

**Coercive First Sex among Adolescents in Sub-Saharan Africa:
Prevalence and Context**

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Introduction

Worldwide, half of all new cases of HIV infection occur among young people between the ages of 15 and 24 years and it is estimated that on each day over 6,000 such people acquire HIV¹. Sub Saharan Africa is the worst affected region accounting for almost two-thirds of the estimated 6.2 million infected young people in 2003¹. Among the youth who are infected, about 75% are female¹. Unintended pregnancy is also a major reproductive health problem among young people in Sub-Saharan Africa². In a number of countries, females aged 15-19 years account for between 10 and 15 per cent of annual total fertility³. Available evidence suggests that not all exposures to the risk of HIV infection and unintended pregnancy are voluntary⁴⁻⁶.

According to the United Nations⁷, gender-based violence is "any act of...violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering for women, including threats of such acts, coercion, or arbitrary deprivations of liberty, whether occurring in private or public life" (p. 1). This definition recognizes violence within private life, which has hitherto not been given much attention because it occurred in the "private sphere," i.e. the home⁸. Within this definition, it is important to draw attention to the inclusion of threats as a violent act even though the victim may not be under direct threat of physical harm. The violence being analyzed in this paper, that of sexual coercion at sexual debut, may take the form of physical, sexual as well as psychological harm.

Jejeebhoy and Bott⁵ have provided a framework on the form and context of non-consensual sex among young people in developing countries. The context is as disparate as the experiences of non-consensual sex within marriage or formal unions, transactional sex, attempted rape or forced penetration, trafficking, in some cases forced marriage or prostitution, and rape in conflict situations. Sexual coercion can range from non-consensual sexual intercourse to unwanted but consensual sexual intercourse. What is experienced as coercion is gender- and culturally-specific. The perpetrators can be peers, family members, acquaintances, strangers and figures of authority (e.g. teachers, bosses, and community leaders). In their review of the literature, they found that non-consensual sexual experiences are experienced by "disturbing proportions of young people in all settings from which data were drawn" (p. v). A growing body of research (mostly from developed countries) has reported significant associations between coerced sex and a range of negative reproductive and as well as psychological and emotional health outcomes for women of reproductive age. Reproductive health risks include sexually transmitted infections including HIV, unintended pregnancy which can possibly lead to abortion and infection, as well as the onset of risk-taking behaviors including consensual sex, multiple partnerships and unprotected sex^{9,10}. A negative sexual experience can also result in a host of negative psychological outcomes as well including sexual dysphoria, anxiety, depression and even suicide or attempted suicide. While most of these data come from developed countries, it is important to acknowledge that local interpretations of coercion are culturally specific. The relationship of the individuals and the circumstances under which the sexual intercourse occurs can impact individuals' perceptions of what qualifies as coercion.

This paper is part of a larger, five-year study of adolescent sexual and reproductive health called *Protecting the Next Generation: Understanding HIV Risk Among Youth* (PNG). The project, which is being carried out in Burkina Faso, Ghana, Malawi and Uganda, seeks to contribute to the global fight against the HIV/AIDS epidemic among adolescents by raising awareness of young people's sexual and reproductive health needs with regard to HIV/AIDS, other STIs and unwanted pregnancy; communicating new knowledge to a broader audience, including policymakers, healthcare providers and the media, in each country as well as regionally and internationally; and stimulating the development of improved policies and programs that serve young people. The larger study encompasses focus group discussions with 14-19 year olds, in-depth interviews with adolescents 12-19 years old, in-depth interviews with key adults (teachers, parents, and health workers) and a national survey of 12-19 year old adolescents, all of which were conducted in the four countries. This paper will be drawing on the results from the focus groups, in-depth interviews with adolescents, and the nationally representative surveys to shed light on the experience of sexual coercion at sexual debut.

Sexual Coercion at Sexual Debut in sub-Saharan Africa

Although there has been growing interest in research on sexual coercion in sub-Saharan African ^{e.g.2,6,11,12,13,14,15,16,17,18,19,20}, most studies in the sub-region have focused on the prevalence of non-consensual sex among females in general. Very few studies have specifically explored the sexual coercion experiences of adolescent females in sub-Saharan Africa especially during their sexual debut.

A few comprehensive studies have explored the nature and extent of sexual coercion among young people in sub-Saharan Africa ²¹⁻²⁷. In a study conducted among 10,000 female secondary school students in Kenya, 24 percent of the sexually active young women reported that their first sexual encounter had been coerced ²³. In South Africa, Buga et al.²¹, observed that among 13-17 year-old females in Transkei, the first sexual experience of 28 percent was through force while the proportion was 32 percent among females under 19 years in Cape Town ²⁸. In Ghana, a study in three towns of the sexual experiences of female adolescents aged 12-24 found that 25 percent had been coerced into their first sexual encounter ²⁶. Koenig and his colleagues in a more recent study of 575 sexually active adolescents in rural Uganda found that 14 percent of the young women reported that their first sexual intercourse had been coerced ²⁷.

In terms of associated risk factors for coercive sex among young women in sub-Saharan Africa, a qualitative study of young women in South Africa found that partner violence and the fear of violence prevented young women from saying "no" to sex and compromised condom use⁶. A study of a community-based sample of 4279 reproductive-aged women in current partnerships in rural Uganda found that behavioral risk factors, notably younger age of women at first intercourse and alcohol consumption before sex by the male partner were strongly and positively related to the risk of coercive sex at any point ²⁹. In Koenig's study in Uganda, adolescents who reported coerced first intercourse were significantly less likely than those who did not experience coercion at debut to currently be using modern contraceptives, to have used a condom at last intercourse and to have used condoms consistently in the last six months. In addition, adolescents who had experienced coercion at debut were more likely to report their current or most recent

pregnancy as unintended (among ever-pregnant women) and to report one or more genital tract infections²⁷.

Yet local interpretations of coercion can impact quantitative results such as those presented above. In a study conducted in Nairobi, Kenya, young people stated that “soft rape” (penetration occurring after the girl has sexually “teased” a boy) was acceptable¹⁶. Youths in Nigeria stated that if a boy has spent money on a girl, then adolescents felt that pressure from the male to engage in sex was acceptable²⁰.

A noteworthy characteristic of sexual coercion in the African context is the prevalence of transactional sex, which can be coercive. There have been a number of qualitative studies in sub-Saharan Africa that have shown that young people have sex for economic reasons^{15,17,19,20,30,31}. Items such as food, gifts, clothing, books and toiletries have been identified as encouragements for young females to have sex^{32,33}. The prevalence of this form of coercion is not limited to taking place between a male and a female. In Ghana and Zimbabwe, it has been documented that parents pressured their daughters to have sex for economic reasons^{32,34}.

With the prevalence of coercive sex at first sex among females ranging from a low 14 percent in rural Uganda to a high of 32 percent in Cape Town, South Africa, it is clear to see that while there is a obviously a great deal of variation in the region, what has been lacking are nationally representative studies on the subject. The results presented in this paper are nationally representative for the four countries studied and the quantitative data is augmented by qualitative evidence to shed further insight into the trends that the quantitative data represent.

Methodology

Data for the study are derived from three sources involving adolescents: national surveys, focus group discussions (FGDs) and in-depth interviews (IDIs). The data were collected in four countries in Sub-Saharan—Burkina Faso, Ghana, Malawi and Uganda—with the objective of collecting information on young people that will contribute to our understanding of adolescent sexual and reproductive health issues.

Nationally Representative Survey

A nationally-representative household survey on adolescent sexual and reproductive health was conducted in 2004 among 12-19 year old males and females in each of the four study countries in collaboration with Macro International Inc., the relevant partner organization in each country and The Alan Guttmacher Institute.

Questionnaire design and content

The 2004 National Survey of Adolescents was conducted with 12-19 year olds in each of the study countries: 5,950 in Burkina Faso, 4,252 in Ghana, 4,012 in Malawi, and 5,065 in Uganda. The sample covered the population residing in private households in the country. A two-stage stratified sample design was used: district and household. All 12-19 year old de facto residents in a household were eligible for participation. When there was more than one eligible 12-19 year old in the household, one eligible adolescent per

household was randomly selected to answer an additional section with questions on sensitive topics including physical and sexual abuse. The instrument was pretested, modified accordingly, and then translated into the appropriate languages for each of the four countries and then the translation was pretested again before the instrument was finalized. On average, each interview lasted approximately 55 minutes.

The dependent variable of interest is the variables on willingness at first sexual intercourse: “Thinking about the first time you had sexual intercourse, would you say you were very willing, somewhat willing or not willing at all?” The response categories are “very willing,” “somewhat willing” and “not willing at all.” Sexual coercion/unwanted sex is being defined as having answered “not willing at all.” The independent variables being included in the paper are country of residence (Burkina Faso, Ghana, Malawi and Uganda), place of residence (urban/rural), age at first sexual intercourse (<12 years of age, 12-14 years of age, and 15-19 years of age), age difference with first sex partner (partner is 10+ years older than respondent, partner is 5-9 years older, partner is 1-4 years older, partner is older, but respondent does not know how much older, partner is the same age or younger than the respondent, or respondent doesn’t know partner’s age), and relationship with first sex partner (boyfriend, husband, live-in partner, and casual acquaintance/other).

Field procedures

Training of the field personnel was based on standard DHS training protocols for conducting an interview, making callbacks and completing survey questionnaires. Interviewers were assigned to interview adolescents of their same sex because of the personal nature of the topics covered. Informed consent was sought from each eligible adolescent and, for adolescents 12-17 years of age, consent from his or her parent or caretaker was obtained before the adolescent was approached to participate in the survey. Once the parent or guardian/caretaker gave consent, separate consent was also obtained from the eligible adolescent.

Ensuring privacy of the interview was absolutely critical to fielding the survey, and interviewers were trained to conduct interviews in places or ways that would assure privacy for adolescent respondents. Section 12, which contained especially sensitive questions on sexual experiences, was not to be administered if anyone older than 3 years was within hearing distance of the interview.

The quantitative analysis of the data was done using STATA 8.0 (StataCorp, College Station, Texas).

Focus Group Discussions

A total of 28 focus group discussions (FGDs) were conducted from January through March 2003 with females: 8 in both Burkina Faso and Ghana, 6 in Malawi and 6 in Uganda (Table 1a). The research teams gained access to communities through letters and meetings with high-level administrative officials, various community leaders and constituents. Consent was obtained from all young people before they participated in the discussions and parental or guardian consent was also obtained for people younger than 18 (the legal age of consent in each country). However, for students in boarding schools

in Ghana, consent was obtained through the heads of school who were treated as the guardians of students. In a few cases in Malawi, the Chief or an older person who knew the participant was asked for consent if the parent or guardian could not be found. The basic design of the FGD recruitment was similar across countries: all teams were to use a facilities-based recruitment approach in urban areas and a community-based approach in rural areas.

In Burkina Faso, the urban FGDs took place in Ouagadougou, the capital city of Burkina Faso and the rural FGDs took place in Bazega province. In Ghana, the urban FGDs were conducted in Accra, the capital, for out-of-school youths and in Kumasi for those who were in school. For the rural FGDs, out-of-school youths were recruited from Tolon/Kumbungu, and in-school youths were selected in West Mamprusi. In Malawi, FGDs were conducted in urban Blantyre City and in rural Mchinji district. In Uganda, the FGDs took place in the urban areas of Kampala district, the capital, and Mbarara town, and in rural areas in Mbarara district.

Discussions were conducted with homogenous groups of females and were segregated according to urban or rural residence and school status (in or out of school). In Malawi and Uganda, there were also groups of married or single mothers. In Burkina Faso and Ghana, the discussions were further divided by age (14–16 and 17–19). Each country team used the same discussion guideline, translated into the appropriate language. Each FGD had 8–12 participants and lasted an average of 2–2.5 hours. The discussions were tape-recorded, transcribed and translated from local languages into English and, in the case of Burkina Faso, into French. Each country had research teams who served as moderators, note takers and research assistants.

In-Depth Interviews

The goals of the in-depth interviews were to collect data that would complement national information and which examine the “whys” that lie behind adolescents’ behaviors. Approximately 55 in-depth interviews were conducted with females ages 12-19 in each of the four study countries and consisted of the same sub-groups as in the FGDs: in- and out-of-school adolescents, urban and rural locations. In addition, interviews were conducted among young people in specific groups that were considered to be at higher than average risk: young married women, women with children, refugees (Ghana and Uganda) and petty traders. The interviews were the same sex as the respondent, they took place in a neutral location, and they lasted between 30 minutes to 2.5 hours. The discussions were tape-recorded, transcribed and translated from local languages into English and, in the case of Burkina Faso, into French.

While data were collected from males and females, since between four to 12 percent or less of the male respondents to the survey, depending on the country, were “not willing at all” at sexual debut and less than a quarter of all in-depth interview male respondents experienced sexual coercion, this paper is only going to be analyzing the data from females.

Analysis approach

The FGD and IDI transcripts were coded using N6 qualitative software (QSR International, Doncaster, Australia). Each focus group was treated as a unit of analysis for the FGD component of the study and the individual was treated as a unit of analysis for the IDIs. Analyses were done according to substantive themes by urban or rural residence and school status. The IDIs contained a number of other special groups who were analyzed separately as well: married females, females with children, street children, and petty traders. Summary matrices were used to write summary text which was compared by at least two members of the study team with the summary matrices to ensure that any one analyst's subjective biases did not determine the conclusions. Text was written based on common themes arising from the summary text.

A cautionary note should be taken in interpreting the qualitative results as some females who said that their sexual debut experience was in some way unwanted sometimes continued on to contract themselves by relating positive emotions about the experience.

I: How did this come to happen?

R: He forced me.

I: How did it all started?

R: I have forgotten (Malawi, urban, 18 year old female).

But then she goes on to describe a non-forced situation where she spent the night with him in his bed. "He invited me to his place. While there he asked if I could spend a night there, at first I refused but I gave in after his sister supported the idea, and this was my first time to have sexual intercourse with him." She said she felt "natural, we are supported to do it." At first she was frustrated because she did not know how it was done but later on she was happy with it and now when she remembers, she's just surprised how it all happened.

To the extent that it is possible to identify these seemingly not coerced situations, the narratives have been omitted from the analysis. Yet it is important to acknowledge that at least in Malawi, there seems to be a certain amount of inconsistency between naming an experience as forced and subsequently describing it as forced.

Results

Quantitative Results

Bivariate relationships

A descriptive table of the quantitative results is presented in Table 2.

Respondent's willingness to have first sex

The percentage of female respondents who were "not willing at all" at sexual debut ranged from 15 and 38 percent across the study countries. The percentage was the lowest for Burkina Faso (15 percent), followed by Uganda at 23 percent, Ghana at 30 percent and Malawi at 38 percent. Between 20-30 percent were "somewhat willing" in all four

countries. Malawi had the lowest percentage who were “somewhat willing,” (21 percent), followed by Ghana (23 percent) and Burkina Faso (28 percent). Uganda had the highest percentage who were “somewhat willing.” This leaves less than half of the females in Ghana, Malawi and Uganda “very willing” at first sexual intercourse. Burkina Faso is the exception: 57 percent of females in Burkina Faso were “very willing.” (See discussion below on relationship with first sex partner.)

In each of the countries except Ghana, the sexually active population resided predominantly in rural areas. In Burkina Faso and Malawi, about three-quarters of the females resided in rural areas while the percentage was even higher in Uganda, 87 percent. Ghana has the lowest percent of sexually active females residing in rural areas. Most females had their sexual debuts between the ages of 15-19 with a notable 35 percent having their sexual debuts between ages 12-14 in Uganda. Having a boyfriend 1-10+ years older than the respondent was distributed in relatively in Burkina Faso. In Ghana, the partner was most frequently 1-9 years older than the respondent. In Malawi, over half of the respondents’ partners were 1-4 years older than the respondent and in Uganda, roughly a quarter were 5-9 years older while another approximately 40% were 1-5 years older than the respondent.

Table 3 presents proportions of who was coerced versus who was not coerced at sexual debut broken out by country and various characteristics. The rest of the comparisons here take place between those who had not experienced sexual coercion compared to those who had experienced sexual coercion.

Place of residence

A higher proportion of females in the sample were coerced at sexual debut in rural areas than in urban areas in Burkina Faso and Uganda although the difference in probability was smaller in Uganda than in Burkina Faso.

In Ghana and Malawi, a higher proportion experienced coerced sex in urban areas than in rural areas. In Ghana, the difference in probability was almost 10 points higher while in Malawi, it was almost 7 points higher.

Age at first intercourse

For each of the countries except Malawi, a higher proportion of females were coerced who had their sexual debut at less than 12 years of age than in the other two age categories. The distributions look quite similar for Burkina Faso and Ghana and quite different for Uganda. In Burkina Faso, females less than 12 years of age at sexual debut were a little less than three times as likely to be coerced than females who had their sexual debut between the ages of 12-14. In Ghana, females less than 12 years of age at sexual debut were about 2.5 times as likely to be coerced than females who had their sexual debut between the ages of 12-14. While in Burkina Faso, the proportion coerced is lowest for 15-19 year olds, for Ghana, the proportion is actually lowest for 12-14 year olds, with the probability of experiencing coercion slightly higher among 15-19 year olds.

The proportions in Uganda, on the other hand, are extremely similar across the three age divisions. Females who had their sexual debut at less than 12 years of age are only slightly more likely to have been sexually coerced at sexual debut than females who had their sexual debut at 12-14 years of age (an almost 4 point decrease) and females who had their sexual debut between ages 15-19 (an almost 7 point decrease).

Malawi exhibits a unique pattern on this variable: The proportion “not willing at all” at sexual debut was lower for those who had experienced their sexual debut between the ages of 12-14 as compared to less than 12 years of age by 4 points, as would be expected. But the proportion “not willing at all” at sexual debut was actually higher for 15-19 year olds by almost 10 points.

Age difference with first sex partner

The proportion who had experienced a coerced sexual debut was highest for those with a partner 10+ years older only in Burkina Faso. In Ghana, females who had sex partners 1-4 years older than themselves had the highest proportion who were coerced, followed by respondents who had a sex partner 10+ years older than themselves. In Uganda, those who were most likely to be coerced were females whose partners were older, but they did not know the partner’s specific age and those whose partners were 10+ years older.

Malawi again exhibits a unique distribution. Those who were most likely to be coerced were females whose partner was the same age as them or younger.

Relationship with first sex partner

Casual acquaintance/other is by far the most likely partner to coerce the respondent in any of the countries. In Burkina Faso, the proportion of casual acquaintance/other who was a coercive partner at the respondent’s sexual debut was lower than in the other three countries, followed by Uganda, then Ghana and finally Malawi. The proportion of husbands who coerced was 0.9 points greater than the proportion of boyfriends who coerced in Burkina Faso. In the other three countries, the trend moved in the other direction with boyfriends more likely to be the coercive partner than husbands. The proportion of boyfriends who coerced was greater than the proportion of husbands in the other three countries with the greatest difference being 25 points occurring in Malawi, just over 13 points in Ghana, and almost 4 points in Uganda.

Multivariate Analysis

We used logistic regression to estimate the odds for being “not willing at all” at sexual debut among females ages 12-19 years in Burkina Faso, Ghana, Malawi and Uganda. While there may be females who were coerced at first sex who reported that they were “somewhat willing,” since it is less clear what this response is capturing, for the purposes of this paper, we define our dichotomous coercive first sex outcome variable as follows: 1 = not all at willing at first sexual intercourse; 0 = willing/somewhat willing to have sex at first intercourse. Coefficients are expressed as odds ratios relative to the omitted reference category (OR = 1.00).

For female adolescents in the four countries, after controlling for current age, female adolescents residing in rural areas in Ghana were significantly less likely to be coerced at sexual debut (OR = 0.58, $p < 0.05$ significance level) compared to their counterparts in urban areas (Table 4). Although it is a surprising finding, it was already visible in the bivariate relationships that in Malawi, initiating sex at the later age interval of 15-19 years increases the risk of being coerced compared to the reference age group of 12-14 year olds (OR = 2.58, $p < 0.01$ significance level). Being younger than one's first sex partner or the same age also elevated the odds of being coerced for females in Malawi compared to the reference category of a partner 1-4 years older at first sex (OR = 2.36, $p < 0.01$ significance level). This is a notable finding as the variable does not behave as we would expect for Malawi. Age difference between the respondent and her partner are non-significant for the other three countries.

Although in three of the four countries, having first sex with a casual acquaintance is associated with significantly higher odds of being coerced, female adolescents in Ghana were about seven times more likely to be coerced when their first sex partner was a casual acquaintance (OR = 6.61, $p < 0.001$ significance level) than when the partner was a boyfriend compared to an approximately three and a half fold increase in Burkina Faso (OR = 3.56) and Uganda (OR = 3.63). Female adolescents in Malawi were significantly less likely to be coerced at first sex when the partner was a husband (OR = 0.29) compared to a boyfriend (see Table 3).

Qualitative Data

The rest of the paper explores non-consensual sex as discussed in the focus groups (FGDs) and in-depth interviews (IDIs), examining the circumstances surrounding unwanted sexual debut experiences. The strength of the qualitative data is that it can add depth, texture and consequently greater understanding to the meaning of the close-ended questions in the survey by speaking to the “why” and “how” of sexual coercion. While the following data cannot represent breadth, they can illustrate with depth some of adolescents' experiences with sexual coercion.

Unwanted sex was not asked about specifically in the FGDs. Rape and forced sex were came up spontaneously, but they were not a common topic of discussion in the FGDs³⁵. When discussing the context of first sex experiences in the IDIs, unwanted sex emerged as a frequent theme of females' debut narrations. The proportion of the females who related experiencing unwanted sexual debuts ranged from a little more than a quarter of the sexually active females in Burkina Faso and Ghana to about half of the sexually active females in Malawi and Uganda.

The qualitative samples show similar age distributions as compared to the quantitative samples. In Burkina Faso, six out of ten females reported age differences with sexual debut partners who were 5 to 10 years older – one female reported a partner 14 years older and another had a 16 year age difference between her and her husband. In Ghana, for those who knew the ages of their partners, all of the respondents were younger than their partners with the age difference ranging from 18 years younger to 1 year younger—the median being 7 years younger. In Malawi, the relationship in which first sex most

commonly occurred was relationships where the male and female were the same age or the female was 1 to 2 years younger than the male. In Uganda, females were on average 3 years younger than the male with a difference as high as 6 years. In two cases the female said she was older than the male.

Circumstances surrounding Sexual Debut

The most prevalent forms of coercion enunciated by the female respondents in all four countries were force, pressure from money or gifts, passive acceptance, being talked into having sex/pressure, and deception.

In Malawi, many females expressed how they had been peer pressured or “coerced” into entering the relationship to begin with as they did not want to enter the relationship, at least in the beginning. This was not the same in Uganda. In Uganda, females were generally excited and happy to be in the relationship. This information did not emerge during the IDIs in Burkina Faso.

Of the 22 Burkinabé adolescent females who had had sexual intercourse, five of the 10 unmarried sexually experienced females and one of the 12 married females reported that they had felt coerced at their first sexual experience. Four had experienced pressure and one, possibly two, had been pressured with a gift, and one had been deceived. One was a rural resident. Of the 21 females in Ghana who had had sexual intercourse at the time of the in-depth interviews, six had experienced coercion to engage in sexual intercourse. Four were forced, one was pressured, and one was passive. One who was forced was also coerced by money to engage in sexual intercourse. One was rural, one was a street child and two were married. In Malawi, a third of the females who had had sexual intercourse (6 of 19) had not wanted to have sexual intercourse: three were forced and two were passive and one was pressured. Of these respondents, two were rural residents. Of the 21 sexually experienced females in the Uganda sample, 6 were forced, 4 were coerced with money, 2 were pressured and one was deceived (n=13). Seven were rural residents.

Non-Forced Coercive Sexual Intercourse

Intercourse Because of Pressure from Money

The FGDs discussed how young women receiving money or gifts had their right to say “no” to sexual intercourse compromised. The FGD respondents discussed the exchange of gifts and money among peers in exchange for sexual relations or, less directly, in hopes of having sex in the future. In Burkina Faso, “enticing” or “flattering” young women with money or gifts was mentioned. Gifts were also seen in some circles as a tacit contract so that as the gifts keep coming, young women has a harder time refusing sex. In Uganda, almost all the groups talked about “girls looking for money” or “detoothing boys: ³⁵”

Girls, let me say they want to impress boys or attract boys, yet it will not help them because they get those boys for money, they call it “detoothing” but the end result is bad—they can get raped or they [the boys] ask them to return the money in another way which may not help them, so I advise them to get better things instead of boys (Uganda, FGD11, urban).

A similar sentiment was expressed in some of the Malawian focus groups, but not to the same extent, and the discussion was more often tinged with the sense that it was solely out of economic desperation (e.g., sex in exchange for vegetables or salt). It was also in a Malawi FGD where young women talked about parents pressuring their daughters to have sex with men for money or basic household goods like soap³⁵.

Sometimes parents do not even care what their daughter does. Even if they know that she is engaged in sex, they are happy with her because she brings something home (Malawi, FGD3, females, rural, out of school).

Therefore the pressure to engage in transactional sex can take place beyond the bounds of the male-female relationship³⁵.

In the IDIs, coercive transactional sex was discussed within the Burkinabé, Malawian, and the Ugandan sample. One Burkinabé female was lured by money/gifts to put herself in a situation where sexual coercion occurred. The boy in the narrative below had invited the respondent to go to a video club to watch a movie.

R: He charmed me and then we had sex. It was my first time.

[...]

I: How many of you watched the film?

R: Four—two girls and two boys. He encouraged me to go with him to the bedroom so that he could give me a gift; when we went into the bedroom, he shut the door.

I: But when he shut the door, did you try to scream?

R: No, I wanted to scream and he told me not to cry and I shut up (Burkina Faso, urban, 19 year old).

The respondent hasn't spoken to the male since that day. She recounts at the end of this narrative that she has not had sex again because she is scared of boys. Another Burkinabé female described receiving gifts from her first sexual partner and said that he pressured her, but it is unclear if she felt pressured by the gifts (Burkina Faso, urban, 14 year old).

A rural, 16 year old Malawian remembered that "in order for us to do it he coaxed me....[Laughs] He use to tell me that if I had sex with him he gonna give me something else [money]."

In Uganda, six rural respondents recounted that they were pressured with money or gifts to engage in sexual intercourse at debut. One of these respondents became pregnant. "The man told me that 'If I have sex with you I will use a condom and nothing will happen to you, I will also give you 2000 shillings' so I accepted because I needed the money" (Uganda, rural, 15 year old); "We were friends, he would give me money and we also had sex" (Uganda, rural, 18 year old); "He would give me money and would say that I should show him that I love him by playing sex with him" (rural 16 years old); and "He approached me tactfully and he promised some dress and some sun glasses and I gave in" (Uganda, rural, 16 year old). For this Uganda, rural, 17 year old female, there was a 15 year age difference between her and her partner:

He would pick me from home secretly and take me for film shows in town. I would always lie to my mother that I had gone to my Auntie's place and would spend nights with him...At the end of it all he asked me to show him that I loved him by having sex with him and I complied. I could not refuse because I was ashamed of all the things he had done for me (Uganda, rural, 17 year old).

Another female spoke about receiving money after sex to buy something to eat.

Intercourse Because of Male Pressure

Another type of non-forced coercive sexual intercourse was when the male pressured the female into having sex in a coercive way. (This also happened in a way that was not coercive and those examples are not included here.) All of the relationships where this happened were romantic relationships since the female had to have an investment in the male for the pressure tactics to be effective. Three Burkinabé females had been coerced in this manner. One rural, 18 year old Burkinabé related, "I didn't want to accept, but I felt pity for him/sorry for him." The married respondent who had had a coerced experience was married at the time of the interview but not at the time of her first sexual intercourse. She related:

R: We talked about it and I told him we had to protect ourselves. And as it was my first time, I didn't want to, and he said it wasn't going to kill me. I still wasn't in agreement and he wanted to call his uncle to persuade me.

I: But you finally gave in?

R: Yes, I gave in (Burkina Faso, urban, married 19 year old).

One Ghanaian respondent were pressured in a coercive way to have sexual intercourse. The respondent had sex because she was fearful that if she did not give in to partner's demands he would have sex with other women:

I: Did you ever feel pressured by him to do something that you thought would put you at risk of pregnancy or HIV/AIDS?

R: Yes. He puts pressure on me to have sex with him. After much persuasion I give in.

I: Do you do that because of the fear that he would go out to have sex with other women?

R: Yes (Ghana, urban, 19 year old).

Forced sexual intercourse

In the FGDs, rape or forced sexual intercourse did not frequently come up. It was rarely mentioned within marriage or boyfriend and girlfriend relationships. When discussed, it was usually in the context of a child being forced to have sex (being "defiled") or in the context of what some men, after drinking alcohol or smoking hemp or marijuana, will do to young women. The latter context was related to men's "uncontrollable" urges or willingness to engage in unprotected sex when under the influence of alcohol or drugs³⁵.

In some discussions, rape or forced sex was described as a response to young women refusing sex, even after attempts by young men to negotiate for sex, and particularly if young women received money or gifts (mentioned among discussion groups in Malawi). A common theme in the female discussion groups in Burkina Faso was that men drug young women in order to have sex with them. This situation was not talked about in the other countries with the exception of drinking alcohol³⁵.

No Burkinabé females reported being forced to have sexual intercourse in the IDIs. All of the females who spoke about being forced to have sex knew the perpetrator. He was most frequently her boyfriend but in a few cases, a casual acquaintance. Of the four Ghanaian females in the IDIs who said they were forced to engage in sexual intercourse, one, a street child, was raped by a casual acquaintance.

Interviewer: And what happened?

Respondent: He started fondling my breast and I asked him why he was doing that. He told me he was just playing with me. Then all of a sudden he pulled me to the bed and had sexual intercourse with me.

[...]

I: After the sexual intercourse who did you report to?

R: I did not tell anybody because my father had already warned me about them [the teachers in training] and had told me not to fetch water for them again. So I was afraid to tell my parents.

I: Did he warn you not to tell anybody?

R: No, he did not. But I was afraid that if I told my parents my father will beat me (Ghana, urban, street child, 14 years old).

One Ghanaian urban, 18 year old was coerced with money, but this was a unique situation where she was having sex to get her own money back.

R: We met at the saloon where I work, he ran away with my ₵35,000 so he asked me to come to his house for it. I did not mind him because I had enough money on me. Later on I went to his house for the money but he said he would give me on condition that I allow him to have sex with me.

<<At this point the respondent laughed>>

I: So did he force you?

R: Yes.

I: Was it something like a rape or you agreed to do it?

R: I agreed because I needed my money (Ghana, urban, 18 year old).

The IDIs conducted in Malawi found that three females were forced to have sex at their sexual debuts by their boyfriends. The unifying theme in their narratives is that they were trapped by the male who forced them to have sex.

I told him that I did not seek permission to sleep out from my parents for when I was leaving home I just told them that I was visiting a friend but he didn't take any of that and just locked me in and gave the keys to one of his friends through

the window only to return with them the following morning. So during the time we were there I had sex with him (Malawi, urban, 18 year old).

I: What did you do to show your disagreement?

R: I protested that I did not want but he insisted until what he wanted was satisfied.

I: Did he rape you?

R: No, he didn't rape me.

I: So you simply gave in?

R: Yes, I gave in...I didn't feel anything because he just forced me (Malawi, urban, 18 year old).

One respondent had been evading her boyfriend with excuses until he finally cornered her: "Then he said to me, 'I have come for that issue,' then I had no choice but to do it." This sexual relationship turned into marriage and the respondent related how now has to do it everyday—the implication being that she is forced to have sex every day (Malawi, rural, 19 year old).

Of the 6 Ugandan females who experienced a forced sex experience at debut, the males were all known to the females and the females were in a romantic relationship with the males in four of the situations.

He deceived me to have sex with him and that is how our relationship started... <<She laughs>>...You know, that boy forced me into having sex, he played about with my head. He told me to go to his home for exam papers, by then we had started our exams. So I went. He forced me into sex. I tried to fight but he over-powered me. He kissed [me] then he had sex with me. <<She shakes her head.>> I felt so bad, but I forgot all about it (Uganda, rural, 19 year old).

We started kissing and romancing. I never wanted to play sex but he forced me and by that time I was virgin...I felt pain and even blood came out from my private part...I felt bad because I did not want to play sex then, because it was painful. I felt I regretted why I went there. I even cried (Uganda, urban, 18 year old).

The first time he asked to have sex and I refused, we spent about a week when we were not talking. It was like our relationship had ended. But he would send his friend to tell me not to end the relationship. He was annoyed and angry with me. After that week, we went to his place and this time he forced himself on me and we had sex...I was hurt, every part of my body was hurting. I got flu. I was very disappointed. I did not even want to see anyone of them, the boy and his friend. That day he forced me, I abused him, and because of anger he slapped me twice (Uganda, urban, 15 year old).

One day I was waiting for a friend of mine and was seated along the path. He grabbed my shoes and took them. He told me I will never see them if I don't go to his place. I feared to go home without the shoes. So I followed him...When I

reached in his house, he closed the door and forced me into sex. I could not scream because I was in his house and dreaded the embarrassment it would cause...I felt bad and regretted why I had gone there but I did not tell anyone. I kept it a secret. It was very painful. I cried a lot but dried the tears. I went back home and pretended as if nothing happened (Uganda, rural, 16 year old, not in a relationship with this partner).

Anyway, it was like this. My friend is the one who took me. She told me that you escort me and we went to the house of her friend. When we were there we saw that boy also coming. Then she told me that you be talking with that boy. I am also talking with this one outside here and there is nothing he will do to you. I also started talking with him knowing that she was outside. But she had gone and the boy forced me into sex (Uganda, rural, 19 year old female, not in a relationship with this partner).

Passive Sexual Intercourse

In FGDs in all countries, but most prevalently in Uganda, the use of alcohol and less frequently drugs were discussed as playing a role in risk-taking behaviors. The discussion focused how males take advantage of females who are drunk in order to have sex with them as well as the negative impact alcohol has on the ability to engage in protected sex, as reported by one group in Malawi and two groups in Uganda³⁵.

P1:...the men are very tricky because they make you drink a lot of alcohol. Like he may buy 4 bottles then he keeps asking you if you have finished. Even if the glass is still full, they keep adding [to your glass]. When you are drunk you cannot resist, you just accept.

P2: You just walk home with no objection at all and remember you could have refused the previous day. You are already drunk. When you get to bed you do not even have time to ask for condoms, you offer slight resistance and then give in (Uganda, FGD4, rural, married)

Alcohol did not come up in the IDIs as a reason why sexual females' had engaged in unwanted intercourse. But other narratives of passive sexual debut situations did come up. One Ghanaian respondent with a child had sexual intercourse at the request of her boyfriend:

F: How did this come to happen?

R: We were in bed and he said we should have sex and I obliged (Ghana, rural, 18 year old).

Two Malawian females in the IDIs related how they had had sexual intercourse at the males' behest:

He told me what he wanted and I accepted (Malawi, urban, 14 year old)

An urban, 18 year old female had just stepped out of the shower and her boyfriend was hiding in her room. When she took her towel off, he grabbed her.

He told me that...he couldn't let me get dressed then he told me that he wanted to have sex with me and he went on to say that he cannot control himself. Then I was dumb founded because to scream would create a scene then I just let him do what he wanted not realizing that I will end up being pregnant (Malawi, urban, 18 year old).

This respondent had told him to wait until they were married and "he said that he cannot do that" because he had seen her naked (and therefore could no longer control himself).

Sexual Intercourse as a Result of Deception

Deception was a fourth way that males coerced females into having sexual intercourse. There are examples of this occurring in every country except Malawi. One Burkinabé, urban, married, 18 year old explained that she had not wanted to have sexual intercourse, but the male flattered her and she gave in.

I: Did he force you?

R: No, he flattered me. I didn't want to accept because it was my first time and I didn't want to lose my virginity.

I: Afterwards what did you think? Did you regret it?

R: I cried all day, I regretted it (Burkina Faso, urban, married, 18 year old).

One Uganda respondent related how she had willingly gone to the secluded location with the male, but when she tried to change her mind, she found that he prevented her departure:

At first I agreed. But after getting a second thought, I tried to refuse because I had never done it before. I was afraid of the outcome. I thought that I would fall sick after doing it, like getting a fever. But as I was thinking about this, my boyfriend was undressing me. This is when I realized that he was naked. He hid my clothes. I thought of yelling but this was my boyfriend and people would have asked why I had gone into his house. I went there knowing that he is not my brother and I knew that he wanted to have sex with me before even going there. But I was just kind of afraid (Uganda, urban, 19 year old).

Deception can occur in different forms. It is made possible through females not being able to retain control of the sexual situation throughout.

The Normalization of Coercion

At least in Uganda, when some females tried to rebel against coercion, the socialization they received was that it was no use since all men coerce. In the first narrative presented below, the female's boyfriend had forced her to have sex and she reacted by not wanting to speak to him again:

He started sending my friend, a girl, because he knew I was mad at him and did not want to see him again. My friend convinced me that such things happen to

every girl so I should get used [to it]. So I forgave the boy and went back (Uganda, urban, 15 year old).

This second narrative is not about the respondent's personal experience with sexual coercion, but rather the respondent's perception of whether coercion (not necessarily at sexual debut) is normal.

I: Is it possible to refuse having sex?

R: You cannot refuse because my sisters have told me that whatever you say, he will find a way of getting you to accept. He might romance you until you get the feeling as well. [...] If we are somewhere with the boyfriend, I would move away because if you refuse he will not feel good...I am not sure what else I would do to get away from him if he insisted on having sex with him. You might find yourself having sex in case you do not want to embarrass him. Boys turn it into war if the girl refuses to have sex with him (Uganda, urban, 17 year old).

It is noteworthy the extent to which this respondent seems to take the male ego into account: "You might find yourself having sex in case you do not want to embarrass him." Yet it could also be a self-protective behavior because she says that "boys turn it into war if the girl refuses to have sex with him."

Reactions to Coercion

In two of the Malawian cases where sex was forced, the females exhibited a notable amount of agency in reacting to the situation afterwards. One of the urban, 18 year olds said to the male that she wished that he had asked her before bringing her to the lodge where he forced her to have sex and the other urban, 18 year old female let the man who forced her to have sex know he had done something wrong and because of that experience, she ended the relationship with him.

Discussion & Conclusion

According to the bivariate quantitative analysis, in three of the four countries in the study, less than half of the females were "very willing" at first sexual intercourse. The exception was Burkina Faso where the percentage "very willing" was 57 percent.

Ghana and Malawi both show a decreased risk of coercion at sexual debut among rural respondents, but this finding is only significant for Ghana. Age at first intercourse does not behave the way one would expect in Malawi where increased age at first intercourse (being in the 15-19 year old age category) leads to a significantly increased risk of being coerced. Age at sexual debut is not significant among the other three countries. Possibly related is the significant finding that being the same age or older than one's sexual partner increases the odds of being coerced at first sex for Malawian females. This relationship deserves further exploration. Relationship to one's first sex partner shows the most significant findings in this model: sexual debut occurring with a casual acquaintance/other greatly increases the odds of the female's sexual debut being coerced

for Burkina Faso, Ghana and Uganda. For Malawi, having one's sexual debut with one's husband significantly decreases the odds of being coerced.

A total of 32 females across the 4 countries related coerced sexual debut narratives with approximately twice as many respondents in Uganda sharing coerced narratives compared to the other three countries: 13 were forced to have sex, 14 were pressured, three were passive and two were deceived. It is important to acknowledge that the categories into which the authors divided the qualitative narratives is somewhat limiting as there is a good deal of overlap between the categories—a forced experience could also have been experienced as deceptive; coerced transactional sex could also result in a female's passive acceptance. The authors tried to categorize the cases according to the most salient theme from the narratives but what emerged as most salient remains to some extent subjective.

Coercive transactional sex was more prevalent in Uganda, followed by Burkina Faso and Malawi, but it was not prevalent in Ghana. The females were lured, bribed, seduced, or made to feel guilty because of how much the male had spent on her. A further treatment of transactional sex is warranted to explore whether gifts may inherently be coercive even if the female does not acknowledge the direct relationship between the gifts and sex. While alcohol and drugs were named in the FGDs as ways that males coerce females into sex, this did not come up in the IDIs.

Some of the respondents had not told anyone about the forced sex experience either because they had been warned by their parents to not put themselves in the position that they did that ended in coerced sex or out of concern for their parent's health. One respondent, who had been cornered by her boyfriend in her bedroom did not scream when he forced himself upon her because “to scream would create a scene [so] I just let him do what he wanted” (Malawi, urban, 18 year old). Another respondent related, “I thought of yelling but this was my boyfriend and people would have asked why I had gone into his house” (Uganda, urban, 19 year old). Further exploration is needed as to how to provide social services to these adolescents as well as how to help them better protect themselves from coercive sex under the circumstances which they are in.

Understanding the sexual and reproductive behaviors of young people, and especially young women who are at particularly high risk of HIV infection, sexually transmitted infections and unwanted pregnancy, and the factors that protect or put them at risk is critical. Youth ages 15-24 are one-fifth of the population of sub-Saharan Africa and their state of health has a significant implication for the future of each of these individual countries and the region as a whole³⁹. Given that their behavior is at a formative stage, these behaviors can be shaped to be more protective through appropriate information and services, thereby providing immediate and long-term benefits for themselves and society.

Sexual coercion is one of the many forms of violence against young people. In a number of African societies young girls face and experience other forms of violence such as neglect and denial of essentials such as nutrition, health and education. Violent behavior and/or the threat of violence are inherent in inter-related number of factors associated with individual, family/household, community and societal characteristics. Sexual

violence and abuse reflect underlying structural factors that contribute to the oppression and exploitation of women ^{5,36-38}.

Limitations

As with all qualitative data, the views described and discussed in this report reflect those of the young people who participated in the FGDs and IDIs conducted in each country. The FGDs and IDIs were designed to capture the opinions of females in urban and rural areas where the qualitative study was conducted. However, the findings reported here may not necessarily represent the views held by young people in general in Burkina Faso, Ghana, Malawi or Uganda.

The data are all retrospective which introduces all of the variability that comes from asking someone to recount an event that may have happened many years ago. In the intervening interval since the event occurred, the respondent may choose to remember and/or tell the story in a different way than had the data been gathered closer to the event perhaps because of the outcome of that specific relationship (e.g. a female feeling in retrospect that the sex was coerced because of how the male treated her afterwards) or because of subsequent relationships/ideas/experiences which made her change her mind about her first sexual experience. In light of these limitations, the data should be interpreted with an appropriate amount of caution.

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Table 1a. Composition of female focus group respondents, Burkina Faso, Ghana, Malawi, and Uganda, PNG

	Urban	Rural
Burkina Faso	4	4
Ghana	4	4
Malawi	3	3
Uganda	3	3
<i>Total</i>	14	14

Table 1b. Compositions of in-depth interview respondents, Burkina Faso, Ghana, Malawi, and Uganda, PNG

	Urban	Rural
Burkina Faso	30	24
Ghana	33	24
Malawi	28	26
Uganda	27	27
<i>Total</i>	118	101

TABLE 2. Characteristics of Sexually Active Females, Age 12-19 by Willingness at First Sex, Place of Residence, Age at First Sex, Age Difference with Partner, Relationship with First Partner and FP Method Used at First Sex in Burkina Faso, Ghana, Malawi, and Uganda-National Survey of Adolescents, 2004

Characteristic	Burkina Faso		Ghana		Malawi		Uganda	
	(N=815)		(N=376)		(N=407)		(N=728)	
Willingness for First Sexual Intercourse								
“Very willing”	57.3	--	46.8	--	41.3	--	45.9	--
“Somewhat willing”	27.8	--	23.3	--	20.6	--	30.7	--
“Not willing at all”	14.9	--	29.9	--	38.1	--	23.4	--
Total	100		100		100		100	
	Non-coerced	Coerced	Non-coerced	Coerced	Non-coerced	Coerced	Non-coerced	Coerced
	(N=693)	(N=121)	(N=266)	(N=113)	(N=253)	(N=155)	(N=559)	(N=169)
Place of Residence								
Urban	26.2	22.3	40.2	51.3	21.3	26.5	12.9	12.4
Rural	73.8	77.7	59.8	48.7	78.7	73.5	87.1	87.6
Age at First Sexual Intercourse								
< 12	0.4	4.1	1.9	7.1	7.5	5.8	7.7	10
12-14	21.8	32.8	22.2	17.7	25.3	16	34.5	37.1
15-19	77.8	63.1	75.2	73.5	66.8	78.2	56.2	51.2
Age difference with first sex partner								
Partner is 10+ years older	24.4	29.8	11.4	9.9	3.2	1.9	7.9	12.5
Partner is 5-9 years older	23.8	20.7	34.1	19.8	14.7	7.7	24.7	20.8
Partner is 1-4 years older	25.3	24.8	34.5	37.8	52.6	51.6	42.2	39.9
Partner is older, don't know specific age	10	9.1	2.3	0.9	10.8	6.5	8.8	14.3
Partner is same age or younger	1.6	0	3	5.4	13.5	29	8.3	7.1
Don't know	15	15.7	14.8	26.1	5.2	3.2	8.1	5.4

Relationship with first sex partner

Boyfriend	53.7	49.2	76.8	70.8	66.3	78.8	76	67.6
Husband	38.2	37.7	8.6	3.5	23	7.7	11.8	8.2
Live-in partner	3.7	0.8	10.1	4.4	9.9	9.6	5.9	3.5
Casual Acquaintance/Other	4.3	12.3	4.5	21.3	0.8	3.9	6.3	20.5
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Notes: Ns are weighted.

TABLE 3. Characteristics of Sexually Active Females, Age 12-19 by Willingness at First Sex, Place of Residence, Age at First Sex, Age Difference with Partner, Relationship with First Partner and FP Method Used at First Sex in Burkina Faso, Ghana, Malawi, and Uganda-National Survey of Adolescents, 2004

	Burkina Faso (N=815)		Ghana (N=376)		Malawi (N=407)		Uganda (N=728)	
Willingness for First Sexual Intercourse								
“Very willing”	57.3		46.8		41.3		45.9	
“Somewhat willing”	27.8		23.3		20.6		30.7	
“Not willing at all”	14.9		29.9		38.1		23.4	
Total	100		100		100		100	
	Non-coerced (N=693)	Coerced (N=121)	Non-coerced (N=266)	Coerced (N=113)	Non-coerced (N=253)	Coerced (N=155)	Non-coerced (N=559)	Coerced (N=169)
Place of Residence								
Urban	87.1 (512)	12.9 (94)	64.8 (107)	35.2 (58)	56.8 (54)	43.2 (41)	77.4 (72)	22.6 (21)
Rural	84.5 (182)	15.5 (27)	74.3 (159)	25.7 (55)	63.6 (199)	36.4 (114)	76.7 (487)	23.3 (148)
Age at First Sexual Intercourse								
< 12	37.5 (3)	62.5 (5)	38.5 (5)	61.5 (8)	67.9 (19)	32.1 (9)	71.7 (43)	28.3 (17)
12-14	79.1 (151)	20.9 (40)	74.7 (59)	25.3 (20)	71.9 (64)	28.1 (25)	75.4 (193)	24.6 (63)
15-19	87.5 (540)	12.5 (77)	70.7 (200)	29.3 (83)	58.1 (169)	41.9 (122)	78.3 (314)	21.7 (87)
Age difference with first sex partner								
Partner is 10+ years older	82.4 (169)	17.6 (36)	73.2 (30)	26.8 (11)	72.7 (8)	27.3 (3)	67.7 (44)	32.3 (21)
Partner is 5-9 years older	86.8 (165)	13.2 (25)	80.4 (90)	19.6 (22)	75.5 (37)	24.5 (12)	79.7 (137)	20.3 (35)
Partner is 1-4 years older	85.4 (175)	14.6 (30)	68.4 (91)	31.6 (42)	62.3 (132)	37.7 (80)	77.7 (234)	22.3 (67)
Partner is older, don't know specific age	86.3 (69)	13.8 (11)	85.7 (6)	14.3 (1)	73.0 (27)	27.0 (10)	67.1 (49)	32.9 (24)
Partner is same age or younger	100.0 (11)	0.0 (0)	57.1 (8)	42.9 (6)	43.0 (34)	57.0 (45)	79.3 (46)	20.7 (12)
Don't know	84.6 (104)	15.4 (19)	57.4 (39)	42.6 (29)	72.2 (13)	27.8 (5)	83.3 (45)	16.7 (9)
Relationship with first sex partner								
Boyfriend	86.1 (373)	13.9 (60)	71.9 (205)	28.1 (80)	57.6 (167)	42.4 (123)	78.7 (425)	21.3 (115)
Husband	85.2 (265)	14.8 (46)	85.2 (23)	14.8 (4)	82.9 (58)	17.1 (12)	82.5 (66)	17.5 (14)

Live-in partner	96.3 (26)	3.7 (1)	84.4 (27)	15.6 (5)	62.5 (25)	37.5 (15)	84.6 (33)	15.4 (6)
Casual Acquaintance/Other	66.7 (30)	33.3 (15)	33.3 (12)	66.7 (24)	25.0 (2)	75.0 (6)	50.0 (35)	50.0 (35)

Notes: Ns are weighted. Numbers in parentheses are sample sizes for each response.

Table 4: Odds Ratios Predicting Coercive First Sex among Sexually Experienced Female Adolescents Ages 12-19 in Burkina Faso, Ghana, Malawi, and Uganda, National Survey of Adolescents, 2004

Factor	Burkina Faso	Ghana	Malawi	Uganda
<i>Place of Residence</i>				
Urban	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Rural	1.19	0.58*	0.79	1.05
<i>Age at First Sexual Intercourse (years)</i>				
< 12	3.51	3.12	1.03	0.74
12—14	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
15—19	0.66	1.74	2.58**	0.90
<i>Age Difference with Partner</i>				
Partner is 10+ years older	1.33	0.79	0.74	1.64
Partner is 5-9 years older	0.69	0.68	0.65	1.03
Partner is 1-4 years older	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Partner is older, don't know difference	0.98	0.09	0.63	1.77
Partner is same age or younger than respondent	--	2.08	2.36**	0.77
Don't know	1.57	1.65	1.01	0.68
<i>Relationship with First Intercourse Partner</i>				
Boyfriend	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Husband	0.97	0.47	0.29***	0.77
Live-in partner	0.44	0.69-	0.87	0.61
Casual acquaintance/Other	3.56***	6.61***	4.45	3.63***

Odds ratio predicting coercive first sex

* $P < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$; $n = 746$ (Burkina Faso); $n = 375$ (Ghana); $n = 435$ (Malawi); $n = 715$ (Uganda)

Reference Group OR = 1.00

-- denotes factor not included in the model