

# University Students' Perceptions and Experiences of Quid Pro Quo Transactions in Kenya

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## Abstract

The purpose of this study was to explore the extent to which quid pro quo transactions commonly known as 'sexual economy', 'sexual transactions', 'sexual corruption' and 'transactional sex' occur in the universities, especially in Kenya. Use of cross-sectional survey design, allowed the researcher to collect qualitative data from 16 female and 14 male students sampled using a number of procedures; namely volunteer, simple random and snowball sampling. Use of in-depth interviews to collect data gave the researcher an opportunity to obtain direct and indirect real-life experiences on quid pro quo transactions. Discourse or content analysis was used to analyse stories and narratives in line with different forms of quid pro quo transactions. The researcher identified, coded and categorised primary data patterns in form of words, sentences and phrases from the written narratives and stories from male and female students. For purposes of privacy and confidentiality, the researcher used codes to present 'verbatim' data. Findings from the study show that quid pro quo transactions (sexually transmitted marks; money and material benefits, and access to halls of residence) is a common occurrence among university students. Empowerment programmes (economic and life skills) are necessary if male and female students and sometimes staff are to refrain from quid pro quo transactions, which is characterised with negative and devastating consequences.

**Keywords:** Quid Pro Quo Transactions, Transactional Sex, Empowerment, Sexually Transmitted Marks, Experiences, Perceptions.

## 1. Meaning of 'Quid Pro Quo Transactions

Quid pro quo is a Latin phrase which simply means substituting something, that is 'this instead of that'. Specifically, 'quid' refers to 'something given by one side in barter or exchange', while 'quo' is 'something received from the other side in barter or exchange' (Fred, 2019). Quid pro quo refers to 'something for something' or 'something in return' (Menon, Shilalukey, Siziya, Ndubani, Musepa, Malungo, Munalula, Mwela and Serpell, 2009; Fred, 2019) or what Menon, *et.al.* (2009) further refers to as exchange between parties where one provides sexual favours in return for something.

Quid pro quo sometimes means abuse of authority or position in order to gain employment, pay, benefits, title, position or other opportunities for advancement or training, conditioned on submission of unwelcome sexual advances (Prinsloo 2006; Mahlangu, 2017). Quid pro quo occurs where an owner, employer, supervisor, member of management or co-employee undertakes or attempts to influence or influences the processes of employment, promotion, discipline, dismissal, salary increments or job application in exchange of sexual favours (Prinsloo, 2006). Under the circumstances mentioned by Fred (2019) and Mahlangu (2017), quid pro quo refers to 'sexual economy', 'sexual transactions', 'sexual corruption' and 'transactional sex'. Generally, transactional sex relates to exchange of sex for basic survival and subsistence needs for instance, financial support, favour, material goods or gifts (Hunter, 2002; Luke and Kurz, 2002; Chatterji, Murray, London and Angelwicz, 2007; Baba-Djara, Brennan, Coreneliess, Aggarko-Poku, Akuoko, Opoku, Adu-Sarkodie and Beard, 2013). Females engaging in transactional sex tend to have multiple, and/or concurrent relationships, where a male provides them with money to pay rent or buy clothes (Mitchel, 2011). Mitchel (2011) further noted that transactional sex is complex, multi-faceted exchange involving love, intimacy, desire, pleasure, power, money and exploitation. To a large extent I tend to agree with Mitchell's (2011) sentiments, that quid pro quo transactions are largely shaped by socio-economic status, culture and religion.

## 2. Literature Review on Quid Pro Quo Transactions in African Universities

In a study done in the University of Namibia, Edwards-Jauch (2012) established that lecturers identified the practice of 'kamborotos', that is, inter-generational transactional sex between female students and older males. 'Kamboroto' denotes transactional nature of the relationship since the older males rarely support campus female students the same way they do for their marital spouses. Edwards-Jauch (2012) further confirms occurrences of sex for marks transactions between male lecturers and female students. Further, young female students labour is exploited by becoming 'hostel wives' while fulfilling their unpaid social reproductive work for the male students whom they cohabit with.

Shefera, Clowesa and Vergnanib (2012) explored students' perceptions of (hetero) sexuality practices in one campus in South Africa. Using semi-structured interview guide based on the nature and dynamics of sexual relationships, practices of sexuality and transactional sex. 20 focus groups were used each with 6 to 10 participants, 10 groups were mixed (male and female), while the other 10 groups, 5 had male and 5 had female students. Discussions lasted between one and one and half hours and they were audio recorded with the consent from the

participants. Audio discussion was transcribed, followed by thematic analysis, informed by discourse analytical reading. A computer analytical package, AtlasTI, was used to process and analyse data.

In their findings Shefera, *et.al* (2012) pointed out that transactional relationship is a common occurrence on campus, with financial needs, food, cars, accessories and other material goods being exchanged for sex with males acting as providers and female as those submitting to sex. ‘Sugar daddies’ or ‘ministers of finance’ are a common phenomenon used on campus to refer to the richer male students and the working male from outside the campus. The intersection of age, freedom and availability of finance encourage young female students, especially first years usually seen as ‘strangers’ and from less urban, well-resourced environments to engage in transactional relationships. Such students are more trusted, naive and easily impressed by the proximity to resources not readily available in their homes. Focusing on women’s reduced access to economic resources or unmet material desires, quid pro quo hinges around economic vulnerability of young female, which presents poverty as the key reason for their engagement in transactional sex. In contrast, men are positioned as economically privileged, a discourse in which successful masculinity is pinned on access to and control of economic resources.

In West Africa, Dorph and Sjögren (2014) did a study in Liberian universities located in Monrovia with the aim of highlighting the phenomenon of sex for grades by examining how female students use their tactical agency. Data was collected using focus group discussions with university students and interviews with university personnel and ministry representatives. A total of 75 people participated in this study namely; 32 male and 29 female students, 9 university personnel, 4 ministry representatives and 1 consultant. The findings reveal that sex for grades is based on heterosexual phenomenon between female students and male lecturers, which seems to have been “normalised” in Liberian universities. Sex for grades is associated with gender and misuse of power, lack of support and culture of silence. These findings point to a duality between how different structures steer female students towards engaging in sex for grades using a variety of tactics. Dorph and Sjögren (2014) concluded that sex for grades may be an obstacle to full participation of women in different forums, thus, inhibiting their potential in influencing the future of Liberia.

In another study, Onipede and Wusu (2010) explored dimensions of transactional sex among young male and female undergraduates in Ojo campus, Lagos State University (LASU), Nigeria. The study addressed two research questions namely; how prevalent is transactional sexual behaviour among LASU undergraduates and what strategy is used to initiate students into such transactions? In collecting data, non-participant observation and semi-structured interviews were used. The non-participant observation was used to explore the extent to which female hostels are ‘brothels. The second category of data was collected using 30 semi structured in-depth interviews administered among fourth year full-time undergraduates. Data was analysed using simple descriptive statistics and themes.

Findings of Onipede and Wusu’s (2010) study shows that heterosexual activities, especially transactional sex are prevalent among female undergraduates. Data from the interviewees

shows that survival of majority of the female students on campus is largely dependent on transactional sex. They engage in heterosexual relationships with the rich, ‘powerful’, older opposite sex branded ‘Aristos’ (sugar daddies, mummies) and lecturers. ‘Pimps’ are fellow students who recruit female students for sexual partners, while ‘Aristos’ pay them in return for the services rendered. Majority of the poor young female students engage in transactional sex in order to finance their education. More than three-quarter of the respondents noted that greed or love for luxuries push young female students to engage in sex for money. Lecturers exchange grades for sex while non-academic staff and outsiders offer monetary rewards or material gifts in order to have sex with female students. This study was qualitative, which means generalisation of the findings to other campuses and universities may be difficult, thus the need to undertake the present study.

In a non-empirical study done in a university, South West Nigeria, Anene and Osayamwen (2019), sought to examine occurrences of quid-pro-quo sexual harassment using secondary statistical data. The study was done by reviewing relevant documents like legislative instruments, journals, media reports and secondary data based on sexual harassment. The findings shows that sexual harassment is a gendered problem often overlooked in Nigerian universities and with a negative impact on female students’ ability to access quality tertiary education. This place female students in a disadvantaged position of inequality. Such a situation is likely to affect future job prospects since victims might end up graduating with poor results or grades than they deserve, not reflecting their actual abilities, while abandoning their dreams to pursue other courses.

A qualitative study was conducted in Kumasi Metropolitan area in Ghana, by Baba-Djara, *et.al.* (2013). The aim of the research was to examine reasons which motivate female students to engage in transactional sex. Using snowball sampling technique, a sample of 15 female and 14 male (18-29 years) students, 11 faculty members, 2 female residence hall matrons and 5 male hostel staff were identified. Data was collected using in-depth interviews and 4 focused group discussions. Findings shows that the occurrences of transactional sex happen across different students age groups, with older men who are financially stable. Some female students reported feeling pressurised to maintain and improve their physical appearances, social status like having expensive clothing, hairstyles, jewellery and make up in order to appear modern and successful. It seems that sex for grades is a common occurrence among female students, lecturers and tutors.

Amo-Adjei, Kumi-Kyereme and Tuoyire (2014) did a study in the University of Cape Coast, Ghana to assess the extent to which transactional sexual relationships based on exchange of gifts and other obligations occurs among female students. Using snowballing sampling technique, 40 female students who engaged in transactional sex were sampled. Data was collected and analysed using unstructured interviews and themes respectively. Findings reveal that young female students were not just simple victims and that the relationships occurred as a result of complex and conscious choices. They were short-term relationships aimed at material gains, for instance, paying for accommodation while taking gifts as a sign of affection and replacement for parental love. What motivated female students to engage in sexual affairs was primarily economic purposes aimed at fulfilling their “wants” not survival

“needs”. The relationship enabled young female students to purchase trappings of an affluent society like clothes, hairstyles, fast food and expensive cell phones. The relationships further gave female students feelings of protection, respect, “high class”, being part of a daring elite female, able to travel widely, while pursuing their studies. Whatever their educational background, the young females tend to get compromised on safer sexual practices, making them vulnerable to Sexually Transmitted Infections (STI's) and HIV/AIDs.

Fred (2019) sought to explore the opinion of female university students in Ghana on whether they report lecturers who make sexual advances for marks during 2018/2019 academic year. Using snowball sampling technique, 78 female students responded to the questionnaire through social media platforms and electronic mails. Content analysis was used to analyse data collected. Out of 78 female students, 75.6% were in agreement that they will report lecturers who make sexual advances, 20.5% stated they would not report, while 3.9% were undecided. Female students felt that they would rather remain silent about successful or non-successful quid pro quo transactions than report to university authorities. Students who wish to report, cited reasons like being against their human rights, not the right thing to do, ethical and abuse of authority. Majority of the students who were reluctant to report, cited lack of knowledge on who to report to, fear of victimization, ignoring the lecturer and lack of evidence. Students used culture of silence, as a way of benefitting from the transaction. However, it seems that given the right environment and opportunity, female students will report lecturers who make sexual advances in exchange of grades.

In October, 2019 a comprehensive documentary analysis, journalists exposed universities in Ghana and Nigeria 'Sex for Grades' scandal in October 2019. The research team interviewed both current and former students about their experiences of sexual harassment. The findings reveal that sexual harassment at universities "is like an open secret, it is crazy, everybody has a story." From this documentary, there is evidence that quid pro quo transactions for grades is rampant on campus, and affect females more than male students with some even dropping out of school and giving up their career dream.

Masvawure (2011) explored specific forms of transactional sex usually referred to by students as '*pimping*' existing at a university campus in Zimbabwe. Drawing on the specific experiences of a male student pimp, the findings show that, in practice, transactional sex take different forms and is not always confined to two parties (a female and a male). A '*pimp-mediated*' transactional sex introduces a third person, the '*pimp*' into a relationship between the two parties and in the process transforms social obligations that define social relation. A major transformation that occurs in pimp mediated transactional sex is that it makes pimps central to people's relationships.

According to Mitchel (2011) literature available on transactional sex within the university setting is partly a result of studies done in Sub-Saharan Africa, particularly in Zimbabwe, Nigeria and Uganda. Evidence from literature shows that transactional sex among female university students position sexual exchange practices for consumption framework. The high cost of living and peer networks that place high value on partnerships, material resources and campus environment show freedom of movement and peer pressure as ways in which

transactional sex is legitimised. Peer groups place high value on materialism and 'visible' success, increasing pressure for students to look 'flashy' on campus. The desire to be 'visible' and 'flashy' on campus, is achieved through what Masvawure (2011) describes as the conspicuous consumption of luxury goods, fashionable clothes, mobile phones and hair styles, eating high priced foods, and receiving lifts in expensive cars. Limited financial capacity of young male university students make female students turn to older, married and financially secure males. This inter-generational or 'sugar daddy' relationship is defined by significant age and economic asymmetries between the parties involved.

In a qualitative study done in the Great Zimbabwe University and Masvingo Polytechnic College, Gukurume (2011) examined factors which make students engage in transactional sexual relationships, a key incubator leading to the spread of HIV and AIDS. Use of unstructured interviews enabled Gakurume to carefully capture exact voices, attitudes, perceptions and narratives of students' experiences of transactional sexual relations. Using snowball sampling technique, Gakurume interviewed ten out of 15 female students. The findings reveal that ten female students were involved in transactional sexual relationships, while 5 had close friends who had transactional sex relationships. In addition, out of 8 male students interviewed 3 were involved in transactional relationships while 5 were facilitators and mediators of the relationships, between female students and old wealthy men. Seven other participants reported they had never been involved in transactional relationships. Use of pseudonyms names and voluntary participation assured participants of confidentiality and privacy of their responses and identity.

Data from Gakurume's study shows varied and overlapping reasons as to why students are involved in transactional relationships with older partners mostly 'sugar daddies', in exchange of money and other material benefits. Politics of giving gifts and power dynamics in transactional sexual relationships is a common occurrence on campuses and colleges. Female students expect high prestige food, trendy clothes, being taken to five-star hotels and restaurants, expensive jewelry and other gadgets linked to modern lifestyle, since they are obsessed with labels and luxuries. Due to stiff competition and peer pressure, female students can do anything to access glorified modern gadgets by engaging in unprotected sex with the wealthy HIV positive males. Most students are involved in transactional relationships to obtain money which they use to pay for education related expenses, gain connections in social networks and compliment their source of pocket money. 'Sugar daddies' control conditions related to sexual encounters, like use of contraceptives, threats and violence. In this study, there are isolated cases where participants mentioned parental pressure as a factor which make them their colleagues engage in transactional relationships. Due to power dynamics associated with transactional sexual relationships, female students admitted to not being able to decide on the timings and conditions on issues related to sexual encounters. Although most respondents were aware and knowledgeable about the potential risks brought about by transactional sex, they were not willing to give up their relationships because of material benefits they derive from such relationships.

Using cross sectional survey design Choudhry, O'stergren, Ambresin, Kyagaba and Agardh (2014) sought to assess the prevalence of transactional sex among university students in

Uganda and the possible relationship between transactional sex, sexual coercion, physical violence, mental health and alcohol use. About 1954 undergraduate students at a Ugandan university responded to a self-administered questionnaire. Prevalence of transactional sex was assessed and logistical regression analysis used to measure associations between risk factors and occurrences of transactional sex. About 25% of the students reported having taken part in transactional sex, with female students accepting money, gifts or compensation for sex, while male students reported having paid or given them a gift or compensated for sex. There is high prevalence of transactional sex among Ugandan university students with gender playing an important role regarding the type of transaction. Since university students in Uganda are vulnerable to the risks of transactional sex, there is need to engage them in relevant initiative programs. Choudhry *et.al* (2014) noted the need to do more studies that may lead to a better understanding of the profile of young men reporting behaviours associated with accepting money, gifts, other forms of compensation for sex and related risks.

### *2.1 Research Gaps in Literature Review*

Evidence from literature review shows that a number of studies have been done on quid pro quo transactions in African universities and campuses, from north to south, east, west and central Africa. In Southern Africa, Jauch (2012) and Shefera, *et.al* (2012) did their studies in the University of Namibia, and one campus in South Africa respectively. In 2014, Dorph and Sjögren's study was done in Liberian universities. Studies done in West Africa include Onipede and Wusu (2010) in Lagos State University (LASU), Anene and Osayamwen, (2019) universities in South-West Nigeria. In Ghana, Baba-Djara, *et.al.* (2013) did one study in universities in Kumasi Metropolitan area; Amo-Adjei, *et.al* (2014), in University of Cape Coast and Fred (2019) another university in Ghana. In Central Africa Gukurume's (2011) study was done in Great Zimbabwe University and Masvingo Polytechnic College while Masvawure (2011) explored specific forms of transactional sex at a university campus in Zimbabwe. In Uganda, Choudhry, *et.al.* (2014) sought to assess prevalence of transactional sex among university students. However, there is limited, scanty information, scope and coverage of student's experiences and perceptions of quid pro quo transactions in Kenyan universities and campuses, thus the need to undertake the present study in line with Choudhry *et.al's* (2014) recommendations. Findings from the current study will further confirm the widespread occurrences of quid pro quo transactions in university campuses in Africa.

Although researchers like Gitobu (1999), Omale (2000), Wanjala (2000), Mbugua and Mutoro (2007), Kawira and Nyaga (2008) have done empirical and non-empirical studies on sexual harassment in Kenyan universities, however none has attempted to uncover the hidden status of quid pro quo transactions. Professor Rosalid Mutua, a former vice-chancellor of Kenya Women University of Science and Technology, acknowledges that sexual harassment in universities is a big problem especially with the introduction of self-financing (Kamau, 2003) and high rate of youth unemployment (Wanjala 2000). Karanja (2003) noted that sexual harassment can make female students, particularly from low-income families, become vulnerable to abuse, as they struggle to survive on campus since they can easily be lured to trading sexual favors for money either from older, single, affluent male students or the lecturers. There was a need to establish the validity of allegations by Wanjala, Kamau and

Karanja, on the possible occurrences of transactional sex or quid pro quo. This was achieved by carefully listening to male and female students accounts and experiences of quid pro quo transactions in one public university in Kenya.

### **3. Methodology**

The study was done in one public university in Kenya. Cross-sectional survey design was best suited for this study since it provides a picture of the public university as it stands at the time the research was being done (Kumar, 2005). Further, this design allows for in depth exploration (Ahuja, 2003) of quid pro quo transactions giving the researcher an opportunity to engage male and female students using qualitative methods, particularly in-depth interviews. Selection of 30 fourth-year students (14 male and 16 female) was done through volunteer, simple random (lottery) and snowballing sampling techniques. Use of in-depth interviews, an example of qualitative methods encourages interactions while allowing the researcher to generate deeper insights, understanding (Higgs, 2010) and experiences from male and female students of the quid pro quo transactions.

Data collected in this study was in form of recorded transcripts. Thus, I had to carefully listen to the transcripts, while noting down all the content from the recorded interviews or what Wengraf (2004) refers to as ‘verbatim’, narrative reports or textual representation for each of the audio interviews. I began the in-depth analysis by carefully reading through the written narratives using what Patton (2002) and Griffin (2007) refers to as discourse or content analysis. Through content analysis, I identified, coded and categorised primary data patterns in form of words, sentences and phrases from the written narratives. The researcher obtained emerging themes/patterns by differentiating and grouping topics/statements which were similar, in line with male and female students’ experiences of quid pro quo transactions. Use of codes (MS4 (Male Student 4) or FS7 (Female Student 7) in the presentation is an assurance of privacy and confidentiality to male and female students who participated in this research.

### **4. Findings on Students Perceptions and Experiences of Quid Pro Quo Transactions on University Campus**

In this section, I present the actual voices or ‘verbatim’ responses of male and female students, as evidence of their experiences of quid pro quo transactions, where sex was exchanged for marks or grades, money and other materials benefits, in addition to access to rooms in the Halls of Residence.

#### *4.1 Quid Pro Quo Transactions and Sexually Transmitted Marks (STM) or Grades*

More than half of the male (10 out of 14) and (11 out of 16) female students participating in this current study talked of female students’ involvement in quid pro quo transactions. Quid pro quo transactions in universities is mostly associated with ‘sex for higher grades’ or ‘Sexually Transmitted Marks’ (STM) where male lectures demand sex from women students in return for good grades (Hunter, 2002; Moore, Biddlecom and Zulu, 2007; Baba-Djara, *et.al* 2014; Dorph and Sjögren, 2014; Fred, 2019) or what is usually referred to as ‘sex for certificates’ (Hallman, 1994; Imasogie, 2002). While describing ‘Sexually Transmitted



Marks' (STM), as a form of quid pro quo transactions, three female students believe that male lecturers exchange grades for sexual favours with female students as illustrated in the following responses:

*... some lecturers want sexual favors from girls, there are sexually transmitted grades...(FS23).*

*...you are a student and then ok you are approached by a lecturer gives you*

*...ehee...hee...a grade and when he gives you a grade, he expects ahh sexual satisfaction from you...(FS28).*

*...sexual harassment refers to for example when a lecturer asks a female student to have sex with him in exchange of marks...(FS17).*

About 5 out of 16 female students noted that sometimes male lecturers use threats and intimidation of failing them in examinations if they do not submit to sex. This concurs with Kheswa's (2014) sentiments. Since majority of the students are desperate to pass their examinations, they are more likely to succumb to sex for marks, as evidenced by the following remarks:

*...if you want your grades to go up in most cases, they do it...I want first class...you don't want to fail and then these lectures will save you...there is a lady I know whose boyfriend is a lecturer...she has to do what this guy wants because if she doesn't, she will fail...(FS18).*

*...here if a lecturer says you will fail you will fail...that is one thing that should be looked into it's not nice at the end of the day coz if you really conflict with that person you are going to fail...(FS23).*

It seems like its normal for students to engage in cordial relationship with their male lecturers, or what Gukurume (2011) sometimes refers to as transactional relationship. This type of relationships is likely to lead to exchange of sexual favours for good marks or grades as MS2 and MS11 says:

*... if a lecturer wants to get access to some ladies may be for sexual satisfaction, he has to give something may be a good grade...so for ladies to get good marks they had to liase with the lecturer infact the student goes to an extent of sleeping with the lecturers...ladies yah they were harassed...(MS11).*

*... examination last year we had an outcry of sexual harassment...so there is a lot of sexually transmitted first class...(MS2).*

Both male and female students interviewed agreed that the nature of degree programmes, attachment and practical oriented subjects facilitate occurrence of STI's. This is evidenced by what three students said:

*...lecturers take advantage of that because after attachment you find so many ladies having relationships with the lecturers and not just casual relationships serious ones...they (ladies) would tell you that they already know their grades because they are already moving*

*out with a lecturer because they know once you relate with the lecturer you will definitely pass...(FS17).*

*...I have heard my colleagues complain that girls are treated better especially in the oral exams coz of may be the arrangement they have with the lecturer...(MS5).*

*...the last case of sexual harassment...one of the lecturers in first year you go for like in exams...you are in oral exams he will say and you will always know if there is a leakage for the exam it will come from certain ladies who you know it's like they have an application from the lecturers...you will always see them harsh to the males and lenient on the ladies and there is some sort of kasmall (something small) thing if you want to pass in that subject...(MS4).*

During the practical examinations male lecturers sometimes take advantage of the academically poor female students to manipulate them into unwanted sexual favours. In his version of events MS6 said:

*...there were some of the lecturers who were really taking advantage of the female students especially when it comes to examinations ah practical in the lab so ah if some of the girls were then seen weaker in that subject maybe they would have failed in their examinations so in return for them passing they would be asked for the sexual favours by some of our lecturers....(MS6)*

Apart from the male lecturers, male administrators and examination officers exchange grades for sexual favours with women students. MS2 reveals what actually happened:

*... they want to get good marks so they will just befriend the administrator or the exam officers...I know the student is looking for good marks...and some have human weaknesses so they may succumb to the vice...I know the student is looking for good marks...(MS2).*

Findings from the current study on occurrences of quid pro quo transactions concurs with the previous studies by Baba-Djara, *et.al* (2014); Dorph and Sjögren, (2014) and Fred, (2019) especially on the involvement of male lecturers. The issue of non-academic staff as mentioned by Onipede and Wusu (2010) concurs with the findings of the present study, where male administrators and examination officers engaged in sexually transmitted marks or grades. In addition, the nature of degree programmes, attachment and practical oriented subjects facilitates the occurrence of STM, an issue not mentioned by studies reviewed on quid pro quo transactions.

#### *4.2 Quid Pro Quo Transactions for Finance and Material Benefits*

Studies done by Onipede and Wusu (2010), Gukurume (2011), Shefera, *et.al* (2012), Choudhry *et.al* (2014) and Baba-Djara, *et.al* (2014) shows that finance and material benefits are key in quid pro quo transactions similar to the findings of the current study. This is evidenced by what four female students spoke about when it comes to use of transactional sex in order to obtain money and other material benefits like television sets. Three female students supported this view saying:

*...mmmhh (pause)...ok ahmm (long pause) maybe financial reasons...I know very well that when I go out with him he would give me money and buy you a TV for your room...(FS22).*

*...I have an example of a lady who was proposing to a lecturer like I want a relationship...because of money...(FS17).*

*...this girl will go to the extent of seducing this guy sleeping with him so that he can give her cash...it happens...(FS15).*

Male students shared information on how powerful financially able males exchange sex for money with the female students. These financially able males are mostly engineers and bankers, usually referred to as ‘practical boyfriends’ or, ‘Automatic Teller Machines’ (ATM), which assures female students of a reliable source of income. According to Shefera, *et.al* (2012), Onipede and Wusu (2010) female students tend to rely on ‘Aristos’, ‘sugar daddies or mummies’; or ‘ministers of finance. The ‘sugar daddy’ relationship is defined by significant age and economic asymmetries of those who are involved, showing poverty as the key reason for students’ engaging in transactional sex (Mitchell, 2011). In explaining how female students engage in transactional relationship for economic empowerment, two male students responded as follows:

*...practical boyfriends are very common in the campus since they support women students financially. The campus girls are the best, cheap to keep and exploit sexually because they are not demanding as compared to those women already in the corporate world who will demand their cars be fuelled, house rent paid and school fees to the children etc. With a campus girl you only need 1,000/= per weekend for shopping and pizza ...(MS13).*

*...if a campus lady needs money, they don’t go to a campus jamaa (man) they go out and...just need to hook up with one of their friends...there is a friend who is an engineer there is a friend who is a banker somewhere there is a friend who has a Mercedes...so if a lady needs money, they just go...(MS14).*

Giving evidence to show the life of a campus girl with an ‘ATM’, MS14 spoke of behaviour which culturally shocked him on campus:

*...ATM like when you go to box at around 5 pm...Sunday evening you will be surprised at how many cars are parked...you will be surprised how many girls are being returned...ATM for pocket money...(MS14).*

The sentiments by MS14 further confirms findings by Mitchell (2011) and Shefera *et.al* (2012) on how female students receive lifts in expensive and smart cars in exchange of sexual favours.

Shefera, *et.al* (2012) noted that first year’s majority of who are less urban and easily impressed by the proximity to resources not readily available in their rural homes as being casualties of transactional sex. This is further confirmed by findings from the current study where female students from rural areas are promised and given money by affluent and financially powerful males making them easy targets of transactional sex. C15F and C18F said:

*...will come and tell you I will cater for you here is 15,000 in your account...every month...I will have helped myself financially and my family...(FS18).*

*...a guy will see a chick looking like they say 'mshamba' (village girl) easily win her with the money, will be bought better shoes hip stars/miniskirts but after 2 to 3 weeks it will be over after she has gotten sex...most of the time they are interested in sex that's all...(FS15).*

Thus, it is clear that young female students use their sexuality to fulfil 'desire for modernity' by increasing economic value of their sexuality within male dominated gender structures, a way of achieving lifestyles set by wealthier peers (Hoeffnagel, 2012) or what Amo-Adjei *et.al* (2014) refers to as trappings of affluent society. Modern lifestyle, being 'visible' and 'flashy' on campus is usually associated with high prestige food, trendy fashionable clothes, going out to five-star hotels and restaurants, expensive jewelry and other valuable gadgets (Gukurume, 2011; Mitchel, 2011; Masvawure, 2011; Shefera, *et.al* 2012).

#### 4.3 Quid Pro Quo Transactions and Access to Rooms in the Halls of Residence

Other stories suggest that female students are sometimes involved in quid pro quo in order to obtain rooms in the Halls of Residence. This seems to affect more of the Module II (self-sponsored) students, since they are not usually considered for university accommodation. Two female students said:

*...I have heard all sorts of shocking stories you may have to part with something for you to get a room...because myself I have a friend who is living here, she is a para a parallel student she has a room and she went through...you have to be clever...this other person wants something from me in return because he doesn't want money...this chick she didn't give them money...so basically this chic had to part with a few kisses and going out...(FS30).*

*...I think sexual so that they can get room like you may find that parallel students they are not entitled to rooms first priority is regular student and you find a regular student has missed a room and a parallel female student has gotten a room and you hear that they have had an affair...(FS29).*

MS9 is in agreement with FS29 and FS30 concerning female students exchanging sexual favours for accommodation:

*...the officer when he is allocating rooms...there is a time he was told by the boys you know you are on the wrong side so playing with our girls you should stop...whether its rumour or not there must be some element of truth...he is a bit of...skewed when it comes to the ladies...if you want a room, you just go and sleep with him...so ladies do it...(MS9M).*

Although Amo-Adjei, *et.al* (2014) noted that female students engage in quid pro quo transactions in order to get their accommodation paid for, however it is not clear whether this is on or outside university campus.

## 5. Conclusion

Across the literature review and data collected from students' experiences and perceptions of quid pro quo transactions shows use of anecdotes about campus norms. The profile of quid

pro quo transactions from this study reveals interactions between male, female students and staff across a wide spectrum of university life, particularly academic, finance, material benefits and accommodation facilities. From male and female students' responses it is clear that quid pro quo is a common occurrence on campus, especially through 'STM', where male lecturers, administrators and examination officers are involved. Male students presented their ideas about female students' financial lives as being dominated by the need for multiple opportunities to exchange sex for different benefits, while use of 'ATM' is usually represents a version of 'STM' relationship. Quid pro quo transactions occur where there is a concrete relationship, particularly between male lecturers and female students.

From the findings of this current study done in one public university in Kenya, the researcher was able to further establish the validity of allegations by Kamau (2003), Karanja (2003) and Wanjala (2000), regarding the occurrences of transactional sex or quid pro quo transactions. This was achieved by carefully listening to male and female students accounts, experiences and perceptions of various forms of quid pro quo transactions. In addition, the findings of this study did contribute towards adding into the body of knowledge on issues of quo pro quo transactions, since as earlier mentioned there is limited and scanty information. This is because this area of research is usually characterized with silences, threats and stigma. Findings in this study confirmed further the widespread occurrences of quid pro quo transactions in university campuses in Africa. Students' experience of quid pro quo transactions at different levels has implications on their access to education and relevant facilities, academic performance, participation and empowerment.

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