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Smart phone is a expectation-laden trophy: adolescent girls–adults' mobile phone tensions and changing sexuality negotiation

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ABSTRACT

This article is based on a study conducted in Nigerian Christian and Muslim neighborhoods on the intrigues that characterized adults-adolescent girls' relations about how and when adolescent girls could use smart phones. Questionnaires, ethnographic interviews, school debates, observations, and focus group discussion methods were used to study the influence of smart phones on adolescent girls' identity construction, adults-adolescent girls' tension as regards ownership and use of smartphones, and new dynamics in adolescent girls-male friends' relationship caused by smart phone uptake. For this population, smart phones display contextual symbolism that transcends their technological meaning, shifting girls' social dependence from adults to peers and technology. Smart phone use has given adolescent girls a new way of identity construction, empowered them subtly in sexuality negotiation and assigned new roles to them. Adults' concern about adolescent girls' use of smart phones is rooted in their fears about the possible negative influences of smart phone use, which they see as entertainment driven and inimical to adolescent girls' development. Findings of this study revealed that tensions between adults and adolescent girls over smart phone uptake originated from role reversal and expectation-laden nature of smart phones acquired by male friends, which effective mutual sharing of knowledge and resources could address. Adolescent girls should justify their craving for smart phones morally, socially, and psychologically. Adults and social institutions also need to rediscover their new roles in a world where digital innovations are necessities.

KEYWORDS Adolescent girls; digital innovations; identity construction; smart phones; Nigeria

Introduction

Many studies have focused on how youths construct their identities, but only a few have examined how adolescent girls who are still under adults' guardianship in the wake of the digital revolution have struggled with adults in finding their identities in the new social space (Tatz 2001; Musharbash 2007). Adult–adolescent relationships are usually marred with tensions, arguments, antics, and maneuvering. These tensions are more pronounced in the areas of relationship with opposite sex, career, religion, and finance. Adults struggle to inculcate desired habits in the adolescents, while adolescents tend to express their perceived freedom: their likes and dislikes. These tensions, as sociologists have believed, result in habit formation (Lerner et al. 1998; Weber and Mitchelle 2008; Nanda et al. 2013). The digital revolution brought a rapid social change especially in developing economies, affecting every aspect of culture and social structure. It brought fluidity into what was known to be static and has led to the juggling of social identities in an unparalleled way. The change is such that both adults and young people are creatively negotiating their identities in the new social order.

This new culture brought about by the digital revolution provides young people with experience, and resources that are cosmopolitan and require much improvisation (Gonord and Menrath 2005; Marwick and Boyd 2014). Improvisation requires that young people depend more on peers and technology, a shift that adults see as an infringement on their identities as guardians of young people. As a result of the upsurge in access to resources brought about by the digital revolution, the route to adulthood has become malleable. Many options are now available to young people. This contrasts with a time when young people depended largely on the traditional guidance and resources provided by adults in the process of transitioning to adulthood.

In Nigeria, many adults tend to resist liberal approaches to grooming young people in a digital era. This is because digital innovations such as smart phones create access to some aspects of western culture which some adults find unattractive. Two different generations exist in this new social space: one where digital innovations are luxuries and one in which digital innovations are necessities. Aside from balancing western and indigenous social expectations, guardianship of young people has become ambiguous. What is markedly clear in this context is that the social space where adults grew up is not the same as the social space young people now find themselves in (Buckingham 2008). How young people navigate their identities and carve out their future trajectories is fundamentally dissimilar with that of the adults. This increases adults' mistrust and perverse feelings towards adolescent girls' uptake of digital innovations. Young people, too, tend to gravitate towards technology-/peer-driven routes to adulthood and resist traditional resources proposed by adults (Spiteri 2013). These circumstances generate uncertain feelings and attitudes, which we refer to as 'tensions' in this study. Both adults and adolescent girls experience these internal and external tensions as they struggle to construct their roles and identities in a new social landscape.

Uptake of smart phone by adolescent girls, unlike other segments of the population, is plagued by mixed feelings, bickering, and tensions. There are conflicting logics on how and what smart phone should do for adolescent girls. Apart from a drastic shift in identity construction, uptake of smart phones has also brought about a significant shift in transactional relations between adolescent girls and male admirers. In sub-Saharan Africa, the nature of gift from male admirers to adolescent girls has also been altered. Initially, it was jewelries, shoes, paintings, and clothing but owing to digital revolution, common gift items at present include data bundles, online shopping, digital money, pornographic data, and electronic gadgets. These changes have opened up new possibilities and challenges for parenting teenage girls and for opposite sex relationships. To the parents, the advent of smart phones raises new challenge for moral decision making for adolescent girls. To the male, it presents opportunities for winning 'love trophies'. To the adolescent girls, smart phone is a solution to confinement and undesirable identity.

Indeed, some studies have explored the impact of information and communication technology on young women (Ling 2001; Livingstone 2009, 11; Benítez 2012; Madianou and Miller 2013, 174). However, the influence of smart phones on identity construction among young women in nation states of weak government and scarce resources such as Nigeria is lacking in the literature. There is the need to explore how smart phone uptake is changing the identity of young women, their relationship with parents/adults as well as their sexuality relationships. This article will explore how incorporation of smart phones into the lives of adolescent girls in resource scarce environment extends certain practices of transactional relations while introducing new possibilities and roadblocks. Despite that young women–adults' partnering and negotiation has existed for long, the new variations and twists embedded into the practice by the symbolism of smart phones need further exploration.

Smart phone in the context of adolescent girls–adults' relation is a trophy, full of expectations. These teenage girls believed that smart phone symbolize a new world and as a result, have developed unmatched craving for it. Parents believed that adolescent girls should meet some conditions before they would be given access to smart phones and as a result constituted a number of roadblocks to discourage uptake. Male admirers on the other hand see smart phone as a medium for winning love battles and as a result were not deterred by obstacles set by parents and adolescent girls. In resource scarce regions, smart phones display contextual symbolism that is different from different classes of identities. How it has interwoven into transactional and social relationships deserves to be explored. The heightened craving of adolescent girls in resource scarce regions has attracted attention of researchers in different literature but whether the craving is as a result of deprivation or the buzz around popular innovation remains uncertain.

Numerous studies on the influence of smart phones on young women revealed that uptake had empowered and increased their autonomy (Boberg 2008; Elias and Lemish 2009; Lai 2014). However, in resource scarce environment, uptake can extend some systemic oppressive practices which ultimately can make the girls to be worst off. Despite that smart phone holds numerous promises (trophies) for adolescent girls, new challenges and opportunities that resulted from uptake could turn the trophies into misery and some form of marginalization for girls who are not strong to make courageous decisions. This study examined the subtleties that go into smart phone negotiations in resource scarce environment. Specifically, it seeks to understand the influence of smart phones on identity construction of adolescent girls, the adults–adolescent girls' tensions as regards ownership and use of smart phone, as well as how smart phone uptake is changing sexuality negotiations among adolescent girls and their male friends.

This study is anchored on intersectionality theory (Crenshaw 1991) which explores how the overlap of various social identities contributes to systemic oppression and discrimination experienced by individuals. Intersectionality is a lens for understanding where power collides, comes from, interlocks, and intercepts. It describes the ways in which oppressive institutions are connected as well as how they intervene to create marginalization and disempowerment. This analytical framework identifies how interlocking systems of power impact adolescent girls and led to their marginalization. It shows the results and interconnectedness of the power play among parents, adolescent girls, and their male admirers.

This article is arranged as follows: the Introduction is followed by the review of relevant literature on identity construction, adolescent girls, and smart phone and sexuality negotiation in poor neighborhoods. This is followed by the methodology, presentation, and discussion of findings; finally, the conclusion.

Review of literature

Relevant literature on the concept of identity, adolescent girl identity construction, effects of smart phones on identity, and nature of sexuality negotiation in regions of deprivation were reviewed.

Adolescent girls' identity

Digital innovations provide significant opportunities for exploring facets of identities especially those that were hitherto stigmatized and denied. According to Buckingham (2008), digital

technology provides avenues for the discovery of one's true self and for identity play. In other words, it gives the potential for fluidity and access to resources that can enable users to bend their identities or meet people that were originally considered inaccessible. Young people are arguably the early adopters of digital innovations (Boberg 2008). As teens, they are more aware of the local influences but as adolescents, they become more aware of self and global influences (Damon, Menon, and Bronk 2003).

Adolescents consist of teens who are in early adolescence (between 11 and 15 years) and young adults who are in late adolescence (between 16 and 19 years). Adults always misconstrued them as vulnerable, unwise, quarrelsome, and unpredictable. Adolescence as used in the context of this study refers to the period within the life span when most persons' biological, cognitive, psychological, and social characteristics are changed from what is considered child-like to what is considered adult-like (Lerner et al. 1998; Ozmete and Bayoglu 2011; Nanda et.al,2013) Adolescence is described by many researchers as a phase of life beginning in biology and ending in society. It is a period of life where the passage from childhood to adulthood occurs . It is a period of personality crises and beginning of identity construction. For most adolescents, it is a time of insertion into social life; time to move away from family to peer group. The need to be socially connected becomes a basic human need at this stage (Malone, Pillow, and Osman 2011). This period is challenging, requiring adjustment to changes in self, family, peer groups, and in the community. Hall (1992) describes adolescence as a period of storm and stress characterized by intergenerational conflict, mood swings, and enthusiasm for risky behavior. Adolescence is indeed a period for experimenting with different types of identities. They tend to move away from family to friends in order to change childhood ideas and create their own identity. Owing to the importance of friendship to them, boundaries between what to share with friends and family become unclear leading to tensions and squabbles (Pahl and Pevalin 2005; Spencer and Pahl 2006). This is because as friends become the emotional backbone for adolescents, they struggle to become independent of family influences. West, Lewis, and Curie (2009) observed that whom adolescents befriend have remained a source of conflict in many families. Owing to tensions between privacy, secrecy, and trust, most parents resorted to the use of force, 'dance around communication' and surveillance in dealing with their adolescents.

Tensions arising from conflicting expectations experienced by adolescents are often expressed in delinquencies, sexual deviance, and attraction to dissimilar cultures. In the view of Jensen (2013), this attraction to other cultures enables them to confront conflicting expectations in their indigenous culture. As adolescents transit to adulthood, they navigate multiple cultures and identities before they make their choice about which identity to assume. Adolescence is a period of life characterized by fundamental psychological conflict about which identity to assume as well as which social role to accept (Weber and Mitchelle 2008). The output of such conflict, which can be successful or unsuccessful, is commonly referred to as identity formation. Successful resolution of the conflict confers the ability to perform key tasks as adults while unsuccessful resolution of the conflict manifests in the form of fanaticism or avoidance of adult responsibilities. Developing identity therefore comes from the tension of 'being myself and finding my true self'. This process of identity formation is crucial for adolescents in order to develop a coherent and beneficial sense of worth and role in the social space. Owing to the digital revolution, the traditional resources for identity formation are no longer sacrosanct or attractive. Adolescents now make greater use of technological innovations, interaction with peers, and self-reflection to construct their identities. As Buckingham (2008) observed, young

people use more technology as a means of bypassing otherwise restricted spaces. This is against resources such as social institutions, societal norms, and traditional guidance which were in use earlier.

Adolescent girls have become more reflexive, making decisions about what and who they will be on their own, with little or no influence from the guardian figure. Digital innovation increases individualization and offers a plethora of guidance about choices (Livingstone 2004). In other words, the ultimate decision making about which identity to take has shifted away from customary defined confines to spaces that adolescent girls can easily access. Gidden (1993) argues that the new culture made possible by digital revolution has made identity fluid for both adults and young people. However, this fluidity and freedom experienced by adolescent girls also comes with new responsibilities. Adaptation to the new responsibilities may account for the perceived shift from guardian figures to peers and dissimilar cultures for guidance.

Identity politics plague adults–adolescent girls' relations, especially with regard to uptake of smart phones. Identity politics involve squabbles for positive identities by groups of individuals (Buckingham 2008). It is exhibited when one group of people owing to their social status appropriate particular identities to themselves and also impose some identities on other groups of people. Identity politics also manifest as a struggle to resist identities constructed and imposed by other people. Understanding identity politics is crucial in analyzing why a group of people can have the tendency to make a generalization about members of another group and assimilating them as a single entity, ignoring their diversity. Adults usually label adolescent girls as gullible and vulnerable and as a result skeptical about their use of smart phones. Adolescent girls usually resist the identities constructed and imposed on them by adults because they are aware that there are multiple dimensions to their identities. Griffen (1991) in emphasizing the roles of smart phones in constructing identity argues that it has changed the manner in which power is exercised. This is similar to the assertion by Buckingham (2008) that power in the digital era is diffused through social relationships which empowers individuals to regulate and confine themselves into acceptable norms. As Nikolas (1991) observed, digital innovations have increased the 'technology of self', where technology in a bid to give freedom and choice to human beings ultimately acquires the power to regulate and control human behavior. Digital innovations therefore not only shift social relationships but also influence the way in which identities are constructed and defined.

Mobile phone and identity construction

Identity can be construed in many ways. However, it is popularly seen as a psychological, behavioral or personal characteristics by which an individual is recognized as part of a group (Dowling 2011; Wijetunga 2015). Constructing identities involves interaction and encounters with other cultures, lifestyle, and preferences which creates a solid mental stamp on a person. Some aspects of identity are constructed and conferred by external forces, while individuals are at liberty to mold other identities. As Spiteri (2013) observed, traditional identity which tends to be stable is declining, giving rise to new form of identity that is increasingly fragmented and malleable. In the view of Slater (2005), stable coherent identity is becoming a myth. Individuals at present play active role in their identity construction leading to the popular view that identity is not something that people have but a resource they can use. Cote (1996) believed that identity is an active learning process of negotiating between a sense of what is local to what is global. Since individuals are largely left to construct their own identities within societal framework,

identity construction experiences fluidity and has become context sensitive. Roles individuals play in their identity construction are influenced by opportunities available for them, constraints, choices, and even deprivation (Spiteri 2013). Identity construction for youth is a visual representation of thoughts and emotions that are linked to popular lifestyle, background, and class. It is an interaction between the self that is here and the self that will be in the future. This is why some researchers believed that identity is future oriented and keeps developing through life stages (Ahuvia 2005; Slater 2005).

The influence of consumption preference and other culture on identity is very significant. Ybema et al. (2009) described identity as the construction and presentation of one who wants to be and not as self and personality. Identity does not remain the same after exposure to other cultures (Hall 2000). Interaction with other cultures tends to make people express some aspect of their identity loudly as against societal norms. The tendency to express some identities loudly which hitherto was meant to be hidden generates societal tensions. Some institutions have fixed regulations about how and which identity should be expressed. They also misinterpret and discourage loud expression of some identities which some youth finds uncomfortable (Hall 2000; Dowling 2011). People are increasingly using their consumption pattern to construct and manage multiple identities. Object people use, how they use them, and when they use them have become an important medium for constructing and managing even conflicting identities (Ahuvia 2005). Consumption pattern has emerged into an important tool in acquiring and enhancing a particular identity. What people consume is playing an important role in defining their identity and in differentiating them from other identities (Dittmar 2008). As a result, consumption–identity relationship has become common especially among young people who see consumption as extension of one's core self. Young people use consumption pattern not only to reveal the identity they intend to have but also to manage different identities, enabling them to play many roles other than the ones traditionally assigned to them (Firat and Venkatesh 1995; Slater 2005). Young people's attachment and use of a particular type of mobile phone can be attributed to their belief in using objects they consume to reach their ideal identity. They believed that one can use his consumption pattern to change his identity. This ideology is common among young people in Sub-Saharan Africa and explains their increasing use of mobile technology. As Hawkins, Price, and Mussá (2009) observed in Maputo, having a smart phone is a prerequisite for being referred to as an urban woman. This ideology has made most young people to crave for materialism despite the risks involved because of the feelings that new identity can be forged with new consumption pattern. Unlike in traditional setting where one's identity is obtained by birth and assigned by tradition, identity is now assigned by consumer culture (Wijetunga 2015).

Adolescent girls and smart phones

Ling (2001) observed that a smart phone has established itself as a technological leader for young people. This is because it not only facilitates instant and cheaper communication but also creates a sense of belonging to an unlimited space, bridging cultures, and outdating the feeling of being localized in a place. In the view of Turkle (2011), it has changed the meaning of being alone from where you are to what technology you have. It has shifted cultural contexts, increases shaping of identity, and has shifted group dynamics in an unparalleled way. Adolescents are early adopters of smart phone (Gonord and Menrath 2005; Boberg 2008). They crave for it because of the need to create a new identity, because of their capacities to adapt to the demands of the technology, because it provides them with independence and because it enables them to socialize

(Cadeac and Lauru 2002). Since adolescent girls desire belongingness, smart phone uptake gave them the feelings as well as emotional support network (White and White 2005). Smart phone becomes the kind of mirror about the kind of identity they desire, enabling them to personalize and fashion out their own world. Smart phone enables them to assert their own autonomy, construct relationships that are independent of family as well as create a different mode of communication that is not regulated by adults. Boyd (2012) stated that adolescents are passionate about smart phones because they are passionate about people and information. Being online links one to an ecosystem of people who are connected with different layers of information, trust, and identities.

Initially, access, affordability, and literacy were major constraints to the use of smart phones but at present, major constraints have shifted to constraints imposed by operators, constraints imposed by the social structure, and constraints as a result of emotional consequence of using smart phones (Medianou and Miller 2013). Using poly-media such as smart phones is an emotional engagement and possesses emotional consequences. As Medianou (2014) observed, emotional needs and desires influence how the smart phone is used. People choose smart phone platform that is most appropriate in managing their emotional intentions. Different platforms are used for different emotional needs. However, they have emotional/moral consequences. As Gershon (2010) observed, all acts of mediated communication have moral weight. We observed in this study that being online and refusing to chat with one's lover is inexcusable. Also, sending text when calls should be made has its punishment among lovers. The presence of moral consequence to the use of smart phone explains partly why adults argue against when and how adolescent girls should use smart phone. Gidden (2008) called this consequence the 'double edged sword of modernity'. The need to achieve this sense of modernity is driving adolescent girls especially in developing countries to engage in risky sexual behavior; and there is peer pressure to engage in this lifestyle. Adolescent girls find themselves navigating risk involved in using technology which they have poor perception about. Adults show displeasure in adolescent girls handling of such risk resulting in tensions and maneuvering. As Cadeac and Lauru (2002) observed, adolescent girls feel that nobody understands them and they prefer to remain silent, adamant, or hide their identities from those who oppose them. Although Williams and Williams (2005) argued that young people can negotiate skillfully with their mobile phone friends, adolescent girls in regions of deprivation driven by need to change identity expose themselves to risks. Livingstone (2004) stated that there is the need even among adults to create restriction in the use of smart phone because biological component of a man does not accept excuses when boundaries are breached. He illustrated how taking digital sabbatical and avoiding late night surfing can benefit people who constantly use smart phones. Sexuality negotiations among adolescents in regions of scarce resources Sexuality negotiation is a broad concept that entails personal and societal feelings, beliefs, and attitude towards opposite sex. It includes personal and shared social meaning attached to sexual behavior and sexual identities. In this context, it includes verbal and nonverbal interactions, intrigues, and activities that surround acceptance and management of sexual partners (Bajos et al. 1997). This negotiation is influenced by social norm about gender roles as well as socio-economic background of the partners. Prior research revealed that gender-based imbalance, poor partner communication, and fertility-based culture influence sexuality negotiation in West Africa (Lai 2014). Premarital and extramarital sex in Nigeria as in most African context is driven by materialism especially from young female's point of view. Women accept men who have something to offer. As a result, gift giving, outing, ostentatious spending, and lavishing money on friends have become important technique for wooing and

maintaining opposite sex relationship (Leclerk-Madlala 2003). Especially among low-income neighborhoods, men who have economic means have access to many sexual relationships. This can be attributed to poverty and the need to build dignity especially among women who have been abused or subjected to deprivation.

Despite that experimental sex do happen (Popular among peers and mates), transactional sex is more popular in Sub-Saharan Africa and it is characterized by age disparity (Young girls versus older men). In fact, Age disparity is a common feature of sexuality negotiation in Nigeria (Orubuloye, Caldwell, and Caldwell 1993). This is because men who have economic means to entice the girls are usually older. In most cases, the age difference is over twenty-five years. 'I do not go out with boys…' One adolescent girl replied during our interview 'They only have feelings to offer but older men have more to offer. They are more caring and willing to spend…' Adolescent girls do not always accept their age mates as sexual partners because they have fewer economic means to cater for their needs. In fact, some girls who have their age mates as sexual partners also have older men whom they relate with for materialistic reasons. These girls usually take money from the older men and spend the money on the younger men whom they love. Due to the need to meet up with basic needs, most girls tend to have more than one sexual partner or collect gift from more than one man. According to Silberschmidt and Rasch (2001), in her study in Tanzania, sex is a reliable coping mechanism for girls that need both economic and social assistance. This is similar to the case in Nigeria where girls utilize sex to access and gain merits in schools, employment, and appointments. Adolescent girls express confusion and powerlessness in articulating personal sexual desires and in reconciling their needs with those of their partners. In other words, they lack preparation for sexual situations. Tolman (1994) attributed this weakness to gender role assigned to women and poor partner communication. Sexual behaviors are rarely discussed in the open, they are shrouded in secrecy. Social norms around sexual behavior are also gender biased. Males are expected to be sexually active, while females are expected to be sexually passive. For instance, men who have more than one sexual partner are considered strong, while women with more than one sexual partner are seen as promiscuous (Lai 2014). Girls are also expected to defer sexual decision making to men as a way of conforming to social norms about gender roles. As Varga observed, refusal of sexual advances has repercussions especially when the man has committed his financial resources. Such refusal sometimes results in physical coercion, abuse, or rejection of the partner. Orubuloye, Caldwell, and Caldwell (1993), however, posited that girls who have economic independence are not powerless; they negotiate successfully in sexuality matters. Most parents especially in poor neighborhoods turn blind eyes to their daughters' sexual behavior because it frees them from financial burden. Chatter et.al discovered that fathers take forceful approach at dealing with their daughters' sexual activities, whereas mothers show implicit support. Sadly, girls' perception of risk involved in such sexual adventure is low (Bond, 2010). Price and Hawkins (2002) concurred with this assertion that despite having little knowledge of risks involved in keeping concurrent relationships, girls manage concurrent partners. Our study revealed that uptake of smart phone is altering sexuality negotiation between adolescent girls and their male friends especially in poor neighborhoods. This change is affecting the manner in which sexual relations are negotiated and in some cases empowering girls to negotiate more effectively.

Methodology

This is an ethnographic research. We employed exploratory and descriptive survey research design that emphasized participatory and 'bottom up' approaches to generating information with focus on locally defined contexts and perspectives. The area of study was rural and semi-urban areas in Nigeria. This area constitutes about 70% of Nigeria and where over 60% of Nigerians live. Poverty level in Nigeria, despite being the largest economy in Africa, is high with over 30% of the population living below the poverty line. Nigeria is multi-ethnic, with over 250 languages and three major ethnic nationalities. The dichotomy in Nigeria is well pronounced. There is formal sector-informal sector dichotomy, Muslim–Christian dichotomy, rural-urban dichotomy, traditional way of life modern way of life dichotomy. The population of the country is over 170 million with 12% in the adolescent girl bracket. More than half of the adolescent girls in the country live in rural–semi urban area where they are involved in education, skill acquisition, trading, or menial jobs. Literacy level especially among adolescent girls is about 84% and 92% can use mobile phone effectively.

Multi-stage sampling technique was employed in selecting four communities from both northern and southern Nigeria. Two communities from southern Nigeria (Christian neighborhoods); and two from Northern Nigeria (Muslim neighborhoods), from both rural areas and urban slums were randomly selected as samples. These communities were selected from Enugu (Southeast region) and Delta (South-south region) states in southern Nigeria, Taraba (North East region), and Nassarawa states (North Central region) in northern Nigeria. These communities were drawn from diverse ethnic groups and regions in Nigeria to make it representative of the population as well as maintain the diverse nature of the country. This approach enabled effective comparison between Christian and Islamic perspectives, traditional and modern society perspectives, rural poor and urban poor perspectives.

We restricted our study to people from a poor background, whose parents earn annual income that is less than $4000 and live in both rural areas and urban slums. Over 60% of Nigerians belonged to this stratum. Respondents were young girls between 14 and 19 years (early and late adolescents) who are still in school, learning skills, or working. These were girls who owned or used smart phones. In each community we studied, we spent three weeks in order to interact, observe, discuss, and collect data from adolescent girls, their parents, opinion leaders, adults, and members of the communities. We gained access to our respondents directly and through intermediaries such as trained local interviewers. We obtained the consent of parents/guardians for minors before we interacted with them and also used religious leaders and educated elites to gain access. However, we used intermediaries such as college students in Muslim neighborhoods. Many adolescent girls declined speaking with us because of fears of their parents, but the majority of girls in Christian neighborhoods, in schools, and at workplace were excited to share their mobile phone stories. Over 80% of the respondents experience resource scarcity as funds provided by their parents, male friends, and from their menial jobs were not adequate. The language used in collecting data was a combination of English, local version of English (Pidgin) as well as local dialect especially in Muslim neighborhood.

We collected data using different methods such as questionnaires, school debates, interviews, and focus group discussion (FGD). In both neighborhoods, we distributed questionnaires to adolescent girls in high schools, colleges, apprentice shops, homes, and commercial centers who have been using smart phones. The questionnaire was used to collect descriptive data on the nature of phone use, tensions, and emerging sexuality negotiation.

Respondents were asked to rank and describe their feelings and attitudes towards smart phones and opposite sex relationships. The questionnaire was pretested in a pilot study and was also validated by experts at Institute of Money, Technology and Financial Inclusion of the University of California, Irvine. We conducted debates in two girls' high schools on the topic, 'Adults are right at what they think and do about adolescent girls' use of smart phones.' The arguments between the proposing and opposing parties enabled us to capture and track the tensions and logics between adolescent girls and adults on the use of smart phones. Debaters consist of schools' debate club and other adolescents who showed interest in participating in the debate topic. We interviewed some adolescent girls and their parents as well as some community leaders in order to understand their arguments and attitudes towards adolescent girls' use of smart phones. Snowballing technique was used to recruit people whom we interviewed. We employed an observation method to capture adolescent girls' smart phone behavior when they were alone and when they were in groups. We met them informally at phone repair shops, school shops, motor parks, public sit-outs, and entertainment spots. We bought airtime for them and teach some of the phone skills as a way of gaining acceptance before we observed and engaged them in discussions about their smart phone use. We obtained the permission and consent of the parents/guardians of the girls who were minors. We conducted FGDs in each of the communities in order to verify the information collected as well as their contextual meanings. Participants included school teachers, opinion leaders, parents, religious leaders, and mobile phone operators. Religious leaders and school teachers assisted us in arranging for the FGD.

A total of 224 respondents constituted the sample of the study. They included 120 adolescent girls who filled the questionnaires, 24 students who participated in debate contests, 32 adolescent girls who were observed, and subsequently interviewed and 48 adults who participated in FGD.

Collecting data in Muslim environment presented some challenges to the researchers. Some innovative methodologies were employed in Muslim neighborhoods due to their peculiar characteristics. Our research team was seen as people with ulterior motives even after we have lived with them and taught their children extramural lessons to convince them that we are researchers. It took the intervention of religious leaders for us to gain acceptance. otwithstanding the cleric's clarification, some parents insisted that they must vet the responses we obtained from their girls. Since such vetting could defeat our purpose, we enlisted the services of young university students who grew up in the area to assist us in interacting with the girls. These university students underwent two days training before they were deployed to interview the adolescent girls. Apart from employing a Muslim female assistant to help in interacting with Muslims, we also used the snowballing technique to identify people with rich information.

Presentation and discussion of findings

Findings of this study were presented and discussed under four thematic areas: smartphone as an expectation-laden trophy, adults–adolescent girls' tensions, and changing sexuality negotiation between adolescent girls and male friends.

Smart phone as an expectation-laden trophy

Our findings revealed that adolescent girls, adults, and sexual partners had so much expectation about smart phone that made them to accept risk and perform some daring deeds. The intrigues that surround smart phone ownership and use by adolescent girls show how technology can embody contextual aspirations and ideology of different groups of people. It also shows how mobile phone mediates between struggle for identity, autonomy, and self-expression. It exemplifies how technology can create a new social culture, becoming a crucible for communicating thoughts and feelings. For these populations, smart phones possess contextual symbolism that transcends technological meaning. Adolescent girls undergo difficult circumstances in order to acquire and use smart phones. Majority of them accepted men they never loved as sexual partners because they bought smart phones for them. Some used their school fees to buy smart phones and many were willing to use their phones in hiding, ignoring their parents' warning. Some had endured beating, and denied food and money for their upkeep, while others have earned infamous reputation from their communities in their bid to own and use smart phones. Some have suffered rape and public disgrace yet their craving for smart phone has not abated. Why do adolescent girls crave for smart phones knowing the risk involved in acquiring and using it? Unlike the findings generated from the previous literature which attributed such craving to deprivation, our findings attribute such craving generally to adventure and the need to beat peer pressure. We observed that adolescent girls do not like to use smart phone that belong to adults; the attraction is not functionality but ownership '…My mum had two smart phones in the house but I rarely use them; I need a smart phone to call my own, one that I can use in my privacy without monitoring or sharing…' This is a statement from a 17-year-old school dropout. The key finding in this study is that adolescent girls' craving for smart phone rests on their perception that smart phone can garner them prestige, attachment to someone, connectedness to global community, privacy, independence, and digital mindedness. Their craving for smart phone is due to the identity it confers on them, because of the promises it contains and because of the buzz around smart phone ownership. Our argument that such craving is as a result of deprivation was sharply resisted by a 51-year-old teacher in these words. 'Which parent would deny his child what he needs without excuse? If what they suffer from is deprivation, I would have turned a blind eye. But believe me, their reason is uninformed quest and unhealthy rivalry among themselves …' Despite that sexuality negotiation in Nigeria was driving largely by deprivation, there is little evidence to suggest that deprivation was driving adolescent girls to acquire smart phones. Most parents/adults were willing to purchase smart phones for them on their own terms; which the girls find discomforting. Unlike feature phones which evoke functionality, smart phones evoke prestige, attachment to somebody, connectedness to global community, privacy, digital mindedness, and independence. This is similar to the findings made by Malone, Pillow, and Osman (2011) and Turkle (2011).

Smart phone exemplifies the new identity adolescent girls assumed and a new lifestyle they intend to acquire. It is a prerequisite to having a sense of an 'urban lady', enabling them to beat peer pressure and join their perceived ideal social class. '…My mother has a smart phone but I do not use it…' a 16-year-old apprentice told us '…I need smart phone not because of the function it performs but because of prestige. Girls I am better than have smart phones…'. We observed from our study that adolescent girls associate social class with the type of smart phone someone uses. As a result, they were drawn to men who carry more than two trending smart phones. When we inquired why some girls accept smart phones from men knowing the

consequences, Muna, a 17-year-old university student shared her views. 'We accept because it is a "smart phone". It gives us identity; a girl without a smart phone does not belong. Smart phone is freedom and reputation. It shows that you have arrived! Smart phone is girls' best friends; it cures loneliness…'. Adolescent girls see smart phones as containing potential for social exploration and freedom from traditional confinement. '…My phone is my life, my best friend. I do not need to hang out in the open space as before, my phone keeps me company,' A 15-year-old caregiver told us. '…My guardian can control any other thing about me but not this one; I have used the phone for about one month without her knowledge'.

Indeed, 'networked publics' as Buckingham (2008) called them have taken over the roles of formal hanging out spaces such as streams and market squares. They have become attractive avenues for socialization despite being entertainment driven as many adults perceived them to be. Seventy-six percent of the adolescent girls in our sample owned both feature and smart phones. We observed that adolescent girls did not recognize feature phones as something of value, as many of the girls were ashamed to display their feature phone. It took us time to discover that the word 'I don't have a phone' means that I do not have a smart phone.

Our observation of teenage girls in the area of study revealed that most of their discussion, gossips and gist revolve around phone use. Smart phones provide for this population, avenue to showcase new attitudes, looks, models, culture, and entertainment. Adolescent girls' interactions in the area studied were driven by phone-related information, and not culture or religion. There is a general ideology among adolescent girls from low-income neighborhoods that smart phone is a trophy which is worth any risk. This finding resonates with assertion made by Boberg (2008) on why adolescent girls are early adopters of smart phone. Our findings, however, revealed that this ideology evaporates as they moved into adulthood. A 19-year-old school dropout who was raped by the man who bought her smart phone told us: '…Men do not believe in a free lunch; any kindness they show is an investment of which no pleading can deter them from reaping.' She continued, 'Many of us who accepted guys because of phone reasons regret the act and wished we were smarter…'. Men who bought smart phones for their girls tend to be adamant and avoid interference from third parties when they have misunderstanding with their girlfriends.

Adults' expectation about adolescent girls' ownership and use of smart phones is usually negative. Their attitude is informed by their perceived need to protect the girls and the perceived dangers inherent in their using smart phones. Parents and adult relatives who opposed adolescent girls' use of smart phones believed that it makes monitoring of boyfriend–girlfriend relationship difficult, increases a self-reflexive lifestyle, weakens communication with relatives, and increases girls' interaction with 'strangers'.

Seventy-two percent of adults we interacted with in the study disagreed with allowing adolescent girls, who were minors, to own and use smart phones. Their reasons were classified under domestic, social, and health reasons. Domestic reasons include abandonment of house chores, conflicting moral values (increases the tendency to tell lies), conflict with family members, and the need to get money to buy data. Social reasons include access to unapproved male friends and increased chances that they can be cajoled into unwholesome behavior. Other reasons adduced include poor interpersonal relationships especially with relatives, cyber bullying, cultural extinction, distractions from academic activities, spreading of gossip and increases in road accidents due to careless use of phones on roads. Health reasons include obesity due to increase in snacking while pinging, less time for exercise, and poor sleeping patterns owing to night chatting.

A 58-year-old adolescent health physician reported during our interview that she was against giving adolescent girls access to smart phones because of negative trends she had observed when they use smart phones consistently: '…they begin to lose attention easily. They will begin to do a lot to please their peers, not their relatives, they pick role models and follow them sheepishly, they exhibit incoherent sleeping pattern and they rarely exercise…'. As a result, they fight to ensure that their adolescent girls (especially early adolescents) do not own or use smart phone. Our study revealed that adults/parents created a number of roadblocks to adolescent girls' uptake of smart phones and discouraged its use by their words and deeds. They saw smart phone as a gift with significant emotional, social, and psychological costs and one which sacrifices must be made to avoid its use.

Male friends also have an interesting expectation concerning smart phone. It has become a more convenient medium for wooing and managing opposite sex relationship. Our findings revealed that adolescent girls' acceptance of a smart phone from a male admirer signifies acceptance of friendship. In the same way, turning down an offer of a smart phone means turning down a relationship. By purchasing a smart phone, a man extends his influence and control over a girl. Edna, a 16-year-old student returned a smart phone to her boyfriend when she realized that he bought a similar phone for another girl. A man whose phone is accepted has a love trophy, which comes with privileges and responsibilities. It gives male admirers access to adolescent girls' lives, shifting their 'phone-life' accountability from their parents to their male friends. '…the mobile phone I bought for my girl made me her number one. She owes it to me to answer my calls first and explain to me what she does with the phone because I also maintain the phone for her…' Nnamdi, a 21-year-old taxi driver.

Male friends expect the smart phones they bought for girls to give them visibility, get the girls attached to them, and assist them in monitoring sexual behavior of their female friends. For male friends, providing a smart phone to a girl is a symbol of conquest over other potential intruders. Whose phone a girl accepts and also uses draws the boundary between whose intimacy is desirable and whose is not. Smart phone in the context of a boyfriend–girlfriend relationship is more than a technological innovation. It has acquired transcendental meanings as they become embedded in relations of accountability, reciprocity, and secrecy. Male friends also take unimaginable risk in order to acquire smart phones for their girls. Obinna, a 17-year-old student could not sit for his Senior School Certificate Examination because he used the money for his examination fee to buy a smart phone for his girlfriend who, incidentally, was his classmate. '…I did not want to lose her love to other men…' Obinna pleaded, in response to his parents and school authority's queries about what happened to the money.

Adolescent girls–adult tensions as regards smart phone

Eighty-five percent of adults we interviewed did not want adolescent girls to use smart phones without first meeting parents' requirements that girls should first graduate from high school or reach age 18. Adults believed that smart phone use could work against girls' concentration and learning as well as give access to unsafe knowledge. Smart phone could drive them into uncharted life adventures, what Ito et al. (2008, 28) referred to as, 'geeking out', and diminish adults' control. A 60-year-old grandmother explained her resentment to adolescent girls' use of smart phone in these words.

'…Any mobile phone not purchased by a known relative should be confiscated or returned. Early ownership of smart phones offers unchecked autonomy to adolescent girls; this is malignant due to their age. It makes them gullible to treacherous habits. A number of high school girls have died seeking after the promises of people they met through the phone…'

Sadiq, who purchased a feature phone for her daughter in order to prevent her from accepting a smart phone from a boyfriend, discovered that her daughter willfully damaged the feature phone in order to make room for a smart phone. The daughter changed the casing on the new smart phone her boyfriend bought for her to an old one and lied that it was a spoilt old phone she got from the outgoing school principal. In another case, a 52-year-old female teacher who insisted that her daughter should return the smart phone bought by her daughter's boyfriend discovered nine months later that said phone had been hidden by her daughter and not returned after all.

Adults' fear about adolescent use of smart phone is rooted in their use of Internet. '… Smart phones-phones connected online are dangerous in the hands of adolescent girls,' a mother of three children burst out at one of the school debates 'They will tell you they are on Yahoo site whereas they are on dating sites! A phone with Internet connectivity is a bomb waiting to explode…' In the area we studied, a smart phone is synonymous with Internet connectivity and browsing. Feature phones do not evoke great symbolism and girls do not struggle to acquire them. Adolescent girls' attitudes to smart phones as well as adults' beliefs around smart phones created the tensions we observed. That is why there was little or no tension with girls' usage of feature phones.

Young people who were previously molded through traditional institutions and extended family structures now depend on peers and technology. Market squares, age grade meetings, and hanging-out-spaces as spaces for identity construction have been replaced by online and virtual friendship websites. There is an increase in virtual friendship and interest-driven activities that are outside cultural and religious affiliations. This finding affirmed the observation of Buckingham (2008) on youths and new media. Adults attributed the perceived moral decadence in society to this shift. '…Experience has taught us that whereas young people learn good behavior from families, they learn bad behaviors from peers and media…'. This was a soliloquy of a 68-year community leader. What is strikingly significant in our finding is that even adults have recognized that smart phones play a pivotal role in identity construction of adolescents. Smart phone exhibits unequal influence on adolescent girls' preferences, lifestyle, feelings, and associations, giving little or no room for other elements in identity construction. This finding is similar to Kenny (2016) who observed that mobile phones – in a bid to make life better – have acquired the ability to regulate important aspects of society's social lives.

A 17-year-old debater, who listed, 'the seven reasons why adolescent girls should not use smart phone – loss of concentration, waste of financial resources, openness to unapproved acquaintances, secretive lifestyle, tendency to tell lies and undisciplined financial habit' – was sharply opposed by Ugoo, a 16-year-old high school student in these words: 'Many other things distract adolescent girls other than smart phone. Why do adults offer little or no restriction to adolescent boys' uptake of DFS if their reasons are not the usual prejudice against the female folk? Their attitude is informed by their perceived need to protect the girls. All the attributes they listed were also exhibited by girls who do not even use smart phones. We gleaned from observing adults around during the debate that they were hurt by the statement; they saw the debater as one that lack discipline and home training. Scenario like this exemplifies the gender

bias inherent in societal allocation of social/gender roles. Our findings show that adults who were overly concerned about adolescent girls' ownership and use of smart phone did not have such concern about adolescent boys' use of smart phones.

'…She must get good grades and secure university admission before I will allow her to use smart phone,' a 49-year-old father of three children insisted. This statement is common among adults in both Christian and Muslim neighborhoods as they reiterate their stand on adolescent girls' use of smart phones. Adults enforce these conditions by refusing to acquire smart phones and confiscating smart phones bought by friends. When her daughter queried how she could do her school assignment and download her favorite music without a smart phone, the mother insisted that she could use her own phone if need be. '…I made it clear to her that she cannot be on Whatsapp or Face book and should not surf the Internet if I am not there. She knows that I cannot buy data for such unfruitful adventures…'

Adolescent girls view restrictive attitudes of adults as unnecessary display of authority. '…My mother is afraid of my going into pornographic sites…' a 16-year-old Christian student complained.

> …She failed to realize that I have seen it all in uncensored DVDs sold in the open market. Although her phone is available but I rarely use it. I am not desirous of owning a smart phone because of the services. I need it because I am incomplete without it….

Adults monitor adolescent girls' use of smart phones especially in Christian neighborhoods. According to a 16-year-old daughter of a local bank manager,

> …my parents usually sneak into my room at odd hours to see what I do with the phone and sometimes asked me to lend them my phone under the guise that they want to search for something. I have no fear because I have learnt to cover my tracks and how to keep developing tricks to make their monitoring ineffective….

Our study revealed that adults view protecting adolescent girls as their critical parental responsibility. Many adults have developed punitive measures towards adolescent girls who use smart phones such as beating, refusing to give them money, and sending them away from home. Adults have reservations about adolescent girls' use of smart phones. Many felt uncomfortable, threatened, even perplexed, while others are resigned to the fact of girls using smart phones. Meanwhile, girls have not relented in a bid to outmaneuver the adults and their roadblocks. Highly religious people feel more threatened by adolescent girls' use of smart phones and as a result, create more roadblocks to its uptake.

Surprisingly, 24% of adolescent girls who used smart phones agreed that their parents did not know that they owned and used smart phones. They used the smart phones in hiding because their parent figures frowned at their use of such phones. A pharmacist in one of the communities we studied who insisted that her daughter must finish high school before she could use a smart phone was shocked to discover that her daughter was already using a smart phone for over six months – bought for her by her boyfriend. Just like other girls in our study, the daughter left her phone with her friend and sometimes hid it in the house. One of the researchers had a similar experience of shock the day that he gave one thousand Naira (about $3) in airtime to three students, thinking that it was only one of them who owned a mobile phone. One of the

students unzipped her cloth to reveal a phone hidden in her underwear, while another ran towards her friend's bag to pick up her phone that she had been hiding there.

Changing sexuality negotiation

Adolescent girls have found allies in their male friends who provided girls with smart phones especially when their parents could not or refused. This has connected adolescent girls, their male friends, and girls' parents in an unexpected web of reciprocity and tensions. As we observed in our study, male friends' purchase of smart phones for their girlfriends consolidated boyfriend– girlfriend relationships in a unique way. By purchasing a smart phone, a boy extends his influence and control over a girl. Arinze, a 42-year-old school teacher, insisted that Sandra must return the phone he bought for her when they broke up their friendship.

When a 17-year-old care giver, lost her phone, her worry was not about the phone but the strain that such a loss would put on her relationship with her boyfriend Chidi, who could not afford to buy a new phone for her. For her, accepting another guy's gift of a phone entails shifting her allegiance away from Chidi. A smart phone in the hand of an adolescent girl signifies autonomy, empowerment, and strength of her opposite sex friendship. In our study, over 87% of adolescent girls were using smart phones they did not purchase, but were given to them. Most girls do not enjoy using feature phones and usually turn down men who could not acquire smart phones for them. Mobile phones could be given as birthday gifts, graduation gifts, lovers' day gifts, appreciation gifts, and gifts brought back from long distance trips. In contrast, feature phones and old phones do not evoke same symbolism as regards quality of opposite sex friendship. Smart phones show where a girls' attachment lies and where her affection flows '…I cannot put my phone in a bag except where I am not proud of it' Mercy, a 16-year-old apprentice replied during one of our interviews.

> …As you know, we girls compare a lot when we meet one other. In the past, we discretely compared shoes, jewelry, hairstyles and handbags. Today, it is our mobile phone. I flaunt it [the phone] to intimidate other girls and make my boyfriend proud….

Surprisingly, how the money is for acquiring the phone was raised is not of much interest to girls. Adolescent girls believed that anyone who is ready to love should have the money to spend. Male friends also did not take lightly the privileges conferred on them by purchasing smart phones for their girlfriends. They always checked up on how the girls were using their phones. Adaobi, a 17-year-old hawker, fought with her boyfriend over access to the phone, refusing to tell him the new password and denying him access to it. Just like the phone that was smashed during their fight, so too was their friendship broken: '…Someone who did not bring money to repair the phone he bought earlier does not have the right to question what I do with the phone. He lost his privileges when another man gave me money to repair it,' Adaobi retorted, as she justified her behavior.

Smart phones purchased by male friends have therefore become instruments of accountability and availability, as Kenny (2016) observed in her research with Tanzanian University students. Male friends expect explanations of what their girls do with their mobile phone. '…Nothing worries my boyfriend like seeing "user busy" when he calls me. He expects me to put all other calls on hold and answer him first. He also monitors how long I spend on calls and with whom…' a 17-year-old female university student narrated during an interview. Buying

smart phones for adolescent girls gives boyfriends a special place in the lives of their girls. It shifts accountability for a girl's phone life away from her parents and to her male friend. When we asked a 17-year-old Fatima how frequently her parent accessed her phone, her response was immediate: '…I will not let them touch my phone at all.' However, she allows her boyfriend access to her password and he goes through her contacts and phone logs for monitoring purposes.

Uptake of smart phone among adolescent girls has transformed sexuality negotiation between these girls and their male friends. It has subtly empowered girls in sexuality negotiation in an unprecedented way. Initially, it was difficult for girls to articulate their sexual feelings. As Vargra noted, females in West Africa tend to be powerless and naïve in sexual situation. However, our study revealed that uptake of smart phone has increased girls sexual knowledge and prowess. '…I choose who to flash, when to pick call or who to show affection, depending on my needs at any point in time…' a 19-year-old female student brags about her influence over her sexual partners. Beeping (Commonly called flashing: a practice of terminating call before the receiver picks) and sexting have become popular way of relaying ones' feelings. This finding is similar to discoveries made in different studies conducted on adolescent girls which observed that girls use different mobile phone technique to relay emotional and sexual feelings. The secrecy surrounding sexual discussion is fading away and girls now play an active role in sexual relations. The earlier perception that sex is for men's satisfaction is becoming a myth. Unlike in the past when girls find it difficult to manage concurrent sexual relationships, smart phone uptake has reduced the risk, allowing girls to device innovative method of managing many male friends concurrently. For example, girls that had both old and young men as sexual partner saved the contact of the old man with female name in order not to offend the young male friend. Unlike the findings in Price and Hawkins (2002) that girls exhibit low perception of risks involved in sexual situations, uptake of smart phone has increased girl's perception of the risks involved in sexual activities. Adolescent girls who use smart phones had access to tips and knowledge of sexual related problems and possible remedies. Our study revealed that unlike in the past when violation of girls' sexual rights goes unreported, it has become easy and convenient for girls to report such violations as well as stand up against violators. The nature of gifts received from the opposite sex has also been transformed in both Christian and Muslim neighborhoods. Before the uptake of smart phone, gifts from male friends to their girlfriends included jewelries, paintings, handbags, shoes, clothes, and sometimes food-stuffs. At present, gift items include airtime/data bundles, digital money, online purchases, customized gifts, videos, and electronic gadgets.

Our finding shows that adolescent girls' uptake of smart phones has made timid men or people who experience high risk in getting sexual partners to achieve their desires conveniently. Smart phone has the ability to minimize risk and increase use of discretion in handling emotional affairs. Smart phone has also increased male friends' surveillance over their girls. Initially, surveillance and monitoring to avoid cheating and shift of emotional allegiance was done by friends. However, at present, male friends monitor their girl-friends through smart phones. Our findings coincided with adults' belief that smart phones increases flirting. We observed that smart phone uptake increases the propensity of girls to acquire many sexual partners. Some girls have a practice of dialing numbers they randomly formed and most times get linked up with a male admirer. Smart phone enables both partners to relay their feelings through sexually enticing message and pornographic data. The most significant effect of smart phone is that it enabled adolescent girls to have access to friends who are in other countries. In many developing economies, adolescent girls' aspiration was getting acquainted with a male friend who is living abroad (Especially in the USA and UK). Despite that some of the men were married, the craving

for foreign gifts and the identity of having a male friend in the Diasporas is excessive. As a result, festive seasons like Christmas when these male friends usually come home become critical periods in sexual negotiations for adolescent girls. However, smart phone uptake has transformed the adolescent girls' relations with male friends in the Diasporas such that they were now in instant and constant communication every time without waiting for festive seasons.

Intersectionality theory in the context of adolescent girls' transactional relations

Despite that uptake of smart phone has increased adolescent girls' connectedness to global community as well as brought convenience into their way of life, it has subtly enforced systematic oppression. Adolescent girls seemed to be under oppression from both parents and male admirers. Parental refusal to allow full use of smart phone because of perceived moral lapses inadvertently transferred power to the males who eventually buy the smart phones. This study opened a new lens of understanding of Crenshaw (1991) theory of intersectionality by explaining how the smart phone plays a role in maintaining systemic gender oppression. This oppression is evidenced by denial from parents who did not see the smart phone as a necessity, abuse received from males who eventually buy the phone and systemic consequence of participating in transactional relationships as teenagers. The system also can hurt the males as exemplified in the risk taken to provide and maintain the smart phones. However, adolescent girls owing to age and inexperience in decision making tend to be at the receiving end.
The failure of the parents to see the overlap of the social identities between their adolescent girls and male admirers added to the oppression meted out on adolescent girls. The interlocking of power and pressure among parents to save their girls from perceived vulnerability created more opportunities for subtle marginalization and disempowerment. Parental and societal attitude towards adolescent girls' use of smart phones filter away the supposed empowerment which uptake brought to women in resource scarce environment. Using smart phones in hiding and fear, the regrets associated with accepting a smart phone from a man they never loved and subsequent annexation of the adolescent girls' sexual freedom by men who bought them the phone suggest that these teenagers lose in the societal power play around smart phone use. In line with intersectionality theory, parents and societal institutions cannot be exonerated from the perceived moral lapses brought about by uptake of smart phones. Their inability to see smart phone as a necessity and adjust to changing responsibility reinforces systemic oppression of adolescent girls who out of naivety have become victims of the power tussle.

Conclusion and recommendation

Smart phone has become a tool for power play and who use it and how it is used has become critical. Oppressive institutions can also use smart phone ownership and use to increase their influence and exacerbate oppression. Smart phone has emerged as a pivotal force in identity construction especially among adolescent girls in region where there is scarcity of economic resources. It has acquired a distinctive status such that it was seen as a trophy which is worth all the sacrifices. Smart phone uptake has permeated the socio-economic and cultural lives of the society, causing disequilibrium to exiting social order and bringing in a new culture. For adolescent girls, smart phone symbolizes urbanite identity, solution to traditional confinement, prestige, and autonomy. To male friends, smart phone is a love trophy showing their conquest over a girl, while to adults/parents; smart phone is a gift with significant emotional,

psychological, and social cost that could affect adolescent girls' development. Adults believed that smart phone is entertainment driven and inimical to comprehensive development of adolescent girls. Adolescent girls who viewed smart phone as medium for social exploration and global connectedness were not deterred by roadblocks set by adults and male friends. Teenagers need to smarter and understand that they should take personal responsibility for the system and its consequences.

      Perhaps, the most significant contribution of this study is that it explored why young women accept smart phones from male admirer and defy adults' instruction despite knowing the 'cost'. The study is also significant because it examined the changes in sexuality negotiation owing to smart phone uptake by adolescent girls. Apart from reaffirming the critical role of consumer culture on identity construction, the study also examined mobile media use in a community that has been overlooked in the literature. Findings from this study exemplify 'cost' of identity construction among young people who are attracted to 'foreign' culture. Based on the findings of the study, the researchers recommend that since every revolution creates disequilibrium in the social order, digital revolution should not be seen as an exception. Instead of suppressing or resisting the change, a more effective approach is to reinvent and influence the direction of the change. Adults need to realize that in their own world, digital innovation was a luxury but in adolescent girls' world, it's a necessity. Restricting uptake could hinder effective development and survival in digital age. Adolescent girls should justify their craving for smart phone morally, socially, and psychologically. Social institutions, community associations, and adults should play midwifery role in ushering adolescent girls into digital age as well as rediscover their roles in this new order.

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