"No Money, no Honey?"
Poverty and Youth Relationships in Urban West Africa

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Abstract

In Burkina Faso, the expectation that a young man has to financially support his girlfriend is deeply rooted in social norms regarding gender roles. With the persistent economic crisis and increasing youth unemployment, this financial obligation seems more and more difficult to fulfill, however. Qualitative studies have reported the frustration of unemployed and poorer young men in West African cities who fear prolonged sexual abstinence or difficulties to keep a girlfriend due to their economic condition. This sexual marginalization of poorer city-dwellers suggested by anthropological evidence has yet to be explored quantitatively. This is the purpose of the study. Based on unique life history data collected among young adults in 2010 in Ouagadougou, the present research examines the impact of poverty on young men's ability to a meet and keep a girlfriend. Results from conditional gap time Cox models provides support for the "sexual marginalization hypothesis" and show that, other things being equal, unemployed males and uneducated young men are significantly less likely to engage in relationships than their economically and socially better-off counterparts. We also found a significant effect of economic origin, employment and educational attainment on the hazard of engaging in relationships with multiple sexual relationships over time.

R.: *I haven't had a girlfriend in three years.*
I.*: Why?*
R: *Here (*in Ouagadougou*), it's all about means. You need to have a moped; you need to have money to buy drinks and stuff. Today girls want guys with money; if you are poor they don't love you.*

Young city dwellers interviewed in Ouagadougou, cited by I. Bardem (1997: 25)

Context and Objectives

In Burkina Faso, as in many other African countries, although marriage remains almost universal, it often no longer represents the beginning of the exposure to sexual activity. The context of sexual initiation has changed over the years and the proportion of young women engaging in premarital sexual activity has risen (Mensch *et al.* 2006). The trend is particularly visible in urban areas. Thus, like in other African cities, unmarried youth in contemporary Ouagadougou are often engaged in a number of premarital sexual relationships, either sequentially or simultaneously, with various underlying logics (Meekers & Calvès, 1997; Longfield, 2004; Poulin, 2007; Rossier, 2007; Clark et al. 2010). These relationships vary in terms of stability and social acceptability and can be casual or long lasting. Some relationships can be motivated by romantic love and the quest of a « soul mate ». As noticed by Rossier (2007: 29), in contemporary Burkinabè cities "premarital sexuality is a way to discover and hold on to stable partners in a competitive marriage market". Not all unmarried partnerships in contemporary African cities are motivated by marriage, however. Adolescents and young adults also engage in premarital relationships for sexual experience and satisfaction or for economic reasons.

In fact, several studies have documented the involvement of female adolescents and young adults in premarital sexual relationships, often with older, wealthier men, is an attempt to

provide for basic needs, such as food, clothing or school fee payments (Gage and Bledsoe 1994; Meekers & Calvès, 1997; Luke, 2005). These "sugar daddies" type of relationships are the most obvious and stereotypical cases of economic motivation underlying sexual relationships. Yet, in sub-Saharan Africa, like in most parts of the world, virtually all intimate relationships have an economic component and among African youth money and gifts exchange is an essential aspect of the courting process. As pointed out by Poulin (2007:2391) in rural Malawi male-to-female money exchange in premarital relationships is a "tacitly understood obligation" perceived by boys as a "duty" and by girls as an "expression of love and commitment". In the African context, where "romance and finance" are often "in mutual embrace" (Mills & Ssewakiryanga; 2007), money exchanges within unmarried intimate relationships are intrinsically linked to masculine and feminine identities (Cornwall, 2002). In Burkina Faso, for instance, the expectation that a young man has to financially support his girlfriend is deeply rooted in gender norms and the social representation of men as providers (Lallemand, 1977).

In the context of persistent economic crisis and increasing youth unemployment that have characterized most sub-Saharan African cities, including Ouagadougou (Calvès and Schoumaker, 2004), since the beginning of the 90s', this financial obligation seems more and more difficult to fulfill for several young urban males, however. Qualitative evidence suggests that deteriorating economic conditions have actually exacerbated money-related conflicts and tensions between male and female youth (Calvès & Meekers, 1997; Sévédé Bardem, 1997; Mills & Ssewakiryanga; 2007). In Ouagadougou, as in other African cities, young men repetitively complain about the materialism and "venality" of their female counterparts. Underlying these critics against the opposite sex is the growing sense among a number of young men that economic hardship restrains their sexual options. Several studies have actually reported the

bitterness and frustration expressed by unemployed, poorer young men who feel marginalized on the "dating scene" and fear prolonged sexual abstinence or difficulties to keep their girlfriend due to their economic condition (Sévédé Bardem, 1997; Mills & Ssewakiryanga; 2007; Morel, 2001). While some quantitative studies have documented the difficult transition to marriage among young generation of unemployed males and informal sector workers (Antoine et al. 1995; Marcoux & Piché 1998; Calvès, 2007), the sexual marginalization of poorer urban men suggested by anthropological evidences has yet to be explored quantitatively. Based on a unique retrospective life calendar history survey collected among young adults in 2010 in Ouagadougou, the purpose of the study is to contribute to remedy this research gap and to examine the impact of young male poverty on their sexual relationship history. More specifically, the study analyzes the effect of young males' socioeconomic background, occupation and educational attainment on their ability to meet and keep a girlfriend as well as to engage in multiple sexual relationships over time.

Data and Methods

The study uses data from a unique retrospective survey entitled ''Becoming parents in Ouagadougou" (BPO survey) conducted in the capital city of Burkina Faso between November 2009 and February 2010 among a representative sample of 2036 young adults: 1109 women and 927 young men. To account for gender differentials in patterns of transition to adulthood, female respondents targeted by the survey were slightly younger (20 to 24 years old) than their male counterparts (20-29 years old). Besides data on social origin (parents occupation, religion, ethnic group) and complete retrospective residential, activity and birth histories, the survey also collected a detailed history of sexual relationships respondents has had during his/her life. While several life history calendar surveys have taken into account the complexity and diversity of

matrimonial unions in Africa (Antoine, 2002), life history calendars to capture the dynamic processes of unmarried youths' romantic and sexual life histories have been rarely collected (Calvès, 2003; Clark et al. 2010). The fourth section of our questionnaire goes beyond typical matrimonial calendar (recording dates of traditional, religious, civil matrimonial ceremonies) to collect information on all « significant» relationships: the first one and all subsequent relationships that lasted more than six months or ended in a pregnancy, a cohabitation or a marriage. For each relationship, several characteristics were collected including date the relationship started, the initiation context, date sexual activity was initiated, contraception use, concurrent occasional sexual partners, whether it led to an engagement, a marriage, a cohabitation, whether it led to pregnancy, whether it ended up in a break-up and if so why. The dates of each of these events were also collected.

In addition to this detailed relationship history, the survey has collected information on the social and economic origin of respondents including ethnicity, religion, and parents' occupation. Complete retrospective residential and activity histories were also collected. These histories contain several time-varying indicators of individual wealth: activity (in school, working, at home), level of educational attainment (no formal education, primary, secondary and post-secondary level education) and type of employment performed (paid versus unpaid work, informal versus formal sector jobs) as well as living conditions (place of residence and housing wealth index for each residence). Thus, the BPO survey data provides a unique opportunity to analyze the effect of poverty on young men's ability to form single and multiple sexual relationships over time and therefore test the "sexual marginalization" hypothesis, using life history models.

The analysis is divided in two sections. The first section of the analysis provides descriptive statistics on relationship history of male respondents: median age at first relationship,

mean number of relationships reported, median duration of unmarried relationships (in years) and proportion of respondents who reported concurrent sexual partnerships. To investigate the effect of socio-economic status on relationship history, a descriptive statistical analysis was performed using Kaplan-Meier methods. Differentials in the median time spent without relationship as well as without relationships with multiple partners are contrasted by four indicators of the socioeconomic status of respondents. The first two indicators pertain to the socioeconomic origin of male respondents. First, the occupation of respondents' father (wage employment versus and informal or agricultural sector work) is included as a fixed background characteristic. Second, retrospective residential history was used to construct a residence wealth index at 10 years old (low, medium and high) based on information collected on housing quality: house location (zoned versus spontaneous unzoned neighborhood), wall materials (cement/stone, mud brick or other), main source of drinking water (pipe into dwelling or other public outdoor tap, well, vendors, other) and lighting fuel (electricity, other). Besides economic origin, respondents' occupation and educational attainment were included in the models as individual time-varying measures of wealth and socioeconomic status. The variable measuring respondent's main occupation is coded in four categories: inactive or performing unpaid work, in-school, working in the informal sector and working the formal sector; while the educational attainment variable includes four categories: no formal schooling, primary, secondary and post-secondary level education. To further examine the impact of poverty on youth ability to enter and stay in relationships, in the second section of the analysis we performed multivariate analysis using Cox conditional gap time models for repeated events (Cleves, 1999a; Box-Steffensmeier & Zorn 2002). These models account for the fact that unmarried men move in and out of relationships and experience repeated "relationship spells". The analysis models the hazard of entering a relationship and focuses on unmarried adolescents and young men. Since we are interested in the

transition to unmarried relationships we construct a survival data set where only spells during which respondents are single and without a relationship are at risk of the transition and kept in the data file (Cleves, 1999b). Two models are estimated. We first model the effects of young males' socioeconomic origins and time-varying occupational and educational status on the hazard of entering a relationship over time. In this model, only time spans when respondents are single and outside a relationship are considered. Thus, a respondent is under observation from age 10 until he enters a first relationship; he leaves the risk set during the time of the relationship and is observed again as soon as he experiences a breakup and becomes at risk of entering a second relationship, and so on. The 917 respondents generate a total of 4,432 person-month observations. In a second model, we focus on the effect of poverty status on the hazard of transition to a non-exclusive relationship (a relationship during which respondents reported having multiple sexual partners). For each relationship, respondents were asked whether they ever had occasional sexual partner(s) on the side during this relationship. The exact timing of the "arrival" of these occasional partners in the relation is not known and respondents who declared having occasional sexual partners during a relationship are assumed to be in a non-exclusive relationship as soon as they enter this relationship. Only time spans when respondents are not involved in relationships with multiple partners are considered and the survival data set includes a total of 5,607 person-month observations.

The fours indicators of socioeconomic origin and status are included in each multivariate model as fixed (origins) and time-varying covariates to test the "sexual marginalization hypothesis". Selected individual characteristics that are likely to affect transition to sexual relationship are integrated in the models as control variables. These variables include fixed background characteristics such as ethnic group affiliation (Mossi versus others) and religion

(Christian versus Non-Christian (Muslim and Animist) and time-varying covariates such as age (10-14; 15-19; 20-24 and 25 and over) and place of residence (Ouagadougou/Bobo-dioulasso, small cities/rural areas, abroad).

If the sexual marginalization hypothesis is verified, we would expect poorer unmarried young men (those unemployed or performing work, and those men from disadvantage socioeconomic background) to be less likely to form relationships compared to their counterparts with a paid job (especially those working in the formal sector of the economy) and those who grew up and lived in wealthier families. While educational attainment is not a direct measure of individual wealth it provides an indication a young man potential economic standing in the future. Thus, other thing being equal, according to the "sexual marginalization hypothesis", educational attainment should increase the hazard of finding a stable sexual partner as educated young men should be perceived as more suitable future spouses and should therefore be more successful on the "dating market" than their uneducated counterparts.

Results

a) Relationship history and socioeconomic status: descriptive statistics

Table 1 presents selected characteristics of relationship history declared by male survey respondents.

[Table 1 about here]

Consistent with previous data on age at male sexual initiation in Burkina Faso (Welling et al. 2006), Table 1 shows that young men initiate their partnership history rather late, around age 20 (median age of 20.1). By age 24, however, the large majority of them had already had a sexual partner. On average, men declared and described 2.3 significant relationships (one that lasted more than six month, or lead to a pregnancy or a marriage), which each lasted between 2 to 3 years (2.4) on average. Not all significant relationships are exclusive, however, and occasional sexual partners are frequent. Having concurrent relationships and/or occasional sexual partners during a relationship is in fact a fairly common practice among unmarried young men: 46% of respondents declared having occasional sexual partner while in a "significant" relationship or having concurrent "significant" relationships. Importantly, most of these non-exclusive relationships are relationships with occasional sexual partners on the side rather than concurrent "significant" relationships.

To evaluate the association between respondents' socio-economic status (socioeconomic origins and individual socioeconomic indicators) their ability to enter and keep relationships Table 2 provides descriptive statistics based on Kaplan-Meir estimates of the median time spent by unmarried men since age 10 without relationship (first column) and outside relationships with multiple sexual partners overtime (second column).

[Table 2 about here]

As seen in Table 2, since age 10 male respondents spent on average 104 months (about 8 years) and 149 months (about 12 years) without any relationship and any multiple relationships, respectively. Table 2 also shows that median time spent outside relationship is strongly and significantly associated with all socio-economic indicators. Differences by individual socio-

economic status are especially striking and young men's activity and educational attainment affect time spent outside relationships. In fact, young men who are unemployed or performing unpaid work) spent on average significantly more time without a steady girlfriend (130 months on average) compared to their employed counterparts (31 months and 22 months on average for those working in the informal sector and formal sector of the economy on average). Time spent outside relationships also declines with educational attainment, and post-primary education clearly seems to favor successful courtship: young men who never attended formal schools spent on average 125 years without a partner while those with secondary and post-secondary schooling spent respectively 34 and 20 months in that situation. Similar differences are visible when multiple relationships are considered. Employment in the formal sector and post-secondary level education, in particular, seem to favor multiple partnership and young men working in the formal sector of the economy as well as those with post-secondary educational attainment demonstrate remarkably shorter episodes outside relationships with multiple sexual partners. Although differences by youth social origin and level of housing wealth index are less pronounced than they are by individual socioeconomic indicators, young men from poorer family background (those whose fathers were employed in the agricultural or informal sector and those who grew up in poorer residences) experienced longer periods outside relationships compared to their counterparts from wealthier origins. For instance, young men who lived in residence with a low wealth index at 10 years old remain on average 110 months outside a relationship while those living in residence with medium or high economic index remain on average only 98 months in that situation. Differentials by socioeconomic status are also more visible when multiple relationships are concerned and young men form richer background spent significantly shorter period outside non-exclusive relationships.

a) Effect of socio-economic status on transition to unmarried relationship

Table 3 presents the results of the conditional gap time Cox hazard analysis that models the effects of socio-economic status on the hazard of engaging in relationships. To explore the mechanisms underlying this relationship, the effects of socioeconomic indicators are shown before (Model I) and after (Model II) controlling for fixed and time-varying covariates (age, place of residence, ethnic group, and religion).

[Table 3 about here]

As seen in Table 3, once individual level socioeconomic indicators are controlled for, the positive effect of respondents' more privileged social and economic origin on transition to unmarried relationship remains, but is not statistically significant anymore. This result suggests that young men from poorer economic background are at disadvantaged on the "dating market" largely because they have lower level of education and less lucrative occupation over time than their counterparts from wealthiest origins (those whose father had a formal employment and those who come from richer residence). In fact, both individual time-varying level socio-economic indicators, namely occupation and educational level, have a clear and significant effect on relationship formation. The hazard of engaging in relationship overtime increases with educational level and is positively related to young men working status with employed men (especially those employed in the formal sector) being more likely to have girlfriends than unemployed or young men performing unpaid work.

As shown in Table 3, these positive effects remain significant in the full model (Model II), which includes important control covariates such as age, place of residence, ethnic affiliation and religion. Other things being equal, better-off respondents are significantly more likely than their economically and "educationally" disadvantaged counterparts to engage in relationships overtime. In fact, for unmarried males, paid employment seems to be key to have and keep girlfriends. While those who are at school do no differ significantly from their unemployed counterparts, those working in the informal and formal sectors of the economy are respectively 1.35 and 1.47 times as likely as unemployed youth to engage in relationships overtime. Providing further support for the sexual marginalization of socially disadvantaged youth, the multivariate analysis also confirms that, controlling for age and other covariates, the hazard of having a girlfriend significantly increases with educational attainment. As for the effect of control variables, as we could expect, the hazard of engaging in unmarried relationship increases with age. While ethnic and religious affiliations have no significant effect on the hazard of getting a girlfriend, place of residence does. Rural residence or residence in small towns does not favor relationships formation (hazard ratios of 0.7).

To further explore the "sexual marginalization hypothesis", we ran a second conditional gap time Cox hazard model that evaluates the effect of socioeconomic status on on the hazard of engaging in relationships with multiple sexual partners (either occasional or overlapping significant relationships). Results are presented in Table 4.

[Table 4 about here]

Table 4 shows that male socio-economic status significantly affects the hazard of engaging in none-exclusive relationships (mostly relationships with occasional sexual partners during the course of the relationship). Other things being equal, males' economic origin, and more specifically the wealth index of their residence at 10 years old, has a positive and significant effect on the hazard on engaging in relationships with multiple sexual partners. Young men who grew up in residence with a medium or high housing wealth index are significantly more likely to have multiple sexual partners than their counterparts who grew up in a more disadvantaged economic household. Respondent's activity is also significantly associated with the hazard of engaging in concurrent sexual relationships. While employment favors relationship formation (Table 3), employment in the more lucrative formal sector is also a significantly associated with transition to non-exclusive relationships and young men working the formal sector are 1.5 times as likely to engage in a relationship with multiple sexual partners than those who are unemployed or performing unpaid work. Multiple sexual partnerships is not only significantly associated with males' ability to access to financial resources, it is also linked their educational attainment and, as for relationship formation, the hazard of engaging in relationships with multiple sexual partners significantly increases with respondents' educational level. As for the effect of control variables, results presented in Table 4 parallel those found in Table 3: the hazard of engaging in multiple sexual relationships increases with age (also the level of significance is lower than in Table 4) and decreases with residence in small town and rural areas compared to residence in Ouagadougou and Bobo-dioulasso, while ethnic and religious affiliations have no significant effect.

Conclusions

In a context where the expectation that a young man has to financially support his girlfriend is deeply rooted in social norms regarding gender roles (Lallemand, 1977) and where the prolonged economic crisis has severely affected youth employment (Calvès and Schoumaker, 2003), the purpose of the present research was to investigate quantitatively a phenomenon documented by qualitative research in urban sub-Saharan Africa: the increasing sexual marginalization of poorer young city-dwellers and their difficulties to find and keep a girlfriend. To do so, we mobilized unique relationship history data collected among young adults in 2010 in Ouagadougou, the capital city of Burkina Faso. Important results emerge from the study. First, the data confirm that although unmarried young men in Ouagadougou initiate their sexual partnership history rather late (first partner around age 20), they engage in a number of premarital relationships, either sequentially or simultaneously. Respondents often have occasional sexual partners during a "stable" relationship and are sometimes engage in concurrent significant relationships. Unmarried young men are not equal in the search of stable sexual partners, however. Kaplan Meir descriptive statistics suggest significantly longer period of time spans outside relationships among young men from poorer socioeconomic origins, uneducated youth, and those who are unemployed or performing unpaid work. Results from conditional gap time Cox models provides further support for the "sexual marginalization hypothesis" and show that, other things being equal, unemployed males and uneducated young men are significantly less likely to engage in relationships than their economically and socially better-off counterparts overtime. We also found a significant effect of economic origin, employment in the formal sector and educational attainment on the hazard of engaging in relationships with multiple sexual partners over time.

Thus, in a context where deteriorating economic conditions are believed to have exacerbated money-related conflicts and tensions between male and female youth (Calvès & Meekers, 1997;

Sévédé Bardem, 1997; Mills & Ssewakiryanga; 2007), the study provides quantitative support for the growing sense among a number of young men that economic hardship restrains their sexual options. Because the study focused on "significant" relationships (the first one, and the following ones that lasted more than six months or lead to a cohabitation, marriage or a pregnancy) and did account for occasional sexual activity occurring outside these relationships, the research did not provide information on the differentials in actual "sexual celibacy" of young men by socio-economic status. However, it clearly documents the difficulties faced by uneducated and unemployed young men to meet and keep a "stable" girlfriend. Importantly, this marginalization on the "dating market" is likely to affect the transition of poorer men to marriage. In urban Burkina Faso, as in many other cities, unmarried young men engage in sexual relationships for love, to satisfy sexual and emotional needs but also to find a suitable spouse (Rossier, 2007). Previous research conducted in urban Burkina Faso actually showed that later transition to marriage among young generation of city-dwellers could be partly explained by the deterioration of their employment position (Calvès, 2007). Whereas for earliest cohorts of men the timing of first marriage was not a matter of money, for the most recent ones, obtaining a paid job is crucial to transition to first formal union. While the growing individualization of financial responsibility for wedding costs observed in many African countries (Lardoux, 2005; Adjamagbo & Delaunay, 1999) is likely to explain part of the growing importance of employment in forming a first formal union, difficulties to engage in unmarried relationship revealed by our study is also likely to play a role in the postponement of marriage observed among unemployed young men in urban Burkina Faso and in other African cities (Antoine, Djiré and Laplante, 1995).

These results suggest a number of avenues for future research on poverty and unmarried relationships in urban Burkina Faso. First, it would be interesting to investigate how these inequalities vis-à-vis unmarried relationships translates later in the life course; in access to first

marriage, but also to polygamy and to fatherhood for instance. Second, the effect of socio-economic standing on female position on the "marriage market" and their ability to enter unmarried relationships will be worth examined. While the expectation that a young man has to financially support his girlfriend is deeply rooted in social representations of men as providers, , being employed and being educated may also be desirable attributes for a future wife in time of economic hardship.

Table 1. Selected characteristics of relationship history: Male respondents aged 20-39

Initiation of relationships history	
% of respondents who ever had a relationship at:	
Age 15	05.6
Age 20	49.9
Age 24	93.2
Age 29	97.8
Median age at first relationship	20.2
Mean number of relationships declared	2.3
Median duration of unmarried relationships (in years)	2.4
% of respondents who ever declared concurrent relationships or occasional sexual partners during relationship	45.7
N= 927	

Source: 2010 BPO Survey

Table 2. Median time spent by unmarried men outside relationships by selected wealth indicators (in months)

	Outside relationship	Outside multiple relationships
Socioeconomic background indicators		
Father's occupation	***(1)	***
Informal/Agricultural work	109	160
Employed in the formal sector	94	136
Housing wealth index at age 10	*	***
Low	110	166
Medium	98	143
High	98	137
Individual socioeconomic indicators (Time-varying)		
Activity	***	***
Unemployed/Performing unpaid work	130	194
In school	116	150
Employed in the informal sector	31	121
Employed in the formal sector	22	63
Educational attainment	***	***
No formal schooling	125	208
Primary level	122	161
Secondary	34	123
Post-secondary	20	46
All	104	149
Person-months of observation	4 432	5 607

(1) Cox test for significance, testing for equality of survival curves, two-tailed: *** $p<0.001$
Source: 2010 BPO Survey

Table 3. Transition to unmarried relationship: conditional gap time Cox model (hazard ratios)

	Model I	Model II
Socioeconomic origin		
Father's occupation		
(Informal/Agricultural work)		
Employed in the formal sector	1.06	1.05
Housing wealth index at age 10		
(Low)		
Medium	1.00	0.97
High	1.02	0.93
Respondent's activity [tv]		
(Unemployed/Performing unpaid work)		
In school	1.25*	1.18
Employed in the informal sector	1.52***	1.35***
Employed in the formal sector	1.67***	1.48***
Educational attainment [tv]		
(No formal schooling)		
Primary school	1.28**	1.31**
Secondary school	1.45***	1.39**
Post-secondary	1.62***	1.44*
Control variables		
Place of residence [tv]		
(Ouagadougou/Bobo-dioulasso)		
Small towns/rural areas		0.69***
Abroad		0.99
Age [tv]		
(10 to 14 years old)		
15 to 19 years		1.23*
20 to 24 years		1.48**
More than 25 years		2.05**
Ethnic group		
(Mossi)		
Other		0.97
Religion		
(Muslim/animist)		
Christian		1.09
N	4 432	
Prob > chi2	0.000	0.000

* p<0.05 **p<0.01 ***p<0.001 Source: 2010 BPO Survey

Table 4. Transition to relationships with multiple sexual partners: conditional gap time Cox model (hazard ratios)

	Model I	Model II
Socioeconomic origin		
Father's occupation		
(Informal/Agricultural work)		
Employed in the formal sector	1.14	1.12
Housing wealth index at age 10		
(Low)		
Medium	1.37*	1.33*
High	1.40**	1.27*
Respondent's activity [tv]		
(Unemployed/Performing unpaid work)		
In school	1.19	1.11
Employed in the informal sector	1.50**	1.33
Employed in the formal sector	1.69**	1.51*
Educational attainment [tv]		
(No formal schooling)		
Primary school	1.49**	1.53**
Secondary school	1.80***	1.69**
Post-secondary	1.87**	1.70*
Control variables		
Place of residence [tv]		
(Ouagadougou/Bobo-dioulasso)		
Small towns/rural areas		0.67**
Abroad		1.16
Age [tv]		
(10 to 14 years old)		
15 to 19 years		1.57*
20 to 24 years		1.79*
More than 25 years		2.41*
Ethnic group		
(Mossi)		
Other		1.21
Religion		
(Muslim/animist)		
Christian		1.01
N	4 432	
Prob > chi2	0.000	0.000

* p<0.05 **p<0.01 ***p<0.001 Source: 2010 BPO Survey

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