Gendered representations, social relations and sexual violence: an intersectional reading of adolescent vulnerabilities in the province of Bougouriba

Description

This study questions the links between social representations of gender, masculinity and femininity[1] norms and adolescent girls' exposure to sexual violence in the province of Bougouriba, Burkina Faso. Existing research on gender-based violence rarely addresses how gendered representations shape power, vulnerability, and legitimization of violence, particularly from the perspective of adolescent girls themselves. Moreover, few studies question the way in which these norms are measured, perceived or challenged. This work aims to fill these gaps by analyzing the links between sexual double standards, gender stereotypes and sexual violence, based on a province-wide general population survey. These representations are not neutral: they act as cognitive and social frameworks that define expected and legitimate behaviors according to gender. When challenged, they can trigger violent reactions aimed at restoring a normative order perceived as threatened. The objective is not to attribute any responsibility to adolescent girls, but to understand how these representations, as social products, are articulated with the structural inequalities and relations of domination that organize the contexts of exposure to sexual violence.

Theoretical framework

Synthesis of the literature and issues

- #### Choice and articulation of theoretical frameworks

The analysis of sexual violence against adolescent girls, based on their representations of gender, femininity and masculinity norms, calls for a targeted mobilization of complementary theoretical frameworks. The objective is to understand how gender norms, as social products, structure contexts of exposure to sexual violence and differentiated vulnerabilities. This work is part of a critical and feminist stance, putting the analysis of gender social relations at the center while contextualizing adolescent experiences.

The choice of a theoretical pluralism responds to the complexity of the object of study. Each framework used aims to shed light on a specific dimension of vulnerability: structural gender relations, normative regulations, intersecting effects of social relations, contextual and

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[1] Depictions of gender, masculinity, and femininity norms include the sexual double standard and stereotypical gender traits. Sexual double standards (SDS) refers to the perception among adolescents that boys benefit socially from romantic relationships, while girls are socially ostracized for the same behavior. This perception is assessed using a multi-item scale, which examines how adolescents perceive the penalization of girls and the reward of boys for their romantic and sexual activity (Koenig et al., 2021; Moreau, Li, Ahmed, Zuo, & Cislaghi, 2021; Zimmerman et al., 2021). Gender stereotypes are used to assess adolescents' perceptions of characteristics associated with men and women. This encompasses traits such as dominance for men and submission for women. This dimension includes elements that measure how adolescents perceive these characteristics that are often opposed to male strength and female vulnerability and submission (Koenig et al., 2021; Moreau et al., 2021; Zimmerman et al., 2021).

environmental inscription, interpersonal asymmetries, and subjective vulnerabilities. This cross-fertilization allows us to think together about norms, contexts and experiences.

- **Feminist gender theories: a Central and structuring framework**

Feminist gender theories constitute the main theoretical framework of this work. They make it possible to grasp sexual violence not as isolated or pathological acts, but as instruments of domination inscribed in the patriarchal order. These structural approaches analyze sexual violence as mechanisms for regulating sexuality, mobility and the place of women, through differentiated norms of masculinity and femininity. The notion of *the continuum of sexual violence* sheds light on the articulation between the different forms of sexual violence, from the most symbolic to the most physical, by emphasizing their systemic nature. This framework sheds light on the idea that sexual violence can appear as a response to the perceived transgression of feminine norms (H1 and H2). He bases the analysis on the link between gendered norms and power relations.

- **Social Control and Gendered Socialization: Norms as Mechanisms of Regulation**

Feminist theories of social control (Gold, 1999; Hanmer, 1977) provide an understanding of how adolescent girls are encouraged to internalize norms of respectability under the explicit or implicit threat of violence. They highlight the internalized injunctions around "what a girl should or should not do", and the social sanctions associated with their transgression. These approaches allow us to formulate the hypothesis that the rejection of the sexual double standard can increase exposure to violence, as a normative sanction (link to H1).

- **Intersectionality: making intersecting inequalities visible**

The Theory of Intersectionality (Lépinard & Lieber, 2020) is mobilized to think about the intersecting effects of gender, age, class, and social context relations. It makes it possible to go beyond homogenizing approaches and to account for the diversity of vulnerabilities. This framework sheds light on how some adolescent girls, depending on their social position and their relationship to norms, may be more exposed to sexual violence when they challenge dominant stereotypes (link to H2).

- **Socio-ecological models: situating norms in social environments**

Socio-ecological models of human development (Kast, Eisenberg, & Sieving, 2016) make it possible to analyse sexual violence through several levels of influence, microsystem (family), mesosystem (peers, school), exosystem (institutional framework), macrosystem (social norms). This framework makes it possible to analyze the environments that reinforce or challenge gendered norms. This model contextualizes the two hypotheses by showing how norms are consolidated (or weakened) according to social spheres, but remains complementary because it does not by itself explain the relations of domination (transversal link).

- **Resource theory: understanding interpersonal asymmetries**

Resource theory (Goode, 1971) proposes that violence can be used as a tool of control by individuals with fewer symbolic or economic resources. Applied to this work, it sheds light on certain situations where the economic or emotional dependence of adolescent girls reinforces their vulnerability to dominant male figures. This theory helps to understand interpersonal power dynamics, but it does not take into account gendered social norms or systemic logics of domination (link to H2).

- **Attachment theory: exploring subjective vulnerabilities**

Finally, attachment theory is used in a secondary way to analyze the impact of the family affective climate on the protective capacities or emotional vulnerabilities of adolescent girls (Kast et al., 2016). It makes it possible to nuance the analysis by integrating the subjective and relational dimensions, while being articulated with social and critical approaches. It is of secondary use insofar as this theory helps to shed light on certain fragilities in parent-adolescent relationships, but remains limited in accounting for the social and normative logics of violence.

The hypotheses formulated in this research stem directly from the articulation between these theoretical frameworks: hypothesis 1 (H1), according to which adolescent girls who challenge the double sexual standard are more exposed to sexual violence, is based on feminist approaches to gender and social control, combined with an intersectional reading of the contexts of transgression. Hypothesis 2 (H2), which postulates that the questioning of gender stereotypes is associated with significant vulnerability in rigid normative contexts, is rooted in the articulation between intersectionality, socio-ecological models, resource theory and feminist analysis of power relations.

The plurality of theoretical frameworks mobilized here is not a pile-up, but a complex and situated analytical strategy. Each approach sheds light on a specific dimension of sexual violence against adolescent girls: its inclusion in gendered social relations (feminism), its treatment as a normative sanction (social control), its variation according to contexts and social identities (intersectionality), its anchoring in multi-level social structures (socio-ecological model), its link with relationships of dependency (resource theory) and its relationship to emotional attachments (attachment theory). This pluralist framing responds to the empirical complexity of the situations studied and to the need to think together about structures, contexts, subjectivities and power dynamics. Moreover, all of these frameworks make it possible to go beyond individualizing or culturalist readings, to think of sexual violence as a product of gendered norms, hierarchical power relations and differentiated social contexts. The stance adopted is resolutely critical, feminist and situated: it aims to understand adolescent vulnerabilities as social constructs, and not as individual attributes.

- *Literature review and issues*

Many studies agree that sexual violence is a manifestation of male domination, inscribed in unequal social gender relations. Feminist gender theories, in particular, have made it possible to think of sexual violence not as isolated or pathological acts, but as systemic mechanisms of social control and regulation of female sexuality (Debauche & Hamel, 2013; Hanmer, 1977;

Kelly, 2019). From this perspective, sexual violence is part of a patriarchal order that shapes gender roles, imposes norms of respectability and sanctions deviations from prescribed femininity.

This work has been enriched by the intersectional approach (Lépinard & Lieber, 2020), which highlighted that the experience of sexual violence varies by age, class, race or social background. Adolescent girls, in particular, appear as vulnerable figures at the intersection of age and gender relations, which modulates both their exposure to sexual violence and their ability to name, denounce or protect themselves from it.

Despite these advances, several important limitations persist in the literature: first, gender norms are often evoked as a backdrop, but few studies explore in detail the representations that adolescent girls themselves have of them, especially in non-Western contexts. Second, there is a methodological blind spot on how gender, masculinity, and femininity norms, including sexual double standards and gender stereotyped traits, are operationalized and measured in sexual violence investigations. Also, many studies focus on perpetrators (adult males) or risky environments, but the mechanisms by which adolescent girls' adherence to or rejection of gender norms influences their exposure to violence remain largely unexplored. Finally, research remains focused on urban or Western contexts, with little anchoring in specific territories such as the rural or mining provinces of Burkina Faso, where gender norms take particular forms and can be reconfigured by economic, family or migratory dynamics.

It is therefore essential, both from a scientific and social point of view, to fill these gaps. Understanding how representations of gender norms structure adolescent girls' exposure to sexual violence makes it possible to shift the analysis of sexual violence from the field of individual pathology to that of social relations, socialization and the reproduction of inequalities. This approach is all the more necessary in a localized context such as that of the province of Bougouriba, where social, economic and family changes can produce specific forms of vulnerability. It also makes it possible to contribute to the decolonization of knowledge by producing a situated reading, based on local experiences and representations.

Research questions

This study examines the way in which social representations of gender norms, particularly those related to femininity and masculinity, participate in configuring the contexts of exposure of adolescent girls to sexual violence in the province of Bougouriba. It is part of a critical, feminist and intersectional stance, centered on the analysis of power relations and attentive to the diversity of forms of social vulnerability. Two specific questions guide this research:

Question 1: How do representations of the sexual double standard contribute to structuring inequalities in adolescent girls' exposure to sexual violence?

- This question questions the way in which this norm differentiating male (socially valued) and female (socially restricted) sexuality functions as a mechanism of social regulation. It aims to understand how this norm, when it is strongly anchored in a given

context, can justify sexual violence against adolescent girls who are perceived as deviating from it, not because of their individual posture, but as targets of social sanctions seeking to maintain a gendered order.

Question 2: What effects do gender stereotypes associated with femininity and masculinity have on the power and vulnerability dynamics that underlie sexual violence against adolescent girls?

- This question analyzes how norms prescribing submission and restraint to girls, and domination or sexual initiative to boys, organize power relations and legitimize certain forms of sexual violence. She is also interested in the tensions generated in situations where these stereotypes are challenged, and in the way in which sexual violence can then operate as a reminder of social order.

These two questions do not seek to attribute any responsibility to adolescent girls, but to highlight the social mechanisms by which gender norms, when defended, imposed or defended by violence, become vectors of inequality and vulnerability. They allow us to think of sexual violence as a product of internalized norms, logics of social regulation, and differentiated power relations in specific and situated contexts.

Research Hypotheses

In coherence with the theoretical frameworks used and the research questions, two main hypotheses are formulated. They aim to empirically examine the links between social representations of gender norms and adolescent girls' exposure to sexual violence in the province of Bougouriba.

Hypothesis 1 (H1): In contexts where the double sexual standard is a dominant norm, adolescent girls who disagree with this norm are more exposed to sexual violence as a social sanction exercised by an environment that seeks to maintain the gender order.

- This hypothesis is based on feminist theories of gender and social control, which interpret violence as a mechanism for social regulation and punishment of transgressions of feminine respectability. It postulates that the challenge to the norm valuing male sexual freedom and prescribing female restraint can be perceived as a threat to the sexual order, giving rise to forms of violence aimed at restoring this order.

Hypothesis 2 (H2): In contexts where gender stereotypes are strongly internalized and socially prescribed, adolescent girls who question traditional gender traits (femininity associated with submission, masculinity with domination) are more vulnerable to sexual violence.

- This hypothesis is rooted in an intersectional and socio-ecological reading of violence, complemented by resource theory. She postulates that the questioning of gender norms, when it is part of rigid social environments, can expose adolescent girls to violence that functions as a call to order, especially when it destabilizes established hierarchical power relations.

The common point of these two hypotheses is that they do not attribute the vulnerability of adolescent girls to individual or psychological characteristics, but to their positioning vis-à-vis dominant social norms and the power relations in which they are caught. They reflect a critical and feminist stance, which considers sexual violence as a social reaction to the contestation of the gendered order.

Data and methods

- ### *Data sources*

The quantitative data used for this research come from the project **"B€r K'a Baar"** (*Stop Violence*) **Responding to sexual violence against adolescents in Burkina Faso for the respect of their sexual and reproductive rights**[2]. The objective of the quantitative survey of this research project was to make available data to measure the levels, analyze the associated factors, mechanisms and consequences of sexual violence against adolescents and document the existing procedures and mechanisms for responding to rape perpetrated against adolescents in the province of Bougouriba.

Through a census of the entire province of Bougouriba, adolescents aged 10 to 19 and parents and guardians of adolescents were included/included in the study. Given the phenomenon studied, two samples were constituted according to the target: the first sample concerned only 1060 parents and guardians and the second sample also concerned 1060 adolescents aged 10-19. At the end of the survey, two databases are available: the adolescent database and the parent database, both of which contain information related to sexual violence against adolescents in the province of Bougouriba. In the present research, only data from the adolescent examined the roles of the family environment on adolescent girls' likelihood of being victims of sexual violence.

- ### *Variables studied*

The dependent variable of this research is "sexual violence against adolescent girls". This synthetic variable was constructed from the following four variables: (1) having been a victim of sexual touching or not; (2) have been sexually harassed or not; (3) having been a victim of

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[2] It is an action-research project funded by the International Development Research Centre (IDRC) and implemented by the Higher Institute of Population Sciences (ISSP) of the Joseph Ki-Zerbo University and the Community of Actions for the Promotion of Sexual and Reproductive Health in Burkina Faso (CAPSSR-BF). The overall objective of the survey is to propose an effective and integrated model of responses to sexual violence that takes into account the sexual and reproductive health rights of adolescents in Burkina Faso. It uses a mixed approach that integrates a quantitative and a qualitative component, both in the baseline study and in the final evaluation. It took place from March 2019 to February 2023 in the province of Bougouriba (South-West region) and in three phases: a baseline study phase, a CAPSSR-BF intervention and an evaluation phase. The data that are used in this thesis are those of phase 1, i.e. the basic study.

sexual organ exhibition or not and (4) having been a victim of rape (forced sexual intercourse) or not. It is a dichotomous variable that takes the modality "1" if the adolescent girls answered "Yes" to one of the acts of sexual violence and "0" otherwise.

Depending on the possibilities offered by the database, the variables used to describe the representations of adolescent girls' gender, masculinity and femininity norms (main independent variable) include: (1) *the sexual double standard* (disagree-neither agree nor disagree-agree); (2) *stereotypical gender traits* (disagree-neither agree nor disagree-agree).

The sexual double standard is measured from several statements exploring gender beliefs and stereotypes around the sexuality of girls and boys. The questions concern, for example, the perception of girls who dress in a way that is considered provocative, the normalization of male behaviors (sexual propositions, harassment, forced sex), and the stigmatization of girls who have boyfriends (Koenig et al., 2021; Moreau et al., 2021; Zimmerman et al., 2021).

Stereotypical gender traits are measured from several statements exploring adherence to norms that value male domination and female submission, as well as a certain idealization of virile tenacity. The questions relate, for example, to the valorization of strength, toughness and self-assertion in boys, perceived as proof of virility, and to the injunction to discretion, restraint and dependence in girls. They highlight an implicit hierarchy between the sexes, where male domination is legitimized by internalized gender norms (Koenig et al., 2021; Moreau et al., 2021; Zimmerman et al., 2021).

The objective of this work is to analyze how social representations of gender, masculinity and femininity norms, as perceived, integrated or contested by adolescent girls, are articulated with the power dynamics and social contexts that promote the sexual violence of which they are victims. Focusing solely on the effect of gender, masculinity and femininity norms on sexual violence would probably be fallacious. The parameter linking the two variables (dependent and independent variables) will not be estimated correctly because other variables explaining sexual violence are not specified in the regression. Thus, other independent variables (control variables) from previous theory or empirical studies must be used. In line with the scientific literature and the possibilities offered by the database, a few control variables (with correlations with the dependent variable) were used in the model to adjust the estimates of the effects of the independent variables of interest (sexual double standard and gender stereotyped traits) on the dependent variable (victim of sexual violence). These are: *the age of adolescent girls, their family structures, their relationship status, their levels of education, the types of communes of residence, their involvement in any work during the last 12 months, their religious practices, alcohol consumption*. It should be recalled that the objective is to analyze how representations of gender, masculinity and femininity norms, as indicators of a gendered social relationship, are articulated with other social factors to structure differentiated exposure to sexual violence. This is done by controlling for the effects of other contextual and sociodemographic variables included in the model.

- *Data processing and analysis*

In terms of data analysis, with regard to the research questions and the objectives pursued, a binary logistic regression (given the dichotomous nature of the dependent variable) was performed to examine the probabilities of being victims of sexual violence. Thus, we present the set of binary logistic regression models that exposes the raw and adjusted effects of the odds ratios from an analytical sample of 754 adolescent girls.

- *Ethical aspects*

This study followed strict ethical protocols. It has received approval from the Health Research Ethics Committee of the Ministry of Health of Burkina Faso (Opinion No. 2021-01-015), as well as authorization from the National Council of Statistics (visa No. AP2021001CNSCS2).

Informed consent was systematically collected before any data was collected. For underage adolescents (under 18 years of age), dual consent (parental and personal or individual) was required, with the possibility of refusing the interview even if parental approval was obtained. For teenagers who are not in school, consent may have been materialized by a signature, a fingerprint or a verbal attestation validated by the interviewer.

Strict measures have been put in place to minimise the risk of distress for respondents and to ensure their protection. The investigators were specifically trained to detect and manage signs of emotional distress, in collaboration with a referring psychologist. In the event of sexual violence being revealed, secure procedures have made it possible to direct victims to appropriate support systems, in compliance with national regulations. Finally, data confidentiality was ensured by anonymizing responses and securing storage media.

Results

In general, bivariate analyses show that adolescent girls who are less adherent to traditional gender norms (either disagree or neither agree nor disagree) have higher prevalences of sexual violence (all forms combined), compared to those who adhere to these norms. This is true for both sexual double standards and stereotyped gender traits (Graphs 1 & 2). This tends to suggest, cautiously, that perceived transgression of gender norms or normative ambivalence (lack of a clear position) is associated with a higher level of exposure to sexual violence.

Adolescent girls who disagree with the double sexual standard (i.e., those who challenge the differentiated norms of sexuality between girls and boys) have the highest rates of sexual violence, regardless of the form (polyvictimization, sexual touching, or sexual harassment). Conversely, adolescent girls who meet this double standard (acceptance of unequal norms) have the lowest prevalence of sexual violence (Figure 1). This gradient may reflect a mechanism of social punishment or normative sanction against adolescent girls perceived as transgressive. It suggests that non-adherence to dominant gender norms can increase vulnerability to certain forms of sexual violence, in a context where these norms strongly structure gender relations.

For stereotyped gender traits (Figure 2), the category that neither agree nor disagree (ambivalence or lack of a clear position) is the one that records the highest prevalence of all

types of sexual violence. Adolescent girls who conform to gender stereotyped traits have the lowest prevalences, as with the double standard. Normative ambivalence (absence of a clear-cut position) seems to be associated with a stronger exposure to violence, possibly linked to a vacillation of identity or to a position perceived as unstable vis-à-vis gendered expectations in a social context where these norms are rigid. It could also reflect a grey area of adherence/distance to standards, which exposes to contradictory judgments and therefore increased risks.
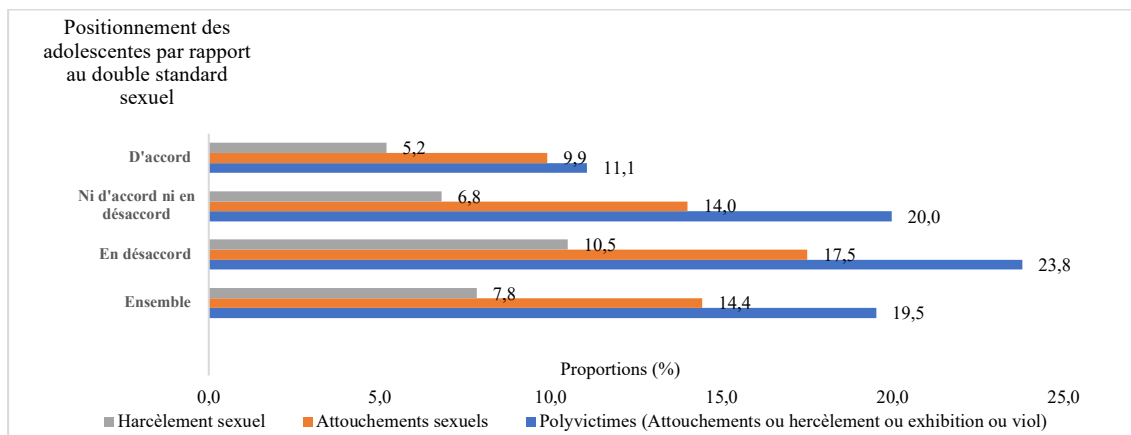

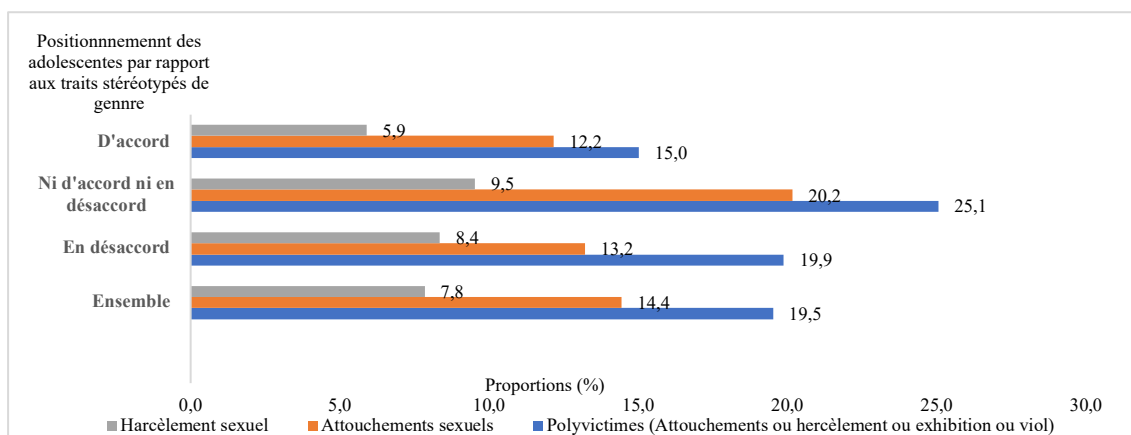Chart 1: Sexual Violence Levels According to the Sexual Double Standard

Chart 2: Levels of sexual violence according to gender stereotyped traits

The multivariate results show that adolescent girls who disagree with the sexual double standard have a significantly higher risk of being victims of sexual violence in all the models carried out. In the final model, they have a probability more than twice as high (OR=2.320; 95% CI: 1.1 - 4.5) compared to those that adhere to these standards. This observation, which is robust and consistent across all models, reinforces the idea that sexual violence functions as a social sanction for the transgression of expected gender roles. The rejection of the double sexual standard, which values male sexuality and stigmatizes that of girls, appears here as a factor of vulnerability, not because of intrinsic fragility, but because it disturbs a gendered normative order, reinforced by the threat or real use of violence. In the light of feminist gender theories, this confirms that sexual violence is a patriarchal regulatory mechanism, serving to

reaffirm a hierarchical gender order: here, female sexuality must remain under male control. The notion of social control (Gold, 1999; Hanmer, 1977) is particularly enlightening: adolescent girls' disagreement with these norms exposes them to sexual violence that reaffirms their "place" in the gendered symbolic order. The *Continuum* sexual violence Kelly (2019) can be read here in the plurality of forms (sexual touching, sexual harassment, etc.) that aim to silence or punish those who contest.

The results regarding gender stereotyped traits are more nuanced. In the final model, adolescent girls who adopt a neutral position, i.e. who do not speak out for or against these stereotypes, have a significantly higher risk of sexual violence than those who adhere to it (OR = 1.873; 95% CI: 1.1 - 3.4). On the other hand, those who clearly reject these stereotypes do not present a significantly higher risk (OR = 1.480; not significant). This result, which may seem surprising, invites a more detailed reading. The fact of not taking a clear position can reflect a form of ambivalence or inner tension. This may reflect a tug of war between traditional norms that are still dominant and aspirations for change, in a social environment that does not always offer clear benchmarks or support for alternative norms. Socio-ecological models make it possible to interpret this ambivalence as an area of fragility: in a context where traditional gender norms remain strong, the fact of not fully adhering to them, without being able to openly reject them, can expose adolescent girls to sexual violence, which is then perceived as a means of sanctioning this normative instability.

As for the control variables, they significantly influence the probabilities of being victims of sexual violence. Thus, adolescent girls aged 15-19 are significantly more exposed (OR=1.757 to 3.085 depending on the model), confirming the results of other studies: this is a period when real or supposed sexuality becomes more "monitored" and potentially repressed. Gender and age are intertwined here: by mobilizing intersectionality, we better understand that this violence does not target all girls in the same way, but especially those whose bodies and behaviours are perceived as threatening adult or masculine norms.

Family configurations marked by the absence of direct family ties (e.g., guardianship by unrelated persons) show significant and consistent levels of risk (final model: OR=2.608; 95% CI: 1.2 - 5.7). This is in line with the hypotheses of attachment theory: the absence of stable and reassuring figures increases subjective vulnerabilities, especially when they are articulated with a lack of structural protection. This also interacts with resource theory: adolescent girls in emotional or economic dependence are more likely to be exposed to unbalanced power relations.

Adolescent girls in a romantic relationship are also more at risk (OR=2.135 in the final model). This relationship, often idealized as a space of emancipation, can turn out to be a place of assignment to the role of "sexually available", in accordance with patriarchal norms. This confirms the relevance of the framework of gendered social control.

The primary level remains associated with a significant risk (OR = 1.826, 95% CI = [0.9–3.4], p < 0.1). The secondary level shows a strongly significant association (OR = 2.182, 95% CI = [1.2–3.9], p < 0.01). At first glance, one might expect that schooling would protect adolescent

girls from violence. However, the results show the opposite: the more adolescent girls are in school, the more their reported risk of sexual violence increases, all other things being equal. This paradox is clarified in a critical feminist reading: school is not a neutral space. It is permeated by gendered and often masculinist power relations, where adolescent girls can be exposed to different forms of sexual harassment or abuse of power, sometimes by teachers or other authority figures. Also, adolescent girls in school, especially in precarious mining contexts, can find themselves in a paradoxical position: they transgress traditional social expectations (modest femininity, home assignment) and therefore become targets of symbolic or real sanctions. The school becomes a space of visibility and exposure, especially if their autonomy is perceived as a threat to local patriarchal norms. The intersection of gender, age, social mobility, and presence in mixed spaces reinforces this vulnerability. Finally, girls' schooling can also be perceived as a deviation from the traditional gender role: by accessing public speech, knowledge and the outside space, they question their gender assignment. In this logic, violence can function as mechanisms of social control and reassignment: to bring down those who "emancipate themselves too much", according to local norms of female respectability.

The effect of the mining context is particularly strong (final model: OR=2.984; 95% CI: 1.6 - 5.7). This result is consistent with a contextual reading of violence, as proposed by the socio-ecological model, which invites us to consider structural and environmental factors in the explanation of violence. In mining areas, the intensity of migratory flows, the informal economy, social anomie, but also the breakdown of family and community frameworks can weaken the mechanisms for protecting adolescent girls. Moreover, these spaces are often marked by a strong normative masculinity, unequal access to resources, and material precariousness that can reinforce the dynamics of sexual domination. In this sense, intersectionality sheds light on cumulative vulnerabilities: a poor, isolated teenager living in a mining community and perceived as transgressing gender norms can find herself at the crossroads of several power relations, which increase her exposure to violence.

Adolescent girls engaged in informal work, particularly in commerce or the primary sector, are also at increased risk of sexual violence (trade: OR=2,473; primary sector: OR=2,621). These results can be interpreted through socio-ecological models and social control theory: adolescent girls' work, especially in precarious or unregulated sectors, weakens family and community supervision and exposes them to interactions with adults or older men, sometimes in positions of authority or power. Moreover, their participation in the economy, in contexts where female autonomy is socially sanctioned, can be perceived as a transgression of traditional gender norms, thus reinforcing their vulnerability in gendered social relations. Intersectionality here makes it possible to highlight how early work combined with other factors (age, poverty, gender, isolation) creates specific risk configurations.

Compared to adolescent girls practising traditional religions (reference modality), those of the Christian faith have a significantly higher probability of reporting sexual violence (OR = 1.888; 95% CI: 1.5 - 3.1). Conversely, for Muslim adolescent girls, the differences are not statistically significant, indicating no statistically significant difference. These results must be read with

caution and placed in a non-culturalist, but structural, perspective. The differences observed may reflect contextual differences in social settings, community practices, or relationships to sexuality, speech and denunciation, rather than the direct effects of religion itself. In light of socio-ecological frameworks and gender theories, these findings could signal that in some Christian environments, greater social mobility or schooling of girls paradoxically coexists with increased spaces of vulnerability, especially when norms of male control persist. It is therefore not a question of a causal effect of religion, but of a complex articulation between beliefs, social contexts, gendered norms and mechanisms of domination.

In the final model, adolescent girls who had consumed alcohol in the past 12 months had a significantly higher risk of having experienced sexual violence (OR = 2.327, 95% CI = [1.4 - 3.7], with $p < 0.01$), compared to those who had not used alcohol. This association should not be interpreted in a moralistic or individualizing way. Alcohol consumption does not in itself cause sexual violence; It can refer to situations of increased exposure, precariousness, perceived transgression of gender norms, or contexts where adolescent girls are less protected (parties, night work, mixed public spaces, etc.). According to a feminist and critical reading, this result shows how social norms can sanction behaviors considered "deviant" in girls. Alcohol consumption, perceived as a transgression of traditional gender roles (modest femininity, sobriety), can expose girls to "punitive" violence, in a logic of social control of the female body. The intersectional approach reminds us that these adolescent girls often find themselves at the intersection of relations of gender, age and class domination. Alcohol becomes a socially stigmatized marker, associated with increased vulnerability, especially in mining or precarious contexts.

The statistical results confirm, taken as a whole, the hypotheses according to which sexual violence functions as instruments of social control, normative sanction and hierarchical reaffirmation of gender relations, particularly when they are contested. The intersectional approach helps to understand why some teenage girls are more exposed than others. Gender norms do not produce isolated effects: they are linked to age, social conditions, economic contexts and family structures.

The feminist, critical and situated reading adopted here makes it possible to go beyond culturalist or psychologizing interpretations, by re-inscribing violence in a structured system of power, but crossed by tensions, ambivalences and resistance.

Table 1: Probabilities for adolescent girls to be victims of at least one form of sexual violence according to their representations of gender, masculinity and femininity norms and some control variables. Adolescent girls aged 10-19 years, Bougouriba province (Burkina Faso) 2021, n=754.

Characteristics	Sexual violence against adolescent girls: Multiple victims (Touching or hercelation or exhibition or rape)										Observed number (n)	Total
	M0 OR (95% CI)	M1 OR (95% CI)	M2 OR (95% CI)	M3 OR (95% CI)	M4 OR (95% CI)	M5 OR (95% CI)	M6 OR (95% CI)	M7 OR (95% CI)	M8 OR (95% CI)	M9 OR (95% CI)		
Representations about gender, masculinity and feminine norms												
Sexual double standard												
Disagree	2.510 (1.3-4.5) ***	2.443 (1.3-4.3) ***	1.752 (0.9-3.2) *	1.850 (0.9-3.4) *	2.139 (1.2-3.9) **	2.281 (1.2-4.2) **	2.380 (1.2-4.5) ***	2.258 (1.2-4.2) **	2.216 (1.1-4.3) **	2.320 (1.1-4.5) **	65	276
Neither agree nor disagree	2.006 (1.1-3.6) **	1.914 (1.1-3.4) **	1.537 (0.8-2.7) ns	1.478 (0.8-2.7) ns	1.588 (0.8-2.9) ns	1.675 (0.9-3.1) ns	1.661 (0.8-3.1) ns	1.464 (0.7-2.7) ns	1.495 (0.7-2.8) ns	1.421 (0.7-2.7) ns	64	315
All right	Ref										21	163
Gender stereotypes												
Disagree	1.403 (0.8-2.2) ns	1.137 (0.7-1.8) ns	1.226 (0.7-1.9) ns	1.301 (0.8-2.1) ns	1.331 (0.8-2.1) ns	1.308 (0.7-2.1) ns	1.372 (0.8-2.2) ns	1.415 (0.8-2.3) ns	1.410 (0.8-2.3) ns	1.480 (0.8-2.5) ns	69	345
Neither agree nor disagree	1.891 (1.1-3.2) **	1.694 (0.9-2.8) *	1.761 (1.1-3.0) **	1.786 (1.1-3.1) **	1.885 (1.1-3.2) **	1.831 (1.1-3.1) **	1.933 (1.1-3.3) **	1.931 (1.1-3.4) **	1.810 (1.1-3.2) **	1.873 (1.1-3.4) **	42	168
All right	Ref										39	241
Age												
10-14 years old	Ref										40	351
15- 19 years old	3.085 (1.9-4.8) ***		2.839 (1.8-4.4) ***	2.730 (1.7-4.2) ***	2.120 (1.2-3.6) ***	2.162 (1.2-3,9) ***	2.191 (1.2-3.9) **	1.809 (1.1-3.3) **	1,838 (1.0-3.2) **	1.757 (0.9-3.2) *	110	403
Family structure												
Single-parent families	0.553 (0.2-1.8) *			0.497 (0.2-0.9) **	0.468 (0.2-0.9) **	0.496 (0.2-1.0) *	0.804 (0.3-1.7) ns	0.833 (0.3-1.7) ns	0.821 (0.3-1.7) ns	0.810 (0.3-1.7) ns	13	110
Nuclear families	Ref										82	408

Characteristics	Sexual violence against adolescent girls: Multiple victims (Touching or hercelation or exhibition or rape)										Observed number (n)	Total
	M0 OR (95% CI)	M1 OR (95% CI)	M2 OR (95% CI)	M3 OR (95% CI)	M4 OR (95% CI)	M5 OR (95% CI)	M6 OR (95% CI)	M7 OR (95% CI)	M8 OR (95% CI)	M9 OR (95% CI)		
Extended Families	1.073 (0.6-1.7) ns			1.011 (0.6-1.6) ns	1.028 (0.6-1.7) ns	1.064 (0.6-1.7) ns	1.182 (0.7-1.9) ns	1.203 (0.7-2.0) ns	1.188 (0.7-2.0) ns	1.230 (0.7-2.1) ns	40	193
Persons who are not related to the adolescent girls	2.908 (1.3-6.0) ***			2.567 (1.2-5.2) **	2.952 (1.4-6.0) ***	3.058 (1.4-6.3) ***	2.987 (1.4-6.2) ***	3.012 (1.4-6.4) ***	2.782 (1.3-6.1) **	2.608 (1.2-5.7) **	15	43
Relationship status												
In union	1.487 (0.7-3.0) ns				0.750 (0.3-1.6) ns	0.905 (0.4-2.0) ns	1.026 (0.4-2.4) ns	1.043 (0.4-2.6) ns	1.114 (0.4-2.7) ns	1.192 (0.4-2.9) ns	12	60
Romantic relationship	2.910 (1.8-4.4) ***				2.288 (1.3-3.8) ***	2.302 (1.3-3.9) ***	2.351 (1.3-4.0) ***	2.200 (1.3-3.7) ***	2.201 (1.2-3.8) ***	2.135 (1.2-3.7) ***	61	194
No relationship	*Ref*										77	500
Level of education												
None	*Ref*										26	189
Primary	1.296 (0.7-2.2) ns					1.964 (1.1-3.6) **	1.957 (1.1-3.7) **	1.894 (0.9-3.6) *	1.835 (0.9-3.5) *	1.826 (0.9-3.4) *	50	299
Secondary	2.426 (1.4-4.1) ***					1.946 (1.1-3.5) **	2.002 (1.1-3.7) **	2.230 (1.2-3.9) ***	2.111 (1.2-3.8) **	2.182 (1.2-3.9) ***	74	266
Municipality of residence												
Mining municipalities	2.846 (1.6-4.9) ***						3.057 (1.6-5.7) ***	3,177 (1.6-5.8) ***	3,269 (1.7-6.1) ***	2.984 (1.6-5.7) ***	132	581
Ordinary municipalities	*Ref*										18	173
Commitment to any work in the past 12 months												
No, never	*Ref*										111	647
Yes, trade	3.361 (1.8-6.1) ***							2.835 (1.5-5.3) ***	2.744 (1.4-5.1) ***	2.473 (1.3-4.6) ***	24	67

Characteristics	Sexual violence against adolescent girls: Multiple victims (Touching or hercelation or exhibition or rape)										Observed number (n)	Total
	M0 OR (95% CI)	M1 OR (95% CI)	M2 OR (95% CI)	M3 OR (95% CI)	M4 OR (95% CI)	M5 OR (95% CI)	M6 OR (95% CI)	M7 OR (95% CI)	M8 OR (95% CI)	M9 OR (95% CI)		
Yes, primary sector	4.255 (2.0-8.9) ***							1.916 (1.2-6.9) **	2.636 (1.1-6.3) **	2.621 (1.1-6.2) **	15	40
Religion												
Mulsumane	0.935 (0.5-1.6) ns								0.876 (0.4-1.5) ns	1.195 (0.6-2.2) ns	27	169
Christian	1.981 (1.2-3.1) ***								1.661 (1.1-2.7) **	1.888 (1.5-3.1) **	66	251
Traditional	*Ref*										57	334
Alcohol consumption in the past 12 months												
Yes	2.653 (1.7-4.0) ***									2.327 (1.4-3.7) ***	53	168
No	*Ref*										97	586
Observation	754	754	754	754	754	754	754	754	754	754		
Wald chi2	-	11.55	30.06	41.64	64.47	67.18	78.66	97.39	96.84	109.07		
Degree of freedom	-	4	5	8	10	12	13	15	17	18		
Prob> chi2	-	0.021	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
R2 User ID	-	0.0216	0.0574	0.0764	0.0998	0.1094	0.1288	0.1511	0.161	0.1761		
Area under the ROC Curve	-	0.6023	0.674	0.6944	0.7169	0.7329	0.7458	0.7634	0.7733	0.7823		
Number of individuals who experienced the event	150 (19.51%)											
Legend	*Coverage*: Adolescent girls aged 10 to 19 years living in Bougouriba province (south-west Burkina Faso). *Reading guide*: All other things being equal, adolescent girls who disagree with the sexual double standard have a higher risk (OR = 2.320) of reporting at least one form of sexual violence compared to those who agree with these norms. This difference is significant at the 5% threshold. *Note*: Wald's test: *** = p<0.01; ** p<0.05; * p<0.1; ns = not significant; Ref= reference modality. *Source* : "B€r K'a Baar" (Stop the Violence) survey, ISSP, 2021.											

Conclusion

This study aimed to understand the extent to which social representations of gender, femininity and masculinity norms, as internalized or challenged by adolescent girls, are articulated with social gender relations to shape contexts of differentiated exposure to sexual violence in the province of Bougouriba.

By mobilizing a multivariate quantitative approach, it has made it possible to empirically document mechanisms that are still little explored in French-speaking African contexts, particularly in rural and mining environments.

The results highlight a significant link between certain gendered representations and exposure to sexual violence. Specifically:

Adolescent girls who disagree with the norms of the double sexual standard, i.e. those who reject the idea that sexuality is more tolerated for boys than for girls, report having experienced sexual violence more frequently than those who adhere to it (OR=2,320; p<0.05). This confirms the first hypothesis.

Regarding gender stereotyped traits, it is not adolescent girls who disagree who disagree the most at risk, but those who adopt a neutral posture ("neither agree nor disagree"), which could reflect ambivalence or a conflict of norms in an environment that is not conducive to change. This result partially confirms the second hypothesis. The explicit rejection of stereotypes is not significantly associated with greater exposure, but indecision seems to constitute a vulnerability in a rigid normative context.

The other contextual variables reinforce this structural reading:

Age (15-19 years), commune of residence (mining areas), paid work (commerce or primary sector), level of secondary education, lack of direct family ties in the household, Christian religion and alcohol consumption are all associated with a higher risk of sexual violence. These variables do not refer to individual causes, but to structural factors of exposure, power relations and unequal social configurations.

The theoretical frameworks used make it possible to give meaning to these results. Feminist gender theories and intersectionality allow us to understand how gender norms articulate with other social relations (age, class, family structure) to produce specific vulnerabilities. The socio-ecological model helps to contextualize the effects of norms in microsocial and macrosocial dynamics. Finally, approaches to social control shed light on the way in which some adolescent girls, perceived as transgressive or ambivalent, can be subjected to normative violence.

The study has some limitations. On the one hand, the analyses do not allow us to establish causal relationships between the variables studied. They are based on statistical associations, which should be interpreted with caution. On the other hand, the lack of qualitative data limits the understanding of the subjective dynamics by which adolescent girls internalize, challenge

or negotiate gender norms. Finally, the measures used to understand these norms remain imperfect: they capture individual attitudes, but little about the relational, emotional and contextual dimensions, which are essential to fully grasp gender relations.

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