then analysed using the concurrent processes of constant comparative analysis, data gathering, theoretical sampling and memo writing.

Findings revealed that female adolescent sexuality among the Tiv is socially constructed and affected by power relations and repressive traditions. This seems to derive from the interplay of power, gender, patriarchal values and culture/traditional practices. Young women, however, demonstrated their belief that sexuality was an integral part of who they were. They were acutely aware of their sexual needs and desires and they used a range of tactics to claim back and express their sexual power. Given that their premarital sexual intercourse is negatively and punitively constructed, some young women paid very high prices for subverting parental control over their sexuality and engaging in premarital sex, especially if they became pregnant. The adolescents in this study were agentic, but only within the liminal space that they create.

The development of sexuality for Tiv adolescent females is then, a complex and shifting construction mediated by cultural context, family norms and social settings. Young women's understanding of their own sexuality reflects consciousness and their expression of sexual desire reflects agency, however these crucial facets of the subjective self are constrained within a wider context. Further, the role of mothers in controlling their daughters' sexuality is illustrative of their role in the perpetuation of patriarchal values. This thesis provides new insights into adolescent sexuality and contributes to creating a space where female adolescents can share their perceptions and experiences about their sexual lives.

Glossary of Acronyms

AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
CSE	Comprehensive Sex Education
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FGM	Female Genital Mutilation
FLHE	Family Life HIV Education
GT	Grounded Theory
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
LGBT	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender
NGO/s	Non-Governmental Organization/s
NDHS	Nigerian Demographic and Health Survey
NYSC	National Youth Service Corps
STI/s	Sexually Transmitted Infection/s
SREP	School Research and Ethics Panel
SRH	Sexual and Reproductive Health
SUM	Sudan United Mission
SWD	Social Welfare Department
UK	United Kingdom
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Funds
WHO	World Health Organization

Table of Contents

Copyright Statement	1
Dedication	2
Acknowledgements	3
Abstract	4
Glossary of Acronyms	5
Table of Contents	6
Chapter One.....	12
Introduction and Background to the Study	12
1.1 Introduction	12
1.2 The Aim of the Study	12
1.3 Background to the Study	12
1.4 Problem Statement	13
1.5 Rationale for the Study	15
1.6 My Motivation to conduct Research on Young Women’s Sexuality	16
1.7 The Road to starting a PhD Programme in the UK	17
1.8 The Study Context	18
1.9 Male-centred Structures in Northern Nigeria	21
1.10 The Social Context of Children in Northern Nigeria	23
1.11 Outline of the Structure of the Thesis	24
Chapter Two	28
Preliminary Literature Review	28
2.1 Introduction	28
2.2 Sexuality	29
2.3 The Concept of Healthy Sexuality	30
2.4 Culture and Sexuality	32
2.5 Conceptualizing Healthy Sexuality Development	33
2.5.1 Freedom from Unwanted Sexual Activity, Understanding Consent/Capacity to Consent 33	
2.5.2 Competence in Mediated Sexuality	35
2.5.3 Awareness of Sexual Boundaries	36
2.5.4 Open Communication about Sexual Issues	36

2.5.5 Agency and Resilience.....	37
2.5.6 An Understanding of Safety and Developing Relationship Skills	40
2.5.7 Understanding of Parental and Societal Values	41
2.6 Adolescent Sexual Development	41
2.6.1 Sub stage 1: Early Adolescent	42
2.6.2 Sub stage 2: Middle Adolescence	43
2.6.3 Sub stage 3: late Adolescence	45
2.7 Gendered Adolescent Sexuality	46
2.8 Patriarchy	49
2.9 Identity Development in Adolescence	50
2.10 Parenting Adolescents	52
2.11 Constructing Sexuality, Biology and Society.....	54
2.12 Non-heterosexual identities in Africa	57
2.13 Homophobic Sentiments in Nigeria	58
2.14 Tiv Approach to Sexuality	59
2.15 Adolescents’ Sexuality, Abstinence and Sex-As-Risk.....	60
2.16 Sexual Abuse and Coercion among Young Persons	61
2.17 Age of Consent for Sexual Activity	62
2.18 Sexual Learning	63
2.18.1 Home-Based Sexual Learning	64
2.18.2 School-Based Sexual Learning	66
2.18.3 Comprehensive Sexuality Education	67
2.19 Summary of the Chapter.....	68
Chapter Three	70
Identifying the Theoretical Lenses	70
3.1 Introduction.....	70
3.2 Using a Theoretical Framework within a Grounded Theory Study	70
3.3 The Feminist Theory of Intersectionality	72
3.4 Social Constructionist Perspectives.....	74
3.4.2 The Scripting Perspective on Sexuality.....	77

3.5 A Sex-Positive Framework for Researching Adolescent Girls’ Sexuality	79
3.6 Summary of the Chapter	80
Chapter Four	81
Methodology	81
4.1 Introduction	81
4.2 Epistemological Stance	81
4.3 Justification for using Grounded Theory Approach in the current Study	83
4.3.1 Comparing Grounded Theory with some other Qualitative Paradigms- further Reasons for adopting GT	84
4.3.2 The Basics of Data Collection and Analysis in Grounded theory	85
4.3.4 Criteria for Grounded Theory Studies	87
4.3.5 Limitations and Advantages of the Grounded Theory Methodology	88
4.4 Methods	89
4.4.1 An overview of the Study design, Sampling and Data Collection	89
4.4.2 Sampling	90
4.4.3 Data Analysis and Interpretation	104
4.5 Research Ethics in Action	108
4.5.1 Informed Consent	109
4.5.2 Confidentiality and Anonymity	110
4.6 Ensuring Research Trustworthiness	112
4.6.1 Credibility and Transferability	113
4.6.2 Dependability and Confirmability	113
4.7 Summary of the Chapter	115
Part Two	117
Findings, Discussion and Conclusions	117
Chapter Five	118
Introduction to Findings	118

5.1 An Overview of the Finding Chapters	118
Chapter Six.....	123
The Boundaries on Female Adolescents’ Sexuality.....	123
6.1 Introduction	123
6.2 Regulating Adolescent Females’ Sexuality	124
6.2.1 Silencing Discussion about Sex	124
6.2.2 Creating a Climate of Fear	128
6.2.3 The Boundary line of Virginity	131
6.2.4 Parenting Approach	134
6.3 Sexual Socialisation	138
6.3.1: Gendered Sexual Communication	138
6.3.2: Initiating Parent-Adolescent Sex-talk	141
6.3.3: The Focus of Parent-child Sexual Communication	143
6.4 Situating girls’ Sexuality with the Discourse of Shame	146
6.4.1 Sites of Shame	146
6.4.2 Shaming to avoid multiple shame	149
6.5 Relationships	150
6.5.1 The “toasting” script	151
6.5.2 Subtle Pressure	154
6.6 Summary of the chapter	155
Chapter Seven.....	157
The Responses and Counter Responses.....	157
7.1 Introduction	157
7.2 Navigating Sexual Learning: The Importance of Peer Network	158
7.3 Navigating the Boundaries	162
7.3.1 Sending and Receiving Sexually Suggestive Messages and Images	162
7.3.2 Preventing Pregnancy	166
7.3.3 Deflecting Stigma and Blame	171

7.4 Negotiating Agency and Sexual Agency	177
7.4.1 Contesting Socio-Cultural Expectations.....	178
7.4.2 The Money-gifts Script.....	181
7.4.3 Concealing Sexual Behaviours.....	187
7.5 Summary of the chapter	191
Chapter Eight	193
Discussion and Conclusions – Integrating the Key Findings	193
8.1 Introduction.....	193
8.2 A Discussion of Key Findings in relation to Previous Scholarship	194
8.2.1 The Veil of Silence and Chastity	194
8.2.2 Sexual Subculture (Sex within the young women’s subculture)	198
8.2.3 Punishing the ‘erring’ Female Adolescent.	201
8.2.4 The Complexity of the Gift-giving script. (Reclaiming power through the gift-giving script).....	204
8.2.5 Female Adolescent Sexuality in Transition: Generational Difference in Perceptions.	205
8.2.6 Upholding Patriarchal Values.....	208
8.2.7 Enveloping Sexualities: A Bounded Agency.....	210
8.3 Contribution to Scholarship and Limitations of the Study	215
8.3.1 Main Contribution of the Study (Strengths)	215
8.3.2 Study Limitations	216
8.4 The Implications of the Study for Policy and Practice	217
8.5 Recommendations for Future Research	218
8.6 Reflections on the Research Journey	219
8.7 Concluding Thoughts	220
References.....	222
Appendices.....	242
Appendix 1: Study Flier (Focus Group).....	242
Appendix 2: Study Flier (Skype Interview)	243
Appendix 3: Information Sheet for Participants (Focus Group)	244
Appendix 4: Information Sheet for Participants (Skype Interview).....	247

Appendix 5: Consent Form for Participants (Focus Group)	250
Appendix 6: Consent Form for Participants (Skype Interview)	252
Appendix 7: Consent Form for Parents	254
Appendix 8: Information Sheet for Parents	256
Appendix 9: Interview Guide for Mothers	259
Appendix 10: Interview Guide for Fathers	260
Appendix 11: Hypothetical Stories	261
Appendix 12: Ministry of Health & Human Services Research Ethical Committee approval letter	263
Appendix 13: Demographic Information Obtained from Participants (young women) (N= 37) ..	264

Chapter One

Introduction and Background to the Study

1.1 Introduction

This thesis explores how young Tiv women develop and negotiate their sexuality in the light of prevailing sociocultural values and messages around female (adolescent) sexuality. The current study was conceived out of my desire to interrupt the silencing of female adolescent sexuality experiences in northern Nigeria. The study provides an alternative insight into female adolescents'¹ sexuality, and advocates a more 'positive parenting'² that would enable female adolescents to make agentic decisions regarding their sexuality. This research was conducted in Nigeria, a country with relatively conservative sexual attitudes, though not all parents have negative views regarding adolescent sexuality. It is hoped that an insight into these experiences and perceptions will provide a crucial knowledge in understanding the specific sexual development issues faced by adolescent girls in Tiv society. In order to have a broader picture of the phenomenon under consideration, the views of parents were also sought and analysed. The findings of this thesis lay the groundwork for further exploration in the region of young people's sexual experiences.

1.2 The Aim of the Study

The overarching aim of this thesis has been to generate socio-culturally specific understanding of the grounded realities of female adolescents' sexual lives by interpreting their perceptions, experiences, and opinions within the context of the Tiv society in North Central Nigeria.

1.3 Background to the Study

Adolescence is, it is argued, a significant period of development, learning and change, filled with susceptibilities and risk, as well as life changing opportunities and potential for both males and females (WHO Regional Office for Europe, 2014). The experiences of young people during their teenage years have positive or negative effects on their lives, families and the society

¹ Throughout this thesis, I use 'adolescent girls', 'female adolescents', 'girls' and young women interchangeably.

² This has to do with sexual socialization that takes into account issues of sexual desire, pleasure and intimacy which are positive motivations for sex and are crucial in improving sexual and reproductive health (Jolly, 2016).

they live in. In relation to the development of sexual identities, for many young people, adolescence can mark a time of heightened vulnerability. During adolescence, girls in particular, are more likely than boys to leave school prematurely, be exposed to HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted infections (STIs) and to suffer the consequences of early marriage, early pregnancy, sexual exploitation and coercion. Male adolescents also face some of these risks, though to a lesser extent. Adolescent girls also encounter greater difficulties than older females in accessing Sexual and Reproductive Health (SRH) care, including modern contraception and information on how to protect themselves from unintended pregnancy and other risks associated with sexual activity (WHO, 2014).

In Sub-Saharan Africa, where this research was carried out, adolescent girls have low family planning utilization rates, limited knowledge of SRH services, and their sexual behaviour is tightly regulated (Biddlecom, Awusabo-Asare, & Bankole, 2009; Jonas, Crutzen, van den Borne, & Reddy, 2017). Yet, they account for a higher proportion of the region's new HIV infections, maternal mortality, and unmet needs for reproductive health information and services, problems which are linked to social, cultural, economic and factors relating to gender (Rashid, 2011; Tilahun, 2012). In an area such as North Central Nigeria, where a 2007 study reported that 80% of sexually active females had had sexual intercourse before the age of 15 years (NDHS 2008), there is particular need to increase our understanding of female adolescents' sexuality in order to ensure effective targeting of services and support.

1.4 Problem Statement

Sexuality is a central facet of one's identity and the free expression of sexuality, including sexual orientation is considered agentic. In most western contexts, sexuality is regarded as being possessed at the individual level. Within Tiv society, as in many other African societies however, negativity surrounds female adolescent sexuality, sex is imbued with notions of fear and concern, and sexual behaviour (among women at least) is managed with a prevailing rigidity. The sexuality of young women is regarded as a commodity that can generate status, respect and wealth. Sexuality is considered as 'owned' by women only in as much as they are

keepers of purity and innocence. Parents present sexuality as a possible site of danger for young girls.

Although it seems unrealistic, adolescent girls are expected to abstain from sexual activity until marriage and there is little open discussion about sexual matters. Despite the sociocultural constraint, studies of adolescents' sexual practices in Nigeria suggest that premarital sex among female adolescents is a common phenomenon (Ogunjuyigbe & Adepoju, 2014). While family and social norms emphasize sexual restraint, the emerging youth culture seems to value sexual experimentation (Izugbara, 2008). There is tension between real sexual behaviours of adolescents and cultural expectations and proscription for their sexual expression. The profound effect of this scenario is that young girls do not have access to accurate and adequate information that would guarantee a healthy foundation for sexuality. Parents and teachers seem to be poor sources of sexual information for adolescents in Nigeria (Opara, Eke, & Tabansi, 2012).

Studies of sexuality focus primarily on subjective experiences, and even those that consider external sources of constraints and oppression, view sexuality from the perspective of the 'self'. The attention in this study focuses primarily on how the sexual lives of female adolescents are culturally and socially determined in the context of the Tiv society. The major issues of concern are; what are the social norms and boundaries for female adolescent sexuality? How do young women on, interpret prevailing sexual scripts, and come to apply the ensuing insights to their sexual experiences? What is the level of parent-adolescent sexual communication and socialization? What are the tactics used by young women to navigate repressive norms and how are these perceived by the community? In this study, I examine these issues around the sexuality of Tiv adolescent girls. The study makes important contribution to adolescent sexuality literature.

1.5 Rationale for the Study

Sexuality is a complex facet of identity influenced by socio-cultural norms, socialization and individual experience (Izugbara, 2008). There seems to be no research regarding the ways in which Tiv female adolescents experience and express their sexuality. Over the years, researchers have focused on adolescent sexuality as dangerous and the adolescents as risk behaviour participants (Michaud, 2006). This view is often reflected by researchers in their choice of research questions by pursuing studies of pregnancy, sexually transmitted infections (STIs) risk, HIV-AIDS, abstinence and condom use (Tolman & McClelland, 2011), thereby promoting the negative concept of adolescent sexuality. This present research takes a different approach, one that does not ascribe sex with meanings of risk or deviance and is an attempt to understand how sexual scripts are formed and reconstructed, and the way they influence young women's sexual lives.

There is a substantial literature on adolescents' sexuality in Africa, however, this has been primarily through the lens of danger (A Moran, 2012; Bay-Cheng, Livingston, & Fava, 2011; Danjin & Onajole, 2010; Obi, Ozuma, & Onyebuchi, 2002; Onyeka, Miettola, Ilika, & Vaskilampi, 2011; Oyediran, Feyisetan, & Akpan, 2011; Regnerus, 2005; Tavory & Swidler, 2009). For example, in an analytical cross-sectional quantitative study of 225 participants in a rural town in Nigeria, Moran (2012) explored the factors associated with teenage pregnancy and found that low social class, religion and being a student increased the probability of being pregnant. However, because of the method used, the study failed to consider the experiences, stories and voices of the participants. Furthermore, in another study with 43 girls between the ages 14 to 17 years, Bay-cheng et al (2011) who focused on understanding the adolescent girls' perceptions of sexual risk argued that the discourse of risk surrounding sexuality was one that many girls had internalized. Neither of these studies pays attention to the skills necessary to discern and communicate sexual wishes and boundaries that allow girls to explore sexuality in a gradual, intentional and pleasurable fashion (Schalet, 2011).

Most of the literature on adolescent sexuality is predominantly risk-based and few studies focus on the development of adolescent sexuality from a sex-positive standpoint (Allen, Husser, Stone, & Jordal, 2008; Koyama, Ott, Schalet, Titz, & Austin, 2011; Lesch & Kruger, 2005; Rickert, Sanghvi, & Wiemann, 2002). Consequently, little is known about adolescents'

abilities to navigate sexuality and the social and cultural systems which shape not only their sexual experience, but the ways in which they interpret and understand that experience and the cultural rules that organize these (Parker, 2009; Russell, 2005). Therefore, it is important to break the academic silence and understand how female adolescents' sexuality is developed within their social and cultural context. This provides the rationale for this current study, which aims to provide new understandings about adolescent girls in Nigeria and among the Tiv in particular. This work adds to the growing fields of sexuality studies and provides new insights on female sexuality. Furthermore, it contributes to the larger conversation around positive and healthy sexuality, remedy gaps in the existing literature, aims to stimulate dialogue and sets a base for future research.

1.6 My Motivation to conduct Research on Young Women's Sexuality

This study has been motivated by research interests that developed in 2007 when I was working as a peer educator under the National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) Reproductive Health and HIV-AIDS Prevention Project supported by UNICEF. I facilitated several SRH and HIV awareness sessions in Bayelsa State and realized that most young people are unskilled, vulnerable and liable to making mistakes that affect their lives. Girls in particular, were often at risk of dropping out of school because of pregnancy to "follow a man and born", a commonly expressed phrase, which means having a child for a man out of wedlock. I found that adolescents' sexuality was discursively related to many of the social and public health concerns in Nigeria, including the use of contraceptives, teenage pregnancy, child abuse and the HIV-AIDS pandemic. In October 2008, I was employed as a graduate assistant at Benue State University, Makurdi and enrolled to pursue a Master's degree in Health Sociology. My dissertation was about the maternal health conditions of teenage mothers in Benue State. One of the findings of the empirical work was that 19% of the 463 adolescent mothers sampled had their babies out of wedlock. One of the questions that came to mind is, 'are young girls in this area fully in control of their lives and choices they make, including the choices they make about their sexual practices?' It is on this basis that I have stepped out to contribute to new knowledge about adolescent girls' sexuality in a region of Nigeria where this has not been

researched in order to improve public policy and access to services and sexual education for this population.

1.7 The Road to starting a PhD Programme in the UK

I had completed an MSc (Health Sociology) at Benue State University, Makurdi-Nigeria, looking at the experiences of teenage mothers and trying to understand their reproductive health challenges. Upon successful completion of the programme, my dissertation supervisor, Dr Femi Tinuola advised me to apply for a PhD at any University of my choice in the United Kingdom. Given that a doctoral degree is one of the requirements to move into higher academic ranks as a university teacher, I had always known that I would embark on a PhD but it was just the matter of when, where and of course what topic to research on.

One of the most challenging things about preparing to embark on the PhD journey was trying to narrow my academic interests in sexual and reproductive health and sexual wellbeing of young people into a manageable research topic. When considering this, I found that the sexuality development of female adolescents was of particular interest given the dearth of knowledge in Nigeria, on the topic from the perspectives of young women themselves. The stimulus of the current study goes back in my mind to instances where I was affected by the issue of female adolescent sexuality concerning close family members. While growing up, I saw adolescent girls who became pregnant being forced to marry men old enough to be their fathers. Seeing the humiliation and emotional pain they had to endure, and the serious impact on the future of these teenage mothers and their children, I felt that it would be really interesting and useful to carry out some research into the sexuality of young women in that part of Nigeria where the production of knowledge about sexuality is generally lacking.

I applied for a PhD at three different universities in the UK including Aston University, Birmingham, University of Hull, Kingston upon Hull, and the University of Huddersfield. I gained acceptance at all the three universities and decided to accept the offer at the University of Huddersfield. On the 25th June 2014, my main supervisor, Prof. Adele Jones sent me an email saying she was delighted that I would be joining the Centre for Applied Child, Family and Youth Research for my PhD and that she was looking forward to supporting me through my doctoral

studies. This email meant a whole lot to me since I was a novice qualitative researcher and needed the assurance of good support.

My wife was pregnant at the time we were preparing for our journey to the UK. Unfortunately, we lost the baby when she was three months' pregnant and the entire family felt a depth of sorrow. It was indeed a trying moment. With the emotional support provided by family members, this tragedy did not completely distract us from preparing for our voyage. We left Nigeria for the United Kingdom on 12th September 2014 with mixed feelings of excitement of starting a PhD on one hand, but on the other hand, we were already missing our friends and family.

Upon arrival in the UK, my research initial proposal was to investigate how mothers' sexual socialization roles influence female adolescent healthy sexual development. After several meetings with my supervisors, they suggested that I focus first on the young women and from the analysis of this data, it would become apparent whether it was appropriate to include mothers. I was mindful of my quantitative background and knew I had to wrestle with the nuances of qualitative research for this study especially with the use of a grounded theory method. My fears were short lived as my main supervisor introduced me to her friends and former PhD students (some of whom had used grounded theory in their research) asking them to reach out to me and offer some additional support and guidance. I was very happy to be linked up to this amazing PhD alumni. To enable us to interact freely, a private blog called International PhD Alumni Blog-Huddersfield was created for me. This idea of a blog was a great one, as I would simply post any question I needed help with and members were often more than happy to respond. I was very pleased with the words of encouragement and the support I received.

1.8 The Study Context

North Central Nigeria comprises seven states located geographically in the middle belt region of the Country, spanning from the west, around the confluence of the Rivers Niger and Benue. The region is rich in natural land features, and boasts some of Nigeria's most exciting scenery. The region is also home to many historical and colonial relics with a human population of almost 19 million (2006 population census). North Central Nigeria contains the largest number

of ethnic groups in Nigeria. These include Tiv, Gbagyi, Gwandara, Idoma, Igala, Ebir, Yoruba, Nupe, Mada-Eggon, Berom, Mangu, Igede and Etilo, all of which have slightly different cultures and traditions. Farming is the main occupation of most people in the region.

This current study explored female adolescents' sexuality in a traditional African milieu with particular reference to the Tiv of Central Nigeria. Oral tradition traces the origin of Tiv people to a man called Tiv who is said to have originated from south-central Africa. Colonial historians revealed that the migration of Tiv from the southern part of Central Africa began around 1800. They are found along Latitude 6 degrees north and Longitude 8 degrees east of the equator. The Tiv people constitute about 3.2% of Nigeria's total population, and number not less than six million individuals throughout Nigeria and part of the Republic of Cameroon. They are a unique ethnic group of semi-Bantu linguistic affinity. The Tivs speak one common language and studies have shown a sixty-seven (67) word list indicating the similarities between Tiv language and the language of "Bantu Nyanza" in present day Malawi. There are three different meanings to the word 'Tiv'. It is the name of the Tiv ethnic group; it refers to their language; and the name by which the Tiv know their ancestor-father Tiv. The Tiv people believe that they are all the descendants of one man called Tiv (Wegh, 2003). They are the main inhabitants of Benue State and parts of Southern Nasarawa State. In the North East, they are found in parts of Taraba State. Tivland is situated almost in the middle of Nigeria, West Africa. To the north, the Tiv share borders with the Angwe, Alago and Koro of Nasarawa State. To the south the Tiv are bordered by a congeries of ethnic groups, which they call Udam. The Jukun and Chamba of Taraba State border the Tiv on the east. To their west are the Idoma and Igala of Benue and Kogi States respectively.

In all aspects of their social organization, the Tiv consider patrilineal descent. Kinship is constructed by tracing descent through the male. Tiv kinship is unique with three distinct forms, these are consanguinity (kinship based on blood), affinity (kinship based on marriage) and secondary kinship based on choice outside blood and marriage (Wegh, 1998). Tiv are a stateless society without a central authority. Male elders meeting at different levels maintain Law and order. There are no female elders in leadership positions at the community level in

Tiv society. The compound³ is the basic unit of social, political and community organization. The object of politics is conceptualized as *tar soron*, which literally means the repair of the land. The paramount ruler is the Tor-Tiv (Chief of the Tiv) even though executive governors who are elected through party politics rule the States mentioned above. The Tiv have been exposed to various forms of modernizing influences but have largely retained and jealously guarded most of their original lifestyles against any form of adulteration (Okemgbo, Odimegwu, & Ayila, 2010). The Tiv are mostly agrarian farmers depending on agricultural produce such as Yam (*Yough*) maize (*Ikuleke*) and Rice (*Chinkapa*) for commercial and consumption purposes. Some of the men combine farming and hunting of wild animals and others engage in artisanal trades like blacksmithing, woodcarving, and weaving. Pot making and brewing of local beer (Tashi) made from guinea corn or millet are practices carried out by women.

The dominant religions in Tiv land are Christianity and traditional religious beliefs that hinge on the concepts of God (Aondo) the Supreme Being and other minor deities (akombo). Their traditional religion is based on the manipulation of these minor deities by elders to affect various aspects of human life, including business activities, health, food production, marriage and procreation (Dzurgba, 2007). Traditional religious ceremonies are only complete by offering sacrifices such as crops, chickens, ducks, sheep, tortoises and cows to the deities. Traditionally, these sacrifices are shared and eaten as meal at the shrine but only by men (ibid). In the early 20th century, the Sudan United Mission (SUM) an interdenominational and international organization, arrived in Tiv land and introduced Christianity to the people. Subsequently, most Tiv people converted to Christianity. Dzurgba (2007) noted that in spite of their willingness and cooperation, the Tiv people found the Christian mode of worship to be alien and funny. The missionaries also brought western education and medicine, which the people embraced and which subsequently transformed traditional education, knowledge and skills.

³ The concept of compound is a setup of the Tiv social system which is typically a collection of families (including extended families) who trace their descent from a common forefather. A typical Tiv compound is headed by a leader (usually the oldest male) called Orya who takes decisions on behalf of members of the compound.

From ancient times to the present time, incest is a taboo in Tiv society. Sexual intercourse between close relations is prohibited. Female genital mutilation (FGM) is considered as torture; designated as cruel and inhuman treatment, FGM is not practiced among the Tiv. Marriage is the only socially approved and legitimate sexual union. The Tiv have a prohibitive sexual culture that condemns all pre-marital and extra-marital sexual relations. The findings of the NDHS study (2008) therefore present a paradox worthy of further exploration.

1.9 Male-centred Structures in Northern Nigeria

The Nigerian society in general and Northern Nigeria in particular is patriarchal in nature. The only known matriarchal tribe in Nigeria is the Longuda ethnic group living in Adamawa and Gombe States in North-eastern Nigeria. The Longuda people construct kinship by tracing descent through the female (Longuda people, 2015). Patriarchy is a systematic organization of male supremacy and female subordination which is transmitted from one generation to the other through the process of socialization (Igbelina-Igbokwe, 2013; Izugbara, 2004). This hierarchical organization cuts across political, economic, social, religion, cultural, industrial and financial spheres and is oppressive to women and girls. Patriarchy in Nigeria starts at the household/family levels and extends into the wider society with gendered barriers that prevent women and girls from developing their creative potential (Igbelina-Igbokwe, 2013).

The family is one of the sites for patriarchy in Northern Nigeria where women's subordination is often perpetuated. In Tiv society for instance, patriarchal values support views about women's inferiority, with the male usually the dominant family member holding the decision making power on all issues. The younger generations are socialized into this dominant male mentality and many girls grow up believing that their low status is natural, divinely ordered and normal (Igbelina-Igbokwe, 2013; Okemgbo et al., 2010). Within conjugal relationships, the situation of the Tiv, Tarok and Hausa women of Northern Nigeria is one of gender-based disadvantage all through life. Decision-making in sexual and reproductive matters is considered the man's exclusive right. A woman is not expected to negotiate sex with her husband or refuse his sexual advances (Orisaremi & Alubo, 2012). Furthermore, men often insist on certain privileges in marriage that violate certain fundamental rights of their partners. One of such privileges is male sexual entitlement.

Religion is also among the factors that encourage male domination. Most religious traditions of the world are patriarchal (Susan, 2004) and religion is generally used as an instrument in defence of social stratification and patriarchy. The two dominant religions in Northern Nigeria are Christianity and Islam, and there is no possibility of a woman attaining the position of a Bishop or Imam. It can be argued that patriarchy continues to thrive partly because of the high regard that Nigerian women and men attach to religion. This leads to the belief that male superiority and female subjugation are natural and divinely ordered (Igbelina-Igbokwe, 2013). Before the advent of British rule in Nigeria, the character of governance in the northern part of the country was theocratic and Islam was institutionalized and accepted by the majority of the people in the region. Some States began the introduction of Sharia laws which gives central place to paternalistic interpretation to women's roles and places a lot of restrictions on their rights (Makama, 2013). Muslim women are neither to be seen nor heard. An Islamist militant group "Boko Haram" which is translated as "western education is a sin" in the local language opposes the education of women and girls. Under the group's version of Sharia law, women should not attend school to learn how to read and write. There is also evidence of patriarchal supremacy within Christianity. The Christian Bible teaches women to be submissive and they are often not given leadership roles in Churches. Also, some of the tenets of Christian teaching seem to be controlling of women's bodies and sexuality (Pereira & Ibrahim, 2010). The prohibitive sexual culture seems to be further strengthened by the Tiv conversion to Christianity.

Patriarchy is produced at the household/family level, within religious groups, is perpetuated through the institution of marriage, and extrapolates into the political arena. Politics in Nigeria is dominated by men and makes it difficult for women to aspire to gain political power. Makama (2013) noted that the domestic domain is perceived in Northern Nigeria as the legitimate space for women while public space is associated with men. However, taking a cue from best international practices, Nigerian women have agitated for change and for a place at the political 'table', calling for the principle and practice of Affirmative Action. Some interesting aspects of the Affirmative Action campaign are the 35 percent quota system and equal participation of women in politics. One common argument against this campaign is that there is neither law nor provision in the Nigerian constitution that prevents women from contesting elective positions. Gendered barriers however operate in formal and informal structures

including unwritten and invisible family codes of behaviours which ensure that women's participation in politics and decision-making in Nigeria is sustained at minimal levels as possible (Igbelina-Igbokwe, 2013). The efforts of women in Nigeria to liberate themselves from male domination are yet to have any meaningful impact, and as such, patriarchy continues to thrive.

1.10 The Social Context of Children in Northern Nigeria

Although the Nigerian government has enacted the Child Rights Act 2013 and in 1999 signed the African Children's Charter, the violation of children's rights, especially the girl child in Northern Nigeria remains deeply rooted and widely tolerated (Brammah, 2014). Children in the region lack appropriate forums and resources to enforce their rights. Their choices and individuality are controlled through tradition and family codes of conduct. Girls are more vulnerable to abuse and exploitation at both the household and community level (Audu, et al, 2009). For instance, among the Hausa and Fulani, the decisions on timing of marriage and whom to marry is made by the parents. In addition, child marriage is common in Northern Nigeria, especially in States predominantly inhabited by Muslims. A girl of twelve years can be given out for marriage once she has started menstruating. Among the Tiv and Tarok people however, the ideal marriage age for women is said to be between 20 and 26 years old. Children's sexual behaviour is closely monitored by parents and close family members with the girl child receiving more supervision. Generally, children in Northern Nigeria do not have a voice, and this social milieu can have a profound impact on their psychosocial, emotional and sexual development.

The present study is an attempt to understand female adolescents' sexuality development within their given social and cultural context. The study findings provide insights into the sexual experiences of adolescent girls among the Tiv people in North Central Nigeria, and the ways in which they understand and interpret their sexuality. The study deepens understanding of what is it like to be an adolescent female in the region and how young women construct and perceive their sense of agency as sexual decision makers. Although other studies may generate considerable knowledge about adolescent sexuality in different societies, the findings cannot be generalized to other regions since, as I have demonstrated, factors such as patriarchy and culture have a direct bearing on sexual freedom.

This study turns a gaze toward the private and intimate worlds of adolescent girls with a view to understanding their experiences and concerns on a sensitive issue such as sexuality. With little research in Nigeria to draw from, the study adopted a grounded theory methodology, which rather than testing predetermined hypotheses, set out to see whether any theory would emerge to provide understanding of “what it is like to be” an adolescent girl in Tiv land, North Central Nigeria especially as it relates to sexuality. The choice of research method aligns with my constructionist world view and is influenced by a philosophical position on the co-construction of meaning (Berger & Luckmann, 1967; Charmaz, 2006) that recognises girls’ agency.

1.11 Outline of the Structure of the Thesis

This thesis is organized into two parts and is presented in eight chapters. In the first part, including chapters 2, 3 & 4, I reviewed relevant literature and discussed the theoretical approaches and perspectives guiding the interpretation of the research data. The background for and methodology used in the study is also addressed in part one. The thesis begins with an introductory chapter which discusses the research background, context, rationale for the study and provides a brief overview of the Tiv socio-cultural situation. This discussion situates the study.

Chapter Two: Preliminary review of literature

Following the introduction chapter, chapter two offers a preliminary (not a comprehensive) review of the literature. In order to remain as sensitive as possible, grounded theory researchers are expected to enter the field of inquiry with an open mind and for this reason, many grounded theorists avoid becoming familiar with the literature until after data have been gathered and analysed. In this study, I have taken the approach advocated by Charmaz (2006) and have reviewed some studies in order to sharpen my awareness of the subject and in order to increase theoretical sensitivity. In this chapter, I discuss the Tiv approach to sexuality to help the reader to have a better understanding of the people under study. This review also discusses the concept of healthy sexual development. Given this is a grounded theory study, a more extensive review of the literature which is driven by the data is included in chapters 6-7, where it is integrated into the discussion of findings.

Chapter Three: Identifying the theoretical lenses

This chapter introduces the theoretical perspectives that are used to interpret and make sense of the data. The study uses multiple theoretical standpoints to examine and interpret the findings. Social constructionism, the feminist theory of intersectionality, scripting theory and the sex-positive framework are introduced as the lenses through which I viewed the data. The use of theory/perspective triangulation was to ensure a rich and comprehensive account of the research findings and helped create a more nuanced way of understanding the phenomenon.

Chapter Four: Research methodology

In this chapter, the methodology and methods used in the study are introduced. I discuss grounded theory as my research methodology and my alignment with a social constructionist approach to grounded theory which is based on my constructionist worldview. The chapter further introduces the three specific methods used in generating data for the research. These include focus group discussion, in-depth individual interviews and Skype individual interviews using vignettes. The analytical process, comprising open, axial and selective coding as used in the study is also described. This chapter further provides the demographic information obtained from young women who participated in the study. This information helps the reader to determine how far the study sample was appropriate and provided the researcher with a robust understanding of the phenomenon of interest (Connelly, 2013). The last section of the chapter focuses on the issue of research trustworthiness and discusses how the researcher addressed the issue of quality assurance in order to promote confidence in the study findings.

The second part of this thesis is dedicated to the findings, discussion and conclusions. This section begins with chapter five, which is an introductory chapter and provides an overview of the finding chapters.

Chapter Six: The Boundaries on Female Adolescents' Sexuality

This, the first findings chapter, is centred on the broader sociocultural attitudes and responses to female adolescent sexuality and presents an analysis of the findings concerning imposed

boundaries on young women's sexual behaviour. The chapter describes how these boundaries are produced and reproduced, and the role contexts play in the development of female adolescent sexuality. In presenting the findings, I further engage with relevant literature. An understanding of the impact of family, society and religion was important in traversing the discussion. Since parents are in most cases their children's first sexual educators, the voices of parents have also been captured in this study. Themes discussed in this chapter show how the sexuality of young women is scripted by restrictive voices from a 'matrix of agents' that emphasize sexual risk and advocate young women's chastity and abstinence.

Chapter Seven: The Responses and Counter Responses

In Chapter Seven, I present the findings that show how female adolescents respond to the messages derived from the multiple sources of sexual information that they are 'exposed' to. These sources (contexts) are influenced by gender and morality-based ideologies and traditional discourses around female adolescent sexuality and female subjugation. Findings presented in the chapter also give insights into how this group navigate, or cross constraining sexual boundaries within their social milieu, and how youth subculture messages about sexuality challenge the established Tiv sexual norms. The chapter also explores counter responses from the parents. Themes discussed in the chapter include navigating sexual learning, navigating the boundaries, negotiating agency and sexual agency, and concealing sexual behaviours.

Chapter Eight: Discussion and Conclusions

This chapter integrates the two findings chapters described above and discusses the key findings in relation to the literature in this area. The chapter demonstrates how many factors intersect to influence the sexual development of young women within their social context. The sexual subculture of adolescents is described to demonstrate how this group negotiate the social and cultural forces that tend to constrain their sexual expression. This chapter also revealed the role of patriarchy and matriarchy in shaping the sexual world of adolescent girls. The chapter explores how female adolescent sexuality is being veiled with silence and finally, this chapter discussed how adolescent females and their parents tend to differ in their

attitudes towards the provision of sexuality education to children. This chapter also provided an in-depth reflection on some unforgettable experiences on the research journey.

Chapter Two

Preliminary Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

As a grounded theory study, it is important that the review of literature is driven by the data that emerges and is not undertaken before a study commences. Glaser and Strauss (1967), the founders of grounded theory opined that data collection and analysis should occur *before* reviewing the literature as the grounded theorist needs to avoid being influenced by other studies. A pre-research literature review is said to be 'inimical' to generating grounded theory (Glaser, 1998, p.67) however, Glaser (1978) also suggested that an initial review of literature was often appropriate in order to deepen understanding of the area under study and to help develop theoretical sensitivity, which is the ability to sense the subtleties of the data. I have been guided by these ideas in that I chose not to undertake a full review of the literature before the study was carried out but to identify 'sensitising concepts' through a preliminary literature review in order to sharpen my awareness of the subject but without imposing a framework that might have constrained the data. Since the main concerns of the young women could not be known beforehand, it was important not to pre-empt the findings. The preliminary review of the literature was therefore limited to identifying and explaining key concepts that were potentially important in my research.

In this review, I engage briefly with some applied bodies of literature to sensitise myself to the issues and become more acquainted with key concepts in the area of human sexuality, and adolescent sexuality in particular. In the analysis chapters, I engage substantially with relevant literature on adolescent sexual development and situate my study clearly in relation to the field, and also critique it from the Tiv-centred perspective that I have developed.

Literature for this study was obtained from books, journal articles and policy documents relevant to the research issue. The literature was found using JSTOR, PsycINFO, SpingerLink and BASE. The electronic search was supplemented by a manual search by going through the reference list of useful research articles and books. Access to other journals was possible through the University of Huddersfield library catalogue and Sage publications. Keywords and phrases were used in these databases to make searching a lot easier. Descriptors used include

“sexual activity,” “parenting adolescents,” sexual agency,” “sex culture,” “sexual communication,” “sex talk,” “sexual notions,” “parental influence,” “parental monitoring,” “adolescents’ sexual experiences,” and “same-sex.” These were combined with “sexual development,” and “female sexuality development” using Boolean operators such as “AND,” “OR,” and “NOT.” Only literature published in English language and focusing on adolescent’s sexuality were searched. I begin by discussing preliminary terms and definitions used in the study.

2.2 Sexuality

The World Health Organization (WHO) has stated that sexuality is an integral and natural part of being human, for all people, of all ages. It encompasses sex (intercourse), sexual health and behaviour, emotions and relationships, 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. Sexuality is in the energy that motivates us to find love, contact, warmth, intimacy and expressed in the way we feel, touch and are being touched. Sexuality is influenced by the interaction of biological, psychological, social, economic, political, cultural, legal, historical, religious and spiritual factors (Edwards & Coleman, 2004; World Health Organization, 2015). Clearly, sexuality is incredibly complex, diverse in expression, experience, and manifestations not only across a population, but also within any one person’s lifetime. As a lifespan issue, sexuality is subject to change over time and it is therefore necessary to focus on the crucial points or stages of sexual development, relevant to the aim of the current study. In this case, it is necessary to explore sexuality in relation to adolescence in an effort to understand how young people define who they are at a particular point and within a particular cultural context and what influences might contribute to who they may become as sexual adults.

Sexual development is one aspect of sexuality which has to do with the progression towards being sexually mature in behaviour and attitudes from infancy through puberty to adulthood. Sexual development involves biological, psychological, and socio-cultural processes and occurs both within an individual and through interaction with the social environment (Cloete, 2012).

2.3 The Concept of Healthy Sexuality

This section engages critically with the different understandings and uses of the concept of healthy sexuality as it applies in the sexuality of adolescence. The term healthy sexuality can be defined as pertaining to the sexual well-being of an individual which incorporates sexual self-efficacy and self-esteem, the knowledge and freedom to express sexuality in a pleasurable way, freedom from negative effects regarding sexuality, and personal comfort with talking about sexual issues. Healthy sexuality also includes components of love, tenderness and the absence of the feelings of guilt and shame. To ensure a healthy sexuality among young people, they should be given the support and resources they need to achieve sexual health.

It must be noted however, that what constitutes a healthy sexuality may be very different depending on the time, context and other variables such as gender and age. For example, in the context of abstinence-only sex education messages that equate adolescent sexuality with danger (Cohen, 2004), the only healthy sexual attitude for young people is to avoid premarital sexual intercourse. This stems from the idea of morality and concern for public health regarding the prevention of unintended pregnancy and sexually transmitted infections (STIs). In this sense, female adolescents for instance are positioned as potential victims of sexual activity. Most parents in Nigeria appear to be in favour of this line of thinking. The resultant effect is that these parents tend to frame abstinence as an ideal behavioural strategy especially for their daughters. On the other hand, comprehensive sexual education policies and the sex-positive framework for research on the sexuality of adolescents recognize that sexuality is crucial to adolescent identity formation and consider 'sexual activities in adolescence as developmentally normative and potentially healthy' (Harden, 2014, p. 1).

Within feminist writing, desire, pleasure and subjectivity have been proposed as the ideals of healthy sexuality especially for female adolescents (Lamb, 2010). In Fine's 1988 article, 'A Missing Discourse of Desire,' she described a sexually healthy female adolescent as one that is entitled to and accepts her sexual desire as natural. Fine called for a comprehensive sex education that permits young girls to experience sexual desire and negotiate as sexual subject. Furthermore, in her *Dilemmas of Desire*, Tolman (2002) connects sexual desire with sexual agency and suggested that suppressing girls' desire might put them in danger. Tolman further demonstrates the connection between sexual desire, sexual subjectivity and sexual agency

(the capacity to negotiate for one's needs and interests around sexuality). In addition, other researchers (Allen et al., 2008; Bay-Cheng, 2012) also advocate pleasure, subjectivity and desire as markers of healthy sexuality. Regarding desire, Chilman (1990) noted that 'over control of sexual feelings and behaviour can create problems for adolescents both in the present and in their future' p124.

There seems to be several problems with emphasizing desire, pleasure and subjectivity as yardsticks for healthy sexuality. First, these ideals appear to be difficult for young women to achieve. The process of empowerment must be considered. Girls depend on sex educators, parents and policy makers to realize these ideals, which makes the whole issue problematic. Another problem as noted by Lamb (2010) is the reification of sexual subject and sexual object positions. Those advocating for young women to be subjects and not objects risk presenting object vs. subject as the only two types of sexual ways of being. One other problem is that, given that sexuality is a social construct, this idealization of girls' sexuality is likely to create tension in some societies.

Within this thesis, the concept of healthy adolescent sexuality does not constitute abstention from premarital sexual activity and neither is it focused on the idealization of sexuality.

A healthy sexuality for the adolescent female thus must combat objectification, victimization, and the stereotype of passivity. She ought to learn about, understand, and identify desires, feel sexual feelings in her genitals, use full reasoning ability in making choices, be uninfluenced by romance narratives and beauty ideals from TV, books, or movies, pursue her own pleasure as much or even more than her partner's, and exist always as a subject and never as an object. She cannot be passive and must be an agent... (Lamb, 2010, p. 299).

At this point, it is important to state that 'healthy sexuality' is not an objective, observable or measurable state of being and that the term is loaded with meanings and assumptions that may be contested. For the purpose of this thesis, I use the term to denote an embodied sexuality and the sexual well-being of young women. In doing so, I consider the compelling words of WHO (2004):

Sexual health is a state of physical, emotional, mental and social well-being in relation to sexuality; it is not merely the absence of disease, dysfunction or infirmity. Sexual health requires a positive and respectable approach to sexuality and sexual relationships, as well as the possibility of having pleasurable and safe sexual experiences, free of coercion, discrimination and violence (p.3).

In the current study, emphasis is placed on social well-being. Therefore, sexuality is recognized as a central and positive part of the holistic well-being of adolescents and crucial for their transition to adulthood.

2.4 Culture and Sexuality

Ideas about sexuality development are deeply influenced by culture, and cultural values can contribute to unhealthy sexualities through rigid social codes, expectations and attitudes which may constrain individual agency. In patriarchal societies, it is often the sexual agency of females that is controlled. Furthermore, whilst sexuality development occurs over the lifespan of an individual, cultural dictates often mean that societies focus only on the sexual lives of adolescents and only in negative ways. Culture is the learned, socially acquired traditions and lifestyles of the members of a society, including their patterned, repetitive ways of thinking, feeling and acting (Baran, 2004). An individual's culture has the potential to influence everything that he or she does and this is transmitted from one generation to the other. Some of the ways in which sexuality is controlled as a consequence of cultural traditions can be unhealthy (I use this term as shorthand for attitudes, practices and behaviours which may adversely impact a person's mental and physical health). For example, female genital mutilation, a harmful cultural practice which involves partial or total removal of the external female genitalia or injury to the female genital organ is primarily carried out to restrict women's sexuality and in addition is associated with complications such as obstetric fistula, infertility and painful menstruation (Varol, Fraser, Ng, Jaldesa, & Hall, 2014). The World Health Organization (WHO) estimates that more than 125 million girls and women in 28 African countries have undergone FGM, with three million at risk each year (WHO, 2011). There is also the culture of silence on issues of sexuality in most African societies. The Igbo of south-eastern Nigeria for instance, forbid open mention of sexual desire and parts of the body in any discourse. The cultural pressure to remain silent about sex is stronger for female adolescents and it is a clear mark of waywardness for them to talk openly about sex or engage in it (Izugbara, 2008). Clearly, there are dominant cultural attitudes regarding sexual orientation in Nigeria. For example, heterosexuality is assumed to be natural, normal and anyone that differs from the "normalcy" of heterosexuality is considered a deviant.

2.5 Conceptualizing Healthy Sexuality Development

Within much of the literature, sex education seems limited to the education of children about their body parts and physical development with the primary concern being the prevention, diagnosis and treatment of sexual abuse, ensuring young people are having safe sex, specifically using condoms and practicing birth control (Koyama et al., 2011; Ryan, 2000). This is however a narrow view of the concept of sexuality and does not reveal any insights into perceptions of healthy sexual development. Suggesting a broader view of sexuality, McKee et al (2010) opined that preventing unwanted sexual encounters is far from being sufficient for an understanding of the important elements in sexual development. According to McKee et al, there is more to healthy sexual development than simply preventing abuse and having safe sex. Important skills and understandings must be developed. McKee and his colleagues identify several key domains important for healthy sexual development:

- Freedom from Unwanted Sexual Activity/Understanding Consent/Capacity to Consent
- Competence in Mediated Sexuality
- Awareness of Sexual Boundaries
- Open Communication about Sexual Issues
- Agency and Resilience
- An Understanding of Safety and Developing Relationship Skills.
- Understanding of Parental and Societal Values

These domains are summarised below as they provide a useful framework from which to explore factors relating to adolescent girls' views about their sexual development:

2.5.1 Freedom from Unwanted Sexual Activity, Understanding Consent/Capacity to Consent

Healthy sexuality development takes place when individuals are free from sexual assault and rape, including acquaintance rape or date rape and child sexual abuse (Tanzman, 1992 cited in McKee et al. 2010). This domain is fundamental and complex at the same time. For example, the process by which victims come to label their sexual experiences as consensual or not is

affected by many factors. In a phenomenological qualitative study, Harned (2005) examined the process by which women come to label their unwanted sexual experiences with dating partners as sexual abuse or assault. The research found that issues of consent, causal attributions and minimization are central to understanding why women did or did not label. Labelling was found to be a gradual process often triggered by social support seeking. Women who did not label defined their experiences as less serious (having passively participated in the sexual activity) than sexual abuse or assault. Research suggests a number of possible factors inhibiting women from labelling their unwanted (not freely or willingly consented to) sexual experiences with a partner as rape or sexual abuse. These include the acceptance of rape myths by victims (Peterson & Muehlenhard, 2004); fear of victim blaming and possible perpetrator exoneration (Adikaram, 2016; Kelly et al., 2012); self-blame Miller, Markman, and Handley (2007); and fear of stigma and victim rejection (Bohner, Pina, Viki, & Siebler, 2010). Over all, sociocultural context influences labelling (Verelst, Schryve, Broekaert, & Derluyn, 2014).

Sexual abuse and assault have been topics of concern to researchers, feminists, women's movements and human sexual activities are typically construed in dichotomous terms as either consensual or unwanted. This categorical approach presumes that a consensual sexual encounter is also a wanted one (Peter & Muehlenhard, 2007) although women sometimes engage in sexual activity due to indirect social pressure (Conroy, Krishnakumar, & Leone, 2014). However, studies indicate that simply saying 'yes' to a partner's sexual overtures does not always and necessarily signal unequivocal interest or consent (Eliseo-Arras & Bay-Cheng, 2008). The normative gender roles within heterosexual relationships in many cultures, particularly the ways in which girls and women are primed to say 'yes' and boys and men are inclined to assume consent need to be further examined. It should be noted at this point that, as explained later in this work, homosexual and lesbian relationships are unlawful in Nigeria and while sexuality does not connote heterosexuality, the study has been constrained to stay within this focus by legal and ethical parameters.

Healthy sexuality is not coercive (Ryan, 2000). Therefore, adolescents need to understand the nature and complexity of consent – not just their own, but also other people's – in relation to sexuality. This underscores the need for young people to learn about the ethics of human

relationships, and how to treat other people in an ethical and socially responsible manner. Healthy sexual activity is activity that is truly wanted by anyone and everyone directly involved in it. Consenting and acquiring consent involves the freedom and capacity to withhold or withdraw consent, always. Knowing what consent really means is key to healthy sexual development. Usually, sexual activity is expected to take place with the mutual consent of the partners who share sexual desire. Re-examining issues of willing consent using a quantitative approach, Conroy et al. (2014) sampled 139 undergraduate females and found that women acquiesce to unwanted sexual activity to obtain positive outcomes such as pleasing one's partner or promoting intimacy, more than they do to avoid arguing with one's partner. The method used however did not provide an in-depth understanding of willing consent. A qualitative approach that focuses on how interactions within intimate relationships are constructed, negotiated, and renegotiated within the context of power-differentiated, patriarchal society is needed (Basile, 1999, cited in Conroy, Krishnakumar, & Leone, 2014).

2.5.2 Competence in Mediated Sexuality

For the healthy development of sexuality, young girls need skills in accessing, comprehending, analyzing, and creating mediated representations of sexuality.. The term "mediated" as used here, involves engagement with a range of different forms of media such as, music and music videos, television, movies and newer interactive forums available on the internet, like social networking sites and chat rooms (Tolman & McClelland, 2011) and to which most young girls in Northern Nigeria are exposed. The media is a big presence in our world; this is especially the case in the last couple of decades. Therefore, it is important that young people learn how to make sense of, and ask questions about what they see, hear or read so that they learn to understand the the difference between media representations of sex and how different sexuality often is in real life.

Research has found that most young people (especially those living in the cities) have access to new media communication technologies (Pascoe, 2011) and tend to cultivate their sexualities by observing certain sexual mannerisms through these forums. However, as Curtis (2009) noted, when young people attempt to enact the verbal and visual messages they get from the media, existing cultural standards and norms constrain their behaviour. In essence,

mediated sexual scripts today are competing with traditional sexual discourses and destabilizing the sexual order. Social media has become intertwined with the social life of young people with the ability to transform their sexual cultures (De Ridder, 2017).

2.5.3 Awareness of Sexual Boundaries

As part of healthy sexual development, individuals learn that healthy sexuality involves boundaries. Boundaries are the internal and external personal lines that we draw and/or are drawn by cultural and social expectations. Ginne (2014) makes the point that boundaries set limits, define us, set expectations, regulate the personal space of relationships, and keep us from agreeing to things we don't really want to do which may then make us feel resentful. For example, sexual boundaries, establish who to share sexuality with, and when and how to talk about sexuality. Among the Tiv people, sexual boundaries go beyond physical activity to include comments, gestures, what to watch and listen to. In healthy sexual development, female adolescents need to know and be able to negotiate their risk level and personal space. Individuals internalize societal expectations about sexuality through gender socialization, and therefore, it is imperative to study issues of female adolescents' sexuality as embedded in and learned and reinforced within a patriarchal cultural context (Walker, 1997; cited in Conroy, Krishnakumar, & Leone, 2014).

2.5.4 Open Communication about Sexual Issues

It is argued that healthy sexual development is aided by open and unambiguous sexual communication between adults and children, in both directions. This means discussing freely and in clear language, topics related to sexuality. Such open discussion has been associated with a range of important psychosocial attributes including increased knowledge, better interpersonal communication skills, including sexual negotiation skills, and self-efficacy (Bastien, Kajula, & Muhwezi, 2011). A number of studies have shown that communication about sexual matters between parents and children is often affected by factors such as gender, culture, religion and power. For example in a study of 184 parents in Eastern Nigeria, Izugbara (2008) found that all the female parents had discussed sex only with their female children. The majority of the participating male parents had discussed sex only with their male children. Discussions about sexuality are also often initiated by parents in order to convey warnings and

threats. It has been argued that the optimal situation is for children to feel more comfortable in bringing problems, concerns and issues they may have about their bodies or what is happening to them to their parents. Talking about sex and sexuality openly and honestly with peers, parents, guardians and other adults is reported within the literature as helping to facilitate the developing healthy sexuality and also contributes to reducing the risk of sexual harms or negative outcomes (Bastien et al., 2011; Markham et al., 2010). These views suggest that the absence of open communication between adults and children may inhibit the formation of skills such as sexual negotiation; however, this is arguably an ethnocentric position since it fails to take into account social and cultural inhibitors to sex talk. It also appears to be an adult-centered position as it assumes that young people are unable to develop these skills without communication with adults.

2.5.5 Agency and Resilience

In healthy sexual development, children and adolescents develop agency in order to facilitate resilience, so that unpleasant sexual experiences can provide opportunities for learning and are not only destructive (McKee et al., 2010). Adolescents who are sexually healthy implies being in control as sexual decision makers and actors and being able to make informed choices (Allen et al., 2008).

The term agency is variously conceptualized. In the realm of adolescent girls' sexuality in Nigeria and at the individual level, agency entails feeling entitled to and experiencing sexual pleasure and desire in a culture that restricts girls' sexuality for fear of pregnancy, disease and religion. This definition suggests that individual agency encompasses an internal sense of self-efficacy, power and control (Peterson, 2010). Similarly, agency is seen as a process whereby an individual is able to envisage different paths, decide among them and then take action along a chosen route (Petesch, Smulovitz, and Walton 2005, 42 cited in Bell, 2012). In the midst of constraining social expectations however, it is questionable to what extent young women are able to see far enough down a chosen pathway to make informed decisions concerning their sexuality.

Tolman (cited in Averett et al, 2008) noted that researchers, educators and policy-makers often ignore the importance of female adolescent healthy sexuality development from a broader

perspective that includes elements of sexual agency. There is need to think through sexual agency more carefully especially when concepts such as choice, power and control are used. The question is whether sexual agency is a matter of subjective perception or objective external control (Peterson, 2010). I think agency is not merely an individual's subjective sense of power and control; rather, it must be judged in terms of how much the individual is able to exercise the power. This does not mean that young women's subjective experience of sexual agency for example be dismissed as false consciousness, but more attention should be given to how certain factors (e.g. family, society, gender, power structure and inequality) intersect as girls experience their sexuality.

Some researchers suggest that women are perceived more negatively when they are agentic. Female sexual agency is constrained by the existence of double standards that signal young men's sexual behaviour as innate healthy desire that should be expressed while young women's sex is viewed as inherently more dangerous and in need of control (Averett et al., 2008; Fetterolf & Sanchez, 2014). Among the Tiv of central Nigeria and the Igbo of south-eastern Nigeria for instance, men's sexual needs and desires are privileged, while women's are muted by material circumstances and power imbalance, and ideals of female virginity and fidelity (Allen et al., 2008; Izugbara, 2005a). Similarly, children's sexual agency is often repressed by parents and certain legal rules that place restrictions on their independent access to sexual health services. As noted by Yarrow et al (2014), 'childhood' is often constructed as a period of sexual immaturity, innocence and vulnerability. Within this construction, 'once the sexual consciousness of a child is spurred into expression it is *seen* as dangerous and pathological and thus in need of outside intervention' (Egan & Hawkes, 2009, p. 392). These restrictive actions are often justified by the need to protect children from danger.

In this current work, I use the term agency to mean young women's ability and/or attempt to craft their sexual lives in a culture that restricts girls' sexuality for fear of pregnancy, disease, religion and general cultural expectations. I view sexual agency as a matter of degrees and a continuous developmental process rather than all-or-none. Agency is discussed in this research as a continuum and is not regarded as an absolute threshold that once reached can be labelled agentic. Sexual empowerment is popularly equated with individual sexual agency and being assertive. This subjective sense of sexual self-efficacy is often hampered by the distribution of

sexual resources and sexual power in a given society. Participants in the current study claim sexual agency by saying “I don’t take that”, “I stand my ground”, “you can’t force me”. However, the same data suggests that certain factors impede young women’s sexual agency. For example, participants complained of their male partners often feeling “in charge” and “on top”. Agency is not given, it is a product of negotiation and struggle (Weeks, 2003). In order to ensure healthy adaptation to adversity, one needs resilience so that one can deal with and/or heal from disappointment, embarrassment, harm or trauma, rather than being unable to recover or move forward in one’s life. . This also applies to the development of healthy sexualities. .

The concept of resilience has been variously conceptualized. The term is used to describe the ability or capacity to successfully adapt to a challenging situation or stressed environment (Folke, 2006; Olsson, Bond, Burns, Vella-Brodrick, & Sawyer, 2003), a positive development in the face of adversity (Zimmerman et al., 2013), and the capacity of an individual to recover from a negative life event and maintain good balance (Garmezy, 1991). Connor and Davidson (2003), describe resilience as ‘the personal qualities that enables one to thrive in the face of adversity’ (p. 76), whereas Folke refers to resilience as a dynamic process of building up the capacity to absorb shocks (Folke, 2006). Folke’s definition draws attention not only to personal qualities, but also to the influence of factors derived from the person’s interaction with their environment. Overcoming adversity, sociocultural influences *and* personal resources are therefore all key factors in the concept (Fletcher & Sarkar, 2012).

Researchers have applied the concept of resilience to provide insights into different aspects of human experiences. In a grounded theory study of twelve Olympic champions using life story interviews, Fletcher and Sarkar (2012) explored the relationship between psychological resilience and optimal performance in sport. The Olympic champions identified a range of stressors such as the political environment, the daily demand to balance work and training, and major life adverse events such as the loss of a loved one. They appreciated that such experiences had a significant influence on their performance in sport. In withstanding the stressors, positive personality, high levels of motivation, self-confidence, and perceived social support had a positive influence on the performance of the athletes. Also, ‘the ability to focus

was an important aspect of resilience for the world's best athletes' (Fletcher & Sarkar, 2012, p. 674). Fletcher and Sarkar found that athletes who were not selected for a desired competition or were unsuccessful in a competition were able to use such adversities to increase their efforts for subsequent competitions. The authors acknowledge that the use of retrospective interview technique might have limited the accuracy of the data.

It has been argued that understanding the resilience of young people would inform successful interventions to enhance their wellbeing. Kabiru, Beguy, Ndugwa, Zulu, and Jessor (2012) in their study of resilience among adolescents living in a context characterized by adversities highlighted that 'efforts to enhance resilience among adolescents in disadvantaged urban settings need to make models for risk behavior less salient, while enhancing models for positive, prosocial behavior' (p.18). In the present study, I examine female adolescents' resilience towards everyday challenges relating to their sexuality. Resilience here may mean what young people do with their experience of sexual deprivation or suppression that is considered as a threat to their healthy sexual development or well-being.

2.5.6 An Understanding of Safety and Developing Relationship Skills

In healthy sexual development, children and youths learn safe sexual practices and relationship skills more generally and to ask for what they want assertively in relationships. An important part of sexuality concerns interpersonal relationships, whether sexual relationships expressly, or any relationship in which someone's sexuality is to be considered. Learning what is and is not 'healthy' in all kinds of relationships — including family relationships, friendships, and interactions with healthcare providers or people outside those spheres — is an essential part of learning what is healthy in intimate and sexual relationships (Morelli, 2016). A good understanding of safe sex is crucial to enable a young people to estimate and weigh the risks and benefits associated with their involvement in sexual practices.

Arguably, receiving a comprehensive sexuality education lies at the foundation of a lifelong sexual health literacy for young people. Sexual health literacy means an individual's ability to acquire and understand sexual knowledge, and also use such information to navigate and negotiate their sexuality (Graf & Patrick, 2015). Understanding and taking safety measures is likely to promote the sexual and reproductive health of adolescents.

2.5.7 Understanding of Parental and Societal Values

In healthy development, children learn social and parental values around sexuality to enable them to make informed decisions about their own sexuality in relation to them (McKee et al., 2010). Whether they end up agreeing with them or not, it is important that children or young people understand the values and ethics of their world and closest communities, including those within families. When they are aware of and understand those well, adolescents can use the information to support the choices they make and also work out what their own values are, whether they are the same or different from the values of their parents or culture.

Western values dominate the literature on adolescent sexuality and the domains I have described above may not reflect the sexuality of all young people, especially females in non-Western cultures. I do not mean to deny the presence of such values in Africa but to acknowledge the complex social and cultural contexts within which these might be available (Curtis, 2009). As such, the context of adolescent sexual development is an important component of analysis.

2.6 Adolescent Sexual Development

.... each period in life brings its own milestones and challenges, and each level of sexual development affects how one meets these challenges. How one resolves sexual needs, desires, values, and social expectations has the potential to lead to outcomes ranging from great personal satisfaction to considerable pain (Sharpe, 2003, p. 210).

One normative developmental task for adolescents across the globe is sexual development, which is a mix of their physiological, biological, social, and moral development. Although a lifelong process, sexual development is more striking at the adolescence stage (De Graaf et al. 2016) since sexuality has a central place in the lives of adolescents as they negotiate their transition from childhood to adulthood. Given the diversity of societal influences, cultural expectations and individual differences in terms of physical and biological development that distinguishes adolescents from each other, it is dangerous to generalise about the sexual development of this group (Moore & Rosenthal, 2006). What is common, however, is that all adolescents face sexual developmental challenges at different levels.

At the biological level, sexuality is the central feature, marked by the onset of puberty that signals maturation of reproductive organs, the possibility of becoming a parent and an increasing sex drive. With puberty, changes at the psychological level have to do with readiness for taking on adult roles, including sex and procreation. There is a shift from a primary orientation to one's family to a reliance on peers for providing guidelines for attitudes and behaviour, as well as a clarification of goals and the development of interpersonal skills and attitudes. This occurs within the context of expanded cognitive skills, which allow the adolescent to evaluate alternative points of view. At the broader level, social forces shape adolescents' sexuality by establishing and reestablishing values and norms relating to sexuality and expectations tied to gender.

(Moore & Rosenthal, 2006, p. 3)

In this section, I consider three sub stages in the transitional time between childhood and adulthood to understand the interface between physical/biological changes and sexuality, and how sexuality is cultivated through cultural rules within the social space of an adolescent. These include early adolescence, middle adolescence and late adolescence. Sharpe (2003), added a fourth sub stage called the preadolescence. The fourth sub stage was not considered in this review. This is because the current study does not focus on adolescents at this stage. It should be noted that the notion that adolescents develop over a period of different linear stages is not uncontested, and further, such stages cannot be said to be universal but rather are culturally dependent since culture plays an important role in shaping adolescents sexual behaviour and experiences (Pearson, 2018). Nevertheless, the notion provides a useful way of exploring sexuality in transition and in relation to other facets of maturation.

2.6.1 Sub stage 1: Early Adolescent

Early adolescence is classified as the age of curiosity and experimentation, usually between the ages of 12 and 14 years (Meschke, Peter, & Bartholomae, 2012). Most youths at this age begin to show concern, interest and curiosity about sexual topics, their bodies and those of their peers (Sharpe, 2003). Reading information about sex, viewing magazines with sexual images and masturbation are common during this phase. In addition, some adolescents attempt to satisfy their curiosity by secretly observing people when they are naked. These actions may be accompanied by feelings of guilt and shame.

During early adolescence, boys are more likely to experience frequent erections and masturbation. Erection is a normal response to sexual excitement for boys and it is quite common and normal for them to experiment through masturbation. On the other hand, girls' first sexual experiences mostly occur in the dating phase (ibid). This is because, as discussed in the following section, sexual norms tend to sanction girls' sexual experimentation but not boys'. Adolescent males are said to have more obvious interest in sex than female adolescents do, but girls also show interest in sex.

Sexual behaviour during this phase is largely limited to masturbation and sexual fantasies. It should be noted, however, that many adolescents today are becoming sexually active sooner than what it was three decades ago (Eaton et al., 2010). Teenagers at this stage are most likely to start experimenting with sexual arousal through intimate kissing, tickling, hugging and vocalizing their sexual thoughts and feelings when they are with other peers in whom they are romantically interested. Teenagers develop a sense of modesty especially about their nudity, and there is an increased need for privacy at this stage. Early adolescents lack the cognitive and emotional maturity needed to make healthy and informed decisions concerning their sexuality and are more likely to experience sexual coercion and manipulation (Sharpe, 2003). This underscores the need for appropriate sexual education in this age group.

2.6.2 Sub stage 2: Middle Adolescence

Teens attain full physical maturity at approximately 15-18 years old and usually start to feel strong attractions towards other teens of the opposite sex, same sex or both. Puberty becomes apparent at this phase as adolescents develop secondary sex features (genitalia, facial hair and voice deepening (for boys), breasts (in girls), pubic and axillary hair (in both sexes) and an increasing sex drive. It is also the time when first ejaculation of seminal fluid (in males) and menses (in females) have occurred. In addition, full reproductive potential is achieved for both sexes. However, there are marked individual differences. For instance, the onset of menstruation varies widely from one girl to another (Masters, Johnson, & Kolodny, 1995; Sharpe, 2003; Sugar, 1996). Many adolescents in this age group have non-genital sexual experience. It is the age of experimentation. Boys and girls at this age develop high interest in intimate relationships (especially with the opposite sex). However, males and females seem to

view such relationships quite differently. Whereas girls are often concerned about the moral, physical and biological consequences of sexual behaviour (unplanned or unwanted pregnancy, shame), and may seek knowledge about contraceptives, boys usually appear to be less concerned about such issues, and less likely to ponder the moral and physical consequences of their sexual activities (National Research Council Staff et al., 1993).

This is because, in Nigeria, as in many other African contexts, sexual double standards⁴ operate against females, and sexual reputation (which of course is a social construction) is a major concern for most young women (Muhanguzi, 2011; Smith, 2010). Research has found that within African societies and elsewhere, there are different values and norms relating to sexuality based on the individual's sex or gender (Sagebin Bordini & Sperb, 2013). This phenomenon is called sexual double standard, that is, premarital sexual intercourse is considered wrong for young women, but "allowed" for men. In this sense, female adolescents who are known to be sexually active out-of-wedlock are socially frowned upon, while it is considered a normal thing for their male counterparts. Although views on sexuality has been modernized at the wake of feminist movement, the phenomenon is still present as men and women are still been judged differently regarding their sexual behaviours. A study conducted with Nigerian couples (Smith, 2010) showed, for instance, that married women condemn premarital sex in single girls without condemning the same behaviour in unmarried men. This is a consequence of sexual double standard.

From the perspective of the socio-cultural setting I have studied, young women's sexuality is considered the property of her family. Young women, therefore, have to approach their sexuality based on the moral values of their family and society. The social and cultural expectations of the Tiv society influence how young women should or should not behave sexually. Whereas female sexuality is controlled and stifled, sex is portrayed as a male privilege (Bell & Aggleton, 2013). This is discussed further in the second part of this thesis.

⁴ The phrase 'sexual double standards' connotes the notion that girls and women are perceived negatively and sometimes scolded for engaging in a sexual activity while men are permitted, praised or overlooked for engaging in a similar sexual activity (Zaikman, Marks, Young, & Zeiber, 2016).

Middle adolescence is dominated by peer engagement in exploratory sexual behaviours. Teens may experiment with mutual masturbation, oral or anal sex and deny they are engaging in sexual intercourse since they avoid penile-vaginal penetration (Bell & Aggleton, 2013). However, noncoital activities are traditionally considered as sexual and adolescents involved in them cannot be considered as virgins. By ages 17 to 18 years, intimacy begins to play a more important role in adolescent relationships and sexual behaviours increase for both sexes, whether genital or nongenital. Teens in this age group engage in a struggle as they 'attempt to situate their emergent sexual behaviour patterns within community, family, peers, and broader social context' (Shoveller, Johnson, Langille, & Mitchell, 2004, p. 473). The quality of parent-adolescent relationship at this point of struggle with complex sexual situations could influence their sexual development and opening the lines of sex-talk with young people is important.

2.6.3 Sub stage 3: late Adolescence

Late adolescence is another time of transition. Generally accepted as beginning at around the age of 18, this is said to be the most variable and final sub stage of transition into adulthood and is the period during which teens continue to explore their sexuality and begin to act as grown-ups. Often referred to as emerging adults rather than teens (Sharpe, 2003), in some societies, the young adult may be living independently and their decisions and thoughts about sexual matters considered a reflection of maturity. Often, young people at this stage face sexual developmental challenges that are associated more with the socio-cultural and other structural aspects of their contexts rather than their biological age (Shoveller et al., 2004). It is typical for emerging adults to initiate and maintain long-term, less exploitative and committed relationships. Masters et al. (1995), note that late adolescents 'struggle to establish a sense of personal identity and independence from parents and other authority figures' (p.233). Parents become less involved in the sexual decisions of youngsters at this phase. However, this development cannot be said to be applicable in all human societies. Therefore, these stages are socially constructed.

Across the complete age range of adolescence, variable factors interact with biology to influence young people's sexual attitudes and behaviour. Parents and peers are possible

(often-competing) sources of influence on adolescent sexual development. While most parents employ certain strategies to delay coital debut in their adolescent children, 'peers often stimulate sexual development' and can contribute to early sexual debut (Beyers, Verlyser, & Verlee, 2015, p. 599). As previous studies show, parental influence on adolescents' sexual development (including responsiveness and support) is shown to be strongest in early adolescence and decreases as young people progress into middle and late adolescence (e.g. Meeus, Iedema, Maassen, & Engels, 2005).

Gender differences also shape sexuality development in adolescence. This is evident with the sexual double standards in most human societies. Female adolescents experience more sexual surveillance and control from parents than their male counterparts (Faulkner & Schaller, 2007). As a result, girls are generally more concerned (though arguably) about the biological and social consequences of sexual behaviour. The next section demonstrates how sexuality is indeed gendered.

2.7 Gendered Adolescent Sexuality

Whereas the traditional risk perspective on adolescent sexuality emphasizes teenage pregnancy, victimization and the risk of sexually transmitted infections (STIs), 'our understandings of adolescent sexual behavior have been, and remain, inherently gendered' (Gusrang, 2010, p. 8). Clear evidence of this is seen in research (Holland, 1998; Tolman, 2002) which found that the 'twin evil' of gender inequality and sexual double standards intersect to shape and influence girls' sexual development (Tolman, Hirschman, & Impett, 2005). This is especially true across sub-Saharan Africa where (unintended) pregnancy is socially constructed as a female problem. In general, female adolescents' sexuality (but not boys' sexuality) is considered a problem that needs surveillance.

Understandably, however, unintended pregnancy implicitly places girls at increased risk of poor psychological, educational and health outcomes. These include psychological trauma, school dropout, and unsafe abortion, difficulty during childbirth, which is linked to mortality and morbidity, and sexually transmitted infections (McCleary-Sills, Douglas, Rwehumbiza, Hamisi, & Mabala, 2013). Other social repercussions that come along with teenage pregnancy

include the risk of rejection by parents and family, being labelled as promiscuous, and stigma (ibid). It is common for males to deny responsibility for an unintended pregnancy thereby increasing the negative consequences for girls. However, with the advent of new technologies (albeit not common in Africa) paternity can be established, and young men made to share in taking responsibility for early parenthood.

Furthermore, Spengen (2013) identifies four areas in which the gendered nature of sexuality is demonstrated: instigation, negotiation, the act of intercourse, and social repercussions that are said to come along with participation. She focused on the casual sex encounter (which is common among adolescents) 'wherein the gendered nature of sexuality is most salient.' This she notes 'is particularly true for areas of instigation and social repercussions, which may not be applicable in long-term committed relationships (e.g. marriage).' (Spengen, 2013, p. 2). The four areas are considered in light of two dominant perspectives- that of essentialism and of social constructionism. The essentialist idea of sexuality is that human sexuality is 'natural, inevitable, universal, and biologically determined' (DeLamater & Hyde, 1998, p. 10). Essentialists promote the idea that there are innate differences between males and females. In stark contrast, constructionism states that sexuality is learned and socially constructed through language and social interaction among a people (Seidman, 2003; Spengen, 2013). Interestingly, social constructionists acknowledge the importance of sexual scripts, rejects the essentialist view and argue that 'sexuality is created by culture, by defining of some behaviours and some relationships as sexual, and the learning of these definitions or scripts by members of the society' (DeLamater & Hyde, 1998, p. 14). This position aligns with my own constructivist world view.

In terms of initiating a relationship, males are most likely (at least overtly) to be the initiators (except of course, in lesbian relationships). Gender beliefs and stereotype are at the root of this development. Essentialists suggest that this development is due to the 'naturalness' of masculinity which is akin to sexual supremacy (Spengen, 2013). Social constructionists posit however, that males are often socialized into the initiator role, while female learn to be submissive, passive and wait to be chosen. As men and women play along with the 'initiation script', the gendered nature of sexuality is being manifest even at this stage.

Concerning negotiation, a typical sexual script positions the male as having more power in making important decisions. Females are described as being more often confused and powerless in attempting to communicate their personal sexual desires to their partners (Varga, 1997), which, to the essentialists is a 'normal and natural' reflection of conventional gender roles. In contrast, social constructionists contend that male domination in decision making and negotiation are products of a people's culture, institutions and interactions (DeLamater & Hyde, 1998). Gender-based powerlessness is embedded in a socio-cultural context and defined by the interactions between a people.

Since women have less power (albeit not in all cases) to enforce their sexual preferences in relationships, it is not surprising that female sexual desire is given less attention. Spengen (2013) observed that 'a sexual encounter is unlikely to be considered complete following female orgasm, but is frequently deemed so if the male has ejaculated' (p.4). Essentialists view the idea that the need for male sexual satisfaction is normal and natural and generally see sexuality as being embedded in nature. Conversely, social constructionists hold that the importance of male sexual satisfaction is socially created. This script is often used to 'police girls' and women's sexuality' in most cultures (Kirkpatrick, 2006 cited in Spengen, 2013, p.5).

When it comes to males and females' expression of sexuality, its gendered nature becomes apparent as females suffer more social repercussions for engaging in all forms of sexual behaviour. Concerning sexual relationship initiation and sexual intercourse, it is common in Tiv culture to label a female who overtly approaches a male and/or engages in sexual behaviour as a 'whore' or 'slut' and to regard her as 'morally bankrupt'. The direct opposite is true of males. Male counterparts engaging in the same behaviour are seen as being bold and 'man enough' or 'players'. These gendered differences in responses to sexual behavior have also been noted widely and it is clear within popular culture that similar sexual behaviour 'warrants different responses towards each gender' (Spengen, 2013, p. 5).

For essentialists, sexual double standards are considered 'normal' and sexual exploration is regarded as an exclusive right for the male gender. Constructionists on the other hand would view such double standards and sexual rules as socially manufactured to control and sanction

female sexuality. Through this approach, the gendered nature of human sexuality is explained. In the next section I engage in a discussion of the concept of patriarchy.

2.8 Patriarchy

Men's power over women in various spheres of life and at multiple levels is universal, so pervasive and appears to be a norm (Bryson, 1999). In its general usage, the term patriarchy means male domination, gendered inequality and/or gendered power relationships between men and women in a given society (Patil, 2013; Scott & Marshall, 2009). The concept of patriarchy as a system of arrangements and practices provides a useful way of understanding the issues of male use and abuse of power, dominance, gender inequality and female oppression. Patriarchal ideology 'is maintained by a process of socialization which begins in the family and is reinforced by education, literature and religion; it also rests upon economic exploitation, state power and, ultimately, force (particularly sexual violence and rape)' (Bryson, 1999, pp. 311-312).

In most African societies and elsewhere, the family, as a social institution breeds patriarchal attitudes by socializing the children to accept their positions as girls and boys in the social structure. In the Tiv culture for instance, girls are socialized to view themselves as housekeepers and to be submissive to men whilst the boys are taught to view themselves as heads of households and breadwinners. Also, within the institution of marriage, women are expected to be submissive to their husbands and sexually passive. In addition, women are expected to accept male infidelity as a normal thing. The notion of submission is also justified based on Christianity and stated in St Paul's letter to the Colossians chapter 3 where he encouraged women to submit to their husbands. Patriarchal attitudes are also found in the areas of land ownership, economic sector and politics (Bako & Syed, 2018).

Patriarchal practices in relation to sexuality lead to the control of female sexuality by men. Given that female adolescents come of age in a patriarchal culture, gendered power relations appear to be sharpest in shaping their sexuality and defining their relationship experiences. Van Roosmalen (2000) noted that 'in all its socially constructed forms, [female] sexuality is understood to occur in social contexts in which power is embedded' (p.204). In such social contexts, there is often social pressure on young women to be sexual gatekeepers and remain

chaste. Therefore, while avoiding sexual intercourse is stereotyped as a female goal, engaging in sexual activity is considered as a man's goal and both reflects and reinforces patriarchy (Van Roosmalen, 2000). The construction of female sexualities in subordination to dominant male sexualities constitutes a social context within which Tiv young women that participated in my research negotiate their sexual experiences.

Nigeria is known to be a highly patriarchal society where men dominate all domains of women's lives and there are gender restraints on sexual expression (Okpalaobi, 2011). The concept of patriarchy is used in the current study to look at the ways in which male power reproduces itself in the lives of women – for example through the traditional patriarchal control of female sexuality where mothers are positioned as holding the authority over their daughters' sexuality, but, they are actually standing in as proxy for male control. In my opinion, this process reflects a perpetuation of patriarchal values. The concept of patriarchy is also used because women are criticized for some forms of sexual conducts which are considered normal and acceptable for men (Walby, 1990). The position of this current work is that children should be socialized to appreciate the fact that male and female are equal and that no sex or gender is inferior just because of biological differences. The next section focuses on issues of identity development in adolescence.

2.9 Identity Development in Adolescence

Another developmental task for all developing adolescents is the formation of a coherent identity which often poses a challenge at this stage (Arbeit, 2014). The term identity entails 'the integration and coordination of physical, cognitive, emotional, social, and cultural components in order to make meaning out of diverse and complex experiences in the process of building a coherent sense of self' (Arbeit, 2014, p. 266). There seems to be a relationship between consumption and the construction of identity. In an empirical study of 285 adolescents between the ages of 15 and 18 years, Miles, Cliff, and Burr (1998) found that young people's consumption of material goods has a significant influence on how they construct their self-identity. This suggests that identity is the outcome of a dynamic and challenging process especially for young people. It involves exploring and choosing between available ('self-

building') alternatives within their environment (Meeus et al., 2005). Kroger captures the dynamics of this process:

Identity is partly conscious and partly unconscious; it gives one's life a feeling of sameness and continuity yet also a quality of unselfconscious living and is taken for granted by those in possession. Identity involves conflict and has its own developmental period during adolescence and youth, when biological endowment and intellectual processes must eventually meet societal expectation for a suitable display of adult functioning. Identity depends upon the past and determines the future; rooted in childhood, it serves as a base from which to meet later tasks.

(Kroger, 1989, p. 14)

There is often no plain sailing as developing persons struggle to situate themselves in the social and sexual landscape. This is more so when their rights and/or privileges are highly restricted, as in the case of Tiv adolescent girls. This could cause conflict and anxiety, which in turn affects identity development and the formation of character (Arbeit, 2014).

One important aspect of character formation is the move to establish a sexual identity. The concept of sexual identity has to do with a particular perspective from which an individual makes sense of his/her sexual feelings and behaviours (Diamond, 2008 cited in Arbeit, 2014. P. 266). This involves one's relationships and sexual preferences, and sexual orientation, which is sometimes fluid and is not always predicted by sociocultural background. However, the socio-cultural context has a tremendous influence on the sexual identity of adolescents and this includes establishing physical, emotional and psychological barriers which can prevent young people from being able to satisfy their feelings, fantasies and desires (Arbeit, 2014).

The formation of identity in adolescents is often restrained by various contexts that surround them. One of such contexts is the parents. Beyers and Goossens (2008) found a strong and dynamic relationship between parenting and the formation of identity in adolescents. Bayers and Goossens also contend that parenting tends to influence identity formation differently for male and female adolescents. These findings underscore the importance of parenting in adolescents.

2.10 Parenting Adolescents

The importance of parents in the widening world of adolescents cannot be overemphasized. Parenting adolescents entails the process of supporting the physical, emotional and social development of teenagers and also involves developmental crises, both for parents and the adolescents. Parents adopt different strategies in bringing up their children including the setting of boundaries, frank communication, spending meaningful time together, routines and social support networks (Lester et al., 2015). These parenting strategies influence the social, emotional, identity and sexual development of adolescents. In some literature, parenting is otherwise categorized into parenting styles (Wolfradt, Hempel, & Miles, 2003), or parenting types (Um & Kim, 2015). Parenting styles can be organized into four: authoritative, authoritarian, permissive and indifferent or neglectful (Wolfradt et al., 2003). Usually, parents unconsciously perform the roles (adopt a particular style) and are not aware of their likely effects on the development of youngsters (World Health Organization, 2007). These roles, according to the World Health Organization (2007), are organized into five dimensions, with each impacting different aspects of adolescent life. These include: connection (showing love), behaviour control (setting boundaries), respect for individuality (respect), modelling of appropriate behaviour (shaping behaviour), and provision and protection. These roles are played out daily as parents interact with adolescents (ibid).

According to the WHO (2007), the connection dimension has to do with warmth, care and strong ties of love, with roots in early childhood, factors which are likely to create a positive emotional attachment between parents and adolescents. Cross-cultural evidence from both Western and non-Western societies indicates that adolescents who interpret the role of the parents as showing love and acceptability are less likely to be depressed and break the rules. In contrast, adolescents who feel rejected are emotionally hurt and are most likely to be hostile, aggressive and engage in health-risk behaviours (WHO, 2007). A positive family climate where there is a stable connection between parents and adolescents is crucial for a successful adolescent social, emotional and sexual development (Wolfradt et al., 2003). This summarizes the effects of parental acceptance and rejection, and a strong bond of affection during adolescence (Rohner, 2016). Fostering a bond of affection is very crucial.

Individual development during the second decade of life is also affected by parental control. This generally takes the forms of strict moral demands, setting boundaries and limits, supervision and monitoring by parents, and specifying consequences for unacceptable conduct. (World Health Organization, 2007). More specifically, the aim is to set expectations and control adolescents' behaviour in order to ensure that they grow up to become useful to themselves and the society. When adolescents fail to meet expectations with regards to behaviour, parents tend to respond with hostility and harsher penalties (Um & Kim, 2015). My study contributes insights into how this might happen and how female adolescents 'negotiate rules and consequences' especially regarding their sexual behaviour (WHO, 2007, p. 11).

Conflict is almost always inevitable when parents take a stand against non-compliant behaviours by adolescents (Herbert, 1987). This is especially so when the young person perceives parental authority as a threat to self and starts yearning for autonomy and independence (Dixon & Graber, 2008). However, conflict is 'normal' and not necessarily dysfunctional since it can lead to realignments of perspectives and approaches for adolescents and parents respectively.

This demands respect and individuality which entails allowing the adolescent to develop an independent and coherent sense of self (WHO, 2007). This style of parenting is common among parents in Western societies (e.g. Europe and America) where establishing personal autonomy is emphasized but less so among parents in non-Western societies where collective responsibility is often considered a more important attribute than individual determinism (ibid). Some researchers have linked a lack of respect for the evolving capacity of youngsters with depersonalisation, depression, substance use, and traits of anxiety among developing adolescents (Wolfradt et al., 2003) (it should be noted however, that such research is also socially contexted and its findings are not necessarily applicable to all settings). The parental role also includes the modelling of appropriate behaviour. Parents tend to live their lives as a model for the youngsters to copy. Children grow up to share their parents' perception of the social world and follow established behaviour within the family (WHO, 2007).

One other parental role according to WHO (2007) is provision and protection. This role entails parents providing the resources they can and seeking help out of the family for those things

they cannot provide. Growing adolescents look up to their parents for provision of the basic needs of food, shelter, and clothing. Parents can assist adolescents to get these needs from other formal institutions like the Church and school. It appears from my perspective (albeit arguably), that conventional views on parenting (which emphasizes the rights of the child) are in line with Western values while cultural values influence parenting styles in Africa and other non-Western societies (Um & Kim, 2015).

2.11 Constructing Sexuality, Biology and Society

Not to deny that human sexuality, like animal sexuality, is deeply involved with physical reproduction and with intercourse and its pleasures. Biological sexuality is the necessary precondition for human sexuality. But biological sexuality is only a precondition, a set of potentialities, which is never unmediated by human reality [culture and history], and which becomes transformed in qualitatively new ways in human society. (Padgug, 1999, pp. 18-19).

One vital aspect of all human existence and history is sexuality. Over the course of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, a scientific body of writing had conceived of sexuality as (a fact of nature) a product of biology and a kind of 'natural force' that stands apart from culture or society. This scientific approach, which emphasises the physiological aspects of human sexuality, has come to be called sexology (Parker, 2009; Seidman, 2003). Prominent among sexologists of the time are Magnus Hirschfeld, Richard von Krafft-Ebing, Havelock Ellis, Alfred Kinsey, Masters and Johnson, and John Money among many others. Weeks observed that 'the sexologists have spent a great deal of their energies in seeking the 'truth of sex'- in biology usually, in instincts, the chromosomes and hormones, the DNA, the genes, or less often, but powerfully, in psychic energy or unconscious compulsion' (Weeks, 1985, p. 8). The ways in which sexuality has been conceptualised and interrogated within the sexological tradition has influenced the way many people think about the phenomenon.

One of the key ideas of sexology is that sexuality is a basic living instinct that is biologically programmed in all individuals. This emphasis on the physiological aspects of sexuality is seen in the work of Masters and Johnson (1966). They focused on the physiology of orgasm and developed a four phase model of human sexual response. The duo conducted experimental research with adults measuring what happens to the body during sexual activity. The four

phases according to Masters and Johnson include excitement, plateau, orgasm and resolution. This model set the base for the physiological understanding of human sexual response.

Sexologists also uphold the norm of heterosexuality, arguing that human sexual instinct is naturally heterosexual. Guided by a heterosexist definition of sexuality, sexologists argue that there is a natural attraction between men and women which is preferable and acceptable. This idea has given rise to the thinking that the primary purpose of human sexuality is to procreate. Sexual cultures around the world were at one point in time influenced and/or shaped by the writings of sexologists. However, by the mid to late 1960s the sexological tradition had begun to shake due largely to the lack of a full explanatory power when interrogating the different aspects of human sexuality (Seidman, 2003).

Ideas and beliefs about sexuality are continuously evolving and producing new knowledge. By the late 1960s and early 1970s, social researchers began to question and challenge the conceptualization of sexuality as solely rooted in biology and nature (Parker, 2009). The intellectual project of rethinking sexuality has had impact on the scholarly views on the construction of this phenomenon. For example, a British sociologist Jeffrey Weeks proposed a view of the socio-cultural character of sexuality:

. . . we must learn to see that sexuality is something which society produces in complex ways. It is a result of diverse social practices that give meaning to human activities..., to struggle between those who have power to define and regulate, and those who resist. (Weeks, 1986; cited in Seidman, 2003, p.27).

Weeks proposed a social constructionist theory of sexuality which regards sexuality as a socially learned way of thinking and acting, as individuals interact with one another in the society. He went as far as to suggest that 'sexuality only exists through its social forms and social organization' and cannot be reduced to 'the mysterious workings of the DNA, the eternal genes' (Weeks, 2003, p. 18), or what Cherfas and Gribbin, (1984) cited in (Weeks, 2003) described as 'the dance of the chromosomes' p.18.

A number of social researchers; sociologists, historians, feminists, and philosophers have challenged the view of sexologists and psychologists that sexuality is solely shaped by

biological influences. My study is influenced by the ideas of these writers and I take the position that sexuality is fundamentally (albeit humans are biological creatures) a 'social and meaningful phenomenon and that it can only be (clearly) understood in the social, (cultural) historical and moral context in which human beings live and act' (Reynolds, 1992, p. 38). Conceptualizing sexuality as rooted in biology and nature reduces it to sexual 'acts' devoid of meaningr 'life', which to my way of thinking, does not provide a fruitful account of human sexuality. In this study, higher priority is given to the social and cultural factors that affect human sexuality.

Social research carried out by American sociologists John Gagnon, William Simon, Ira Reiss and British sociologists Ken Plummer and Jeffrey Weeks documented the socio-cultural character of sexuality. For example, Gagnon and Simon developed a scripting theory of sexuality in 1973. The duo challenged the idea that humans are born sexual, arguing that sexuality is produced and influenced by cultural messages and social processes. Through the process of socialisation, we are taught by society the appropriate 'scripts' that exist and our sexual experiences are shaped by these scripts. In traditional African settings, scripts vary across tribal groups and tell individuals where, when and with whom they are supposed to have sex and what it means when they do so (Maticka-Tyndale et al., 2005; Seidman, 2003). These scripts arise initially out of the socialisation process and are later shaped by experience.

Also contributing to the contemporary understanding of sexuality as culturally constructed and socially manufactured is British sociologist, Kenneth Plummer. In *Sexual Stigma*, he emphasized the role of social context in shaping homosexual socialization. He opined that homosexuality is a product of social learning and individuals aren't born homosexual (Plummer, 1975). People develop homosexual identity as they interact with other people in the society. With attention turned to social systems, cultural settings and cultural rules, writers such as Plummer charted a different understanding of human sexuality arguing that sexuality is indeed as much about society (cultural beliefs, moralities and social activities) as it is about biological attributes (nature).

2.12 Non-heterosexual identities in Africa

Within the heterosexual-homosexual continuum, homosexuality is one of the four main categories of sexual orientation along with bisexuality, transgender sexual orientation and heterosexuality. I would argue that these categories are socially constructed. Homosexuality refers to an individual's disposition to experience sexual affection, and/or romantic attractions primarily to people of the same sex or gender (Ajibade, 2013). Homosexuality is a controversial sexual identity in Africa that needs to be given adequate scholarly attention. In Africa, same-sex intimate relationships are clouded with silence, secrecy and are considered taboo. The totalizing logic is that non-heterosexuality is alien to the continent. This position has over the years generated a lot of debate among scholars.

There are several writers (e.g., Dunton, 1989; Mokhobo, 1989) who posit that homosexuality is a western import and a sign of sexual corruption and moral bankruptcy. I cannot agree. African religious leaders support these claims and opine that the same-sex relationship is ungodly and dirty. The general belief by many Africans is that, this sexual orientation is abnormal and an abuse of traditional values. Several agents, including parents, schools, peers and the Church contribute to this socialization process (Ballard & Morris, 1998 cited in Ajibade, 2013). The dearth of literature and research on same-sex relationships among African scholars, especially in Nigeria is based on preconceived prejudice, criticism and support for anti-homosexuality sentiments in the continent.

Other scholars (e.g., Ajibade, 2013; Greenberg, 1988; Baum, 1993; Swidler, 1993; Parrinder, 1980; Dlamini, 2006) however, acknowledge that same-sex sexuality existed throughout Africa even before the colonial masters set foot on the continent. In a study of 50 African cultures, Baum (1993) established the existence of non-heterosexual activities in traditional African societies. Summers (1995) also lends support to claim that homosexuality was not unknown in Africa before colonialism. Summers observed that behaviours known today as homosexual were present but traditional languages lacked the vocabulary to describe such relationships. In a study, Ajidabe (2013) examined same-sex culture among the Yorùbá people of south-western Nigeria and found that homosexuals in Africa and Nigeria in particular, did exist but were not recognized within societal institutions.

Although homosexuality exists in Nigeria, the dominant and acceptable form of sexuality is heterosexuality. Nigeria is deeply conservative in terms of sexuality and sexual identities. Non-heterosexual identities and lifestyles are frowned at and perceived as a threat to religious and cultural values. It is interesting to note, however, that there is an ongoing debate about homosexuality and same-sex marriage within the Christian tradition.

2.13 Homophobic Sentiments in Nigeria

Homosexuality is illegal in not less than 36 of Africa's 54 countries. While non-heterosexuality clearly exists in Nigeria, there is widespread condemnation and public hostility to same-sex relations in the country. Lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender people (LGBT) in Nigeria like in many other countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, face legal challenges on the grounds of their sexual and gender identities. All forms of same-sex sexual activities are considered illegal in Nigeria. On January 13th 2014, Nigeria's President signed a Bill that criminalises same-sex relationships, arguing that the new law is in line with the country's religious and cultural beliefs. Anti-gay sentiment is rife in Nigeria, and the new law pleases most people. Already, according to Chapter 21, Article 214 and 217 of the Nigeria Penal Code, sodomy was an offence, but the new law stirs up homophobia and paves the way for a total clampdown on same-sex relationships. It prescribes prison sentences of up to 14 years and bans same-sex copulation, intimate relationships with a member of same-sex, and gay organizations. The most oppressive aspect of the law is a ban on all gatherings of homosexuals. Ajibade (2013) noted that in the 12 States of northern Nigeria that have adopted the Sharia penal code, homosexual activity is punishable by death by stoning. The express criminalization of same-sex relations by State and non-State actors is seen by some, especially human rights activists, as a violation of some people's fundamental human rights.

In the last three years, homophobic discourses have become prevalent in Nigeria. Christian and Muslim leaders across the country have harshly condemned homosexuality and have joined the State to launch an all-out war against 'perpetrators'. These discourses and existing laws continue to legitimise violence, harassment and many other forms of discrimination against people based on their sexual identity. This State-sponsored homophobia is clearly a human rights issue but I think more work outside of the courtroom is required. This is because, as noted by Undie and Izugbara (2011), sexual rights in Nigeria and elsewhere in Africa are not

'stand-alone properties' of an individual. There is need for careful reorientation of the people in Nigeria where heterosexual norms prevail and any other sexual orientation is seen as a crime.

2.14 Tiv Approach to Sexuality

In the Tiv cultural context, while sexual intercourse is accepted as a natural need that is strategic to human life, there are strict cultural norms guiding sexual activities and open discussions on issues of sexuality are regarded as taboo. The Tiv prohibits pre-marital sexual intercourse. Pre-modern Tiv society places a lot of importance on the virginity of the woman. The integrity of the family in general and of the girl in particular is measured by the virginity of the newly married woman (Dzurgba, 2012). In classical Tiv society, an unmarried young woman wore *ikyôô* (the shell of a snail) on her neck which symbolized her status as a virgin. The shell could only be removed by her husband after the consummation of the marriage. If the husband found that he was the first to have sex with his wife, he took a she-goat known as *ivo akôô* (goat-snail) to his *ngô-kem* (mother-in-law) in appreciation of the mother's role in bringing up her daughter. Any woman who gave her daughter in marriage and received a she-goat in recognition of her daughter's virginity was a proud woman. Most Tiv mothers today encourage their daughters to keep their virginity till marriage, since sex is viewed as a sacred act and there are grievous consequences if there is a breach of its sacredness. Sexual intercourse between someone who is married and another person who is not his wife or her husband has been a serious crime in Tiv society. In fact, 'the criminal nature of adultery has remained unchanged until today' and offenders are made to pay a live goat as penalty. Perpetrators are often tried by the Council of Elders according to unwritten customary laws (Dzurgba, 2012. pp 128). In contemporary Tiv society, adultery related tensions, quarrels, threats, fears and murders are still being witnessed and some divorces arise from some men's anger against their wives because of extra-marital affairs. There is one gross misconception that is sold to the wider society by some western scholars and even by some ethnic groups surrounding Tivland; that Tiv share their wives with visitors in the name of hospitality. Examining the Tiv hospitality, Akevi (2014) noted that the Tiv people were a strong warrior tribe. Through war conquests they acquired many slaves, among which were women. When a Tiv man had a visitor, he would sometimes send one of the female slaves to spend a night with the visitor. The visitor who was

not resident there would erroneously assume that the woman was the Tiv man's wife. The conclusion therefore, that the Tiv man shares his wife with visitors is fallacious although serious questions remain about the sexual exploitation of women who were not wives.

One other tabooed act among the Tiv is sexual intercourse between close relations which is seen as abnormal and an illegality. Incest is known in Tiv as '*yav a waningbian*' (sexual intercourse with a closely related person). Such persons include fathers or mothers, daughters or sons, uncles and aunts, nieces or nephews and other relations or relatives (Akevi, 2014). Those who indulge in incest are required to make some purification rituals so as to be cleaned. The purification ritual involves the persons going to the shrine and offering burnt sacrifice. The ritual symbolises the burning up of incest and the restoration of the dignity of the sexual status of the culprits.

With regards to sexual orientation, the Tiv people uphold compulsory heterosexuality. Homosexuals are subjected to fierce discrimination and rejection. Young women caught indulging in homosexuality in boarding schools are often expelled from school. The paucity of literature and research on non-heterosexuality among Tiv is based on preconceived prejudice and criticism of same-sex sexual orientation. Conducting research with young women in such a heteronormative society means that it is difficult not to reproduce heteronormative discourses. As a heterosexual male researcher, sensation to issues of gender and sexuality oppression have been crucial in keeping my perspective as wide as possible so as to cover any possible elements in the construction of young women's sexuality in Tiv society.

2.15 Adolescents' Sexuality, Abstinence and Sex-As-Risk

Over the years, researchers have often conceptualized adolescent sexuality as dangerous and adolescence as a period marked by risk behaviours (Michaud, 2006). Researchers using this often pursue studies of pregnancy, sexually transmitted infections (STIs) risk, HIV-AIDS, abstinence and condom use (Tolman & McClelland, 2011). There have been a number of valuable studies of adolescents' sexuality in Nigeria and elsewhere in Africa. However, these have been primarily through the lens of danger (Amaran, 2012; Bay-Cheng et al., 2011; Danjin & Onajole, 2010; Obi et al., 2002; Onyeka et al., 2011; Oyediran et al., 2011; Regnerus, 2005; Tavory & Swidler, 2009). It is important that researchers pay attention to the skills necessary

to discern and communicate sexual wishes and boundaries that allow girls and young women to explore and develop more positive perspectives about their sexuality (Schalet, 2011).

As earlier mentioned, the majority of adolescent sexuality literature is predominantly risk-based and few studies focus on the development of healthy adolescent sexuality (Allen et al., 2008; Koyama et al., 2011; Lesch & Kruger, 2005; Rickert et al., 2002). These studies provide little information on how sexuality unfolds, and the variable ways that it is experienced. Little is known about adolescents' abilities to navigate sexuality and the social and cultural systems which shape not only their sexual experience, but the ways in which they interpret and understand that experience and the cultural rules that organize these (Parker, 2009; Russell, 2005). The focus of my study is on girls' perceptions of sexuality and my intention was to move away from the risk and danger lens. As a researcher however, I needed to be sensitive to the possibility that experiences of sexual abuse or coercion may have impacted the development of sexuality among the girls in my study and I discuss this further below.

2.16 Sexual Abuse and Coercion among Young Persons

Sexual abuse and coercion entails the use of force and, or the attempt to compel another individual to engage in any form of sexual activity through economic circumstances, the use of force, threats, verbal insistence, deception, and cultural expectation against his or her volition. There are several aspects of sexual abuse and coercion ranging from unwanted or unasked-for touching, verbal intimidation, rape, to socio-cultural expectations that tend to compel girls to marry and submit to sexual advances of men against their will (Ajuwon, Akin-Jimoh, Olley, & Akintola, 2001; Ajuwon, Olley, Akintola, & Akin-Jimoh, 2004). Although sexual abuse and coercion occurs in all ages, adolescent girls and young women are disproportionately affected due to their relative inexperience, limited negotiation skills, dependent financial position and gender power imbalances (Ajuwon et al 2001). Sexual coercion and abuse of young girls is usually a planned act perpetrated by men, with gender norms and stereotypes operating strongly in most of the scenarios (ibid).

Wagman et al. (2009), in a qualitative study of 52 pregnant and never pregnant sexuality active female adolescents aged 15 to 17 in Uganda, examined sexual coercion among these groups. They used focus group discussions and in-depth interviews to obtain data. Ingrained traditional

ideas about gender norms and gendered power dynamics were found to have encouraged sexual violence and abuse against young women. Secrecy was found to be the most common response to sexual violence (especially rape) by both victims and families for fear of stigmatization. The Wagman et al study suggests the need for intervention programmes to focus on issues of gender equality with a view to changing certain cultural norms in order to protect women from all forms of sexual abuse and coercion. There are a number of consequences of sexual abuse and coercion which include but are not limited to depression, chronic pelvic pain, unintended pregnancy, sexually transmitted infections (STIs) and often, an adverse effect on healthy sexuality development.

Research has found a relationship between viewing pornography by young people and sexual coercion and abuse. A study conducted in five European countries (Stanley et al., 2018) found that viewing of pornography was associated with sending and receiving sexual images and text messages which in turn was significantly related to the perpetration of sexual coercion and abuse among young people. In a sense, new technologies have become a means through which abusive young people (mostly men) extend their sexual violence into the online space.

2.17 Age of Consent for Sexual Activity

The age of consent is the age in years below which an individual is not legally considered competent to consent to sexual activity. In Nigeria, the stipulated legal age of sexual consent is 18 years (Folayan et al., 2015). This is in line with the provisions of the Child Rights Act (2003) which Nigeria adopted to domesticate the International Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC). Accordingly, a child below the age of 18 is legally considered too young to consent to sexual intercourse. The Child Rights Acts has been passed in twenty-four (24) of the Nigeria's 36 States and the Federal Capital Territory. The State Assemblies of the remaining 12 States are yet to pass the Child Rights Bill. This means that the age of consent is not 18 years in such States. For example, in Akwa Ibom and Kwara States the age of majority is 16 years, whilst Jigawa State in Northern Nigeria specifies 15 years. Ultimately, setting an age below which children are presumed too young and therefore lacking the capacity to consent to sexual activity serves a protective purpose (Yarrow et al., 2014).

2.18 Sexual Learning

Existing literature on sexuality education has done much to explore the issues involved and dynamics of this process within different contexts (Chirawu, Hanass-Hancock, Aderemi, de Reus, & Henken, 2014; Mturi & Monique, 2005). The concept of sex education is defined as teaching and learning about broader subjects relating to human sexuality. Sexual learning may be through informal – home/community-based sex education, or formal – taking place at school. The significance of this process is in ‘socialising a new generation, not only into prevailing attitudes about sexuality but also into critically important ways of thinking about being in society’ (Measor, Tiffin, & Miller, 2000, p. 7). Though sexuality education is a lifelong process, parents and sex education programmes often target adolescents often providing them with contradictory sexual messages. Sexual learning is critical in promoting an individual’s sexual wellbeing which includes sexual self-esteem and sexual agency (Harden, 2014).

Clearly, sexual learning occurs from multiple sources. Informal sources include parents, peers, media and religious institutions (Andre, Dietsch, & Cheng, 1991; Somers & Surmann, 2005). One important formal source of sexual learning is the school. These sources may differ in what should be the content of sex education. Research has shown the influence of sex education from different sources on sexual outcomes (Lindberg & Maddow-Zimet, 2011). Another important issue is the timing of the provision of sexuality education to children. Given there is a widespread belief that childhood is a period of presumed sexual innocence by parents and other sex educators (Renold, 2005), sex education is most likely not introduced at this time. The construction of childhood as a time of sexual innocence brings about certain rules and regulations that define sex as ‘an adult thing’. Renold, (2005), noted that ‘the plethora of rules and regulations and taboos set up to cleanse children from sexuality created a paradox that constructed child sexuality in both natural (i.e. to be shielded and protected) and unnatural (i.e. to be controlled, restricted and educated)’ (p.20) forms.

Education about sexuality is found to be influenced by religious discourses, as the Church for instance, approves sexual activity only in the context of marriage (Bijelić, 2008). In this sense, one can see the influence of religion in the abstinence-only type of sex education in some societies. For example, Rasmussen (2010) noted that ‘religious schools in Australia develop

their own sex education curricula, which is quite distinct from the one that is taught in state schools' (p.704). The argument however, is that Christian perspectives on sex education differ only marginally from secular ones (Halstead & Reiss, 2012). Muslims are clearly opposed to sex education that is provided from a secular framework.

Islamic law provides clear guidance about what is acceptable and unacceptable for Muslims in the area of sexual behaviour. Because of this it is unacceptable from Muslim point of view that children should be taught that pre-marital, extramarital or same-sex sexual relationships are (normal and) valid alternative lifestyles, or that how one should behave sexually is entirely a matter of personal choice or mutual agreement by couple. [...] Muslims see Islam as a whole way of life, in which the will of Allah unites the social, moral, intellectual, cultural, sexual and religious dimensions of human existence into a harmonious whole.

(Halstead & Reiss, 2012, p. 103)

Within this context therefore, marriage is considered the only proper and acceptable site for individuals to express their sexuality. Feminist views about sex education consider it as gendered, and a domain regulated and controlled by males, where sexual knowledge provided is the product of a patriarchal social system (Bijelić, 2008; Lees, 1993). Feminist debates surrounding sex education often argue that this is an attempt to regulate female sexuality. This suggests that sex education programmes should consider cultural values.

2.18.1 Home-Based Sexual Learning

Various studies have suggested that the primary site for a child's sexual learning is the home (Izugbara, 2008; Walke, 2004). Within this informal setting, sex education is expected to be undertaken by both parents. However, the biological sex of the parents may influence the extent to which they are involved in providing sexual information to the children. Research has shown that mothers have more involvement in providing sex education in the household (Turnbull, Wersch, & Schaik, 2008; Walke, 2004), and that fathers rarely participate (Geasler, Dannison, & Edlund, 1995). Parents are considered as the key sexual educators that provide children with basic information within the family. However, research has found that sexuality related topics are not often considered by most parents (Gabb, 2004). This raises concerns as to how effective home-based sexuality education can be in terms of providing children with basic skills to operate as sexual beings.

For some parents, the aim of sex education at home is to stop their daughter becoming pregnant, prevent human immune deficiency virus (HIV) and incidences of sexually transmitted infections (STIs) (Kakavoulis, 2001). In this sense, girls are often the target in home-based sex education. This reinforces the tendency to bring female adolescent sexuality under restrictive control while permitting male adolescents to experiment with sex.

The double standard of sexual morality has condemned certain sexual activities by women while permitting the identical actions for men. In some cases, surgical procedures have been used to prevent women from enjoying sex. From some perspectives, these societal forces have deprived most individual women of their natural capacity to enjoy multiple orgasms and intimate gratifications. Women have felt that they are not permitted by society to express their sexual feelings or even to enjoy sex in many contexts. Men may also have suffered, at least indirectly, insofar as they have been deprived of the pleasures that come from having partners who enjoy sex.

(Baumeister & Twenge, 2002, p. 166)

This purported suppression of female sexuality can be explained from the stand point of two different theories. According to the male control theory, men are said to be generally responsible for stifling female sexuality for several reasons. One of the reasons is to endure paternity, and another has to do with innate jealousy as a man would not want other men to have any sexual involvement with his wife (Baumeister & Twenge, 2002). Though a clearly heteronormative position, some feminist theorists support this view and hold that the control or suppression of female sexuality is the consequences of the patriarchal system where women are regarded as men's possession (ibid). On the other hand, the female control theory suggests that some women cooperate to suppress female sexuality to their advantage. By limiting the 'supply' of sex, men might be willing to give much in terms of money and other resources before getting sex.

Returning to sexual learning within the home setting, a study conducted in Nigeria by Izugbara (2008) demonstrates how parents consider sexuality as something that is dangerous for their children. The study was conducted among the Igbo people of south-eastern Nigeria where adolescent sexual expression is strongly condemned. Findings indicated that Igbo parents rarely speak to their children positively about sex and sexuality. Generally, within most cultures in Nigeria and other African societies, good parenting is framed in terms of parental ability to discourage children from engaging in premarital sexual activities. Thus, parents make efforts

to ensure sexual chastity especially among their daughters. One common effort is to teach children abstinence only or abstinence-until-marriage messages.

2.18.2 School-Based Sexual Learning

One of the locations where learning about sexual behaviour takes place is the school (Measor et al., 2000). School sex education is targeted at arming young people with basic skills and disposition to make informed and healthy choices regarding their sexuality (McAvoy, 2013). Given that most parents have difficulty in effectively carrying out their role as sexuality educators (Ballard & Gross, 2009; Muhwezi et al., 2015), school-based sexuality education proves to be useful.

Reiss (1993) provided an overview of the aims of school-based sexuality education. In his analysis, Reiss listed nine key aims of school sex education. The first is stopping or reducing unintended teenage pregnancy. This aim exclusively targets girls. The second listed aim is the reduction of incidences of sexually transmitted infections (STIs) which became so imperative with the arrival of Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS). Another aim is to decrease ignorance about sex and sexuality among young people. The fourth aim is to decrease guilt, embarrassment and anxiety and make young people comfortable talking about parts of their body that have to do with sex. Enabling students (young people) to make their own informed decisions about their sexuality was also listed as one of the aims. The sixth aim has to do with helping the learners to develop assertive skills that would enable them to say 'no' to any unwanted sexual advance. Another aim is helping young people to question the present role of men and women in society. The final aim of school sex education identified by Reiss is to provide an ethical framework for the responsible expression of sexuality.

Reiss (1993) acknowledged that the aims of sex education have broadened over the course of time and that 'the most effective learning takes place when what is taught at school meshes with and builds upon what is learned outside of school, particularly the home' (p.126). He notes that these aims remain the same today, albeit in a modified form. What this suggests is that denying young people information about sexuality and simply telling them to abstain from sex is not realistic. Therefore, the onus is on schools to make sure that the curriculum for sex education is relevant to the needs of the developing sexuality of young people.

In Nigeria, the curriculum for sexuality education was introduced in the year 2002 (Ochiogu, Miettola, Ilika, & Vaskilampi, 2011). There is evidence to suggest however, that this curriculum has not been fully implemented. The setbacks suffered in providing sexuality education in Nigerian schools has much to do with the poor attitudes of parents, religious leaders and teachers. Concerns generally arise because:

Sexuality education debunks ideologies and social constructs that regard certain words as dirty and wrong, that certain parts of the body are unmentionable and that sometimes we should hide our feelings and other myths and taboos that influence the human sexuality negatively. In Nigeria cultural heterogeneity, multiculturalism, ethics, social status and other traditions perpetuate rules and norms that affect the perceptions of parents, teachers and others and therefore serve as catalysts against the successful implementation of sexuality education in the country.

(Adepoju, 2005, p. 10)

What this suggests, is that sexuality education in Nigeria is impeded because of religious and cultural notions. In a qualitative study conducted by DePalma and Francis (2014) with 25 teachers in South Africa, teachers drew upon cultural beliefs to explain and justify their reluctance in providing sex education to young people. The enduring cultural silence around sexuality was found to affect not only the teachers but the learners. In this sense, there is the tendency that the teaching of sexuality education should be skewed towards promoting cultural values of chastity and sexual innocence. For example, Bay-Cheng (2003) noted that school-based sexuality education in America relies on providing morality-based messages in response to the perceived moral decay in the society. The study recommended the inclusion of discussions of desire and sexual subjectivity in school-based sexuality education curricula so that young people would be truly empowered to make healthy and responsible sexual decisions.

2.18.3 Comprehensive Sexuality Education

The notion of comprehensive sexuality education has to do with teaching young people 'about abstinence as the best method for avoiding sexually transmitted infections (STIs) and unintended pregnancy, but also provide medically accurate information about contraceptives and condoms, thus promoting abstinence along with protective behaviours to reduce the risk of unintended pregnancy and infection with STIs, including HIV' (Kershner, Corwin, Prince, Robillard, & Oldendick, 2017, p. 297). A substantial body of research suggests that

comprehensive sexuality education is a significant step towards helping young people to acquire accurate information about their sexuality and develop healthy sexual behaviours (Bay-Cheng, 2003; Browes, 2015; Huaynoca, Chandra-Mouli, Yaqub Jr, & Denno, 2014).

The school is a suitable site for the implementation of comprehensive sexuality education. Comprehensive sex education, also referred to as 'abstinence-plus' recognizes young people as sexual beings and if properly implemented, is an effective way of promoting sexual health. In a study aimed at examining the effectiveness of 'Big Decisions', a sexuality curriculum designed to promote abstinence, condom use and the use of contraceptives among students in a city in Southwest United States, Realini, Buzi, Smith, and Martinez (2010) found that participation in this abstinence-plus programme was significantly associated with positive attitudes of participants towards abstinence, condom and contraception use.

In Nigeria, the national policies on school-based comprehensive sex education have led to some level of success (Huaynoca et al., 2014) with a programme called the Family Life HIV Education (FLHE) curriculum. However, there are certain factors militating against the universal application of the curriculum in the country. One of such, is the view that comprehensive sexuality education is not considered compatible with prevailing traditional sexual norms and values. This has affected the acceptability of the curriculum in most secondary schools (ibid). Another obstacle is poor funding that results in insufficient teaching aids, relevant books and prevents the training and retraining of teachers for effective teaching (Kolawole, 2010). In addition, the personal discomfort of some teachers in conducting sexuality education sessions is also a challenge. This suggests that there is a disconnect between this well-intended policy and its implementation.

2.19 Summary of the Chapter

In this chapter, I have provided an explanation of the purpose and function of conducting a preliminary literature review as part of a grounded theory study and give details of how the search for the literature was undertaken. To sensitize myself more with the topic, I have discussed some basic concepts in respect to human sexuality generally and female adolescent sexuality in particular that are used in the current study. Also, I have undertaken a brief review of wider literature on salient issues within the field. For example, the construction of sexuality.

I questioned the idea that sex and sexuality is simply a natural and biological phenomenon. I subscribe to the view that sexuality is historically, socially and culturally situated and is constructed out of the interaction between these factors and the biological, physiological and agentic aspects of 'selfhood'. The chapter also described the context of Tiv sexual behaviour, the gendered nature of girls' sexuality, homosexuality in Africa with the hostile laws and stigma, and, the parenting of adolescents. Agency, resilience and the impact of sexual abuse and coercion are also briefly discussed. An important issue that emerged from the literature review is that most researchers tend to take a risk-based or problem-centered approach to the study of adolescent sexuality. This study adopts a sex-positive approach to adolescent sexuality and raises questions that challenge the limitations of the sex-as-risk approach in order to provide a broader picture of the sexuality of this group. The next chapter discusses the theoretical lenses used to guide the interpretation of findings in the study.

Chapter Three

Identifying the Theoretical Lenses

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the foundation (philosophical basis) from which all knowledge is constructed for this research study is laid. I discuss the theoretical approaches and perspectives undergirding my thinking on female adolescent sexuality development in North Central Nigeria. A careful discussion of what concepts and principles I used to establish ideas and make sense of the data are presented. In developing a substantive theory grounded in the experiences of the young women, I draw on the social constructionist perspective and the feminist theory of intersectionality. These key theoretical constructs were used to establish the context of the research and interpret findings. The choice of these frameworks is consistent with my view of the human world and assumptions about reality and understandings of human knowledge which I bring to this current study.

In my discussion of social constructionism, I recognise its multiplicity. I also utilised scripting theory as a related approach to sexuality that might be termed social constructionist (Longmore, 1998). I also borrow from the feminist theory of intersectionality in understanding the sexual experiences of the participants in relation to their gendered status. It is also considered appropriate to encapsulate my study within the sex-positive framework which considered sexuality as a 'normal' aspect of adolescent development. This approach is a departure from the more common 'sex-as-risk' stance adopted by many conducting research in African countries. The next section provides the rationale and explanation for using a theoretical framework within a grounded theory study.

3.2 Using a Theoretical Framework within a Grounded Theory Study

Within a traditional qualitative research approach, a theoretical framework is the 'blueprint' which serves as the guide on which to build a study. It provides the structure to define how a researcher 'will philosophically, epistemologically, methodologically, and analytically approach' his/her data (Grant & Osanloo, 2014, p. 13). It is common within qualitative research for theoretical frameworks to be identified at the beginning of the study since these have

'implications for every decision made in the research process' (Mertens 1998, cited in Grant & Osanloo, 2014, p. 13). The general view is that one cannot do a good piece of work that is atheoretical and consequently, sound qualitative research includes explicitly identifying and including a theoretical framework. However, grounded theory as a primarily inductive methodological approach does not overtly use a theoretical framework in its design. This is because utilizing a theoretical framework at the start of a research has 'the potential to contaminate the emerging theory and can result in forcing both the problem and the data into a preconceived model' (Glaser, 1998 p. 67). Hence, the introduction of a priori theoretical frameworks within grounded theory research is highly contentious.

Mitchell (2014) provides a helpful discussion on this topic and suggests that the use of theoretical frameworks within grounded theory studies is not only appropriate but 'might be the most realistic and trustworthy approach to [doing] GT studies' (p. 9). Whilst the use of theoretical frameworks in grounded theory might be considered as deductive reasoning rather than inductive, Mitchell (2014) argues persuasively that 'all GT studies use deductive reasoning and are co-created by researchers whether explicitly or implicitly stated or recognized' (p. 6). I concur with Mitchell's conclusion that a grounded theory approach can involve a combination of both inductive and deductive methods through what is referred to as abductive reasoning. This takes grounded theory beyond an exclusively inductive research approach (Charmaz, 2006).

Though the role of theory is indisputably different in grounded theory research, one should not infer that the development of a substantive theory proceeds in isolation of existing theory, or that grounded theory studies are atheoretical (Elliott & Higgins, 2012). The differences lie in the fact that in 'traditional' research, theoretical frameworks are used to inform problem formulation, the literature review, data gathering and interview questions, whereas grounded theory studies use theoretical frameworks for constant comparison purposes and to ensure a focused analytical lens in a bid to develop theory grounded in the participants' lived experiences. Thus, grounded theorists using theoretical frameworks are able to position their findings within the existing body of theory. I argue therefore, that a theoretical framework is important even in a grounded theory study since this can guide the inquiry.

To avoid being mired in data (Morse, 2001), this current study draws on some theoretical frameworks (while staying true to the basic tenants of grounded theory). These form the lenses through which I viewed the data, enabling me to order my thoughts and report the research outcomes (Green, 2014). The following sections discuss the theoretical perspectives and show how these constructs align with the current study.

3.3 The Feminist Theory of Intersectionality

Considering that this study is about young women who are growing up in a culture where sexuality is linked to gender inequalities; where sexual double standards exist and where there is a plethora of expectations from parents and society concerning female sexual behaviour, it seemed imperative to use a feminist lens for the emerging research data. As earlier noted, research in Africa suggests that when adolescent sexuality is constructed as impure, risky and evidence of society's moral decline, this construction lands differently in the lives of female adolescents compared to adolescent boys. Public discourses often consider unmarried sexually active female adolescents as 'bad girls'. As Muhanguzi (2011) noted, complex gendered relations of domination and subordination position boys and girls differently and create gender inequalities and sexual vulnerability for 'those gendered as girls' (p.721). This gendering process involves patterns of socialization embedded within religious and cultural norms with the family as the primary agent for the transmission of values that uphold these norms (Shefer, 1999 cited in Muhanguzi, 2011). While some parents and religious bodies in northern Nigeria condemn all adolescent sexual activity, the dynamics of the experiences of girls as they explore their sexuality in a patriarchal society merits special consideration and explains why I placed the analysis against a feminist research perspective.

Feminist thinking generally focusses on women's oppression and makes intellectual sense of, and critiques assumptions and systems which lead to the subordination of women to men (Cudd & Andreasen, 2005). Throughout human history, women have been dominated physically, economically, politically and sexually. Feminists and human rights activists more generally, regard the subordination of women in whatever form as morally unsupportable. Feminist thinking and research are often divided into three main branches or perspectives:

liberal feminism, Marxist feminism and Radical feminism (ibid). Without denying the existence of these perspectives, McLaughlin (2003) posits that such categorization does not address the 'current priorities and concerns of feminist social and political thought' (p.2). McLaughlin observed that developments within feminist thinking have continued to change and as such, there is need to move beyond this categorization since the environment is ever changing.

One central sentiment shared by feminists is the presupposition that women are marginalized on the ground of their gender. Feminist research revolves around the need to interrogate the nature of the impact of marginalization on women. It is not a particular method or approach but can be defined as research on women and for women, 'giving priority to female experience and developing theory which is firmly situated in this experience'; it is knowledge explicitly dedicated to bringing about change and improvement in women's situations (Wilkinson, 1986 cited in Webb, 1993: 416). The current study, however, is not about feminism or why feminists do feminist research, but about using feminist ideas to provide new knowledge grounded in the realities of young women's sexual experiences in a specific cultural setting. I specifically draw on the feminist theory of intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1991; Davis, 2008; Jones, 2009) to enable me to provide a more nuanced understanding of how adolescent female's experiences are frequently the product of intersecting factors.

Coined by Kimberley Crenshaw in the late 1980s, the concept of intersectionality is a very important contribution to feminist scholarship. Since its emergence, intersectionality has been used by feminist scholars from various fields as an analytical framework through which they talk about the interaction of multiple identities of sexuality, gender, class, and race (Cooper, 2015). While the term intersectionality was initially used to denote the various ways in which race and gender intersect to shape the multiple dimensions of black women's employment experiences within a racialized American society, it has since been found 'useful for understanding and analysing any social practice, any individual or group experience, any structural arrangement' (Davis, 2008, p. 72). For example, Jones (2009) utilized intersectionality to bring to the fore several intersecting factors that create unique experiences for children affected by HIV/AIDS in Trinidad and Tobago. Similarly, Gusrang (2010) conducted intersectional analysis using an agentic model to explore sexual empowerment across different gender and racial/ethnic intersections.

I apply the theory of intersectionality to map the ways in which gender, cultural assumptions, religion, parental influence, and heteronormality (which intersect at multiple and simultaneous levels) have shaped the sexual experience of Tiv girls and describe the unique vulnerability of the young women to these converging factors of domination or oppression. I focus on tracing these factors to their intersections which 'highlights the need to account for multiple grounds of identity when considering how the social world is constructed' (Crenshaw, 1991, p. 1245). Mari Matsuda calls this inquiry 'asking the other question'. In my analysis of the data, I adopt Matsuda's procedure of 'asking the other question'.

The way I try to understand the interconnection of all forms of subjugation is through a method I call 'asking the other question'. When I see something that looks racist, I ask, 'Where is the patriarchy in this?' When I see something that looks homophobic, I ask, 'Where are the class interest in this?' (Matsuda, 1991, p. 1189).

I consider an intersectional approach to my study especially important because power differences based on gender, one's status as a girl child, socio-economic status, and age are likely to play a major role in how female adolescent sexuality is constructed and young women's experiences need to be understood as multiply shaped. As a theoretical paradigm, intersectionality is useful in sexuality research. Attending to more than one variable at a time in the analysis of young women's sexuality is ideal in developing a nuanced understanding of their sexual experiences. I should say that intersectionality is not used in this work in its 'pure' form, but rather as a means of exploring the effects of multiple contexts (e.g., family, dominant culture and religion) to see if and how these contexts work together to influence the sexuality of female adolescents. My study also used intersectionality to map the ways in which intersecting identities of nurses shaped their responses to the sexual needs of Tiv girls which in turn affects the sexual lives of the girls. In the next section, I turn to social constructionism and explain how I used social constructionist perspectives to explore how young women experience and make sense of their own sexuality.

3.4 Social Constructionist Perspectives

This section discusses social constructionism and scripting theory. The concept of social constructionism has been adopted in several disciplines and sub-disciplines (e.g. sociology,

sociolinguistics, literary theory, social psychology, history, anthropology), and each of these fields of study approaches the term differently (Brickell, 2006). Although social constructionism is multifarious rather than homogeneous, a generally acceptable principle (underpinning philosophy) for social constructionist sexuality researchers is 'that people's sexuality is not a self-contained, separate, independent and consistent experience or entity but that it emerges in practices and meanings that are organized according to historical time, culture, gender and class' (Lesch & Kruger, 2005, p. 1073). These systems provide the individuals with constructs that make their experiences meaningful. To understand the social world, social constructionists consider all knowledge and reality as socially constructed and not created (Tom, 2012). Weeks (1986: 26 in Seidman 2003: 27) proposed a strong view of the social nature and character of human sexuality:

First . . . we can no longer set "sex" against "society" as if they were separate domains. Secondly, there is a widespread recognition of the social variability of sexual forms, beliefs, ideologies, and behaviour. Sexuality has . . . many histories. . . Thirdly . . . we must learn to see that sexuality is something which society produces in complex ways. It is a result of diverse social practices that give meaning to human activities. . . .to struggles between those who have the power to define and regulate, and those who resist. Sexuality is not given, it is a product of negotiation, struggle.

Constructionist research starts without assumptions from the researcher about what the findings might be. Rather, constructionists 'bracket' their 'personal views, beliefs or bias, and remain open-minded to wide-ranging possibilities from the research' (Denicolo, Long, & Bradley-cole, 2016, p. 5). As such, participants' experiences are understood from their personal perspectives and not the researcher's perspectives. This does not, however, take away the possibility of what Kaptchuk (2003) refers to as 'interpretive bias' since 'facts do not accumulate on the blank slates of researchers' minds and data simply do not speak for themselves' (p. 1453). Interpretive bias is a broader concept for a number of factors that come into play not only during data collection but at the stage of interpreting the said data (O'Connell, Wand, & Goldacre, 2009). Some of these factors include gender, sexual orientation, religion and political affiliation. Undoubtedly, however, 'research participants' personal (construction of) meanings is central to the constructionist's philosophy and practices' (Denicolo et al., 2016, p. 5). Nonetheless, this current study favours the co-creation of meaning (knowledge) between the researcher and the researched (Charmaz, 2006; Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

For the purposes of this study, it is important to emphasise that social constructionists would posit that individuals often negotiate the meaning of their sexuality within relational contexts. Adhering to a social constructionist standpoint, this current study focuses on how Tiv adolescent girls experience and make sense of their own sexuality from the specific contexts of intimate relationships (with parents and partners) to the broader contexts of gender, culture, economic situation, and age. It elicits data which represents the young women's constructed sense of social reality. This theoretical point of departure partly determined which categories and themes in the data were focused on. Tom (2012) noted that social constructionism is compatible with grounded theory methodology because it is not based on a relativist perspective.

Specifically, there are some key assumptions of social constructionism (from Burr, 2015). First, social constructionism emphasizes the need for us to be critical of our ideas about ourselves and the world around us. It insists that we must challenge the idea of objective reality. This means that social constructionism opposes the assumption that the nature of the world around us can be known through empirical observation. Social constructionism insists that we be ever suspicious of our taken-for-granted assumptions about the world. For example, the assumption that men and women are natural categories must be questioned. From a social constructionist perspective, women and men are not natural but social categories (Brickell, 2006).

Another assumption is that 'the ways in which we commonly understand the world, the categories and concepts we use, are historically and culturally specific' (Burr, 2015, p.4). For example, the way we understand and respond to matters of female sexuality is relative to history and culture. Nigerian cultures for instance frown against female expression of their sexuality. Social constructionism argues that our way of understanding cannot be necessarily accurate. The third assumption is that the common ways of understanding the world is socially constructed by the people through daily interactions between them. Within such social interactions, language is crucial as it 'function as an important resource with which meaning, and subjectivity are constructed' (Brickell, 2006, p.100). Language is therefore of great importance to social constructionist approaches.

The fourth assumption is that the social construction of an action determines the kind of reaction or response. For example, in societies where same-sex sexual relations are considered unconventional and abnormal, homosexuals are considered as subnormal, sick, dangerous and treated with much contempt. In this sense, our social construction of the world determines our expectations and social actions.

I must restate that I used social constructionism to focus on the social meaning of participants' accounts of their experiences of sexuality. This conceptual tool enabled me to explore the degree to which sexuality reflects gendered social dynamics and expectations of society. This makes the analysis of gendered underpinnings very critical for the investigation of Tiv girls' sexuality. In addition, I used social constructionism to take a critical look at issues around the sexuality of young women. For example, I took a critical stance on taken-for-granted understandings of the role of mothers in controlling the sexual behaviour of their daughters. The next section discusses scripting theory which has been used by scholars to explore human sexuality across different populations and contexts.

3.4.2 The Scripting Perspective on Sexuality

Rooted within social constructionist perspectives in sociology, Gagnon and Simon's theory of 'sexual scripts' developed in 1973 explores the ways in which human beings draw upon sexual scripts as they learn how to 'act' sexually, the connections between the wider social context and their sexual experiences (Brickell, 2006). Scripting theory was developed in response to the then dominant (naturalistic) biological model which sees inherent biological drives as determinants of sexual behaviour. Gagnon and Simon argued that sexuality is a social product and criticized the exclusively biological explanations (naturalism and functionalism dominated the horizons of mainstream sociological theorizing until the late 1960s) for being unrealistic. Calling for a re-engagement with sexual scripting theory, Jackson and Scott (2010) argue that dominant discursive accounts of human sexuality often fail to consider the social realities and interactions between sexual actors. The term 'scripts refers to normative clusters that specify the parameters for lines of action in given social contexts'. As applied to sexual behaviour, 'sexual scripts specify how to behave sexually' (Longmore, 1998, p. 51). Gagnon and Simon use

the language of theatre to articulate how scripts work. Like the script of a play, individuals are 'actors' who are using 'scripts' to identify sexual situations and 'do' sexuality. Sexual scripts shape people's sexual interactions in their social world. To some degree, expectations of sex and sexuality are scripted. I consider scripting as a useful metaphor for understanding human sexual behaviour generally and in the context of my study, to generate socio-culturally specific understandings of female adolescent sexual experiences.

Scripts operate at three fundamental levels: cultural scenarios, the interpersonal and the intrapsychic (Simon & Gagnon, 1986, 2003). These three levels of scripting are applied in this study. A scripting approach 'allows room for variation and modification within the scripts that pre-dominate in each culture, while recognizing that even in such variations the presence of the dominant norms and scripts are recognized, accommodated' and sometimes contested (Maticka-Tyndale et al. 2005:28). According to Simon and Gagnon (2003), 'implicit audiences and explicit audiences (i.e., the self and other audiences) are present in every sexual encounter and the judgements and views of these audiences are considered, even if only in their denial' (492).

At the macro level, cultural scenarios are the guides that exist within society and which prescribe how sexuality is supposed to be (acted) expressed. The cultural scripts instruct individuals on whom they might engage with sexually, how, why and when. In African cultures, traditional norms and expectations associated with sexual relations are part of the sexual scripting of adolescent boys' and girls' relationships. Other scripting factors include 'the imbalance of power between girls and boys, and expectations of female acquiescence to male authority' (Maticka-Tyndale et al, 2005 p.29). Of note is the observation that within these scripts, no attention is paid to notions of pleasure and intimacy. The family has a major role in perpetuating existing sexual scripts through the process of socialization. In the majority of instances, mothers play the overt role of 'directing' the scripts and ensuring conformity. However, individuals do not always adhere strictly to prepared scripts and cultural expectations of sex. Thus 'cultural scenarios are rarely entirely predictive of actual behaviour' within social life (Simon & Gagnon, 1986, p. 98).

At the interpersonal level, individuals attempt to shape the dominant cultural scenarios in particular circumstances. Interpersonal scripting represents the actor's response to the wider

world. For example, some young women might take up the task of partial scriptwriters, rewriting their scripts by engaging in sex and expressing agency. One says 'partial' because to some degree these young women recognize the cultural scripts when 'doing' sexuality. Intrapsychic scripting involves an actor's motivation or desire as he/she internalizes the wider sexual meanings and develops a sexual 'career' by manipulating 'the resources and constraints provided by the surrounding culture' (Brickell, 2006, p. 95). An Intrapsychic script influences how gender roles, sexual fantasies and desires are produced at the individual level (Beres, 2013). As a researcher, I regard adolescent sexuality as involving all the three levels of scripting. Therefore, I used this conceptual tool to understand how changes from the individual, interactional, and cultural levels of sexual scripts might cause changes in sexual behaviours of female adolescents.

Notwithstanding that scripting theory offers limited explanation on how individuals acquire scripts, it is still a very useful approach for gaining insights into female adolescence sexuality and it formed a framework of analysis for research data in the current study.

3.5 A Sex-Positive Framework for Researching Adolescent Girls' Sexuality

As previously explained, most research on adolescent sexuality in sub-Saharan Africa is risk-based, presenting adolescent sexuality as a site of danger. Within the 'risk' framework, adolescent sexuality is discussed in terms of danger (disease & rape), fear and is typically considered as a sign of moral decadence in the hope that young people will be scared into abstaining from sexual activities. This medicalized and moralizing view which 'equates adolescent sexuality with a sickness best prevented' has been reinforced in the wake of the HIV-AIDS pandemic and shifts responsibility from the social system to individual female adolescents (Schalet, 2011:209 in Harden, 2014:456). The use of the 'sex-as-risk' perspective to explain adolescent sexuality is particularly problematic since it rarely considers issues of relationships, intimacy, desires and pleasure.

Unlike the 'sex-as-risk' perspective, which assumes an automatic connection between adolescents' sexuality and peril, the sex-positive framework sees consensual sex between young people as a normal part of their development and potentially healthy. Sex-positivity

does not assume that young people are free to always engage in sex or that gender inequality, which skews the notion of choice, does not exist. Rather, 'sexual abstinence is seen as one potential sexual choice that may (or may not) be the healthiest choice for an individual at a particular time' and that the development of a healthy sexuality is about more than simply avoiding unwanted consequences (Harden, 2014, p. 457). As earlier mentioned, this sex-positive approach is a reaction to the overly narrow and prescriptive stance taken in Tiv culture and in sex research in Nigeria. Adopting the sex-positive position, my study emphasizes meaningful interpersonal relationships, consent, agency and freedom (see domains in chapter two). These issues are considered in interpreting findings as they emerged from this study.

3.6 Summary of the Chapter

The theoretical lenses used in the interpretation of emerging findings in this study have been presented in this chapter. The study is appropriately viewed using the feminist theory of intersectionality in appreciating and understanding the sexual experiences of Tiv female adolescents within the contexts in which these occur. Using the intersectional approach, multi-layered and routinized forms of domination affecting the young women's sexual lives are traced to their intersection. I also draw from two social constructionist perspectives to look at girls' sexuality as a social product. Young women are seen to have socially and culturally constructed sexuality through their interactions with others in the society. In addition, the scripting theory is used to develop an in-depth understanding of how adolescent Tiv girls experience sexuality and enables an exploration of the socio-cultural contexts in which these experiences are embedded. This research also recognizes the normative dimension of adolescent sexuality through the sex-positive lens. The discussion of all aspects relating to the research methodology for this study is the focus of the next chapter.

Chapter Four

Methodology

4.1 Introduction

The previous chapter discusses how the chosen theoretical lenses guided data analysis for this study. The study has one broad objective which is to gain insights into the understandings of sexuality from the perspectives of adolescent females among the Tiv people in North Central Nigeria. The study aimed to explore the perspectives of young women on what it is like growing up in Tiv society especially as it relates to sexual development. The study also draws on the perspectives of Tiv parents based on my preliminary review of the literature, which identified the importance of the role of parents in developing the sexuality of adolescents. As is discussed below, a qualitative research approach was considered as most suitable for the current study.

The necessity of providing details of the methodology used in any research cannot be overemphasized. This chapter spells out in detail the chosen methodology for the current study, making the process as transparent as possible by showing how data generation and analysis were carried out. The epistemological stance used to frame the investigation is explicated and the rationale for using grounded theory and the reasons for choosing the approach over other qualitative research traditions are provided. I also review the basics of data collection and analysis in grounded theory. This chapter also provides details on methods of recruitment of participants, criteria of inclusion/exclusion, focus group discussion (FGD), individual interviews and Skype interviews. The data analysis processes, ethical issues considered and measures to ensure trustworthiness are also elucidated.

4.2 Epistemological Stance

The distinction between qualitative and quantitative approaches to social science research is in large part derived from epistemological issues, and the choice of research techniques is influenced by these issues (Bryman, 1984). One crucial decision I made was the use of a qualitative research approach which focused on 'depth' as against 'breadth' as is the case with quantitative inquiry. This current work is a qualitative study and aimed to produce findings

devoid of any form of statistical manipulation of variables. This is because a qualitative research with a degree of flexibility and methodological rigor is particularly well suited for the study of young women's sexuality (Tolman et al., 2005) as it has the potential to get to the heart of young people's experiences in a way that simply cannot be extrapolated through a more rigid research design (Tolman, et al. 2005). The study adopted grounded theory and did not intend to test any hypothesis but set out to see whether any theory would emerge to account for the research situation under investigation. The choice of research method used to frame this study is influenced by my constructionist worldview. One key contention of the constructionist argument is that reality is socially constructed by and between the individuals that experience it and that the person involved has the ability to interpret and make sense of his or her social world (Darlaston-Jones, 2007). There was a need to establish a high degree of trust between the researcher (a male) and the research participants (young females) in order to facilitate the sharing of information and the co-construction of meaning based on the young women's understanding and experience of their world (Berger & Luckmann, 1967; Charmaz, 2006). Trust between a researcher and the research participants is integral to the quality of the research findings in a qualitative study (Guillemin & Heggen, 2009). In the current study, I established sufficient trust by constantly reassuring the young women of the confidentiality and anonymity of their involvement in the research and this was formalised by using documented consent forms.

This current study adopts the version of grounded theory reconstructed by Strauss and Corbin (1990, 1998) which has as its key feature the detailed open, axial and selective coding procedures. While there are criticisms of Strauss and Corbin's version of GT as being too rigid, they contended that their procedures are flexible and aid the researcher to be creative. The study also aligns with Charmaz (2006), that researchers co-construct meaning as they interpret the responses of the respondents., while the present study is inspired and guided by Strauss and Corbin's and Charmaz's reconfigurations of grounded theory, I applied a non-partisan approach to applying GT, in order to avoid being shut off from alternative views (Birks & Mills, 2011).

4.3 Justification for using Grounded Theory Approach in the current Study

Grounded theory is often used to discover a theory that is understandable and fits the situation or phenomena under investigation (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). The following quote from Strauss and Corbin is useful in understanding when best to use grounded theory.

.... problem areas clearly suggest one form of research over another and that an investigator should be true to the problem at hand. ... If someone wants to know whether one drug is more effective than another, then a double-blind clinical trial is the appropriate approach. However, if a researcher is interested in knowing what it is like to be a participant in a drug study or in knowing some of the problems inherent in adhering to a very rigid drug protocol, then he or she might sensibly engage in grounded theory or another type of qualitative study. The main purpose of this form of qualitative research is to develop theory.

(Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 40)

This study turns a gaze toward the private and intimate worlds of adolescent girls with a view to understanding their experiences and concerns on a sensitive issue such as sexuality. With little research in Nigeria to draw from, the choice of grounded theory approach is most suitable. While other qualitative methods may also be suitable (such as narrative methods), grounded theory was particularly useful because it allowed me to develop the research methods based on the needs of the study. Indeed, in grounded theory studies, the research methods themselves become a part of the data. No other approach enables the data to drive the study in this way. I used focus groups to begin the study but deployed other data gathering techniques as suggested from the insights gained into the perspectives of the participants. This research was driven by the data in such a way that the final shape of the theory that emerged was most likely to provide a good fit to the situation (Dick, 2005). Like other qualitative methods, grounded theory is suitable for listening to the stories and voices of the target population to understand what adolescent females themselves know about, and how they view sexual development.

4.3.1 Comparing Grounded Theory with some other Qualitative Paradigms- further Reasons for adopting GT

This study could have adopted other qualitative methods like phenomenology and ethnography but decided otherwise because of the major goal of the research which was to see if a substantive theory would emerge to explain the phenomenon of interest. Phenomenology and ethnography are briefly discussed below to bring to fore the suitability of grounded theory for the current study.

Within phenomenology, the Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) is used as a qualitative research tool to discover the lived experiences of individuals and how they make sense of their lived world (Rubin & Babbie, 2001). The primary aim is to describe perceived phenomena. The research approach of phenomenology is most suitable for qualitative researchers who would like to understand and describe the lived experiences of subjects. However, phenomenology does not attempt to develop a substantive theory which makes the approach unsuitable for the current study.

The second approach, which I compare briefly with grounded theory, is ethnography, which is traditionally associated with studies conducted by anthropologists. Ethnography emphasize description rather than explanation and aims at developing a descriptive theory (Rubin & Babbie, 2001). Bernard (2000) however, believes that ethnography is also useful in 'emic explanations' of how certain things in life work (p.345). Grounded theory on the other hand is an 'inductive approach to understanding' (Rubin & Babbie, 2001, p. 392) and aims at developing a theory that is grounded in the data.

Moreover, GT has procedures that are well defined, rigorous and at the same time flexible to apply thereby aiding creativity. Furthermore, Coyne & Cowley (2006, p. 501) affirms that GT provides clear guidelines on how to analyse qualitative data and so is a rigorous method that provides structure and direction for the researcher. Therefore, when compared with other qualitative paradigms such as phenomenology and ethnography, grounded theory stands out as the most suitable approach for generating a theory that is grounded in the data, which given the dearth of research in this area, was an important goal of the study. Grounded theory guarantees the freedom and flexibility needed to let the research phenomenon speak for itself

and prevents the researcher from imposing his or her notion of what is most significant to the participants.

4.3.2 The Basics of Data Collection and Analysis in Grounded theory

In grounded theory research, data generation and analysis occur simultaneously. The researcher collects initial data from a purposive sample from the target population. Data generated from these initial encounters is coded and subsequently analysed before more data is collected (Birks & Mills, 2011). This exciting technique differentiates GT from other research designs where researchers collect and subsequently analyse their data to test existing theories. In the current study for example, data was collected from a sample of young women in the first instance. Subsequently, another form of purposive sampling known as *theoretical sampling*, which is an integral part of the data generation and analysis process, was used.

Theoretical sampling is a process whereby participants are selected based on the discretion of the researcher when pursuing issues that need further exploration or clarification as indicated by initial findings. Theoretical sampling provides a wider source of information-rich data (Birks & Mills, 2011, p. 11; Oktay, 2012). This process was used to discover additional properties and dimensions of a category. The analysis of the first focus group session informed what was examined in the next session and in subsequent ones. To achieve this, there was constant comparison between new results and initial findings.

The inductive nature of grounded theory is achieved only through successive comparative analysis (Birks & Mills, 2011). This involves the constant comparison of codes to codes, codes to categories, and categories to categories to help in identifying the core category. This process goes on until all parts fit together. The process can be aided through *memo* writing which is an ongoing activity in the GT research process. A *memo* is a note that a researcher writes to his or her self about certain ideas relating to a category or property, and about relationships between categories (Dick, 2005). All these depend largely on the researcher's *theoretical sensitivity*, which in my case, was informed by the theoretical perspectives outlined in chapter three.

Theoretical sensitivity means the level of insight into issues surrounding the phenomena of interest through previous reading and experience (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). In order to remain

as sensitive as possible, researchers using GT are expected to enter the field of inquiry with an open mind and for this reason many grounded theorists avoid becoming familiar with the literature until after data have been gathered and analysed. Other researchers using GT argue that some (minimal) engagement with the literature can take place in order to increase theoretical sensitivity (Charmaz, 2006). In this study I reviewed some literature in order to sharpen my awareness of the subject but did not undertake a full literature review so as not to impose a framework that might constrain the data. True to the principles of GT, I intended to remain as vigilant as possible in order not to be buried in the literature at the expense of the young women's concerns. I was aware however, that my level of theoretical sensitivity increased as I became immersed in the data through constant comparison (Birks & Mills, 2011).

At the core of the analytic procedures of grounded theory is coding. Grounded theorists use several coding techniques to examine respondents' accounts at different levels. Coding entails breaking up and conceptualizing the data and then reconstituting it in new ways by making connections between and within categories. It is the basis of theory building (Strauss & Corbin, 1990) and is the first step in analysing data, enabling the researcher to move from descriptive statements to more abstract interpretations of the data (Charmaz, 2006, p. 43). This study applied Strauss and Corbin's (1990) structured analytical guidelines using open, axial and theoretical coding. Data analysis began immediately after the first focus group; the transcript was read repeatedly to identify salient points, anything and everything that seemed potentially useful was coded. Further coding details for this study are given in section 4.4.3.1 below.

4.3.3 Memo writing in Grounded Theory Research

Memoing in grounded theory research involves the researcher conversing with him or herself, recording his or her thoughts, insights and ideas about the research process. These set of notes support the researcher during coding, developing categories, comparisons and making connections. Putting things in black and white enables the researcher to interrogate the data and the level of abstraction of ideas is increased. Memo-writing is not unique to this stage of data analysis, it occurs from data generation to theory development (Birks & Mills, 2011). For the current study, my use of memos commenced from the time of recruiting participants and

continues to data analysis. Memo writing kept me engaged as I dialogued with the data. Planned steps, relationship between concepts, analytical decisions and reflections about codes and categories were quickly jotted down. Ultimately, memos 'serve as catalysts in data generation and analysis, form the foundation of your [the] final theory, and provide substance for the written presentation of your [a] research' ibid (p. 41).

4.3.4 Criteria for Grounded Theory Studies

For a grounded theory study to make a valuable contribution to knowledge it must aim at certain criteria. According to Charmaz (2006), the following criteria need to be taken into account in evaluating any piece of work that uses grounded theory methodology. **Credibility**

Are data generated sufficient to merit the claims of the researcher?

Are there strong logical links between the gathered data and the argument made?

Do categories cover a wide range of empirical observations?

Has the research provided enough evidence for claims made to allow the reader to form an independent assessment?

a) Originality

Do the categories developed offer new insights?

Of what theoretical and social significance is the work?

How does the grounded theory challenge, extend, or refine current ideas, concepts and practices?

b) Resonance

Do categories portray the fullness of the studied experience?

Are taken-for-granted meanings revealed?

Does the grounded theory make sense to the research participants?

c) Usefulness

How does the work contribute to knowledge?

Does the analysis offer interpretations that people can use in their everyday worlds?

Can the analysis spark further research in other substantive area?

(Charmaz, 2006, pp. 182-183).

According to Charmaz, resonance and usefulness increase when originality and credibility are combined and when the above criteria are met, a study is said to have archived trustworthiness. I discuss how trustworthiness was achieved in the current study under section 4.6 below.

4.3.5 Limitations and Advantages of the Grounded Theory Methodology

Like any other research method, grounded theory (GT) has strengths and limitations. One merit of GT is that it can be applied in a wide range of disciplines. It is not limited to sociology or the social sciences but is also applied in legal studies, medicine and applied sciences. The flexibility of the approach enables the researcher to be creative and this is also seen as an advantage. Hussein, Hirst, Salyers, and Osuji (2014), noted that GT enables a researcher to creatively and inductively derive meaning from research data in order to come up with original findings. In essence, 'the generative nature of GT constantly opens up the mind of the analyst to a myriad of new possibilities' (Glaser 1978, quoted in Hussein et al, 2014. p.3).

Another often-stated advantage of GT is its systematic approach to data generation and analysis. Unlike other qualitative research methods that use 'broad principles' (Hussein et al., 2014, p. 4), GT 'uses a systematized set of procedures to develop and inductively derive (a substantive) GT about a phenomenon' (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p. 24). Charmaz (2006), echoed this notion as she confirmed that GT gives clear directions and provides 'explicit guidelines' for researchers to follow. The current study followed the methodological guidance of Strauss and Corbin (1990) and Charmaz (2006) to generate and analyse the focus group and interview data. Furthermore, the richness and depth of the data collected by grounded theorists is also a substantial advantage.

However, GT as a method of inquiry has been criticized for being unnecessarily lengthy and tiring; it makes use of small samples, is unpredictable with a high chance of methodological error and lacks generalizability (Hussein et al., 2014; Mitchell, 2014). It should be noted however, that these criticisms could apply to all qualitative methods. Also, given that GT language can be difficult to understand, novice researchers often struggle using the method (Coyne & Cowley, 2006). I agree that the language used in grounded theory is indeed esoteric.

Nevertheless, despite the criticisms, GT is a rigorous qualitative research method that provides clear guidelines for data generation and analysis. In the current study, the researcher made meticulous efforts to tackle the challenges of doing a grounded theory study.

4.4 Methods

This subsection discusses the practical procedures that I used to generate and analyse data for this thesis including sampling and recruitment, an overview of focus group discussions, individual interviews and information on data analysis (description of procedures) followed. I also discuss how ethical issues were considered and conclude the section with some reflections on research trustworthiness.

4.4.1 An overview of the Study design, Sampling and Data Collection

As stated earlier, this was a grounded theory study based on the assumption that the experiences and perceptions of adolescents are integral to understanding female adolescents' sexuality. My overall goal was to provide new understandings about adolescent girls' sexuality among Tiv young women and see if a theory would emerge to explain how sexual agency and expression are shaped by social and cultural circumstances. The study used focus groups and in-depth interviews to gather rich data from young women and parents. Grounded theory techniques: purposive sampling, theoretical sampling, and constant comparison were used, with data collection and analysis occurring simultaneously. Fifty-seven respondents participated in the current study, including 24 young women for focus group discussions, 20 parents for in-depth interviews and a further 13 female adolescents for Skype interviews. Audio recordings from focus group discussions and interviews were transcribed and transcripts were coded in three stages: open, axial and selective coding, and categories grounded in the data were developed. Details about the procedures and methods flagged in this overview are now given below.

4.4.2 Sampling

In this subsection, I discuss how research participants were accessed and recruited for the three strands of the research mentioned above: young women for focus group discussions; parents for interviews; and another set of female adolescents for Skype interviews. Given sexuality is a sensitive issue, I took precautions to minimize participant refusal rates, misunderstandings and social tensions (Izugbara, 2005b). My research used a purposive sampling technique as opposed to random or probability sampling and I relied on my judgement when choosing participants for the study. This is because I focused on saturation rather than maximising numbers and also because this study did not seek to make generalizations based on the findings, but rather to report on female adolescent sexuality within a specific cultural setting (Bhana, 2016; Bowen, 2005).

In terms of inclusion and exclusion criteria, the research included Tiv adolescent girls between the ages of 14 and 19 (years) resident in North Central Nigeria at the time of the study. Young women who were indigenes but grew up in other parts of Nigeria were not recruited. It was believed that adolescents in the age group would have experiences and concerns to share. On the part of parents, only Tiv parents who were resident in North Central Nigeria and currently bringing up a female child of at least 14 years at the time of the study or who had experience bringing up a daughter were included.

4.4.2.1 Recruiting Young Women for Focus Groups

Twenty-Four Tiv adolescent girls between the ages of 14 and 19 years residing in North Central Nigeria were enlisted for this first phase of the study. The participants were recruited by the researcher via the distribution of study fliers (see Appendix 1) to eligible girls by visiting their social clubs, popular cinema halls and graduation set meetings. No permission was needed to contact potential participants as young women were usually contacted after meetings. The recruitment process was not a straightforward one of just arranging a group discussion with young women who were willing to participate in the research. The process included two stages: contacting potential participants and getting the parents of those girls who accepted to participate to give their consent. I understood the implications of a male researcher

discussing a sensitive issue such as sexuality with young women without the knowledge and consent of their parents.

Turning the lens back to myself, I recognized that my social position might affect the recruitment process and indeed the participants. To manage this, I chose not to introduce myself as a university lecturer to potential participants. I would rather introduce myself simply as a research student from the United Kingdom. I was always mindful of my appearance and use of language. Indeed, I created a 'situational self' (Reinharz, 1997) as a friend to the participants. I assumed that my simple, pleasant appearance and friendly attitude towards the young women contributed to the success of the data collection phase of my study.

It was a pleasant surprise to note that the refusal rates at the stage of recruiting female adolescents were relatively low. One young woman asked me whether I was going to ask personal questions about sexual intercourse. Her initial hesitation was overcome when I assured her that I was not in any way going to ask her about her sexual life. Reasons for refusal to participate given by young women included: not wanting to talk about sexuality, too busy with domestic chores, and most commonly the feeling that parents would not be happy. The high acceptance rate suggests that young women were willing to take an opportunity for reflection on their sexuality which is not commonly available to them, 'either in research contexts or in the more natural settings of everyday life' (Oliveira, 2011, p. 4). This might be true, as during focus group discussions the young women felt free to share their ideas, experiences, and expressed their points of view about sexuality even though such discussions are considered a threat to integrity and a taboo in most African societies.

One major challenge I faced was obtaining the permission of parents for their daughters (especially female adolescents below the age of 16 years) to participate in the study. Some parents were reluctant to allow their daughters to be involved in the study. This was probably due to some parents' conservative and religious notions about sexuality and the fact that I was male. Soliciting consent from parents or guardians for conducting research with adolescents in Nigeria is both a legal and moral issue. I had my share of encounters with some unfriendly and/or overly inquisitive parents. Some parents asked personal questions about my family and marital life. I assume that this was their way of being assured that I was a responsible person and someone they could trust to spend time with their daughters. Some parents openly

expressed suspicions about my interest in the phenomenon under study. I was not discouraged by these comments and was able to successfully obtain permission from most parents I contacted. In fact, it took patience and diligence to navigate through the obstacles. Some participants agreed to join the study but could not be involved because their parents were not happy with the idea.

Those who were interested and ready to participate contacted the researcher and were told what was expected of them, which was to read the information sheet (see Appendix 3) and decide whether to take part in the study. For every 40 fliers distributed, at least 17 girls responded positively. However, not all who responded positively made it to scheduled group discussions probably because of a change of mind, lack of time or simply not being available on the day of the focus group. In anticipation of such development, I over-recruited participants for each focus group discussion. Literature regarding how to plan and organize focus groups suggests an over-recruitment rate of 20% (Morgan, 1997) and 50% (Wilkinson, 2004) of the total number of research participants required. Young women were given sufficient information to allow them to decide whether they wanted to participate in the study. They were asked to sign a consent form (see Appendix 5) as a clear evidence that they had given informed consent to participate in the research.

The Focus Groups

This study used four focus group discussions (FGD) to elicit data in the first instance. The unstructured approach which permits a participant-led discussion was used in order to obtain as much information as possible and to avoid forcing the girls into a preconceived response pattern (Fusilier & Durlabhji, 2001). This method of data collection allows respondents the freedom to fully discuss life experiences, making it suitable for grounded theory research. I analysed data after each focus group and the analysis informed the topics for later focus groups. Smithson (2008) points out that discussions within focus groups are socially constructed, and 'reality' is often collectively produced by the participants (as they share their views, ideas and experiences) and also by the researcher. The focus groups sessions were conducted by the researcher in English and lasted between 1 and 2 hours. Discussions centred on what it was like to be an adolescent woman in Tiv society. The sessions were audiotaped and transcribed verbatim, notes were also taken. Before each FGD session, participants were

given some time to interact informally and get to know each other. This “ice-breaking” is invaluable as it obviously relaxed the participants and fostered an atmosphere conducive to discussing sensitive issues (Powell & Single, 1996). Participants were encouraged to sit in a circle to ensure face to face contact. A female assistant was present in all focus group discussions for ethical and child protection reasons and to encourage young women to contribute to discussions. This gender sensitive approach was adopted considering my defining feature as a male researcher interviewing female participants.

Focus groups enable participants to develop ideas collectively and bring to the fore their own priorities and views, grounded in their actual experience and language (Du Bois, 1983 cited in Smithson, 2008). Focus group discussion provided direct access to the language and concepts that young women use to structure their concerns and talk about sexuality. Also, focus groups ‘replicate the same-sex’ and the ‘near-age-mate groupings that are common in Tiv society (Maticka-Tyndale et al., 2005, p. 30). I believed that young women who might have been reticent to speak one-on-one with me were more likely to be willing to participate in a group of their peers.

A suitable venue was chosen and agreed by upon participants for each focus group discussion. I had made an offer to help with cost of fares and snacks. I experienced challenges in having all participants seated by the agreed time for the commencement of discussions. It was common to have participants coming 30 minutes or an hour after the discussion had started. In all such instances, those who came late were politely not allowed to join the group but rather asked to turn up for the next focus group date. It was very difficult to keep participants who had arrived on time, waiting for others to turn up. I was able to re-schedule the few participants who could not wait on one occasion, but this resulted in the loss of some potential participants. This was particularly worrying because I had already given parents the likely time the discussions might end.

At the beginning of each focus group, participants were encouraged to participate actively while respecting the knowledge and opinions of co-participants. Concerned about how the cross-gender nature of the study might affect the group discussions, there were several strategies put in place to establish trust and ensure the success of data collection at this level. I reminded all participants that I was not going to ask them about their sexual behaviour nor

whether they were sexually active. Interestingly however, (although I did not ask for these) some participants gave personal details about their sexual lives. In addition, I was accompanied by a female assistant at each focus group to minimize the effect of the gendered dynamic of a male researcher interviewing young women about sexuality. I would say the presence of a female assistant helped in creating a trusting and comfortable atmosphere and therefore contributed to the production of some very interesting and relevant data. Also, my status as a 'cultural insider' (belonging to the Tiv community) helped me to gain more intimate insights into young women's perspectives and experiences.

As a moderator, I aimed at facilitating and keeping the discussion focussed rather than directing it. I was very happy to ask prompting questions on new issues of concern to participants. Young women were encouraged to talk to each other during discussions rather than just respond to questions from me. In all focus groups, participants appeared to be comfortable and could freely share their experiences and present their point of views. Throughout this phase of data collection, there were participants who seized the opportunity to vent emotions that were hitherto bottled. Young women shared detailed personal experiences and anecdotes regarding unintended pregnancies and the reactions of parents. From listening to the participants, I would say they were happy getting an opportunity of being listened to without judgement. The emotionally arousing experiences of some participants brought to me saddened memories of what some young women in my family who became pregnant unintentionally went through. I could understand their feelings and why they needed motivation and resiliency to overcome such situations more quickly.

At the end of each group discussions, the participants were asked to reflect upon their experiences of involvement in the research, talking about sexuality with a male researcher and in a group context. Participants highlighted that my building of rapport and friendly disposition during the recruitment phase and focus group sessions helped in developing a non-intimidating relationship between us. Also, some young women reported that they were encouraged to speak after listening to other group members speaking opening about sexuality. One participant said, "I found it very ok. Yeah, because you are friendly, and you said you are not like judging anyone... So, this is my first time, but I think it's cool". In response to the experience of talking about sexuality in a group, one young woman said "I was not sure of

talking when I was invited but when other girls got talking about the stuff I joined them” [laughing]. I was delighted and praised the young women for their willingness and courage to participate in the study. I would say my strategy of adopting a straightforward and open approach to the topic under consideration rather than treating it as a taboo helped to avoid potential embarrassment to the focus group members. I feel confident that I had understood what participants were telling me through the discussions and I was pleased with the extent to which the young women were able to share their experiences.

One obvious advantage of using focus groups, was the fact that I could observe participants’ body language and interaction on the topic of sexuality in a short span of time (Smithson, 2008). This method enabled me to gain some insights into participants’ views, collective ideas and opinions that might underpin their general attitudes to sexuality. Sensitive topics such as sexuality are often thought to be inappropriate for focus groups. However, this depends on the type of questions asked, the attitude of the researcher and the group dynamics (ibid). I carefully guarded against some of the limitations by facilitating a general discussion about sexuality rather than focusing on the individual experiences of the young women (Smithson, 2008, p. 360). At each FGD session, I made it clear to the young women that I was aware that same-sex intimacies between girls sometimes happen in Nigeria and that this is something they could talk about if they wished.

4.4.2.2 Recruiting Parents for Semi-Structured Interviews

The decision to interview parents was reached because having analysed the FG data, it became clear that though patriarchal values dominate Tiv families, the regulations and conformity of girls’ sexual behaviour is delegated to the mother. I was particularly interested in finding out the influence of patriarchal systems and the role of mothers in the regulation of girls’ sexuality. As discussed in the finding chapters, the role of the mothers in Tiv society is shown as contributing to the perpetuation of existing cultural norms concerning female sexuality.

The participants were recruited by the researcher via the word of mouth by visiting their community meetings, women’s association meetings, local ‘Bams’ (thrift and loans associations) meetings and contacting potential participants informally. No permission was

required from officials of these associations. Information sheets (see Appendix 8) were given to potential participants to enable them to make informed decisions whether to participate in the research. Purposive sampling technique (a process that deliberately recruits individuals with the requisite characteristics into the research) was used to recruit participants who met the criteria of being a Tiv parent resident in North Central Nigeria. Twenty parents were selected in all, 10 mothers and 10 fathers. The interviews with parents were not with parents of girls who participated in the focus group discussions, but a completely different set of parents. The researcher discussed the study, the venue of interview and what was expected of participants. To have a record of their consent, each parent was given two copies of a consent form (see Appendix 7) to print their name and sign. I retained one copy of the consent form signed by each participant. A very high proportion of parents (more than 70% of those contacted) responded to the invitation to take part in the study. The high response rate could be attributed to the interest/concern parents have regarding their daughters' sexuality.

Parents' Semi-Structured Interviews

To help me direct the discussion towards topics and issues of interest, I prepared and used interview guides (see Appendices 9 & 10). The interviews were also intended to aid and extend current understandings about the role of parents in the sexual development of their daughters, given this emerged as important in the FGs. As Rapley (2010) notes, 'interviews are, by their very nature, social encounters where speakers collaborate in producing retrospective (and prospective) accounts or versions of their past (or future) actions, experiences, feelings and thoughts' (p.16). I piloted the interview guide that I had prepared with four parents (two mothers and two fathers) to see whether the questions were appropriate and understood. This pre-testing exercise helped me to identify questions that were not quite clear to participants which led to modification of the interview guide. The revised questions were again pre-tested, and their appropriateness and comprehension was ascertained. I have chosen to write a reflexive account of my engagement with each group separately due to the unique experiences I had them.

Fathers

Although not all who accepted to participate were able to keep their appointment, recruiting fathers to take part in the research was less challenging. There was no incentive used to encourage them to participate. Some potential participants would ask so many questions, some of which were not related to the research. Even so, to build up a strong rapport with the interviewees, I tried to answer all questions with a friendly approach. I believe that my polite and respectful manner contributed to the successful recruitment and smooth interview process. In Tiv society, as elsewhere in Africa, a younger person is expected to be humble and show respect to an older person. This respect and humility could be shown through the way someone says something or through the body language displayed.

During interviews with fathers, I gained the distinct impression that most of the respondents would want me to agree with their perspectives. They would do this by asking me leading questions that demanded affirmation. In all such instances, I would not give an answer but rather remind respondents that my opinion was not important but theirs was. I was concerned with how my own subjectivity might affect the interview process and the data quality. I acknowledged that my personal feelings towards patriarchy generally and my opinion regarding the fathers' values and roles in the sexual socialization of children were there to influence the interview and data analysis processes. Therefore, it was incumbent upon me to take the right steps to minimize the impact of bias as much as possible.

At the beginning of each interview, I had to remind myself that I am not the fathers who are handling issues of sexual teaching in their family. I was only a researcher. I was very careful not to ask suggestive questions and would evaluate myself after each interview to ensure that I had not steered the responses of a participant in a particular manner or asked questions that communicated my personal opinions. As a GT study, the interview guide was very general, allowing data to emerge from the interviewees. By reflecting on an ongoing basis through the writing of field notes and analytical memos, I became aware of my potential biases and worked towards overcoming them.

Mothers

As mentioned earlier, in-depth individual interviews were conducted with 10 mothers at this phase of data collection. Mothers of young girls aged 14-19 years were recruited by directly approaching them. Like fathers, the process of recruiting mothers was not particularly difficult. The rapid response from the mothers I contacted suggests their interest in or eagerness to talk about their roles, experiences, challenges and concerns in educating daughters regarding sex and sexuality. Some of the mothers whom I approached had already experienced some sort of failure in getting their daughters to abstain from sex and were emotional in sharing such experiences during interviews.

Before each interview started I took my time to clearly explain the information sheet and informed consent form which were earlier sent out to all potential participants, assuring them of confidentiality and their full right to stop participating at any stage. I told mothers that this was my doctoral research and gave them some examples of likely questions I would ask during the interviews. Permission to get the interview audio recorded was also sought and obtained before the interview commenced. Researcher-participant interaction was respectful and cordial. Conducting interviews with mothers was quite interesting and provided the opportunity for me to get rich and detailed information about the topic.

It took interviewees no time to start discussing their personal experiences and perspectives. Given my feminist views in relation to sexuality, and my interest in positive sexuality development, I had to remind myself at the start of each interview to be careful not to ask leading questions but allow data to emerge from the mothers. The questions and prompts gave the respondents the opportunity to speak in detail about their roles in the development of female adolescent sexuality in a patriarchal-based society. Each woman I interviewed appeared to be comfortable talking to me. I felt like I was talking to my mother. This is because I could relate most of their experiences to what has happened in my family. I can say that all interviews were successfully completed.

One difficulty I encountered in interviewing mothers was how to arrange the time and day for them to be interviewed. During initial contacts and conversation, I would ask the mothers to tell me the preferred venue, timing and day they wished to be interviewed. All participants

preferred to be interviewed in their own homes. Even though choices about timing were discussed and a specific time agreed with each woman, a few mothers found it difficult to be at the interview venue on time due to their busy schedules. Sometimes I was frustrated by some mother's cancelling an interview just before the agreed time. However, this did not impact negatively on the overall interview process. In all cases there were cogent reasons given, and I am fortunate that interviews were rescheduled within a few days. I had to remind myself that mothers typically spend a lot of time doing unpaid (and sometimes unappreciated) domestic work. I would say that interviewing mothers was very different from interviewing fathers. Mothers appeared to be more enthusiastic about participating and provided more detailed information.

I transcribed and coded this second set of data. Emerging themes from the individual interview with parents were compared with those constructed from the initial set of data. This constant comparison of themes to previous data was aimed at identifying new insights, similarities, and any contradiction in perceptions.

4.4.2.3 Recruiting Young Women for Individual Skype Interviews

Participants were recruited from 'naturally occurring' clusters of young people (e.g. Church groups, community groups and social clubs), using my contacts within Church and community groups.⁵ (Churches in Nigeria often have youth groups). I provided flyers (see Appendix 2) and information leaflets (see Appendix 4). Young women who were interested in participating contacted me via the details on the information sheet (this meant that no-one in the Church or community group was aware of their participation, unless they chose to share this). Participants provided their email, phone contact and Skype address. Consent forms (see Appendix 6) were sent electronically and verbal consent was also accepted and recorded. The issue of consent is discussed in more detail below.

⁵ These are (peer) groups of young people of approximately the same age who face certain aspects of life at about the same time. The primary aim of these groups within the Tiv society is to assist each other on the farm during cropping seasons. Meetings are held periodically to discuss matters of interest to such groups.

The Skype Interviews

Individual Skype interviews using vignettes (see Appendix 11) were carried out with a new set of 13 young women to enhance the existing data. According to Jackson, Harrison, Swinburn, and Lawrence (2015), 'vignettes are used as a stimulus to generate a reaction, discussion, or opinion from participants and should resemble realistic situations' (p. 1398). In the third and final phase of data collection for this work, participants were invited to respond to some fictionalized scenarios drawing on their own experiences and perspectives. This research employed vignettes at this stage to enhance the existing data. As mentioned in chapter four, I constructed these short stories around actual experiences of young women within the study area as reported by participants during focus groups. The idea was to provide a less personal and therefore less threatening way of stimulating discussion, eliciting opinions and attitudes. The respondents at this stage were not aware that the stories were generated from real experiences reported by young women at the initial stage of data collection. To the present group of respondents, these were stories about some hypothetical young women. The short stories were simple and easy to understand.

Three vignettes were sent to each potential participant ahead of a scheduled interview. The idea here was to allow them enough time to get familiar with and reflect on the stories. Bloor and Wood (2006) defined vignettes as;

A technique used in structured and depth interviews as well as focus groups, providing sketches of fictional (or fictionalized) scenarios. The respondent is then invited to imagine, drawing on his or her own experience, how the central character in the scenario will behave. Vignettes thus collect situated data on group values, group beliefs and group norms of behaviour. While in structured interviews respondents must choose from a multiple-choice menu of possible answers to a vignette, as used in depth interviews and focus groups, vignettes act as a stimulus to extended discussion of the scenario in question. P183

The young women appeared to be at ease during interviews. It is interesting that in responding to these stories, most participants referred to either their personal lives or the lives of friends and other family members. Such instances were good opportunities for me to probe and get in-depth knowledge of their perspectives and opinions regarding sexual development. The vignettes were used successfully to encourage discussion, and most participants appeared to have

enjoyed the experience. In this study, vignettes were used in combination with Skype (audio only) in-depth interviews.

Communication technology was adopted at this phase to collect data. One of the reasons was because I did not want to limit my range of participants to those that I could physically meet for conversation. I was fortunate to have access to high-speed Internet most of the time. This digitally supported communicative option eliminated the need for participants to travel and provided a more convenient space for them to share their thoughts and opinions. Access to and initial contact with potential participants was achieved through face-to-face, phone and emails. Prior to taking Skype in-depth interviews, email exchanges took place at least once between me and potential interviewees. A consent form was sent to each participant and they were required to email back to indicate consent. Information sheets were also mailed electronically to young women that indicated interest to take part in the study, informing them of the nature of my research and their rights as participants.

After a participant's agreement to participate in the Skype interview, their Skype ID would be obtained and added to my calling list and then a mutually convenient date and time for the interview was agreed. About 48 hours before the agreed date, participants were contacted and reminded of the interview appointment. One major challenge for participants was to get a date and time when both parents were not at home. Though parents were aware of the interviews and had given their consent, young women understandably would not want any of their parents to listen to the discussions. This concern speaks to the young women's sense of privacy and offers important data for my study. Therefore, all interviews were conducted at each participant's home at her preferred time. All Skype interviews were recorded using a separate digital audio recorder. As agreed with the research participants, the Skype video function was turned off. All participants were fully aware that the interviews were being audio recorded.

During Skype interviews, I gained tremendous insight from listening carefully as young women responded to the short stories presented to them. This method proved to be productive for eliciting data on female adolescent sexuality in a somewhat sexually conservative society. The virtual space seemed to maximize privacy. Hiding behind the computer, participants were more relaxed and assured of confidentiality as most of them did not only share their opinions

about the characters in the vignettes but related the stories to their own personal sexual experiences. I was encouraged to probe into more depth by their openness about their sexuality. One of the participants said that the second vignette could have been about her sexual history while the third vignette reflected the experiences of her elder sister. Therefore, she ended up speaking openly about herself and the elder sister. The stories she related to me were not particularly shocking due to my being an insider researcher. What was interesting is the fact that she could share such experiences with a stranger. I could tell from her voice that she was overcome by emotions when sharing the stories. I was saddened that young women would have to go through experiences of sexual violence (see chapter 8) and still be afraid to speak out. I was, however, careful not to let her know how I felt.

If used appropriately, a digital-based interview method such as Skype is a convenient strategy for eliciting qualitative data. On one hand, it is relatively economical in respect of travelling costs. Also, it does not incur transportation time. I also enjoyed the flexibility offered by Skype in scheduling and rescheduling interviews with young women. On the other hand, using Skype does not give the researcher access to nonverbal language. I relied primarily on verbal cues such as inflexion. This was achieved by listening intently. Also, bad weather affected some of my Skype interviews. On two rainy days, the Skype connections performed abysmally, resulting in a rescheduling of two interviews. Again, poor audio quality in one of my interviews made transcribing it so strenuous. Overall, utilizing vignette and Skype to interview young women about sexuality was successful and it enhanced data richness of the study.

While I did not seek a representative sample (Grafström & Schelin, 2014) (see Appendix 13), my methods of recruitment led to a highly selected non-representative sample and this merits some discussion. The young women from the focus groups had more than the basic education⁶, and one might assume from the fact they were all either in college (or had finished), or in tertiary education, they were also most likely from families with at least average income and status. The young women interviewed individually represented greater educational diversity, but even among this group, more than half (8) were in higher education. The collective characteristic of the participants, especially their level of education, is likely to have had an influence on their perceptions and responses. This is an important point because education is

⁶ Basic education in Nigeria involves 6 years of primary school and 3 years of junior secondary school (college).

a factor in the achievement of women's rights and emancipation (Guvenen & Rendall, 2015; Rajan, 2011), and may reflect a greater level of agency and self-determination than had the sample been more diverse.

4.4.2.4 Triangulation and Rationale for Methods

To obtain complementary insights and understandings pertaining to the phenomenon of interest in this current research, I combined three data sources and three methods of gathering information (Bauwens, 2010; Yeasmin & Rahman, 2012). In doing this, the study gained 'as much detailed and multi-layered information as possible about' female adolescent sexuality in north central Nigeria (Bauwens, 2010, p. 41). This triangulation is represented in figure 4.1 below.

Regarding the rationale for using these methods, focus groups, for instance, are said to enable a researcher to gain a deeper knowledge about a topic. This is because group discussions are most likely to stimulate dynamic conversations among participants. In the context of my study, focus groups enabled young women to develop ideas collectively and bring to the fore views that were grounded in their actual experiences of sexuality in Tiv society. Individual interviews with parents on the other hand, were the best option for gathering data about parental perspective as they enabled me to follow up and probe interesting answers and comments. The rationale for Skype individual interviews was to offer young women a sense of freedom and anonymity. In other words, the idea was to provide a less personal and as such a less threatening way of stimulation discussion, eliciting opinions and attitudes concerning their sexuality.

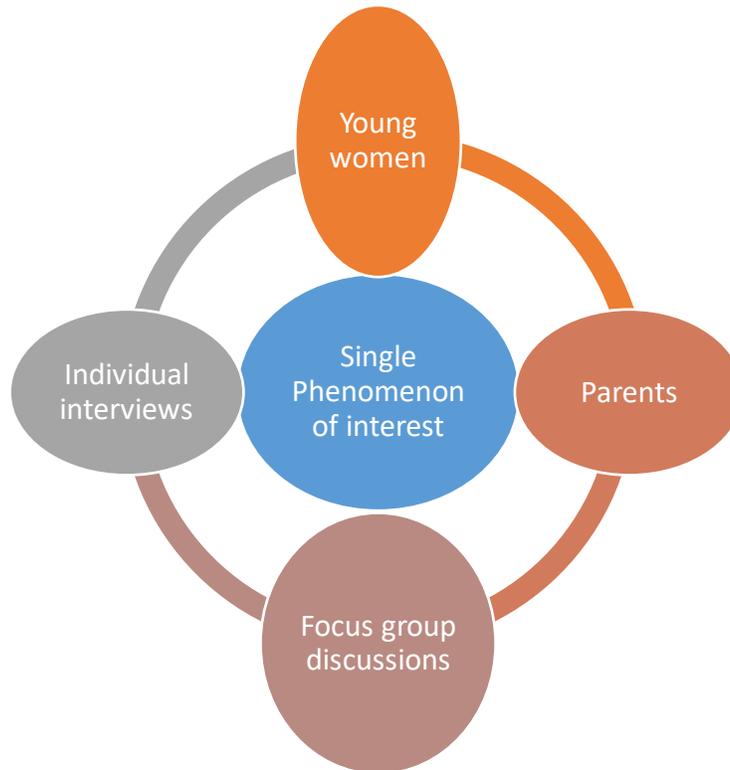


Figure 4.1 Representation of triangulation of data sources and methods

In social science research, the use of some form of triangulation in studying the same phenomenon is judged to be a useful and acceptable practice (Yeasmin & Rahman, 2012). This valuable approach no doubt increases the credibility of results and strengthens the researcher's faith in having uncovered salient issues. I believe using triangulation enhanced the quality of my data, minimized possible bias and as such maximised the trustworthiness of my findings.

4.4.2.5 The Issue of Saturation

In grounded theory, the researcher is supposed to keep collecting and analysing data until all categories are saturated (Charmaz, 2006). In the context of the present study, saturation was achieved when I felt that gathering fresh data was no longer adding new insights to the phenomenon of interest.

4.4.3 Data Analysis and Interpretation

The preceding subsection discussed triangulation and how the study benefitted from the approach. This subsection discusses how data were analysed using the coding guidelines set

out by Strauss and Corbin (1990). The data were deconstructed and reconstructed using a constant comparative strategy. Focus group and interview recordings were transcribed verbatim and transcripts were checked, read and re-read before coding the data (Coyne & Cowley, 2006). All the interviews and focus groups were transcribed by the researcher to ensure confidentiality. At different stages in the process of data analysis, the researcher wrote memos to 'interrogate' and capture new developments in the data (Birks & Mills, 2011, p. 40).

Essentially, data collection and analysis are done simultaneously in GT studies. Also, each set of data (interview or focus group) is supposed to be analysed before conducting the next session, but this was not always possible. In such instances, I would listen to the audio recordings, make notes and highlight any striking issues before conducting the next interview (Coyne & Cowley, 2006). At another stage, using axial coding, I grouped the open codes into abstract categories and identified their properties and dimensions. This enabled me to be open to all possibilities within my data. As additional data were collected, and analysis continued, I placed the links and relationships between concepts identified during axial coding into an analytical frame to enhance their abstraction. In the following subsection, I describe the process of open, axial and selective coding as used in the current study.

4.4.3.1 Coding Procedures

The analytical process in GT research starts with open coding. This is synonymous with Charmaz's (2006) 'initial' coding. Open coding is a reflexive and practical process of breaking down the data, examining it and making comparisons, naming concepts and categories (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). I used open coding here to see what was happening in the data, by fracturing it into small portions which could then be reconstructed to discern any theoretical possibilities (Charmaz, 2006).

Coding is part work, but it is also part play. We play with the ideas we gain from the data. We become involved with our data and learn from them. [.....] Coding is that first part of the adventure that enables you to make the leap from concrete events and descriptions of them to theoretical insights and theoretical possibilities. Grounded theory coding is more than a way of sifting, sorting, and synthesizing data, as is the usual purpose of qualitative coding. Instead, grounded theory coding begins to unify ideas analytically because you kept in mind what the possible theoretical meaning of your data and codes might be (Charmaz, 2006 p70-71).

I began the process of labelling and forming initial minor conceptual categories (these were recorded into one file) by listening to the audio files from the focus group discussions and individual interviews repeatedly and asking questions to develop a broader picture of the data. The breaking down of data into discrete parts at the initial stage of line-by-line coding reduces the likelihood that researchers' preconceived notions and ideas would be imposed on the data (Charmaz, 2006).

For Glaser (1978) and Strauss and Corbin (1990), axial coding follows on from open coding. It is similar to 'intermediate coding' (Birks & Mills, 2011) and Charmaz's (2006) 'focused coding'. During axial coding, data fractured during open coding are reconstructed in new ways by making connections between identified categories and subsequently developing the main categories (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). This coding process is termed 'axial' because at this stage coding usually takes place around the 'axis' of identified categories (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Categories are simply themes or variables which make analytical sense of the information provided by respondents (Dick, 2005)

At the selective coding stage, coding was done at a higher level of abstraction. Selective coding is defined as the process of identifying the core category and relating it to the other categories that need to be further refined and developed (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). During selective coding, grounded theorists develop a narrative (storyline) of the study by integrating identified categories (Mitchell, 2014). Figure 4.2 below represents the coding procedures used in this study.

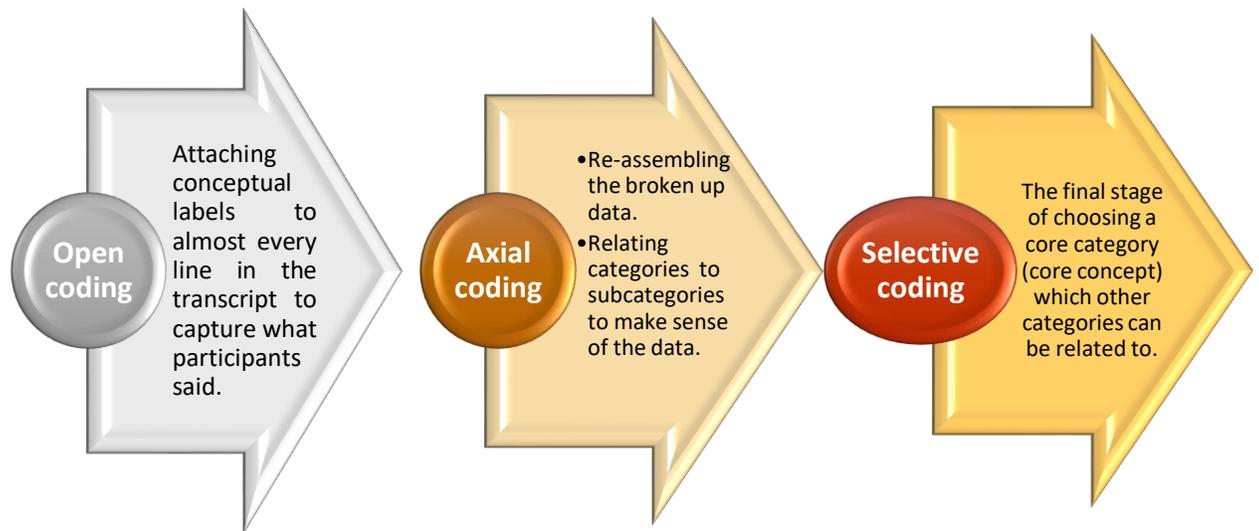


Figure 4.2 An illustration of the coding procedures

The entire processes of data collection and analysis generated feelings of anxiety, nervousness, excitement and buoyant optimism. Some aspects of these stages were somewhat exhausting mentally and physically. I was a bit anxious at the point of preparation for data collection. My anxiety arose not actually about the process itself but about the fact that I would be going away for several months leaving behind my little son and my wife who was pregnant at the time. Secondly, I was anxious about my first experience with independently gathering qualitative data. During data collection however, I experienced fewer challenges than I thought I would. Participants were successfully recruited without too much difficulty. Participants at each stage of the process were willing to discuss about the phenomenon under study. At this point, I became excited and optimistic about the success of my fieldwork. I think the data gathering was successful as I was not only able to obtain valuable information from the participants, but also felt more confident about completing the entire research process. The process of data analysis which went on simultaneously with data collection enabled me to develop a contextualised in-depth knowledge about the realities of female adolescents' sexuality in Tiv society.

4.5 Research Ethics in Action

In this section I discuss the ethical considerations during the period of conducting this current research. Ethical questions are often raised when doing fieldwork with human beings. I have taken ethical implications seriously and understand that doing research on a sensitive topic like sexuality can be challenging. The first crucial thing I did in the process of preparing for fieldwork was to submit an ethics application to the University of Huddersfield School of Human and Health Sciences Research Ethics Panel (SREP) for consideration. In addition, I prepared and submitted another ethics application to the Ministry of Health, Benue State, Nigeria. The applications were approved and permission granted to commence fieldwork. Copies of the applications can be found in the appendices. There are basic ethical principles that should form a part of any rigorous research and be adhered to by all researchers. The following ethical considerations were outlined in the applications:

- Permissions for the study – Institutional approval.
- Finding participants, which included informed consent.
- Responsibility.
- Confidentiality.
- Anonymity.
- Psychological support for participants.
- Risk analysis and management assessment.
- Impact of the research on participants.
- Use of a female assistant.

The decision to use of a female assistant during focus groups discussions was crucial. I am a male and given the sensitive nature of the topic and in order to make the participants comfortable to contribute to group discussions, I recruited a female research assistant who was present in all focus group sessions. Details of the research were made known to the research assistant and she was briefed about her role. The presence of this female assistant seemed to have encouraged young women to communicate openly during focus group discussions.

Full ethical approval was granted by SREP on 12th March 2015. Following a request by the researcher, a revision to recruit and conduct individual interviews with parents was approved on 27th July 2015. The Ethics panel approved yet another revision to my study to enable me recruit and conduct individual Skype interviews with young women using vignettes on 15th December 2015. All research materials; consent forms, information sheets, interview schedules and vignettes were prepared by me and examined by the Research Ethics Panel. Further discussion on ethical issues appears below.

4.5.1 Informed Consent

Informed and participative consent is the core of standardized ethics procedures in doing research with human participants (Daniel & Baskin, 2013; Miller & Boulton, 2007). In order to reduce coercion, prevent deception, ensure the credibility of a research study, it is imperative to give potential participants sufficient information about the purpose, methods, rationale, benefits and potential risks of the research to enable them to make decision whether to participate in the study or not (Tai, 2012).

To obtain voluntary consent, no pressure in any form was placed on any prospective participant to participate in the research. The consent of the adolescents and their parents was sought in writing and obtained. The consent form contained details of the study and was dated and signed by participants and/or their parents and the researcher. Consent forms and information sheets were available in English (which is widely spoken and universally understood among the Tiv people), however additional information was provided in the Tiv language where this was deemed appropriate. I went through the consent forms on an individual basis, and stressed participants' right to withdraw at any time and to see transcripts of their interviews if they so wished. Rather than assuming that consent is a one-off event, participants were asked if they were still happy to participate at the beginning of each focus group and interview session. In the case of participants aged 16 years and younger, even when they gave written consent, as was made clear from the onset, written or verbal consent was also obtained from their parents or guardians.

To get the girls to understand the nature of the study and to feel free to talk, I began the process with 'initial meetings' or telephone conversations. The first informal encounters were

instituted with the hope of giving both the participants and I an opportunity to get to know one another and to ask and answer questions with a view to promoting voluntary informed consent (Robertson, 2000). The local language (Tiv) was sometimes used to ensure that potential participants developed an adequate understanding of what it would mean for them to take part in the research. All potential participants were also given the opportunity to ask questions. Negotiation of informed consent continued during group discussions. It was also made known to the girls that taking part in the study was voluntary and that they were free to withdraw at any time without having to give reasons or explanation to the researcher.

In the case of prospective participants for Skype interviews, young women were asked to email the signed consent back to the researcher as proof of their consent. Also, they were asked on the day of interview to indicate verbally (this was audio recorded) if they were satisfied that they understood what their involvement in the research entailed and were happy to take part in the study.

Concerning individual interviews with parents, rapport and consent were also sought with the parents who indicated their interest to take part in the in-depth interviews. I provided prospective respondents with information sheets and followed up with informal meetings and telephone conversations. I explained to the parents (as to all the other participants) that the study was for academic purposes and that the researcher would not in any way question or judge their views and attitudes. All parents who were willing to take part in the research signed the consent form.

4.5.2 Confidentiality and Anonymity

In line with standardized ethical practice, it is a necessary duty of the researcher to protect all human research participants. One essential facet of such protection is confidentiality which has to do with a researcher's responsibility to safeguard all data collected for the purpose of a research study (O'Hara & Neutel, 2002). During 'initial meetings' and before each focus group and interview session, I gave all the participants the assurance that all discussions transcripts and audio-recordings would only be accessible to me. Further to this, I made it known to each of my respondents that they could request that the audio recorder be switched off and they could take a break at any time during the interview.

All interviews were conducted in a venue agreed upon by the researcher and the participants. The researcher was responsible for all travel expenses of the respondents. However, where respondents felt safer to be interviewed at other venues, their request was granted provided the integrity of social science research was not compromised.

Anonymity means that the names of participants are not revealed in the research process. To respect this ethical principle, all of the participants' names and other demographic variables (such as date of birth and locations) that might have threatened anonymity were changed. To facilitate a more engaging and participatory approach, young women were asked to choose their own pseudonyms and these were used in reporting the 'voices' of the participants ensuring the protection of identity. In the case of Skype individual interviews, the video was turned off. Obviously, this provided a less personal and therefore less threatening way of eliciting information from the interviewees.

In the present study, the ethical principle of assuring the confidentiality of all the information gathered during the study placed me in a dilemma. Before the commencement of data collection, young women were assured that all discussions would be treated with strict confidence, and that all their interview transcripts and audio-recordings would only be accessible to me. However, as a 'duty of care', young women were told that in case of disclosure of (sexual) abuse, coercion or threat of harm concerning any of them, the matter would be reported to the Social Welfare Department (SWD) under the Ministry of Women's Affairs and Social Development in Benue State for appropriate action. Making support available to young women who might have experienced abuse or, were at risk of harm was an essential part of my ethical obligation. I informed the participants about the available services provided by the counselling unit of SWD and other non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in the study area. Evidence from my data suggests however that some young women were not willing to use such services. For instance, Hope (a participant) revealed a case of violence and abuse perpetrated by her mother and her fiancé. Hope advised the researcher against reporting this issue to an appropriate agency for intervention. She later sought the intervention of a Catholic priest.

4.6 Ensuring Research Trustworthiness

It is indeed the responsibility of any researcher to demonstrate the trustworthiness of their research in order to convince the research audience (reader) to have faith and confidence in the methods used and the results of the investigation (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). This means that qualitative investigators (and indeed all researchers) are expected to make their procedures as transparent and explicit as possible to enable the reader to appraise the appropriateness of the findings (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). However, rather than relying on the reader as a sole judge of rigour and quality, through the process of reflection and self-evaluation, the researcher should also become the critic of their own work.

Strauss and Corbin (1990), identified three basic issues involved in judging quality in a GT research. Firstly, the validity, reliability, and credibility of the data should be carefully judged. Secondly, the adequacy of procedures followed should be appraised and tested. Thirdly, the extent to which the findings are grounded in the reality of the phenomenon under investigation should be judged. The ability of a reader to accurately and fairly judge the rigour of a GT study will depend largely on his or her understanding of the language of the methodology and/or position (epistemological position) on the qualitative/quantitative debate for assessing trustworthiness.

Generally, many writers within the positivist tradition are reluctant to appreciate that qualitative research is trustworthy as well. This is probably because their criteria of validity, reliability, objectivity and generalizability are not used and addressed in the same manner in qualitative research (Shenton, 2004). Nevertheless, some qualitative writers often question the quantitative standards (“scientific canons”) of judging quality, describing same as “quite inappropriate to qualitative studies” (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p. 249). Using the same yardstick for both quantitative and qualitative research is indeed problematic. In reaction, Guba (1981) proposes four criteria that qualitative investigators can consider in establishing trustworthiness. Guba’s criteria aligns with those employed by empiricist writers: credibility to the empiricist concept of internal validity; transferability to the external validity/generalizability; dependability to reliability and conformability to objectivity (Shenton, 2004). These criteria are considered below in detail and I also describe the strategies I employed to meet them.

4.6.1 Credibility and Transferability

Within the scientific/positivist paradigm, one key criterion is internal validity which has to do with the extent to which research measures what it was intended to measure. The naturalist's equivalent concept is credibility which is a key factor in reaching for trustworthiness. Credibility has to do with the extent to which the research findings reflect the reality of the participants. It must be noted however, that a qualitative investigator cannot reasonably establish the credibility of the findings but can only demonstrate their efforts to promote confidence in the results (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). As such, efforts were made to ensure the accuracy of the results.

The data generated for this study was grounded in the perspectives of the participants and accurately recorded. I ensured that focus groups and interview sessions comprised only of persons who were genuinely willing to participate. All participants were encouraged to be frank and freely share their experiences (Shenton, 2004). As a "unique interpreter" of the ensuing data, I ensured that the interpretations remained grounded in the participants' 'voices' (Sinkovics & Alfoldi, 2012, p. 818) by using transcripts, memos and field notes to develop categories. Also, verbatim quotes from the data are used to support the discussion of the results.

Another tactic employed to enhance credibility was the holding of collaborative sessions with supervisors. Through such meetings, my ideas were tested, and my vision broadened as supervisors offer useful suggestions and directives based on their experiences and expertise. After scrutiny, supervisors would offer feedback to draw attention to flaws and challenge certain interpretations (Shenton, 2004). This peer reviewing (scrutiny) was used over the duration of the study to ensure credibility.

During data collection, the researcher used different data collection strategies to elicit information from different data sources on the same phenomenon. By this triangulation method, the researcher was able to obtain different perspectives on the phenomenon of interest and got a better view of the reality of the young women's sexuality in Tiv society (Dervin, 1983; cited in Shenton, 2004). Triangulation enables an investigator to have more

confidence in the results obtained as it has been argued that social realities are better grasped using multiple methods of investigation (Yeasmin & Rahman, 2012). Triangulation is another way in which the trustworthiness of my study is enhanced.

Whereas positivist researchers rely on external validity/generalizability to demonstrate that the results of one study can be used to explain a similar phenomenon in other populations and contexts (Shenton, 2004), qualitative researchers are concerned with what Lincoln and Guba (1985) refer to as transferability in pursuit of the trustworthiness of a study. Transferability has to do with how applicable the findings of a given study are to other situations, contexts, populations and studies (Bowen, 2005). In this sense, it means the prospect of applying the conclusions drawn from my study to other settings with similar populations in Nigeria and indeed other African societies. To enable the readers of the thesis to determine how far they can confidently transfer the findings and conclusions to similar populations in other settings, a thick description⁷ is provided. Detailed accounts given above include the sociocultural setting, the number and characteristics of participants, the methods of data collection and the period of data collection to assist the reader to evaluate the extent to which the findings and conclusions presented are transferable to other people and settings. With such 'thick' descriptions, it is believed that other researchers can apply the issues emerging from this study to other, similar contexts.

4.6.2 Dependability and Confirmability

To establish dependability, the processes (methodology and methods) within my study have been carefully reported in detail, thereby allowing any future researcher to replicate the work in the same or similar context. Such in-depth chronology of the research methodology also enables the reader to assess the extent to which findings and conclusions are supported by the research data (Shenton, 2004). I have also provided a detail reflexive account of my role in data collection which allows the readers to consider how this might possibly influence the data collection process and findings. Also, the audit trail (i.e. the description of steps

⁷ The term thick description means giving sufficient account of the phenomenon under investigation. It allows a reader to form a better understanding of a phenomenon (Kharel, 2015; Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

taken in this work from the start to the reporting of findings) was examined by the supervisors of this research.

One of the criteria employed by positivist researchers to establish research trustworthiness is objectivity which addresses the issue that research findings should not be shaped by the researcher's preconceived beliefs, personal emotions or biases (Elliot, Fairweather, Olsen, & Pampaka, 2016). The qualitative researcher's equivalent concept is confirmability which is concerned with the issue that the findings of any research study reflect the lived experiences of the participants, and not the preconceived notions of the researcher (Shenton, 2004, p. 72). This is aimed at achieving a high degree of neutrality. For my study, I used multiple data sources, methods and theoretical perspectives (triangulation) to produce a robust account of the phenomenon under investigation. Additionally, the detailed reflexive account (see chapter nine) and methodological description would allow the readers of this thesis to appreciate how subjectivity was managed.

4.7 Summary of the Chapter

In this chapter, I have given detailed aspects of the methodology and methods used in generating data. I have provided justification for choosing grounded theory over other qualitative approaches. The chapter has also described how participants were recruited; sampling strategies; data collection procedures, and the procedures followed in analysing the data. The chapter detailed the ethical issues in doing research with human participants and demonstrated how ethical principles were applied and finally issues of credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability are described.

The entire processes of data collection and analysis generated feelings of anxiety, nervousness, excitement and buoyant optimism. Some aspects of these stages were somewhat exhausting mentally and physically. During data collection however, I experienced fewer challenges than I thought I would. Participants were successfully recruited without too much difficulty. Participants at each stage of the process were willing to discuss about the phenomenon under study. At this point, I became excited and optimistic about the success of my fieldwork. I think

the data gathering was successful as I was not only able to obtain valuable information from the participants, but also felt more confident about completing the entire research process. The process of data analysis which went on simultaneously with data collection enabled me to develop a contextualised in-depth knowledge about the realities of female adolescents' sexuality in Tiv society.

Part Two

Findings, Discussion and Conclusions

Chapter Five

Introduction to Findings

5.1 An Overview of the Finding Chapters

This thesis has sought to understand the realities of female adolescents' lives in the arena of sexuality in Tiv society. The research allowed female adolescents the space to talk about their sexuality and for an unrelated group of parents to talk about their role in the sexual education of their daughters. In the preceding part of the thesis, I presented the general background to this study, reviewed the extant research literature and considered all aspects relating to the research methodology and methods. This second part of the thesis presents the findings in relation to the wider literature on the topic. In this current qualitative study which aims to provide new understanding about adolescent girls' sexuality in Nigeria, I used grounded theory (an inductive research method with procedural flexibility) as my methodological approach (Glaser, 2005; Lo, 2016; Pérez, Mubanga, Aznar, & Bagnol, 2015) and in line with this, literature is treated as another form of data.

Three methods were used to elicit data for the study. Firstly, I conducted focus group discussions with 24 young women to explore their views about being an adolescent girl in Tiv society. I have tried not to adopt or reproduce the participants' views as my own but rather to interpret them (I provide a description of the theoretical positions that informed my interpretative framework later in this introductory chapter). Findings indicate that freedom to express sexuality is inextricably connected to the sociocultural context and patriarchal values of the society in which they live and as these values are transmitted and enforced by parents, parents have some key roles in regulating and controlling sexual freedoms.

Secondly, to explore these further, in-depth interviews were conducted with 20 parents. The findings from these interviews provided an expanded view of parental restrictions, the role of patriarchy and matriarchy from the perspectives of parents and the wider Tiv culture. It is worthy of note that this is a study of girl's experiences in which the views of parents emerged early on as essential to understanding the role of patriarchy and matriarchy in shaping social behaviours and expectations. This decision to include parents, made during the initial phase of

data collection and analysis reflects a process of 'theoretical sampling' and aligns with my grounded theory approach. Young women's accounts during focus group discussions demonstrated that their sexual lives were shaped by their parents (especially mothers) and using an individualistic approach which disregards the parents who have considerable influence on the sexuality of this group would not have been a useful approach. Data from the parents that participated in this research indicate trends and practices that are symptomatic of the broader cultural discourse of adolescent female sexuality in the study area. For Tiv parents, sex is seen as a possible site of danger for their daughters. To explore how female adolescents view, negotiate and manage this 'site of danger', additional data were gathered.

The last data set was obtained from in-depth individual Skype interviews with another set of 13 female adolescents. The participants were recruited from 'naturally occurring' social groups (Afifi, Hutchinson, & Krouse, 2006; Brown, 2015b) such as Church youth groups, and community age groups. This method gives insights into Tiv girls' attitudes to social and cultural constraints and explores opinions and coping strategies employed by these young women as they navigated and negotiated the physical, symbolic and moral boundaries in relation to their sexuality. The chapter in which these findings are written also maps how young women carefully 'present self'⁸, amidst negative stereotypes and stigma, in a strong bid to deflect blame and judgement (Ellis-Sloan, 2014).

As explained in detail in chapter 4, vignettes (hypothetical short scenarios) were used to interview the participants at this stage. These vignettes were based on actual experiences of young women as reported in the first method (focus group discussion). However, to the interviewees these scenarios were hypothetical, and their responses yielded interesting data. The rationale for adopting vignettes was to encourage participants to talk by providing them with a scenario they could relate to their personal life stories or those of other female adolescents around them. This research tool helped the researcher gain insights into the participants' frame of reference, beliefs, attitudes, perceptions and, elicited their views on action they anticipated they might take in such a situation (Jenkins, Bloor, Fischer, Berney, & Neale, 2010; Magin, Joyce, Levi, & Lasserson, 2017). These methods are all parts of a whole

⁸ This has to do with how young women consciously use language during interviews to negotiate and shape their image, and avoid affirming any 'bad girl' label (Grauel, 2016; Kapidzic & Herring, 2015).

and it is important that the reader does not gain the impression that I am treating them as discrete and separate studies. The data I have collected raise some important and interesting questions regarding female adolescents' sexuality. I do not in any way imply that the views of participants in this study are representative of all Tiv girls and parents, but they provide unique insights and enable me to share with the reader some of the 'voices' of Tiv female adolescents and parents regarding the sexuality of girls.

There are several voices that collectively contributed to this study: my own voice (the interpretation I brought to the data); that of the parents; a voice from young women; and of course, another voice from the literature. As a researcher, I was mindful that the study was about young women and created a space for them to give voice to their experiences. Overall, these different voices synergistically contributed to the findings of this research.

The focus for analysis in this study is the 'constrained sexuality'⁹ of young women (Bayer, Tsui, & Hindin, 2010). The findings of the research are divided into two chapters (chapters 6 & 7). Each of these chapters provides the grounded realities of female adolescents' sexual development. The two chapters reflect the three data sets, and together paint a general picture of young Tiv women's sexual world (illustrated in Figure 0.1 below). The social and cultural settings and expectations that mediate Nigerian adolescent girls' sexuality are explored. As a grounded theory study, I present the findings and discussions as inter-related facets of the research process, using direct quotations from the data to support the analysis. Information is presented thematically for deeper insights (Floersch, Longhofer, Kranke, & Townsend, 2010).

Chapter 6 is concerned with looking at how 'agents' impose restrictions (boundaries) on young women's involvement in sexual activity. The main focus of this chapter is to explore and understand the social and cultural dynamics and contexts of Tiv female adolescents' sexuality. The chapter highlights how Tiv young women interpret the sociocultural restrictions that they face in the area of sexuality, and also interrogates the role of parents in relation to female adolescents' sexual development. Agency is highlighted as a key issue – how much agency do

⁹ In other words, the 'bounded sexuality' of female adolescents (Evans, 2007). The concept of 'constrained sexuality' is used here to mean how young women's sexual life is positioned in relation to socio-cultural and parental expectations regarding their 'body'.

young women have, and how do they exercise it – choosing to engage in sexual behaviours or not, as wished? The notion of agency and the lack of it thereof, is woven throughout my analysis of the three data sets (see figure 5.1 below), raising questions about the (sexual) agency of adolescent females and their mothers.

The second findings chapter (chapter 7) provides a nuanced understanding of how young women navigate boundaries that constrained sexual expression within their social milieu. Insights into girls' attitudes to sex, opinions and coping strategies are presented. The finding chapters reflect two core emerging themes. The findings presented in these chapters emerged by extensively working on the transcripts using the methods detailed in Chapter four. Several themes came out of the analysis of focus group discussions, individual interviews with parents and Skype interviews with young women, and the reading of these reflected the social and cultural dynamics and contexts of the Tiv female adolescents' sexuality. These two chapters are parts of a whole and together explore how young women's sexuality is expressed, controlled, constrained and negotiated.

As young women negotiate their sexuality within a highly patriarchal social setting, exercising (sexual) agency is a 'constrained choice' (Bayer et al., 2010, p. 771). There are various forms of sexual agency: 'bargaining and negotiation, deception and manipulation, subversion and resistance' (Kabeer 1999, p. 438 cited in Skafté & Silberschmidt, 2013). To better capture the dynamism, differential salience and complexity of the sociocultural landscape that female adolescents navigate, exercising agency is discussed in forms that include but are not limited to confidence and attempts to express sexuality in behaviour, power relations in intimate relationships and decision-making power (Averett et al., 2008; Skafté & Silberschmidt, 2013; Tolman, Anderson, & Kimberly, 2015). In other words, the term sexual agency is used to refer to processes where young adolescent girls become sexually active and the strategies, actions, and negotiations they utilise in maintaining relationships and navigating broader social expectations. From this perspective, I view sexual agency as a matter of degrees, and a continuous developmental process rather than 'all-or-none'. Agency is discussed in this research as a continuum and not an absolute threshold that once reached can be labelled agentic. In this current work, I use the term agency to mean young women's ability and/or attempt to craft their sexual lives in a culture that restricts girls' sexuality for fear of pregnancy,

disease, religion/moral and general cultural expectations. Young women's sexual expressions and navigations discussed in this study might be considered as examples of 'agency within bounds' influenced by patriarchy and sexual double standards; not given, but rather a product of negotiation and struggle (Weeks, 2003).

Chapter eight is the discussion and conclusion of the thesis. This chapter reflects critically on the present research process and reviews the major findings in relation to relevant published scholarship. This chapters also provided some reflections on the research journey and summarises the contribution to knowledge that the study makes.

Chapter Six

The Boundaries on Female Adolescents' Sexuality

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents an analysis of the findings concerning imposed boundaries that exert considerable influence on young women's sexual behaviour. In this first of the two finding chapters, I focus on how boundaries are produced, reproduced and explore the role of social and cultural context in the development of young women's sexuality. I considered sexuality in the broader sense of the concept: one's sexual orientation and beliefs, sexual intimacy and behaviour, kissing, hugging, gender role, and how we think and feel as sexual beings (Bayer et al., 2010). My definition of sexuality also includes the ways in which social norms, attitudes acceptable to the society, religion, family, age, media and peers affects the individual sexual self. I use intersectionality theory to map the ways in which these dynamics shape the sexual experiences of Tiv girls.

The term, *boundaries* is used to capture the lines drawn by social and cultural expectations and, parents' restrictive attitudes towards sexual activity. Young women across focus groups and Skype interviews were highly concerned with the repressing constraints and challenges associated with sexuality and relationships. The notion of boundaries is a very useful metaphor for x-raying how sociocultural, gender and religious scripts play out on the sexuality of young women. In this sense, boundaries are often imposed on young people by their parents/society and could be ignored or respected. This means that people have different reactions to boundaries, which might be punished or rewarded. I conceptualize the origins of these boundaries as a 'matrix of agents' influencing female adolescents' experiences of their sexuality. Some of the themes generated during data analysis show the influence of these contexts.

Throughout the data, restrictive voices from the family, organized religions, and the society were clear. Through these contexts, female adolescents' sexuality is scripted. Boundaries drawn during sexual socialization (or sexual scripting¹⁰) do not target only young women's

¹⁰ "sexual scripting is the process of developing frameworks that adolescents use to organize and process their sexual experiences" (Moses & Kelly, 2016, p. 64).

bodies but also their minds. It is interesting to note that boundaries on female adolescents' sexuality affect their sexual subjectivity.

These contexts might exist in isolation or work collectively to impact young women's experiences and behaviours in relation to sexuality. While the three contexts identified here overlap in their influence on young women, I highlight these sources (which are woven in the themes discussed below) as distinct in order to illustrate how different contexts are important in understanding how female adolescents' sexuality is constrained and shaped (Tolman & McClelland, 2011). I argue that the combination of these voices produces a unique and multi-layered kind of sexual subjugation. The following themes are discussed in this chapter: 1) regulating adolescent females' sexuality, 2) relationships, 3) discussing sexuality with children, 4) situating girls' sexuality within the discourse of shame and 5) despising the shame.

6.2 Regulating Adolescent Females' Sexuality

This theme relates to the young women's perceptions and experiences of how prescriptive the Tiv culture tends to be when it comes to the sexuality of girls. Traditional sexual scripts are gendered, giving the males freedom to experiment with sex while encouraging the females to abstain till marriage (Ragnarsson, Onya, Thorson, Ekström, & Aarø, 2008). Young women described the role of parents in perpetuating existing prescriptive sexual scripts. All participants were either living with both parents or at least one parent, and therefore their accounts reflect their own experiences within the community and family contexts. Four subthemes associated with this theme were identified: 1) Silencing discussions about sex, 2) Creating a climate of fear, 3) The boundary line of virginity and 4) Parenting approach (harsher discipline). I discuss these subthemes below.

6.2.1 Silencing Discussion about Sex

The study found that cultural silence surrounds sexual matters in the study area. During focus group discussions and individual interviews, it became clear that girls' sexuality in Tiv society is subjugated even at the level of talking about it. Young women grow up consuming culturally mediated sexual scripts that tend to expunge sex, or anything close to it, from things they talk about. This appears to have a significant effect on how Tiv girls make sense of their sexual

world. Young women in my study recalled how they had learned from their parents and community at an early age to maintain 'sealed lips' on issues relating to sex and sexuality:

I grew up in an environment knowing that if a girl talks about anything concerning sexuality she is seen as being wayward, as being spoilt and all that, but going to school, socializing and meeting with people, I got to know that yes this is what we should... these are things that concerns us the girls or concerns us as humans, so why not? We should be open and free to talk about them. However, in the family I cannot talk [...] any issue relating to sex I can talk to my sisters but not my Dad or Mum because of the way they will even perceive it. They will see it as something very odd and abnormal; that is how they perceive it. **(Deona FG)**

My brothers too talk about sex openly when our parents are not in the house because for them (parents) it is a dirty talk and religion forbids it, so we are only free to talk when they are away [.....] my parents, especially my mother doesn't want to hear anybody discuss about anything related to sex, especially amongst us the girls. For her, it is taboo, if I may put it that way, and that is against her religion. **(Vera FG)**

On a similar note, a participant in one of the individual interviews had this to say:

What I think is responsible for that [adolescents' ignorance] is this idea of us not talking about it [sex]. Our parents always warn us not to 'talk dirty'. It is something I grew to know that talking about sex is bad. My mother once told us that only the children of the devil discuss sex. She said one must keep his or her mouth holy. But now... for me I discuss with my friends but would not want her to know anyway. I think the talking should not be a problem but the doing it [sexual intercourse]. **(Ruth, IDI)**

It is interesting, however, that young women do talk about issues of sex even when this is clearly not expected. Vera in the quote above recalled how children could talk about sex in their parents' absence. What this means is that young people keep secret their sexual lives from their parents (this is expounded in chapter 7 below). This also suggests that some adolescents do not share similar attitudes to sex with their parents.

Participants' accounts of their experiences within the community and family contexts indicated that free circulation of sex speech is prohibited. Evidence from the data shows that children and adolescents generally are socialized against discussing sex. Young women described how they experience a sense of shame when they attempt to ask parents questions relating to their sexuality. From the young women's accounts, it appeared that Tiv parents tend to expect and encourage a 'muting' approach to sex-talk.

Restrictive attitudes regarding girls' discussion about sex permeate the data from parents. It was a general opinion expressed by most parents that sex talk is not worthwhile for female adolescents and must be silenced:

It is really not good to allow sex to preoccupy their minds. I mean, to be honest, if they sit around and just talk about it [sex] then they are going to end up engaging in sex sooner. **(Kwadoose, mother IDI)**

Most parents were against young women talking about sex due to the fear that this might trigger sexual feelings and their daughters might end up engaging in premarital sex. This suggests that female adolescents are expected to be ignorant about sex. Mothers exert considerable pressure on female adolescents to live their lives as 'good¹¹' girls and it was considered a sign of waywardness for a female adolescent to talk about sexuality. This social expectation is often carried over into parent-children communication about sex and sexuality, where parents expect their children only to listen and obey instructions. This is likely to close off meaningful dialogue and prevents the transfer of sexual knowledge that could translate to healthy sexuality development. Some young women took a counter stance, expressing dissatisfaction with the way they were socialized. Consider the words of Jane, who reported being raised up in a home which she describes as a "shut up don't ask" home:

My family is like a 'shut up don't ask' home. We especially the girls are expected to only obey instructions. You dare not talk about sex. Imagine my mother will turn off the TV if much is being said about sex. But the thing is, she is not always at home, so [laughing]. I don't think I will raise my own daughters the same way when I become a mother someday. Yes, differently. **(Jane FG)**

What is interesting about Jane's stance as was the case with other young women is that, it suggests a possible future change of approach to sexually socializing the girl child. However, young women might not understand how complex women's sexuality could be in a patriarchal society. As noted by Van Ness, Miller, Negash, and Morgan (2017), different voices (family, society and religion) intersect and influence women's sexuality generally and female adolescent sexuality in particular. For example, most parents interviewed could reference religious ideals as one abstract principle propelling them to provide moral prescripts to their daughters about sexuality:

¹¹ A 'good' girl is one that is controllable, demure, follows sexual cultural norms religiously and is ignorant of sex, that is, she does not engage in sexual activities.

[...] see, because of my religion... when you are emphasizing sex it looks as if you are exposing them too early to what they don't know. Sex education is not encouraged in our religion and I also have this psychological barrier that, wait a minute, I'm sometimes thinking that if I talk to them and don't scare them, it will rather expose them, and they would want to experiment. To me, my daughter needs to be holy and as a parent I just must be careful what we might intentionally or unintentionally expose them to. Yes, am serious about that... why should I do it? Because of modernization? Oh no, not me with my moral background. **(Kasen, mother IDI)**

Open discussion about sex especially by adolescents is considered alien and a sign of a society that is morally bankrupt. The inculcation of moral rectitude is unsurprisingly gendered. Parents tend to have different attitudes towards boys' sexuality as illustrated by these quotes:

See, boys and girls are not same. Personally, I am stricter with the girls because they can get pregnant. I am not saying we should allow our sons to do whatever they want but the girls must avoid men. What I teach my daughters is to say NO to the men, they should have the confidence and power to say, "I don't want and I am not going to sleep with you". **(Nguher, mother IDI)**

Yes, there are differences because you see when I'm telling my daughters to live a sex free life it is because the consequences of engaging in sexual intercourse are more for the girls. For example, once a girl allows a man to take away her virginity it is noticeable but for a boy nobody will know. There is nothing naturally to indicate that a boy is not a virgin. So, I caution the girls more than the boys. Another thing is that the girls are more vulnerable to all these sexually transmitted infections. All these are just for the girls to be safe. **(Doo-Kasen, mother IDI)**

Several studies have indicated that existing social norms regarding the sexuality of women promote double standards and silence (Jackson & Cram, 2003; Tiffany, 2011; Van Ness et al., 2017). Within the Tiv society for instance, males enjoy the liberty to discuss sex without any social repercussion. A phrase in Vera's and Jane's accounts above reads "especially us the girls" and "especially the girls" respectively, which supports the notion of sexual double standards. Although adolescent males may be prohibited from discussing sex openly in the presence of their parents, the findings suggest that females are more prone to such inhibitions. There are several reasons why it is considered important to repress sexual discussion among female adolescents. Firstly, silencing sexual-related discussion is considered as one of the ways to ensure adolescent female's morality and discourage their interest in sexual activities. This suggests a reinforcement of the ideal of female purity and virginity in line with traditional moral attitudes. This is discussed in chapter eight. Secondly, parents consider sexuality as an 'adult thing' and expect young (unmarried) people to stay away from it. Adolescents' talking openly about sex

is considered socially unacceptable and 'dirty'. This reflects the Tiv society's conservative moral stance on youth sexuality. Over all, religious, cultural and moral sensibilities constrain adolescents from openly talking about sex and sexuality (Jones, 2009, p. 294).

6.2.2 Creating a Climate of Fear

Young women in this current study reported that they were inundated with negative rhetoric of their sexuality. The society and parents socially construct conception of fear for female adolescents through socialization. This means that fear is "made", promoted and manipulated by parents in their everyday interactions with their children, and by the society through socio-cultural norms that influence the way adolescent girls express themselves sexually. Communications with young girls often focus on the adverse outcomes of sexual intercourse and assume the form of warnings and threats, understandably aiming at protecting daughters from the dangers inherent in sexual activities (pregnancy and sexually transmitted infections). This creates an environment perceived fear for girls. These perceptions of fear are then exploited by the social system in order to control young women's sexuality. The following excerpts illustrate this:

That is what our parents do. They try to create fears in the child more than educating a child and they tend to control your movement. For them, that is the best way [...]. So, I think the way the parents try to like to educate us is not really encouraging. **(Praise FG)**

Yeah.... personal experience my Dad... it's so different because, my Dad, there is a way he normally talks to me, he will just say '*if a guy touches you, you will be pregnant*' [...]. And he will say once I am pregnant he will just take me to the river Benue and throw me there for a big Fish to swallow me¹². That was his own aspect.... But it was not really it [true] so I would just be careful. **(Pat FG)**

The way our parents educate us about sex is rather... I don't, because when I was coming up my Dad will say '*if you... any time you get pregnant I will just kill you*'; I will be like is that it? But when I grew up more than that and get to know some things and started communicating with my peers and came to know a lot of things about sexuality I was like ah this is how my parents were supposed to even educate me about these things. **(Judith FG)**

¹² This statement gives insight into the extend parents go to construct fear in order to keep their daughters compliant in fear of the consequences. It should be noted however, that Pat's father might have exaggerated the likely consequence of unmarried unintended pregnancy.

It is clear, that Tiv parents often convey the message that sex is a site of danger to evoke the state of fear in their daughters. This climate of sex-based fear could cause some young women to construct a negative view of sexuality. This finding concurs with research conducted in South Africa (Lesch & Kruger, 2005), where mothers use scare tactics to discourage their daughters from engaging in sexual activities, and Canada, (Shoveller et al., 2004), where shame and fear affected young women's sexuality development. Girls who internalize parental restrictive messages early on might tend to see sex as a dangerous activity. Participants also reported the fear of rejection by parents and being judged by a society that reacts to female sexual activity differently to that of males. Within the Tiv society, females are judged harshly for expressing their sexuality. Although most young women in this study were concerned about their reputation and that of their families, they also complained about the cultural norms and societal stereotypes that marginalized their sexuality:

As it is now we only have vague ideas about... like the methods of birth control and stuffs like that. This is not good enough; things just have to change for good. They (parents) only create fear in us, I don't like it. **(Kash, IDI)**

The fact that one could be ridiculed, and all that makes some of us to be careful. But I think there should be a sort of freedom. The restrictions are too much especially for us girls. We should be allowed to have a life of our own. I don't think that is asking for too much. **(Ene, FG)**

From Ene's account and others, young women seemed to have acknowledged that crossing sexual boundaries risked judgement and social repercussions, yet they were driven by the desire for sexual autonomy. What this suggests is that there is a strong feeling of physical and emotional dissatisfaction among Tiv female adolescents regarding the sociocultural restrictions on their sexual lives.

Religious perspectives about non-marital sexual activity also contribute to creating an environment of fear. Religion provided a set of rules and expectations surrounding sexual behaviour. Participants' perception of premarital sexual intercourse was found to be influenced by their religious faith or orientation. This was especially pronounced among girls from faith-based organizations (some girls were recruited via religious-based organizations), where moral issues are linked to getting a reward in the 'afterlife'. The following excerpts show how religion is factored into attitudes and beliefs about sex out-of-wedlock:

I always regret after doing it [sex] even up till now. Even if I do it willingly I still regret it. Am always having that conscience knowing fully way that it is a sin, and the bible say the wages of sin is death. I am a Catholic and I know much about the commandments so when I relate it with that I always feel bad even though I do it. **(Judith, FG)**

Apart from sexually transmitted infections and pregnancy, I also talk to them about what is preached in church. One can teach the girls how to prevent disease and pregnancy, but I can't tell God not to punish them for the sin. Sex outside of proper marriage is a dirty sin. It is an unholy act and a serious evil in the sight of God. So why should I allow them to miss heaven for what they can wait. As a good mother I tell them all these and the pastors tell them too. **(Shanpepe, mother IDI)**

[...] The thing is, when you think about the fact that you might not get to heaven because of it [sex] it makes one kind of scary you know? **(Sonia, IDI)**

Researcher: Does that stop you from engaging in any form of sexual activity?

Hmmm, not really. Or let me say not always because sometimes I'm just carried away and it just happened. And after that, because biblically it is wrong, so you are just worried and afraid for your life. **(Sonia, IDI)**

The excerpts above suggest that religiosity influences the sexual development of young women in Tiv society by creating a fear of punishment from a supernatural being (God). Though religion provides certain prescriptions for boundary-crossing, findings suggest that this does not prevent some adherents from crossing the boundaries. However, as the accounts above make clear, religious adherents tend to have negative emotions when they express their sexuality. This is evident in Judith's account where she reported feeling bad after engaging in sexual intercourse. As young women internalize religious messages, they begin by 'holding themselves'¹³ and restraining from sexual activities. However, at a certain point they 'break away'¹⁴ by engaging in sex. Their self-expression is nevertheless followed by a strong feeling of guilt, fear and regret. The origin of such emotional fallout seems to be from messages provided by the religious community and parents endorsing abstinence and stressing the need for young girls to delay sexual activity till marriage. Internalising guilt and fear might cause young women to develop a distorted sexual self-esteem and play a destructive role in their development of a healthy sexuality.

¹³ Abstaining from sex

¹⁴ Deviating or crossing boundaries set by the society.

6.2.3 The Boundary line of Virginity

Feminine virginity is equated with virtue and pride within the Tiv culture. However, safeguarding virginity seems to be more about upholding the authority and status of the patriarch as head of household than respecting the sexual authority of young women. Situating one's self as a virgin is a means to achieving other aims such as respect, dignity and social approval (Rasmussen, 2015). This influences young women's understanding of virginity and their interpretation of virginity loss. It emerged from the current study that a girl's virginity is not just her own 'property'. Indeed, her virginity belongs to her family, and by extension the immediate community. Within this context, it is believed that the loss of virginity could only occur through first penile-vaginal sex. This research approaches the notion of virginity as socially constructed, that is, as imbued with meaning that is shaped by sociocultural and religious forces (Carpenter, 2011) and through which, the concept of 'loss' reflects its objectification.

Young women described their subjective experiences when they 'lost' their virginity:

[.....] Our society too is highly against it ... Like me.... I wish I could bring back time but it's not really there (I can't do that) So, when you sell your pride to a man... [You lose your pride] the bible says that there is second virginity but second virginity means making your way right with God. It's not as if you will make love then it will seal back. Yes, it will come back but not as normal as it was so I think.... since you making love and it will not go back as normal. I feel bad. Yes, I do. **(Pat FG)**

Like many other young women in this study, Pat framed virginity as a girl's virtue and respect, and constructed virginity loss as giving away one's pride and a source of shame. This way of framing virginity and interpreting virginity loss within the Tiv society is scripted. By drawing on the cultural notions that losing one's virginity is disgraceful to the young woman and her family, young women expressed feelings of guilt and regret. One of the participants painted a more nuanced and complex picture of the concept of virginity loss:

For us, like me, the first time [first sexual intercourse] ... there are so many things, the pain and even emotionally you are down sort of. I mean something is taken out of my body, and I am no longer complete maybe or something like that you know? It's like a sacrifice, I gave out something, but he (the male partner) did not... so I lose. There is no way I could take it back. **(Mavis FG)**

In her account, Mavis constructed virginity loss as a profound physical and emotional loss. She frames virginity loss as making a sacrifice. This suggests that girls who lose their virginity tend to risk moral and social judgment. Given that within this cultural climate, teenage girls' sexual pleasure is most likely to be subsumed, Mavis, like other participants, felt that losing one's virginity meant giving out something one cannot take back thereby leaving the young woman emotionally disappointed and unfulfilled. This suggests that sexual scripts at the level of cultural scenarios inform interpersonal scripts which in turn shape sexual scripts at the intrapsychic level (Smith, 2012). Given that a cultural moral discourse within the Tiv society equates premarital virginity loss as a loss of purity, the loss of virginity is viewed as "giving something away" rather than the gaining of sexual pleasure. There is a sense of losing a "good girl" position in one's community (Delgado-Infante & Ofreneo, 2014, p. 1).

Not unlike other sub-Saharan Africa cultures, the Tiv of central Nigeria does not acknowledge male virginity or virginity loss for males. This shows evidence that sexual double standards exist in traditional Tiv society and seem to influence young women's sexuality development. Within such a patriarchal climate, female virginity loss outside of marriage is framed as a loss of dignity and innocence. Growing up, teenage girls consume the discourse of virginity loss taking place outside the context of marriage as sinful, shameful, and an "onset of moral corruption" (Carpenter, 2001, p. 128). Learning to make sense of and how to express their sexuality is a fundamental part of the process of bringing up children, especially girls in Tiv society. This includes learning to be a 'good girl' which entails being chaste and feminine. These cultural scripts tend to subdue female adolescents' sexual feelings and agency and can leave them ill-equipped to handle their sexuality later in life. Adolescents are embedded within the family context with parents as social gatekeepers.

Most of the mothers interviewed in this study emphasized the importance of keeping one's virginity. It is considered the responsibility of the young women to ensure and protect their virginity and save themselves for marriage:

I discourage pre-marital sex in total, why should they do that? No child can give me any good reason why they should have sex before marriage. Regarding virginity, I tell the girls to keep their pride. It is a thing of... a shame for them to take away their virginity. I often tell my daughters not to give themselves to even their fiancé so that the man will be eager to marry them to see what is there. I also tell them to dress decently

covering all parts of their body. Girls are supposed to preserve themselves for their future husband. When you marry as a virgin there is respect and trust from the husband and the love will increase. **(Kwasemase, mother IDI)**

There is no good reason why adolescents should have sex before marriage especially the girls. Girls should keep their virginity. For the boys they may be overlooked and taking that they are experimenting. That is why some parents will allow their sons to bring a girl in the house. For me, because of the word of God I think the boys too should not be allowed to have sex before marriage. I think virginity is the girls pride and prove that she can be trusted. **(Nguher, mother IDI)**

What the above excerpts illustrate is that mothers seek to maintain the myth of the symbolic hymen in order to fulfil the Tiv expectations of what it is to be a good Tiv woman and preserve the prize of virginity as a male reward. Kwasemase's account, for example, suggests firstly that adolescents are asexual thereby denying their sexual desire. She constructed the breaking of the hymen as a source of shame and a sign of irresponsibility on the part of the female adolescent. Interestingly, young women's refusal to engage in sexual activity is seen as a way of compelling men to marry. This suggests that men have uncontrollable sexual desires that women can take advantage of and it reproduces the traditional sexual script, which suggests that men always strive to get sex, and that it is the responsibility of young women to say no. Kwasemase also suggests that marrying as a virgin could earn the young women respect and trust from the husband. In this sense, girls are expected to be passive sexual objects. Nguher also linked virginity to respectability and shows how it supports the notion of sexual double standard, as there is no mention of male virginity.

If one considers the notion of virginity using the theoretical framework that I draw from, the following understandings can be derived. Set within a context of patriarchal domination in which women (including their bodies and sexuality) are regulated by males, the state of virginity is imbued with specific meaning. This meaning occurs through a process which privileges those most invested in sustaining patriarchal power – men. In this social constructionist view, one can regard the hymen as metaphor for the 'flag' of authority over the woman and a boundary not to be crossed except in negotiations over the transfer of 'territorial rights' to other men (marriage and bride price). Virginity is not the woman's to give – it is the man's to take; but only when permission is given according to the social rules of Tiv society. Religious discourses of sin and morality and traditional cultural rituals that reify the

breaking of the hymen are key factors in shaping and sustaining these rules. If a male 'takes' a woman's virginity outside of these rules, for example in cases of rape and coercion, it appears from the findings, that it is the woman who is blamed for this. An example from the data gives an insight:

[...] My first experience was like..... It was on Valentine's Day and this guy said he had a gift for me but it was in his room. So, when I went to collect he shut his door and started touching me [long pause] **(Comfort FG)**

Researcher: so did you scream?

No, I did not scream [long pause] because I was afraid the neighbours might hear and report to my parents and I will be in another trouble because they would ask me 'what took you to his room?' That was my first sexual experience, I was saying no, no, no, but he would not listen. After everything I was just crying [...] **(Comfort FG)**

Comfort had not reported her near rape experience during her first-time penetrative sexual encounter because her parents would blame and punish her (see chapter seven). This suggests that though she may be considered as holding no ownership over her own sexuality, she is still its guardian. This discussion reveals the extent to which the female body is objectified in Tiv culture. The values, behaviours and expectations that underpin the process of objectification are all a part of the sexual scripts that the young women in the study were required to comply with. For example, during interview with mothers, Doo-Kasen like many other mothers reported telling their daughters to dress properly and say no to sexual advances from men. However, there were many instances in which young women attempted to subvert the script and, in some cases, even indicated that when they were mothers, they would seek to re-write the script. Though patriarchal societies limit women's access to power, both the adolescent girls and the parents confirmed that reinforcing these sexual scripts was the domain of the mother. The young women therefore anticipated that motherhood would give them the opportunity to do things differently.

6.2.4 Parenting Approach

Mothers in this research move to regulate their daughters' sexuality with 'strict protective supervision'¹⁵. Parents are said to become 'unfriendly' and turn to introduce corporal

¹⁵ The phrase 'strict protective supervision' refers to the way parents restrict where their daughters socialise and/or impose curfews to reduce the risk of them engaging in pre-marital sexual relationships.

punishment if these boundaries are crossed by the young women. The following accounts by Comfort and Hope further provided insights into this:

My experience is almost..... I don't find it funny staying at home with my parents, especially my Mum because she is too hostile, and she doesn't even want me to make friends with even girlfriends. Her expectation for me to grow up to be a good girl is too much for me. Even when you want to attend a wedding, for instance, she will make phone calls to know when the ceremony will start and then give you time to be back. Sometimes, I feel I don't even have a life of my own.... and that is why we start [pause]; some girls start having sex just to taste freedom. My experience with my Mum is so tough. **(Comfort FG).**

.....My mother is a kind of woman that...., to her, she worships God so much, and since I was born, she has never called me to give a word of advice which I have always complained about. She will never allow you to have any visitor. She is always suspecting us the girls, and if you are sent to buy something, and you spend up to an hour, you will miss food that day. My experience with my parents is just too difficult, and the pressure and expectation on me to be a good girl is too much, and it is through violence. **(Hope FG).**

In these excerpts, a common feeling is expressed by the young women. Young women felt their mothers were being overly-constraining, and were oblivious of their needs for sexual independence. This finding accounts for the lack of mutual negotiation during parent-child sexual communication. Parental strategies for ensuring compliance breeds discord and alienates young women as they attempt to come to terms with their broader social contexts and sexuality. This may have contributed to some of the girls feeling that they don't have a life of their own as expressed by Comfort in the excerpt above (*"sometimes I feel I don't even have a life of my own"*). Young women who consistently feel repressed might consider going against traditional sexual mores. Consider the following words:

My parents make it difficult for us to associate with other people. The monitoring is too much. We are like in a tall fence and I will jump the fence soon. **(Lystra FG).**

Lystra (the youngest participant in the focus group) used the metaphor of a tall fence to depict the level and manner of parental control on young women. Young women view the role of their parents as over policing their sexuality. This view influenced young women's perception of the situation and, in turn, appeared to influence how they negotiate to disentangle from it. Jumping the fence as used by Lystra could mean risking her relationship with her mother by

engaging in sexual activities, suggesting a 'thin agency'¹⁶. All the participants in this focus group, nodded in affirmation of Lystra's decision to take ownership of her sexuality. Within such a troubled context concerning sexual agency (Smith, 2012), young women's involvement in any form of sexual behaviour is in direct conflict with socio-cultural and parental expectations.

Conflict between young women and parents is not necessarily dysfunctional, but in this study the young women felt subjugated, and as they attempted to manoeuvre within the constraints placed on their sexualities, they often felt vulnerable and alone. When adolescent girls fail to meet expectations, mothers respond with physical force. Most Tiv-parents are generally authoritative, and corporal punishment is common-place. In a non-Western society such as Nigeria, corporal punishment is a common way of correcting children who behave in an unacceptable manner. Young women in this current study, however, felt corporal punishment was not necessary and some participants had a different view regarding rearing children, especially concerning sexuality. For example, Hope, who perceived her mother to be quarrelsome and hostile said:

My mother will not call you for advice, her own is shouting, beating and calling you all sort of names like 'ashawo' [slut]. Me..... I know one day I will be a mother and what I am planning is to use peaceful ways to talk to my children. **(Hope FG)**

From the perspective of interviewed mothers, corporal punishment was a suitable disciplinary strategy and was not seen as a kind of abuse.

I often tell them the benefits of being good children. If doing that peacefully failed, then I resort to beating and other punishments to compel them. Whipping a child shows that you love him or her and just want him/her to be a better person. That is how I see the whole thing. **(Mauya, mother IDI)**

The predominant view among female adolescents in this study was that mothers are generally harsh, overly strict, tough and unfriendly. Participants recalled with dissatisfaction how parents generally are more cordial and less strict with the male children. This could create a hostile environment. Hope (18 years) expressed feelings of alienation and anxiety in her family. Hope grew up in a polygamous family structure where the education of the girl child was not a priority as her parents preferred to send the boys to school. This development had a negative

¹⁶ As parents exerts policing power over their daughters, their agency is limited (thin). This is because decisions concerning their sexuality are carried out within a restrictive familial context (Jensen, 2014).

impact on her sense of herself as a young woman. Generally, research has found that there is high gender inequality in education in Northern Nigeria (Lincove, 2009; Nmadu et al., 2010). Although most young women in focus groups believed that it was a good idea for parents to monitor and set boundaries for them, they however, decried the harsher disciplinary measures by their parents. For example:

.....like my brothers can go out and come back when they want, although he (father) will tell them 'don't be coming back at this time'. But coming to us the ladies, you can't even go out to buy something, she (mother) will ask you to send your younger ones..... do you understand? The method my mother uses in controlling us the girls is not friendly. I wish she could call us to like tell us where we are wrong but she will stand outside and start shouting for everybody to hear. **(Vera FG)**

Vera wished communicating with her mother was collaborative, gentle and peaceful. The effectiveness of the message transferred by parents is likely to be affected by the method or style of communication used (Obono, 2012). This finding is consistent with previous research conducted in Uganda (Muhwezi et al., 2015), where adolescent girls expressed serious concern about parental harshness as one of the participants said that "we do not get on well with some of our mothers. They quarrel too much [...] they behave like soldiers...". Such disciplinary approaches by parents may be counterproductive because they create a hostile family climate, 'narrow' young women's agency and can trigger resistance, especially at a later age of the adolescent. This is illustrated by these quotes from Nnena and Mabel:

[...] because she [my mother] is always behaving like a soldier, so harsh. That is why I was angry and started having sex with the guy just to tell myself that at least I did what I wanted. It was just last year when I turned 16. **(Nnena, IDI)**

Oh yes. By that I mean our parents are too strict and the beating for me is not the best. For me, whenever my mother uses a whip on me I get angry. Like my first time of 'knowing a man' [coital debut] I went to the guy out of anger because my Mum was always falsely accusing and beating me. I went to him and it [sex] just happened and after all I was still angry with my mother and myself. I was so worried I could be pregnant or infected. So, I think we need some fresh air [participants laughing] I am serious. **(Mabel, FG)**

The girls' statements suggest that relating punitively to female adolescents regarding their sexuality might breed rebellion.

Interestingly, and not surprisingly, Mabel described her sexual encounter as something that 'just happened' resulting in negative emotions and fear. One might think that Mabel's decision

to engage in a sexual activity, though propelled by her mother's punitive actions to her, was an empowering moment. However, her emotional reactions give a clue to the origins of such emotions, which are values of sexual messages communicated by parents, the society, and the religious community. These messages contribute to a climate of sex-based fear and sexual disempowerment.

6.3 Sexual Socialisation

Parental communication about sexuality related issues with children is vital in transmitting values, attitudes, beliefs, and expectations about sex and sexuality (Ballard & Gross, 2009; Izugbara, 2008). Below, I explore the complexity and dynamic of sexual communication between parents and adolescents. The lack of clear, 'meaningful' and informative communication between parents and their children about sexuality was repeatedly recalled by young women in the current research. This experience was x-rayed in relation to gender and the impact it had on shaping sexual scripts and sexual development of young women in general.

6.3.1: Gendered Sexual Communication

The general pattern of home tuition about sex in Tiv society varies by gender. This is supported by the social and cultural boundaries of acceptable sexuality for adolescent female and males (Bhana, 2016). In many traditional African societies, sexual communication is with girls more than boys. This is because adolescent females are seen to be socially and biologically more vulnerable to sexual risks (Izugbara, 2008). Home-based sexual tuition is almost always done by mothers. Most adolescents in the current study recalled that they were sexually socialized by their mother:

What happens here is..... Women take care of the home because mostly our fathers go out for work so that they can provide for the family. So, our mothers are at home with us and they do the socialization..... **(Hope, FG)**

In my own family the Mum is in charge of that because my father is not always at home, and in our society the mother is expected to be the disciplinarian especially on matters of sexuality. My father is like 'have I not been bringing things that are needed in this house? Just to manage the children you cannot do it'.... **(Vera, FG)**

Let me say in Africa generally or in Tiv in particular it is the duty of the mother to bring up the children. I was made to understand that my mother was supposed to teach me about sexuality. **(Josephine, FG)**

Data from young women, as illustrated by the three quotes above give evidence for concluding that sexual socialization in Tiv is the exclusive reserve of mothers. There seems to be a sort of 'division of labour' where fathers expect the mothers to sexually socialize their daughters while they (fathers) establish the rules within which socialisation takes place. This expectation tends to put undue pressure on mothers who risk being blamed should any of their daughters get unintentionally pregnant or behave in ways that are considered promiscuous. I take an intersectionality perspective and argue that this 'blame game' is powerfully shaped by patriarchal control and the subjugation of the female gender.

Not unexpectedly, most fathers who participated in the current study asserted that they had never been involved in home-based sexuality teaching especially with their female children:

In fact, personally I'm not comfortable talking to the girls on sexual matters, they may feel shy too. I normally remind my wife that it is her area and responsibility to talk to the girls. Here we are stricter with the girls, so she is the one that is almost always at home to monitor them. I tell her to warn them not to dress in a manner that will tempt the boys to start disturbing them. So, it is good to tell them the implications and I feel more comfortable talking to my sons about sexuality. **(lordoo, father IDI)**

I have boys and girls and I talk to them on a general note, but I don't discuss sexual matters with them because of my cultural belief. I think is not good. And you see they spend more time in school so when they come home I give them general advice that they should forget about any other thing and concentrate on their education for now. I expect that my wife should take that responsibility because there are some issues I cannot discuss with my daughter I will feel bad discussing sexual matters with her [my daughter]. **(Maboki, father IDI)**

Two things are striking about the quote from lordoo. The first thing is the fact that parents are stricter when it comes to young women's sexuality which again confirms the existence of sexual double standards. Also, instructing the girl child to dress properly to avoid being attracted to a boy suggests giving the female adolescent a sexual gatekeeping role. While boys are indirectly (and sometimes directly) permitted to take risks, explore and experiment with so many things, including sex, girls' sexual being is viewed "in terms of vulnerability, danger, and, by implication, inferiority" (Izugbara, 2008, p. 587). These double standards privileges males and disadvantage females and while the matriarchal role is heavily implicated in their reproduction mothers are not separate from the patriarchal values that drive social behaviours

and attitudes as they too have internalised messages of shame and unworthiness associated with female sexual liberation (see chapter 8). A mother in this research also spoke of girls' sexual being in terms of sexual gatekeeping:

Researcher: Don't you think the boys should be prevented from requesting sex in the first place?

[Laughing] see my son, it is easy to control the girls. The boys have more freedom here but if girls say no nothing like sexual intercourse will take place. So, it is better to give our girls the power to turn them down. I often tell them how sex could destroy their future. **(Nguher, mother IDI)**

Nguher's argument is that saying no to a man that is striving to get sex is a form of agency and power. From a sex-positive perspective which is the position of this study however, it is important to note that if young women are not given the freedom to refuse sexual activity when they don't want and accept when they want and desire it, then one cannot say they are truly empowered. This suggests that there is no sexual freedom for female adolescents.

All mothers who participated in the study, overwhelmingly accepted it was their responsibility to sexually socialize their daughters:

I do all the socialization because these children need to be handled with all seriousness and my husband is too soft. In fact, that is not his role especially to the girls. I pay particular attention to the girls so that no man will deceive them and impregnate them. I make it as my duty to warn them and discourage them from engaging in sex now. You see, sex should be for matured and married people. **(Nguher, mother IDI)**

It is clear that mothers are the main home-based sexual educators, supported by the common belief that mothers are good caregivers and have better skills to talk to their children (especially girls) about sexual matters (Walker, 2001). Interestingly, from the response above and others in the data, some mothers seem to perpetuate themselves as sexual home educators and (intentionally or unconsciously) collude to limit the involvement of fathers. These results confirm the findings of Muhwezi et al, (2015) and Trinh et al, (2009), that gender is an important factor in parent-adolescent communication on sexual matters.

6.3.2: Initiating Parent-Adolescent Sex-talk

In my analysis there appeared to be a linear transfer of sexual-related information to adolescents where parents initiate and dominate the discussions. The in-depth interview data from young women shows evidence that the transfer of messages concerning sexuality is unidirectional and assumes a passive role on the part of adolescents, as illustrated by this account from Brenda:

...she [my mother] is the only one that starts, continue and end the discussion. My mother normally woke us [the girls] up around 4am in the morning when others are sleeping and ask us to listen attentively to her.... So, that is it. **(Brenda, IDI)**

Researcher: And what kind of questions do you normally ask your mother?

We don't ask questions because [pause] it is not as if we understand everything and happy with everything, but she always ends with words like 'I have told you my own, if you like don't obey and you will see the other side of me, you can go'. So, I think... for me there is no time [room] for any question. We often think she is not ready to take questions. **(Brenda, IDI)**

Brenda's account reflects the fact that Tiv parents often initiate and dominate discussions relating to sexuality with their children. This finding is similar to the findings of a study by Wamoyi, Fenwick, Urassa, Zaba, and Stones (2010a), which found that parents usually initiate parent-child sexual communication. Brenda spoke extensively about her experience with her mother and expressed serious concern about the fact that she was never given an opportunity to ask her mother any question concerning her sexuality.

The interview data from mothers show confirmatory evidence of a one-way transfer of information from parents to children:

Generally, I think we [mothers] start the whole thing [discussion]. Children [long pause] I won't be happy if my daughter would come to me asking questions about sex. When that happens then I think such a child has started having sex or is intending to do so soon. I should be the one telling them what is good for them and what I want as their mother. I can't deceive them, you know, so they must hear what I tell them. **(Mauya, mother IDI)**

Findings show that mothers tend to initiate discussions relating to sexual matters with their daughters, determine what kind of things they want them to hear, and would not be happy if their daughters were the ones starting the discussion. For most mothers, a child seeking information about sexual issues is in a way indicating interest or has started engaging in sexual

activities and might want to know more. In a minority of cases however, children initiate communication with their parents to seek information about their bodies.

Some girls do begin discussion with the parents about sexuality by asking questions....

(Faith, mother IDI)

Researcher: How common do you see that happening?

Not very common I must say. From my personal experience and what I get from other mothers when we talk about children... it is not common at all. I think they prefer asking their peers in school. **(Faith, mother IDI)**

Concerning what propels parents to start discussing sexuality with children, this study found that most parents delay sexual discussions until puberty or suspected engagement in sexual activity. This is not unconnected to the general view that children are 'sexually innocent' until puberty (Izugbara, 2008, p. 590). A mother noted that:

Normally it is when they start menstruating or you start suspecting them. Like my children when I start seeing them with friends I start warning them. I tell the girls that if they 'go close' to a boy they will be pregnant. **(Kasen, mother IDI)**

Researcher: Are you sure your daughter will understand what you mean by 'go close to a boy'?

That is one of the [pause]. As a Christian you try not to be vulgar to them because you may be the one telling them how the whole thing is done. Sometimes I just tell them not to hug and kiss. And when I see girls dressed indecently in a movie I tell my girls that such girls are prostitutes who will go to hell and they should not copy them. **(Kasen, mother IDI)**

Emerging also from the interview data, another mother, an educated civil servant also said,

.....is when they are approaching the adolescent stage because that is when the desire starts and as parents we need to come in and try as much as we can to discourage them from starting it [sex]. **(Kwasemase, mother IDI)**

Researcher: what do you think about starting the socialization earlier?

I don't think it is a good idea because you will rather expose them to sex and that is what I don't want. There is time for everything even the bible says so. Young people should wait till they get married that is the best for all of them. I waited too. So, it is not impossible. **(Kwasemase, mother IDI)**

These excerpts illustrate that much of home-based parent-adolescent sexuality discussions are ill timed and that parents do not use clear and appropriate language to transfer sexuality knowledge to the children. Coded communication is likely to leave an adolescent confused and he or she might turn to other sources for information.

6.3.3: The Focus of Parent-child Sexual Communication

Ample evidence shows that Tiv parents hardly transfer positive messages about sexuality to their children. From the perspectives of interviewed parents and female adolescents from focus group discussions, parent-adolescent sexuality communication focuses primarily on warnings and threats with the intention of scaring young women away from engaging in premarital sexual behaviours. Parents in this study emphasized the unintended consequences of premarital sex, unplanned pregnancy, disease and shame.

...as I said earlier, when I suspect that they are dating, I warn them and tell them how pre-marital sex is dangerous and how it is good and a thing of joy to get married to your husband as a virgin. I remind them of the risk of STIs and AIDS. **(Kasen, mother IDI)**

I tell them to avoid sex and be pure. I do this by warning them because this is a serious matter. If I suspect anything and you are not able to explain yourself well then I beat you seriously. I don't allow them to go out without good reason and they must come back before night. No hugging or kissing of the opposite sex. When they marry they can do all that. You see they watch films and would want to put that to practice not knowing the implications and dangers in it. So, we have to help them. **(Eli, mother IDI)**

In a manner typical of many of the views expressed by young women, Praise stated that parental discussion about sexuality often focused on the adverse outcomes of sexual intercourse. In her words,

That is what our parents do. They try to create fears in the child more than educating a child and they turn to control your movement, for them that is the best way. Just as she said that her father would say if a guy touches her she will be pregnant. But to them maybe that is the best way they think they can control us. But if its friends or maybe your peers like this, there is the way they talk to you about it and they tell you their personal experience that if you wish to learn you can learn. So, I think the way the parents try to like educate us is not really encouraging. **(Praise, FG)**

Only one young woman in this current study reported having a balanced discussion about her sexuality from her mother. Kwasedoo's mother seems to be giving her female children a balanced and comprehensive information about sex and allowing them to make informed decisions concerning their sexuality.

I learn from my mother and friends. My Mum will tell us the females that there is danger in pre-marital sex and if we must do it then my partner should follow me to the hospital to carry out screening for HIV and STIs. She is always reminding us that the age

that we can have a boyfriend is from 17years and it must not be more than one.

(Kwasedoo, FG)

The findings suggest that mothers do not want discussions with their daughters to become “too loaded”. As such, mothers seldom discuss issues like sexual desire, sexual pleasure and contraception. Mothers rely on religion, morality and the discourse about female adolescents needing protection to frame their communication about sexuality with their daughters.

Furthermore, this study indicated a strong feeling of anxiety among parents generally and mothers in particular. Most mothers in this study agreed that they are often worried about their daughters’ sexuality:

Ah there is this mixed feeling you know. On one hand I am happy that she could help me in the kitchen and I will become a mother-law and have grandchildren, but on the other hand I’m afraid that men may deceive her, and she will make mistakes that could ruin her future. Here once a girl is pregnant out of wedlock everybody thinks she is the worse. **(Doose, mother IDI)**

I feel happy but at the same time I’m worried because of men. I am not always with them and who knows what will happen? Men may deceive them to have sex with them. That is why I always tell them that men are dangerous. One other problem is the fact that their peers too may negatively influence them to do bad things. **(Kasen, mother IDI)**

Most parents anticipate adverse outcomes of sex from their children and this increases fear. This negativity affects the kind of information parents would transfer to adolescents. Regarding comfort level, many of the parents I interviewed said they weren’t comfortable discussing sexual-related matters with their children. Here are some self-revealing quotes from parents:

To be honest I am not very comfortable discussing sex with the children which is why my wife is mostly in charge of that. But I am trying. **(Ahuwaya, father IDI)**

The truth is that I am not very comfortable doing it, but I don’t have a choice; I must do it to protect them from harm. And most times my children too are not comfortable. These are the challenges. For the boys, I leave it to their father. In fact, boys are not ready to listen even from their father. **(Nguher, mother IDI)**

Parents’ discomfort with discussing issues of sexuality with children is capable of hindering effective sexual knowledge transfer since open and frank sexual communication between parents and their children is linked to reduced sexual activity among young people (Hutchinson, 2002).

All young women in this study described family as the initial sexual socialization agent but noted that the focus is often only on the biological aspect of sexuality. Girls recalled getting

information from family members on pregnancy, STI, and abstinence. Some participants identified the need for messages to include, safety issues, love, and dating:

I think my mother is not comfortable talking to us about some things. Like, when I was coming up she would never talk to us about how to protect ourselves. Because my mother wouldn't talk to me about it, I made that mistake [unintended pregnancy]. I'm not blaming her completely, but I wish I was told about things like what it actually means to be in love and all those stuff, you know? Maybe to her [my mother] that was the best, but I wish I was giving more information. **(Julian, IDI)**

Like many other young women, Julian talked about missing messages and seemed to attribute this to her getting pregnant unintentionally. It seems that the quality and content of sexual communication can have considerable impact on the sexual behaviour of adolescents. Julian wished she had known about contraceptives and her experience raises a question about how prohibitive messages (abstinence-only) can serve a protective value.

In-depth interviews with parents also revealed some of the messages that are often missing when they talk to their children about sexuality:

Those are a 'no go areas' [sexual pleasure and desire are forbidden topics]. I know that as human beings they may have feelings but telling them that sex is pleasurable will mean telling them too much and it is dangerous. My main aim of talking to my children is to discourage them from engaging in sexual intercourse because of the dangers in it. So, I can't tempt them by telling them that sex is a pleasurable thing. When they marry it will become clear to them that sex is good. **(Kasen, mother IDI)**

I don't discuss sexual pleasure with them because that will mean giving them "overdose" [too much information that is not needed]. There is too much information available to children these days, so my own duty is to discourage them from falling victim and avoiding danger. **(Kwasemase, mother IDI)**

The mothers' accounts suggest a general feeling that, it was inappropriate for them to communicate with their children clearly and comprehensively about sex. "I don't remember being told about the pleasure of sex or desire" and, "I can't tell my children about such things" were typical comments from mothers during interviews. Mothers' past experiences about sex-talk with their own parents was found to be a factor suggesting that these communication patterns were learned. Findings indicate that the lack of open and meaningful parent-child communication about sexual related issues, especially concerning the use of contraceptives, contributes to young women not using them. Young people generally are less likely to engage in risky sexual behaviours if they are allowed full access to sexual and reproductive health information (Muhwezi et al., 2015).

6.4 Situating girls' Sexuality with the Discourse of Shame

I don't want any of my daughters to bring shame on her, on me, and spoil the name of the family. **(Kasen, mother IDI)**

Shame is an experienced negative emotion of unworthiness. Through the discourse of shame, female sexuality is regulated and controlled by boundaries set by the family and society (Fallon, 2013). This theme relates to young women's perception and experience of obvious, implied or subtle shame regarding their sexuality. It is important to acknowledge that sexual shame has its roots in cultural scripts and has implications for sexual experiences, relationships and agency. Some participants narrated their personal experiences and anecdotal accounts of the impact of the culture of shame on young women's sexual lives. Like sexuality, shame is also a social construct (Weiss, 2010). This study found that the driving emotion that led many young women to avoid seeking support from parents and service providers is shame. The Tiv culture is saturated in gendered sexual shame. I explore below young women's feelings and sites of shame and course of actions by parents to avert or at least minimize shame. I identified two subthemes associated with this theme: 1) Sites of shame 2) Shaming to avoid multiple shame. The two subthemes are discussed below.

6.4.1 Sites of Shame

Pre-marital sexual relations among the Tiv people are a source of shame, not only to the young woman, but to her family. The following examples show how parents, as social gatekeepers might react when their daughter becomes pregnant unintentionally, constructing the young woman exclusively as a spoilt¹⁷ child. Among the Tiv, it is socially unacceptable for an adolescent female to become pregnant out of wedlock. Indeed, marriage is considered the only licence to having sexual intercourse, especially for girls. Thus, young women who have intercourse before marriage are considered promiscuous and are socially sanctioned. Again, this implies that societal sexual double standards persist as traditional scripts represent the sexuality of young women as fragile, and as such, must be controlled and regulated. These

¹⁷ The term 'spoilt' is used in this study to refer to the 'spoiling' of reputation or the status of chastity.

scripts do not position female adolescents as desiring or active sexual agents (Allen et al., 2008).

One likely outcome for young women engaging in unprotected sex is pregnancy. Young women carry the stigma of unintended pregnancy and receive the response of blame and punishment from their families and community. Understood from a social constructionist lens, young women are victims of the way their sexual world is constructed. This dual notion of being both victim and blame-worthy is interesting, as it supports the stereotype of female adolescents as passive victims (Skafta & Silberschmidt, 2013) rather than active decision-makers regarding their sexuality. As in several other cultures in sub-Saharan Africa, the Tiv consider it the duty of a young woman to say no to any sexual advance from men in order to avoid sexual dangers. This means that young women are held up as sexual gatekeepers. Hope and Vera gave anecdote examples of this complex issue of blaming and disgracing the 'victim':

.....When we make mistakes, parents should not add to it by pushing us away. When my elder sister was pregnant out of wedlock, my mother said since the girl has decided to put her (the mother) to shame, she (my sister) must also get the share of the shame. My sister was given out to this guy for marriage, and because they don't even have enough food, she lost the pregnancy, and when she came back crying and complaining, my mother sent her away to go and stay in the village that there is no money to train a spoilt child like her in school. So, my sister is now in the village suffering and this is dangerous for her wellbeing. **(Hope, FG)**

My sister had an unintended pregnancy; it was like a war in the house because my mother felt that my sister has brought shame and embarrassment to the family, so she needs to be punished by giving her out to an old man for marriage. So, the anger could not allow my parents to help her bounce back. When we make a mistake, we are always on our own. For me, I think parents should be patient with us. Our parents don't teach us how to protect ourselves. **(Vera, FG)**

As illustrated in the two excerpts above, the participants were concerned about how the family mostly punish and shame young women for engaging in sexual intercourse, especially where there are unintended consequences of such activity. Hope considered the decision of her mother as destructive, arguing that it added to the pregnant daughter's predicament. Traditional discourse around unmarried female adolescent pregnancy represents it as a symbol of shame within the Tiv community (Dzurgba, 2007) and portrays the young mother as 'spoilt'. This is not unconnected to the economic value attached to the girl child and the commoditisation of the female body. One of the fundamental aspects of African marriage is

the payment of bride-wealth (Horne, Dodoo, & Dodoo, 2013). This involves the family of a young woman who is about to marry receiving payment of valuables ranging from money, cattle, yams, pigs or other forms of wealth. A young girl without blemish (meaning who is a virgin) is most likely to attract a higher bride-wealth for her family. For these reasons, parents make every effort to ensure the purity of their daughters. This is one obvious reason why, according to Hope, her parents referred to their pregnant daughter as worthless and spoilt. These findings show how female adolescents' experiences are frequently the product of intersecting factors.

Young women expressed concerns about the fact that they are often left alone when they make mistakes regarding their sexuality. This suggests a sense of alienation as young women struggle to situate their sexuality within relational, and the broader sociocultural contexts, and develop a sense of who they are sexually (Shoveller et al., 2004). Vera, for example, pointed out that parents do not educate their daughters about contraceptives. In her view, there would be no unintended pregnancy if young women had knowledge about methods of preventing pregnancy thereby shifting the responsibility to parents. This comment shows a generational difference in perception about pre-marital sex and abstinence.

Another source of shame is the spread of rumours that a young woman is 'sleeping around'¹⁸ Becky's description illustrates the intensity of negative emotions she felt when she was aware that the news of her engaging in sexual activity was fast spreading. It was a period of increased anxiety for her. She worried that her family might get to know about this:

I overheard my classmates discussing me. That was when I knew that people are aware that I was engaging in premarital sex. My friend also told me that she heard someone saying it too. I became so worried and scared that my parents might get to hear about this. People would start saying I'm a spoilt child from a spoilt home. **(Becky, IDI)**

Becky got to know that rumour about her sexual behaviour was spreading and feared her parents would get to hear about it. This finding indicates that the young women's concerns centered not only on avoiding pre-marital pregnancy, but also on protecting their social reputation and that of their families. Young women and parents are concerned about reputation because a bad reputation might prevent or make a young woman less attractive for

¹⁸ This is used to mean promiscuity.

marriage in Tiv society. Young Tiv men who are ready for marriage often ask other people to assist in finding a 'good' girl. This is one of the reasons why mothers are so keen on making sure that their daughters are well behaved in order to attract suitors. Marriage for daughters is valued among the Tiv as it brings respect and financial rewards not only to a the young woman, but also her family.

6.4.2 Shaming to avoid multiple shame

Parents in this study expressed views about casting female adolescents who become pregnant into marriages with old or undesirable men and cited the need to avoid another shame for the girl, the family, and the unborn child. This appears to be a complicated dynamic.

The whole idea is not really to make her [an unmarried daughter who gets pregnant] feel bad or something. Parents would also want to avoid that bigger shame that would get the whole community talking about the family. You understand? It is a very serious matter here. We just have to consider the name of our family. **(Kasen, mother IDI)**

What I would do is to first ask who is responsible for the pregnancy and force them to marry. Yes, because I can't allow my daughter to bear a child in my house. People will laugh at the child later in life. And if she does not know who is responsible then the best thing is to compel her to marry any old man that wants a child in order. **(Nguher, mother IDI)**

It was noted that non-marital childbearing in Tiv culture is a shameful event for the mother-to-be and her entire family. Most times, to avoid the stigma associated with such births, the family may compel the girl to marry an old man. This strategy as illustrated in the quote above from Kasen avoids bringing the name of the family into disrepute. To Nguher as seen in the second quote above, forcing an unmarried young woman to marry would save the family from becoming a laughing stock in the community. The complex nature of this issue is further illustrated in the following discussion with Tseikpa:

Our second daughter was just in her first year in secondary school and because she refused to listen to her mother, she became pregnant for someone she even refused to disclose. Can you imagine? It was a huge disappointment and a shame. So, we decided to give her to an old man who was available. **(Tseikpa, father IDI)**

Researcher: that sounds like a punishment for not listening

Hmmm no we were not thinking of punishment at the time. She brought shame to the family and we wanted her to also have the share of the shame. Again, we wanted to prevent the innocent unborn child from the shame. Children born out-of-wedlock here

suffer for the rest of their lives. We also succeeded in avoiding being seen as ‘parents of our daughter’s child’. That is a big shame you know? **(Tseikpa, father IDI)**

Implicit in all the quotations above was a clear desire to prevent multiple shame. Participants noted that a child born out-of-wedlock in Tiv society was considered as a ‘bastard’, stigmatised and often suffer discrimination. Parents also expressed concern about the image and reputation of their families. Because of these concerns, parents were of the opinion that giving an unmarried daughter out for marriage remains the best option in order to minimize the consequences.

6.5 Relationships

Like the cultural context, relational contexts are very important in understanding the experiences of female adolescents in relation to their sexuality within a social landscape. The cultural context influences the social and relational context in which an individual is embedded. This theme relates to the realities of Tiv young women’s relational contexts as these affect their sexual subjectivity. Tolman (2002, pp. 5-6), holds that sexual subjectivity entails, ‘a person’s experience of herself as a sexual being, who feels entitled to sexual pleasure and sexual safety, who makes active sexual choices, and who has an identity as a sexual being. Sexual desire is at the heart of sexual subjectivity’. Karin Martin (1996:10 cited by Sheff, 2005: 254) argues that ‘sexual subjectivity is a necessary component of agency and thus of self-esteem. That is, one’s sexuality affects her/his ability to act in the world, and to feel like she/he can will things and make them happen’.

Within relationships, social actors may work on scripts prepared by social institutions and popular culture (Moses & Kelly, 2016). In patriarchal cultures, these scripts are gendered. As such, women experience enormous pressure to do what is ‘right’. This raises a lot of questions about sexual agency, sexual desire, sexual entitlement and empowerment of female adolescents. These issues are discussed with illustrative quotations in the following subtheme.

6.5.1 The “toasting” script

Overwhelmingly, young women across focus groups voiced their displeasure for the script that only men should take the responsibility for initiating sexual relationships. ‘Toasting’ is a common slang used by young people in Nigeria to mean the typical process of starting up a sexual relationship. The toasting script indicates the socially acceptable and ‘normal’ pattern of initiating an intimate sexual relationship. Most participants noted that generally, females are not ‘allowed’ or expected to ‘toast’. As exemplified below, this issue generated an interesting debate among young women in this study:

Based on what I see in movies, in other cultures a girl can ask a boy out no problem about that but in our society, it’s something like an abomination or that is how the society looks at it. But I feel it should be a free world that if you see a guy that you like, that you feel the guy will make you comfortable, make you okay and you will feel happy with the person, you should approach the person. Of which, I have not done it anyway [laughs], but I feel it should.... they should allow it so that we too will experience it here [laughs]. **(Nikky, FG)**

[Interrupting] Ah, who should allow it? [All participants laughing]. **(Jessy, FG)**

The society should allow [laugh]. **(Nikky, FG)**

Nobody is stopping us. Me I do it, I hardly like guys, so I go for the ones I like there is nothing bad. If I go and..... if I want you, the way I will go you cannot say no. We are also part of the society, so if we don’t start it, nobody will start it for us. **(Jessy, FG)**

Initiating a sexual relationship is traditionally regarded as a masculine role. In the Tiv society, and many other African cultures, women are not expected to express their sexual desires and indeed, sexual desire and pleasure are considered primarily the purview of men. A woman who demonstrates a desire for sex by initiating a relationship is considered loose and promiscuous. This explains how female adolescents are socialized to develop, act and feel towards their sexuality. In Nikky’s account above, she is aware that young women are not expected to step up and initiate a relationship. Nikky questioned this restriction and felt it should be “a free world” where women too can freely express their sexuality. The change that she longs for could give young women entitlement to their sexuality (Sheff, 2005; Tolman, 2002). Failure to subscribe to traditional female sexual scripts is not however without social repercussions.

What is also interesting in Nikky's account is the supposed influence of the foreign media which might threaten Tiv traditional values. Growing up, young women are taught sexual scripts that encourage them to suppress their own sexual desire and pleasure (Smith, 2012). As young people consume popular media however, they are influenced by other messages about sexuality and these inform their sexual attitudes. The media message about initiation of relationships observed by Nikky caused her to question the traditional script on the same issue, and long for a change. This suggests that there are competing messages available to young people. The foreign media portrays young women as sexually free and independent on one hand and bounded by traditional sexual scripts that depict the patriarchal system on the other. Female adolescents constantly negotiate these competing messages. This suggests that sociocultural standards and expectations stand between young women and their sexual agency.

Scholarship on the influence of wider external factors (e.g. media, education, peers) on young people's sexuality suggests that these factors continue to influence sexual development among young people. For example, studies (Akintola, Ngubane, & Makhaba, 2012; Nagamatsu, Yamawaki, Sato, Nakagawa, & Saito, 2013) have pointed to the influential roles that sustained peer pressure and educational contexts have on adolescents' sexuality development. Published literature on adolescent sexuality has also found the influence of the mass media on their sexual beliefs and attitudes (Brown, 2002; Charmaraman & McKamey, 2011; Smith, 2012). The contemporary mainstream media (movies, magazines, television, newspapers and radio) inundate young people with messages about sexuality. It is worthy of note that on one hand, some sections of the media reinforce traditional norms by conveying restrictive sexual rules to young people, and on the other hand, adolescents appear to develop their own sexual beliefs and attitudes based on messages from the popular media. For instance, Jessy's voice of agency in the above excerpt is understood as a protest to a sexual culture that thwarts young women's demonstration of (sexual) agency. This suggests that her opinion was informed by media's messages.

Jessy speaks with a sense of self-empowerment. She feels individual young women should be the agents of change rather than waiting for the society to 'allow' them agency. The question however, is whether young women could change anything about themselves given their age

and status as children and the structural gender inequities that exist in Tiv society. Jessy's own desire is present in her response as she only goes for the guys she wants. When probed further, I found however, that Jessy would not initiate a relationship with directness and courage. Despite asserting her own standards, the reality seems to be that she is still influenced by the cultural standards of her world. Linked to this discussion are the real and anticipated social repercussions for a girl initiating a sexual relationship in a culture that restricts female sexual agency. Kendra and Sese described these fears in their accounts:

Because I felt very good, so I like a guy.... I want a guy to come for me. I have seen guys I actually like to be in a relationship with them, but I have never for once approached them because.... maybe the way guys treat... as in the way guys feel, you understand, like if you go for a guy now he will go about 'broadcasting' [telling everyone] it. That is just what I really don't want. I like a guy asking me out so that when I sit with my friends I will be telling them that 'ah look at that guy he asked me out' you understand, so that is just it. I... personally can't ask a guy out. I have not done it, and it's not as if I have not seen guys that I like but... I can't do it. **(Sese, FG)**

One must think about the society and the people. Most at times if you ask a guy out, he might accept even though he doesn't love you then you go into the relationship and then he starts treating you badly and maybe because you ask him out he might take advantage of that, sleep [have sex] with you, dump you and go out broadcasting it. **(Kendra, FG)**

Across focus groups, some participants indicated that men are most likely to 'dump' girls that initiated a relationship. Some young women however disagreed on this, pointing out that even when men initiate sexual relationships, they would still terminate the relationship after having sex with the young woman. They were divided in their feelings about and perceptions of the 'toasting' script. While most of the participants suggested that this prevents them from demonstrating their desire, some said they enjoyed the process as it gave them an opportunity to exercise agency by saying yes or no depending on what they want. The toasting script can be seen as not necessarily being in conflict with agency as it provided some young women with a subjective feeling of entitlement to saying no to a man's advances. However, the social codes imprinted upon the script restricts young women from initiating a relationship. Overall, the words of these Tiv female adolescents strongly suggest that they were aware of the double standards, power imbalance and sexual subjugation embedded in the 'toasting' script which is congruent with traditional norms about masculine and feminine sexuality (Masters, Casey,

Wells, & Morrison, 2013). Thus, as with other sexual scripts available to young women in Tiv society, the toasting script primarily serves the interests of patriarchy.

6.5.2 Subtle Pressure

Some young women in this study reported having been pressured and persuaded by young men to engage in sexual activities. Phrases commonly used that supported this included 'just allowing it' and 'giving in' as illustrated below:

He [my boyfriend] invited to his house, I refused at first but my friend [girlfriend] said I should just go. He started playing and all that, but I told him I was not ready for something like that [sex]. It went on and on, begging and saying so many things. After a while I just gave in anyway. I think [pause] the pressure was much. **(Rhoda, IDI)**

I'm not trying to blame him [my partner] but the truth is that he was always demanding to 'sleep with me' [sex] but I keep refusing. But on this day, I just felt ok let me just allow it. The whole thing was his decision you know? I tried calm him down, but he needed it [sex] [short laugh] **(Doosen, IDI)**

The two accounts above suggest instances of young women succumbing to pressure from boys to have sex. These participants narrated 'just allowing it' and 'giving in' to their partners' persistence and begging. This suggests a kind of emotional coercion rather than physical coercion. My interpretation is, given that young men in the Tiv society appear to be free to carry out sexual exploits, young women are often responsible for serving as sexual gatekeeper to control boys' desire. The scenarios above also have implication for young women's sexual agency. This is because the female adolescents refused to acknowledge their own sexual needs and their capacity or freedom to act upon these. In Doosen's account for instance, the decision to engage in sex was made for her by the boyfriend.

It is interesting that some young women described the pressure to engage in sex not as a pressure against their will but a pressure for them to do what will please their partners and save relationship. For example, Kendra explained:

Sometimes we don't want to be too hard. You understand? You feel pressured to have sex, but you just do it because you love your boyfriend and you don't want him to go. Sometimes to make him happy. Yeah, for the sake of love. **(Kendra, FG)**

Likewise, Pat explained:

I think some girls [pause]... I think girls feel pressured because they also want peace in the relationship. The guy wants it and it is something you can do. So, if there is love then it is not a bad pressure. [laughing] **(Pat, FG)**

This finding suggests that some young women associate sex within intimate relationships to the show of love, commitment and a necessary ingredient for a successful relationship.

Another form of pressure on adolescent girls as they enter romantic relationships is boys' high expectation to always be in control and expect submission, respect and faithfulness from young women indicating male dominance. As Mavis explained:

[.....] it is always like most guys [boys] want to be the boss or master of the relationship, you understand? For example, expecting you to always agree with what they say, be faithful, don't talk to other boys and things like that. The big problem is that they go out and chase other girls and think it is normal. But if I do that I will lose respect. I think girls are more decent here. **(Mavis, FG)**

Mavis's third line in the excerpt reveal a key point concerning the experiences of jealousy in romantic relationships among young people. Young men's expectation of fidelity suggests the use of controlling jealous behaviour towards young women (Boyce, Zeledón, Tellez, & Barrington, 2016). Mavis's account suggests a feeling that Tiv young women had little power to influence their boyfriends to be faithful.

At a closer glance, it appears boys' expectations are deeply embedded within patriarchal values. Although boys were not included in my study, a study Izugbara (2005b) conducted among adolescent boys in south-eastern Nigeria suggests that adolescent boys' notions of sex and sexuality are influenced by prevailing patriarchal norms of gender relations and sexuality (p.600). Mavis talked about the fear of being judged harshly and the risk of losing respect in the community. This fear of social judgement seems to influence how adolescent girls experience and act on their sexual desires indicating a limited sexual agency.

6.6 Summary of the chapter

This chapter has explored how gender dynamics and contexts (family, society and religion) work together to impact female adolescent sexuality development. It showed how adolescent sexuality is multiply shaped. The chapter has demonstrated how young women struggle to situate their sexuality within family, peer, intimate sexual relationships and the broader social contexts. It has also shown how adolescent females' sexuality is socially constructed,

controlled and constrained by restrictive cultural norms of female chastity, individual responsibility and taboos around discussion of sexual matters. The analysis shed light on how these norms are gendered, producing sexual double standards. Evidence also suggests that there is often a lot of pressure on young women from their boyfriends to have sex. The gender difference in setting sexual boundaries suggests that it is part of the Tiv culture for males to be free while their female counterparts are strictly monitored.

It was found that parents focus only on the abstinence-only-until-marriage message and the negatives of young people's sexuality. Most parents expressed personal discomfort and embarrassment regarding teaching their children about sex and contraception. This discomfort can be understood when considered in the contexts of cultural and religious beliefs that include the view that adolescent women who have sex are sinful and amoral. Informed by a sex-positive framework, however, this researcher posits the view that adolescent sexuality is a normal aspect of their humanity and not necessarily problematic and pathological.

Chapter Seven

The Responses and Counter Responses

7.1 Introduction

The preceding chapter (chapter 6) discussed how familial, societal and religious scripts intersect to set boundaries that serve to regulate female adolescent sexuality. In this chapter, I present findings which indicate that young women devise personal strategies to negotiate their way through and around the sexuality terrain. The chapter draws on the three data sets (individual interviews with parents, individual interviews and focus groups with young women) and explores how young women respond to messages from multiple sources of sexual information that they are exposed to, and counter responses from the parents. These sources (contexts) are influenced by gender and moral-based ideologies and traditional discourses around female adolescent sexuality. Although my aim is not to compare the methods used in this study, young women seemed to be more comfortable and self-revealing during Skype individual in-depth interviews than in focus groups. I observed some differences between these two approaches in the openness with which young women talked about their personal sexual experiences and questioned parental and societal judgements concerning female sexuality. Despite differences in ease of disclosure, the themes that emerged were common across all participants.

Several themes were generated from participants' accounts and the reading or interpretation of these gives insight into how young women navigate or cross constraining sexual boundaries within their social milieu. Driven by the data, this chapter also explores answers to questions such as the advisability of only abstinence-till-marriage messages or whether comprehensive sex education with children of all ages might prove more beneficial for healthy sexuality among young women in Tiv society; it also gives insights into how youth subculture messages about sexuality challenge the established Tiv sexual norms. Most young women in this study seemed to be keenly aware of themselves as sexual beings with sexual needs and they find ways to circumvent the restrictions on expressing these, suggesting considerable agency.

7.2 Navigating Sexual Learning: The Importance of Peer Network

Relationship skills, love, dating, gender role and identity, body image and genital sexual activity, among others, are the fundamental elements of sexual learning. Messages relating to these elements might influence young women's developing sexual sense of self and determine their sexuality. From young women's accounts in this study, parents (mothers) were reported as the primary sexual educators. However, and unsurprisingly, findings indicate that like parents elsewhere, Tiv parents do not offer holistic sexual education to children in their homes. This is discussed in detail in chapter 6. Mabel, like other young women in this study reported having received only messages that emphasized the problems of genital sexual experimentation:

I learn about sexuality from my parents especially my Mum but her own kind of education is by giving me warnings and telling me that she will stop paying my school fees if I allow a guy to touch me. She [my mother] doesn't say much. **(Mabel, FG)**

I would say I learn about sexuality from my parents in a way. Yeah, because my mother would just tell us about the menstrual cycle and how to take care of it and to 'close your legs' [abstain from sex]. She [my mother] would be like "I'm telling you this, don't go and get yourself 'belly' [pregnant]" that's it, nothing more. **(Rhoda, IDI)**

It is generally believed that parents have an extremely important role in the overall sexual learning of their children (Morawska, Walsh, Grabski, & Fletcher, 2015). The girls' statements above about learning about sexuality from their parents demonstrate that parental sexual education is not comprehensive and embodies pathologizing, prohibiting and silencing messages in respect of very important aspects of children's sexual development. It is clear from the excerpts above that learning about sexuality from parents often focuses on discussing menstruation, abstinence and the dangers of sex including social risks. The interview data from parents show confirmatory evidence of silencing as a strategy used and suggests that parents deliberately decide not to engage in any meaningful discussion with their children concerning sexuality. As earlier noted in the previous chapter (chapter 6), most parents have a concern that 'proper' education about sexuality might encourage (female) adolescents to engage in sex. One of the mothers I interviewed said;

“[.....] the truth is; I don’t tell my daughters much about sexuality. Yes, I would only guide them into understanding the dangers so that they would be encouraged to ‘keep themselves’ [abstain from sexual activities]. To me that is good education. We are talking about children. They are not married yet. That is how I was brought up and I don’t regret it. **(Gina, mother IDI)**

Gina, like most parents that participated in this study believed in limiting sexual education for female adolescents.

Emerging from the focus group and Skype individual interview data was the fact that female adolescents are clearly not satisfied with the ‘half’ information received from parents and the faith community. To a significant extent, the Christian and Muslim faith communities in Nigeria tend to influence adolescents’ attitudes about and understandings of sexuality (Smith, 2004). For example, Church-attending young people are taught about premarital sexual abstinence as central to being a good, moral Christian. Church teachings encourage members to live righteously with a promise of a reward from God. In this sense, the life experiences of young people are fostered by the intersection of religion, sexuality and morality (Gopaldas, 2013). Generally, Christian faith communities teach that sexual intercourse be reserved for marriage (Eriksson, Lindmark, Haddad, & Axemo, 2014). Abstinence only messages from the churches are in line with parental messages regarding adolescent sexuality in Tiv society. Under the following subtheme, I expound how young women in this current research navigate their way around their sexual learning within such a context.

Most young women that participated in this study were not satisfied with the limited scope of sexuality education from their parents. They described the influence of parental teachings as subjugating, silencing and judgmental. As a contrast, the socializing influence of siblings and peers within accepting social circles was considered a relief and source of confidence. Hence, Tiv female adolescents reported learning about sexuality within their social circles of boys and girlfriends and on the internet. The following quotation refers to other sources of sexual learning that young women resort to as they push the boundaries:

[...] So, I think it’s better with the peers because they tell you a lot of things. **(Jessica, FG)**

For me, I learn about sexuality mostly from my peers and friends even the boys. I keep male friends a lot which is one of my problems with my Mum. Most at times through our discussions I get to learn. Also, in our girls' meetings¹⁹ we bring out some topics for discussion and from there all members learn from one another. We make sure our parents are not aware that such topics are discussed in our meetings because like my mother if she gets to know I will not be allowed to attend such meetings again.

(Comfort, FG)

I also learn from my friends and compare the two and take my final decision about sexual matters. Parents don't want us to get so close to guys but for me I think I need to study guys because there are no truthful guys even if there are, they are not many. It is a big challenge for us because while the guys are not ready to abstain; we the girls are expected to abstain, 'how can we do it alone'? So, it's a big challenge but I know that my Mum is trying to protect me from things like STIs and all that. My friends tell me a lot about sex and from there I learn. That is how I get to know somethings that I could even tell my younger ones. **(Mabel, FG)**

The above examples represent the perceptions and views of most of the young women in this research and highlight that the primary sources of sexuality education for young people were not parents, but peer networks, which were also the means through which young Tiv women negotiated their ways through and around sexual matters. While these strategies might not necessarily be calculative or conscious, they represent attempts by young women to disrupt the dominant cultural norms and expectations about their sexuality.

Most young women concluded that their peer networks of friends tend to be more educative, supportive and unrestrictive of their sexuality. Praise, for example, exemplified this by stating, "But if its friends or maybe your peers like this, there is a way they talk to you about it [sex and sexuality] and they tell you their personal experiences that give you more knowledge. There is a kind of sharing information, no fault finding. So, that is how I learn, you know?" Comfort also reported learning about sexuality from her social circles of friends. She also shows how young women 'secretly' learn about sexuality in groups. I say secretly because this sexual learning is concealed from parents. This strategy seems to work out well for female adolescents. In relation to their agency, what stood up from Comfort's account is that some young Tiv women

¹⁹ In Nigeria, it is common to find small groups of young people who graduated the same year from secondary school meeting to socialize and discuss other matters of interest. Such meetings provide new opportunities for sociality. Members are expected to assist one another in times of need. Such associations might comprise boys only, girls only, or mixed depending on whether they were educated in a single-sex or mixed college.

'act in a deliberate manner to produce certain outcomes' even as they face social and cultural constraints concerning their sexuality (Curtis, 2009, p. 7). From the research evidence, sexual learning within youth subculture focuses mostly on love, dating, desire, contraception and relationships, aspects of sexuality development which were clearly lacking from parental sexual education.

In the last quote above, Mabel seems to be agentic as she compared messages from parents and friends and made an informed decision concerning her sexual choices. She also noted a sexual double standard in the society where young women are taught to abstain from sex while their male counterparts are not cautioned. Her account suggests that one of the consequences of these different freedoms is that girls experience considerable sexual pressure from boys. If unmarried females are not permitted to have sexual encounters but males *are*, the possibilities may be increased for coercion, control and sexual exploitation. The study found that the pressure to give in to the sexual demands of men sometimes made it difficult for young girls to abstain from sexual activities. This appears to be a case in which girls are trapped between the patriarchal assumptions of male sexual entitlement and patriarchal demands for female chastity.

The current study also found that peer networks are influential in young women's decision to engage in sexual activity, as sexually experienced adolescents often encourage nervous ones to engage in first sex. Stephanie's account illustrates this suggestion:

I discussed everything with my friends, telling them about guys toasting²⁰ me and how my mother normally say, 'the moment you sleep with a man and you enter this house I will know'. Like whenever I'm going to school, and I rub powder, she would ask me to wash it off. She made me feel that sex is out of the way, so I felt yes let me discuss it with my friends. So, I was discussing it with my friends on and on and I was telling them how scared I am going close to a man because of my mother's threat. My friends were like '*burn your mother, if you do (have sexual intercourse), how she go take know*' (don't consider your mother she won't know). I told them that my mother said if I do it (have sex) and I come through the door she will know. They told me that it was just a threat and a joke. So, we went to a party that evening and all the girls were with their boyfriends and they were just not comfortable with me saying I should not go close to them calling me Virgin Mary. So, that day I was like why is my mother tying me down? I now called the guy that was toasting me to come that we will do it that day, because

²⁰ The term 'toasting' is commonly used by young people in Nigeria to describe the process of initiating a romantic relationship.

of my friend I went into that it was my first time and I got pregnant and told my friends that ah only one time and I am pregnant, and they said it's not their business, I should not bother them. **(Stephanie, FG)**

Based on Stephanie's account, it appeared that she exercised her sexual agency albeit with the influence of peers. A similar finding was reported by a study conducted in South Africa (Akintola et al., 2012), where the influence of sexually experienced friends was found to be a major factor influencing (first) sexual intercourse by young women. From my analysis, it appeared that parents might be more successful in buffering peer influence on sexual behaviour during early adolescence, but not during late adolescence. The findings also suggest that the influence of peer networks is not necessarily dysfunctional. This is expounded later in this chapter (7.3.2) in relation to seeking knowledge about contraception.

7.3 Navigating the Boundaries

Although young women were not directly asked about ways they navigate the typical sexual barriers placed on them, these issues repeatedly came up in focus groups and when discussing some of the 'hypothetical' scenarios. Young women devise personal strategies to negotiate their way through and around the sexuality terrain, suggesting that these 'moves' may be indicative of some form of sexual agency. The participants' call is conceptualized as 'navigating the boundaries' and consists of three subcategories: 'sending and receiving sexually suggestive messages', 'watching the slope' and 'deflecting judgement and blame'. These are discussed below.

7.3.1 Sending and Receiving Sexually Suggestive Messages and Images

Sharing sexually explicit messages and pictures with the aid of technology is considered a form of sexual behaviour (Gordon-Messer, Bauermeister, Grodzinski, & Zimmerman, 2013). Some young women in this study reveal during conversations that they practiced sexting.²¹ Though the term 'sexting' was never used during discussions, young women spoke about 'sharing of sexy stuff' which indicates sexting. Since the issue of "sex stuff" came up in focus groups, I explored this topic further through Skype interviews. Interestingly, some participants shared

²¹ Sexting entails creating, sending and receiving sexually suggestive photographs, texts, or video clips via a cell phone or other devices (Chandler & Munday, 2016; Weisskirch, Drouin, & Delevi, 2017).

their personal experiences and perceptions about sexting. Sending and receiving sexually explicit pictures and messages was considered as fun and a source of pleasure. This is illustrated in the following conversation when the issue of the phenomenon of sexting was first brought up by a respondent:

[...] Sometimes you just share some sexy stuff with your boyfriend if you have a 'good phone' [smartphone] and parents won't know any bit. **(Ene, FG)**

Researcher: Do you mean text messages and pictures?

Yeah. Many girls in school do that. My roommates send 'funny' pictures [nude or nearly-nude selfies] to boys through WhatsApp, Snapchat and Instagram. It's really, I think just to catch fun and a kind of feel good. I send stuff sometimes yeah [laugh]. **(Ene, FG)**

Yeah lovers exchange sweet messages and some kind of pictures. It depends on how much you trust your guy and how much you love each other. When a guy is asking you out and you are saying no initially just to prove to him that you are not the cheap type But once you send him stuff he will know that you have accepted. **(Mavis, FG)**

Given that the prohibitive context in sub-Saharan Africa and in particular the Tiv society does not 'allow' young women to freely express their sexuality, social media has become a space (a different context) for some young women to explore and express their sexuality. This means that youths are using smartphones applications such as Instagram, WhatsApp, and Snapchat as part of their sexual explorations and expressions. A recent study (Van Ouytsel, Van Gool, Walrave, Ponnet, & Peeters, 2017) also found that these cell phone applications are commonly used by young people for sexting. In Ene's view, sharing sexually suggestive text messages and images could overcome parents' surveillance and control strategies. In a sense, sexting is one of the ways through which female adolescents secretly negotiate sexual expression.

My interpretation of the above conversation reveals some motives and social contexts of sexting. Findings show that sexting could be a source of amusement and pleasure and also that it appears to have a role in young women's demonstration of sexual agency. This is because engaging in sexting is one of the ways young women act consciously to seek sexual pleasure.

As for the social contexts that surround adolescent sexting, Mavis was one of the participants who considered love and trust. For some young women, sending and receiving of sexually explicit images and messages takes place within the context of an intimate and romantic

relationship where adolescents tend to express their feeling to one another. Thus, sexting is a part of teenage (and adult) sexual relationships. Van Ouytsel et al. (2017), found that teenage girls would send nude or semi-nude photos to their boyfriends as a sign of love. Engagement in sexting could also be based on trust. This is not unconnected to the possibility that such photos might be distributed by a romantic ex-partner in an event of a break up. The spreading of sexts beyond the intending receiver can be a source of anxiety for an unmarried young woman, whose chances of marriage might largely depend on her sexual reputation within the community. This again brings to mind the typical assumption that the onus is on females (and not males who are often the agents of distribution in case of sexting gone wrong) to take responsibility when it comes to matters relating to sex and sexuality (Ringrose, Harvey, Gill, & Livingstone, 2013; Van Ouytsel et al., 2017).

Interestingly, this study found that sending explicit photos and messages by a young woman could mean an expression of acceptance for a man's sexual advances. Mavis's statement above indicates that young women believed that accepting a man's proposal so easily could mean that the girl is a 'cheap girl'²². Thus, young women engage in 'scripted refusal' from the standpoint of agency. Such initial refusal does not mean a definite refusal but rather a tactic used by young women to avoid the "bad girl" label and gain respect in a would-be relationship. As noted by some participants and illustrated by Mavis' quote, a sexually suggestive text message or photo to a young man who initiates a refused advance again indicates acceptance. This finding suggests that sexting could be used as a personal gender script (Masters et al., 2013), and is a symbolic way of saying 'yes' in romantic relationship initiations.

Across individual Skype-interviews, I asked young women about what they had experienced or observed among their social circle of friends and peers concerning 'sharing of sexy stuff' via internet using cell phones. Some young women who claimed that they had engaged or are currently engaging in the practice of sexting discussed their personal experiences. For example, Brenda provided an insightful account of her experience and gave an anecdote about a sexting incident concerning her friend who was also present during the interview. (Brenda had asked for my permission to invite her friend to be with her during the interview session. Permission

²² This is a common phrase used among young people (male) in Nigeria to refer to a young woman who gives in without hesitation to a demand for sex or intimacy from a man.

was granted and Chichi (not real name) attended). Below is an extract from my conversation with Brenda:

Researcher: What do you know about boys and girls sharing sexy stuff like love messages and sometimes nude or nearly-nude photos among your peers? Hope you know what I mean.

Yes, I know what you are talking about [laughing]. Hmm, when you love a guy and can't go to his house then you hang out online and have fun. My boyfriend encouraged me to do it and when I asked some of my friends they said it was okay to do it. It was then that I knew my friends were doing it too. He [my boyfriend] was like, "baby I miss you please send some sexy pics". So, yeah. I send him some, but they were not really nude. I always ask him to delete those messages. But the whole thing is kind of risking you know? Especially for girls because someone might use that to 'spoil your name' [damage somebody's good name]. **(Brenda, IDI)**

Researcher: Okay. So, do you have such experience or observed that among your peers?

No personal experience. It happens to my friend here [referring to Chichi]. Her ex-boyfriend was angry because she said she was no longer interested in the relationship. The guy forwarded the photo of my friend's boobs to the new boyfriend my friend felt so badly but the new guy is a good person, so he just told my friend that she should not bother. But imagine if her parents got to hear about it. **(Brenda, IDI)**

Again, sexting is considered as an alternative way of sexual self-expression and fun. This is consistent with the results of a study of sexting among undergraduate students in Western Canada (Samimi & Alderson, 2014). The research found that sexting was considered both fun and also, an integral part of romantic relationships. Looking at Brenda's account as with other accounts in the data, it is evident that the practice of sexting is accepted and encouraged within adolescents' subculture in Tiv land although, for females, it does transcend the boundaries set by society. When asked if she has had a sour experience with sexting, Brenda provided an anecdote that dealt with a sexting that went wrong. It concerned a young man who after breaking up with a girl forwarded a sexting photo he had received from this ex-girlfriend to her new lover, probably to tarnish her image. This result is unsurprising given that sex and sexuality in Tiv society is deeply embedded in patriarchal values and culture.

Adolescents' engagement in sexting can be viewed as an interaction through which they use non-verbal communication for sexual self-expression. Research has found that sexting is part of flirting behaviour (Pearce, 2010; Samimi & Alderson, 2014) and a sexual symbol in a process

of social interaction. Young people attach subjective meanings to sending and receiving sexually suggestive photographs and messages based on their definition of the behaviour (Longmore, 1998). How individuals make meaning and interpret a situation is an ongoing process that is subject to change. In this sense, an unintended event, such as the forwarding of nude selfies to others after a romantic relationship break up, might propel a reconstruction of the situation (Roberts & Clarke, 2009).

7.3.2 Preventing Pregnancy

Given that getting pregnant is the most obvious indication that one has engaged in sexual intercourse, some young women in this study reported that they use contraception. Female adolescents seem to be aware that sex without the use of contraceptives would expose them to the risk of unintended pregnancy. However, they were concerned about the judgmental attitudes of some healthcare workers, perhaps fearing that they might be reported to the parents for using contraceptives. Therefore, young women would hide contraceptive use which might be taken as a proof of already engaging in sexual behaviour. Generally, the use of contraceptives remains quite low among adolescents in Nigeria (Izugbara, 2005b; Ogunjuyigbe & Adepoju, 2014). As illustrated below, the issue of contraception poses a lot of challenges for female adolescents.

Researcher: What do you think could or should have been done differently?

I don't want to judge her [referring to Stephanie in one of the hypothetical scenarios] but I think she should have avoided it [premarital pregnancy]. Yeah. I mean. Like using pills, you know? I use that [contraceptives] to avoid getting into trouble [pregnancy]. But I won't want my parents to find out that I use it [laughs]. People might think you are a bad girl if they get to know [that a young woman uses contraceptive] but you will avoid the shame of getting pregnant. **(Becky, ID1)**

No lady would want to get pregnant before marriage except for those 'big girl'²³ who might want to 'pin down'²⁴ a guy. But, when you are not able to 'just stay' [abstain] and would like to find a way of protecting yourself ... those working there [healthcare worker at the clinic] talk too much. I remember when my friend visited the clinic and one of the nurses went and reported to the mother. She [the nurse] pretended she was going to give my friend more information about the stuff [contraceptive] but it

²³ Unmarried young women living outside of family households with less parental surveillance.

²⁴ To 'trap' a young man with the intention to marry him.

was all lies. My friend had to lie that she went there to collect the pills for another woman. **(Rhoda, IDI)**

Researcher: And the mother believed your friend?

No. She [the mother] had to search my friend's room but luckily, she never saw it [laughing]. **(Rhoda, IDI)**

The above extracts illustrate the complexities of deciding to use contraception among female adolescents. For example, there was a general feeling among young women that, the use of contraceptives by female adolescents is perceived as being associated with promiscuity. This poses a challenge for young women engaging in sexual intercourse as their contraceptive practices might become 'public' knowledge through rumours and they might lose their good reputation, or alternatively, they might avoid using contraception and risk pregnancy. Becky acknowledged this dilemma but preferred the potential risk of inadvertent disclosure of her sexual behaviour by using contraception rather than risk pregnancy. Becky, like three other young women who spoke about their personal experiences on this issue, had tried to conceal their contraceptive practices from parents and significant others.

As demonstrated by the quote from Rhoda above, contraceptive use among female adolescents could be hampered by healthcare providers' ambivalence about providing such reproductive health services to this group. Findings from a study conducted among various health care providers in Nigeria (Ahanonu, 2014) suggest that healthcare providers have negative attitudes towards providing contraceptives for unmarried female adolescents. In the current study, what is new and interesting is how a healthcare provider would directly or indirectly inform a mother about her daughter's contraceptive use. Rhoda's friend who had gone to seek contraceptive service in a health clinic had been 'reported' to her mother by a nurse working at the community health clinic. Examples of contraceptive service providers reporting to parents if unmarried adolescents came to the health centre for contraceptives were also found in a study in Uganda (Nalwadda, Mirembe, Byamugisha, & Faxelid, 2010).

There seemed to be a conflict between health practitioner's sociocultural values in relation to sexuality and the ethical principles of their profession. Healthcare providers first acquired the

dominant cultural values and ideas relating to sex and sexuality from home. These 'societal values' linked adolescent sexuality in the minds of health care workers with risk, sin, taboo and deviance. During their professional training, clients' confidentiality most likely will have been emphasised. It seems that the values acquired prior to entering the health care profession tend to override those concerning confidential access to contraceptive services (Kennedy et al., 2013). Though healthcare workers were not included in this study, this indicates that the judgemental and unprofessional attitudes of health care providers might influence decision-making relating to contraceptives by female adolescent. This is supported by qualitative studies involving young women and nurses in South Africa (Wood & Jewkes, 2006), and among young people in Mityana and Mubende districts of Uganda (Nalwadda et al., 2010). Both studies indicated that nurses' and other healthcare providers' judgemental views about, and tendency to stigmatise unmarried adolescent's sexuality, are key obstacles to seeking contraceptive services and use of contraceptives by this group. As discussed further in chapter 8, the intersecting aspects of nurses'²⁵ identities seem to combine to oppress other women.

Other studies, (Ahmed, Moussa, Petterson, & Asamoah, 2012; Bersamin, Fisher, Marcell, & Finan, 2017; Ikeme, Ezegwui, & Uzodimma, 2005; Somba, Mbonile, Obure, & Mahande, 2014) have investigated the barriers to, and/or reasons for the non-use of contraceptives among (female) adolescents. Reports reveal that some of the factors include concerns about privacy, fear of stigma, embarrassment, lack of proper education on contraceptives, sex 'just happening' (unplanned or alcohol induced sexual activities), attitudes of health care providers (Ahanonu, 2014), and perceived parental disapproval of this practice for unmarried adolescents.

Tiv parents who participated in this study were not in support of female adolescents' use of contraception. In our interviews, parents expressed negative attitudes towards contraceptive practices for their daughters. Mothers generally felt that supporting the use of contraception by young women would mean indirectly allowing them to engage in premarital sexual intercourse. This finding indicates a lack of parental involvement in adolescents' contraceptive use in the study area. This is not surprising given that most parents promote abstinence as a

²⁵ As discussed in this study, nurses were women.

sole option for their daughters. For mothers, saying 'No' is the recommended form of contraception for their female adolescents. Invariably, information on other options or choices is withheld. The following quotes represent the typical views expressed by parents during interviews:

I can tell my daughter about precautions only when it is obvious that she has started having sex already against my plan for her. For the innocent ones there is no need exposing them to contraceptive because it will rather encourage them to have sex. **(Kwasemase, mother IDI)**

You see we don't expect them to be engaging in sex, so, there is no point telling them all such things. The school may teach them that but not me. **(Mauya, mother IDI)**

My mother never told me about all that and I'm not ready to do it either. My primary purpose of talking to my daughter about sex is not to expose or teach her about sex but rather to discourage that act at this stage. So, I think parents should prevent their daughters from developing interest in this thing called sex. Telling them about contraceptive is equal to giving them the go ahead for sexual intercourse. **(Doose, mother IDI)**

Emphasizing abstinence until marriage and withholding contraceptive information is potentially problematic as it could negatively affect young women's sexual development. This is because not all young women will wait until marriage to have sexual intercourse. Mothers' disapproval and non-involvement in their children's contraceptive use seems to be based on their specific religious and moral values which they have presumably learned from their own mothers. Doose, for instance noted that since she was never introduced to contraception, she was not prepared to expose her daughter to it. In Kwasemase's view, only sexually active adolescents should be given information about contraception. This again might not serve the protective purpose intended by parents. This is because, as discussed later in this chapter, young women tend to conceal their sexual activities and parents might not discover that their daughters are already sexually active. Despite the lack of support and approval from parents, my findings revealed some young women in the study site were using contraception.

Interestingly, adolescents might turn to siblings and peers for information concerning contraception when parents do not provide them with such needed information. This picture was painted by Jane and Ngusen when they said:

I learn about sexuality from my Mum and my elder sisters, but mother does not talk about that [contraceptive use]. [.....] Not engaging in sex is not easy, so my elder sisters are there to tell me what to do to avoid pregnancy. I also hear a lot [about ways of preventing pregnancy] from my friends. My friends will be like, “baby girl you need to be sharp [smart].” They are supportive of it. **(Jane, FG)**

Of course, I dare not talk about using anything to prevent pregnancy with my parents. So, me and some of my friends we talk about it and read on internet about contraceptives. We like; a kind of help ourselves, you know what I mean? I started using [contraceptives] when a lady on the same street [in our neighbourhood] got pregnant and her parents gave her out for marriage to an old man, can you imagine? I cried for her. So, I started discussing with my friends and I got good ideas about using them [contraceptives]. Because [Laughs] I said to myself; it is not everything that parents would want to talk to us about. **(Ngusen, IDI)**

From the two excerpts above, it is clear, that young women learn about contraception within their social cycles of friends and siblings. This finding is consistent with a study conducted in Mozambique (Capurchande, Coene, Schockaert, Macia, & Meulemans, 2016), which suggests that young people get knowledge about contraception within their social networks. It is interesting that like other young women in this research, Jane confesses that abstinence from sex was not easy. The young women’s accounts demonstrate sexual agency and the acknowledgement of sexual desire. What was loud in their voices, however, was a sense of struggle to express their sexuality within the social and cultural contexts of gender subjugation.

The fact that young women discuss contraception and safe sex within their social network of friends suggests a positive peer influence and indicates that peers are alternative conduits of reproductive and sexual health information for young people. While most studies (Voisin & Neilands, 2010; Whitaker & Miller, 2000) have tended to suggest that peer influence leads young people to engage in deviant and ‘unhealthy’ sexual activities, this current study suggests that peers can encourage themselves to engage in healthy and safe sexual behaviours. The point here is that peer influence (which in most cases rivalled parental influence) within social circles might not necessarily be dangerous to young women’s overall sexual wellbeing. In relation to the use of contraceptives among young women therefore, peer influence might be a positive context for female adolescents’ healthy sexual development. It is argued here that, providing young people with concrete information about contraceptive might not be a passport to premarital sexual experimentation (Forster, Wardle, Stephenson, & Waller, 2010).

Overall, the actions of health care providers in relation to providing unmarried young women with contraceptives as revealed in this study, raises a question about client confidentiality but also indicates that not only mothers, but other women too, comply with social codes about the control of female sexuality and in effect, can be said to perform this function of patriarchy on behalf of men. This might also contribute in a powerful way to limiting female adolescents' sexual agency and development.

7.3.3 Deflecting Stigma and Blame

The data from the present study suggests that some young women tend to dispel judgement and blame relating to negative sexual outcomes (e.g. premarital pregnancy), which I found interesting. I'm mindful of the gendered and social construction of blame as it is evident in Tiv society, and how it serve as moral criticism and directs judgment at adolescent girls (Azzopardi, Alaggia, & Fallon, 2017; Malle, Guglielmo, & Monroe, 2014). Given the dominant perception that sexual activity among unmarried adolescents is inappropriate, female adolescents who become unintentionally pregnant out-of-wedlock are known to have violated their family's norm of avoiding sex before marriage. They are therefore perceived as being wayward, irresponsible and spoilt, which invariably translates into a stigmatizing identity and negatively affects their social well-being (Melvin & Uzoma, 2012; Wagner et al., 2013).

In Tiv society, like elsewhere, adolescent unintended pregnancy is a pressing concern and (as discussed in chapter 6) a site of shame. Should a young woman get pregnant, parents and other members of the community would blame her (alone)²⁶ for allowing that to happen. The feeling among some young women interviewed for this study was that blaming and expecting young women to take sole responsibility for a negative outcome of sexual activity such as unintended pregnancy is unfortunate and unacceptable. Within this subtheme, I focus on how adolescent girls who have had unintended pregnancy describe their experiences and attempt to deflect stigma and blame during interviews (Ellis-Sloan, 2014). In my interviews with young women, the accounts provided by Julian and Ahemen demonstrated young women's refusal

²⁶ The perception that young women are sexual gatekeepers while men are "assumed to be acting in accordance with their natural masculine desire" (Ellis-Sloan, 2014) indicates double standards and female subordination.

to accept the narratives available to them and constructing their own which suggests agency. Their voices were characterized by a sense of negotiating for ‘normality’²⁷. While seemingly obvious, it may be useful to point out that in most Sub-Saharan African societies, an unintended (pre-marital) pregnancy affects a female adolescent’s honour and social status within both her family and the community. The stories of these two young women are exceptional in that they were ‘allowed’ to give birth at her father’s house following an unintended pregnancy. Their stories will now be discussed in detail.

Eighteen-year-old Julian lives in a semi urban area with her parents, siblings and her toddler son. My interview with Julian was quite interesting as she engaged me as her audience by determining the focus of the interview. This was apparent when she switched over to her personal experience while commenting on a scenario presented to her. She was aware that I was ready to listen to her and not interested in judging her. This gave her the opportunity to share her experience and wittingly present a different narrative in order to challenge the ‘bad girl’ label. Julian had yielded to her first boyfriend’s persistent request for sex and got pregnant after her second sexual encounter. She described the moment she found out that she was pregnant as most traumatic. She had minimal information about sexuality and absolutely no idea about contraception at the time. Julian launched into the story about her pregnancy in a breathless tone:

It’s like, it could just happen to any girl, you know? Yeah, I mean getting pregnant. I just never knew how to go about it [how to prevent pregnancy]. My mother could not help. When it [pregnancy] happened, she started calling me all sort of names. I think she was supposed to help. It was like, in fact, a nightmare. Everyone in the family thought I was so bad. [...] I called my boyfriend because he started it all [long pause]. I was not interested [in engaging in sexual intercourse] in the first place but he insisted. **(Julian, ID1)**

Researcher: Okay. So, what did your boyfriend say when you told him about the pregnancy?

He was like “are you serious”? I told him I was just coming out of the community clinic. I was so sad and weak. He is well older than me and was supposed to know how that could get us into such mess. I blamed him the following week he called and was like “can you remove it” [abort the pregnancy] I said “no way, over my dead body, I can’t do that” I’m a Catholic and it’s bad to do that [abortion]. Yeah, I’m not a bad girl.

²⁷ Normality is used in this context to connote young women’s longing for a normal life after going through the life event of unintended pregnancy.

The whole thing was just a mistake But people just think, like, look at you and gossip. When I was carrying him [pregnant with my son] I wouldn't go out except night. **(Julian, ID1)**

In conveying her experiences, Julian assumed a defensive stance and engaged in a form of 'impression management'²⁸ throughout the interview. Given that unintended adolescent pregnancy tends to ruin a young woman's reputation and is often linked with perceptions of 'promiscuity', Julian's account could be read as an attempt to reconstruct and put forward a more positive 'self'. She started by pushing the blame to her mother whom she felt should have told her about how to prevent pregnancy instead of abstinence. She also further argued that her boyfriend should have been held responsible for initiating the idea of engaging in sex without a means of preventing pregnancy. Blaming her boyfriend rather than herself can be seen as a resilience attribute (Domhardt, Münzer, Fegert, & Goldbeck, 2015). With these strategies, it appears Julian recognises the 'blame' discourse as a pre-existing narrative and attempts to subvert it.

The logic offered by the traditional Tiv sexual system however, is that young women must "say no" to avoid negative outcomes of sexual activity. In this sense, Julian's defensive strategy of deflecting blame and responsibility might be ineffective since Tiv society holds women responsible for matters relating to sexuality, while paradoxically refusing them sexual autonomy. This again indicates gendered standards on sexual mores, as corroborated by a recent study which indicates that gender expectations and sexual double standards pervade females' sexuality generally and contraceptive practices in particular (Kelly et al., 2017). In terms of responsibility for use of contraception amongst youths, studies (Brown, 2015a; Capurchande et al., 2016) found that such responsibility is generally viewed as a young woman's 'burden' instead of a joint responsibility. Yet young women who are found carrying contraceptive pills or condoms are stigmatized and labelled as "Ashawo" [slut] (a term that is commonly used in Tiv society) which affects their reputation.

Julian also talked about abortion being presented to her perhaps as a way of avoiding stigma and her boyfriend reminded her that since finances were tight he could not afford to father a

²⁸ Drawing on Goffman's (1990) idea, impression management entails a process where an individual attempts to present a desired self to others during social interactions. Impressions of self are managed through verbal and non-verbal communications.

child. She used the opportunity to reconstruct a 'better' self, as she refers to herself as "*not a bad girl*". Julian's rejection of termination seems to be based on her Catholic faith. Abortion is a defining issue for the Catholic Church. Historically, Catholicism has come to be anti-abortion and arguably, anti-contraception (Mavuso & Chiweshe, 2017). Given that within Catholicism abortion is framed as killing of an unborn child and not just a termination of a foetus (Szelewa, 2016), it is argued here that Julian utilized her moral objection to abortion to minimise judgement and defend self against further blame. Equally interesting is Julian's strategy of defending herself from stigma by avoiding stigma. She described how she wouldn't leave the house in the day time to avoid meeting people who would potentially gossip about her pregnancy. Later in the interview, Julian confirmed that avoiding public places helped in minimising the chances of her being exposed to shame and stigma and indicates that despite demonstrating considerable resiliency, she was deeply affected by the negative responses to premarital pregnancy.

Similarly, seventeen-year-old Ahemen's account illustrates the deployment of defensive strategies in sharing a story of the path to an unintended pregnancy. When I interviewed Ahemen, she was in her final year in College and living in a rented apartment with her mother and two-year-old daughter. Her parents were no longer together. Ahemen's father had married another woman and was living in another part of the Country. Although Ahemen spoke with an air of emotion (which I noticed midway into the interview) about her experiences, her engagement in our interview was very lively. It was interesting how Ahemen would start her response to the scenarios (concerning Comfort & Stephanie, see appendix 11) presented to her with a defence in favour of the characters, and switch over to her personal story:

My thought about the whole situation is that nobody should blame the lady. People most times just, like criticize. In my case, it's not that they [my parents] asked me to go and 'see a guy' [have sexual intercourse] but my father was not there for me and my mother could not provide some basic needs. We had no money. He [my father] went away with his new wife [long pause]. No one in the family really talked to me about sex stuff.... Yeah, so, he [my boyfriend] was the one taking care of everything. It went on and on. I would visit him [long pause]. I was pregnant but didn't know [short laugh]. I love my daughter. **(Ahemen, IDI)**

Researcher: Okay. So, were you guys worried about pregnancy?

Do you mean like [pause]? (**Ahemen, IDI**).

Researcher: I mean protecting against pregnancy.

Yeah, my boyfriend bought some protection pills [contraception] for me. I can't explain because I used the pills, but it never works, you see? I could not try aborting. My mother would say "any of you that try to abort a baby in this house will die with the baby". I was so scared. (**Ahemen, IDI**)

Researcher: Do you mind sharing how it is like taking care of your baby?

I was so bothered but the father [my boyfriend] is always sending money. I went back to school after delivering the baby and I'm paying my fees from selling ladies shoes. I think life should go on I can still become what I want. Some girls that have not gotten pregnant are not better. (**Ahemen, IDI**)

Ahemen seemed to attribute her unintended pregnancy to her family structure and the fact that finances were tight at a time. She also spoke with a sense of alienation. It seemed that Ahemen used her financial situation to deflect blame and employed her sexuality in a desperate bid to cope with poverty. Using a sexual relationship to improve her financial situation is a good example of expressing agency (Bell, 2012). This development suggests a practice of sexual exchange (the complexity of and social construction of sexual exchange as a social transaction is discussed below 7.4.2) and highlights the influence of family poverty on female adolescents' sexuality and a higher probability of premarital unintended pregnancy among young women from broken marriages. This is corroborated by the literature which indicates that female adolescents living in maritally disrupted households are more likely to become pregnant unintentionally (Moore & Chase-Lansdale, 2001).

Ahemen claimed she had attempted to avoid pregnancy, hinting at contraceptive failure perhaps as a defensive mechanism. According to her, she had been on the pill the boyfriend gave her when she became pregnant. One can assume that inappropriate usage or contraceptive failure would account for the young woman's pregnancy. This again raises questions about the style of sexual education from Tiv parents. Safe sex education appears to be lacking. Ahemen's account further confirms that sexual education in the family is often through threats and warnings. For instance, Ahemen's mother would threaten her children with death should they attempt terminating an unwanted pregnancy. Similar instances were widespread in my data. It is argued here that mothers utilised such threats to firstly scare their

daughters away from sexual activities, and secondly, to avoid the potential risks and complications associated with an abortion. One of the participants reported during focus groups:

My Mum is a very wonderful woman [laughs]. When I was growing up she will always tell me that if I misbehave and bring an unwanted pregnancy in her house she will kill me and that “if you try aborting the pregnancy you will die”. So, with such warnings, I try to be very careful any time I want to... [Mumbles incoherently] If I am going out of the way I remind myself that my Mum has been warning me. **(Mabel, FG)**

It is interesting to note that some girls (some of the time) seem to accept the ‘abstinence’ rule from their parents. In Mabel’s quote above, she acknowledged that abstinence-until-marriage messages from her mother influenced her decision to engage in sexual activities.

Like Julian, as expressed in the above conversation, Ahemen longed for a ‘normal’ life. She did not seem to expect anything different because of her becoming unintentionally pregnant. She still wanted to go to school and become who she wanted to be in life. The young women whose stories are used here demonstrate resilience. For example, Ahemen’s resilient behaviour is evident in the fact that she could source money for her tuition fees and go back to school. She argued that an unintended pregnancy does not make a young woman any worse than others who are equally sexually active. Julian and Ahemen appeared to have used language to consciously manage their image and deflect stigma. I can speculate that because I was a male from the same society, these young women thought they needed to be defensive.

Young women seem not to be alone in attempting to push away blame. When efforts to prevent a daughter from becoming pregnant failed, one of the participants (mother) in this study blamed the father (her husband) whom she said has failed in his duty to provide the basic needs of their daughter.

When it happened [my daughter became pregnant], people in this community started gossiping that I did not bring up my daughter well. My husband also blamed me. I became angry and told him to stop it. He was surprised, he never knew I could say such a thing to him. I did my best, but he did not do his part by providing her [our daughter] with enough money to buy basic things. **(Kumawuese, mother IDI)**

Kumawuese’s statement suggests that material gifts and financial gain may be a motivator for sexual relationships among young women, and that providing all their material needs would

encourage abstinence. This way of thinking is in line with the findings of a study conducted among adolescents in four countries in Sub-Saharan Africa (Moore & Biddlecom, 2006). Using a set of qualitative and quantitative data, the study revealed that 75% of participants reported that money or gifts were the main motivator for sex in their last sexual encounter. This finding seems to place external reasons over and above sexual desire as motivations for sex among adolescents. My research suggests however that while some sexual encounters may be a form of commercial exchange for young women, for other adolescents, the primary driver for sex is the emergence of sexual identities and sexual desire (Dawson, Shih, de Moor, & Shrier, 2008).

Also implicit in the excerpt above is the understanding of the cultural notion of 'respect' with patriarchy tendency (Britta, 2009) which is pervasive in the Tiv society. In Tiv society, as in much of African societies, there is enormous social pressure on women to be respectful to men generally and their husband in particular in order to earn a status as a "good wife". Therefore, Kumawuese's audacity to push back and challenge her husband for his inability to provide their daughter's basic needs could be violating the patriarchy norm of respect²⁹ with attendant consequences. When asked what the husband's reaction was following the counter accusation, Kumawuese said "I don't want to say much about that now, it was bad". One could only speculate on what happened. It is most likely that this woman was beaten. This patriarchy norm of respect perpetuates gender imbalances and undermines women's agency.

7.4 Negotiating Agency and Sexual Agency

Within the young women's subculture, sex seems to be accepted and encouraged. Some young women disrupt the repressing constraints by engaging in sex and exercising agency but express fears of a bad reputation and the social consequences that might follow. Commonly, sexually active girls are seen as 'bad girls' 'sluts' and agentic young women are derogated as 'man-woman' [unladylike]. Analysis of the current data, however, found some evidence of resistance and challenges to culturally dominant discourses that subjugate young women's sexuality. Young women agreed that being a girl in Tiv society goes with the expectation for one to be

²⁹ This means a cultural template that reinforces the rules of female obedience and submission. This code of respect emphasizes the respect that a wife owe to her husband (Britta, 2009).

obedient, passive and sexually innocent. In their everyday lives, they were faced with boundaries and tried to negotiate the expectations of the social context. I identified three subthemes associated with this theme: 1) contesting socio-cultural expectations, 2) The money-gifts script, 3) same-sex intimacies. These are discussed below drawing on some quotations from the data to illustrate the link between the data and analysis.

7.4.1 Contesting Socio-Cultural Expectations

At the beginning of each focus group discussion, young women were asked to describe what it is like being a girl in Tiv society. In response, they shared their experiences and thoughts as they grow up as females. Cultural scripts set up females as subordinate to men which in turn set the stage for the control of female sexuality, which might limit their agency. Young women in this study clearly articulate their knowledge of constraining sociocultural expectations and double standards that prescribe their sexual and general behaviour. Such repressing constraints, however, were contested in much of young women's talk about being a girl:

Yeah just as she said, I keep asking why the girl is called such bad names when she has sex before marriage, but the same unmarried boy involved in the act is not seen as a bad person. What is that for? Is he too special or something? That is not fair. Not at all.
(Sharon FG)

Like me, growing up here as a girl all eyes are on me. I am not saying that I don't want to do anything at home, but the problem is my younger siblings that are boys... Why they are not asked the same questions, and made to stay at home always the same way we (the girls) are compelled? I don't like it... and that is why we [pause] some girls find a way out. **(Kwasedoo FG)**

So, my point is why must I be the only one to wash the plates and fetch firewood while my brother sits and waits for food? I told him the other day that if he doesn't wash the plates then I will dish food for him in the dirty plates. We all have the same hands so what is it? **(Mabel FG)**

In all these excerpts, young women challenge the inequity of constraining expectations and the disproportionate assignment of domestic chores to boys and girls. The girls' accounts not only show their dissatisfaction with the traditional discourse that offers them less agency, but also the tendency to disrupt it. What is of interest, especially in Kwasedoo's account is that girls respond to the unbalanced treatments of boys and girls by pushing the boundaries. In her words, "girls find a way out". This seems to be an emerging spirit of consciousness among female adolescents that draws on an agentic mind-set. Finding a way out could mean covertly

exercising some level of freedom which may not go without social repercussions such as being assigned labels of deviancy, and public shaming (Smith, 2012).

As discussed elsewhere in the thesis, Kwasedoo's response indicates there is a heightened level of surveillance of girls within the Tiv society. Her phrase "as a girl all eyes are on me" suggests a direct and relentless policing of female adolescents' (but not their male counterparts') sexual behaviour by parents and the community (Tolman, 2002). I submit that this gendered surveillance constitutes a serious barrier to the effective development of female adolescents' sexuality in northern Nigeria. This is because the strict monitoring comes with starving the girls of basic sexual and reproductive health information, making their journey of sexuality development more challenging. This is evident in their lack of knowledge and low use of contraceptives as discussed earlier. The gender differences in surveillance of the sexual behaviour of adolescents was also reported by an ethnographic research conducted among 46 young people in Tanzania (Wamoyi, Fenwick, Urassa, Zaba, & Stones, 2011), where parents tended to tolerate the sexual activities of their sons partly because of the dominant patriarchal culture.

Generally, the Nigerian society (especially the northern part of the country) is highly patriarchal in nature (Makama, 2013). The girls' accounts indicate that their gender identity and sexuality emerge as both the effect of patriarchal attitudes and their own agency. It is clear however, that social and cultural standards or expectations stand between young women and their sexual agency. The point here is that, even when young women feel entitled to their own sexuality, they still have the culture of patriarchy to contend with (Tolman, 2002). Mothers too seem to have this patriarchal culture to struggle with. As expounded in chapter 6, mothers' agency seems constricted to ensuring that young women's sexuality is constrained. Yet, such mothers act within the constrained set of options to prevent their daughters from becoming unintentionally pregnant as this brings shame to the girls and their families.

One of the interesting findings was that some young women challenged shame-based circumstances in their lives and refused to be perpetually victimized by shame but "pick up their pieces". Although the struggle to bounce back took different shapes for different young women, but what is common is that they all seemed to show resilience. Stephanie who was so self-revealing describes this beautifully through her account of unintended pregnancy:

[.....] I received so much insult from family members and neighbours. My mother told me I am her only daughter and the worst daughter. But when I gave birth to the baby I picked up my pieces and now I'm in school. The person I had the child with... I don't even know where he is. **(Stephanie, FG)**

Adolescents who get pregnant outside of the social framework I have described, seem to view themselves through a prism formed out of their interaction with their parents and the wider community (Plunkett, Henry, Robinson, Behnke, & Falcon, 2007); interactions which are mediated by shame and blame. It is clear from the quote above, that Stephanie's unintended pregnancy brought excruciating shame to her and her mother. In the guilt and regret she expressed, it is also clear that Stephanie had internalised the shame. The 'claiming' of shame, through self-blame was a common response among participants who reported engaging in sexual activities. As young women internalize parental, cultural and religious messages, they begin by 'holding themselves'³⁰ and restraining from sexual activities. However, at a certain point they 'break away'³¹ by engaging in sex. As earlier mentioned, their self-expression is nevertheless followed by a strong feeling of guilt, shame, fear and regret. This finding offers an understanding of the role of sexual socialization messages in the development of subjective sexual outcomes in Tiv female adolescents.

During the focus group discussions, an interesting dynamic occurred. Unencumbered by parents and religious leaders, the groups seemed to generate an alternative (albeit temporary) set of social rules, among which was the implicit permission to express agency, personal needs and, desires. In the group in which Stephanie participated, I observed a shift in her narrative regarding her 'shame' (pre-marital pregnancy) and she came to speak of this with the voice of resilience. Indeed, it seemed that it was with a sense of pride that she declared her determination to move on with her life when the child was born. Apart from the stigma of unintended pregnancy that young women carry, most drop out of school and are not able to get back even after the child is born. Stephanie's decision about continuing her education without any assistance from her parents and not minding what other students would say shows strength and agency. In Tiv society, it is commonplace for fellow students to gossip and ridicule any female student known to have given birth while yet unmarried. Affected young

³⁰ This phrase is used to mean young women's conscious suppression of their sexual desires in line with cultural expectations.

³¹ Breaking away occurs when young women's values clash with those of the parents and the adolescent decides to escape from parental authority or challenge adult stance of issues of sexuality.

women are likely to internalise these negative responses and may develop a negative self-concept in terms of their sexuality. The strength of the shame is further illustrated by some teachers advising other students to stay away from any student that has had a child out of wedlock.

[.....] Like my neighbour, after giving birth she told her parents that she would like to go back to school. Some schools refused to admit her. When she got to our school the principal (head teacher) accepted but some teachers were saying to her “don’t teach other students about sex, we don’t want them to be like you”. It was so bad, I felt so bad. I think it was just a mistake because she never planned to get pregnant, it just happened. **(Mabel, FG)**

Researcher: Were they male or female teachers?

Female teachers, yes married women and they also have daughters. What if it is one of their daughters? **(Mabel, FG)**

Unintended pregnancy constitutes a serious barrier to education (Psaki, 2016; Roby, Lambert, & Lambert, 2009). As illustrated in the data above, young women are sometimes denied access to school because of their status as single mothers. Some of the young women whose stories come out in the current study were able to challenge their situation and long for ‘normalcy’ (I will elaborate on this in the next chapter). Stephanie for example, continued living with her parents even as they refuse to pay for her education, she went back to school as she desired, with the hope of getting a job (as a counsellor) in future. Stephanie had to trade in second hand clothes to fund her education.

7.4.2 The Money-gifts Script

This section examines the symbolic role of money and gifts in young women’s sexual relationships, and their understandings of instances where a girl receives money or other material gifts from a man. It was evident from focus group discussions and individual interviews that young women engage in the practice of sexual exchange. This practice is conceptualized in this study as a money-gifts script. The study considered how transactional sex is scripted among Tiv female adolescents. It is interesting how participants conceived of what it means to collect material gifts from a male partner, distinguishing it from an activity engaged in by prostitutes. Depending on the situation, the money-gifts script might foster or limit sexual agency.

The significance of, and complexities associated with gifts in relationships was a prevalent topic in young women's talk, discussed in all focus groups and several of the individual interviews. Money-gifts was socially scripted by some young women as both an overt sign of love and a demonstration of seriousness on the part of a male partner or would-be partner as represented in the following extract:

Adding to what she has said, to me, if you are giving me gifts I feel you love me so much that is why you are giving me gifts and at a time I get carried away by those gifts and I 'fall' [give in to advances]. **(Jessy, FG)**

This thing about gift [pause] I don't know maybe I love money too much [participants laughing]. Gift is an aspect *or sign* of love and care [italic added] **(Ivy, FG)**

I think it is common these days because of poverty and it is the girls mostly that feel they need money. I think money and gifts are very important in any relationship, like me it's when you give me money that I know you are serious. My first experience was like.... It was on Valentine's Day and this guy said he had a gift for me but it was in his room. So, when I went to collect he shut his door and started touching me [long pause]. That was my first (sexual) experience, I was saying no, no, no, but he would not listen. **(Comfort, FG)**

The extracts above show that material gain might be one of the factors encouraging young women to engage in sexual relationships. Participants acknowledged that girls received money and other material gifts from men, but in their discussion differentiated it from a direct exchange which prostitutes engage in. Comfort's account from one of the extracts above suggests that young women experience some form of coercion through the money-gifts script. It seems young men use money and gifts as a manipulative strategy to lure young women to engage in sexual intercourse. This strategy seems to have worked for Comfort's boyfriend. She was concerned about her parents finding out that she visited a man, thus she could not scream for help. Comfort had preferred to allow his boyfriend to have his way rather than call the attention of other people to her near rape experience. When asked if she did scream, Comfort said: "no I did not scream... because I was afraid the neighbours might hear and report to my parents and I will be in another trouble because they [my parents] would ask me 'what took you to his room?'" This suggests that comfort was 'trapped' both by her boyfriend and her fears.

Comfort's experience of coerced sex clearly exposes how violence is sometimes used to achieve the assumed male 'sex-right' especially in the context of gift giving and receiving

(Britta, 2009; Wood, 2006) in a patriarchal environment. Having to make a choice about being silent about rape (probably to avoid incurring the wrath of her parents) rather than admit to sexual activity shows a very low capacity for agency. Comfort found herself in a situation that inhibits her ability to decide not to engage in sexual intercourse and could only tolerate sexual violence. This finding problematizes the 'say no to men' approach that parents tend to inculcate in the consciousness of their daughters as a strategy to prevent (unwanted) premarital sex (Burkett & Hamilton, 2012). Comfort had assertively stated that she was not willing to have sex by saying "no" but her boyfriend did not stop. What this means is that young women's negotiation of consent within sexual relationships could be disrupted by economic and other sociocultural factors³² relating to gender (Rominski, Moyer, Darteh, & Munro-Kramer, 2017).

Analysis of the data showed however, that scripted money-gifts could enable some young women to exercise their agency. Several young women spoke about receiving gifts of money and other valuables as an entitlement, a confirmation of their own self-worth, and as precondition for accepting a man's advances. All of these scripted understandings of gift giving reflect agency on the part of the young women. For example, Mavis's account presents money-gifts as a script that supports young women's agency. As she explained:

Money and gifts are very important in relationship because women feel ... they are like the moment you are able to give them gifts they feel you care about them. For a relationship to be smoother the guy must give. It does not mean that the girl is selling herself. Like, if a guy gives you money you feel that you are worth something, you are important to him. From there I can take my decision. If I need money and, like in a new relationship a guy that is willing to give means he is caring. I can only continue or accept a guy that is generous with money. I'm not ready to suffer in a relationship. Yeah, only when you are able to give out what you have. You cannot see a good thing, go for it and you cannot maintain it. **(Mavis, FG)**

It is interesting to note that, Mavis, like several other young women in this study associates money-gifts with self-worth and views it as an entitlement. These findings are consistent with previous studies (Barnett, Maticka-Tyndale, & Team1, 2011; Jewkes & Morrell, 2012). For example, Jewkes & Morrell's (2012) study conducted in Southern Niger Delta area of Nigeria found that the sexual exchange script could feature the agency of young women. It is argued

³² For example, the relations to power.

here that the giving of gifts and money to a female could be used to challenge male power especially at the stage of relationship initiation. In a patriarchal society such as Nigeria, only men are 'allowed' to initiate dating or sexual relationship. Women however, could insist that such initiation be done through gifts giving as a condition for them to indicate their readiness. Mavis for instance would only accept a dating proposal if the man is found to be, in her words 'generous with money'. This finding indicates that young women use money-gifts giving³³ in bargaining and negotiating with men for interpersonal power at the initial phase of a heterosexual relationship (Harvey, Beckman, & Bird, 2003). This could make young women feel powerful.

On the other hand, however, the scripted money-gifts could be a slippery slope. Findings indicate that the money-gifts script might hamper young women's agentic expressions and reproduce patriarchal powers. In such instances, the metaphor of the slippery slope best captures the money-gifts script as a social transaction within a social setting. This has huge implications on how young women navigate their sexuality and exercise agency. For example, although young women could strategically ask for gifts or cash before accepting a male's proposal for a sexual relationship, they may have little or no control once relationships are consented to. Also, men might use the practice as a tool to manipulate and suppress women. Young women reported how the receipt of money and gifts could constrain their agency:

Let me add to what she said, when we collect money from guys it makes them to feel very important and powerful. It's like you have sold yourself to them and they are always expecting you to obey. Even when a guy asks you for sex and you don't want but because he is the one taking care of you, you just try to find a polite way of saying no. It's so annoying. So, I think our parents should be giving us enough money.... It is not all guys that are that bad but most of them are like that. **(Lystra, FG)**

The thing is like, when you collect stuff from a guy, he is the one paying for your makeups and hairdressing. It becomes difficult to insist on what you want. He may become angry and stop giving or even beat you up. I have seen it happen to some of my friends. It's just common you know? Sometimes parents don't have the money and when you get it from your guy then you are kind of trapped. **(Doosen, IDI)**

These quotes from Lystra and Doosen capture the downside of sexual exchange script for young women and provide some reasons why this practice might not be a terrain for

³³ In this case young women are at the receiving end, which means they use receiving money and/or material gifts to feel powerful.

expressing their agency. What is notable here is that the sexual exchange script is both agentic and yet non-agentic. This speaks to the temporal nature of young women's agency within a patriarchy culture.

There is a growing body of scholarship which confirms that transactional sexual relationships are common and appear to be tolerated in sub-Saharan Africa (for a review see Stoebenau, Heise, Wamoyi, & Bobrova, 2017). Material goods, social security and money are some of the currencies found to be used for transactional sex (Watt et al., 2012). In Uganda, this practice is popularly referred to as 'something-for-something love' (Suesanne, 2010). Men and women seem to understand the social script around the 'money-gift' sexual exchange. To attract young women's attention for the purpose of initiating and maintaining a romantic relationship, a man would demonstrate his ability to meet her financial and material needs. On the other hand, the receipt of gifts and cash is seen by women as a means of exercising agency and some sort of control over their sexuality (Hawkins, Price, & Mussá, 2009; Tade & Adekoya, 2012), in a society in which men have most of the economic power. There is usually a social expectation of reciprocity between parties engaged in a sexual interaction. Though men were not included in this study, there are indications that both men and women accept the expectation that gift-giving and receiving suggest an agreement about a sexual relationship. This is supported by a qualitative study involving 31 women and 13 men in South Africa to understand the practice of exchanging alcoholic beverages with sex (Watt et al., 2012). Using a grounded theory approach, the study explored the dynamic of transactional sex and found that men and women understood the underlying norm that buying and accepting alcohol implied an agreement to have sex. One young woman in the current study said;

For me, I think it's a two-way thing, when a guy gives you money [or material gifts], he is expecting something [sex] and when a girl too "submits herself"³⁴ to a guy she is also expecting. And if a guy is coming to ask me out he should be ready to spend, yeah. He should know I am not a bank manager [all participants laughing]. So.... **(Vera, FG)**

This quotation from Vera suggests that young women often feel indebted by having sex with men who give them money or other gifts. This sense of indebtedness could influence how a young woman would negotiate and assert her needs in a sexual relationship.

³⁴ This is used to mean offering to have sex with a man usually upon his request.

The underlying norms, social attitudes and practices around transactional sex seem to reinforce the commoditization of female sexuality (Rudman & Fetterolf, 2014; Wardlow, 2004), the patriarchal assumptions about men's 'rights' of sexual entitlement (Britta, 2009; Heslop & Banda, 2013; Mashinini & Pelton-Cooper, 2012), and the speculation about higher male sex drive in contrast to female (Paik, 2013). It appears that transactional sex reflects patriarchy and perpetuates gender inequality. This practice 'portrays women as low-status commodity herders (sex is a bartering tool used by women to acquire resources) and men as high-status commodity seekers (men buy sex with resources)' (Rudman & Fetterolf, 2014, p. 1439) who invest in the subjugation of women.

Given that most young women do not have access to income-generating opportunities, their economic circumstances tend to be a source of constraint. This structural gender inequality³⁵ between men and women seems to breed poverty (Nadarajan Perumal, 2011), especially among young women as they lack financial resources. Therefore, structural gender inequalities in Nigeria and much of other developing countries (especially as it relates to income inequality) seems to be a key driver of the feminization of poverty³⁶ (Medeiros & Costa, 2008), leading to low socioeconomic status for women. Thus, a boyfriend's ability³⁷ to provide the material needs of a young woman might reproduce and reinforce the already existing patriarchal structures in the society. Analysis points to the understanding that sexual money-gifts is an area where young women have some level of agency. Taken together, it follows that this practice both fosters and constrains agency on the part of young women.

The socioeconomic status of young women could intersect with their sexual and reproductive rights. Being socially and economically disadvantaged can lead to a low sense of self-efficacy, deficiency in access to sexual and reproductive health information and worsen women and girls' sexual vulnerability (Dodoo, Zulu, & Ezeh, 2007; Singh, Darroch, & Frost, 2001). When understood from an intersectionality perspective, gender inequality, poverty and low

³⁵ These structural gender inequalities are often maintained through cultural and social forces operating in a given society.

³⁶ Pearce (1978), is credited with coining the term "feminization of poverty" to describe the persistent decline in women's economic status, resulting in an increased concentration of poverty among this group. The term could further be defined as "an increase in the role that gender discrimination has as a determinant of poverty" (Medeiros & Costa, 2008, p. 117).

³⁷ The privileged economic position of men in relation to women is said to be one of the factors underlying the practice of sexual exchange in Africa (Hunter, 2002).

socioeconomic status, and the inability of young women to exercise their sexual and reproductive rights are intrinsically linked. For young women, this interactivity fosters their sexual life experiences. For example, the gaps in economic opportunity and capability for this group “makes it more likely that they will exchange sex for money or favours, less likely that they will succeed in negotiating protection, less likely that they will be able to access formal support services” (Ricardo, Barker, Pulerwitz, & Rocha, 2006, p. 67). Gendered poverty, socioeconomic status and sexual and reproductive rights interact in a vicious cycle and influences young women’s sexuality.

7.4.3 Concealing Sexual Behaviours

This category refers to female adolescents’ common disposition to lead a double life by hiding sexual activities and relationships from significant others (e.g. family and church leaders). As parents and dominant socio-cultural expectations try to suppress girls’ sexuality, the young women respond by keeping their sexual activities secret and hidden from the ‘suppressers’. Many of the respondents indicated that they engage in sexual activities surreptitiously to avoid the wrath of their parents. It is interesting how young women negotiate constraining social expectations; expand the space by engaging in sexual relationships. One of the participants who was self-revealing had this to say;

That is a very big challenge because I can’t abstain completely. I try my best to obey my parents because they want me to be a good girl and, in the church,, pastors are always telling you that ‘sex is sin, wait until you are married’. So, for me.... in fact, it is not easy to deal with sexual feeling especially when you see even girls that are 12 or 13 years doing it (sex) and you just ask yourself what you are waiting for. I understand with my parents and in order not to hurt them I just do my things is secret because I can’t deprive myself completely. Instead of doing it 100%, I go into it like 50% so that I will be sharing equally [participants laughing]. **(Vera, FG)**

In this excerpt, Vera acknowledged the pressures from her parents and religious leaders. At the same time, she suggested that expressing her sexuality is important. Young women face pressure to be ‘good girls’ (chaste) from multiple sources (e.g. parents and religious institutions). Interestingly, from Vera’s response and others in the data, there is evidence to infer that if parents try to suppress girls’ sexuality, young women would conceal their interest and engagement in sexual activities from the parents, suggesting some, albeit bounded

agency, since young women 'refuse' to give up their 'authentic selves'³⁸ to comply with cultural norms of sexuality.

To some extent, Vera's account and those of few other young women in this study suggest that they are cautiously enthusiastic about sexual activities. Such female adolescents would employ a subtle strategy of negotiating boundaries by deception to fulfil their desires while maintaining a 'good' relationship with their parents. Hiding sexual relationships from others is also a reflection of agency on young women's part.

You see our parents go to work, they are not always at home so when they are not around we normally sneak out to see some friends and stuffs like that. And even when they are at home you could just lie that you are going to evening lessons in school and from there we will have time to hangout for a while. The whole thing is not good, we need some freedom. I am not saying parents should allow us to become 'bad girls' but just, maybe some time to have fun [mumbles] **(Mavis, FG)**

I always put what my parents say and what I hear from my friends and take a decision especially regarding my sexual life. They are not always with me so; I don't always do what they would want me to do but I am always smart about it [laughs]. Girls normally keep it [sexual activities] coded [secretive] so that their mother and other people will still see them as good girls. And the beating is another thing to fear. **(Sharon, FG)**

The above excerpts illustrate how young women deliberately keep their sexual activities and relationships secret. Young women, as reported by Mavis, would use opportunities such as attending lessons in school to meet with their boyfriends. A similar finding was reported by Bell's (2012) study of young people's sexual activities in South Africa. Young women seem to understand the negative consequences of their sexual activities becoming public knowledge and would often try to minimise the chances of this happening. Some of these consequences as reported by young women included corporal punishment from parents and a damaged reputation.

Young women in this study seem to have concerns about their reputation being ruined. Sharon for example, talked about girls wanting to keep their sexual affairs secret so that people would see them as being innocent. Given the stereotype and double standards operating against young women in the Tiv society, it is believed that the concerns about their sexual reputation

³⁸ What they feel and desire to do as sexual beings (Tolman, 2012).

are well placed. For example, another young woman I interviewed also discussed why concerns about sexual reputation were relevant:

It is not only about trying to avoid being beaten or something. One other thing you think about is your image. You know? You care about what people seeing you go in and come out of a guy's room would say. Someone seeing you might be related to a man that may one day come to ask for your hand in marriage. The marriage won't hold again. It happened to a girl in our 'area' [neighbourhood]. People were asking the guy [the would-be husband] "is it this girl that is always sleeping around that you want to marry? Don't you know she is 'Ashawo' [prostitute]?" The lady and her mother felt sad. So, that's the thing. It could happen to any lady. **(Ruth, IDI)**

Ruth's experience indicates that the social consequences of a negative sexual reputation can be dire. It goes without saying that the sexuality of young women is central to the way they might be judged or seen in the society (Stewart, 1999). It is therefore not unexpected that young women struggle to save their reputation as this responsibility weighs heavily on them. Perhaps, maintaining a good reputation brings honour to a girl and her family, and increase her marriage chances (Wight et al., 2006). Getting married within the Tiv society is considered an enviable achievement both for a young woman and her family.

As earlier indicated in chapter 6, finding a 'good' woman to marry in Tiv society could be by referral. This is a common practice where a relative or friend recommends a young woman to a man for the purpose of marriage. What this means for a girl whose reputation suffers is that she is less likely to be recommended for marriage. It is argued here that reputation is a social construction (Kitzinger, 1995), and the understandings of the same operates in the daily lives of young women, and speaks to sexual double standard and subjugation. It appeared that concealing sexual activities is an agentic strategy employed by young women to protect their reputations. Such agentic tactics are also used to negotiate existing structures within the social landscape. I will argue in the next chapter that this liminal agency contains transformative potentials.

Given the social and legal rejection of all non-heterosexual activities in Nigeria, same-sex intimacy is discussed here as secretive sex. Understandably, gays and lesbians hide their sexual activities. Though not claiming any personal involvement or experience, some participants spoke about their understandings of same-sex behaviours. What was particularly interesting about the discussions around same-sex intimacy issues as seen in the three data excerpts

below was that, the girls were very uncomfortable talking about it. The conversation centred on phrases like “one of my friends” “my roommate in school” “my schoolmate” and “one girl I know”. The use of the pronoun “I” was absent in these discussions, this is understandable given that there are laws prohibiting any form of same-sex intimacy in the country. Nigeria is one of the African countries that fosters homophobic sentiments that make it very unsafe for people to freely express their same-sex desires (Dan, Sylvia, Ted, Oludare, & Sade, 2007; Logan & Buchanan, 2008). The views of some participants in this study are represented in the following excerpts:

Excerpt A

I think the whole thing is just fun. There are no so many girls doing it but I think those that do it are just trying to avoid pregnancy and STI’s but still need to touch and somebody to touch them back [laughs]. They just find a way of getting the pleasure [.....] but because the society is against this too, those who are involved deny. Some girls reported two of my roommates in school and they were expelled. **(Sharon, FG)**

Excerpt B

The reason why some of these girls engage in lesbianism is because they don’t want to get pregnant [...] it’s like play or just trying things out. **(Mabel, FG)**

Excerpt C

Yes, it is happening here but in a secret way. It is seen as an abomination. I think.... Those who do it won’t want people to know. One girl I know was caught and humiliated. **(Ene, FG)**

Parents emphasize pregnancy and disease in their abstinence message to their daughters. So, to avoid getting into trouble, some young women are said to be engaging in same-sex relationships for many reasons including avoiding pregnancy. In excerpt A, Sharon presented homosexuality as fun, and a means through which young women get sexual satisfaction without any fear of an unintended pregnancy. However, this means of expression of sexual desire also lacks social support. This is because the only culturally acceptable form of sexual expression within the Tiv society and Nigeria in general is heterosexuality. Sharon recalled an instance where some young women were expelled from school for allegedly engaging in lesbian sex. Given such a harsh response, it is reasonable to infer that same-sex behaviour places a young woman at greater risk of prejudice and social sanction than heterosexual behaviour.

Mabel's statement in excerpt B suggests that young women's same-sex sexual behaviour might be sexual experimentation. Experimenting with sexual behaviour which includes but is not limited to touching each other's genitals is said to be common among adolescents (Swadi, 1990). With respect to experimenting with same-sex, it is argued here that doing so might not necessarily predict an individual's sexual orientation. This is not to deny however, that experimenting sexually with someone of the same-sex could be a predictor of a person's sexual orientation. The point here in my view is, experimenting with sexual behaviour (same-sex or other-sex) is a normal and healthy part of (female) adolescents' sexual development.

In Ene's excerpt, she talked about the secrecy and public hostility to non-heterosexual lifestyles in Nigeria. She pointed out that same-sex sexual behaviour is considered as an abominable act among the Tiv of northcentral Nigeria. To avoid stigma and social marginalization therefore, women who desire women for obtaining sexual pleasure would have to hide their same-sex sexual feelings and relationships. A qualitative study using narrative methodology conducted by Logan & Buchanan (2008) among seven female adolescents who identified themselves as lesbians in Canada also found that all participants used the strategy of secrecy to avoid stigma and social rejection. The study further identified the consequences of keeping one's same-sex attractions hidden to include; depression, guilt and shame which are inimical to the overall wellbeing of an individual. In Nigeria and the Tiv society in particular, the risks confronting people who engage or are alleged to have engaged in same-sex relations is critical. Negotiating that boundary would be reflective of agency.

7.5 Summary of the chapter

In this chapter I have presented a discussion around young women's responses and attempts to actively construct and challenge the actualities of their sexual world. It also presents the counter responses of parents. Young women were found negotiating sexual boundaries to make assertive decisions regarding their sexuality. The exploration of their sexuality was however a constrained choice. They are expected to be sexual gatekeepers, saying no to male sexual advances. Young women appear to negotiate these restrictive norms and expectations by concealing their sexual activities and relationships from parents and other people.

Concealment of sexual activities was also intended to avoid a negative sexual reputation in the community.

Young women wanted freedom and negotiated agency through various strategies. These include sexting, using contraceptives, deflecting judgement and the money-gifts script. Such practical strategies serve to foster their agency. The chapter has also illustrated that due to poverty, unjust economic inequality, sexual coercion and social expectations, young women's sexual agency often takes the form of a bounded or constrained agency. Regarding the issue of same-sex intimacies, the findings presented above reveal that there is a widespread social condemnation of same-sex relationships. Therefore, those who are involved in the 'non-normative sexual act' experience stigma and discrimination. Same-sex intimacies are found to be embedded in secrecy.

Chapter Eight

Discussion and Conclusions – Integrating the Key Findings

8.1 Introduction

This thesis is essentially concerned with the sexuality of female adolescents in a specific social context, and how this group develop their own sexual scripts. Initial data analysis showed that the sexually restrictive culture that is passed on by parents within the Tiv society is one of the major concerns of young women. Consequently, the study explored the role of parents in curtailing sexual learning and upholding the traditional sexual norms for female sexuality. This study builds socio-cultural specific knowledge and understanding of the complexities and dynamics of female adolescent sexuality development under patriarchy. The gender positions of young women under the patriarchy system are seen to affect their well-being and thwart their agency. The aim of this research was not to point out the way towards female adolescents' sexual emancipation, or how they could resist the disciplinary and regulatory practices surrounding their sexuality. Rather, what I have done is to unravel the nuances and the resilience of young women as they negotiate these influences to express themselves as sexual beings and the consequences thereof. This has enabled the formulation of a theoretical position which I call 'enveloping sexualities' the ways in which the dominant discourses on premarital sex and sexuality in this specific social context tend to suppress young women's sexuality, and their attempts to transcend the boundaries.

In this chapter, key findings that emerged from chapter 6 and 7 are synthesized and discussed in relation to the literature, and some of the key domains that are important for the healthy development of female adolescents' sexuality identified in chapter two are revisited. The chapter also discusses the contribution of the research to scholarship, strength and limitations of the study, and the possible implications for policy and practice. Some recommendations for future research and reflections on the research journey are also provided.

8.2 A Discussion of Key Findings in relation to Previous Scholarship

In this section, I discuss significant findings under headings that summarises the socio-cultural context of female adolescents' sexuality. The findings that have emerged in this study provided more insights on female adolescent sexuality and show how the domains identified in chapter two might be limited in explaining the sexuality development of young women in the study area. As a 'partial' insider (though my male gender distances me from my participants, as a Tiv man, I possess cultural knowledge in common with them) I have expressed my voice in the discussions, clearly communicating my stance on the sexual restrictions and regulations embedded in the everyday life of Tiv female adolescents. The study argues for the need to challenge the cultural framework that tends to suppress female adolescent sexuality and thwart young women's sexual agency, and calls for a balanced and comprehensive sexual socialization, which would provide young women with the needed support for healthy sexuality development.

8.2.1 The Veil of Silence and Chastity

Findings of the present study show that female adolescent sexuality in Tiv society is culturally enveloped in a veil of silence. The word 'veil' is used as a metaphor to describe the societal and parental shading on issues relating to girls' sexuality. The veil only allows for an obscure vision and knowledge of their sexuality and constitutes a barrier to free sexual expression. The veil allows for female sexual expression only in the context of marriage. This is critical for adolescent females, since deviance from sexual mores perceived as besmirching the family reputation risks casting them into marriages with old or undesirable men, isolation, or much worse. Silencing meaningful and positive discussion of sexuality with adolescents is one of the ways they are veiled. Many of the young women in this study reported they had not received any sex education from the family. The taboo nature and the awkward feeling of parents engaging in such discussion with their adolescent females appears to drive the silence regarding sexuality in Tiv culture. There has been considerable research into the silencing of sexual discussion with young people. For instance, a study undertaken with Life Orientation teachers in South Africa (DePalma & Francis, 2014) found they were opposed to talking about sex and sexuality with children, perhaps because it is perceived as 'morally' uncomfortable.

Similarly, a study carried out in Nepal (Menger, Kaufman, Harman, Tsang, & Shrestha, 2015) demonstrated that societal norms prohibit young women from discussing sex, which results in men having greater access to sexual knowledge and being 'allowed' to experiment with sex.

It is interesting how parents who are supposedly the primary source of sexual knowledge and socialization for young people (Christensen, Wright, & Dunn, 2017) tend to help in producing a shadow over sexual issues. Almost all of the parents in this current study found discussing sex-related issues with their children particularly challenging and awkward, thereby resorting to the use of scare tactics to prevent their daughters from engaging in sexual activities, a finding that is consistent with previous scholarship in this area (Christensen et al., 2017; Hicks, McRee, & Eisenberg, 2013; Izugbara, 2008; Lesch & Kruger, 2005). This study found that the abstinence-only, fear and morality-based messages provided by parents are intended to create a veil over the sexuality of children. Most parents thought that open conversation with young women regarding sexuality would encourage them to be sexually active. Some parents invoked religion to justify silence around sexuality. Findings indicate that parents often deploy regulatory discourses to discipline adolescent female sexuality while young women described the influence of parents on their sexuality as silent and repressive.

Another layer of silence is the refusal of parents to discuss sexual pleasure and desire with their daughters. The Tiv society on which this study is based does not validate positive female adolescent sexuality that acknowledges the sexual desire and pleasure of this group. This study found that parents do not give positive messages about sexuality to their daughters. Rather, emphasis is placed on abstinence-only and young women's gatekeeping responsibility. The findings show however, that silencing discussion about female desire and pleasure does not curtail sexual activity among young women. Furthermore, mothers' own experiences of parent-child sexual discussion contributed in forming attitudes towards their daughters' sexuality education (see subsection 8.2.5 for details) and most reported that they had very limited sex education while growing up. Adolescence is a time of growing independence, and many girls were found to ignore parental warnings and explore their emerging sexual identities however, the silence around sexuality created a 'shaming context' (Fallon, 2013) and impacted the healthy sexual development of young women.

In order to gain more insight into how silencing talk of pleasure and desire operate to create uncertainty and vulnerability among female adolescents, the accounts of participants are considered with reference to Michelle Fine's (1988) article on sexual education for girls, "Sexuality, Schooling, and Adolescent Female: The Missing Discourse of Desire." In this piece, Fine decried the suppression of discussion on desire and pleasure within the educational system. She argued that school educators positioned female adolescent sexuality as a site of danger and 'a moment of victimization' (p.31). She noted that engaging in genuine conversations about sexual desire would 'invite (female) adolescents to explore what feels good and bad' and would 'pose female adolescents as subjects of sexuality, initiators as well as (agentic) negotiators' (p.33). Drawing on this, this thesis makes the argument for a sexual education that includes desire and pleasure. This is considered central to female adolescents' well-being as it facilitates their development as agentic sexual subjects (Fine & McClelland, 2006).

Silence seems to have an undertone of expectation for adolescent females to be chaste. This study provides evidence of sustained pressures on female adolescents to abstain from pre-marital sex and maintain a 'good girls' status in the society. This was clear in the voices of parents regarding virginity. Over time, virginity within the Tiv society like many other African cultures has assumed a gendered meaning as it is demanded of the females only (Ababio & Yendork, 2017) thereby reproducing sexual double standards. This raises gender inequality challenges and implies that young women do not have total control of their bodies. As many other studies have suggested, the emphasis placed on female virginity is a manipulative strategy for the control and suppression of adolescent girls' sexuality (Ababio & Yendork, 2017; Bhana, 2016). Female acquiescence with sexual regulation and the preservation of chastity function as symbols of the effectiveness of male authority and are crucial for maintaining his position within the wider community. Disobeying sexual rules and the loss of chastity are interpreted as trading a 'collective commodity' for personal gratification and in order to avoid public family shame, punishment of the girl is required. Sexuality is only considered as 'owned' by women in as much as they are the keepers of purity and innocence which are considered crucial currency in marriage bargaining.

Furthermore, female virginity is constructed as a measure for determining the success of male conquest and the satisfaction of male desire. Most mothers in this study reported encouraging their daughters to retain their virginity until marriage to make a future husband happy and consider her likely to be a faithful wife. Thus, a young woman's ability to keep her virginity signifies self-control and a sign of potential sexual faithfulness. Some parents in this study explained that retaining one's virginity means having control of one's sexuality. This instilled the fear of losing virginity into the life of some adolescent girls in the study area.

Although the value placed on female virginity may not be as high in the contemporary Tiv society as it was some decades ago, this study found that some young women experience a broad range of emotions after 'losing'³⁹ their virginity. Negative emotions such as shame, fear, guilt and regret emerged from the accounts of those who had engaged in sexual activity. Reasons for these feelings and emotions include religious beliefs and the social norms that surrounds pre-marital sex within the social context. The internalization of the social norms and moral codes taught by religious institutions become a part of the way young women feel about themselves as sexual beings. The implication is that some young women grow up to see their sexuality as something apart, but not an integral part of their lives, and virginity 'loss' before marriage as 'an indication of a marred self-worth' (Ababio & Yendork, 2017, p. 563; Chilman, 1990). Based on the findings, I argue that young women feeling regretful or guilty after 'losing' their virginity indicates the dominant influence of the patriarchal cultural system and the ways in which this becomes internalised. Furthermore, socially constructing a woman's first-time experience of vaginal sex as a loss may not give them a sense of agency.

One of the ways young women are pressured to acquiesce to parental expectations and societal prescriptions is through the practice of virginity testing (Bhana, 2016; Shalhoub-Kevorkian, 2005). This practice, which entails an older woman inspecting for the presence of the hymen in a young woman, is clearly a way of controlling a woman's body and sexuality. It is worthy of note that, as discussed below (see sub-section 8.2.6 on the discussion of female genital mutilation), women (virginity testers) are used as sexual control agents to perpetuate

³⁹ The use of language surrounding when a young woman has sexual intercourse for the first time ('losing' virginity as against 'giving' it and having it 'taken') does not simply describe the act, but constructs it as understood by the society and has social consequences (Burr, 2015).

this suppression. The cultural practice of virginity testing is common in some parts of Africa and elsewhere. It is sometimes seen as a way of checking the spread of HIV/AIDS, sexually transmitted infections (STIs), and teenage unintended pregnancies (Leclerc-Madlala, 2001). I would argue however, that this is a gendered response to the issues. This practice clearly reproduces gender inequalities and sexual double standards, and reinforces patriarchal power as young males are not compelled to prove their virginity (Bhana, 2016).

Overall, these prevailing systematic silences provide a narrow view of adolescent sexuality. Although concerns of the risks such as unintended pregnancy, sexually transmitted infections and sexual assault associated with female adolescent sexuality are understandable, silencing meaningful sexual discussion with this group robs them of needed knowledge and support to make healthy sexual choices. Regarding virginity, it is my position that the individual liberty of a young woman, once she is no longer a child (that is, is over 18 years of age) to decide whether to keep or lose it needs to be acknowledged. This is because the legal age of sexual consent in Nigeria is 18 years.

8.2.2 Sexual Subculture (Sex within the young women's subculture)

The reality of young women's sexual lives does not seem to always conform to the prescribed norms and standards of adolescent girls' sexuality. Regarding sexual learning, this study found that young women often looked for alternative sources of sexual information to satisfy their appetite for knowledge. Within the adolescents' subculture, sexual experimentation is accepted and encouraged. Here, young women demonstrate a form of agency by talking about sex and deliberately (albeit stealthily) engaging in sexual activities. This means that sexually permissive ideas are in constant competition with Tiv traditional sexual norms.

As parents' attitudes tend to curtail sexual learning, adolescents resort to other sources to acquire sexual knowledge, especially peers and media. This concurs with other research which show that adolescent sexuality is influenced by the media and sexual norms learnt from peers (Bleakley, Hennessy, Fishbein, & Jordan, 2009; Gruber & Grube, 2000). Most of the young women in this study reported turning to their friends as trusted sources of sexual information. Their accounts suggest that one's peers would likely give approving messages about sex that would encourage sexual activities. This finding is supported by the results of a quantitative

study conducted in Nigeria to identify the various sources of sexual information and their impact on adolescent sexual behaviour (Okonkwo, Obionu, Uwakwe, & Okonkwo, 2002). The study found that premarital coitus was higher among those who reported peers as their first sources of sexual information. It was noted in this current study however, that peers rarely encourage safer sexual practices among themselves. It is worrying therefore, that given the social context and level of exposure to accurate sexual information, it might be a case of the ill-informed leading the ill-informed. Nevertheless, it is important to recognise that these young women were navigating the sexual constraints imposed by traditional norms.

Another important contributor to adolescent sexual knowledge is the media. This was identified in the literature review as an important element in adolescent sexual development and can lead to healthy or unhealthy influences. As internet use by young people increases, the likelihood of this group accessing sexual content in the media has also increased. Participants reported forming certain sexual opinions based on what they see on television and in movies. For example, perceptions about initiating a sexual relationship was informed by what they see in Hollywood movies. What is critical and yet seems to be lacking in Tiv society and indeed Nigeria is for parents and the educational system to arm adolescents with skills that would enable them to analyse the glut of sexual messages they get from the media and make informed decisions regarding their sexuality. Research on the influence of watching sex on television suggests that adolescents who access sexual content on television are twice as likely to experience an unintended pregnancy in the subsequent three years, compared to those with lower level exposure (Chandra et al., 2008). Although the media is an important conduit for sexual information, adolescents need to be guided to make responsible use of these highly sexualized communication outlets.

The sexual subculture which surfaces through social media applications provides an opportunity for young people to express their sexuality beyond the gaze of parents. One of the ways young women explored sexual boundaries is through sharing of sexually suggestive selfies and text messages through mobile phones, a practice generally referred to as sexting (Gordon-Messer et al., 2013). Sexting is a form of sexual communication used by the participants to indicate their agreement to a sexual advance and, in common with other

studies on the topic, is also used for flirting (Moore & Rosenthal, 2006; Samimi & Alderson, 2014).

Evidence from the data obtained in this study revealed the complexity of sexting. While the practice of sexting appears to challenge the traditional norms and boundaries for female adolescent sexuality, it also gives room for them to be manipulated and blackmailed by males. Sexting is a form of sexual expression by young women and might be an example of sexual agency. However, their exposure to risk and victimization may say less about their agency than about the interconnections between the commoditisation of sex and gender inequalities. This is because, a sexting picture is sometimes used by a man as a weapon against a young woman. Respondents in some focus groups described examples from among their peers in which young men would use a nude picture of their girlfriend to coerce her into having sexual intercourse. By sending a sexually explicit picture to a man gives him more power than she has herself. One participant described how her ex-partner used 'some sexy stuffs' she sent him to blackmail her and several respondents provided anecdotes about sexting incidents that they had witnessed, which showed how vulnerable young women can be when they engage in sexting behaviour within the context of inequality. It must be acknowledged that, although sexting may offer an important opportunity for young women to learn and develop their sexual identity, in many respects, it speaks to the commodification of female bodies (Coffey, Budgeon, & Cahill, 2016).

Relatedly, the present study also found instances of sexual abuse and coercion within adolescents' peer groups. As noted in chapter two of this thesis, healthy sexuality development takes place when individuals are free from any kind of sexual coercion and assault. Sexual activity that takes place without the mutual consent of those involved constitutes abuse and affects the well-being of one of the individuals involved, which in most cases is a female. Research has shown how unequal gender relations within a patriarchal cultural context creates fertile ground for sexual abuse (Jones & Jemmott, 2016). Given that sexual violence is shrouded in secrecy and silence, victims often find it difficult to tell anyone about their experience. In such instances, perpetrators are most likely to go unpunished. The present study revealed how shame, fear of a ruined reputation and the possibility of blaming the victim intersect to stop young women from speaking out about their abuse. Analysis of data showed evidence that adolescent girls prefer remaining silent to reporting a case of sexual abuse. This

creates a context of vulnerability. It is pertinent to note that the communication pattern between parents and adolescents about sexuality within the Tiv society tends to silence victims (Jones, Trotman Jemmott, Da Breo, & Maharaj, 2016), who are conscious of the social constraints on their sexuality. An important conclusion from this study is that this silencing is destructive to the well-being and sexual development of adolescent girls.

8.2.3 Punishing the 'erring' Female Adolescent.

Evidence from the experiences and anecdotes shared during focus group discussions and interviews revealed that there are repercussions for engaging in sexual intercourse especially when there is an out-of-wedlock pregnancy. Pregnancy for unmarried young women remains a daunting experience in most communities in Northern Nigeria and elsewhere in Africa (Ngabaza, 2011; Ochiogu et al., 2011; Okonofua, 2013). Within the Tiv sociocultural context, the occurrence of premarital unintended pregnancy attracts humiliation and condemnation for both the young woman and her family. In this study, findings revealed that female adolescents who had unintended pregnancies experience bullying, neglect and punishment from families and the neighbours. One common way to punish a pregnant teenage is to 'give her' in marriage to any old man that is willing to accept her. Parents who participated in this study described this practice as a normal way of avoiding 'the second shame', which refers to the actual birth of a baby outside of marriage. I consider this practice as forced marriage which has traumatic effects on girls. This is because, usually, there is no consent from the girl.

In Nigeria, as in many other African societies, forced marriage exists in various forms (Monyane, 2013) and is a form of human rights abuse. The practice of forced marriage is generally harmful to the young woman as it affects her emotional well-being and right to human dignity (Hampton, 2010). It also exposes young women to HIV/AIDS and other infections. Another disturbing feature of forced marriage, especially in the situation described; that is in the 'giving' of the girl to an old man is that, most of the husbands die after a few years leaving the young woman to suffer as a widow (which carries other social stigma) without any assistance. As was evident across focus groups, some young women would leave such marriages after giving birth, however they would then be subject to heightened stigma within their communities. Irrespective of the challenges and social stigma associated with occurrence

of unplanned pregnancy in Tiv society, some participants in this study who have had unintended pregnancy demonstrated resilience and were determined to redefine their circumstances by going back to school to create a meaningful life for their future. Besides the economic challenges such young women faced, it was apparent that the lack of social support and acceptance alongside the internalisation of blame generated psychosocial and emotional challenges too.

One of the interesting findings of the study is that health professionals function as an obstacle to adolescent girls' access to reproductive health services and that they serve as an additional gatekeeping role in policing young women's sexuality. Furthermore, research indicates that health workers often face the challenge of choosing between their primary interest of discouraging pre-marital sex and their secondary or professional interest of promoting sexual health (Paul, Näsström, Klingberg-Allvin, Kiggundu, & Larsson, 2016). This suggests a case of conflict of interest (Richard, 2009) and also illustrates role conflict (Murdy, Alexander, & Bryce, 2016). Whereas the health workers' primary interest is influenced and informed by cultural and religious norms that relate to adolescent sexuality within their social context, their secondary interest is due to expectations and demands from public health policies for improving the sexual health of young people. The finding that health workers tend to refuse contraceptive services to young women due to moral values and beliefs that doing so would be considered as encouraging premarital sex among young people (Rogoff, 1990) is consistent with another study from Malawi (Chirwa & Kudzala, 2001). Chirwa and Kudzala (2001) also found that health professionals deny young people access to reproductive health services due to socio-cultural and religious reasons.

Young women in this study reported seeing sexual health providers as 'shamers' (Probyn, 2005) who by evoking feelings of shame create anxiety which in turn generates feelings of guilt among young women. Participants were negatively affected by being regarded as 'spoilt' and 'promiscuous' by some health workers. From a sex-positive perspective however, access to contraception by young women is a responsible sexual health action that should be encouraged.

This study revealed a seeming conspiracy between health workers and parents. It was reported that healthcare workers were often judgemental and would ask the young women

embarrassing questions, the effects of which would result in denying them access to contraceptives. Other healthcare staff performed double roles; they provided contraceptives and thus fulfilled their professional role but would sometimes report the girl to her parents, performing the role of informant/morality policing. This conspiracy is an indication of the extent and depth of community disapproval of unmarried female adolescents' sexual activity, and equally, the extent to which the rights of young women to access confidential health services in Nigeria are often violated. This finding concurs with other studies which show that young women's experience of denial of access to contraceptives involves multiple agents and sources of oppression (Jones, 2009) including health workers, parents and cultural norms.

The influence of health workers' multiple identities on their role in providing sexual and reproductive health services to adolescent girls can be explained from an intersectional point of view. This idea of identity intersectionality is helpful in illuminating how the intersecting aspects of their identities (as health workers, possibly mothers and moral guardians, as women, community members, possibly wives and possibly daughters) when set within the prevailing patriarchal and cultural constraints appear to combine and reproduce the oppression of other women. It is interesting to note that the health workers referred to in this study were women. Although my study did not include interviews with health workers, the young women's comments about the nurses they had sought help from suggested, for instance, that a nurse's multiple social identity (as women and possibly as mothers and/or older members of the Tiv community) may have influenced their responses to adolescent girls' need for contraceptive services.

Considering the difficulties and challenges that young women who become pregnant face within the social context, an important recommendation from the study is for government policy to ensure that adolescent girls have access to information about their reproductive rights and contraceptive services. Instead of endorsing the existing socio-cultural values of perpetuating chastity, healthcare workers can be advocates and encourage the use of effective contraceptive methods for young women. This will require a shift in attitudes among both policy makers and health professionals and the acceptance that young women *do* engage in sexual intercourse regardless of the social and cultural constraints placed upon them.

8.2.4 The Complexity of the Gift-giving script. (Reclaiming power through the gift-giving script)

The present findings add a new dimension to the existing body of knowledge on the exchange of gifts within sexual relationships by demonstrating that gift-giving, generally referred to as transactional sex in the literature (Moore & Biddlecom, 2006; Stoebenau et al., 2017; Tade & Adekoya, 2012; Wamoyi, Fenwick, Urassa, Zaba, & Stones, 2010b) is not simply about collecting material gifts or money for sex. This study found collecting of gifts by young women to be a targeted attempt to exercise a certain amount of power in a relationship. The exchange of material gifts and money for sex was a prevalent theme across focus groups. This practice was scripted as both enabling and restricting female agency. Young women considered the scripted exchange as an opportunity to challenge male power, especially at the stage of relationship initiation. Young women may insist on receiving a gift before giving her approval to a sexual advance from a man, which reflects agency on the part of the young woman. This is an interesting finding given the cultural notion of male entitlement to sex. Findings also illustrate how a young woman would sometimes demand a huge amount of money and expensive gifts from men to indirectly indicate their lack of interest. Young women noted that such indirect way of saying 'no' when someone asks them out seemed to be an effective strategy. These findings indicate that gift-giving and receiving is part of the complex interplay of sexual scripting which can provide opportunities for the expression of agency.

However, participants also acknowledged that receiving money/gifts could be a 'slippery slope' that might limit and/or coerce adolescent girls' choices (Barnett et al., 2011). Young women offered personal stories that demonstrated that they had little control beyond the point of initiating a relationship or rejecting an advance and noted that the receipt of money and gifts makes leaving the relationship much more difficult. In such circumstances, the metaphor of slippery slope best captures how the money-gift script functions to restrict female agency.

Young women in this study reported concern about men using money and gifts to manipulate and lure women to engage in sexual intercourse. This tactic is most likely to work in an environment where young women live in poverty and depend on men economically (Wamoyi, Wight, Plummer, Mshana, & Ross, 2010). However, the material living conditions of

participants in the present study did not suggest that receiving money and gifts was a consequence of their poverty. In this study, group discussions on this topic found that young women expect money and gifts from a man as a demonstration of seriousness and love on the part of the man. This suggests that the money-gift script has symbolic significance in a relationship. It is interesting that young women stressed that accepting money/gifts does not mean selling or seeking compensation for sex (prostitution) and distanced themselves from the 'sticky' stigma associated with prostitution. Participants were fully aware of the implicit meanings hidden within the money-gift script and acknowledged the social norm of reciprocity (Wamoyi, Wight, et al., 2010), however they were also acutely aware men were able to use gift-giving as a strategy to strengthen their sexual bargaining power and that this led to sexual control and coercion. Men were said sometimes to threaten to rape or beat young women who attempted to refuse sex after collecting money or gifts. This has adverse effects on young women's sexual agency especially in a social context that is unsupportive of female sexual freedom (Bell, 2012). Further, given that some Tiv young women are unlikely to report sexual violence, the money-gift script is less likely to be a source of agency, than a source of vulnerability. For instance, as earlier mentioned, a young woman in this study reported that she had agreed to have sex because of the overwhelming fear that her parents might get to know about her sexual activity should she allow the encounter to become public knowledge. She was compelled to engage in sexual intercourse against her will. This reluctance to disclose a case of sexual coercion may intersect with other factors to increase young women's vulnerability and prevent them from seeking support.

8.2.5 Female Adolescent Sexuality in Transition: Generational Difference in Perceptions.

To understand the sexuality of the group under study, one must first recognize that the sexual order within the Tiv society seems to be gradually changing as young women attempt to rework and develop their sexual scripts (albeit from a weak position) even as they are being shaped by their social context. Evidence suggests that parents in Tiv society hold more conservative attitudes than their children towards issues such as sexuality education, contraceptive use and premarital sex. Regarding sexuality education, young women in the present study rooted for a comprehensive and positive approach to sexuality education. They

described the style and focus of sexual socialization by parents as unsatisfactory. As earlier mentioned, the majority of Tiv parents cast female adolescent sexuality as inherently dangerous (Diamond, 2006), a sign of amorality and therefore, as being in need of social control. As parents support a status quo sexuality, they move to regulate female adolescent sexuality and consider any kind of sexual expression or freedom that is not inscribed by cultural and social traditions as deviant and unacceptable.

Aimed at preventing sexually transmitted infections (STIs) and unintended pregnancies, parents in this study reported limiting sexuality education to abstinence-until-marriage messages.⁴⁰ The finding suggests the need to challenge this approach to sexual education as this is based on negative views about women's sexual self-concepts and requires the thwarting of agency. In what represents an oppositional perspective (suggesting differing generational viewpoints), most of the young women in the study revealed their intention to provide comprehensive sexual education to their children when they become parents and acknowledged that it was not easy to abstain.

Young women in this study talked about delayed age at marriage as a contributing factor to premarital sex. Adolescents in Nigeria and other parts of Africa today are marrying later than adolescents of their parents' generation were (Karamat, 2016). This seems to suggest that premarital sex is an inevitable consequence of delayed marriage, and as such parents and the society should come to terms with this fact. Therefore, rather than teaching abstinence, adolescents should be given a comprehensive sex education to support them in developing relationship skills and avoiding negative consequences of sexual activities (Cohen, 2004). The findings from this study confirm that adolescent girls are acquiring sexual skills from sources other than their parents. It is therefore most likely that the current set of young women in Tiv society would pass on such skills to their daughters. Given that culture is dynamic and does change with time, this could herald the emergence of a new sexual culture in Tiv society.

The current situation suggests a clash of perspectives. While parents strive to inculcate traditional sexual norms probably learned from their parents, young women are negotiating

⁴⁰ The implication is that young Tiv women are encouraged to take responsibly for their sexuality by learning how to assertively 'say no' to male sexual advances. However, giving the prevailing patriarchal structures, some young women may not be able to resist certain subtle pressures from men.

and generating different sexual scripts for reproductive and sexual decision making among themselves. The question however, is whether today's young women would actually pass on acquired sexual skills to their female children when they become mothers. This question would only be answered with findings from future research with mothers in the area. This gradual transition no doubt creates tension between young women on one side and parents and the social system on the other side. As parents attempt to 'envelope' the sexuality of young women through restrictive sexual norms, young women would push the 'envelope' through deception. As responses from participants suggest, young women are living in two competing cultures. One is the culture that emphasizes sexual propriety and as represented by parents and religious institutions, and the other is a sexually liberal culture perpetuated by the social media, and which appears to have a significant influence on how Tiv female adolescents make sense of their sexual world (Curtis, 2009) and determine sexual behaviour. As noted in one of the domains of healthy sexuality development (see chapter two), adolescents need skills in accessing and using sexual information that is represented in different media forms. The findings of this study indicate that the social media are an important source of sexual knowledge from which female adolescents reported learning about sex and sexuality. Guidance regarding female adolescents' consumption of social media is needed to foster a healthy sexual development.

In general, evidence from my data suggests that a gradual transformation is occurring in the Tiv society with respect to female adolescent sexuality. Adolescent girls seem to be creatively challenging the sexual status quo that impacts their sense of sexual agency. For example, some young women spoke against the myth of the value of virginity and male-female sexual double standards. It is interesting however, that parents seem to be finding it rather difficult to accept any change that would allow their daughters to express their sexuality freely; the cultural and social constraints they uphold contribute to alienating this group and preventing healthy sexual development. As such, differences in sexual beliefs and perceptions were identified between young women and parents, which suggests that the sexuality of Tiv female adolescents is in transition as young women push to engage in sexual activities based on their scripts. The young women's understanding of their own sexuality reflects consciousness and their expression of sexual desire reflects agency, however these crucial facets of the subjective self are constrained within a wider context.

8.2.6 Upholding Patriarchal Values.

An important finding of this study was the dynamics by which gendered power relations operate between fathers and mothers regarding sexuality education and how this illuminates the role of women in upholding patriarchal values in Northern Nigeria. Throughout most of human history, men have held greater power in political, sexual and social arenas, and patriarchal practices have led to the control of female sexuality in different ways (Baumeister & Twenge, 2002; Kambarami, 2006). Findings of the current study suggest that mothers are being subtly pressured into believing that it is their sole responsibility to provide sexual education (especially to female children). The Tiv culture frames good mothering in terms of a mother's ability to shield daughters from sexual activities, which is why mothers make desperate efforts to regulate their daughters' sexuality (Izugbara, 2008). Most of the fathers who participated in this study reported assigning the role of providing information about sex to daughters to their wives. It is interesting to note, that, this role does not simply entail influencing the daughters' understanding of sexuality but includes efforts to induce them to refrain from sexual activities. A social constructionist reading of mothers' responses revealed that the acceptance of this role reinforces patriarchal values that demand a tight regulation of girls' sexuality. This further suggests that fathers and mothers have cooperated to alienate young women from their sexual desires and that messages of sexual restraint are not targeted at male adolescents. This perpetuates patriarchal values and speaks to the embeddedness of the prevailing culture of male sexual privilege and entitlement (Jones & Jemmott, 2016). I argue that the sexual freedom accorded male adolescents set against the expectation of sexual chastity from female adolescents is a symbol of gendered inequities that operate at material, institutional and discursive levels.

In a sense, the role of mothers as identified in this current study is similar to studies on female genital mutilation (FGM) in Sub-Saharan Africa, which show the role of women to be part of – not separate from – systems that seek to stifle women's sexuality (Karanja, 2003). I prefer to use the term female genital mutilation and not female circumcision in this study. This is because, for me, the latter does not paint the true picture of the practice. From a social constructionist standpoint, language is the principal means by which human beings construct

their social world and express their experiences (Burr, 2015). An appropriate use of language creates a mental picture of the experience of young women who undergo genital mutilation.

Female genital mutilation⁴¹ is a cruel traditional practice ‘involving partial or total removal of the female external genitalia or other injury to the female genital organs for non-medical reason’ (World Health Organization, 2008, p. 4). Although female genital mutilation may be performed by trained health workers using aseptic techniques in a medical setting (Horowitz & Jackson, 1997), in most African societies, the procedures are performed by older women who might be unskilled or only skilled in traditional medicine. Research has found that the major reason for FGM is to regulate female sexuality (Odukogbe, Afolabi, Bello, & Adeyanju, 2017).

Paradoxically, females are both victims and perpetrators of female genital mutilation which makes it different from other forms of gender-based violence that exist in the society (World Health Organization, 2012). Usually, a young woman’s mother or her female relatives are responsible for encouraging and arranging for (and in most cases forcing her to undergo) female genital mutilation. In a qualitative study (Horowitz & Jackson, 1997), a woman who had had her genitals forcibly mutilated narrated how she was held down on the ground by one woman while another woman cut her with a blade. She described it as the most painful experience of her life. This clearly demonstrates how women appear to be complicit in upholding patriarchal values instead of confronting them. In this respect, there is evidence to suggest that Tiv mothers are (albeit not intentionally) reinforcing patriarchal ideologies that support the suppression of female sexuality. The fact that men assign such roles to their wives, does not suggest giving power to women but on the contrary, I argue that this perpetuates male dominance and female subordination.

A new dimension revealed by the present study is how women in polygamous marriages compete with co-wives to impress the husband by bringing up daughters that are passive and sexually innocent. Mothers who participated in this study described how this situation often put pressure on them as they sought to stifle their daughters’ sexuality. Mothers in

⁴¹ This procedure has physical, social, psychological and economic consequences which requires a comprehensive and systematic approach to eliminate. In Nigeria and other African countries today, statistics has shown that this practice is declining over the past three decades or so.

polygamous marriages interviewed were also conscious of the fact that they might become an object of ridicule among fellow wives if their daughters were seen to violate cultural norms about sexuality. This suggests that a daughters' 'good' behaviour could increase a mother's status within a polygamous family structure. The implication here is that the prevailing patriarchy structure cannot be overturned by mothers. It appears that some women do not question (or possibly, lack the capacity to resist) patriarchal values that tend to 'castrate' them (Ellis, 2010). This suggests that sexual socialization is both deeply gendered and underpinned by forms of patriarchal oppression in which not only men, but women too, are implicated.

8.2.7 Enveloping Sexualities: A Bounded Agency

This study demonstrates that the sexuality of Tiv young women is constrained by several intersecting external factors (Bayer et al., 2010), and operates within a specific social landscape leading to agency that at best is bounded (restricted). Through the process of deconstructing and reconstructing the data, I identified the young women's main concern as 'the feeling of restriction and suppression'. In this section, I discuss the core phenomenon that emerged from the study which I label "enveloping sexualities", a term I consider as having the most explanatory power. The data have driven the findings and led to this theoretical explanation. It is important to point out that the use of different theoretical lenses has proved to be useful in understating the complexity of female sexuality development in Tiv society. The figure below is used to summarise some of the factors that envelope the sexuality of young women and how they negotiate and push the envelope. In this study, the word 'envelope' is used figuratively, as a noun, verb and adjective. As a noun, it describes the artificial membrane surrounding participants' sexuality; as a verb, the term is used to describe the control and regulatory functions of parents/culture and the sexual deception of participants; and as an adjective it is used to describe how young women's attempts to disrupt dominant expectations are mired in cultural discourses and social and gender challenges (miry).

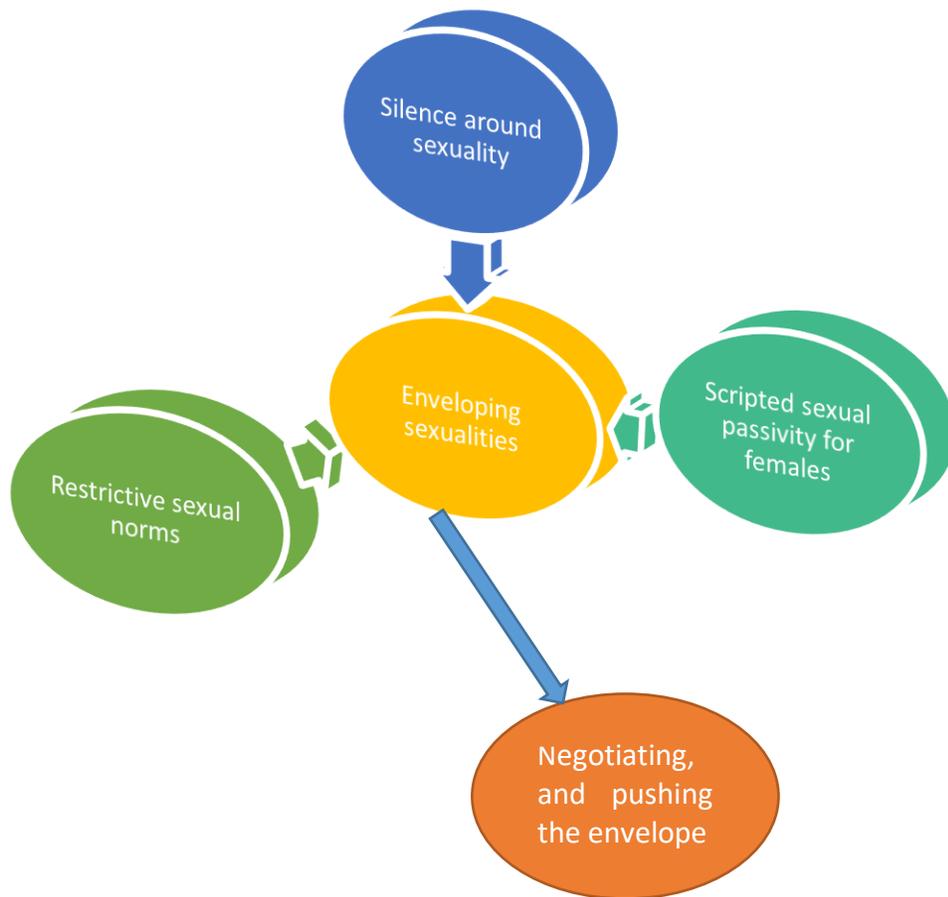


Figure 8.1 A Summary of Factors enveloping the sexuality of Tiv adolescent girls.

Sexuality, and indeed female sexuality is a product of social construction which is structured by cultural norms and allows only for limited individual agency (Glen, 2017; McCluskey & Fineman, 1997). While cultural norms of female sexuality operate in a plethora of ways to limit and script the sexual expression of adolescent girls, this study found that young girls challenge these constraining social expectations by engaging in sexual relationships (Bell, 2012), which given the context, shows some level of agency.

One of the ways young women are sexually disempowered is by limiting their access to accurate and sufficient sexual knowledge. As earlier discussed in this chapter, silence is used as a strategy to achieve this goal. There is so much emphasis on the negative consequences even when issues relating to sexuality are discussed. In this sense, female adolescent sexuality is viewed as socially and morally wrong, and as a 'sickness' best prevented (Harden, 2014). While this thesis does not ignore possible risks associated with adolescent sexual activities,

understandings about the complexities of adolescent sexuality as held by young women themselves in the study provides compelling evidence for the need to complement these subjective understandings with information and services that promote sexual health. It is interesting that young women in this study reported some resilience tactics to access sexual knowledge. For example, adolescent girls would seek sexual information from peers and the social media. Though the quality of such information in terms of authenticity was not covered in this thesis, I argue that such resilient moves hold promise for promoting healthy sexuality development.

The patriarchal environment also serves to constrain adolescent girls' sexuality and agency. The phrase 'being in charge' was used by young women during focus group discussions to mean a sense of sexual entitlement, resistance to sexual double standards, and expression of agency. The findings of the current study showed that the established gender regime and the general social expectations in Tiv society affords women less agency than the men. Talking through the experiences they have had, young women in my study identify moments where they felt bad and upset by the attitudes of their male partners as they attempt to exercise agency. Given the established 'male privilege' culture (Jones & Jemmott, 2016, p. 846), girls who show agentic behaviour as regards to their sexuality are often labelled as "too tough" or "man-woman" [man-like]. I suggest this behaviour further stigmatizes young women, reframes agency in negative terms and is designed to keep young women 'in their place'.

The data also showed that participants (young women) were willing to exercise agency but often find it difficult. In their accounts, agency is presented as something that is desired but at the same time difficult to express for fear of certain social repercussions such as gossip and isolation, being abandoned by boyfriends and attracting the 'man-woman' label. These findings are similar to those of previous studies in South Africa and Senegal, which show that young women have limited sexual agency and often suffer social repercussions for agentic behaviours (Eerdewijk, 2009; Lesch & Kruger, 2005). Generally, males are socialized to be resolute and more aggressive than females, making them more agentic in a relationship. Researchers such as Allen et al (2008) in an open-ended survey of 148 undergraduate students found that nearly half of the sample (45%) expressed a view that they were in control of their sexual decision-making process suggesting a high sense of agency. While this study has limited

relevance to my research in that it was conducted in an affluent Western context, the difference between Allen's findings and those from my study are worthy of exploration. In my study, the participants' accounts demonstrated fewer moments of agency and a tendency to surrender to dominant sociocultural expectations.

Young women in this current study frequently mentioned that being agentic is often viewed as being man-like. This speaks to the patriarchal values and domination within Tiv society. In most patriarchal African cultures, women and girls are expected to be passive and this leads to sexual passivity and domination by male partners. They lack complete control over their lives and are taught from childhood to be obedient and submissive to males. Among the Shona people of Zimbabwe for example, Kambarami (2006) noted that girls are often taught to be gentle and obedient. Once they reach puberty, all teachings are directed towards pleasing their future husband as a good wife. In Nigeria, most girls grow into adult women believing that these occurrences are normal, natural and divinely ordered (Igbelina-Igbokwe, 2013). Girls' sexual expressions and activities are constructed as "deviant" (Izugbara, 2008) and to maintain a "good girl" position requires subscribing to ideals of female virginity and fidelity constrain women's expressions of sexuality and sexual agency.

This study reveals the temporary or sporadic nature of agency when young women engage in intimate relationships. From many of the young women's accounts, agency was most notable at the stage of relationship initiation commonly referred to as 'toasting.' In partner choice, young women had considerable agency. Generally, as earlier mentioned, most girls did not initiate relationships, they however wished it were socially acceptable for them to do so. Whilst young women in my study appeared to have considerable agency at the point of initiating relationships, their agency was constrained once relationships were consented to, and in many respects their power was surrendered (Jewkes & Morrell, 2012). These power dynamics make it clear how gender plays out within specific contexts leading to violence and coercion within sexual relationships. Some young women reported receiving threats and abuse from their partners. They likened being in such a relationship as being trapped. Participants use that language to construct their social reality in the arena of sexual relationships. This finding shows how gender inequality plays out in the realm of intimacy and how men control their partners using violent and non-violent methods. This finding concurs with that of a study conducted by

Jewkes & Morrell (2012) using qualitative interviews and ethnographic observation among 16 young women from the rural Eastern Cape in South Africa. The study found that whilst constrained by patriarchy, poverty and limited support, women exercise considerable agency when initiating dating. Findings from this current study point to the fact that gender dynamics and young women's financial dependence within relationships inhibit their capacity for agency. An intersectional analysis of the experiences of young women within sexual relationships revealed that, gender intersects with age and poverty⁴² to rob them of the competence to display an authoritative sense of self as sexual beings.

Given the context in which young women in the present research live, exploring and expressing their sexuality is a constrained choice, that is, they must navigate certain constraining sociocultural expectations. Young women sought to give the impression of conforming to sexual prohibition while at the same time disrupting it by engaging in sexual activities surreptitiously. I use the concept of bounded agency to explain this secretive expression of sexuality (Evans, 2007) as young women's sexual experiences are limited by existing social structures.

In this context, young women's agency is defined by negotiating the terms of their sexual suppression within the liminal space that they create. In this sense, I expand on the concept of agency to consider "agency-as-negotiating-one's-subordination" (Miriam, 2007, p. 224). This contextualization of agency distinguishes it from total sexual emancipation. Analysis revealed that young women find ways to circumvent restrictions and this moves them out of the social-cultural-familial-religious places they are expected to occupy into a space they create whereby they can express, experiment and experience sexual desire. Young women seem to be aware that this new space is against cultural norms and as such not their permanent location and that the social sanctions of 'deviancy' are such that at some point they will as women, have to fit into the requirements scripted for them. However, in re-writing their own scripts, given their ability to negotiate the terms of the present situation (Britta, 2009), they increase their own insights into the possibilities of sexual autonomy and these insights provide possibilities of change down the road for their children. This is because many young women in this study do

⁴² Given participants in this study were from middle-income households, the word poverty is not used to mean a state of being extremely poor and struggling to make ends meet. Rather, it speaks to the insufficiency of things that young women may like to have at a point in time.

not wish to become like their mothers (whose role includes upholding patriarchal values). Therefore, while liminal agency is indeed limited and as such raises questions as to whether it is agentic at all, it contains transformative potential. This suggests that the sexuality of Tiv young women is in transition.

8.3 Contribution to Scholarship and Limitations of the Study

In this section, I discuss how the present study has contributed to existing literature in the area of adolescent sexuality and female adolescent sexuality in particular. I first outline a number of key strengths of the study, followed by a discussion of some limitations that exist.

8.3.1 Main Contribution of the Study (Strengths)

The findings of this study contribute to knowledge and existing literature on female adolescent sexuality development in several ways. This thesis has contributed to knowledge about the approach to data collection from young people on the issues of sexuality. The use of different methods of data collection and multiple sources of data, have raised valuable interpretative insights into the socio-cultural context of adolescent females' sexuality. The methodology used in this study created a forum in which young women could discuss and reflect on their sexualities without judgment. The focus group and Skype interviews provided young women with the space to construct their sexualities in a manner that they might not have otherwise had.

The study also makes an important contribution in combining a social constructionist theoretical perspective with a feminist theory of intersectionality and utilizing these to interpret adolescent experiences of sexuality. The theory of intersectionality illustrates how health worker's multiple identities, for instance, intersect to shape young women's access to sexual health services. Policy and intervention programmes may be more helpful if they target the root causes that negatively shape the socio-cultural space.

This study has contributed to a new understanding of the role of patriarchal and matriarchal positioning in the sexual socialization of young people, indicating that the issues are more

complex than parents just being the primary source of sexual information for young people. Regarding patriarchal power in the equation, this study revealed the phenomenon of the patriarch giving the task of educating daughters to mothers while they look on and wield power from a distance. This finding shows how female sexuality is embedded within gender power dynamics.

The study revealed the resilient strategies of young women to transcend the boundaries that the social context has placed on their sexuality. A significant contribution is the revelation that within adolescent females' subculture, sex is accepted and encouraged. This implies the need to appreciate the generational difference between parents and their children in respect to adhering to traditional sexual norms. The study also raises new perspectives on sexting as a love language used among young people.

The study contributes further to the national policies on school-based comprehensive sex education (CSE) in Nigeria by recognising that the implementation of the policy is ineffective. The kind of sexual health education available to adolescent girls in the study area does not prepare them to make responsible decisions about their sexual behaviour. I thus recommend that sex education in Nigerian schools should be overhauled to make the curriculum more empowering instead of emphasizing sexual risks. This study also raises the need for government programs to target parents and encourage them to get involved in the comprehensive sexual education of children.

Most empirical literature on adolescent sexuality is Western-based, and tends to lack sensitivity to cultural factors. This thesis advances the literature by demonstrating that adolescent sexuality is not only influenced by external, contextual and social factors, but also by cultural traditions and beliefs. The findings also increase awareness of the need to move beyond risk-based research and interventions to those that embrace adolescent sexuality as healthy, positive and agentic.

8.3.2 Study Limitations

It is important to point out some limitations of the study. For example, this study used qualitative methods, was context specific and focused only on adolescent females; these

factors mean that findings are not generalizable. However, the findings are consistent with research in other African contexts with similar cultural backgrounds. Furthermore, the current study provided unique insights into the sexual lives of young women in Northern Nigeria which may not have been available through other methods. Also, the findings of the study are important in encouraging other researchers to conduct similar work in the region.

The study is also limited because it did not include participants from rural areas or those with little access to education. All the participants were from middle-class families and had attended or were attending secondary school. This was a deliberate intention given that the study was conducted in English language, and as such could only recruit those who could speak English (a fact which also signifies level of education). The experiences of adolescent girls from other groups were therefore not included.

Another possible limitation of this study would have been due to my defining feature as a male researcher studying female participants. There are questions that come to mind. Were the young women free and comfortable in discussing their sexual development with me? Would a female researcher have obtained richer, fuller or more information than I did? Given this is the first research of this kind to the best of my knowledge in the study area, a replication of this study by a female researcher would help to answer these questions. I would say however, that there were no indications to suggest that the gender dynamics that exist in Tiv society were replicated in the research process. This is because of my previous experience in conducting interviews with young women and, the involvement of a female assistant in the process.

8.4 The Implications of the Study for Policy and Practice

While I acknowledge the limitations of this study, this section discusses the important implications of the findings of this study for adolescent sexuality policy and practice in North Central Nigeria, considering my argument for comprehensive sexual health education that is non-judgemental and includes sexual desire and safe sex. Findings of this study can inform best practice interventions aim at promoting healthy sexuality development among female adolescents.

The study has implications for parental approaches to sex education and calls for the need to facilitate positive parental involvement in the sexual education of not only daughters but sons

too. By providing adolescents with a friendly space to discuss concerns about sexuality, this would enable meaningful sexual information to be available for adolescents and would empower females to have control over their sexuality. Parent-child communication about sex must go beyond simply giving information about the negative consequences of engaging in sexual activities to include efforts to enable female adolescents to perceive themselves as active agents in their sexual lives.

In addition, the study implications emphasise the need for a re-orientation of healthcare providers and prepare them to be agents of promoting sexual health among young people instead of moralising the workspace and turning into guardians of the cultural norms of sexuality.

One specific policy implication from this research is that government should set up monitoring teams to ensure the full implementation of the comprehensive sexual education policy in all government and private schools in the country. The findings of this study also have practical implications because it promotes the reframing of the role of fathers, from one of patriarchal control and domination to one that involves taking an active role in having open, honest communications about sex-related topics with their children.

8.5 Recommendations for Future Research

As earlier mentioned, this study had intended to spark off research in the study area. The study has raised the need to carry out further research to expand knowledge on the sexual development of adolescents within Northern Nigeria. It would be useful for future research to focus on the following:

1. Future research in this area should attempt to include participants who are not literate and live in rural areas. While the current study has provided useful insights, it would be interesting to know how this group construct and navigate their sexuality. The data for such a study should be collected using appropriate linguistic methods to enable participants to fully express themselves.
2. There is also a need to undertake a similar study exploring the sexual scripts and experiences of adolescent boys in Tiv society and, among young children.

3. There should be a large-scale study with a larger sample covering all communities in the Tiv society to provide more information on the dynamics and experiences of adolescent girls' sexuality.
4. The attitudes of health workers towards providing contraceptive services to unmarried female adolescents, discussed in this study, are constructed through the views and experiences of young women who participated. Therefore, there is need for research targeting health workers working in both private and government health centres in Nigeria to explore their attitudes toward providing sexual and reproductive services to unmarried female adolescents.
5. There is also a need for future research to explore the complex array of experiences, agency and subjective well-being of out-of-wedlock adolescent mothers in Northern Nigeria and other cultural regions in sub-Saharan Africa. A similar study should also explore family responses and perspective on teenage unintended pregnancy.

8.6 Reflections on the Research Journey

To succeed, you must have tremendous perseverance, tremendous will. "I will drink the ocean," says the persevering soul; "at my will mountains will crumble up." Have that sort of energy, that sort of will; work hard, and you will reach the goal. (Swami Vivekananda)

Let me tell you the secret that has led to my goal. My strength lies solely in my tenacity. (Louis Pasteur)

Researching a sensitive topic such as sexuality is not without ethical and methodological challenges. One of the strategies I used in managing these was keeping a thoughtful research journal throughout the course of the research process. This study was conducted in North-central Nigeria, with adolescent females and parents. It was an organic process that began with focus groups interviews with young women. The data from the focus groups discussions was coded, analysed and key themes were identified. The next set of data gathering involved conducting individual interviews with parents. Key categories were further explicated by conducting Skype individual interviews with another set of female adolescents. The

sociocultural context of young women and the conception of female sexuality were critical to understanding and interpreting young women's responses.

I have had some painful experiences and challenging moments while conducting this study. I'm so grateful to God for helping me through challenging times. I never regret embarking on this journey. I have learned through the journey that one of the keys to success is keeping your eyes on the finish line and not on the challenges. I have persevered, and I have finished the race. Apart from satisfying my desire to pursue my passion for research and broaden my knowledge base, I was determined to complete this PhD to make my mother proud. She never went to school because she was given out in marriage at the age of 12 years. Over the years, my mother has worked hard to ensure that her children are educated. Overall, it has been a wonderful journey. This doctoral research has enhanced my skills and prepared me for future research.

8.7 Concluding Thoughts

This thesis explored what it is like being a Tiv female adolescent as it relates to sexuality from the perspective of young women and parents and revealed the role of the broader social context for the sexual lives of Tiv adolescent girls. Conducting research on female adolescent sexuality is a choice that was not only intended to provide insights into the social structures and cultural values that influence the sexuality and sexual agency of Tiv adolescent girls but was bound up with my efforts to react to and disrupt the overly narrow and prescriptive stance taken in Tiv culture and in sex research in Nigeria. In my research experience, I realised that creating a space and giving young women the opportunity to share their experiences relating to the social context of their sexuality is very important in policy planning and improving access to services and sexual education for this population.

My choice of grounded theory was based on the need to gain context-specific understandings about the sexual realities of female adolescents. This methodology proved to be useful in systematically examining participants' experiences and understandings, and enabling a clear representation of the data. I was also attracted to the flexibility of grounded theory. Strauss and Corbin (1990, 1998) argued that grounded theory procedures are not commandments but

mere guidelines to be used creatively by researchers. I took advantage of this flexibility and freedom during data collection and analysis. For example, I found the idea of theoretical sampling useful in collecting further data to refine existing categories. Overall, I felt that grounded theory offered the current study a much more substantial outcome.

The theoretical tools used in this current study were for constant comparison purposes and to give me a focused analytical lens. These tools included social constructionism, intersectionality and scripting theory. These theoretical frameworks were used in positioning the findings within the existing body of theory. For example, by adhering to a social constructionist standpoint, this current study focuses on how Tiv adolescent girls experience and make sense of their own sexuality from the specific contexts of intimate relationships (with parents and partners) to the broader contexts of gender, culture, economic situation, and age. It elicits data which represents the young women's constructed sense of social reality as it relates to their sexuality.

This study identified access to comprehensive sexuality education and the encouragement of open and positive communication on sexual related matters between parents and their daughters as significant for adolescents' healthy sexuality development. New understandings have been generated about how female adolescent sexuality is shaped by patriarchal ideologies of control and suppression of women in Northern Nigeria. In addition, the study elucidates the resilient strategies and agency employed by these young women as they navigate and negotiate the physical, symbolic and moral boundaries in relation to their sexuality. Given the dearth of literature on female adolescent sexual development literature in Nigeria, the thesis fills a crucial gap.

References

- Ababio, P., & Yendork, J. S. (2017). "When You Talk About Virginity It's About Females": Views on Virginity Among University of Ghana Students. *Sexuality & Culture, 21*(2), 549-568. doi:10.1007/s12119-016-9404-8
- Adepoju, A. (2005). Sexuality Education in Nigeria: Evolution, Challenges and Prospects. *AFRICA REGIONAL SEXUALITY RESOURCE CENTRE Understanding Human Sexuality Seminar Series 3*.
- Adikaram, A. S. (2016). Unwanted" and "bad," but not "sexual" Non-labelling of sexual harassment by Sri Lankan working women. *Personnel Review, 45*(5), 806 - 826.
- Afifi, T. D., Hutchinson, S., & Krouse, S. (2006). Toward a Theoretical Model of Communal Coping in Postdivorce Families and Other Naturally Occurring Groups. *Communication Theory, 16*(3), 378-409. doi:10.1111/j.1468-2885.2006.00275.x
- Ahanonu, E. L. (2014). Attitudes of Healthcare Providers towards Providing Contraceptives for Unmarried Adolescents in Ibadan, Nigeria. *Journal of Family and Reproductive Health, 8*(1).
- Ahmed, F. A., Moussa, K. M., Petterson, K. O., & Asamoah, B. O. (2012). Assessing knowledge, attitude, and practice of emergency contraception: a cross-sectional study among Ethiopian undergraduate female students. *BMC Public Health, 12*(1), 110. doi:10.1186/1471-2458-12-110
- Ajibade, G. O. (2013). Same-Sex Relationships in Yorùbá Culture and Orature. *Journal of Homosexuality, 60*(7), 965-983. doi:10.1080/00918369.2013.774876
- Ajuwon, A. J., Akin-Jimoh, I., Olley, B. O., & Akintola, O. (2001). Perceptions of sexual coercion: learning from young people in Ibadan, Nigeria. *Reproductive Health Matters, 9*(17), 128-136. doi:10.1016/S0968-8080(01)90016-3
- Ajuwon, A. J., Olley, B. O., Akintola, O., & Akin-Jimoh, I. (2004). Sexual coercion in young persons: exploring the experiences of rape victims in Ibadan, Nigeria. *Health Education, 104*(1), 8-17. doi:10.1108/09654280410511743
- Akevi, J. (2014). Tiv Hospitality. *Pointblanknews Retrieved from <http://pointblanknews.com/pbn/articles-opinios/misconception-tiv-hospitality/accessed> 30/07/2015*.
- Akintola, O., Ngubane, L., & Makhaba, L. (2012). 'I Did It for Him, Not for Me': An Exploratory Study of Factors Influencing Sexual Debut among Female University Students in Durban, South Africa. *Journal of Health Psychology, 17*(1), 143-153. doi:doi:10.1177/1359105311410512
- Allen, K. R., Husser, E. K., Stone, D. J., & Jordal, C. E. (2008). Agency and Error in Young Adults' Stories of Sexual Decision Making. *Family Relations [H.W.Wilson - SSA], 57*(4), 517.
- A Moran, O. E. (2012). A comparative analysis of predictors of teenage pregnancy and its prevention in a rural town in Western Nigeria. *International journal for equity in health, 11*(1), 37-37. doi:10.1186/1475-9276-11-37
- Andre, T., Dietsch, C., & Cheng, Y. (1991). Sources of sex education as a function of sex, coital activity, and type of information. *Contemp Educ Psychol, 16*(3), 215-240.
- Arbeit, M. R. (2014). What does healthy sex look like among youth? Towards a skills-based model for promoting adolescent sexuality development. *Human Development, 57*(5), 259-286. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.1159/000367856>
- Audu, B., Geidam, A., & Jarma, H. (2009). Child labor and sexual assault among girls in Maiduguri, Nigeria. *International Journal of Gynecology and Obstetrics, 104*(1), 64-67. doi:10.1016/j.ijgo.2008.09.007
- Averett, P., Benson, M., & Vaillancourt, K. (2008). Young women's struggle for sexual agency: the role of parental messages. *Journal of Gender Studies, 17*(4), 331-344. doi:10.1080/09589230802420003

- Azzopardi, C., Alaggia, R., & Fallon, B. (2017). From Freud to Feminism: Gendered Constructions of Blame Across Theories of Child Sexual Abuse. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse*, 1-22. doi:10.1080/10538712.2017.1390717
- Bako, M. J., & Syed, J. (2018). Women's marginalization in Nigeria and the way forward. *Human Resource Development International*, 1-19. doi:10.1080/13678868.2018.1458567
- Ballard, S. M., & Gross, K. H. (2009). Exploring Parental Perspectives on Parent-Child Sexual Communication. *American Journal of Sexuality Education*, 4(1), 40-57. doi:10.1080/15546120902733141
- Baran, S. J. (2004). *Introduction to Mass Communication: Media Literacy and Culture* (3rd edition ed. Vol.). New York: McGraw Hill Companies.
- Barnett, J. P., Maticka-Tyndale, E., & Team1, H. R. (2011). The Gift of Agency: Sexual Exchange Scripts among Nigerian Youth. *The Journal of Sex Research*, 48(4), 349-359. doi:10.1080/00224499.2010.499523
- Bastien, S., Kajula, L. J., & Muhwezi, W. W. (2011). A review of studies of parent-child communication about sexuality and HIV/AIDS in sub-Saharan Africa. *Reproductive Health*, 8(1), 25-25. doi:10.1186/1742-4755-8-25
- Baum, R. M. (1993). Homosexuality and the traditional religions of America and Africa. In A. Swindler (Ed.), *Homosexuality and world religions* (pp. 1-46). Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press International.
- Baumeister, R. F., & Twenge, J. M. (2002). Cultural Suppression of Female Sexuality. *Review of General Psychology*, 6(2), 166-203. doi:10.1037/1089-2680.6.2.166
- Bauwens, A. (2010). The use of method triangulation in probation research. *European Journal of Probation*, 2(2), 39-52.
- Bay-Cheng, L. Y. (2003). The Trouble of Teen Sex: The construction of adolescent sexuality through school-based sexuality education. *Sex Education*, 3(1), 61-74. doi:10.1080/1468181032000052162
- Bay-Cheng, L. Y. (2012). Recovering Empowerment: De-personalizing and Re-politicizing Adolescent Female Sexuality. *Sex Roles*, 66(11), 713-717. doi:10.1007/s11199-011-0070-x
- Bay-Cheng, L. Y., Livingston, J. A., & Fava, N. M. (2011). Adolescent Girls' Assessment and Management of Sexual Risks: Insights From Focus Group Research. *Youth & Society*, 43(3), 1167-1193. doi:10.1177/0044118X10384475
- Bayer, A. M., Tsui, A. O., & Hindin, M. J. (2010). Constrained choices: adolescents speak on sexuality in Peru. *Culture, Health & Sexuality*, 12(7), 771-782. doi:10.1080/13691058.2010.488299
- Bell A, S. (2012). Young people and sexual agency in rural Uganda. *Culture, Health & Sexuality*, 14(3), 283-296. doi:10.1080/13691058.2011.635808
- Bell, S. A. (2012). Young people and sexual agency in rural Uganda. *Culture, Health & Sexuality*, 14(3), 283-296. doi:10.1080/13691058.2011.635808
- Bell, S. A., & Aggleton, P. (2013). Social influences on young people's sexual health in Uganda. *Health Education*, 113(2), 102-114. doi:doi:10.1108/09654281311298795
- Beres, M. A. (2013). Points of Convergence: Introducing Sexual Scripting Theory to Discourse Approaches to the Study of Sexuality. *Sexuality & Culture*. doi:10.1007/s12119-013-9176-3
- Berger, P. L., & Luckmann, T. (1967). *The social construction of reality: A treatise in the sociology of knowledge*. London: : Allen Lane. .
- Bernard, H. R. (2000). *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. London: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Bersamin, M., Fisher, D. A., Marcell, A. V., & Finan, L. J. (2017). Reproductive Health Services: Barriers to Use Among College Students. *Journal of Community Health*, 42(1), 155-159. doi:10.1007/s10900-016-0242-2
- Beyers, W., & Goossens, L. (2008). Dynamics of perceived parenting and identity formation in late adolescence. *Journal of Adolescence*, 31, 165-184. doi:10.1016/j.adolescence.2007.04.003

- Beyers, W., Veryser, E., & Verlee, E. (2015). Parents and peer predictors of adolescents' sexual development: Can parents buffer peer influence? *European Journal of Developmental Psychology, 12*(5), 599-612. doi:10.1080/17405629.2015.1056775
- Bhana, D. (2016). Virginité and virtue: African masculinities and femininities in the making of teenage sexual cultures. *Sexualities, 19*(4), 465-481. doi:10.1177/1363460715613298
- Biddlecom, A., Awusabo-Asare, K., & Bankole, A. (2009). Role of Parents in Adolescent Sexual Activity and Contraceptive Use in Four African Countries. *International Perspectives on Sexual and Reproductive Health, 35*(2), 72-81.
- Bijelić, N. (2008). Sex Education in Croatia: Tensions between Secular and Religious Discourses. *European Journal of Women's Studies, 15*(4), 329-343. doi:10.1177/1350506808095273
- Birks, M., & Mills, J. (2011). *Grounded theory: a practical guide*. Los Angeles, [Calif.]; London: SAGE.
- Bleakley, A., Hennessy, M., Fishbein, M., & Jordan, A. (2009). How sources of sexual information relate to adolescents' beliefs about sex. *American journal of health behavior, 33*(1), 37-48. doi:10.5993/ajhb.33.1.4
- Bloor, M., & Wood, F. (2006). *Keywords in Qualitative Methods: A Vocabulary of Research Concepts*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Bohner, G., Pina, A., Viki, G. T., & Siebler, F. (2010). Using social norms to reduce men's rape proclivity: Perceived rape myth acceptance of out-groups may be more influential than that of in-groups. *Psychology, Crime and Law, 16*, 671-693.
- Bowen, G. A. (2005). Preparing a Qualitative Research-Based Dissertation: Lesson Learned. *The Qualitative Report, 10*(2), 208-222.
- Boyce, S., Zeledón, P., Tellez, E., & Barrington, C. (2016). Gender-Specific Jealousy and Infidelity Norms as Sources of Sexual Health Risk and Violence Among Young Coupled Nicaraguans. *American Journal of Public Health, 106*(4), 625-632. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.2105/AJPH.2015.303016>
- Braimah, T. S. (2014). Child marriage in Northern Nigeria: Section 61 of Part 1 the 1999 Constitution and the protection of children against child marriage. *African Human Right Law Journal, 14*, 474-488.
- Brickell, C. (2006). The sociological construction of gender and sexuality. *The Sociological Review, Published by Blackwell Publishing Ltd*(Oxford, UK).
- Britta, T. (2009). Rural black women's agency within intimate partnerships amid the South African HIV epidemic. *African Journal of AIDS Research, 8*(4), 455-464. doi:10.2989/AJAR.2009.8.4.9.1046
- Browes, N. C. (2015). Comprehensive sexuality education, culture and gender: the effect of the cultural setting on a sexuality education programme in Ethiopia. *Sex Education, 15*(6), 655-670. doi:10.1080/14681811.2015.1065476
- Brown, J. D. (2002). Mass Media Influences on Sexuality. *The Journal of Sex Research, 39*(1), 42-45.
- Brown, S. (2015a). 'They think it's all up to the girls': gender, risk and responsibility for contraception. *Culture, Health & Sexuality, 17*(3), 312-325. doi:10.1080/13691058.2014.950983
- Brown, S. (2015b). Using focus groups in naturally occurring settings. *Qualitative Research Journal, 15*(1), 86-97.
- Bryman, A. (1984). The debate about quantitative and qualitative research: A question of method or epistemology? *The British Journal of Sociology, 35*(1), 75-92.
- Bryson, V. (1999). 'Patriarchy': A concept too useful to lose. *Contemporary Politics, 5*(4), 311-324. doi:10.1080/13569779908450014
- Burkett, M., & Hamilton, K. (2012). Postfeminist sexual agency: Young women's negotiations of sexual consent. *Sexualities, 15*(7), 815-833. doi:10.1177/1363460712454076
- Burr, V. (2015). *Social Constructionism* (Third ed.). New York: Routledge.
- Capurchande, R., Coene, G., Schockaert, I., Macia, M., & Meulemans, H. (2016). "It is challenging... oh, nobody likes it!": a qualitative study exploring Mozambican adolescents and young adults' experiences with contraception. *BMC Women's Health, 16*(1), 48. doi:10.1186/s12905-016-0326-2

- Carpenter, L. M. (2001). The Ambiguity of "Having Sex": The Subjective Experience of Virginity Loss in the United States. *The Journal of Sex Research, 38*(2), 127-139.
- Carpenter, L. M. (2011). Like a Virgin...Again?: Secondary Virginity as an Ongoing Gendered Social Construction. *Sexuality & Culture, 15*(2), 115-140. doi:10.1007/s12119-010-9085-7
- Chandler, D., & Munday, R. (2016). *sexting: 'Oxford University Press'*.
- Chandra, A., Martino, S. C., Collins, R. L., Elliott, M. N., Berry, S. H., Kanouse, D. E., & Miu, A. (2008). Does Watching Sex on Television Predict Teen Pregnancy? Findings From a National Longitudinal Survey of Youth. *Pediatrics, 122*(5), 1047-1054. doi:10.1542/peds.2007-3066
- Charmaraman, L., & McKamey, C. (2011). Urban Early Adolescent Narratives on Sexuality: Accidental and Intentional Influences of Family, Peers, and the Media. *Sexuality Research and Social Policy, 8*(4), 253. doi:10.1007/s13178-011-0052-3
- Charmaz, K. (2006). *Cocnstructing Grounded theory: A practical Guide Through Qualitative analysis* (1st ed.). London: Sage Publications.
- Chilman, C. S. (1990). Promoting Healthy Adolescent Sexuality. *Family Relations, 39*(2), 123-131. doi:10.2307/585712
- Chirawu, P., Hanass-Hancock, J., Aderemi, T. J., de Reus, L., & Henken, A. S. (2014). Protect or Enable? Teachers' Beliefs and Practices Regarding Provision of Sexuality Education to Learners with Disability in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. *Sexuality and Disability, 32*(3), 259-277. doi:10.1007/s11195-014-9355-7
- Chirwa, A. S., & Kudzala, A. C. (2001). Report on Assessment of Youth Friendly Health Services in Malawi National Youth Council of Malawi Lilongwe
- Christensen, M. C., Wright, R., & Dunn, J. (2017). 'It's awkward stuff': conversations about sexuality with young children. *Child & Family Social Work, 22*(2), 711-720. doi:10.1111/cfs.12287
- Cloete, A. (2012). Youth culture, media and sexuality: What could faith communities contribute? *HTS Theologiese Studies/Theological Studies, 68*(2). doi:Art. #1118, 6 pages. <http://dx.doi.org/10.4102/hts.v68i2.1118>
- Coffey, J., Budgeon, S., & Cahill, H. (2016). *Learning Bodies : The Body in Youth and Childhood Studies*. Singapore, SINGAPORE: Springer Singapore.
- Cohen, S. A. (2004). Delayed Marriage and Abstinence-until-Marriage: On a Collision Course? *The Guttmacher Report on Public Policy*.
- Connelly, L. (2013). *Demographic data in research studies* (Vol. 22).
- Connor, K. M., & Davidson, J. R. T. (2003). Development of a new resilience scale: The Connor-Davidson Resilience Scale (CD-RISC). *Depression and Anxiety, 18*(2), 76-82. doi:10.1002/da.10113
- Conroy, N. E., Krishnakumar, A., & Leone, J. M. (2014). Reexamining Issues of Conceptualization and Willing Consent: The Hidden Role of Coercion in Experiences of Sexual Acquiescence. *J Interpers Violence, 29*(12), 2454-2474. doi:10.1177/0886260514549050
- Cooper, B. (2015). Intersectionality. *The Oxford Handbook of Feminist Theory*. doi:10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199328581.013.20
- Coyne, I., & Cowley, S. (2006). Using grounded theory to research parent participation. *Journal of Research in Nursing, 11*(6), 501-515. doi:10.1177/1744987106065831
- Crenshaw, K. (1991). Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color. *Stanford Law Review, 43*(6). doi:10.2307/1229039
- Cudd, A. E., & Andreasen, R. O. (2005). *Feminist Theory: A Philosophical Anthology*. Australia: Blackwell Publishing.
- Curtis, D. (2009). *Pleasures and Perils: Girls' sexuality in a Caribbean consumer culture*. London: Rutgers University Press.
- Dan, A., Sylvia, A., Ted, M., Oludare, O., & Sade, O. (2007). Challenges for the Sexual Health and Social Acceptance of Men Who Have Sex with Men in Nigeria. *Culture, Health & Sexuality, 9*(2), 153-168.

- Daniel, N., & Baskin, Y. (2013). Informed, uninformed and participative consent in social media research. *International journal of market research*, 55(6), 791-808.
- Danjin, M., & Onajole, A. T. (2010). HIV/AIDS risk behavioural tendencies among secondary school students in Gombe. *The Internet Journal of Health*, 11(1).
- Darlaston-Jones, D. (2007). Making connections: The relationship between epistemology and research methods. *The Australian Community Psychologist*, 19(1), 19-27.
- Davis, K. (2008). Intersectionality as buzzword: A sociology of science perspective on what makes a feminist theory successful. *Feminist Theory*, 9(1), 67-85. doi:10.1177/1464700108086364
- Dawson, L. H., Shih, M.-C., de Moor, C., & Shrier, L. (2008). Reasons Why Adolescents and Young Adults Have Sex: Associations with Psychological Characteristics and Sexual Behavior. *The Journal of Sex Research*, 45(3), 225-232.
- De Ridder, S. (2017). Social Media and Young People's Sexualities: Values, Norms, and Battlegrounds. *Social Media + Society*, 3(4), 2056305117738992. doi:10.1177/2056305117738992
- DeLamater, J. D., & Hyde, J. S. (1998). Essentialism vs. Social Constructionism in the study of Human sexuality. *The Journal of Sex Research*, 34(1), 10-18.
- Delgado-Infante, M. L., & Ofreño, M. A. P. (2014). Maintaining a "good girl" position: Young Filipina women constructing sexual agency in first sex within Catholicism. *Feminism & Psychology*, 24(3), 390-407. doi:10.1177/0959353514530715
- Denicolo, P., Long, T., & Bradley-cole, K. (2016). *Constructivist approaches and research methods: a practical guide to exploring personal meanings*. London: SAGE publications.
- DePalma, R., & Francis, D. (2014). Silence, nostalgia, violence, poverty ... : What does 'culture' mean for South African sexuality educators? *Culture, Health & Sexuality*, 16(5), 547-561. doi:10.1080/13691058.2014.891050
- Diamond, L. M. (2006). *Rethinking Positive Adolescent Female Sexual Development: New Directions for Child and Adolescent Development* (Vol. 112): Company.
- Dick, B. (2005). Grounded theory: a thumbnail sketch. Available on line at <http://www.aral.com.au/resources/grounded.html>.
- Dixon, S. V., & Graber, J. A. (2008). The Roles of Respect for Parental Authority and Parenting Practices in Parent-Child Conflict Among African American, Latino, and European American Families. *Journal of Family Psychology*, 22(1), 1-10. doi: 10.1037/0893-3200.22.1.1
- Doodoo, F. N.-A., Zulu, E. M., & Ezech, A. C. (2007). Urban-rural differences in the socioeconomic deprivation-Sexual behavior link in Kenya. *Social Science & Medicine*, 64(5), 1019-1031. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2006.10.007>
- Domhardt, M., Münzer, A., Fegert, J. M., & Goldbeck, L. (2015). Resilience in Survivors of Child Sexual Abuse. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse*, 16(4), 476-493. doi:doi:10.1177/1524838014557288
- Dunton, C. (1989). "Wheyting be Dat?" The Treatment of Homosexuality in African Literature. *Research in African Literatures*, 20(3), 422-448.
- Dzurgba, A. (2007). *On the Tiv of Central Nigeria: A Cultural Perspective*. Ibadan: John Archers (Publishers) Limited.
- Eaton, D. K., Kann, L., Kinchen, S., Shanklin, S., Ross, J., Hawkins, J., . . . Wechsler, H. (2010). Youth Risk Behavior Surveillance-United States, 2009. *Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report*, 59 (SS05), 1-142.
- Edwards, W. M., & Coleman, E. (2004). Defining sexual health: a descriptive overview. *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, 33(3), 189-195. doi:10.1023/B:ASEB.0000026619.95734.d5
- Eerdewijk, A. (2009). Silence, pleasure and agency: sexuality of unmarried girls in Dakar, Senegal. *Cont Islam*, 3, 7-24. doi:10.1007/s11562-008-0074-7
- Egan, R. D., & Hawkes, G. (2009). The problem with protection: Or, why we need to move towards recognition and the sexual agency of children. *Continuum: Journal of Media & Cultural Studies*, 23(3), 389-400. doi:10.1080/10304310902842975

- Eliseo-Arras, R., & Bay-Cheng, L. (2008). The Making of Unwanted Sex: Gendered and Neoliberal Norms in College Women's Unwanted Sexual Experiences. *Journal of sex research, 45*(4), 386-397. doi:10.1080/00224490802398381
- Elliot, M., Fairweather, I., Olsen, W., & Pampaka, M. (2016). objectivity: 'Oxford University Press'.
- Elliott, N., & Higgins, A. (2012). Surviving Grounded theory research method in an academic world: Proposal writing and theoretical framework. *Grounded theory review, 11*(2).
- Ellis-Sloan, K. (2014). Teenage Mothers, Stigma and Their 'Presentations of Self'. *Sociological Research Online, 19*(1), 9.
- Ellis, E. (2010). Difficult Discoveries: Rousseauian Investigations of Love and Democracy. Political Theory. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org.libaccess.hud.ac.uk/stable/25749178>, 38(5), 723-730.
- Eriksson, E., Lindmark, G., Haddad, B., & Axemo, P. (2014). Young People, Sexuality, and HIV Prevention Within Christian Faith Communities in South Africa: A Cross-Sectional Survey. *Journal of Religion and Health, 53*(6), 1662-1675. doi:10.1007/s10943-013-9753-7
- Evans, K. (2007). Concepts of bounded agency in education, work, and the personal lives of young adults. *International journal of psychology, 42*(2), 85-93.
- Fallon, D. (2013). 'They're Gonna Think it Now': Narratives of Shame in the Sexual Health Experiences of Young People. *Sociology, 47*(2), 318-332. doi:doi:10.1177/0038038512441281
- Faulkner, J., & Schaller, M. (2007). Nepotistic nosiness: inclusive fitness and vigilance of kin members' romantic relationships. *Evolution and Human Behavior, 28*, 430-438. doi:10.1016/j.evolhumbehav.2007.06.001
- Fetterolf, J. C., & Sanchez, D. T. (2014). The Costs and Benefits of Perceived Sexual Agency for Men and Women. *Arch Sex Behav, 44*, 961-970
- Fine, M. (1988). Sexuality, Schooling, and Adolescent Females: The Missing Discourse of Desire. *Harvard Educational Review, 58*(1), 29.
- Fine, M., & McClelland, S. I. (2006). Sexuality Education and Desire: Still Missing after All These Years. *Harvard Educational Review, 76*(3), 297-338,437.
- Fletcher, D., & Sarkar, M. (2012). A grounded theory of psychological resilience in Olympic champions. *Psychology of Sport and Exercise, 13*(5), 669-678. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.psychsport.2012.04.007>
- Floersch, J., Longhofer, J. L., Kranke, D., & Townsend, L. (2010). Integrating Thematic, Grounded Theory and Narrative Analysis. *Qualitative Social Work, 9*(3), 407-425. doi:doi:10.1177/1473325010362330
- Folayan, M. O., Bridget, H., Abigail, H., Morolake, O., Olawunmi, F., & Brandon, B. (2015). Ethical Issues in Adolescents' Sexual and Reproductive Health Research in Nigeria. *Developing World Bioethics, 15*(3), 191-198. doi:doi:10.1111/dewb.12061
- Folke, C. (2006). Resilience: The emergence of a perspective for social-ecological systems analyses. *Global Environmental Change, 16*(3), 253-267. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.gloenvcha.2006.04.002>
- Forster, A., Wardle, J., Stephenson, J., & Waller, J. (2010). Passport to Promiscuity or Lifesaver: Press Coverage of HPV Vaccination and Risky Sexual Behavior. *Journal of Health Communication, 15*(2), 205-217. doi:10.1080/10810730903528066
- Fusilier, M., & Durlabhji, S. (2001). Cultural Values of Indian Managers: An Exploration through Unstructured Interviews. *International Journal of Value-Based Management, 14*(3), 223-236. doi:10.1023/A:1017525822608
- Gabb, J. (2004). Sexuality education: how children of lesbian mothers 'learn' about sex/uality. *Sex Education, 4*(1), 19-34. doi:10.1080/1468181042000176515
- Garmezy, N. (1991). *Resiliency in Children's Adaptation to Negative Life Events and Stressed Environments* (Vol. 20).

- Gavin, H., Ward, S., & Hanson, S. (Eds.). (2017). *Celebrating the work of PGRs in Human and Health Sciences*: University of Huddersfield Press. ISBN 978-1-86218-146-5.
- Geasler, M. J., Dannison, L. L., & Edlund, C. J. (1995). Sexuality Education of Young Children: Parental Concerns. *Family Relations*, 44(2), 184-188. doi:10.2307/584807
- GINNE, L. (2014). Boundaries essential to healthy relationships. Retrieved from http://latherapists.com/articles_boundaries.html.
- Glaser, B. G. (1978). *Theoretical sensitivity*: Mill Valley, CA: Sociology Press.
- Glaser, B. G. (1998). *Doing grounded theory: Issues and discussions*: Mill Valley, CA : Sociology Press.
- Glaser, B. G. (2005). *The grounded theory perspective*. Mill Valley, Calif: Sociology.
- Glaser, B. G., & Strauss, A. L. (1967). *The discovery of grounded theory: strategies for qualitative research*. New York: Aldine de Gruyter.
- Glen, C. (2017). S Seidman, The Social Construction of Sexuality. *Sexualities*, 20(5-6), 762-764. doi:10.1177/1363460716676991
- Goffman, E. (1990). *The presentation of self in everyday life*: Penguin.
- Gopaldas, A. (2013). Intersectionality 101. *Journal of public policy marketing*, 32(special issue).
- Gordon-Messer, D., Bauermeister, J. A., Grodzinski, A., & Zimmerman, M. (2013). Sexting Among Young Adults. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, 52(3), 301-306. doi:<http://doi.org/10.1016/j.jadohealth.2012.05.013>
- Graf, A. S., & Patrick, J. H. (2015). Foundations of life-long sexual health literacy. *Health Education*, 115(1), 56-70. doi:doi:10.1108/HE-12-2013-0073
- Grafström, A., & Schelin, L. (2014). How to Select Representative Samples. *Scandinavian Journal of Statistics*, 41(2), 277-290. doi:10.1111/sjos.12016
- Grant, C., & Osanloo, A. (2012). Understanding, selecting, and integrating a theoretical framework in dissertation research: Creating a blueprint for your "house". *Connecting education, practice, and research*, 4(2). doi:10.5929/2014.4.2.9
- Grael, J. (2016). Being authentic or being responsible? Food consumption, morality and the presentation of self. *Journal of Consumer Culture*, 16(3), 852-869. doi:doi:10.1177/1469540514541880
- Green, H. (2014). Use of theoretical and conceptual frameworks in qualitative research. *Nurse Researcher*, 21(6), 34-38.
- Greenberg, D. F. (1988). *The construction of homosexuality*. Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Gruber, E., & Grube, J. W. (2000). Adolescent sexuality and the media: a review of current knowledge and implications. *Western Journal of Medicine*, 172(3), 210-214.
- Guba, E. G. (1981). Criteria for assessing the trustworthiness of naturalistic inquiries. 29(2), 75-91.
- Guillemin, M., & Heggen, K. (2009). Rapport and respect: negotiating ethical relations between researcher and participant. *Medicine, Health Care and Philosophy*, 12(3), 291-299. doi:10.1007/s11019-008-9165-8
- Gusrang, J. L. (2010). *Removing the "Risk" from adolescent Sexual Behaviour: An Intersectional Analysis of adolescent Sexual Empowerment*. (Unpublished PhD thesis), University of Connecticut.
- Guvener, F., & Rendall, M. (2015). Women's emancipation through education: A macroeconomic analysis. *Review of Economic Dynamics*, 18(4), 931-956. doi:<http://doi.org/10.1016/j.red.2014.11.004>
- Halstead, J. M., & Reiss, M. J. (2012). *Values in sex education: from principles to practice*. London: Routledge.
- Hampton, T. (2010). Child marriage threatens girls' health. *JAMA*, 304(5), 509-510. doi:10.1001/jama.2010.1009
- Harden, K. P. (2014). A Sex-Positive Framework for Research on Adolescent Sexuality. *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, 9(5), 455-469. doi:10.1177/1745691614535934

- Harned, M. S. (2005). Understanding women's labeling of unwanted sexual experiences with dating partners: a qualitative analysis. *Violence Against Women, 11*(3), 374-413. doi:10.1177/1077801204272240
- Harvey, S. M., Beckman, L. J., & Bird, S. T. (2003). Feeling Powerful in Heterosexual Relationships: Cultural Beliefs among Couples of Mexican Origin. *Culture, Health & Sexuality, 5*(4), 321-337.
- Hawkins, K., Price, N., & Mussá, F. (2009). Milking the cow: Young women's construction of identity and risk in age-disparate transactional sexual relationships in Maputo, Mozambique. *Global Public Health, 4*(2), 169-182. doi:10.1080/17441690701589813
- Herbert, M. (1987). *Living with Teenagers*. New York: Basil Blackwell Ltd.
- Heslop, J., & Banda, R. (2013). Moving beyond the "male perpetrator, female victim" discourse in addressing sex and relationships for HIV prevention: peer research in Eastern Zambia. *Reproductive Health Matters, 21*(41), 225-233.
- Hicks, M. S., McRee, A.-L., & Eisenberg, M. E. (2013). Teens Talking with Their Partners about Sex: The Role of Parent Communication. *American Journal of Sexuality Education, 8*(1-2), 1-17. doi:10.1080/15546128.2013.790219
- Holland, J. (1998). *The male in the head: young people, heterosexuality and power*. London: Tufnell.
- Horne, C., Dodoo, F. N.-A., & Dodoo, N. D. (2013). The Shadow of Indebtedness: Bridewealth and Norms Constraining Female Reproductive Autonomy. *American Sociological Review, 78*(3), 503-520.
- Horowitz, C. R., & Jackson, J. C. (1997). Female "Circumcision". *Journal of General Internal Medicine, 12*(8), 491-499. doi:10.1046/j.1525-1497.1997.00088.x
- Huaynoqa, S., Chandra-Mouli, V., Yaqub Jr, N., & Denno, D. M. (2014). Scaling up comprehensive sexuality education in Nigeria: from national policy to nationwide application. *Sex Education, 14*(2), 191-209. doi:10.1080/14681811.2013.856292
- Hunter, M. (2002). The Materiality of Everyday Sex: Thinking beyond 'prostitution'. *African Studies, 61*(1), 99-120. doi:10.1080/00020180220140091
- Hussein, M. E., Hirst, S., Salyers, V., & Osuji, J. (2014). Using Grounded Theory as a Method of Inquiry: Advantages and Disadvantages. *The Qualitative Report, 19*(27), 1-15.
- Hutchinson, M. K. (2002). The Influence of Sexual Risk Communication between Parents and Daughters on Sexual Risk Behaviors. *Family Relations, 51*(3), 238-247.
- Igbelina-Igbokwe, N. (2013). Contextualizing Gender Based Violence Within Patriarchy in Nigeria [opinion]. *AllAfrica.com*. Retrieved from <http://search.proquest.com/docview/1357149006?accountid=11526>
- Ikeme, A. C. C., Ezegwui, H. U., & Uzodimma, A. C. (2005). Knowledge, attitude and use of emergency contraception among female undergraduates in Eastern Nigeria. *Journal of Obstetrics and Gynaecology, 25*(5), 491-493. doi:10.1080/01443610500176291
- Izugbara, C. O. (2004). Patriarchal ideology and discourses of sexuality in Nigeria. (*Understanding Human Sexuality Seminar Series*). Lagos, Nigeria: Africa Regional Sexuality Resource Centre.
- Izugbara, C. O. (2005a). Local erotic songs and chants among rural Nigerian adolescent males. *Sexuality and Culture, 9*(3), 53-76. doi:10.1007/s12119-005-1014-9
- Izugbara, C. O. (2005b). The Socio-Cultural Context of Adolescents' Notions of Sex and Sexuality in Rural South-Eastern Nigeria. *Sexualities, 8*(5), 600-617. doi:10.1177/1363460705058396
- Izugbara, C. O. (2008). Home-Based Sexuality Education: Nigerian Parents Discussing Sex With Their Children. *Youth & Society, 39*(4), 575-600. doi:10.1177/0044118x07302061
- Jackson, M., Harrison, P., Swinburn, B., & Lawrence, M. (2015). Using a Qualitative Vignette to Explore a Complex Public Health Issue. *Qualitative Health Research, 25*(10), 1395-1409. doi:doi:10.1177/1049732315570119
- Jackson, S., & Scott, S. (2010). *Theorizing sexuality*. New York, NY: Open University Press.

- Jackson, S. M., & Cram, F. (2003). Disrupting the sexual double standard: Young women's talk about heterosexuality. *British Journal of Social Psychology, 42*, 113-127.
- Jenkins, N., Bloor, M., Fischer, J., Berney, L., & Neale, J. (2010). Putting it in context: the use of vignettes in qualitative interviewing. *Qualitative Research, 10*(2), 175-198. doi:doi:10.1177/1468794109356737
- Jensen, K. B. (2014). Space-time geography of female live-in child domestic workers in Dhaka, Bangladesh. *Children's Geographies, 12*(2), 154-169. doi:10.1080/14733285.2013.783986
- Jewkes, R., & Morrell, R. (2012). Sexuality and the limits of agency among South African teenage women: theorising femininities and their connections to HIV risk practices. *Social Science & Medicine, 74*, 1729-1737. doi:10.1016/j.socscimed.2011.05.020
- Jolly, S. (2016). Positive approaches to sexuality and new normative frames: strands of research and action in China and the USA. *Sex Education, 16*(3), 294-307. doi:10.1080/14681811.2015.1091767
- Jonas, K., Crutzen, R., van den Borne, B., & Reddy, P. (2017). Healthcare workers' behaviors and personal determinants associated with providing adequate sexual and reproductive healthcare services in sub-Saharan Africa: a systematic review. *BMC Pregnancy and Childbirth, 17*(1), 86. doi:10.1186/s12884-017-1268-x
- Jones, A. (2009). Social Marginalization and Children's Rights: HIV-Affected Children in the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago. *Health & Social Work 34*(4), 293-300.
- Jones, A., & Jemmott, E. T. (2016). Status, privilege and gender inequality: Cultures of male impunity and entitlement in the sexual abuse of children: Perspectives from a Caribbean study. *International Social Work, 59*(6), 836-849. doi:doi:10.1177/0020872814537853
- Jones, A., Trotman Jemmott, E., Da Breo, H., & Maharaj, P. (2016). *Treating Child Sexual Abuse in Family, Group and Clinical Settings : Culturally Intelligent Practice for Caribbean and International Contexts*. London, UNITED KINGDOM: Palgrave Macmillan UK.
- Kabiru, C. W., Beguy, D., Ndugwa, R. P., Zulu, E. M., & Jessor, R. (2012). "Making It": Understanding Adolescent Resilience in Two Informal Settlements (Slums) in Nairobi, Kenya. *Child & Youth Services, 33*(1), 12-32. doi:10.1080/0145935X.2012.665321
- Kakavoulis, A. (2001). Family and Sex Education: A survey of parental attitudes. *Sex Education, 1*(2), 163-174. doi:10.1080/14681810120052588
- Kambarami, M. (2006). Femininity, Sexuality and Culture: Patriarchy and Female Subordination in Zimbabwe. *Culture, Femininity & Sexuality*.
- Kapidzic, S., & Herring, S. C. (2015). Race, gender, and self-presentation in teen profile photographs. *New Media & Society, 17*(6), 958-976. doi:doi:10.1177/1461444813520301
- Kaptchuk, T. J. (2003). Effect of interpretive bias on research evidence. *BMJ: British Medical Journal, 326*(7404), 1453-1455.
- Karamat, K. (2016). Perceptions on Implications of Delayed Marriage: A Case Study of Married Adults in Kuala Lumpur. *International Journal of Social Science and Humanity, 6*(8).
- Karanja, D. N. (2003). *Female Genital Mutilation in Africa*. USA: Xulon Press.
- Kelly, J., Kabanga, J., Cragin, W., Alcaya-Stevens, L., Haider, S., & Vanrooyen, M. J. (2012). 'If your husband doesn't humiliate you, other people won't': Gendered attitudes towards sexual violence in eastern Democratic Republic of Congo. *Global Public Health: An International Journal for Research, Policy and Practice, 7*(3).
- Kelly, M., Inoue, K., Barratt, A., Bateson, D., Rutherford, A., & Richters, J. (2017). Performing (heterosexual) femininity: female agency and role in sexual life and contraceptive use – a qualitative study in Australia. *Culture, Health & Sexuality, 19*(2), 240-255. doi:10.1080/13691058.2016.1214872
- Kennedy, E. C., Bulu, S., Harris, J., Humphreys, D., Malverus, J., & Gray, N. J. (2013). "Be kind to young people so they feel at home": a qualitative study of adolescents' and service providers' perceptions of youth-friendly sexual and reproductive health services in Vanuatu. *BMC Health Services Research, 13*, 455. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.1186/1472-6963-13-455>

- Kershner, S. H., Corwin, S. J., Prince, M. S., Robillard, A. G., & Oldendick, R. W. (2017). Support for Comprehensive Sexuality Education and Adolescent Access to Condoms and Contraception in South Carolina. *American Journal of Sexuality Education, 12*(3), 297-314. doi:10.1080/15546128.2017.1359803
- Kharel, D. (2015). Visual Ethnography, Thick Description and Cultural Representation. *2015, 9*, 14. doi:10.3126/dsaj.v9i0.14026
- Kitzinger, J. (1995). "I'm sexually attractive but I'm powerful". *Women's Studies International Forum, 18*(2), 187-196. doi:[http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/0277-5395\(95\)80054-S](http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/0277-5395(95)80054-S)
- Kolawole, A. O. (2010). Implimenting comprehensive sexuality education for the Nigerian adolescents beyound the 'ABC Approach'. *Tropical Journal of Obstrics and gynaecology, 27*(2).
- Koyama, A., Ott, M., Schalet, A., Titiz, H., & Austin, S. B. (2011). Discussions Between Adolescents and Adults About Healthy Sexuality, Sexual Behaviors, and Romantic Relationships. *Journal of Adolescent Health, 48*(2), S108-S108. doi:10.1016/j.jadohealth.2010.11.222
- Kroger, J. (Ed.) (1989). *Identity in Adolescence: The balance Between Self and other*. New York: Routledge.
- Lamb, S. (2010). Feminist Ideals for a Healthy Female Adolescent Sexuality: A Critique. *Sex Roles, 62*(5), 294-306. doi:10.1007/s11199-009-9698-1
- Leclerc-Madlala, S. (2001). Virginity Testing: Managing Sexuality in a Maturing HIV/AIDS Epidemic. *Medical Anthropology Quarterly, 15*(4), 533-552.
- Lees, S. (1993). *Sugar and spice: sexuality and adolescent girls*. London: Penguin.
- Lesch, E., & Kruger, L.-M. (2005). Mothers, daughters and sexual agency in one low-income South African community. *Social Science & Medicine, 61*(5), 1072-1082. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2005.01.005>
- Lester, L., Waters, S., Spears, B., Epstein, M., Watson, J., & Wenden, E. (2015). Parenting Adolescents: Developing Strategies for FIFO Parents. *J Child Fam Stud*.
- Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications Inc.
- Lincove, J. A. (2009). Determinants of schooling for boys and girls in Nigeria under a policy of free primary education. *Economics of Education Review, 28*(4), 474-484. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.econedurev.2008.10.001>
- Lindberg, L. D., & Maddow-Zimet, I. (2011). Consequences of Sex Education on Teen and Young Adult Sexual Behaviors and Outcomes. *Journal of Adolescent Health, 51*(4), 332-338. doi:10.1016/j.jadohealth.2011.12.028
- Lo, O. C. (2016). Literature Intergration: An illustration of theoretical sensitivity in Grounded theory studies. *The Humanistic Psychologist, 44*(2), 177-189.
- Logan, C., & Buchanan, M. (2008). Young Women's Narratives of Same-Sex Sexual Desire in Adolescence. *Journal of Lesbian Studies, 12*(4), 473-500. doi:10.1080/10894160802278655
- Longmore, M. A. (1998). Symbolic Interactionism and the Study of Sexuality. *The Journal of Sex Research, 35*(1), 44-57.
- Longuda, P. (2015, January 16). In Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia. Retrieved 18:35, February 28, 2015, from <http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Longudapeople&oldid=642833079>.
- Magin, P., Joyce, T., Levi, C., & Lasserson, D. (2017). Patients' anticipated actions following transient ischaemic attack symptoms: a qualitative vignette-based study. *BMC Family Practice, 18*(1), 14. doi:10.1186/s12875-017-0594-4
- Makama, G. A. (2013). Patriarchy and Gender Inequality in Nigeria: The way forward. *European Scientific Journal, 9*(17), 115-144.
- Malle, B. F., Guglielmo, S., & Monroe, A. E. (2014). A Theory of Blame. *Psychological Inquiry, 25*(2), 147-186. doi:10.1080/1047840X.2014.877340
- Markham, C. M., Lormand, D., Gloppen, K. M., Peskin, M. F., Flores, B., Low, B., & House, L. D. (2010). Connectedness as a Predictor of Sexual and Reproductive Health Outcomes for Youth. *Journal of Adolescent Health, 46*(3, Supplement), S23-S41. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jadohealth.2009.11.214>

- Mashinini, D. P., & Pelton-Cooper, M. (2012). HIV risk in a group of educated urban Black African women in South Africa: Private accounts of gendered power dynamics. *Feminism & Psychology, 22*(2), 204-219. doi:10.1177/0959353512439190
- Masters, N. T., Casey, E., Wells, E. A., & Morrison, D. M. (2013). Sexual Scripts among Young Heterosexually Active Men and Women: Continuity and Change. *The Journal of Sex Research, 50*(5), 409-420. doi:10.1080/00224499.2012.661102
- Masters, W. H., Johnson, V. E., & Kolodny, R. C. (1995). *Human Sexuality* (Fifth ed.). New York: HarperCollins College Publishers.
- Maticka-Tyndale, E., Gallant, M., Brouillard-Coyle, C., Holland, D., Metcalfe, K., Wildish, J., & Gichuru, M. (2005). The sexual scripts of Kenyan young people and HIV prevention. *Culture, Health & Sexuality, 7*(1), 27-41. doi:10.1080/1369105410001931080
- Matsuda, M. J. (1991). 'Beside My Sister, facing the Enemy: Legal theory out of Coalition',. *Stanford Law Review, 43*(6), 1183-1192.
- Mavuso, J. M.-J. J., & Chiweshe, M. T. (2017). Good Catholics: The battle over abortion in the Catholic Church Patricia Miller. *Feminism & Psychology, 27*(1), 114-116. doi:10.1177/0959353516682664
- McAvoy, P. (2013). The Aims of Sex Education: Demoting Autonomy and Promoting Mutuality. *Educational Theory, 63*(5), 483-496. doi:10.1111/edth.12036
- McCleary-Sills, J., Douglas, Z., Rwehumbiza, A., Hamisi, A., & Mabala, R. (2013). Gendered norms, sexual exploitation and adolescent pregnancy in rural Tanzania. *Reproductive Health Matters, 21*(41), 97-105. doi:10.1016/S0968-8080(13)41682-8
- McCluskey, M. T., & Fineman, M. A. (1997). *Feminism, media, and the law* New York: Oxford University Press.
- McKee, A., Albury, K., Dunne, M., Grieshaber, S., Hartley, J., Lumby, C., & Mathews, B. (2010). Healthy Sexual Development: A Multidisciplinary Framework for Research. *International Journal of Sexual Health, 22*(1), 14-19. doi:10.1080/19317610903393043
- Measor, L., Tiffin, C., & Miller, K. (2000). *Young people's views on sex education: education, attitudes and behaviour*. London: RoutledgeFalmer.
- Medeiros, M., & Costa, J. (2008). Is There a Feminization of Poverty in Latin America? *World Development, 36*(1), 115-127. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2007.02.011>
- Meeus, W., Iedema, J., Maassen, G., & Engels, R. (2005). Separation-individuation revisited: on the interplay of parent-adolescent relations, identity and emotional adjustment in adolescence. *Journal of Adolescence, 28*, 89-106. doi:10.1016/j.adolescence.2004.07.003
- Melvin, A. O., & Uzoma, U. V. (2012). Adolescent Mothers' Subjective Well-Being and Mothering Challenges in a Yoruba Community, Southwest Nigeria. *Social Work in Health Care, 51*(6), 552-567. doi:10.1080/00981389.2012.679020
- Menger, L. M., Kaufman, M. R., Harman, J. J., Tsang, S. W., & Shrestha, D. K. (2015). Unveiling the silence: women's sexual health and experiences in Nepal. *Culture, Health & Sexuality, 17*(3), 359-373. doi:10.1080/13691058.2014.937462
- Meschke, L. L., Peter, C. R., & Bartholomae, S. (2012). Developmentally Appropriate Practice to Promote Healthy Adolescent Development: Integrating Research and Practice. *Child & Youth Care Forum, 41*(1), 89-108. doi:10.1007/s10566-011-9153-7
- Michaud, P.-A. (2006). Adolescents and risks: Why not change our paradigm? *Journal of Adolescent Health, 38*(5), 481-483. doi:10.1016/j.jadohealth.2006.03.003
- Miles, S., Cliff, D., & Burr, V. (1998). 'Fitting In and Sticking Out': Consumption, Consumer Meanings and the Construction of Young People's Identities. *Journal of Youth Studies, 1*(1), 81-96. doi:10.1080/13676261.1998.10592996
- Miller, A. K., Markman, K. D., & Handley, I. M. (2007). Self-Blame Among Sexual Assault Victims Prospectively Predicts Revictimization: A Perceived Sociolegal Context Model of Risk. *BASIC AND APPLIED SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY, 29*(2), 129-136.

- Miller, T., & Boulton, M. (2007). Changing constructions of informed consent: Qualitative research and complex social worlds. *Social Science & Medicine*, 65(11), 2199-2211.
- Miriam, K. (2007). Toward a Phenomenology of Sex-Right: Reviving Radical Feminist Theory of Compulsory Heterosexuality. *Hypatia*, 22(1), 210-228.
- Mitchell, D. (2014). Advancing Grounded Theory: Using theoretical Frameworks within Grounded Theory Studies. *The Qualitative Report*, Retrieved from <http://www.nova.edu/ssss/QR/QR19/kenny103.pdf>, 19, 1-11.
- Mokhobo, S. (1989). "AIDS and the Mining Industry". In Chamber of Mines Newsletter. August/October.
- Monyane, C. (2013). Is Ukuthwala Another Form of 'Forced Marriage'? *South African Review of Sociology*, 44(3), 64-82. doi:10.1080/21528586.2013.817050
- Moore, A. M., & Biddlecom, A. (2006). Transactional Sex among Adolescents in Sub-Saharan Africa amid the HIV Epidemic Retrieved from
- Moore, M. R., & Chase-Lansdale, L. P. (2001). Sexual Intercourse and Pregnancy among African American Girls in High-Poverty Neighborhoods: The Role of Family and Perceived Community Environment. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 63(4), 1146-1157.
- Moore, S., & Rosenthal, D. (2006). *Sexuality in Adolescence Current Trends* (J. C. Coleman Ed.). London: Routledge.
- Morawska, A., Walsh, A., Grabski, M., & Fletcher, R. (2015). Parental confidence and preferences for communicating with their child about sexuality. *Sex Education*, 15(3), 235-248. doi:10.1080/14681811.2014.996213
- Morelli, A. O. (2016). Adolescent Sexual Development. *Mental health services of Southern Oklahoma*. Retrieved August 15,2016, from http://www.mhssso.org/poc/view_doc.php?type=doc&id=41176&cn=1310
- Morgan, D. L. (1997). *Focus group as qualitative research* (Second ed.): Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Morse, J. M. (2001). *Situating grounded theory within qualitative inquiry* In R. S. Schreiber & P. N. Stern (Eds.), *Using grounded theory in nursing* (pp. 1-16). New York: Springer Publishing Company.
- Moses, E., & Kelly, S. (2016). African American Adolescent Sexuality: Influences on Sexual Scripting and Sexual Risk Behaviors. *Current Sexual Health Reports*, 8(2), 64-76. doi:10.1007/s11930-016-0072-3
- Mturi, A. J., & Monique, M. H. (2005). Perceptions of Sex Education for Young People in Lesotho. *Culture, Health & Sexuality*, 7(2), 129-143.
- Muhanguzi, F. K. (2011). Gender and sexual vulnerability of young women in Africa: experiences of young girls in secondary schools in Uganda *Culture, Health & Sexuality*, 13(06), 713-725. doi:10.1080/13691058.2011.571290
- Muhwezi, W. W., Katahoire, A. R., Banura, C., Mugooda, H., Kwesiga, D., Bastien, S., & Klepp, K.-I. (2015). Perceptions and experiences of adolescents, parents and school administrators regarding adolescent-parent communication on sexual and reproductive health issues in urban and rural Uganda. *Reproductive Health*, 12(1), 110. doi:10.1186/s12978-015-0099-3
- Murdy, S., Alexander, M., & Bryce, D. (2016). Role conflict and changing heritage practice: ancestral tourism in Scotland. *Journal of Marketing Management*, 32(15-16), 1494-1512. doi:10.1080/0267257X.2016.1181668
- Nadarajan Perumal, D. (2011). Women's socio-economic [in]equality and gender [in]justice: Feminist reflections on the right of access to water in Mazibuko and Others v City of Johannesburg and Others [2009] ZACC 28 1. *Agenda*, 25(2), 17-26. doi:10.1080/10130950.2011.575991
- Nagamatsu, M., Yamawaki, N., Sato, T., Nakagawa, A., & Saito, H. (2013). Factors Influencing Attitudes Toward Sexual Activity Among Early Adolescents in Japan. *The Journal of Early Adolescence*, 33(2), 267-288. doi:doi:10.1177/0272431611435116

- Nalwadda, G., Mirembe, F., Byamugisha, J., & Faxelid, E. (2010). Persistent high fertility in Uganda: young people recount obstacles and enabling factors to use of contraceptives. *BMC Public Health, 10*(1), 530. doi:10.1186/1471-2458-10-530
- National Population Commission (NPC) [Nigeria] and ICF Macro. 2009. *Nigeria Demographic and Health Survey 2008*. Abuja, Nigeria: National Population Commission and ICF Macro.
- National Research Council Staff, Bledsoe, C. H., Cohen, B., National Research, C., Bledsoe, C. H., & Cohen, B. (1993). *Social Dynamics of Adolescent Fertility in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Washington, UNITED STATES: National Academies Press.
- Ngabaza, S. (2011). Positively pregnant: Teenage women's experiences of negotiating pregnancy with their families. *Agenda, 25*(3), 42-51. doi:10.1080/10130950.2011.610985
- Nmadu, G., Avidime, S., Oguntunde, O., Dashe, V., Abdulkarim, B., & Mairo, M. (2010). Girl Child Education: Rising to the Challenge. *African Journal of Reproductive Health, 14*(3), 107-112.
- O'Hara, P., & Neutel, C. I. (2002). Maintaining confidentiality in research data. *Pharmacoepidemiology and Drug Safety, 11*, 75-78.
- O'Connell, N. E., Wand, B. M., & Goldacre, B. (2009). Interpretive Bias in Acupuncture Research? A Case Study. *Evaluation & the Health Professions, 32*(4), 393-409. doi:10.1177/0163278709353394
- Obi, S. N., Ozuma, B. C., & Onyebuchi, A. K. (2002). Pregnancy in unmarried adolescents in Nigeria. *International Journal of Gynecology and Obstetrics, 77*(2), 157-159. doi:10.1016/S0020-7292(02)00025-5
- Obono, K. (2012). Patterns of Mother-Daughter Communication for Reproductive Health Knowledge Transfer in Southern Nigeria. *Global Media Journal : Canadian Edition, 5*, 95-110.
- Ochiogu, I. N., Miettola, J., Ilika, A. L., & Vaskilampi, T. (2011). Impact of Timing of Sex Education on Teenage Pregnancy in Nigeria: Cross-sectional Survey of Secondary School Students. *Journal of Community Health, 36*(3), 375-380. doi:10.1007/s10900-010-9318-6
- Odukogbe, A.-T., Afolabi, B., Bello, O. O., & Adeyanju, A. S. (2017). Female genital mutilation/cutting in Africa. *6*, 138-148. doi:10.21037/tau.2016.12.01
- Ogunjuyigbe, P. O., & Adepoju, A. (2014). Perspectives on socio-cultural context of adolescent reproductive health behaviour in Nigeria. *African population studies, 27*(2), 343-351.
- Okemgbo, C. N., Odimegwu, C., & Ayila, R. (2010). Dynamics of gender-based violence among the Tivs of North Central Nigeria. *African Population Studies/Études de la population africaine, 24*(3), 238-258.
- Okonkwo, J. E. N., Obionu, C., Uwakwe, R., & Okonkwo, C. V. (2002). Sources of sexual information and its relevance to sexual behavior in Nigeria. *West African Journal of Medicine, 21*(3).
- Okonofua, F. (2013). Prevention of Child Marriage and Teenage Pregnancy in Africa: Need for more Research and Innovation / Il faut encore plus de recherche et d'innovation dans la pr#e9;vention de la grossesse chez les enfants et les adolescentes dans les mariages africains. *African Journal of Reproductive Health / La Revue Africaine de la Sant#e9; Reproductive, 17*(4), 9-13.
- Okpalaobi, B. N. (2011). The Dynamics of Sexual Politics in Nigeria. A Catalyst for Gender Bias. *Journal of Emerging Trends in Educational Research and Policy Studies, 2*(6), 471-478.
- Oktay, J. S. (2012). *Grounded theory*. New York: Oxford University Press, Inc.
- Oliveira, D. (2011). The use of focus groups to investigate sensitive topics: an example taken from research on adolescent girls' perceptions about sexual risks. *Ci#e9;ncia & Sa#e9;de Coletiva*. doi:10.1590/s1413-81232011000800009
- Olsson, C. A., Bond, L., Burns, J. M., Vella-Brodrick, D. A., & Sawyer, S. M. (2003). Adolescent resilience: a concept analysis. *Journal of Adolescence, 26*(1), 1-11. doi:[http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0140-1971\(02\)00118-5](http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0140-1971(02)00118-5)
- Onyeka, I. N., Miettola, J., Ilika, A., & Vaskilampi, T. (2011). Unintended pregnancy and termination of studies among students in Anambra state, Nigeria: Are secondary schools playing their part? *African Journal of Reproductive Health, 15*(2), 109-115.

- Opara, P. I., Eke, G. K., & Tabansi, P. N. (2012). Perception of Sexuality Education amongst Secondary School Students in Port Harcourt, Nigeria. *West African Journal of Medicine* 2012, 31(2).
- Orisaremi, T. C., & Alubo, O. (2012). Gender and the Reproductive Rights of Tarok Women in Central Nigeria. *African Journal of Reproductive Health*, 16(1), 83-96.
- Oyediran, K. A., Feyisetan, O. I., & Akpan, T. (2011). Predictors of condom-use among young never-married males in Nigeria. *Journal of health, population, and nutrition*, 29(3), 273-285. doi:10.3329/jhpn.v29i3.7875
- Padgug, R. A. (1999). Sexual Matters: On Conceptualizing Sexuality in History In R. Parker & P. Aggleton (Eds.), *Culture, Society and Sexuality*. London: UCL Press.
- Paik, A. (2013). The Significance of Sex-Ratio Imbalances: Myths and Realities. *Society*, 50(2), 176-179. doi:10.1007/s12115-013-9636-2
- Parker, R. (2009). Sexuality, culture and society: shifting paradigms in sexuality research. *Culture, Health & Sexuality*, 11(3), 251-266. doi:10.1080/13691050701606941
- Parrinder, E. G. (1980). *Sex in the World's Religion* London: Sheldon.
- Pascoe, C. J. (2011). Resource and Risk: Youth Sexuality and New Media Use. *Sexuality Research and Social Policy*, 8(1), 5-17. doi:10.1007/s13178-011-0042-5
- Patil, V. (2013). From Patriarchy to Intersectionality: A Transnational Feminist Assessment of How Far We've Really Come. *Signs*, 38(4), 847-867. doi:10.1086/669560
- Paul, M., Näsström, S. B., Klingberg-Allvin, M., Kiggundu, C., & Larsson, E. C. (2016). Healthcare providers balancing norms and practice : challenges and opportunities in providing contraceptive counselling to young people in Uganda - a qualitative study. *Global Health Action*, 9(1). doi:10.3402/gha.v9.30283
- Pearce, D. (1978). The feminization of poverty: Women, work and welfare. *Urban and Social Change Review*, 11(1 & 2), 28-36.
- Pearce, D. (2010). I let toyboy swap sex texts with girls so he won't stray. *The Sun*, p. 22.
- Pearson, J. (2018). High School Context, Heterosexual Scripts, and Young Women's Sexual Development. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 47(7), 1469-1485. doi:10.1007/s10964-018-0863-0
- Pereira, C., & Ibrahim, J. (2010). On the Bodies of Women: the common ground between Islam and Christianity in Nigeria. *Third World Quarterly*, 31(6), 921-937. doi:10.1080/01436597.2010.502725
- Pérez, G. M., Mubanga, M., Aznar, C. T., & Bagnol, B. (2015). Grounded Theory. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 14(4), 1609406915618324. doi:doi:10.1177/1609406915618324
- Peter, Z. D., & Muehlenhard, C. L. (2007). Conceptualizing the "wantedness" of women's consensual & nonconsensual sexual experiences: Implications for how women label their experiences with rape. *Journal of sex research*, 44, 72-88.
- Peterson, Z. D. (2010). What Is Sexual Empowerment? A Multidimensional and Process-Oriented Approach to Adolescent Girls' Sexual Empowerment. *Sex Roles*, 62(307-313). doi:10.1007/s11199-009-9725-2
- Peterson, Z. D., & Muehlenhard, C. L. (2004). Was It Rape? The Function of Women's Rape Myth Acceptance and Definitions of Sex in Labeling Their Own Experiences. *Sex Roles*, 51(3/4).
- Plummer, K. (1975). *Sexual Stigma: An Interactionist Account*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Plunkett, S. W., Henry, C. S., Robinson, L. C., Behnke, A., & Falcon, P. C. (2007). Adolescent Perceptions of Parental Behaviors, Adolescent Self-Esteem, and Adolescent Depressed Mood. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, 16(6), 760-772. doi:10.1007/s10826-006-9123-0
- Powell, R. A., & Single, H. M. (1996). Focus Groups. *International Journal for Quality in Health Care*, 8(5), 499-504. doi:10.1093/intqhc/8.5.499
- Probyn, E. (2005). *Blush : Faces of Shame*. Minneapolis, UNITED STATES: University of Minnesota Press.
- Psaki, S. (2016). Addressing child marriage and adolescent pregnancy as barriers to gender parity and equality in education. *PROSPECTS*, 46(1), 109-129. doi:10.1007/s11125-016-9379-0

- Ragnarsson, A., Onya, H. E., Thorson, A., Ekström, A. M., & Aarø, L. E. (2008). Young Males' Gendered Sexuality in the Era of HIV and AIDS in Limpopo Province, South Africa. *Qualitative Health Research, 18*(6), 739-746. doi:doi:10.1177/1049732308318373
- Rajan, J. (2011). Strengthening Women's Rights. *Social Change, 41*(4), 507-521. doi:doi:10.1177/004908571104100401
- Rapley, T. (2010). Interviews. In G. G. Clive Seale, Jaber F. Gubrium & David Silverman (Ed.), *Qualitative Research* (pp. 15-33). London: Sage Publications.
- Rashid, S. F. (2011). Human rights and reproductive health: political realities and pragmatic choices for married adolescent women living in urban slums, Bangladesh. *BMC Int Health Hum Rights, 11 Suppl 3*, S3. doi:10.1186/1472-698X-11-S3-S3
- Rasmussen, M. L. (2010). Secularism, religion and 'progressive' sex education. *Sexualities, 13*(6), 699-712. doi:10.1177/1363460710384558
- Rasmussen, S. (2015). Understanding honor in religious, cultural, and moral experience: Commentary on "Diasporic Virginites: Social Representations of Virginité and Constructions of Identity amongst British Arab Muslim Women" by Howarth, Caroline; Amer, Amena; and Sen, Ragini. *Culture & Psychology, 21*(1), 20-36. doi:doi:10.1177/1354067X14551301
- Realini, J. P., Buzi, R. S., Smith, P. B., & Martinez, M. (2010). Evaluation of "Big Decisions": An Abstinence-Plus Sexuality Curriculum. *Journal of Sex & Marital Therapy, 36*(4), 313-326. doi:10.1080/0092623X.2010.488113
- Regnerus, M. D. (2005). TALKING ABOUT SEX: Religion and Patterns of Parent-Child Communication about Sex and Contraception. *The Sociological Quarterly, 46*, 79-105.
- Reinharz, S. (1997). What Am I? The need for a variety of selves in the field. In R. Hertz (Ed.), *Reflexivity & Voice*. London: Sage Publications.
- Reiss, M. (1993). What Are the Aims of School Sex Education? *Cambridge Journal of Education, 23*(2), 125-136. doi:10.1080/0305764930230202
- Renold, E. (2005). *Girls, Boys and Junior Sexualities : Exploring Childrens' Gender and Sexual Relations in the Primary School*. London, UNITED KINGDOM: Taylor and Francis.
- Reynolds, E. M. (1992). Socially Constructed Sexuality: Toward a Postmodernist Theory of sexual Intimacy. *PsycARTICLES, 12*(1), 38-47. doi:10.1037/h0091115
- Ricardo, C., Barker, G., Pulerwitz, J., & Rocha, V. (2006). Gender, sexual behaviour and vulnerability among young people. In R. Ingham & P. Aggleton (Eds.), *Promoting Young People's sexual Health*. New York: Routledge.
- Richard, C. (2009). Conflict of Interest. *Clinical Cardiology, 32*(12), 666-667. doi:10.1002/clc.20738
- Rickert, V., Sanghvi, R., & Wiemann, C. (2002). Is Lack of Sexual Assertiveness Among Adolescent and Young Adult Women a Cause for Concern? *Perspectives on Sexual and Reproductive Health, 34*(4), 178-183.
- Ringrose, J., Harvey, L., Gill, R., & Livingstone, S. (2013). Teen girls, sexual double standards and 'sexting': Gendered value in digital image exchange. *Feminist Theory, 14*(3), 305-323. doi:doi:10.1177/1464700113499853
- Roberts, K., & Clarke, C. (2009). Future disorientation following gynaecological cancer: Women's conceptualisation of risk after a life threatening illness. *Health, Risk & Society, 11*(4), 353-366. doi:10.1080/13698570903013623
- Robertson, J. (2000). Ethical Issues and Researching Sensitive Topics: Mature Women and `Bulimia. *Feminism & Psychology, 10*(4), 531-537. doi:10.1177/0959353500010004015
- Roby, J. L., Lambert, M. J., & Lambert, J. (2009). Barriers to girls' education in Mozambique at household and community levels: an exploratory study. *International Journal of Social Welfare, 18*(4), 342-353. doi:10.1111/j.1468-2397.2008.00616.x
- Rogoff, B. (1990). *Apprenticeship in thinking: cognitive development in social context*. Oxford;New York: Oxford University Press.
- Rohner, R. P. (2016). Online Readings in Psychology and Culture.

- Rominski, S. D., Moyer, C. A., Darteh, E. K. M., & Munro-Kramer, M. L. (2017). Sexual Coercion Among Students at the University of Cape Coast, Ghana. *Sexuality & Culture, 21*(2), 516-533. doi:10.1007/s12119-016-9402-x
- Rubin, A., & Babbie, E. (2001). *Research methods for Social Works* (4 ed.). USA: Wadsworth.
- Rudman, L. A., & Fetterolf, J. C. (2014). Gender and Sexual Economics. *Psychological Science, 25*(7), 1438-1447. doi:doi:10.1177/0956797614533123
- Russell, S. T. (2005). Conceptualizing Positive Adolescent Sexuality Development. *Sexuality Research and Social Policy: Journal of NSRC, 2*(3), 4-12. doi:10.1525/srsp.2005.2.3.4
- Ryan, G. (2000). Childhood Sexuality: A decade of study Part 1- Research and curriculum development. *Child Abuse and Neglect, 24*(1), 33-48.
- Sagebin Bordini, G., & Sperb, T. M. (2013). Sexual Double Standard: A Review of the Literature Between 2001 and 2010. *Sexuality & Culture, 17*(4), 686-704. doi:10.1007/s12119-012-9163-0
- Samimi, P., & Alderson, K. G. (2014). Sexting among undergraduate students. *Computers in Human Behavior, 31*, 230-241. doi:<http://doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2013.10.027>
- Schalet, A. T. (2011). Beyond Abstinence and Risk: A New Paradigm for Adolescent Sexual Health. *Women's Health Issues, 21*(3), S5-S7. doi:10.1016/j.whi.2011.01.007
- Scott, J., & Marshall, G. (2009). patriarchy. In *A Dictionary of Sociology*. : Oxford University Press. Retrieved 7 Jul. 2018, from <http://www.oxfordreference.com.libaccess.hud.ac.uk/view/10.1093/acref/9780199533008.01.0001/acref-9780199533008-e-1690>.
- Seidman, S. (2003). *The Social Construction of Sexuality*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company.
- Shalhoub-Kevorkian, N. (2005). Imposition of virginity testing: a life-saver or a license to kill? *Social Science & Medicine, 60*(6), 1187-1196. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2004.07.015>
- Sharpe, T. H. (2003). Adolescent Sexuality. *The Family Journal, 11*(2), 210-215. doi:10.1177/1066480702250164
- Sheff, E. (2005). Polyamorous Women, Sexual Subjectivity and Power. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography, 34*(3), 251-283. doi:doi:10.1177/0891241604274263
- Shenton, A. K. (2004). Strategies for ensuring trustworthiness in qualitative research projects. *Education for information, 22*, 63-75.
- Shoveller, J. A., Johnson, J. L., Langille, D. B., & Mitchell, T. (2004). Socio-cultural influences on young people's sexual development. *Social Science & Medicine, 59*, 473-487.
- Simon, W., & Gagnon, J. H. (1986). Sexual scripts: Permanence and change. *Archives of Sexual Behaviour, 15*(2), 97-120. doi:10.1007/bf01542219
- Simon, W., & Gagnon, J. H. (2003). Sexual scripts: Origins, influence and changes. *Qualitative Sociology, 26*(4), 491-497. doi:10.1023/B:QUAS.0000005053.99846.e5
- Singh, S., Darroch, J. E., & Frost, J. J. (2001). Socioeconomic Disadvantage and Adolescent Women's Sexual and Reproductive Behavior: The Case of Five Developed Countries. *Family Planning Perspectives, 33*(6), 251-289. doi:10.2307/3030192
- Sinkovics, R. R., & Alfoldi, E. A. (2012). Progressive Focusing and Trustworthiness in Qualitative Research: The Enabling Role of Computer-Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software (CAQDAS). *Management International Review, 52*, 817-845.
- Skafta, I., & Silberschmidt, M. (2013). Female gratification, Sexual power and safer sex: female sexuality as an empowering resource among women in Rwanda. *Culture, Health & Sexuality: An International Journal for Research, Intervention and Care, 16*(1), 1-13.
- Smith, D. J. (2004). Youth, Sin and Sex in Nigeria: Christianity and HIV/AIDS-Related Beliefs and Behaviour among Rural-Urban Migrants. *Culture, Health & Sexuality, 6*(5), 425-437.
- Smith, D. J. (2010). Promiscuous Girls, Good Wives, and Cheating Husbands: Gender Inequality, Transitions to Marriage, and Infidelity in Southeastern Nigeria *Anthropological Quarterly, 83*(1), 123-152
- Smith, S. H. (2012). Scripting Sexual Desire: Cultural Scenarios of Teen Girls' Sexual Desire in Popular Films, 2000–2009. *Sexuality & Culture, 16*(3), 321-341. doi:10.1007/s12119-012-9126-5

- Smithson, J. (2008). Focus Group. In P. Alasuutari, L. Bickman, & J. Brannen (Eds.), *The Sage Handbook of Social Research Methods*. London: Sage Publications.
- Somba, M. J., Mbonile, M., Obure, J., & Mahande, M. J. (2014). Sexual behaviour, contraceptive knowledge and use among female undergraduates' students of Muhimbili and Dar es Salaam Universities, Tanzania: a cross-sectional study. *BMC Women's Health*, 14(1), 94. doi:10.1186/1472-6874-14-94
- Somers, C. L., & Surmann, A. T. (2005). Sources and timing of sex education: relations with American adolescent sexual attitudes and behavior. *Educational Review*, 57(1), 37-54. doi:10.1080/0013191042000274178
- Spengen, A. E. (2013). The Gendered Nature of Sexuality. *Sociology Publications*. <http://ir.lib.uwo.ca/sociologypub/31>. Retrieved from
- Stanley, N., Barter, C., Wood, M., Aghtaie, N., Larkins, C., Lanau, A., & Överlien, C. (2018). Pornography, Sexual Coercion and Abuse and Sexting in Young People's Intimate Relationships: A European Study. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 33(19), 2919-2944. doi:10.1177/0886260516633204
- Stewart, F. (1999). "Once you get a reputation, your life's like ... 'wrecked'". *Women's Studies International Forum*, 22(3), 373-383. doi:[http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0277-5395\(99\)00030-8](http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0277-5395(99)00030-8)
- Stoebenau, K., Heise, L., Wamoyi, J., & Bobrova, N. (2017). Revisiting the understanding of "transactional sex" in sub-Saharan Africa: A review and synthesis of the literature. *Social Science & Medicine*, 172, 186–197. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2016.11.013>
- Strauss, A. L., & Corbin, J. M. (1990). *Basics of qualitative research: grounded theory procedures and techniques*. Newbury Park,(Calif.); London: Sage.
- Strauss, A. L., & Corbin, J. M. (1998). *Basics of qualitative research* Thousand Oaks: CA: Sage Publications.
- Suesanne, S. (2010). Something-for-something love: the motivations of young women in Uganda. *Journal of Health Organization and Management*, 24(5).
- Sugar, M. (1996). Female Adolescent Sexuality. *Journal of Pediatric and Adolescent Gynecology*, 9(4), 175-183. doi:10.1016/S1083-3188(96)70027-X
- Summers, C. J. (1995). *The Gay and lesbian literary heritage : a reader's companion to the writers and their works, from antiquity to the present*. New York: H. Holt.
- Susan, R. (2004). Religion and Violence: The Suffering of Women. *Agenda: Empowering Women for Gender Equity*(61), 29-35.
- Swadi, H. (1990). "Experimenting" with drugs: a critical evaluation. *Drug and Alcohol Dependence*, 26(2), 189-194. doi:[https://doi.org/10.1016/0376-8716\(90\)90127-Z](https://doi.org/10.1016/0376-8716(90)90127-Z)
- Swidler, A. (1993). *Homosexuality and world religions*. Valley Forge, Pa.: Trinity Press International.
- Szelewa, D. (2016). Killing 'Unborn Children'? The Catholic Church and Abortion Law in Poland Since 1989. *Social & Legal Studies*, 25(6), 741-764. doi:doi:10.1177/0964663916668247
- Tade, O., & Adekoya, A. J. (2012). Transactional sex and the 'aristo' phenomenon in Nigerian universities. *Human Affairs*, 22(2), 239-255. doi:10.2478/s13374-012-0020-5
- Tai, M. C.-T. (2012). Deception and informed consent in social, behavioural, and educational research (SBER). *Tzu Chi Medical journal*, 24, 218-222.
- Tavory, I., & Swidler, A. (2009). Condom Semiotics: Meaning and Condom Use in Rural Malawi. *American Sociological Review*, 74(2), 171-189. doi:10.1177/000312240907400201
- Tiffany, J. (2011). A Sexuality Education Discourses Framework: Conservative, Liberal, Critical, and Postmodern. *American Journal of Sexuality Education*, 6(2), 133-175. doi:10.1080/15546128.2011.571935
- Tilahun, M., Bezatu, Mengistie, Gudina, Egata and Ayalu A Reda,. (2012). Health workers' attitudes towards sexual and reproductive health services for unmarried adolescents in Ethiopia. *Reproductive Health*, 9(19). doi:doi:10.1186/1742-4755-9-19

- Tolman, Hirschman, C., & Impett, E. A. (2005). There Is More to the Story: The Place of Qualitative Research on Female Adolescent Sexuality in Policy Making. *Sexuality Research and Social Policy: Journal of NSRC*, 2(4), 4-17. doi:10.1525/srsp.2005.2.4.4
- Tolman, & McClelland. (2011). Normative Sexuality Development in Adolescence: A Decade in Review, 2000-2009. *Journal of research on Adolescence*, 21(1), 242-255.
- Tolman, D. (2002). Dilemmas of desire: teenage girls talk about sexuality.
- Tolman, D., Anderson, S., & Kimberly, B. (2015). Mobilizing Metaphor: Considering Complexities, Contradictions, and Contexts in Adolescent Girls' and Young Women's Sexual Agency. *Sex Roles*, 73(7-8), 298-310. doi:10.1007/s11199-015-0510-0
- Tom, A. (2012). What is social constructionism? *Grounded Theory Review: An International Journal*, 11(1).
- Trinh, T., Steckler, A., Ngo, A., & Ratliff, E. (2009). Parent communication about sexual issues with adolescents in Vietnam: content, contexts, and barriers. *Sex Education*, 9(4).
- Turnbull, T., Wersch, A. v., & Schaik, P. v. (2008). A review of parental involvement in sex education: The role for effective communication in British families. *Health Education Journal*, 67(3), 182-195. doi:10.1177/0017896908094636
- Um, M.-Y., & Kim, D. H. (2015). The influence of adolescent physical abuse on school adjustment in South Korea: The mediating effects of perceived parenting types. *Children and Youth Services Review*, 59, 89-96.
- Undie, C.-C., & Izugbara, C. O. (2011). Unpacking rights in indigenous African societies: indigenous culture and the question of sexual and reproductive rights in Africa. *BMC International Health & Human Rights*, 11((suppl 3):52).
- Van Ness, N., Miller, M. M., Negash, S., & Morgan, M. (2017). Embracing Our Eroticism: A Foucauldian Discourse Analysis of Women's Eroticism. *Journal of Feminist Family Therapy*, 1-24. doi:10.1080/08952833.2017.1245062
- Van Ouytsel, J., Van Gool, E., Walrave, M., Ponnet, K., & Peeters, E. (2017). Sexting: adolescents' perceptions of the applications used for, motives for, and consequences of sexting. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 20(4), 446-470. doi:10.1080/13676261.2016.1241865
- Van Roosmalen, E. (2000). Forces of Patriarchy: Adolescent Experiences of Sexuality and Conceptions of Relationships. *Youth & Society*, 32(2), 202-227. doi:10.1177/0044118x00032002004
- Varga, C. A. (1997). Sexual decision-making and negotiation in the midst of AIDS: youth in KkwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. *Health Transition Review*, 7(3), 45-67.
- Varol, N., Fraser, I. S., Ng, C. H. M., Jaldesa, G., & Hall, J. (2014). Female genital mutilation/cutting--towards abandonment of a harmful cultural practice. *The Australian & New Zealand Journal of Obstetrics & Gynaecology*, 54(5), 400-405. doi:10.1111/ajo.12206
- Verelst, A., Schryve, M. D., Broekaert, E., & Derluyn, I. (2014). Mental health of victims of sexual violence in eastern Congo: associations with daily stressors, stigma, and labeling. *BMC Women's Health*, 14.
- Voisin, D. R., & Neilands, T. B. (2010). Low school engagement and sexual behaviors among African American youth: Examining the influences of gender, peer norms, and gang involvement. *Children and Youth Services Review*, 32(1), 51-57. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2009.06.016>
- Wagman, J., Baumgartner, J. N., Geary, C. W., Nakyanjo, N., Ddaaki, W. G., Serwadda, D., . . . Wawer, M. J. (2009). Experiences of Sexual Coercion Among Adolescent Women. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 24(12), 2073-2095. doi:10.1177/0886260508327707
- Wagner, G. J., Aunon, F. M., Kaplan, R. L., Karam, R., Khouri, D., Tohme, J., & Mokhbat, J. (2013). Sexual stigma, psychological well-being and social engagement among men who have sex with men in Beirut, Lebanon. *Culture, Health & Sexuality*, 15(5), 570-582. doi:10.1080/13691058.2013.775345
- Walby, S. (1990). *Theorizing Patriarchy*. Oxford UK: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.

- Walke, J. (2004). Parents and sex education—looking beyond ‘the birds and the bees’. *Sex Education*, 4(3), 239-254. doi:10.1080/1468181042000243330
- Walker, J. L. (2001). A qualitative study of parents' experiences of providing sex education for their children: The implications for health education. *Health Education Journal*, 60(2), 132-146. doi:10.1177/001789690106000205
- Wamoyi, J., Fenwick, A., Urassa, M., Zaba, B., & Stones, W. (2010a). Parent-child communication about sexual and reproductive health in rural Tanzania: Implications for young people's sexual health interventions. *Reprod Health*, 7. doi:10.1186/1742-4755-7-6
- Wamoyi, J., Fenwick, A., Urassa, M., Zaba, B., & Stones, W. (2010b). "Women's Bodies are Shops" Beliefs about Transactional Sex and Implications for Understanding Gender Power and HIV Prevention in Tanzania *Archives of Sexual behaviour*.
- Wamoyi, J., Fenwick, A., Urassa, M., Zaba, B., & Stones, W. (2011). Parental control and monitoring of young people's sexual behaviour in rural North-Western Tanzania: Implications for sexual and reproductive health interventions. *BMC Public Health*, 11(1), 106. doi:10.1186/1471-2458-11-106
- Wamoyi, J., Wight, D., Plummer, M., Mshana, G., & Ross, D. (2010). Transactional sex amongst young people in rural northern Tanzania: an ethnography of young women's motivations and negotiation. *Reproductive Health*, 7(1), 2. doi:10.1186/1742-4755-7-2
- Wardlow, H. (2004). Anger, Economy, and Female Agency: Problematizing "Prostitution" and "Sex Work" among the Huli of Papua New Guinea. *Signs*, 29(4), 1017-1040. doi:10.1086/382628
- Watt, M. H., Aunon, F. M., Skinner, D., Sikkema, K. J., Kalichman, S. C., & Pieterse, D. (2012). “Because he has bought for her, he wants to sleep with her”: Alcohol as a currency for sexual exchange in South African drinking venues. *Social Science & Medicine*, 74(7), 1005-1012. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2011.12.022>
- Webb, C. (1993). Feminist research: definitions, methodology, methods and evaluation. *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 18, 416-423.
- Weeks, J. (1985). *Sexuality and its Discontents: Meanings, myths & modern sexualities*. New York: Routledge & Kegan paul Ltd.
- Weeks, J. (Ed.) (2003). *Sexuality* (Second ed.). London & New York: Routledge.
- Wegh, S. F. (1998). *Between Continuity and Change-Tiv Concept of Tradition and Modernity*. Lagos: OVC Ltd.
- Weiss, K. G. (2010). Too Ashamed to Report: Deconstructing the Shame of Sexual Victimization. *Feminist Criminology*, 5(3), 286-310. doi:doi:10.1177/1557085110376343
- Weisskirch, R. S., Drouin, M., & Delevi, R. (2017). Relational Anxiety and Sexting. *The Journal of Sex Research*, 54(6), 685-693. doi:10.1080/00224499.2016.1181147
- Whitaker, D. J., & Miller, K. S. (2000). Parent-Adolescent Discussions about Sex and Condoms. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, 15(2), 251-273. doi:doi:10.1177/0743558400152004
- WHO Regional Office for Europe, U. (2014). Adolescence: building solid foundation for lifelong flourishing. *The European Magazine for sexual and Reproductive Health*.
- Wight, D., Plummer, M. L., Mshana, G., Wamoyi, J., Shigongo, Z. S., & Ross, D. A. (2006). Contradictory sexual norms and expectations for young people in rural Northern Tanzania. *Social Science and Medicine*, 62. doi:10.1016/j.socscimed.2005.06.052
- Wilkinson, S. (2004). Focus group research. In D. Silverman (Ed.), *Qualitative research: Theory, method, and practice* (pp. 177-199): Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Wolfradt, U., Hempel, S., & Miles, J. N. V. (2003). Perceived parenting styles, depersonalisation, anxiety and coping behaviour in adolescents. *Personality and Individual Difference*, 34, 521-532.
- Wood, K. (2006). Sexual violence and young people's sexual health in developing countries. In R. Ingham & P. Aggeton (Eds.), *Promoting Young People's sexual Health*. New York: Routledge.
- Wood, K., & Jewkes, R. (2006). Blood Blockages and Scolding Nurses: Barriers to Adolescent Contraceptive Use in South Africa. *Reproductive Health Matters*, 14(27), 109-118.

- World Health Organization. (2004). Sexual health: A new focus for WHO. *Progress in Reproductive Health Research*, 67, 1-8.
- World Health Organization. (2007). *Helping parents in developing countries improve adolescents' health* (pp. 37).
- World Health Organization. (2008). Eliminating Female Genital Mutilation: An interagency statement, WHO, UNFPA, UNICEF, UNIFEM, OHCHR, UNHCR, UNECA, UNESCO, UNDP, UNAIDS, WHO, Geneva.
- World Health Organization. (2012). Understanding and addressing violence against women. Retrieved December, 2017 from http://apps.who.int/iris/bitstream/10665/77428/1/WHO_RHR_12.41_eng.pdf.
- World Health Organization. (2015). Human reproductive programme , defining sexual health. . Retrieved June 20, 2015, from http://www.who.int/reproductivehealth/topics/sexual_health/sh_definitions/en/.
- World Health Organization, W. (2011). An update on WHO's work on female genital mutilation (FGM): Progress report. Geneva: Department of Reproductive Health and research.
- Yarrow, E., Anderson, K., Aplan, K., & Watson, K. (2014). Can a restrictive law serve a protective purpose? The impact of age-restrictive laws on young people's access to sexual and reproductive health services. *Reproductive Health Matters*, 22(44), 148-156. doi:10.1016/s0968-8080(14)44809-2
- Yeasmin, S., & Rahman, K. F. (2012). 'Triangulation' Research Method as the Tool of Social Science Research. *BUP JOURNAL*, 1(1).
- Zaikman, Y., Marks, M. J., Young, T. M., & Zeiber, J. A. (2016). Gender Role Violations and the Sexual Double Standard. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 63(12), 1608-1629. doi:10.1080/00918369.2016.1158007
- Zimmerman, M. A., Stoddard, S. A., Eisman, A. B., Caldwell, C. H., Aiyer, S. M., & Miller, A. (2013). Adolescent Resilience: Promotive Factors That Inform Prevention. *Child Development Perspectives*, 7(4), 215-220. doi:10.1111/cdep.12042

Appendices

Appendix 1: Study Flier (Focus Group)

LET'S TALK

TELL US YOUR OWN PERSPECTIVE

Are you a young Tiv girl between the ages of 14-19 living in north central Nigeria? You are invited to consider taking part in a study looking at female adolescent sexuality development and their main concerns when making sexual decisions. The study will involve focus group discussions with other female adolescents which will last not more than three hours at a venue, time and date that will be agreed upon by all participants.

Participation in this study is completely voluntary and if you choose to participate, you are free to withdraw and any time.

If you need further information about the study, please do not hesitate to contact me using the contact details below.

Peter Azende (Peter.Azende@hud.ac.uk)
PhD Candidate
Centre for Applied Childhood Studies
School of Human and Health Sciences
University of Huddersfield
Huddersfield HD1 3DH
U.K
Tel: +2348036207657

LET'S TALK

WHAT ARE YOUR THOUGHTS?

Are you a young Tiv girl between the ages of 16-19 living in north central Nigeria? You are invited to consider taking part in a study where you will be asked to talk about examples of experiences that Tiv girls sometimes come across regarding romantic and sexual relationships. The study will involve a Skype discussion (this will not be video recorded) with the researcher which will last not more than one and half hours at a time and date that will be agreed upon by you and the researcher. Whilst talking to the researcher, you can be accompanied by someone else if you prefer.

Participation in this study is completely voluntary and if you choose to participate, you are free to withdraw and any time.

If you need further information about the study, please do not hesitate to contact me using the contact details below.

Peter Azende (Peter.Azende@hud.ac.uk)
Doctoral Researcher
Centre for Applied Child, Family and Youth Research
School of Human and Health Sciences
University of Huddersfield
Huddersfield HD1 3DH
U.K
Tel: +2348036207657

Appendix 3: Information Sheet for Participants (Focus Group)



School of Human and Health Sciences

Title of Project: Understanding female adolescents' sexuality development in North Central Nigeria: A grounded theory approach.

INFORMATION SHEET FOR PARTICIPANTS

Introduction:

- ❖ Do not hesitate to ask questions at any point. This study aims at gaining insights into the sexual experiences of adolescent females among the Tiv people.
- ❖ I am interested in sexual development and concerns of young women and I am studying for a PhD at the University of Huddersfield.
- ❖ You are invited to participate in the study.

Benefits:

- ❖ Taking part in the study might provide an opportunity for you to reflect on your concerns relating to sexual life and practice.
- ❖ It is hoped that the study will contribute to new knowledge about girls' sexuality in a region of Nigeria where this has not been researched.
- ❖ The study findings may improve public policy and access to services for this population.

Process:

- ❖ Taking part in this study is voluntary. You will be asked to sign a consent form and you will be free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason. There will be no payment for participation.
- ❖ The process will involve group discussion which will be about two to three hours long. A female researcher will be present. The discussions will be audio-taped.

- ❖ During the discussions you will be expected to talk about your experience as an adolescent girl in your community, your concerns and agency.
- ❖ If I hear of any case of sexual abuse, coercion or threat of harm concerning any of the participants, the matter would be reported for appropriate action to the Social Welfare Department under the Ministry of Women's Affairs and Social Development.
- ❖ Electronic data will be stored on the Researcher's laptop which is secured and password protected. Hard data will be kept in a locked cupboard and will be destroyed after completion of the study in line with University guideline.
- ❖ No person, other than the researcher will have access to the recording of your voice.
- ❖ After the interview the taped recording will be typed up and analyzed by the researcher. You can have a copy of your interview if you wish. The purpose of the study is use the information to form the basis of a thesis which will be submitted to the University of Huddersfield.
- ❖ Parts of the study may be used in future publications such as in a book and/or in presentations at conferences. I will try to make the findings of the study as widely available as possible.
- ❖ At no time will actual names of people be revealed. Your own identity will be protected at all times unless I hear of any case of sexual abuse, coercion or threat of harm concerning you. No information that could lead to you being identified will be included in any report or publication resulting from this research. You need to identify a pseudonym that will be used.
- ❖ It may be necessary to use your words in the presentation of the findings and your permission for this is included in the consent form.

If you require any further information about the research, please contact me on:

Researcher Contact

Peter Azende (Peter.Azende@hud.ac.uk)

PhD Candidate

Centre for Applied Childhood Studies

School of Human and Health Sciences

University of Huddersfield, HD1 3DH

U.K

Tel: +2348036207657

In case you have any concerns about the research, please feel free to contact my supervisor directly through the details below;

Professor Adele Jones.
Centre for Applied Childhood Studies
School of Human and Health Sciences
University of Huddersfield, HD1 3DH
Email: A.D.Jones@hud.ac.uk Tel: +447540671231

Appendix 4: Information Sheet for Participants (Skype Interview)



School of Human and Health Sciences

Title of Project: Understanding female adolescents' sexuality development in North Central Nigeria: A grounded theory approach.

INFORMATION SHEET FOR PARTICIPANTS (Skype interview – audio only (there will be NO video recording))

Introduction:

- ❖ Do not hesitate to ask questions at any point. During the interviews, participants will be asked to talk about examples of experiences that Tiv girls may come across regarding romantic and sexual relationships.
- ❖ I am interested in sexual development and concerns of young women and I am studying for a PhD at the University of Huddersfield.
- ❖ You are invited to participate in the study.
- ❖ Your identity and confidentiality will be completely protected. I will know only the name you choose to be known by (this should not be your real name), your email address and your Skype address.

Benefits:

- ❖ Taking part in the study might provide an opportunity for you to reflect on your concerns relating to sexual life and practice.
- ❖ It is hoped that the study will contribute to new knowledge about girls' sexuality in a region of Nigeria where this has not been researched.
- ❖ The study findings may improve public policy and access to services for this population.

Process:

- ❖ Taking part in this study is voluntary. A consent form will be sent to you and you could email to indicate consent. You will be free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason. There will be no payment for participation.
- ❖ The process will involve Skype discussion which will be about one and half hours long. The discussions will be audio recorded. There will be no video recording.
- ❖ During the discussions you will be presented three short stories about different young girls and asked to respond sharing your thoughts and feelings. You don't have to answer any question that you don't want to.
- ❖ If I hear any case of abuse or risk of harm to any of the participants, I will provide them with information about agencies from which they can obtain help. If they wish to reveal their identities to me and give me permission, I will report the matter on their behalf to the Social Welfare Department under the Ministry of Women's Affairs and Social Development for appropriate action.
- ❖ The Skype discussion recording will be kept on a computer which is password protected and deleted after five years.
- ❖ No person, other than the researcher will have access to the recording of your voice.
- ❖ After the interview the recording will be typed up and analysed by the researcher. You can have a copy of your interview if you wish. The purpose of the study is use the information to form the basis of a thesis which will be submitted to the University of Huddersfield.
- ❖ Parts of the study may be used in future publications such as in a book and/or in presentations at conferences. I will try to make the findings of the study as widely available as possible.
- ❖ I will maintain confidentiality unless I am required to report a situation of suspected abuse, in which case I will provide you with information where help may be accessed. No information that could lead to you being identified will be included in any report or publication resulting from this research. You need to identify a false name (pseudonym) that will be used.
- ❖ It may be necessary to use your words in the presentation of the findings and your permission for this is included in the consent form.

If you require any further information about the research, please contact me on:

Researcher Contact**Peter Azende** (Peter.Azende@hud.ac.uk)

Doctoral Researcher

Centre for Applied Child, Family and Youth Research

School of Human and Health Sciences

University of Huddersfield

Huddersfield HD1 3DH

U.K

Tel: +2348036207657

In case you have any concerns about the research, please feel free to contact my supervisor

directly through the details below;

Professor Adele Jones.

Centre for Applied Child, Family and Youth Research

School of Human and Health Sciences

University of Huddersfield

Huddersfield HD1 3DH

U.K

Email: A.D.Jones@hud.ac.uk

Tel: +447540671231

Appendix 5: Consent Form for Participants (Focus Group)



CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPANTS (Focus Group)

Title of Research Project: Understanding female adolescents' sexuality development in North Central Nigeria: A grounded theory approach.

If you are satisfied that you understand the information and are happy to take part in this project, please put a tick in the box aligned to each sentence.

I have been fully informed of the nature and aims of this research and

I consent to taking part in it

I understand that I have the right to withdraw from the research at any time

without giving any reason and the right to withdraw my data if I wish.

I give permission for my words to be quoted directly (by use of pseudonym)

I understand that the information collected will be kept in secure conditions

for a period of five years at the University of Huddersfield

I understand that no person other than the researcher will have access to the information

provided and audio files will be kept securely.

I understand that my identity will be protected by the use of pseudonym in the

report and that no written information that could lead to my being identified will

be included in any report or publication resulting from the research.

Please print your name and sign below.

Signature of Participant: <hr/>	Signature of Researcher: <hr/>
Name: <hr/>	Name: Peter Azende <hr/>
Date: <hr/>	Date: <hr/>

(one copy to be retained by Participant / one copy to be retained by Researcher)

Appendix 6: Consent Form for Participants (Skype Interview)



CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPANTS (Skype interview)

Title of Research Project: Understanding female adolescents' sexuality development in North Central Nigeria

Please read the following sentences carefully

I have been fully informed of the nature and aims of this research and I consent to taking part in it

I understand that I have the right to withdraw from the research at any time without giving any reason and that I have the right to withdraw my data if I wish.

I understand that I may refuse to answer any questions I am uncomfortable with or, to terminate the interview at any point, should I do wish

I give permission for my words to be quoted directly (by use of a false name -pseudonym).

I understand that the information collected will be kept in secure conditions for a period of five years at the University of Huddersfield

I understand that no person other than the researcher will have access to the information provided and audio files will be kept securely – no video recordings will be made.

I understand that my identity will be protected by the use of a false name (pseudonym) in the report and that no written information that could lead to my being identified will be included in any report or publication resulting from the research.

I understand that if the researcher hears information concerning risk of abuse or harm to me or to anyone else, I will be given information about agencies that I can contact who will be able to help. If I wish, I can reveal my identity to the researcher and with my permission, he will report the matter to the Social Welfare Department under the Ministry of Women's Affairs and Social Development for appropriate action.

If there are any concerns or complaints about the conduct of this research, I am aware that I have the right to contact the researcher's supervisor:

Professor Adele Jones.

Centre for Applied Child, Family and Youth Research

School of Human and Health Sciences
University of Huddersfield
Huddersfield HD1 3DH
U.K
Email: A.D.Jones@hud.ac.uk

Tel: +447540671231

You will be asked on the day of interview to indicate verbally if you are satisfied that you understand the information and are happy to take part in this project. Your verbal consent will be recorded.

Name:

(You will be asked to email this form back to me – this will be taken as proof of your consent)

Date:

Appendix 7: Consent Form for Parents



CONSENT FORM FOR PARENTS OR GUARDIANS

Title of Research Project: Understanding female adolescents' sexuality development in North Central Nigeria: A grounded theory approach

It is important that you read, understand and sign the consent form. If you are satisfied that you understand the information and are happy to allow your daughter to take part in this project, please put a tick in the box aligned to each sentence;

I have been fully informed of the nature and aims of this research and I consent to my daughter taking part in it

I understand that she has the right to withdraw from the research at any time without giving any reason

I give permission for her words to be quoted (by use of pseudonym)

I understand that the information collected will be kept in secure conditions

I understand that no person other than the researcher will have access to the information provided

I understand that her identity will be protected by the use of pseudonym in the report and that no written information that could lead to her being identified will be included in any report.



Please print your name and sign below.

Signature of Participant: <hr/> Name: <hr/> Date: <hr/>	Signature of Researcher: <hr/> Name: Peter Azende <hr/> Date: <hr/>
--	---

(one copy to be retained by Parent / one copy to be retained by Researcher)

Appendix 8: Information Sheet for Parents



School of Human and Health Sciences

Title of Project: Understanding female adolescents' sexuality development in North Central Nigeria: A grounded theory approach.

INFORMATION SHEET FOR PARENTS

Introduction:

- ❖ Do not hesitate to ask me questions at any point. This study aims at gaining insights into the sexual experiences of adolescent females among the Tiv people.
- ❖ I am interested in sexuality development and concerns of young women and I am studying for a PhD at the University of Huddersfield.
- ❖ Your daughter is invited to participate in the study.

Benefits:

- ❖ Taking part in the study might provide an opportunity for her to reflect on her concerns relating to sexual life and practice.
- ❖ It is hoped that the study will contribute to new knowledge about girls' sexuality in a region of Nigeria where this has not been researched.
- ❖ The study findings may improve public policy and access to services for this population.

Process:

- ❖ Taking part in this study is voluntary. You will be asked to sign a consent form or can give a verbal consent to allow her participate in the study. There will be no payment for participation.
- ❖ The process will involve group discussion which will be about two to three hours long. A female researcher will be present. The discussions will be audio-taped.

- ❖ During the discussions she will be expected to talk about her experiences as an adolescent girl in her community, her concerns and level agency.
- ❖ If I hear of any case of sexual abuse, coercion or threat of harm concerning any of the participants, the matter would be reported for appropriate action to the Social Welfare Department under the Ministry of Women's Affairs and Social Development.
- ❖ Electronic data will be stored on the Researcher's laptop which is secured and password protected. Hard data will be kept in a locked cupboard and will be destroyed after completion of the study in line with University guideline.
- ❖ No person, other than the researcher will have access to the recording of her voice.
- ❖ After the interview the taped recording will be typed up and analysed by the researcher. The purpose of the study is use the information to form the basis of a thesis which will be submitted to the University of Huddersfield.
- ❖ Parts of the study may be used in future publications such as in a book and/or in presentations at conferences. I will try to make the findings of the study as widely available as possible.
- ❖ At no time will actual names of people be revealed. Her own identity will be protected at all times unless I hear of any case of sexual abuse, coercion or threat of harm concerning her. No information that could lead to her being identified will be included in any report or publication resulting from this research.
- ❖ It may be necessary to use her words in the presentation of the findings.

If you require any further information about the research, please contact me on:

Researcher Contact

Peter Azende (Peter.Azende@hud.ac.uk)

PhD Candidate

Centre for Applied Childhood Studies

School of Human and Health Sciences

University of Huddersfield

Huddersfield HD1 3DH

U.K

Tel: +2348036207657

In case you have any concerns about the research, please feel free to contact my supervisor

directly through the details below;

Professor Adele Jones.
Centre for Applied Childhood Studies
School of Human and Health Sciences
University of Huddersfield
Huddersfield HD1 3DH
U.K
Email: A.D.Jones@hud.ac.uk Tel: +447540671231

Appendix 9: Interview Guide for Mothers

In-depth Interview Guide for Mothers

I would like to thank you in advance for agreeing to talk with me about your role and experiences regarding sexual socialization of children (before we begin the interview I will explain what I mean by sexual socialization). The information you give will be invaluable and treated in the strictest confidence.

Questions

1. Can you share your experience raising your children?
2. Please describe your role in sexual socialization of children in your family
3. Can you describe any differences regarding the ways adolescent boys and adolescent girls should be treated concerning sexual matters?
4. What are the barriers and opportunities for talking about sexual matters in your family?
5. How would you assess your comfort level in discussing sexuality related topics with your children?
6. Can you describe your attitude regarding pre-marital sex and virginity?
7. How do you communicate your expectations to your daughters?
8. What social boundaries do you set for the children as they relate to sexuality and how do you ensure compliance?
9. How do you get your female children to meet your expectations?
10. How do you get your male children to meet your expectations?
11. What are your hopes and aspirations for your daughters?
12. What are your hopes and aspirations for your sons?

Appendix 10: Interview Guide for Fathers

In-depth Interview Guide for Fathers

I would like to thank you in advance for agreeing to talk with me about your role and experiences regarding sexual socialization of children (before we begin the interview I will explain what I mean by sexual socialization). The information you give will be invaluable and treated in the strictest confidence.

Questions

1. Can you describe your most important responsibilities as a father and husband?
2. Describe how being a father or mother might affect sexual socialization in the family
3. How do you feel discussing sexuality related topics with your children, is this handled differently for boys and girls?
4. Please describe your role in sexual socialization of female children in your family
5. Please describe your role in sexual socialization of male children in your family
6. What social boundaries do you set for the children as they relate to sexuality and how do you ensure compliance?
7. How do you get your female children to meet your expectations?
8. How do you get your male children to meet your expectations?
9. Share with me the methods you use in correcting your children when they fall short of your expectations?
10. What are your hopes and aspirations for your daughters?
11. What are your hopes and aspirations for your sons?

Appendix 11: Hypothetical Stories

Vignette 1

“Hope”: A 18-year-old girl lives with her mother and is now studying in the University. She was betrothed to a young man at the age of 13 years. She is now not happy with the relationship. Hope has made several efforts to get out of the relationship to no avail. Hope’s mother is insisting that she get married to the man so that they would continue benefiting from him financially. She is in love with another man of her choice at the moment but the mother is standing in her way to marry the second young man. As a result, Hope is depressed, hates her mother and the so called fiancé. She is considering eloping.

Possible guiding questions.....

What are your feelings about Hope’s situation?

What are your views about the mother’s position?

What would you advise a girl in this situation?

What would you do if this were you?

Vignette 2

Comfort is a 19-year-old student studying in College. She lives in a Christian family with her parents and is expected to be a ‘good girl’. She feels the pressure from her parents and religious leaders to abstain from sex till marriage. Her parents could not give her sexual education because discussing about sex is a taboo in the family. Comfort decided that she could no longer abstain but this must be a top secret to avoid getting into trouble with the parents. She often finds it difficult to go out to meet with her boyfriend or even girlfriends because of the surveillance at home. It was on Valentine’s Day when Comfort sneaked out to collect a gift from her boyfriend who shut his door and started touching her. She could not scream for help out of fear and it (sex) happened. That was her first sexual experience. She was saying No, No, No, but he would not stop. Comfort could not tell anyone about the near rape experience.

Possible guiding questions.....

What are your thoughts about Comfort's situation?

What do you think could or should have been done differently?

What are your views about the boyfriend's action?

What do you think are the main reasons Comfort could not report her experience?

What would you advise a girl in this situation?

Vignette 3

Stephanie is 19 years old and lives with her family (parents and three brothers) and her daughter in the city and is studying at the university. She is the only daughter in her family. Growing up, Stephanie had a very rough experience with her Mum who is so hostile and often beats her. Her mother would always warn her against engaging in sexual intercourse or even talking about it. She (the mother) would say 'the moment you sleep with a man and you enter this house I will know'. Stephanie's friends told her to disregard her mother and start having sex which she did. 4 months after Stephanie first had sex with her boyfriend she realised that she was pregnant and dropped out of school. Her friends suggested that she should abort the pregnancy but she was afraid of the possible consequences. The young man responsible for the pregnancy denied and her parents were helpless at this juncture. She had the baby and became a laughingstock in the neighbourhood. Stephanie's mother said she (Stephanie) is the only daughter and the worst daughter ever. With little or no support from the parents, Stephanie picked up her pieces and now she is in school again.

Possible guiding questions.....

What are your views about this situation?

What are your views about the mother's attitudes and comments?

What implications would religious beliefs make to Stephanie in this situation?

Why would she have an abortion? Why would she not have an abortion?

What would you have done differently in this situation?

Appendix 12: Ministry of Health & Human Services Research Ethical Committee

approval letter



Appendix 13: Demographic Information Obtained from Participants (young women) (N= 37)

Focus group one				
Name (pseudonyms)	Age in years	State of origin	Place of residence	Educational status
Praise	17	Benue	Lives with grand mother	Studying in College
Jessica	18	Nasarawa	Lives with parents	Studying in University.
Judith	17	Benue	Lives with parents	Finished College
Pat	18	Benue	Lives with parents	Studying in University.
Lyrics	16	Taraba	Lives with mother	Studying in College

Focus group two				
Name (pseudonyms)	Age in years	State of origin	Place of residence	Educational status
Deona	18	Benue	Lives with parents	Studying in University
Stephanie	19	Taraba	Lives with parents	Studying in University
Nikky	17	Benue	Lives with mother	Studying in College
Jessy	17	Nasarawa	Lives with step mother	Finished College
Ivy	17	Benue	Lives with parents	Studying in College
Sese	18	Benue	Lives with parents	Finished College
Kendra	19	Taraba	Lives with parents	Studying in University
Tesa	17	Benue	Lives with father	Studying in College

Focus group three				
Name (pseudonyms)	Age in years	State of origin	Place of residence	Educational status
Josephine	17	Benue	Lives with parents	Studying in College
Hope	18	Benue	Lives with mother	Studying in University
Comfort	19	Nasarawa	Lives with parents	Studying in College
Lystra	16	Benue	Lives with parents	Studying in College
Vera	19	Benue	Lives with parents	Studying in University

Focus group four				
Name (pseudonyms)	Age in years	State of origin	Place of residence	Educational status
Kwasedoo	18	Benue	Lives with parents	Finished College
Mabel	19	Taraba	Lives with mother	Studying in University
Ene	18	Benue	Lives with parents	Finished College
Mavis	16	Benue	Lives with father	Studying in College
Sharon	16	Nasarawa	Lives with parents	Studying in College
Jane	17	Benue	Lives with mother	Finished College

Skype individual in-depth interviews				
Name (pseudonyms)	Age in years	State of origin	Place of residence	Educational status
Julian	18	Benue	Lives with parents	Finished College
Msen	15	Taraba	Lives with mother	Finished primary school
Doosen	18	Benue	Lives with parents	Finished College
Ashi	16	Benue	Lives with father	Studying in College
Sonia	16	Benue	Lives with parents	Studying in College
Brenda	17	Benue	Lives with mother	Finished College
Rhoda	15	Benue	Lives with mother	Finished primary school
Ruth	17	Benue	Lives with step mother	Studying in College
Ngusen	14	Taraba	Lives with parents	Finished primary school
Nnena	17	Benue	Lives with parents	Finished College

Becky	14	Benue	Lives with parents	Finished primary school
Ahemem	17	Nasarawa	Lives with mother	Studying in College
Kash	14	Benue	Lives with parents	Finished primary school