

ABSTRACT

Title of Thesis: PERCEPTIONS OF ABILITY TO REFUSE SEX AMONG
SINGLE WOMEN IN URBAN CAMEROON

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This thesis reviews the variables that influence young women's ability to refuse sex with a man who has paid her school fees and a man who has power over her such as a teacher or employer. I use the 2002 Cameroon Adolescent Reproductive Health Survey, which contains information on a randomly selected sample of youth, aged 15 to 24 who reside in Yaoundé and Douala, Cameroon. Ability to refuse sex with one who paid school fees is positively associated with education, student status, and age, yet negatively associated with sexual experience, reporting most of friends have boyfriends, and tricked or unwanted first sex. Perceived ability to refuse sex with a teacher/employer is greater for Muslims and those reporting no religion, but less for those pressured by friends to have sex. Findings suggest that ability to refuse sex in general and ability to refuse sex under specific circumstances are distinct capabilities.

PERCEPTIONS OF ABILITY TO REFUSE SEX AMONG SINGLE WOMEN IN
URBAN CAMEROON

by

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I. Introduction

When are women particularly disadvantaged in negotiating with men as to whether or not they have intercourse? A woman's position in society, her past experiences, or her social circles may shape her ability to refuse sex. I examine young women's perceptions of their abilities to control men's access to their bodies in situations when they are dependent on the man for educational fees, employment or grades. More specifically, I explore two main issues. First I document the proportion of young women who report that they could not refuse sex with 1) someone who tries to force them, 2) someone who has paid their school fees, and 3) someone who has power over them like a teacher or employer. Second, I analyze which social factors that are associated with the level of confidence in the ability to refuse sex.

In this thesis I elucidate the extent to which young women feel they would reciprocate a man's gifts of school fees, grades or employment with access to their bodies. While this does not allow me to assess what proportion of young women are at risk of experiencing this situation, it does allow me to assess what their reaction would be if they were in this situation. However, in a period of national economic and educational reversals (Eloundou-Enyegue and DaVanzo 2003), school fees and employment are likely to be prime examples of resources young women need. This topic is of particular relevance in Cameroon given these economic and educational reversals and the rapid increase of HIV prevalence over the past decade.

The inability to refuse sexual activities increases a young woman's frequency of unprotected sex, possibly leading to unwanted pregnancies, Sexually Transmitted Infections (STIs), or HIV/AIDS. Many African norms allow men open access to sexual

activity with women (Ankrah 1991; Dixon-Mueller 1993). Financial dependence on men may further tip the balance of power within the dyad, decreasing a young woman's perceived ability to refuse sex (Blanc 2001). The intersection of gender and class is particularly disadvantageous to young women because their age exacerbates the unequal balance of power between them and older men (Dixon-Mueller 1993; Gage 1998). Gender, class, age, and power intersect as important impediments to protective behavior (Ankrah 1991; Osmond et al. 1993). Much attention has been paid to women's abilities and obstacles in ensuring mutual monogamy and negotiating condom use, but less attention has been paid to women's ability to select their partner.

II. Social Exchange and Dependency Theory

The application and testing of social psychological theories in Africa is limited relative to Western countries. Nonetheless, an important validation of social psychological theory rests in its applicability across societies. I consider social exchange theory and its application in the Cameroonian context. Social exchange theory argues that humans are rational actors looking to maximize their profits in exchanges (Turner 2003). The theory posits that actors are mutually, although not necessarily equally, dependent on each other for valuables such as money, social approval, esteem or respect, or even sex (Molm and Cook 1995).

In his early formulations of the theory, Homans argued that exchange must initially be face-to-face, limited, direct exchanges between individuals whose behavior creates and sustains social structures (Turner 2003). The exchange of sexual consent for school fees, grades, or employment meets these requirements. Consistent with the literature on the exchange in transactional sex, the details of each actor's obligations are not necessarily known before the exchange.

Social exchange views rewards and punishments as the main force behind behavior. People exchanging rewards and punishments have the ability to look for the long-term consequences when seeking to optimize rewards. One long term consequence in the exchange of sex for school fees, grades or employment is the potential increase in status associated with women's education and employment. That implies, however, that young women might endure a short-term disadvantage in order to achieve longer term higher status.

Taken together, these ideas highlight the importance of power. Emerson argued that “power resides implicitly in the other’s dependency” (1962, p32) and thus based his power-dependency theory largely on the issue of dependency. Power-dependency theory explains that the power of person A over person B is determined by A’s dependence on B for a good or service, compared with B’s dependence on A for other goods or services. Dependence is a function of the availability of other sources of goods or services.

The population structure of Cameroon remains young (see figure 1, U.S. Census Bureau 2002), with young women outnumbering older men, and vastly outnumbering older men with financial and social capital (Luke 2003). This decreases the availability of goods and services from other older men and gives them large numbers of young women from whom to choose. Such differentials in the availability of alternative sources of the valuables exchanged increases men’s power over women in exchange relationships.

Relative power in an exchange relation often results in the unequal distribution of rewards (Cook and Rice 2003). The resources exchanged need not be the same, but are expected to constitute a fair or equitable exchange. This means that a woman can exchange sexual relations for school fees, grades, or employment as long as an exchange partner feels it is a fair exchange. The norms of fair exchange are the expectations of the level of reward derived from an exchange (Turner 2003). If a partner does not feel the exchange is fair, the partner may not reciprocate and may terminate the relationship. That is, young women could refuse sexual relations. However, agreeing to reciprocate might imply that young women value their resource (sexual consent) a fair exchange for a partner’s resource (i.e., school fees, grades, or employment) after considering the long

term consequences of the exchange (i.e., greater status through education or employment).

III. Factors affecting sexual decision-making

Unequal power relations between heterosexual partners often play out in the arena of reproductive decision-making, giving women little power over protective behavior or the timing of sex (Ankrah 1991; Blanc 2001). Contraceptive use is low in Cameroon—only a quarter of sexually active young women report using any method (Meekers and Klein 2002; ORC Macro 2003). Young women in Cameroon have an early sexual initiation, with a median age at first sex of 16.3 for those aged 20 to 24 (ORC Macro 2003). Periodic abstinence, when one abstains from sex during the fecund period, remains the most common method of family planning, especially among unmarried sexually active women. Just under half of sexually active unmarried women aged 15 to 24 use periodic abstinence (ORC Macro 2003). The high use of this traditional method, even among the well educated, is attributed in part to Catholicism and an honor system that emphasizes behavioral control (Johnson-Hanks 2002). While periodic abstinence is somewhat effective at delaying pregnancy, it is not effective for preventing STIs or HIV. Moreover, the effective execution of periodic abstinence relies heavily on a women's ability to refuse sex during the fecund period.

While research on women's sexual decision-making has traditionally been concerned with fertility and the timing of pregnancies, the surge in HIV infection among women is gaining increasing attention. There are three commonly accepted ways to prevent sexual transmission of HIV: abstaining from sex, only engaging in sex with one partner who has tested HIV negative, and using condoms consistently. A young woman's ability to refuse sex is closely tied to each of these three prevention methods. If a young woman cannot refuse sex, abstaining from sex will be largely determined by a partner's

decision to engage in sex, stripping nearly all efficacy from the young woman. Similarly, a young woman can only remain monogamous to the extent that she can refuse sex with other potential partners. Finally, while not mutually exclusive, condom use is unlikely during nonconsensual sex (Klein and Longfield 2003). The urgency of the HIV epidemic makes it necessary to have a comprehensive understanding of factors affecting protective behavior such as condom use, fidelity and, as this thesis suggests, youth's ability to abstain from sexual activities.

While most research on women's capacity to refuse sex in Africa focuses on South Africa, there is evidence that substantial levels of unwanted sex and forced sexual initiation occur throughout sub-Saharan Africa (Ajuwon, Akin-Jimoh, Olley, and Akintola 2001; Garcia-Moreno and Watts 2000). Women of all ages, in different places, may have difficulty refusing unwanted sexual activity (Bawah, Akweongo, Simmons, and Phillips 1999; Maman, Campbell, Sweat, and Gielen 2000; Shanks, Ford, Schull, and de Jong 2001; Watts and Zimmermann 2002).

Qualitative studies of youth in South Africa suggests that sexual coercion exists in non-marital relationships and that young women feel that there is no alternative to such circumstances (Wood et al. 1998). While official statistics on rape and sexual coercion are not often available, qualitative reports suggests that violence occurs in many intimate relationships (Wood et al. 1998; Klein and Longfield 2003). While there is an increasing amount of literature on women's circumstances in intimate relationships, less is known about their ability to refuse sex in relations that are of a more transactional nature.

Gender

Power differences in terms of economics, age, and gender play an important role in determining the circumstances in which women have sexual relations in Africa (Gage 1998). Despite the notion that colonialization brought modernity to Africa, in some cases, colonialization compounded women's situation by forcing them to deal with the strong western gender biases in conjunction with those of their own culture (Sacks 1982). Women in many West African countries prior to colonialization maintained relationships with men that were largely more equitable than was found in other parts of Africa or much of Europe. In fact, reference has been made to West African women as "one history's most politically visible female populations" (Barnes 1997, p2). In spite of this, colonialism imported the European tradition of submissive women, thus largely undercutting the remnants of ancient matriarchal societies.

Cameroon has a rather rich tradition of women's collective action (Wipper 1995). Unfortunately, most literature does not address if these powers derived from collective action might have been concurrent with more equitable interpersonal relations between women and their partners. Nevertheless, there is some limited evidence that the benefits derived from collectives were transferred to domestic relations. Some men preferred that their wives not join cooperatives: "...my wives go there, and then they drink corn beer, and then they come home and then they don't answer properly... and (are) wanting expensive things..." (Chilver field-notes, 1958 cited in Chilver 1992, p112).

While the constitution assures equality of sexes and there is evidence of women's collective movements, women remain subject to discrimination and social exclusion (Eteki-Otabela 1992). Norms surrounding marriage may foster legitimacy of a gendered power asymmetry. The practice of men paying bridewealth for the reproductive and

sexual rights of their wives may lead men to believe that they have the legitimate right to control their wives bodies (Ifeka 1992). All marriages not otherwise specified are assumed polygamous leaving open the possibility that if a wife does not fulfill her husband's needs he has the right to take another wife (Center for Reproductive Law and Policy and Groupe de Recherche Femmes et Lois au Senegal 1999). While there is some evidence women maintain power until a bridewealth has been paid (Longfield, Klein, and Berman 2002), it seems plausible that some young women might imitate the behavior of their key role models for behavior in intimate relations: married women, who have ceded sexual decision-making to their husbands.

Legal status of women and women's reproductive rights

Cameroon remains a patriarchal society where men's control over assets, including control over women, is reinforced by laws and social institutions (Endeley 2001). Cameroon's legal system has three main influences, namely French colonial law, British colonial law, and traditional law (Center for Reproductive Law and Policy and Groupe de Recherche Femmes et Lois au Senegal 1999). While each facet was traditionally given equal weight, in recent years contemporary law has gained primacy over traditional law in the arena of women's rights.

Laws against sexual offenses are explicit yet rarely enforced. Forced sex through physical or emotional means is against the law in Cameroon, and is punishable by five to ten years imprisonment (Center for Reproductive Law and Policy and Groupe de Recherche Femmes et Lois au Senegal 1999). When prosecuting sexual offenses, young women are classified as youth when they are under 16 years of age, and minors when

they are under 20 years of age.¹ The punishment doubles if the young woman is classified as a youth. Sexual offenses against youth or by perpetrators who have “authority over the victim or ... a civil servant” require more severe punishments.²

Finally, there is no law against sexual harassment in Cameroon (Center for Reproductive Law and Policy and Groupe de Recherche Femmes et Lois au Senegal 1999). This leaves women no recourse against the sexual advances or demands of employers. The lack of protection from sexual harassment stands in sharp contrast to the legal protection against unwanted sexual relations.

Cross-generational relationships

The extent of cross generational sex varies across sub-Saharan Africa (Appendix A from Luke 2003).³ On the whole, young women tend to couple with men who are older than them, yet the degree to which these men are older varies from context to context. In Yaoundé, 16 percent of young women aged 15 to 24 had a sexual partner who was at least ten years older (Lyndie et al. forthcoming). There is some evidence that young women who have negative reproductive health outcomes tend to have partners who are older.⁴ The data used for this thesis show age differences among youth with regular and casual partners. Over one in ten (12%) young women who have a regular partner in the

¹ Corruption of a minor is punishable by up to 5 years imprisonment and a fine of 20,000 to 1,000,000 CFA francs. The estimated per capita GNP is approximately 408,291 CFA francs.

² Punishable by two to five years in prison and a fine of 20,000 to 200,000 CFA. If the indecent offense included sexual relations, the penalty is ten years imprisonment, regardless of whether the youth consented to the relations.

³ Thanks to Nancy Luke for permission to reprint her tables.

⁴ HIV positive women in Rakai, Uganda had a median age difference of 6.3 years compared to HIV negative women who had a median age difference of 5.7 years. In a study of young women aged 15 to 19 who have had induced abortion in Tanzania, 73 percent reported that their current sexual partner is over 30 years old (Luke 2003).

past year reported that their partner was at least 10 years older (not shown). The proportion of young women with casual partners who are at least 10 years older than the respondent is 18 percent.

Young women are most often portrayed as either victims or villains in literature on transactional sex (Luke 2003). While sexuality is an important resource for young women, they are rarely depicted as actors using their sexuality as social capital. Young women often engage in cross-generational sex for reasons as diverse as love, affection, gifts, status, and financial support (Longfield, Glick, Waithaka, and Berman 2002; Luke 2003). They tend to find older men more stable and more serious about their relationships. On the whole, were it not for an increased risk for HIV, relations with an older man could increase young women's economic survival, long-term life chances, and their status among their peers.

The extent of transactional relations varies across sub-Saharan Africa (Appendix A from Luke 2003). It has been argued that there is a continuum of exchange of sex for goods in Africa that makes it difficult to discern sex work from transactional sex and from partnerships between two loving adults (Caldwell, Caldwell, and Quiggin 1989; Seidel 1993; Standing 1992). Some literature suggests prostitution does not exist in Africa because "there is in all these contexts a social expectation that sexual services are reciprocated with cash and gifts such as clothing and this is an expectation which runs right across the many different forms of liaison" (Standing 1992). Transactional sex is not uncommon in Cameroon. In Yaoundé, nearly a third of young women aged 15 to 20 report that they have ever engaged in sexual relations for money or gifts (Calves and Meekers 1997).

Cross-generational relationships are commonly assumed to drive the dramatically higher HIV rates among young women than among young men (Longfield et al. 2002). There is evidence that females may engage in sexual activity with older men to further their economic or educational opportunities (Johnson-Kuhn 2000; Little 1973; Luke 2003). Cross-generational relationships suffer from the balance of power being loaded in favor of the men, not only from their age and sex, but also due to their dramatic financial independence and power that they wield relative to young women (Rao Gupta 2002). Nonetheless, we do not know what the differential access to resources that older men have means in terms of young women's ability to control the circumstance and timing of sexual relations.

The payment of educational fees

Considerable attention has recently turned to the role of men who financially support young women. This system has been maintained in much of Africa due to the constraints women face. Payment of educational fees⁵ is a prerequisite for attending public school in most of sub-Saharan Africa. Unfortunately, families may not always be able to pay their children's fees. The current economic crisis in Cameroon has forced many public schools to levy additional fees while the decline in per capita GDP has made it more difficult for families to cover even were the fees to have remained constant (Eloundou-Enyegue and DaVanzo 2003). Often when families have limited funds these funds are first allocated to the education of their male children which is reflected in the increased sex inequality during the crisis years. As education remains an important status marker and commodity in the marriage market, young women may be in situations where

⁵ I will use "educational fees" to represent school fees and apprentice fees.

they may have to provide their own school fees or abandon their education (Eloundou-Enyegue and DaVanzo 2003; Longfield et al. 2002). This situation creates a paradox where education is a resource, yet if paid for by an older man, can erode power.

It may be illogical for parents to pay their daughters' school fees under circumstances where young women marry early and their earnings belong to her husband and her in-laws (Bledsoe 1990). Parents may have some motivation to help pay school fees if education increases their daughter's bridewealth, however it is unlikely that there would be a one-to-one return on their educational investment at the time of marriage.

This situation is then complicated by young women's disadvantage in the labor market making it difficult for her to generate money for her fees. Further, in areas with rigid age hierarchies one would not expect a young woman's peers to have the resources to pay their school fees, thus older men become a scarce resource to young women. Men may expect that the young women repay them through sexual favors. Asking a man outside of her family for money can suggest that she's interested in a sexual exchange (Bledsoe 1990). As demonstrated by the following quote, the onset of such relationships may not include sexual favors, however accepting for a man to pay your school fees may make young women unlikely to refuse his sexual advances.

For around three months he doesn't demand anything...He keeps giving you things. Therefore when he asks you to return the favor you end up with a guilty conscience and you give him sex in return because you can't return the money (cited in Longfield et al. 2002).

Just as not all men may pay a female student's school fees with the expectation of sexual favors, not all female students may be aware that a patron may expect for compensation for his financial assistance (Longfield et al. 2002). This implies that if it is

a man's intention to begin a transactional relationship, the young woman may still not be aware of any implicit agreement.

Finally, the payment of school fees may indicate more than just an interest in sexual relations—it can be an expression of interest in marriage (Bledsoe 1990). Marriage is a lengthy process in much of Africa often involving cohabitation, childbirth, bridewealth payment, and ceremonies before the union is complete. These arrangements would have important implications for young women in terms of their ability to refuse sex (Bledsoe 1990). Since there is no marital rape, if a young woman is to eventually marry the man who pays her fees, she may feel it is a conjugal responsibility to acquiesce.

Teachers and employers

Teachers hold particularly powerful positions in student's lives. They are gatekeepers to young women's access to good grades and are men who have the ability to pay or wave school fees (Bledsoe 1990). There are two types of girls who are particularly vulnerable to teachers, those who would otherwise receive poor grades and those from poor families (Bledsoe 1990). Some male teachers reportedly regard sexual access to female students as a benefit of their profession (Human Rights Watch 2001). Similarly, male teachers may use their position to bribe female students with better grades in exchange for sexual favors, or, conversely, they may mark down female students who reject their advances. In fact, as a newspaper columnist commented, "Everyone has heard talk of "Sexually Transmitted Grades"" (Tchankam 1998, cited in Johnson-Kuhn 2000).

Since there are no laws against sexual harassment, employers may take advantage of their position of providing employment in order to solicit sex. This may be particularly

common for females working in domestic labor (Little 1973). Urban areas traditionally had fewer females and it was not uncommon for men to employ females to tend to their domestic needs. These women's duties extended to more than cooking and cleaning, with some playing the role of mistress. If a female employee were to not fulfill any sexual role expected by her employer, it is unlikely that she would have recourse against termination.

An unequal balance of power makes it difficult for young women to engage in behavior that is optimally beneficial to them. This leads to their "increased vulnerability to sexual coercion, violence, and lowered self esteem" (Rao Gupta 2002, p4). Women have a gendered disadvantage in each element that defines power. Further, there is an added effect of being female and being at the low end of each definition of power—leaving women with low levels of education, low income, and young women exceedingly more disadvantaged than their male counterparts.

Education

Education is one of the most conventional measures of women's status (e.g. Kuate Defo 1997) and attaining an education is the goal of many Cameroonians. Higher levels of education may make one more receptive to modern ideas, such as gender equality, may increase the likelihood that one is knowledgeable about diseases and prevention methods, and may lead to greater self-confidence. Of particular importance for this thesis, education is seen by Cameroonians as imparting modern values (Johnson-Kuhn 2000), which may include a woman's right to refuse sex. Education may increase women's economic autonomy and therefore decrease their dependence on men.

Education often empowers women. However, while young women are in school, western education may actually disadvantage them by temporarily removing them from

the labor force and creating a financial dependence on men (Robertson 1986). Those who do not attend school are not subject to this short-term school-time dependency, however, less educated women will likely face disadvantages in the labor market in relation to educated females resulting in a more long-term dependency on men. Thus, young women who need assistance paying school fees may be, temporarily, a high risk group.

A large proportion of Cameroonian education has been provided through missionaries (Johnson-Kuhn 2000; Robertson 1986), giving institutionalized religion, and Catholicism in particular, a major role in the socialization of children. Religion was one of the most persuasive means through which Europeans imported their ideas and morals. In 1901, the first mission opened in Yaoundé and its first primary school opened in 1907 (Johnson-Kuhn 2000).

As mentioned above, Cameroon has suffered from educational reversals in the 1990's with primary school enrollment decreasing from 76 percent in 1987-89 to 65 percent in 1995 (Eloundou-Enyegue and DaVanzo 2003). Sex inequality in education has during these reversals, despite there being no changes in rural-urban and socioeconomic inequalities. Young women appear to be most vulnerable to dropping out of school during primary and the first years of secondary school, which coincides with an increase in tuition of approximately fourfold, to 17 USD.

The education of boys has priority over the education of girls (Center for Reproductive Law and Policy and Groupe de Recherche Femmes et Lois au Senegal 1999). In 1995, an estimated 75 percent of males and 52 percent of females were literate. These educational disparities remain despite the constitutional guarantee of a right to education and mandatory primary education. Nonetheless, women's education has

increased since 1950 when levels were negligible (Robertson 1986). In 1980 half of all girls were in school along with 69% of males and primary school retainer rates were nearly equal, at approximately 50 percent for both sexes.

In sum, while education is empowering once attained, attaining it may temporarily place females in positions of dependency. In addition, as the importance of education in determining one's social status increases, the gender differences in educational attainment have more severe consequences for women's power and social status vis-à-vis men.

Age

Africa's power structure relies strongly on gerontocracy, emphasizing the continued importance of an age hierarchy (Caldwell et al. 1989; McCall 1995). The African system of marriage and sexuality has remained largely unchanged because older men who benefited from the more traditional systems were able to maintain power (Caldwell et al. 1989). Education has begun to relax this gerontocracy, as education has increasingly become a main determinant of power and social status (Robertson 1986). The compounded power differences due to age and gender contribute to making younger females more vulnerable to exploitive and coercive sex (Gage 1998).

Social relationships and power

Previous studies suggest that social support fosters an enabling environment for enacting protective behavior (Meekers and Klein 2002). However, sexually experienced young women in Yaoundé and Douala have low perceptions of social support for protective behavior relative to sexually experienced young men (Meekers and Klein

2002). While most of the literature on reproductive health focuses on social support for condom use, I examine social support for perceived ability to refuse sex.

Individuals tend to select their peers based on similar characteristics, beliefs, or interests, creating a selective socialization. This selective socialization creates a subgroup that becomes a reference group against whom a young woman compares herself. Peer groups can create an environment that pressures young women to maintain sexual relations by emphasizing that only those who are “weird” avoid sexual relations (Wood et al. 1998, p236). Young women’s peers also are an important source of information on sexual relations (Luke 2003). Further, as will be discussed below, individuals assess their own ability to do something, such as refuse sex, through the “vicarious experiences” of others (Bandura 1997, p79).

Income and work

Colonialism brought about the beginning of a cash economy while preferentially allocating men formal sector jobs and relegating women to subsistence farming (Sacks 1982). Further, in a cash economy, women’s educational disadvantages became disadvantages in the labor force, again increasing women’s dependence on male partners to fulfill their basic needs.

In 1992, Cameroon adopted a labor code conferring employers freedom in negotiating contracts which had significant effects on women’s employment (Center for Reproductive Law and Policy and Groupe de Recherche Femmes et Lois au Senegal 1999). The code resulted in significant hiring discrimination and lower salaries for women. Further, it did not establish protection against sexual harassment in the work place. However, the code has protective elements such as guaranteeing that they will not

be terminated due to pregnancy or marital status, and establishing a paid maternity leave. Nonetheless, few women are actually protected from termination due to pregnancy because so few are employed in the formal sector.

IV. Methods

Data Set and Sample

The 2002 Cameroon Adolescent Reproductive Health Survey contains information on a randomly selected sample of youth aged 15 to 24 living in Yaoundé and Douala, urban centers in Cameroon. The 2002 survey is the second wave in a three round survey. Data were collected by the Institut de Recherches et des Etudes de Comportements (IRESCO) between January 4 and 19, 2002. The questionnaire was developed by Population Services International (PSI), with input from IRESCO and Sante Familiale et Prevention du SIDA (SFPS)/Tulane University. In total, in-person interviews were conducted with 3,536 youth, of whom 1,483 were women not married or cohabiting.

The sampling used a multi-stage stratified sampling design with a targeted sample size of 3,500 with half of the respondents in Yaoundé and half in Douala. Twelve neighborhoods were selected in each city with a probability of selection proportional to population size (PPS). In each selected neighborhood, 30 enumeration areas were selected with PPS. Households were randomly selected from a list of households with at least one eligible person. One eligible person was randomly selected per household and interviewers made up to three attempts to reach the selected individual.

Same-sex interviews, aged 25 or younger, conducted the interviews in French. When the selected respondent was not available for the interview, interviewers attempted to establish a better time to return. Interviewers made up to three attempts to reach each selected individual. Informed consent was obtained verbally, from the head of the household as well as the respondent. I limit my analysis to the 1,483 young women reporting that they are neither married nor cohabitating.

V. Description of variables

In this thesis, I look at a young women's perceived ability to refuse the sexual advances of men who they imagine being dependent on such as one who has paid her school fees and one who is a teacher or employer. I now turn to the three different dependent variables typically used in scales measuring self-efficacy. Perceived self-efficacy is defined as "beliefs in one's capabilities to organize and execute the courses of action required to produce given attainments" (Bandura 1997, p3). Self-efficacy has a more specific focus on "perceptions and assessments of self with regard to competence, effectiveness, and causal agency" than other elements of personal control (Gecas 1989).

Finally, I review the independent variables that, as suggested by the above review, I expect to influence perceptions of the ability to refuse sex. These include variables that indicate her position in the social structure as well as indicators of her past experienced and her peer influences.

Dependent variables

Young women's reports of what they would do if someone tried to force them to have sex is first used as a dependent variable.⁶ The youth self-reported that they would never, probably would not, do not know, probably would, and would have sex with someone who tried to force them to have sex in the coming year.

After first analyzing the variables that are correlated with reports of what young women would do if someone tried to force them to have sex, the variable is added as a control in the models for ability to refuse sex with one who has paid school fees and a

⁶ Si quelqu'un essayait de vous forcer à avoir des rapports sexuels durant l'année qui vient, que feriez-vous? *If someone were to try to force you to have sex in the next year, what would you do?*

teacher or employer. Controlling for general ability to refuse unwanted sex in the two models for specific circumstances will allow me to see what structural and social relationships exist net of a young woman's general ability to refuse. If the relationships between the structural and social variables remain consistent after adding this control then the effects of these independent variables are important net of their effect on a young woman's generalized ability to refuse sex; if they do not remain consistent then it suggests that the relationship exists mainly through their relationship with a woman's overall ability to refuse.

Respondents were asked to what extent they felt they could refuse sex with someone who paid school fees⁷ and to what extent they felt they could refuse sex with someone who was in a position of power over them like a teacher or employer.⁸ The respondents self-classified that they absolutely would not do it, probably would not do it, probably would do it, absolutely would do it, or that they did not know. The "do not know" are small in number (n=43, 3.08% for one who paid fees; n=31, 2.22% for teachers or employers) and will be dropped for the multivariate analysis, however, they are shown in the bivariate analysis.

The questions to what degree would you be able to refuse to have sex with someone who paid your school or vocational fees and solicits sex and someone who has power over you like a teacher or an employer may not imply nonconsensual sex to all

⁷ Jusqu'à quel degré pourriez-vous refuser d'avoir des rapports sexuels avec une personne qui a payé vos frais de scolarité ou frais de stage et qui exige un rapport sexuel? *To what degree could you refuse to have sex with a person who has paid your school or vocational fees and asks for sex?*

⁸ Jusqu'à quel degré pourriez-vous refuser d'avoir des rapports sexuels avec quelqu'un qui a un pouvoir sur vous comme un enseignant ou un employeur? *To what degree could you refuse to have sex with a person who has power over you like a teacher or employer?*

young women. Some young women may be sexually attracted to someone who paid their educational fees or a teacher or an employer and therefore asking them if they could refuse sex would refer their ability to overcome their desire to have sex with such men, not their ability to stop non-consensual sex. Similarly, young women who are in transactional relations with such men may feel that they decided to have sex with the man when they accepted educational fees, grades, or employment from such men.

The hypothetical nature of this variable is nonetheless advantageous because it does not constrain the analysis to those who have been exposed to solicitations of unwanted sex, which may happen less frequently or more commonly among certain groups. This allows for fewer limits when generalizing to the broader population and cell counts large enough for regressions.

Independent variables

Age

When prosecuting sexual offenses, young women are classified as “youth” if they are under 16, and “minors” if they are under 20 years of age (Center for Reproductive Law and Policy and Groupe de Recherche Femmes et Lois au Senegal 1999). Corruption of a minor is punishable by up to 5 years imprisonment and a fine of 20,000 to 100,000 CFA francs. The punishment doubles if the young woman is classified as a youth. Age was therefore coded into three groups, namely, those aged 15, those aged 16 to 20, and those aged 20 to 24.

While the increases in consequences for one who forces sex with a young person has an inverse relationship with age, I am not certain about the direction of the possible relationship between age and ability to refuse sex. Older females (20-24) would be more experienced sexually—with higher self-esteem, more confidence, and more experience in

discussing sexual matters. Therefore, they may be more likely to be confident refusing sex. However since the age at first marriage for those 20 to 24 is 17.3 (Center for Reproductive Law and Policy and Groupe de Recherche Femmes et Lois au Senegal 1999), older females have more pressure to begin and maintain relationships that could lead to marriage, therefore they may have less ability to refuse sex. Similarly, while older females may have more sexual experience, they may have more experience with the difficulties in negotiating with men over such issues. This would lead them to have less of an idealistic view of their ability to refuse sex than those in the young age groups. Further, those in the younger age groups may be aware of their legal status and may be able to use it to increase their leverage when trying to refuse sex.

Education and current student status

Education was coded as none, primary, secondary, or higher in the bivariate analysis and recoded for the multivariate analysis as none or primary and secondary or higher.⁹ I expect that those with higher levels of education would have more social capital and greater access to resources that they could mobilize to be able to refuse sexual advances.

The young women were further identified as to whether they were currently in school.¹⁰ Caution is required in the interpretation of this variable because there may be selection out of school due to pregnancy. Pregnancy is more likely to occur among those who do not have the ability to refuse sex. In fact, of those not currently in school in the sample used in this thesis, 47% (n=260) are no longer in school because of financial

⁹ Quel est le niveau scolaire le plus élevé que vous avez atteint? *What is the highest level of education you have attained?*

¹⁰ Etes-vous actuellement élève dans un établissement scolaire? *Are you currently a student?*

reasons and 10% (n=57) because of pregnancy (not shown). I propose two competing hypotheses (1) students may fear expulsion due to an unwanted pregnancy and therefore would have higher motivations and perceived abilities to refuse sex, or (2) students may be pressured into sexual activities with teachers or those who could assist with their school fees. My second hypothesis is supported by evidence that females may engage in sexual activity to further their educational opportunities or to maintain good grades (Human Rights Watch 2001; Little 1973).

Social Influences

In order to capture the respondent's perceptions of their peers I included variables that capture whether they feel pressure to have sex from friends¹¹ (0, 1), the proportion of friends sexually experienced¹² (none, few, most, all) and if they feel that most of friends have boyfriends¹³ (no/yes). I expect that those who feel pressure from friends, who feel that more of their friends are having sex, and those who feel that most of their friends have boyfriends would feel that it is expected for them to be having sex and may be more likely to have sex, even if they did not want to do so.

Past sexual experiences

Young women were asked if they ever engaged in heterosexual intercourse¹⁴ and were classified as sexually experienced or not. Again, I had two competing hypotheses: those who were sexually experienced may have more confidence in their sexual

¹¹ Pensez-vous que vos amis vous poussent fort à avoir de rapports sexuels? *Do you think that your friends pressure you to have sex?*

¹² Parmi vos amis, combien ont-ils déjà eu des rapports sexuels? *How many of your friends have already had sex?*

¹³ Pensez-vous que la plupart des gens de votre groupe d'âge ont un copain ou une copine? *Do you think that the most part of people your age have a boyfriend or girlfriend?*

¹⁴ Avez-vous jamais fait l'amour avec une personne de sexe opposé? *Have you ever made love with someone of the opposite sex?*

negotiation skills because of past experiences, or, conversely, if they had past difficulties in sexual negotiation they would be less confident in their ability to refuse sex.

Youth were asked about the circumstances of their first sexual intercourse to assess past difficulties in negotiating sexual relations. Having had a tricked or forced first sex is an indicator of past difficulties negotiating sex. Youth who reported that they were tricked or forced into a first sex were coded 1 and all others were coded 0. This information on respondents' past experiences where they have been unable to refuse unwanted sexual advances may be an important indicator of the respondents' capabilities in refusing sex. Those who have failed at a given activity are more likely to believe that they cannot accomplish that activity in the future (Bandura 1982). However, no causality can be assumed here as past experiences are affected by one's perceived control: those who have low perceived control are going to be more likely to experience unwanted sex. Nonetheless, past failures to refuse unwanted sex are indicators to the individual of their capabilities (Bandura 1997). In this case I hypothesize that young women who have ever been forced to engage in unwanted sexual activity will be less likely to report being able to refuse sexual activity.

Controls: household hardships and religion

Household hardships and religion are controlled in the multivariate analysis. The measure of household hardships was generated by an index of items not found in the respondent's household such as a bicycle, car, motorbike, truck, cassette player, radio, television, fridge, phone, electricity, toilets, or running water. The number of hardships

that a respondent's household has was counted, rank ordered, and coded as few, average, or many hardships.¹⁵

Respondents' religious affiliation is controlled in the models.¹⁶ Respondents self-classified as Catholic, Protestant, Muslim, other, or none. To reflect the categorical nature of each religion, religious affiliation is coded as a series of dichotomous variables in the multivariate analysis with "Catholic" as the reference group.

¹⁵ In order to weight hardships that are greater hardships than others, not having electricity, toilets, and water each were given two points on the hardship index. After rank ordering the respondents into few, average, or many, those missing any two of the greater hardships and were not yet coded as having many hardships were recoded as having many. There were four manual recodes from "average" to "many" on this basis. Respondents who fell in the "few" hardships category yet did not have any one basic amenity (electricity, toilets, and water) were recoded as having "average" hardships (33 manual recodes).

¹⁶ De quelle religion êtes-vous? *What is your religion?*

VI. Results

Sample characteristics

When asked what they would do if someone tried to force them to have sex most young women reported that they would not do it (54% reported that they would never do it, 10% reported that they probably would not). Only a small percent of young women reported that they would: 5 percent reported that they probably would, and 2 percent reported that they would. However, more than a quarter reported that they did not know what they would do (28%).

(Table 1 about here)

Just over half (56%) of the respondents reported that if a man who paid their school or vocational fees solicited sex that they absolutely would not do it. Twelve percent of respondents reported that they probably would not, 14 percent reported that they probably would, and a large proportion, 15 percent, reported that they absolutely would.

Young women had greater perceived ability to refuse sex with a teacher or employer. Three-quarters of young women reported that they absolutely would not (76%) and ten percent reported that they probably would not. Few young women reported that they probably would (6%) or that they absolutely would (6%) engage in sexual activities with such a man. In both circumstances, few young women reported that they did not know what they would do (3% and 2%, respectively).

Most of the respondents are aged 16 to 20 years old (65%, table 1), a fifth were aged 21-24 (21%) and 14 percent are 15 years of age. Nearly all of the young women have some amount of education. The vast majority of respondents have achieved

secondary education (81%) or higher (4%), and only one percent have no education. A slight majority of respondents are students (59%).

Approximately two-thirds (65%) of the young women reported that they are sexually experienced and nine percent reported that their first sexual experience was forced or tricked.¹⁷ When asked if they feel pressure from their friends to have sex, the large majority (78%) reported that they do or it depends, and only 22 percent reported that they did not feel pressure or that they did not know. The vast majority of respondents reported that most of their friends have boyfriends (92%). When asked what proportion of their friends are sexually experienced, a third reported all of their friends (30%), another third reported most of their friends are (37%), a quarter reported that a few of their friends (24%), and very few respondents that reported none of their friends are sexually experienced (8%).

The majority of the respondents are Christian, with 59 percent Catholic and 27 percent Protestant. Less than fifteen percent of the respondents were Muslim (3%), other religions (5%), or not affiliated with any religion (5%). Approximately a third of young women had few hardships (34%), a quarter had many hardships (25%), and two-fifths of young women had what was determined to be an average number of hardships (41%).

Bivariate analysis of what young women would do if someone tried to force sex in the coming year

Younger women showed more certainty in their ability to not have sex with someone who tried to force them to have sex than older women (Table 2). For example, 63 percent of women aged 15 years old reported that they would never do it, compared with 55 percent of those aged 16 to 20 years old and 45 percent of those aged 21 to 24

¹⁷ It is important to note that young women who are not sexually experienced are counted as not having a forced first sex.

years old ($p < .01$). Students were more likely to report that they would never (57%) than those not in school (51%, $p < .05$).

(Table 2 about here)

Young women who are sexually experienced are less likely to report that they would never do it (51%) than those who are not sexually experienced (61%, $p < .01$). The greater proportion of a young women's friends are sexually experienced, the less likely she is to report that she would never and the more likely she is to report that she would have sex with someone who tried to force her to have sex ($p < .05$). Specifically, while 64 percent of young women who reported that none of their friends are sexually experienced also reported that they would never have sex with someone who tried to force them, only 52 percent of young women who reported that all their friends are sexually experienced reported they would never.

There was no relationship between level of education, having been forced into a first sex, feeling pressure from friends to have sex, or reporting that most of one's friends have boyfriends, religion, and a young women's report of what she would do if someone tried to force her to have sex.

Bivariate analysis of young women's perceived ability to refuse sex with one who paid her school or vocational fees

As discussed above, just over half of youth reported that they would absolutely not have sexual relations with someone who paid their school or vocational fees. Ability to refuse sex with a man who paid school or vocational fees varied significantly with education, student status, previous sexual activity, the condition of first sex, if a respondent feels pressure from peer to have sex, the proportion of friends having sex, and a respondent's general ability to not engage in forced sex (Table 3).

(Table 3 about here)

Those with higher than secondary education were more likely to report that they absolutely would not have sexual relations with someone who paid their fees than other young women (79%, $p > .001$). Fewer young women with secondary education (58%), and less than half of those with primary education (44%) absolutely would not. A quarter (24%) of young women with primary education reported that they absolutely would have sex with a man who paid her school fees, compared with 14 percent of those with secondary education and 6 percent of those with higher education. As there are only 11 young women with no education, little can be generalized about their responses. Young women with more education are more likely to report that they can refuse sex with someone who paid their school fees than young women with less education.

Individuals who are currently in school were more likely to report that they absolutely would not have sexual relations with a man who paid their school or vocational fees than those who were not in school (63% vs. 47%, $p > .01$). Students were nearly half as likely to report they absolutely would (11% vs. 20%).

Social influences appear to be important in perceived ability to refuse sex with a man who has paid school or vocational fees. Individuals who feel pressure from their friends to have sex were less likely to report that they absolutely would not have sex with a man who paid their school or vocational fees (52%) than those who did not feel such pressure (58%, $p < .05$). Young women who reported that none of their friends are sexually experienced were more likely to report that they would absolutely not have sex with a man who paid their school or vocational fees (67%) than other women (55%, 57%, and 55%, $p < .05$).

Young women who are sexually experienced were less likely to report that they would absolutely not have relations with a man who paid her school fees than young women who are not sexually experienced (52% vs. 64%, respectively, $p > .001$). Young women who are sexually experienced were more likely to report that they probably would (16%) or absolutely would (17%) than those who are not sexually experienced (11% and 10%, respectively). Young women who had a forced or tricked sexual initiation were much less likely to report that they would absolutely not have sexual relations with someone who paid their school or vocational fees (40% vs. 58%, $p > .001$). In summary, it appears that those who are sexually experienced are less likely to report they would refuse sex than those who are not sexually experienced and that those who had a forced sexual initiation have even lower levels of perceived ability to refuse sex with someone who paid their school or vocational fees.

It appears that the general ability to not engage in forced sex is important ($p > .001$). More young women who reported that they generally “would never” also reported that they absolutely would not have sex with a man who paid her school or vocational school fees (64%) and this percent decreased as young women reported less of an ability to refuse (48%). Nonetheless, these findings are expected as one would expect women who report they could refuse forced sex to have higher levels of perceived ability to refuse sex with someone who paid their school or vocational fees.

There were no differences in ability to refuse sex with someone who paid school or vocational fees by young women’s age, number of friends with boyfriends, number of hardships, or religion.

Bivariate analysis of young women’s perceived ability to refuse sex with one who has power over her like a teacher or employer

Three-quarters of young women reported that they absolutely would not have sex with a teacher or employer. Young women aged 15 years of age were more likely to report that they absolutely would do it (8%) than those aged 16-20 (6%), or those aged 21 to 24 (2%, $p < .05$, Table 4). There were no substantial differences by age in reporting that one absolutely would not do it. Respondents aged 21 to 24 were more likely to report that they probably would not do it (14%) than those aged 16 to 20 (10%) and those aged 15 (8%).

(Table 4 about here)

Social influences have an important relationship with young ability to refuse sex with one who has power over her like a teacher or employer. Fewer young women who report feeling pressure from their friends to have sex reported they absolutely would not have sex with a teacher or employer (72%) than those who did not feel pressure (77%, $p < .05$). The proportion of friends sexually experienced has an inverse relationship with young women's reported ability to refuse sex. Nearly eight out of ten (78%) young women who reported that none of their friends are sexually experienced reported that they absolutely would not have sex with such a man. The proportion decreased to 74 percent of those who reported that a few of their friends are sexually experienced, and 75 percent of those reporting that most or all of their friends are sexually experienced.

A young women's overall ability to refuse also has a relationship with her perceived ability to refuse sex with a teacher or employer ($p > .001$). More young women who reported that they generally "would never" reported that they absolutely would not have sex with a teacher or employer (83%) than young women who reported less of a general ability to refuse forced sex (66%).

There were no differences in ability to refuse sex with someone with power over them, such as a teacher or employer, by education, student status, number of hardships, sexual activity, the condition of their first sex, or the proportion of their friends who have boyfriends.

Multivariate analysis: Logistic regression of what young women would do if someone tried to force them to have sex

Table 5 shows the results of logistic regressions for young women's responses to what they would do if someone tried to force them to have sex in the coming year. Since the interest here is in young women who report that they are certain that they would refuse sex, young women's responses were coded as absolutely would refuse (1) or not certain/would not refuse (0). As with the bivariate analysis, most of the independent variables have no relationship with the young women's responses.

(Table 5 about here)

For each unit increase in age, young women had a decreased log odds of reporting they would never have sex with someone who tried to force them of 0.337 ($p < .01$). No other independent variables had a significant relationship with young women's ability to refuse sex.

Multivariate analysis: Ordered logistic regressions¹⁸

Tables 6 and 7 show the results of ordered logistic regressions for ability to refuse sex with one who has paid school fees and with a teacher or employer, respectively. Each

¹⁸ Cumulative nested models were generated to test the parallel regression assumption (not shown). The results indicated that each independent variable had a consistent direction in its relationship across all values of the dependent variables. While the magnitude of the relationship did vary somewhat across the levels of ability to refuse sexual relations, the differences in magnitude did not warrant use of the cumulative nested model, thus ordered logistic regressions are used. "Don't know" responses are small in number and are dropped.

table presents five models. Model 1 shows ordered logistic regressions with age, education, and student status as the independent variables. Model 2 adds controls for household hardships and religion. Model 3 adds indicators of young women's social influences. Model 4 adds indicators of the respondent's past sexual activity, namely if they are sexually experienced and if their first sex was forced or tricked. Model 5 adds a control for young women's general ability to refuse forced sex, the dependent variable in the logistic regression above, to test if the relationship between the independent variables and ability to refuse sex in a specific circumstance remain net of their effect on young women's general ability to refuse.

Responses were coded as 3 if they absolutely would not, 2 if they probably would not, 1 if they probably would, and 0 if they absolutely would. Log likelihood tests were conducted to check if the additional set of variables in each subsequent model improved the fit from the previous model.

Young women's perceived ability to refuse sex with one who paid school or vocational fees

In model 1, having a secondary or higher education has no relationship with young women's perceived ability to refuse sex with someone who paid school fees. An increase in age from 15 to 16 through 20 or to 21 through 24 increases the log odds of perceived ability to refuse sex with a man who has paid one's school fees by 0.249 ($p < .05$). Being a student increases the log odds of being refusing sex by 0.700 ($p < .01$).

(Table 6 about here)

When I add controls for household hardships and religion in model two the effect of education remains statistically insignificant. The addition of these controls neither

significantly improves the fit of the model (see appendix A) nor changes the magnitude of the relationship of age and student status.

In model three, the addition of the respondent's peer influences explains more error than can be explained by chance alone ($p < .001$, see appendix A). When peer influences are added to the model the effects of age and education increase, with the effect of education becoming statistically significant. The perceptions that a young woman's friends pressure her to have sex had no relationship with her ability to refuse sex. Young women who reported higher proportions friends who are sexually experienced had a decreased log odds of perceived ability to refuse sex of 0.141 ($p < .05$). Young women who reported that most of their friends have boyfriends had a decreased log odds of perceived ability to refuse sex with one who has paid school fees by 0.464 ($p < .05$).

Model four adds indicators of young women's past sexual experiences. The addition of these variables explains more error than can be explained by chance alone ($p < .01$, see appendix A). When I add indicators of whether a woman is sexually experienced and the condition of her first sex, the effect of education increases to a log odds of 0.282 ($p < .05$), and the effect of age and student status decrease. Respondents who are sexually experienced had a decrease in their log odds of refusing sex of 0.470 ($p < .01$) and those who had a tricked or unwanted first sex also had an additional decrease in their log odds of refusing sex of 0.364 ($p < .05$).

Model five adds a control for young women's general ability to not have sex with someone who tries to force her. This addition has little effect on the magnitude of the coefficients from the previous model while explaining more error than can be explained

by chance alone ($p < .01$, see appendix A). As age, education, status as a student, sexual experience, the condition of a her first sex, the proportion of her friends with boyfriends each remain significant with the addition of one's general ability to refuse sex, it appears that one's ability to refuse sex does not explain the other relationships. This, coupled with the few statistically significant findings in table 2, suggests that ability to refuse sex in general and ability to refuse sex with one who has paid school fees are two distinct capabilities, with the later confounded by other issues, such as interpersonal power.

Young women's perceived ability to refuse sex with one who has power, like a teacher or employer

Model one shows ordered logistic regressions with education, age, and student status as the only independent variables (Table 7). None of the three variables have a statistically significant relationship with ability to refuse sex with one who has power over young women, like a teacher or employer.

(Table 7 about here)

Model two adds controls for household hardships and religion. Religion was an important predictor in perceived ability to refuse sex with a teacher or employer, with young women who are Muslim having a 1.519 increased log odds ($p < .05$) and those who reported no religion having an increased log odds of 0.895 ($p < .05$), compared with Catholic women. Age, education, student status, and household hardships continue to have no relationship with a young woman's perceived ability to refuse sex with a teacher or employer. The log likelihood tests suggest that the third model, with the controls for household hardships, and religion, explains more error than one would expect to be explained by chance alone ($p < .01$, see appendix A).

The additions in models three and four do not explain more error than one would expect to be explained by chance alone (see appendix A). In model three the only indicator of the respondent's peer influences that had a relationship with ability to refuse sex with a teacher or employer was if the respondent felt pressure from her friends to have sex. Those respondents who felt that their friends pressured them to have sex had a decreased log odds of being able to refuse sex with a teacher or employer of 0.323 ($p < .05$). Indicators for if the respondent is sexually experienced and the condition of her first sex had no relationship with her perceived ability to refuse sex with a teacher or employer.

My fifth model includes a control for young women's perceived ability to not engage in forced sex. As with the ability to refuse sex with a man who paid her school fees, when I add a control for a young women's perceived ability to not engage in forced sex, the magnitude of the coefficients does not substantially change from previous models. This addition explains more error than one would expect to be explained by chance alone ($p < .01$, see appendix A). This suggests that net of her general ability to not engage in forced sex, young women who are Muslim or report no religion are more likely to believe that they can refuse sex, whereas young women who feel that their friends pressure them to have sex are less likely to believe that they can refuse sex.

V. Discussion

I have documented the proportion of young women who reported that they could not refuse sex with someone who tries to force them, with someone who has paid their school fees, and with someone who has power over them like a teacher or employer. I further examined the characteristics that are associated with less confidence in one's ability to refuse sex.

Many of the young women were not sure what they would do if someone tried to force them to have sex in the next year (28%), however when the context was specified, few young women reported that they are not sure what they would do (one who has paid school fees 3% and a teacher or employer 2%, see Figure 2). This coupled with the difference in the proportion of young women reporting that they absolutely would not have sex with one who has paid school fees (56%) compared with those who would absolutely not have sex with a teacher or employer (76%) suggests that the type of person requesting sex plays an important role in young women's assessment of their ability to refuse. It may also suggest that young women perceive more dependence on someone who is paying their school fees than on a teacher or employer.

The wording of the questions for ability to refuse sex with one who has paid school fees and a teacher or employer does not specify that it pertains to unwanted sex. However, since the majority of young women report that they could refuse, refusing sex with one who has paid school fees and a teacher or employer is likely something that most young women want to do. Nonetheless, had the question specified that the sex was unwanted the results may have been less ambiguous.

The independent variables associated with greater ability to refuse sex depended on the man soliciting sex. Young women who are older, had higher levels of education, and were still in school also were more likely to report a greater ability to refuse sex with a man who has paid their school or vocational fees. Those who are sexually experienced, had tricked or unwanted first sex, felt that most of their friends had boyfriends, and had less of a general ability to not engage in forced sex were less likely to report that they could refuse sex with a man who has paid their school or vocational fees in the full model. When we look at ability to refuse sex with a teacher or employer, those who are Muslim and those reporting no religion have an increased log odds of being able to refuse sex. Less of a general ability to not engage in forced sex and feeling that one's peers pressure her to have sex are associated with a lower perceived ability to refuse sex.

The one characteristic with the most striking difference depending on the circumstance of the solicited sex was a young woman's age. Young women in older age groups were less likely to report they would absolutely not have sex if they were forced, while they were more likely to report that they would absolutely not have sex with a man who paid her school fees. This may reflect older women having greater knowledge of forced sex, either directly or through friends, as well as greater confidence in their ability to negotiate sex under a specific circumstance.

I would expect that each of the circumstances would exhibit a different relationship between the independent variables and young women's perceived ability to refuse sex because each situation represents a different hypothetical exchange. For a young women's general ability to refuse sex, the valuables she receives in return for acquiescing to a man's sexual demands is undefined or nonexistent, leading to the

possibility that each young woman is picturing a different circumstance of unwanted sex. In this case, it would be unlikely that any independent variable would have a strong relationship with young women's perceived ability to refuse sex.

In the situation when a young woman is dependent on a man for school fees, grades or employment, the young woman's exchange with the man is rather explicit. As each of these exchanges would involve different valuables (with different levels of availability and demand) being offered to a young woman, we would expect different relationships between the independent variables and ability to refuse sex to emerge from the different circumstances.

The addition of social influences improves the fit of the regressions of one's ability to refuse sex with a man who has paid educational fees. Young women who think that most of their friends have boyfriends are substantially less likely to report they can refuse sex. Young women who report that more of their friends are sexually experienced are less likely to report they can refuse sex, however this relationship decreases once I control for a young woman's own sexual experience. It is not surprising that the relationship between her perception of her friend's sexual experiences and her ability to refuse sex disappears after controlling for her own experiences because young women are likely to select friends who have the same sexual behavior.

Similar proportions of young women reported certainty that they would not have sex with a man who tried to force her as did for a man who paid her school fees. However, a quarter of those who reported that they would never have sex if forced reported that that they probably or absolutely would have sex with a man who paid her school fees (see Table 3). This suggests that even among those who are resolute in their

ability to refuse forced sex would consider the possibility of having sex with a man who paid her school fees.

VIII. Implications for future research

Here, as with much secondary data analysis, the questionnaire design constrains the analysis. If we are to understand young women's involvement with older men in terms of their dependency on them then we must better assess this dependency and the extent to which the sex is coerced or forced. An indicator that directly measures a young woman's financial dependence on men would allow us to see if there is a school time dependency. Directly asking women who pays their school fees and where they get their spending money are two more examples of how to better assess young women's possible dependencies on older men. Further, to measure the fragility of young women's school funding surveys should ask: if your current source of school fees were to disappear, what would be your alternatives? Finally, when asking young women about their ability to refuse, the questions should be explicit when they pertain to unwanted sex.

The contrast between the legal recourse a young woman would have if the man soliciting sex were a teacher compared to the lack of recourse when the man is her employer suggests that future surveys should separate these two situations. The different legal status of men who are teachers versus men who are employers may reflect attitudes towards such men. If young women answered the question differently when they answered the question imagining a teacher requesting sex than when they imagined an employer requesting sex, this inconsistency may explain why there are no consistent predictors of ability to refuse sex with one who has power, like a teacher or employer.

The results suggest that peer influences have a relationship with young women's ability to refuse sex, so future surveys should measure peer perceptions of these exchange relationships. Suggested measures include: do you think your friends would support you

having sex with a man for school fees? and, are any of your friends having sex with a man for school fees?

IX. Conclusions

My finding that education increases young women's power perceived ability to refuse sex with older men is consistent with previous literature (see Figure 3). This reality places women in a precarious position where in order to feel more in control of their sexual lives they may need to temporarily be dependent on a man who will have what is considered a legitimate claim to her sexual services as a result of paying her school fees.

Young women not in school were less likely to report they can refuse sex with someone who has paid their school fees. This has two possible implications. The first implication is that education is an empowering process from which students are benefiting. Second, those who are not students may place a greater value on the possibility of having one's fees paid and since nearly half of non-students ended their schooling because of financial reasons, they clearly would not have alternative sources to pay school fees. Young women in school already have one source of payment of their school fees. If a man offers to pay a student's fees and she later decides she does not want to have sex with him, she most likely could return to her original source of payment. Having an alternative mechanism for payment may make current students project less dependency on a man who offers to pay her school fees. In short, young women who are not in school appear to project a greater dependency on a man who pays her school fees than young women who are currently in school. This perception is consistent with the relative scarcity of financially prosperous men.

The findings in this thesis may be surprising to those unfamiliar with young African women's circumstances. It appears that there are greater obstacles in refusing sex with someone who has paid school fees than a teacher or employer (Bandura 1997). This

is consistent with Emerson's dependency theory. It seems that young women may feel that they have greater dependency on men who pay their educational fees than their teachers or employers (Emerson 1962). This may also be a function of young women's perceptions that there is greater availability of teachers or employers, in general, than there is availability of older men with extra resources to pay their school fees. During a time of economic reversals, these perceptions are likely accurate.

Enforcement of the laws against sexual offenses in Cameroon is inconsistent (Center for Reproductive Law and Policy and Groupe de Recherche Femmes et Lois au Senegal 1999). While punishments for indecent offenses with sexual relations are up to ten years imprisonment, young women do not feel empowered to refuse sex with older men. Similarly, these protections against forced sex do not apply to sexual relations between spouses. It appears that the same pattern of losing power once one enters into a union is expected to happen upon entrance into non-marital and transactional relations.

Young women have higher perceived abilities to refuse sex with their teachers or employers than with men who have paid their school fees, however it is not universal. There is no law against sexual harassment in Cameroon. To further increase young women's ability to refuse sex, a law against sexual harassment should be established and universally enforced.

Cameroon has faced severe economic hardship and providing free education has not yet become a possibility for the national government. However, as long as education remains a universal goal young women will suffer great hardships to attain higher education. Given the HIV prevalence in Cameroon and the tradition of cross-generational patronage, money diverted to cover universal education may prevent future economic

loss as a result of a decreased labor supply due to HIV and costs associated with caring for those infected with HIV.

The results suggest that young women are rational actors who are likely to consider the long-term benefits of increased status through education and employment when seeking to optimize their benefits in exchanges with men. Transactional sex, where women exchange sex for school fees, food, or money, is seen as a survival method by many women in need (Blanc 2001; Schoepf 1988; Seidel 1993; Standing 1992). Cameroon is suffering from educational reversals at the same time as education is increasingly seen as a necessity for young women. This creates a situation where more young women may be faced with difficulties in continuing their education.

It appears that women see AIDS, STIs, and unwanted pregnancies as a potential threat in the distant future, not as an immediate threat, which makes them willing to place themselves at risk or abandon their right to refuse nonconsensual sex as long as their actions reduce the risk of immediate threats, such as unemployment, low status, starvation, violence, and abandonment (Blanc 2001; Manderson, Bennet, and Sheldrake 1999; Wood et al. 1998). This hierarchy of needs and dependency not only demonstrates how engaging in nonconsensual sex can be rational, it can help link transactional sex to the larger socioeconomic environment in which women feel compelled to maintain transactional relationships.

Table 1: Sample Characteristics of Unmarried Young Women in Urban Cameroon

	%	N		%	N
What would you do if someone tried to force you to have sex?			Feels pressure to have sex from friends		
Would never	54.37	759	No/dk	78.44	1095
Probably would not	10.17	142	Depends/Yes	21.56	301
Don't know	28.37	396			
Probably would	4.94	69	Proportion of friends sexually experienced		
Would	2.15	30	None	8.09	113
			Few	24.43	341
Perceived Ability to Refuse Sex with someone...			Most	37.39	522
Who paid school fees:			All	30.09	420
Absolutely would not do it	56.45	788			
Probably would not do it	11.53	161	Most of friends have boyfriends?		
Probably would do it	14.33	200	No	7.95	111
Absolutely would do it	14.61	204	Yes	92.05	1285
DK	3.08	43			
In position of power like a teacher/employer:			Sexually experienced		
Absolutely would not do it	75.57	1055	No	34.74	485
Probably would not do it	10.39	145	Yes	65.26	911
Probably would do it	6.23	87			
Absolutely would do it	5.59	78	Forced or tricked first sex		
DK	2.22	31	No	90.62	1265
			Yes	9.38	131
Age					
15	13.68	191	***		
16-20	65.47	914	Controls		
21-24	20.85	291	Hardships		
			Few	34.24	478
Education			Average	40.76	569
None	0.79	11	Many	25.00	349
Primary	14.47	202			
Secondary	80.95	1130	Religion		
Higher	3.80	53	Catholic	59.46	830
			Protestant	27.36	382
Currently in school			Muslim	2.94	41
No	40.54	566	None	5.16	72
Yes	59.46	830	Other	5.09	71
Total	100	1396		100	1396

* some % total to over 100% due to rounding

Table 2: Percent of Young Women Reporting what they would do if someone tried to force them to have sex by Independent Variables

	Would never	Else	Total% (N)
Age**			
15	63.35	36.65	100 (191)
16-20	55.47	44.53	100 (914)
21-24	45.02	54.98	100 (291)
Education			
None	54.55	45.45	100 (11)
Primary	55.94	44.06	100 (202)
Secondary	53.98	46.02	100 (1130)
Higher	56.60	43.40	100 (53)
Currently in school*			
No	50.53	49.47	100 (566)
Yes	56.99	43.01	100 (830)
Feels pressure to have sex from friends			
No/dk	54.25	45.75	100 (1095)
Depends/Yes	54.82	45.18	100 (301)
Proportion of friends sexually experienced*			
None	63.72	36.28	100 (113)
Few	54.55	45.45	100 (341)
Most	53.83	46.17	100 (522)
All	52.38	47.62	100 (420)
Most of friends have boyfriends			
No	53.15	46.85	100 (111)
Yes	54.47	45.53	100 (1285)
Sexually experienced**			
No	60.62	39.38	100 (485)
Yes	51.04	48.96	100 (911)
Forced or tricked first sex			
No	54.86	45.14	100 (1265)
Yes	49.62	50.38	100 (131)
Hardships*			
Few	52.51	47.49	100 (478)
Average	54.31	45.69	100 (569)

	Would never	Else	Total% (N)
Many	57.02	42.98	100 (349)
Religion			
Catholic	53.61	46.39	100 (830)
Protestant	55.50	44.50	100 (382)
Muslim	56.10	43.90	100 (41)
None	52.78	47.22	100 (72)
Other	57.75	42.25	100 (71)
Total	54.37	45.63	100 (1396)

**p<.01, *p<.05

Table 3: Percent of Young Women Reporting Each Degree of Their Ability to Refuse Sex with Someone who Paid Their School Fees and Solicits Sex by Independent Variables

	Absolutely would not have sex	Probably would not have sex	Probably would have sex	Absolutely would have sex	Don't know	Total % (N)
Age						
15	56.02	12.04	14.66	14.14	3.14	100 (191)
16-20	55.80	11.16	14.11	15.97	2.95	100 (914)
21-24	58.76	12.37	14.78	10.65	3.44	100 (291)
Education**						
None	63.64	9.09	27.27	0.00	0.00	100 (11)
Primary	44.06	10.89	19.31	23.76	1.98	100 (202)
Secondary	57.52	11.95	13.63	13.54	3.36	100 (1130)
Higher	79.25	5.66	7.55	5.66	1.89	100 (53)
Currently in school**						
No	47.00	12.01	17.49	20.32	3.18	100 (566)
Yes	62.89	11.20	12.17	10.72	3.01	100 (830)
Feels pressure to have sex from friends*						
No/dk	57.81	11.60	12.79	14.34	3.47	100 (1095)
Depends/Yes	51.50	11.30	19.93	15.61	1.66	100 (301)
Proportion of friends sexually experienced *						
None	67.26	13.27	10.62	7.08	1.77	100 (113)

	Absolutely would not have sex	Probably would not have sex	Probably would have sex	Absolutely would have sex	Don't know	Total % (N)
Few	54.84	13.49	14.96	13.20	3.52	100 (341)
Most	56.51	12.84	13.22	14.37	3.07	100 (522)
All	54.76	7.86	16.19	18.10	3.10	100 (420)
Most of friends have boyfriends						
No	68.47	8.11	9.91	12.61	0.90	100 (111)
Yes	55.41	11.83	14.71	14.79	3.27	100 (1285)
Sexually experienced**						
No	64.12	11.55	11.13	10.31	2.89	100 (485)
Yes	52.36	11.53	16.03	16.90	3.18	100 (911)
Forced or tricked first sex**						
No	58.18	11.07	14.15	13.83	2.77	100 (1265)
Yes	39.69	16.03	16.03	22.14	6.11	100 (131)
What would you do if someone tried to force you to have sex**						
Would never	63.77	9.72	11.99	12.52	1.98	100 (759)
Not certain/would not refuse	47.72	13.66	17.11	17.11	4.10	100 (637)

	Absolutely would not have sex	Probably would not have sex	Probably would have sex	Absolutely would have sex	Don't know	Total % (N)
Hardships						
Few	60.25	9.83	14.85	12.34	2.72	100 (478)
Average	56.06	13.18	13.01	14.06	3.69	100 (569)
Many	51.86	11.17	15.76	18.62	2.58	100 (349)
Religion						
Catholic	55.54	11.57	14.94	14.34	3.61	100 (830)
Protestant	56.02	14.14	13.35	13.87	2.62	100 (382)
Muslim	63.41	7.32	9.76	19.51	0.00	100 (41)
None	55.56	2.78	20.83	20.83	0.00	100 (72)
Other	66.20	8.45	8.45	12.68	4.23	100 (71)
Total	56.45	11.53	14.33	14.62	3.08	100 (1396)

**p<.01, *p<.05

Table 4: Percent of Young Women Reporting Each Degree of Their Ability to Refuse Sex with Someone who Has Power over them as in a Teacher or Employer by Independent Variables

	Absolutely would not have sex	Probably would not have sex	Probably would have sex	Absolutely would have sex	Don't know	Total % (N)
Age*						
15	76.44	7.85	4.71	7.85	3.14	100 (191)
16-20	75.60	9.63	6.13	6.24	2.41	100 (9.14)
21-24	74.91	14.43	7.56	2.06	1.03	100 (291)
Education						
None	81.82	9.09	0.00	9.09	0.00	100 (11)
Primary	69.80	12.87	6.93	7.43	2.97	100 (202)
Secondary	76.46	10.09	6.19	5.22	2.04	100 (1130)
Higher	77.36	7.55	5.66	5.66	2.22	100 (53)
Currently in school						
No	73.50	12.54	5.83	5.30	2.83	100 (566)
Yes	76.99	8.92	6.51	5.78	1.81	100 (830)
Feels pressure to have sex from friends*						
No/dk	76.53	10.23	5.39	5.30	2.56	100 (1095)
Depends/Yes	72.09	10.96	9.30	6.64	1.00	100 (301)
Proportion of friends sexually experienced *						
None	77.88	9.73	2.65	7.08	2.65	100 (113)

	Absolutely would not have sex	Probably would not have sex	Probably would have sex	Absolutely would have sex	Don't know	Total % (N)
Few	74.37	10.56	7.92	5.28	0.88	100 (341)
Most	74.86	12.07	4.21	4.60	3.26	100 (522)
All	74.76	8.33	8.33	6.67	1.90	100 (420)
Most of friends have boyfriends						
No	75.68	9.01	5.41	7.21	2.70	100 (111)
Yes	75.56	10.51	6.30	5.45	2.18	100 (1285)
Sexually experienced						
No	78.76	9.48	4.12	5.77	1.86	100 (485)
Yes	73.87	10.87	7.35	5.49	2.41	100 (911)
Forced or tricked first sex						
No	76.21	9.80	6.01	5.77	2.21	100 (1265)
Yes	69.47	16.03	8.40	3.82	2.29	100 (131)
What would you do if someone tried to force you to have sex**						
Would never	83.27	7.64	3.69	4.08	1.32	100 (759)
Not certain/would not refuse	66.41	13.66	9.26	7.38	3.30	100 (637)

	Absolutely would not have sex	Probably would not have sex	Probably would have sex	Absolutely would have sex	Don't know	Total % (N)
Hardships						
Few	73.22	10.46	8.58	6.07	1.67	100 (478)
Average	77.50	10.37	4.04	5.27	2.81	100 (569)
Many	75.64	10.32	6.59	5.44	2.01	100 (349)
Religion*						
Catholic	72.77	10.36	7.11	6.87	2.89	100 (830)
Protestant	77.49	10.47	6.28	4.45	1.31	100 (382)
Muslim	87.80	4.88	2.44	0.00	4.88	100 (41)
None	87.50	6.94	2.78	2.78	0.00	100 (72)
Other	78.87	16.90	1.41	2.82	0.00	100 (71)
Total	75.57	10.39	6.23	5.59	2.22	100 (1396)

**p<.01, *p<.05

Table 5: Logistic estimates of what young women would absolutely refuse if someone tried to force them to have sex in the coming year¹⁹(N=1396)

	<i>Model 1</i>	<i>Model 2</i>	<i>Model 3</i>	<i>Model 4</i>
	b	b	b	b
	(Std error)	(Std error)	(Std error)	(Std error)
Age (1=15; 2=16-20; 3=21-24)	-.337** (.100)	-.342** (.100)	-.333** (.104)	-.294** (.107)
Secondary or higher education (no=0; yes=1)	-.055 (.134)	-.030 (.136)	-.028 (.136)	-.020 (.136)
Student (no=0; yes=1)	.170 (.246)	.196 (.128)	.190 (.129)	.134 (.134)
Feels pressure to have sex from friends (no=0; yes=1)			.006 (.133)	-.025 (.135)
Proportion of friends sexually experienced (none, few, most, all)			-.020 (.062)	.025 (.068)
Most of friends have boyfriend (no=0; yes=1)			.018 (.201)	.012 (.201)
Had sex (no=0; yes=1)				-.219 (.147)
Unwanted first sex (no=0; yes=1)				-.066 (.191)
Controls				
Household Hardships (0=few; 1=average; 2=many)		.123 (.073)	.122 (.073)	.126 (.073)
Religion (ref=Catholic)				
Protestant		.107 (.125)	.107 (.126)	.099 (.125)
Muslim		.078 (.327)	.075 (.327)	.043 (.328)
None		-.068 (.249)	-.069 (.250)	-.074 (.250)
Other		.160 (.252)	.159 (.252)	.135 (.253)
constant	.542* (.246)	.338 (.274)	.367 (.359)	.377 (.360)
Log likelihood	-952.968	-951.038	-950.984	-949.679

**p<.01, *p<.05

¹⁹ Si quelqu'un essayait de vous forcer à avoir des rapports sexuels durant l'année qui vient, que feriez-vous?

Table 6: Ordered logistic estimates for the degree youth report they can refuse to have sexual relations with someone who has paid their school or trade school fees (N=1353)²⁰

	<i>Model 1</i>	<i>Model 2</i>	<i>Model 3</i>	<i>Model 4</i>	<i>Model 5</i>
	b (Std error)	b (Std error)	b (Std error)	b (Std error)	b (Std error)
Age (1=15; 2=16-20; 3=21-24)	.249* (.098)	.245* (.099)	.290** (.103)	.383** (.106)	.426** (.107)
Secondary or higher education (no=0; yes=1)	.255 (.129)	.243 (.130)	.261* (.131)	.282* (.132)	.281* (.134)
Student (no=0; yes=1)	.700** (.125)	.678** (.126)	.651** (.126)	.515** (.131)	.510** (.132)
Feels pressure to have sex from friends (no=0; yes=1)			-.191 (.128)	-.243 (.130)	-.235 (.131)
Proportion of friends sexually experienced (none, few, most, all)			-.141* (.061)	-.049 (.068)	-.048 (.068)
Most of friends have boyfriend (no=0; yes=1)			-.464* (.215)	-.495* (.216)	-.502* (.218)
Had sex (no=0; yes=1)				-.470** (.148)	-.442** (.149)
Unwanted first sex (no=0; yes=1)				-.364* (.183)	-.371* (.183)
Tendency to refuse (0,1)					.568** (.109)
<i>Controls</i>					
Household Hardships (0=few; 1=average; 2=many)		-.083 (.072)	-.092 (.072)	-.081 (.073)	-.103 (.073)
Religion (ref=Catholic)					
Protestant		.011 (.122)	.020 (.123)	-.002 (.124)	-.016 (.125)
Muslim		.321 (.335)	.281 (.333)	.189 (.335)	.195 (.336)
None		-.117 (.243)	-.137 (.244)	-.151 (.245)	-.130 (.247)

²⁰ Jusqu'à quel degré pourriez-vous refuser d'avoir des rapports sexuels avec une personne qui a payé vos frais de scolarité ou frais de stage et qui exige un rapport sexuel?

Other		.386	.386	.348	.318
		(.271)	(.271)	(.272)	(.272)
<i>(Ancillary parameters)</i>					
Cut 1	-.619	-.716	-1.547	-1.615	-1.305
	(.240)	(.267)	(.362)	(.364)	(.372)
Cut 2	.281	.187	-.636	-.698	-.378
	(.238)	(.265)	(.359)	(.361)	(.369)
Cut 3	.821	.728	-.089	-.145	.185
	(.240)	(.266)	(.359)	(.360)	(.369)
Log likelihood	-1509.302	-1506.863	-1499.748	-	-1477.691
				1491.2572	

**p<.01, *p<.05

Table 7: Ordered logistic estimates for the degree youth report they can refuse to have sexual relations with someone who has power like a teacher or employer (N=1365)²¹

	<i>Model 1</i>	<i>Model 2</i>	<i>Model 3</i>	<i>Model 4</i>	<i>Model 5</i>
	b (Std error)	b (Std error)	b (Std error)	b (Std error)	b (Std error)
Age (1=15; 2=16-20; 3=21-24)	-.047 (.117)	-.029 (.118)	-.032 (.122)	.021 (.125)	.084 (.127)
Secondary or higher education (no=0; yes=1)	.215 (.155)	.295 (.158)	.280 (.158)	.291 (.159)	.313 (.163)
Student (no=0; yes=1)	.032 (.149)	.086 (.152)	.077 (.153)	-.011 (.158)	-.040 (.169)
Feels pressure to have sex from friends (no=0; yes=1)			-.323* (.151)	-.363* (.152)	-.372* (.155)
Proportion of friends sexually experienced (none, few, most, all)			-.011 (.075)	.049 (.082)	.056 (.083)
Most of friends have boyfriend (no=0; yes=1)			.038 (.242)	.025 (.243)	-.000 (.246)
Had sex (no=0; yes=1)				-.297 (.177)	-.266 (.179)
Unwanted first sex (no=0; yes=1)				-.196 (.212)	-.180 (.215)
Tendency to refuse (0,1)					.896** (.134)
<i>Controls</i>					
Household Hardships (0=few; 1=average; 2=many)		.132 (.087)	.136 (.087)	.141 (.087)	.108 (.088)
Religion (ref=Catholic)					
Protestant		.232 (.149)	.235 (.149)	.218 (.149)	.205 (.151)
Muslim		1.519* (.609)	1.516* (.609)	1.467* (.610)	1.50* (.614)

²¹ Jusqu'à quel degré pourriez-vous refuser d'avoir des rapports sexuels avec quelqu'un qui a un pouvoir sur vous comme un enseignant ou un employeur?

None		.895*	.901*	.899*	.947*
		(.367)	(.367)	(.368)	(.371)
Other		.310	.313	.284	.270
		(.299)	(.298)	(.300)	(.303)
<i>(Ancillary parameters)</i>					
Cut 1	-2.436	-1.983	-2.091	-2.136	-1.658
	(.301)	(.333)	(.434)	(.436)	(.451)
Cut 2	-1.616	-1.158	-1.264	-1.307	-.816
	(.290)	(.324)	(.427)	(.429)	(.445)
Cut 3	-.856	-.310	-.493	-.534	-.019
	(.286)	(.321)	(.424)	(.426)	(.443)
Log likelihood	-1058.256	-1048.663	-1046.366	-1044.170	-1021.118

**p<.01, *p<.05

Figure 1: Cameroon's population structure

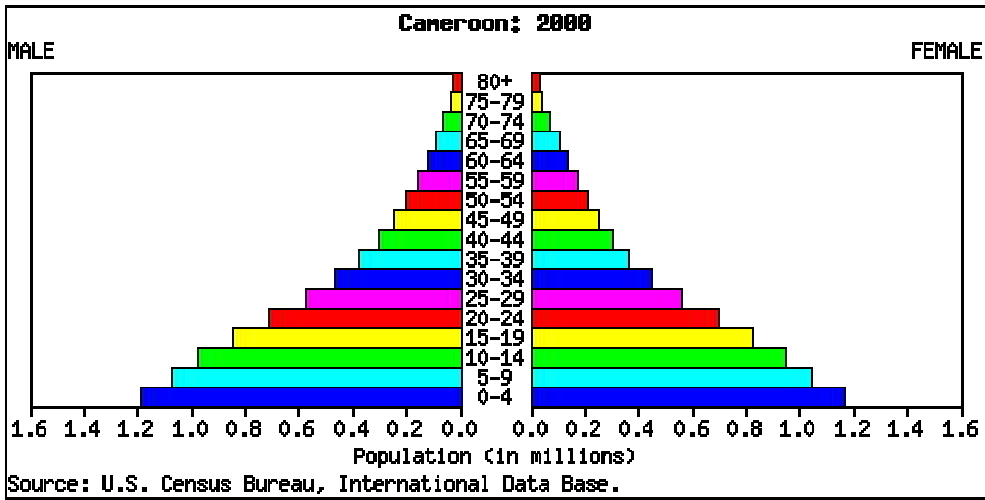


Figure 2

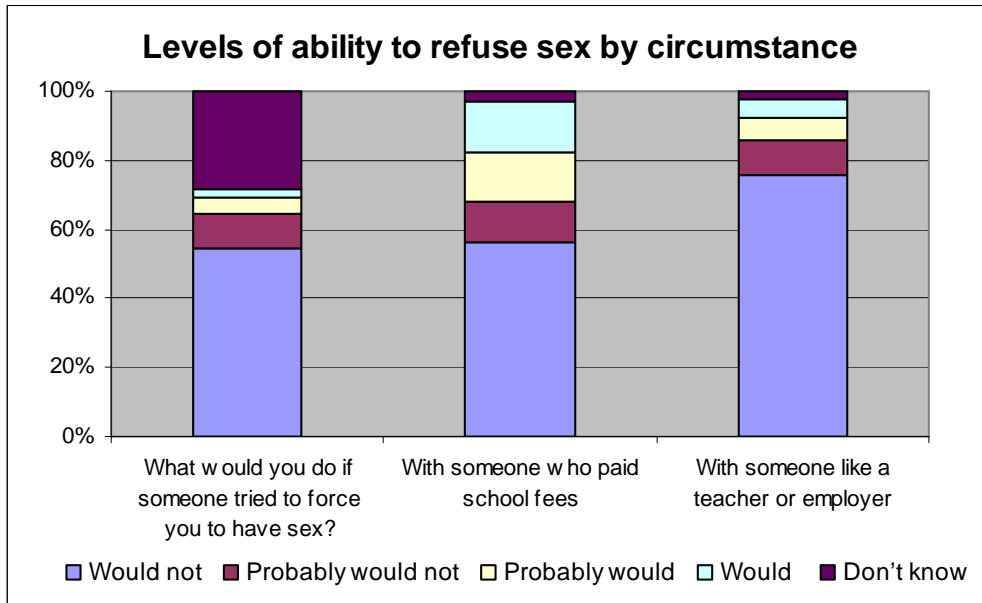
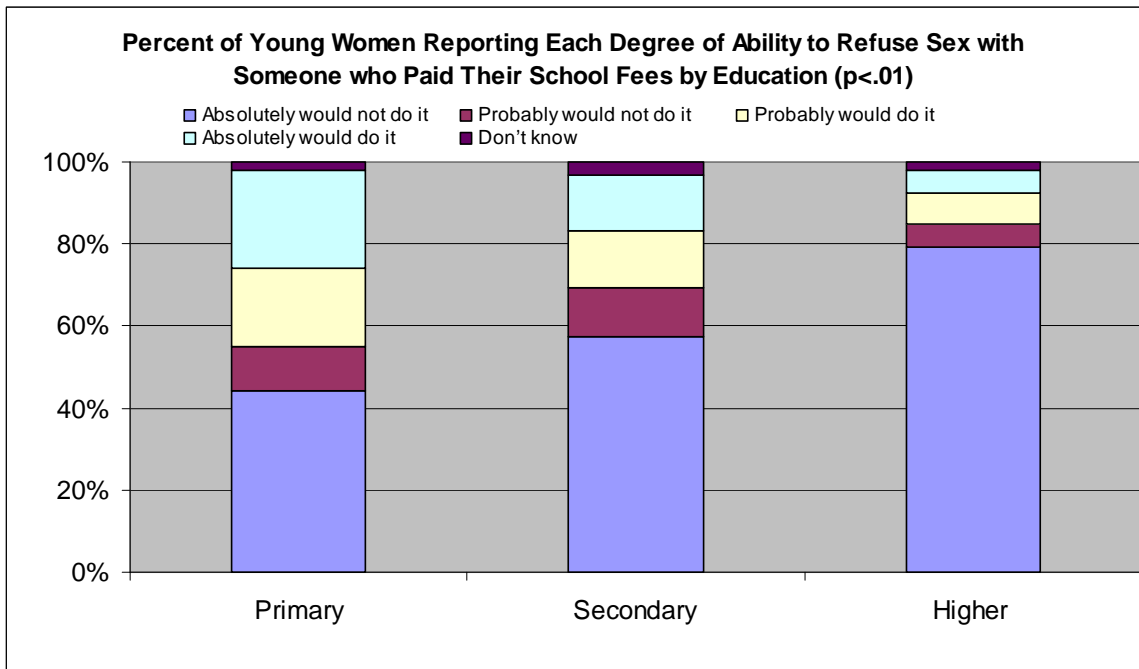


Figure 3



Appendix A: Log likelihood tests for tables 6 and 7

Table 6	Log likelihood	Current-previous model	*2	Degrees of freedom	Level of Significance
Model 1	-1509.302	-	-	n/a	
Model 2	-1506.863	2.439	4.878	5	-
Model 3	-1499.748	7.115	14.23	3	***
Model 4	-1491.2572	8.4908	16.9816	2	***
Model 5	-1477.691	13.5662	27.1324	1	***
Table 7	Log likelihood	Current-previous model	*2	Degrees of freedom	Level of Significance
Model 1	-1058.256	-	-	n/a	
Model 2	-1048.663	9.593	19.186	5	***
Model 3	-1046.366	2.297	4.594	3	-
Model 4	-1044.17	2.196	4.392	2	-
Model 5	-1021.118	23.052	46.104	1	***

**p<.01, *p<.05

Appendix B: Luke tables

Luke 2003: Table A1 Statistics on prevalence of age asymmetry in sexual relationships involving adolescent females from studies reviewed, by country and study, sub-Saharan Africa

Country, location	Sample population	Citation	Statistic
Guinea (urban)	3,603 males and females aged 15–24, random survey, 1995	Görgen et al. 1998	Characteristic of unmarried females' (aged 15–24) current sexual partner ^b : Average five and a half years older For females aged 20–24: Average three to five years older For females aged 15–19: Average two years older For females aged 15–19: 65 percent are pupils or apprentices For females aged 20–24: 20 percent are pupils or apprentices
Kenya (urban and rural)	2,462 males and females aged 15–19, random survey, 1994	Kekovole et al. 1997	Characteristic of unmarried females' (aged 15–19) first sexual partner: Average age 18.2 (three years older than girl) Characteristic of unmarried females' (aged 15–19) current sexual partner ^b : Average age 21 Characteristic of unmarried females' (aged 15–19) most recent sexual partner: 40 percent aged 25+ 4 percent aged 30+
Zimbabwe (rural Manicaland Province)	4,419 males and 5,424 females aged 15–54, random survey, 1998–2000	Gregson et al. 2002	Characteristic of married and unmarried females' (aged 15–24) most recent sexual partner: Median age difference six years For females aged 20–24: Approximately 25 percent ten or more years older For females aged 17–19: Average approximately seven years older For females 21–24: Average approximately four years older
Uganda (rural Rakai District)	6,177 males and females aged 15–29, random survey	Kelly et al. 2001	Characteristic of married and unmarried females' (aged 15–29) most recent sexual partner: 98.2 percent same age or older than female partner

Country, location	Sample population	Citation	Statistic
			<p>For HIV+ females: Median age difference 6.3 years</p> <p>For HIV- females: Median age difference 5.7 years</p> <p>Reported characteristic of females' (aged 15-29) most recent sexual partner:</p> <p>17 percent ten or more years older</p> <p>For females aged 15-19: 11.8 percent ten or more years older</p> <p>For females aged 20-24: 18.6 percent ten or more years older</p> <p>For females aged 25-29: 21.4 percent ten or more years older</p>
Kenya (urban Kisumu) and Zambia (urban Ndola)	2,000 males and females aged 15-49, random survey	Glynn et al. 2001	<p>Characteristic of married and unmarried females aged 15-19:</p> <p>22.2 percent in Kisumu and 20.5 percent in Ndola had at least one sexual partner 25+ years old in the last year</p> <p>Characteristic of married and unmarried females aged 20-24:</p> <p>75 percent in both Kisumu and Ndola had at least one sexual partner 25+ years old in the last year</p> <p>Characteristic of married and unmarried females' (aged 15-19) nonmarital sexual partners in the last year:</p> <p>18 percent in Kisumu and 19 percent in Ndola 25+ years old</p>
Cameroon (urban Yaoundé)	936 males and females aged 15-24, random survey, 1997	Lydié et al. Forthcoming	<p>Characteristic of married and unmarried females aged 15-24:</p> <p>15.5 percent had at least one recent sexual partner (of most recent eight partners) ten or more years older</p> <p>Characteristic of married and unmarried females' (aged 15-24) recent sexual partners (up to 8):</p> <p>Median age difference five years</p>
Zimbabwe (rural and	100 male and female	Sherman and Basset 1999	Characteristic of female secondary-school students' (aged 14-19) current

Country, location	Sample population	Citation	Statistic
urban)	secondary-school students aged 14–19, random ^c focus groups		sexual partner ^{d, e} : Most three to four years older
Uganda (rural Rakai District)	861 males and females aged 13–19, random survey, 1991	Konde-Lule et al. 1997	Characteristic of married and unmarried females' (aged 15–19) three most recent sexual partners: 23 percent same age 77 percent older: 50 percent aged 20–24 18 percent aged 25–29 6 percent aged 30–34 2.5 percent aged 35–39
Tanzania (urban Dar es Salaam)	51 females aged 15–19 who had had induced abortions (all who presented in district hospital), in-depth interviews, 1997	Rasch et al. 2000	Characteristic of current sexual partner of unmarried females aged 15–19 who had had induced abortions ^{b, f} : 72.6 percent 30+ years old 98 percent 20+ years old 45 percent married
Tanzania (rural; urban Dar es Salaam)	51 females aged 15–19 who had had induced abortions (all who presented in district hospital in urban area) and 9 females aged 15–29 who had had induced abortions	Silberschmidt and Rasch 2001	Characteristic of current sexual partner of unmarried females aged 15–19 who had had induced abortions ^{b, f} : Most were married men twice girl's age 45 percent aged 30–39 27.5 percent aged 40+ Characteristic of current sexual partner of females aged 15–29 who had had induced abortions in rural area ^{b, f} : Age range 22–35+

Country, location	Sample population	Citation	Statistic
	in one rural village, in-depth interviews and focus groups, 1997		
Tanzania (urban Dar es Salaam)	455 females aged 14–30+ who had had induced abortions (all who presented in four public hospitals), in-depth interviews	Mpangile et al. 1993	Characteristic of sexual partner who was responsible for pregnancy of females aged 14–17 who had had induced abortions (married and unmarried): 79 percent older than female 31 percent aged 45+ Characteristic of sexual partner who was responsible for pregnancy of female students who had had induced abortions: Approximately 25 percent aged 45+ 9 percent same age as girl
Tanzania (rural Mwanza Region)	892 male and female primary- and secondary-school students aged 12+, random survey	Matasha et al. 1998	Characteristic of primary-school females ^e : 46 percent have ever had adult sexual partners (including teachers, relatives, and strangers) Characteristic of secondary-school females ^e : 24 percent have ever had adult sexual partners (including teachers, relatives, and strangers)
Cameroon (urban Yaoundé)	541 males and females aged 15–26, random survey	Calves et al. 1996	Characteristic of unmarried females aged 15–20: 28.4 percent have ever gone out with a married man Characteristic of females aged 21–26: 50 percent have ever gone out with a married man
Cameroon (urban Yaoundé)	541 males and females aged 15–26, random survey	Calves and Meekers 1997	Characteristic of unmarried females' (aged 15–26) partner at sexual initiation: 93.8 percent older than female 61.7 percent two or more years older 35.9 percent four or more years older
Kenya (rural and urban)	9,997 female secondary-school	AMREF 1994	Characteristic of female students' first sexual activity ^e : 3.2 percent with adult male

Country, location	Sample population	Citation	Statistic
	students aged 12–24, random survey, 1992		
Kenya (truck stops)	200 males and females aged 15–19 at three truck stops, convenience sample of those in open areas of truck stops	Nzyuko et al. 1997	Characteristic of females' (aged 15–19) partner at sexual initiation ^e : Median age four years older Characteristic of partner at sexual initiation of females aged 15–19 who usually have sex with truck drivers: Median age six years older

a Study date often not discernible from study description.

b Assume one current partner only.

c Not clear from text if sample was drawn randomly.

d Not clear from text if current sexual partners include multiple partnerships.

e Assume females are unmarried.

f Not clear from text if current sexual partner or the partner responsible for pregnancy.

Luke 2003: Table A3 Statistics on prevalence of transactional sex among adolescent females from studies reviewed, by country and study, sub-Saharan Africa

Country, location	Sample population and method	Citation	Statistic
Cameroon (urban Edea and Bafia)	1,600 males and females aged 12–22, random survey	Meekers and Calves 1997b	Reported ever involvement of females aged 12–17 in sexual relations for exchange of money/gifts: 5 percent Reported ever involvement of females aged 18–22 in sexual relations for exchange of money/gifts: 15 percent
Cameroon (urban Yaoundé)	541 males and females aged 15–26, random survey	Calves and Meekers 1997	Reported ever involvement of females in sexual relations for exchange of money/gifts: Females aged 15–20: 30 percent 33 percent say money is a current motive for multiple partnerships Females aged 21–26: 41 percent
Malawi	300 females aged 10–18, random ^b survey	Reported in Weiss et al. 1996	Reported involvement of sexually active females aged 10–18 in sexual relations for exchange of money/gifts ^c : Approximately 66 percent
Nigeria	500 female university students aged 16+, random survey	Reported in Weiss et al. 1996	Reported involvement of sexually active university women aged 16+ in sexual relations for exchange of money/gifts/favors ^c : 18 percent
Uganda (rural)	80 female secondary-school students aged 12–20, random survey	Nyanzi et al. 2000	Reported ever involvement of sexually active secondary-school females aged 12–20 in sexual relations for exchange of money/gifts: 85 percent
Kenya (truck stops)	200 males and females aged 15–19 at three truck stops, convenience sample of those in open areas of	Nzyuko et al. 1997	Females aged 15–19 reporting usually receiving money/gifts in exchange for sexual relations: 78 percent Females aged 15–19 who usually have sex with truck drivers reporting usually receiving money/gifts for sexual

Country, location	Sample population and method	Citation	Statistic
	truck stops		relations: 96 percent
Kenya, Mali, Uganda, Zambia, Zimbabwe	Females aged 15–49 (sample size not reported), random survey (DHS)	PRB 2001	Unmarried females aged 15–19 reporting recently receiving money/gifts in exchange for sexual relations ^d : 21 percent Kenya (within past 12 months) 26 percent Mali (within past 12 months) 31 percent Uganda (last sexual encounter) 38 percent Zambia (within past 12 months) 13 percent Zimbabwe (within past 4 weeks)
Mozambique (urban Maputo)	82 female working- and middle- class secondary-school students aged 14–20, random survey	Machel 2001	Female secondary-school students aged 14–20 who reported receiving material help from male sexual partners ^{c, d} : 63 percent in working-class school 6 percent in middle-class school
Uganda (rural Rakai District)	861 males and females aged 13–19, random survey, 1991	Konde-Lule et al. 1997	Relationships (most recent three) of females aged 15–19 that involve economic support: 90 percent
Tanzania (rural Mwanza Region)	892 male and female primary- and secondary-school students aged 12+, random survey	Matasha et al. 1998	Report that reason for having sex is presents or money: 52 percent of female primary-school students 10 percent of female secondary-school students
Swaziland (rural and urban)	202 male and female secondary-school students aged 14+, random in-depth interviews, 1990–91	McLean 1995	Female students aged 14 or older who reported that they are sexually active because of financial need: 20 percent Boys aged 14 or older who reported that they think girls want gifts to demonstrate boys' affection: 36 percent

a Study date often not discernible from study description.

- b Not clear from text if sample was drawn randomly.
- c Not clear from text if reference for reported behavior is ever involvement in transactional sex or only with recent/current partners.
- d Not clear from text if sample is all females or only sexually active females.

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