

RESULTS OF A BASELINE PEER STUDY FOR THE DESIGN OF
THE SOCIAL MARKETING INTERVENTION
FOR HIV PREVENTION IN THE BATEYES

PSI, DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

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ABBREVIATIONS

AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
BCC	Behaviour Change Communication
CEDESO	Centro para el Desarrollo Sostenible
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
MOSTHA	Movimiento Social de Trabajadores Haitianos
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
PEER	Participatory Ethnographic Evaluation and Research
PSI	Population Services International
STD	Sexually Transmitted Disease

GLOSSARY

Amante	Lover
Bateyeros	People who live in the bateyes
Braseleros	Cane workers
Brujo	Witch
Chulo/papi chulo	Macho/attractive man
Colmado	Shop
Cuernos/cuernula	Horned animal (derogatory term used by women about other women)
Cuero	Prostitute
Dueño	Owner
Esposa/o	Wife/husband
Finca	Farm
Hombre de la calle	A man who has non-trusted partners
Hombre serio	Serious (responsible) man
Mala fe	Bad faith
Maricon	Gay man (derogatory term)
Motor conchos	Motorbike taxis
Mujer de la calle	Woman of the street
Mujer de la casa	Women of the house / respectable woman
Mujeriego	Men who have lots of women
Mujercita coquita	Coquettish little woman (derogatory term for a man)
Pájaro	Bird
Palomo	Pigeon
Papi	Father figure
Pariguayo	Weak man (nerd)
Pica flor	Man who has no committed relationships/only one time encounters
Priye	Prayer
Querida	Second wife
Sabia	Clever
Semana Santa	Holy Week
Tiguere	Tiger (men who have lots of women)
Vacano	Well-dressed/looking good
Varencoes	Houses built by the government or cane company
Velación	Personal relationship with the saints
Vudú	Personal relationship with the spirits



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INTRODUCTION

Method

The PEER (Participatory Ethnographic Evaluation and Research) study was conducted between March and May 2006 in four bateyes¹ in Santo Domingo and Barahona. PEER is a qualitative method based upon training members of the target group (peer researchers) to carry out in-depth qualitative interviews among their peers². The peer researchers were supervised during data collection by key staff from the NGOs, MOSTHA and CEDES. The interview data produced by the PEER researchers was recorded on a weekly basis by the supervisors. At the end of the data collection period a series of in-depth interviews were conducted in the bateyes by the social analyst, with each of the peer researchers (and one of their peers) in order to probe key issues emerging from the interview data. In this respect the peer researchers became the key informants for an in-depth rapid ethnographic study.

Study Objectives

The objectives of the PEER study were:

- To gain an in-depth understanding of behaviour related to the key indicators in the project logical framework: reduction in number of partners and increase in condom use.
- To generate qualitative data to complement quantitative data from the TRaC survey, to better inform the design of the bateyes social marketing programme.
- To explore in-depth some of the key questions and issues emerging from the TRaC data, in particular, in relation to partners and condom use.

Key Themes Identified by PSI

PSI identified the following key themes as the main areas of interest for the focus of the PEER study:

Social context of the bateyes

- How is cultural identity (eg Haitian/Dominican identity) defined by people living in the bateyes?
- How is identity of the batey perceived in relation to wider Dominican society?
- What are the sources of employment for the bateyes and what are the patterns of migration in relation to work?
- How are gender and marital relations experienced and defined?

Partners

- What are the norms with respect to fidelity and number of partners?
- How are different types of partners perceived or classified by both men and women?
- What types of exchange exist between different partners?
- What is the perception of risk with different partners?

Condom Use:

- What are the current levels of knowledge of AIDS and how is AIDS perceived and experienced?
- What is the locus of control – ie what control do men and women have over prevention?
- What are the perceptions of condoms and norms surrounding condom use?

¹ Bateyes were traditionally formed around the sugar cane industry and were originally communities of Haitian migrant workers.

² For an explanation of the PEER method see Annex 1.

Study Design

The study was carried out in bateyes Casabes and Estrellas in Santo Domingo and in bateyes Central and Tres in Barahona.

Data were gathered from men by a group of fifteen male peer researchers in Santo Domingo and from women by a group of eighteen female peer researchers in Barahona.

Each peer researcher conducted interviews with three of their peers, and each peer was interviewed three times, to cover each of the themes. In total ninety nine people were interviewed, generating a total of two hundred and ninety seven interviews.

Following data collection, each of the peer researchers were interviewed in-depth by the PEER consultant/social analyst to probe key issues emerging from the interviews. Peer researchers also brought one of their peers to be interviewed by the analyst to ensure that data were collected from a broad sample of respondents. In total sixty people were interviewed by the social analyst.

Presentation of Data

The data are presented in this report in three sections.

1. The summary section outlines the main findings of the study and recommendations for the design of the PSI social marketing campaign.
2. The main report presents the key findings of the PEER data in table form. The data are presented in two sections: contextual data and behavioural data. The behavioural data are presented in two tables corresponding to the log-frame indicators of reduction in number of partners and increase in condom use. The main points of the behavioural data are presented in the format of the PSI Dashboard, 'bubbles' framework.
3. Examples of the narrative data produced by the PEER interviews are presented in section three. These illustrative quotes supplement the key points of analysis presented in the Dashboard tables.

Annex 1 provides a brief summary of the PEER method.

SUMMARY SECTION
KEY FINDINGS & RECOMMENDATIONS

1. SUMMARY OF MAIN FINDINGS

1.1 Cultural Identity of Bateyes

- From the perspective of those living in the bateyes, the bateyes are seen to integrate Haitian culture within Dominican culture. Haitians and Dominicans are perceived as living in harmony within the bateyes, with little or no discrimination. Criteria by which a person is identified as Haitian are imprecise, but largely focus on whether they or their parents speak Creole, and the place of birth of ancestral generations. There is a predominant perception by those living in the bateyes of extreme discrimination by wider Dominican Society. Bateyes are perceived by those living outside as being 'Haitian', with much misrepresentation of Haitian culture. The bateyes are referred to in terms that dehumanise the people living there and represent them as living outside civilised society.

1.2 Norms of Fidelity and Numbers of Partners

It should be noted that there is often a difference between norms of behaviour for men and women (defined here as stated standards of accepted behaviour) and reports of actual behaviour.

- There are two competing and mutually exclusive norms, which for men represent 'aspirational' standards of behaviour. These norms are expressed in gender identities of an *hombre serio* (serious man) and a *chulo*. The *hombre serio* who is perceived as a 'respectable' and 'responsible' man (and by definition has few partners) who economically supports his family. A *chulo/papi chulo* is perceived as a 'macho' man – who is attractive to women and has many partners. Men aspire to be *hombre serio* in the eyes of other men in relation to their family, and *chulo* in relation to women.
- Normative standards of behaviour for women are that women must be seen to be faithful to one partner. A respectable woman is a *mujer de la casa* (woman of the house); a married woman. Married women must appear to be faithful to their husband.

Having multiple-partners is the most common actual behaviour for men and women.

- It is considered essential by men and women for a man to have many partners to prove his masculinity. Women reinforce this behaviour, stating that 'no woman would be interested in a man who has only one partner.'
- It is accepted by men and women that men have more than one family. Multiple families are a social resource for men. On average a man may have four to five regular partners (usually defined as *queridas/amantes*) and any number of additional short-term sexual encounters.
- Women consider it economically essential to have at least two to three partners for financial support. No woman can be economically maintained by one man in the context of limited sources of income, and men spreading their income across multiple households. It is socially unacceptable for a woman to make public that she has multiple partners; it must remain a clandestine activity.

Risk is related to having many partners who are categorised as non-trusted.

- Trust is not related to fidelity – a trusted partner may have other partners.
- Trust is related to familiarity, emotion and financial commitment.
- A non-trusted partner is usually a one time encounter. A relationship may become trusted after a second or third encounter.

1.3 Knowledge and Perceptions of AIDS

Modes of transmission of HIV are well understood, AIDS is perceived to be prevalent in the bateyes. The locus of control is internal. Risk of HIV infection is perceived to be controlled by individual behaviour: i.e. only having sex with trusted partners and by using condoms with non-trusted partners.

- Gossip concerning people suspected of having AIDS is very powerful. People trace potential networks of infection through sexual networks.
- People with AIDS, or thought to have AIDS, are socially excluded. Behaviour is driven more by fear of gossip that a person may be suspected of having AIDS – than by fear of actual infection.
- A person who has AIDS is considered to become a person of bad faith and wants to infect others.

1.4 Condom Use: Behavioural Outcomes

The HIV prevention messages that condoms protect from HIV infection have been well-understood and absorbed by the community.

- Men and women support the notion that men should use condoms to prevent AIDS.
- Men initiate condom use – because ‘condoms are for men’.
- Women propose that men use condoms with other women – that is *mujer de la calle* – (women of the street) to protect themselves from infection. A woman will never propose that a man use a condom with her.

Health prevention messages which reinforce that condoms are used to protect a person from HIV infection do not reinforce the desired behaviour of increased condom use. Rather, the health prevention messages appear to serve to reinforce rejection of condoms and stigmatisation of men and women who use condoms and ultimately reinforce non-use.

- Both men and women reinforce the notion that men should use condoms with non-trusted partners (*mujer de la calle*) to prevent HIV infection. By definition trusted partners are no risk.
- For men, *mujeres de la calle* are women who are either not their wives or a trusted *amante* (lover).
- For women, *mujeres de la calle* are any woman who has more than one partner. No woman identifies herself as a *mujer de la calle*; it is a category used by women to define *other women*.

From a woman’s perspective, a man suggests using a condom to prevent AIDS. This can therefore mean one of two things: he thinks that she is infected or he is infected. For women, condoms therefore, symbolise lack of trust and infection. Steps in the process leading to rejection of condoms by women:

Condoms are to prevent AIDS → men use condoms with *mujer de la calle* (women they do not trust) → if a man suggests using a condom it means he does not trust me (he thinks I am infected) → I don’t trust him → he is probably infected → if he is infected he is a bad person and wants to infect me → he will put holes in the condom and try to infect me →

I do not trust condoms and men who use them.

If a man doesn’t suggest using a condom it must be because he is healthy and therefore not infected → if he is healthy it doesn’t matter how many partners he has because he is not infected → **it is safe to have sex with a man who does not use a condom because he trusts me and he is not infected.**

For men, condoms symbolise being responsible and should be used with women they do not trust (*mujeres de la calle*) to prevent infection and protect *mujeres de la casa*. Steps in the process that lead to non-use of condoms by men:

A responsible man is an *hombre serio*; other men respect him → responsible men use condoms with *mujeres de la calle* → women are not attracted to an *hombre serio* → women want their men to be *chulo / papi chulo* → men want women to be attracted to them → *chulos* don't use condoms because women don't like them and men don't enjoy sex with condoms → if a man tells his friends he does not use condoms with a *mujer de la calle* they will think he is infected → they will gossip about him → **he tells his friends he uses condoms when most of the time (except on occasional first encounters) he does not.**

1.5 Recommendations for communications design

Partner reduction strategies should focus on reducing those partners who are already defined as not trusted and risky partners.

It is accepted (by men and women) that men have more than one family. Multiple families are a social resource for men, through which their essential needs are met by a range of women. The first wife (*esposa*) and secondary partners (*queridas/amantes*) are all considered to be regular partners.

There is no potential for partner reduction among these regular partners, as they form the social fabric of the community. Non-trusted partners are perceived by men to be encounters with unfamiliar women (*mujeres de la calle*) or by women with *hombres de la calle* (men who go with *mujeres de la calle*). These encounters are important for defining a man's masculinity, and are more significant than commercial partners. Efforts should focus on reducing these partners already defined as non-trusted.

Condom messages need to de-link condom use and use with non-trusted partners.

Currently condom use is directly linked by men and women to use with non-trusted partners.

This results in men stigmatising women with whom they use condoms as *mujer de la calle*. The linking of condoms with non-trusted partners (*mujeres de la calle*), negates the aspirational behaviour of men that a responsible man uses condoms.

The definition of a 'responsible man' (*hombre serio*) is man who does not go with *mujeres de la calle*. Therefore a man who needs to use condoms cannot be an *hombre serio*. Women associate men using condoms with *mujeres de la calle*. No respectable woman identifies herself as a *mujer de la calle*, and so women reject condoms as insulting.

Condom messages need to de-link condoms with negative images of preventing infection / protecting oneself against infection.

Messages need to link condoms with core positive values such as 'being healthy', 'being attractive', 'being a man', 'trust a man who uses condoms.'

The suggestion that condom messages need to be de-linked from messages about preventing infection and protecting oneself from AIDS, appears to go against the grain of most health education messages. The message that condoms prevent infection has been well understood. However, in the specific social

context of gender relations of the bateyes, the association between condoms and protecting oneself from AIDS ultimately appears to reinforce non-use of condoms:

Condom use is directly linked by men and women to prevention of infection

- Condom use is always initiated by men.
- A man who proposes using a condom is clearly defining the relationship as not trusted.
- A non-trusted relationship is one in which there is risk of infection.
- For women condoms come to signify that a man uses condoms because he may be infected.
- Condoms for women therefore symbolise lack of trust and potential infection.
- Women reject condoms and men who use them as unhealthy.

- Men need to be attractive to women to prove their manhood.
- Men usually accept sex if the woman rejects the condom.
- Men reinforce amongst their peers that men need to use condoms to prevent infection.
- Men publicly state to other men that they use condoms for fear of being suspected of being infected.

Multiple coordinated messages need to be directed to each population segment (which represents a set of values and behaviour), that at the community level are mutually reinforcing, to change the current stigma against condoms and condom users into a stigma against condom non-users.

1.6 Implications for messages

<p>Cultural positioning and language</p>	<p>Messages should be positioned so that they can be identified as appealing equally to Dominican and Haitian culture, and do not distinguish between Haitian and Dominican identity (so as not to further stigmatise condoms).</p> <p>All messages need to be produced in both Creole and Spanish</p>
<p>Segmenting the population</p>	<p>The messages need to coordinate with the motivations and aspirations of different categories of men and women.</p> <p>These categories can be defined for men as: '<i>hombre serio</i>' (responsible man) and <i>chulo/papi chulo</i> (macho/attractive man).</p> <p>For women the categories can be defined as married women and unmarried women. The category married women corresponds to <i>mujer de la casa</i>. The category <i>mujer de la calle</i> is not used here because no woman defines herself as <i>mujer de la calle</i>. If she does not identify herself as <i>mujer de la casa</i> she would identify as unmarried.</p> <p>These different segments of the population do not correspond to actual profiles of condom users and non-users. For men, the profile of a condom user is an <i>hombre serio</i> because he is a responsible man and responsible men should use condoms. An <i>hombre serio</i> only has trusted relationships and therefore in practice does not perceive that he needs to use condoms.</p>
<p>Motivations of population segments</p>	<p><i>Hombre serio</i>: To appear responsible to family. <i>Chulo</i>: To appear attractive to women <i>Mujer de la casa</i>: To look after her children, and appear faithful to her husband. <i>Unmarried women</i>: To secure a home and children and financial support for the home.</p>

<p>Intention to use condoms of different segments</p>	<p>For men, there is a stated intention to use condoms with women who are regarded as 'risky' ie with <i>mujeres de la calle</i></p> <p>For women, there is no personal intention to use condoms, except for pregnancy prevention. Women propose that men use condoms with 'other women' (ie <i>mujeres de la calle</i>)</p>
<p>Barriers to condom use</p>	<p><i>Hombre serio</i>: Condoms are for use with non-trusted partners. Does not have non-trusted partners. If he did, he would not be <i>hombre serio</i>.</p> <p><i>Chulo</i>: Women reject condoms and men who use them. <i>Chulos</i> want to be attractive to women. Condoms reduce pleasure.</p> <p><i>Mujer de la casa</i>: Condoms are for use with <i>mujeres de la calle</i>. If a man uses a condom it means lack of trust or that he is infected. Men who use condoms are unhealthy.</p> <p><i>Unmarried women</i>: Condoms prevent pregnancy, pregnancy is a motivation. Has multiple partners for pleasure, condoms reduce pleasure. If a man uses a condom it means lack of trust or that he is infected; men who use condoms are unhealthy</p>
<p>Positioning of messages</p>	<p>Currently condoms = non-trusted partners and infection.</p> <p>Men who use condoms are stigmatised by women as probably infected with HIV, and men stigmatise women with whom they use condoms as non-trusted and possibly infected.</p> <p>Core messages need to move from a negative connection between condoms and infection/lack of trust to a positive connection between condoms and a core value of the population segment such as 'being healthy' and 'being attractive', eg</p> <p><i>Mujer de la casa</i>: Healthy men use condoms; condoms for a healthy family</p> <p><i>Unmarried women</i>: Healthy men use condoms; healthy men are attractive men; trust a man who uses condoms.</p> <p><i>Chulo</i>: Healthy/attractive men use condoms; women want healthy men.</p> <p><i>Hombre serio</i>: Condoms for a healthy family.</p>

**ANALYSIS OF MAIN FINDINGS:
PSI DASHBOARD TABLES**

2. PEER DATA ANALYSIS

2.1 Contextual Data

Table 1: Contextual Issues: Cultural identity of bateyes; identity within Dominican society; economic context and labour patterns; family relations.

Issues	Key points from the data
<p>What are the important aspects of cultural identity of the bateyes?</p>	<p>A key expression of the culture of the bateyes is seen to be <i>el gaga</i>, <i>vudú</i> and <i>velación</i>.</p> <p><i>El gaga</i> has its roots in Haitian culture, but is perceived as a shared Haitian and Dominican celebration. <i>El gaga</i> was also a form of protest of the cane workers, a celebration in which Haitian and Dominican cane workers came together to protest against their exploitation by the cane companies.</p> <p><i>Vudú (priye)</i> is central to <i>el gaga</i>. <i>Vudú</i> which has its roots in Haitian culture is perceived to have its Dominican equivalent in <i>velación</i>. Both are expressions of personal relationships with the spirits (<i>vudú</i>) and saints (<i>velación</i>).</p> <p><i>Vudú</i> is considered to be integral to batey culture and exists alongside Catholicism and membership of the Evangelical Christian churches without apparent contradiction.</p>
<p>Do those living in the bateyes identify themselves as predominantly Haitian or Dominican?</p>	<p>At the level of the batey, Haitians and Dominicans are perceived to live side by side, without discrimination, and live 'like brothers'.</p> <p>Criteria for identifying a person as Haitian are indistinct. Predominantly a person is Haitian if they or their parents speak Creole; and if their parents, grandparents or even great-grandparents were born in Haiti.</p> <p>A person born in the Dominican Republic, whose parents were born in the Dominican Republic, and who speaks only Spanish, will be identified as Haitian if their ancestors can be traced as coming from Haiti.</p> <p>Many born in the Dominican Republic lack documentation to gain rights of Dominican citizenship. In this regard they are neither Haitian nor Dominican. "It is as if they do not exist."</p>
<p>How do those living in bateyes consider they are perceived in the eyes of Dominican society (ie by those living outside the bateyes)?</p>	<p>To wider Dominican society, bateyes are perceived as Haitian with much misrepresentation of Haitian culture.</p> <p>The bateyes are dehumanised in the language of Dominican society, and their inhabitants are represented as living outside human society. People living in the bateyes consider that they are portrayed as living like 'beasts'; 'savages', 'brutes'; 'devils'; 'living like animals.'</p> <p>They are also seen as 'good workers' and a source of cheap labour.</p> <p>Lack of official documentation prevents the majority of those living in bateyes from accessing rights of Dominican Society. Most lack birth certificates preventing entry into state schooling, access to health services and secure employment.</p>

Issues	Key points from the data
<p>What is the economic structure of the bateyes and patterns of labour migration?</p>	<p>Economic roles of men and women are clearly defined. Men's role is to financially support the family and women's role is to manage the money and the household.</p> <p>There are few sources of employment in the bateyes for men. Mainly street vending (selling fruit) and <i>motor conchos</i> (motorbike taxis).</p> <p>Men seek employment in construction, migrating to construction sites in tourist areas for 15-20 days at a time.</p> <p>Women's labour outside the house is perceived as arising from absolute economic necessity. Sources of employment are predominantly vending and domestic labour.</p> <p>Women's labour is perceived to lead to social breakdown and is a leading cause of increasing delinquency among children and young people.</p> <p>Women are perceived to be responsible for pushing children into labour in order to support the economic needs of the household.</p>
<p>How are family relations defined by men?</p>	<p>It is the accepted norm for a man to have more than one family. A man may have as many as five families, often in surrounding bateyes.</p> <p>Most marriages are non-legalised unions. Marriage is defined by forming a household (home and children).</p> <p>The principle union (<i>esposa</i>) is considered by men to be the primary economic commitment.</p> <p>Multiple families reinforce a man's gender identity as a 'macho' or real man.</p> <p>The 'ideal' behaviour presented by men is that a man should only have second and third families if he can support them financially. In reality, this is rarely possible in the economic structure of the bateyes.</p> <p>Multiple families are a social and economic resource for men. A man's needs are met through several households, into which economic resources flow via a range of strategies employed by women.</p>
<p>How are family relations defined by women?</p>	<p>Women accept that men have multiple families. The first wife may take on the care of the children of the second wife, if the second wife is abandoned by her husband.</p> <p>Women define the family as 'sacred', 'the most important aspect of life given by God'. The ideal family is defined as a place of 'trust, harmony and sharing'.</p> <p>Marriage is defined by women as a place of disharmony, with high levels of violence and domestic abuse.</p> <p>For women the idealised family represents the home and children. Women require a husband for financial support to form a household, but men are not perceived as an essential part of the domestic family unit.</p>

2.2 Behavioural Data

Table 1: Partners and Risk

OPPORTUNITY:

SOCIAL NORMS³: The term ‘social norms’ is used here to refer to how men and women represent ‘idealised’ behaviour, that is, behaviour that is perceived as acceptable in the eyes of society.

<p>Social norms of idealised behaviour for men</p>	<p>There are two competing sets of norms for men in relation to partners and numbers of partners. These are represented by the categories of <i>hombre serio</i> (serious man) and <i>chulo</i>.</p> <p>The category <i>hombre serio</i> represents a man who is perceived to be ‘respectable’ in the eyes of other men. Men aspire to be perceived as <i>hombre serio</i> by other men in how they conduct themselves in relation to their family and their position in society. An <i>hombre serio</i> is listened to and respected by other men.</p> <p>The category of <i>chulo/papi chulo</i> represents a man who is considered to be a ‘real man’ in terms of his attractiveness to women. <i>Chulos</i> are often unmarried and are supported by their lovers. A <i>chulo</i> may also treat women badly if they do not provide him with what he wants; he is therefore not respected by other men, but able to attract women. A <i>papi chulo</i> is more respectable than a <i>chulo</i>; he works to support his family and has lovers whom he may also support. He also treats women well because he is the ‘<i>papi</i>’ (father/dominant male).</p> <p>All men aspire to be attractive to women in order to reinforce their masculine identity. A man aspires to be <i>chulo/papi chulo</i> in the eyes of women and also to be admired by other men for his attractiveness to women.</p> <p>Hence the <i>hombre serio</i> represents a norm of ‘idealised’ behaviour for men in the eyes of other men, and the <i>chulo/papi chulo</i> represents an aspiration to be perceived by both men and women as a ‘real man’ because of his attractiveness to women. A man who presents himself as an <i>hombre serio</i>, may also be ridiculed by other men as a <i>palomo</i> (pigeon) behind his back, if his wife has a lover whom she is supporting with his money (her <i>chulo</i>). In other words from men’s perspective an <i>hombre serio</i> is a tenuous category that also runs the risk of social ridicule if he is inadvertently supporting another man through his wife.</p> <p><i>The hombre serio</i> and the <i>chulo/papi chulo</i> represent mutually exclusive norms of male behaviour which sit side-by-side as aspirational behaviour for men.</p>
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³ PSI defines social norms as “the behavioural standards which exist in the community for an individual to follow.” PSI bubbles framework does not make a clear distinction between what are stated as ‘standards of behaviour for an individual to follow’ and perceptions of actual behaviour. These may differ significantly. The PEER data uses the term social norms to refer to standards of behaviour that are reflected in public discourse (that is standards of how behaviour ‘ought to be’), and perceptions of actual behaviour (what is perceived to actually happen). For his reason in order to present the PEER data within the PSI bubbles framework, the PEER data uses the category ‘social norms’ to refer to standards of behaviour that are openly stated, and ‘social support’ to refer to perceptions of actual behaviour, reinforced within peer networks.

<p>Social norms relating to numbers of regular partners (ie trusted partners) for men</p>	<p>The PSI term regular partner corresponds to the notion of 'trusted partner' and occasional partner to the term 'non-trusted' partner.</p> <p>An <i>hombre serio</i> is characterised as a man who has only trusted partners, all of whom are classified as <i>mujeres de la casa</i>. An <i>hombre serio</i> may have multiple partners as long as they are within the context of a family whom he supports financially.</p> <p>A <i>chulo/papi chulo</i> is defined by having multiple partners. A <i>chulo</i> is usually unmarried and has regular partners whom he defines as <i>amantes</i> (lovers) who support him. A <i>papi chulo</i> is often married and has multiple partners whom he may support financially and who may also give him gifts.</p>
<p>Numbers of occasional (ie non-trusted partners) partners</p>	<p>By definition an <i>hombre serio</i> does not have non-trusted partners.</p> <p>A <i>chulo/papi chulo</i> may have multiple partners who may be considered non-trusted (occasional) encounters. However, there is no clear distinction between regular (trusted) and occasional (non-trusted) partners. The definition of trusted and non-trusted partner may change within one or two sexual encounters.</p> <p>A man who only has occasional partners (ie has multiple one time encounters) is a <i>pica flor</i>. This is not a dominant category and does not represent an aspirational behaviour for men.</p>
<p>Numbers of commercial partners</p>	<p>A man who has to pay for sex is perceived by men as a '<i>palomo</i>' or pigeon. This category of man is perceived to only be able to have sex by paying for it. He is as a weak man who is publicly ridiculed for his unattractiveness to women. Commercial partners do not appear to be significant in a context where men have access to multiple non-commercial partners.</p>
<p>Social norms for women</p>	<p>The norm of 'respectable' behaviour for a woman is to be a <i>mujer de la casa</i> (women of the house). All women aspire to be <i>mujeres de la casa</i>. A <i>mujer de la casa</i> is a married woman who manages the household and children and takes care of her husband's needs.</p> <p>Women gossip about other women who openly have a lover or more than one partner. They call them <i>cuernos/cuernula</i> (horned animals) and shun other women who openly have lovers.</p>
<p>Numbers of regular/occasional partners for women</p>	<p>From men and women's perspective a <i>mujer de la casa</i> must be seen to have only one partner, that is, her husband.</p> <p>If a woman is publicly acknowledged as having more than one partner she is perceived as a <i>mujer de la calle</i>.</p> <p>From women's perspective a <i>mujer de la calle</i> is any woman who has a partner other than her husband (ie the other woman). No woman identifies herself as a <i>mujer de la calle</i>. It is a category used by women to describe the behaviour of others.</p> <p>From men's perspective <i>mujeres de la calle</i> are women who have multiple partners who support them and women who have sex directly in exchange for money <i>cueros</i> (prostitutes). That is all partners whom they do not classify as trusted.</p>

ABILITY:

SOCIAL SUPPORT: Social support is used here to refer to actual behaviour and influences on that behaviour within social networks.

<p>Fidelity of men: actual behaviour</p>	<p>From a man's perspective it is essential to have multiple partners in order to define masculinity.</p> <p>Women not only accept but actively reinforce that a man cannot be faithful to one woman. Women ridicule men who cannot attract women. Women would call a man who only has one women a <i>palomo</i> (pigeon/pathetic man); a <i>pariguayo</i> (nerd); or a <i>maricon</i> (derogatory term for a gay man).</p> <p>Women state categorically that no woman is interested in a man who has only one woman. Women want their men to be <i>tigueres</i> (tigers) and <i>chulo/papi chulo</i>. A woman may argue with her husband that he is looking like a <i>palomo</i> if he does not have other women outside the marriage.</p>
<p>Categories of partners for men</p>	<p><i>Esposa</i> (wife): principle union (trusted partner). <i>Querida/s</i>: second/third/fourth wife (trusted partner) <i>Amante</i>: lovers defined as trusted partners (established relationship). He may support her with gifts and money, or she may support him. <i>Amante</i>: Defined as occasional non-trusted partners (first or second time encounters) <i>Cueros</i>: prostitutes/ women who have sex directly in exchange for money.</p>
<p>Number of partners for men</p>	<p>Common actual behaviour is for a man to have at least four to five trusted partners and a range of non-trusted partners which may include one time encounters with <i>amantes</i>. Commercial partners are not given as much importance as having many <i>amantes</i> and use of commercial partners appears to be low.</p>
<p>Fidelity of women: actual behaviour</p>	<p>The norm of fidelity for women states that women can only be 'respectable' or a <i>mujer de la casa</i> if she is faithful to one man. Men perceive that the wife is always faithful to her husband.</p> <p>Actual behaviour of women reflects the economic reality that no woman can be financially dependent on one man. Within the economic structure of the <i>bateyes</i>, women do not aspire to be economically independent of men; the role of a respectable <i>mujer de la casa</i> is defined through her position of maintaining the household. Men spread their needs through multiple households. Men also lack sources of employment, so that they are economically unable to support each household without other sources of income flowing in from other men.</p> <p>A woman who is '<i>sabia</i>' (clever) will have several lovers who support her financially and lovers who are there for her pleasure. Older women may have younger lovers for pleasure whom they support financially (<i>chulos</i>) with money from their husbands and their other <i>amantes</i></p>
<p>Number of partners for women</p>	<p>A woman will have at least one or two lovers who provide her with additional income through which to support her household. In addition she may have a lover who satisfies her sexually.</p>
<p>Categories of partners for women</p>	<p><i>Esposo</i>: husband (primary union) <i>Amante/s</i>: lover / lovers</p>

Exchange relationships	<p>Money and gifts can flow in both directions between men and women.</p> <p>Husband → Wife : Man provides money to household Husband → Querida Man provides money to household Amante ↔ Amante Man provides money to woman Woman supports lover (he is her <i>chulo</i>)</p> <p>Husband → wife → <i>chulo</i></p> <p>The husband never publicly acknowledges his wife has a lover. Socially the husband is a <i>palomo</i> because he is supporting another man.</p> <p>There are complex networks through which money is exchanged between households and individuals.</p>
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**MOTIVATION:
RISK PERCEPTION**

Personal risk assessment	<p>Risk is related to having many non-trusted partners. If a man has many partners whom he considers as <i>mujeres de la calle</i>, then he considers he may be at risk of infection. If a woman has sex with an <i>hombre de la calle</i> (that is a man who has non-trusted partners) she may be at risk of infection.</p>
Trust	<p>Trust is defined by:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Length of relationship. On the first sexual encounter the partner is considered as a non-trusted partner. The relationship may be perceived as trusted after a second or third sexual encounter. • Emotion – if a relationship is defined by feelings of love or by pleasure it is trusted • Commitment – if there is economic support of one partner by the other it is trusted. (This is different to commercial sex where money is directly exchanged for sex – and is not perceived as a relationship of economic support – but buying sex). <p>Trust is NOT related to fidelity or numbers of actual partners. If a person has multiple trusted partners there is no perception of risk . If a partner is trusted, and is also know to have other partners they are perceived as no risk because they are trusted.</p>

INTENTION

Intention to prevent risk through partner reduction.	<p>It is perceived that risk can be negated by reducing the number of partners who are defined as non-trusted. This can be achieved through rapidly transforming a non-trusted partner into a trusted partner.</p>
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Table 2: Condom Use

OPPORTUNITY:

Norms supporting condom use for men	<p>It is perceived by men and women that men should use condoms with partners that they do not trust, that is with any woman who is a <i>mujer de la calle</i>.</p> <p>It is socially acceptable for men to buy and carry condoms. Most men know where condoms can be bought.</p>
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<p>Norms that inhibit condom use for men.</p>	<p>Most men do not carry condoms with them. Men will use condoms when they are with a <i>mujer de la calle</i> if condoms are easily available at the time of sex (for example made available in a hotel room).</p> <p>A man will use a condom on a first encounter, but once the partner becomes familiar after two or three encounters (ie becomes a trusted partner) it is then perceived acceptable to stop using condoms.</p>
<p>Norms that inhibit condom use for women.</p>	<p>Women perceive that condoms are used by men with <i>mujeres de la calle</i>. <i>Mujer de la calle</i> is a term used by women to describe the behaviour of other women. No woman identifies herself as a <i>mujer de la calle</i>.</p> <p>It is not acceptable for any woman to carry a condom. Sex-workers do not carry condoms. It is always the man who has to make the condom available.</p>

**ABILITY:
KNOWLEDGE**

<p>Knowledge of AIDS</p>	<p>There is no indication from the PEER data of lack of knowledge on modes of transmission of HIV. HIV is understood to be transmitted predominantly through sexual relationships, as well as through blood contact and contaminated needles.</p> <p>It is understood that AIDS cannot be contracted by sharing food with or talking to someone who has AIDS.</p>
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SOCIAL SUPPORT

<p>How people with AIDS are perceived and treated</p>	<p>A person who is thought to have AIDS is socially rejected. While people with AIDS are not physically excluded from their community or family, they are socially excluded – treated apart. Family and friends will no longer want to eat or drink near them, and people will walk at a distance from them in the street.</p> <p>Consequently, there is a high degree of stigma attached to having AIDS and gossip about who in the community may have AIDS is very powerful. Once a person is identified as having AIDS people work out the chain of relationships that the person was linked into – in order to identify a potential chain of infection. There are instances of suspected chains of infection being made public, with anonymous notices being posted in public places to identify those suspected of being HIV positive. There are also stories of those people who have been publicly identified going for HIV tests and placing their negative test results beside the public announcements.</p> <p>People with AIDS are popularly perceived as a threat to those who are not infected. People with AIDS are considered to be of <i>mala fe</i> (bad faith). While it is known that anybody can contract AIDS, once a person knows they have AIDS they become of <i>mala fe</i> because they do not want to die alone and want to infect others.</p>
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<p>Social support for men using condoms</p>	<p>It is perceived that risk of HIV infection can be negated by using condoms with all non-trusted partners. The intention to use condoms with non-trusted partners (<i>mujeres de la calle</i>) is strongly stated by men, and reinforced by their peers.</p> <p>Men also state that men do not like condoms because they reduce the pleasure of skin to skin contact.</p> <p>Women do not like men using condoms. If a woman refuses a condom, then most men will accept sex without a condom. There are a few stories from men – of a man who said ‘no condom no sex’ – on a first sexual encounter with a <i>mujer de la calle</i>.</p> <p>Men will state that they use condoms with <i>mujeres de la calle</i> when they are talking to their peers, when in reality they do not use them. They tell their friends (and outsiders) that they use condoms with <i>mujeres de la calle</i>, because if they tell them that they don’t use condoms (because women reject them) their friends will think they are infected with HIV and they will be gossiped about and socially excluded.</p>
<p>Social support for women using condoms</p>	<p>Women also reinforce that men should use condoms with <i>mujeres de la calle</i>.</p> <p>As no woman identifies herself as a <i>mujer de la calle</i>, the support for men to use condoms with non-trusted partners (<i>mujeres de la calle</i>) does not translate into personal intention to use condoms.</p> <p>There is no social support among her peers for a woman to use condoms, as a woman who uses condoms is by definition a <i>mujer de la calle</i>.</p> <p>Women therefore do not talk about condoms among themselves. This is not because condoms are a taboo subject, but because condoms do not enter the personal experience of either <i>mujeres de la casa</i> or unmarried women who are looking for a husband and children (the categories that women use to define themselves). Personal experience of condoms therefore simply does not enter the discourse of women’s networks when talking to each other.</p>

SELF-EFFICACY

<p>Negotiation with partners: men</p>	<p>Both men and women state that men are always the ones who initiate condom use – because condoms are used by men</p>
<p>Negotiation with partners: women</p>	<p>Women have self-efficacy sexually and are able to ask partners for what they want to satisfy them, especially with their <i>amante</i>.</p> <p>It appears contradictory that women also say that they are able to propose condom use.</p> <p>By this, women mean that a woman is able to propose that her partner use a condom with other women – ie with <i>mujeres de la calle</i>. This is because the norm of infidelity of men is both acceptable to and reinforced by women.</p> <p>A woman will <u>never</u> propose that a man uses a condom with her.</p>

**MOTIVATION:
THREAT**

<p>Perception of threat of AIDS</p>	<p>AIDS is perceived as prevalent in the community. However, the most immediate problems of the community include illnesses related to lack of adequate water supplies and social exclusion from the wider society due to lack of rights and documentation.</p> <p>People know of people who have become sick and who have died from AIDS. As stated above, those people who are thought to have AIDS are socially excluded and are identified through gossip.</p> <p>The greatest threat attached to AIDS is the immediate loss of social support. People are therefore more afraid of gossip and public commentary that may identify them as having AIDS, than of the illness itself. It is fear of gossip that drives behaviour.</p>
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LOCUS OF CONTROL

<p>Extent to which risk of HIV infection is perceived to be controlled by behaviour of an individual</p>	<p>The locus of control is internal. Risk of HIV infection is considered to be controlled by individual behaviour. While <i>vudú</i> is integral to the culture of the <i>bateyes</i>, <i>vudú</i> and witchcraft are not given as predominant explanations of how or why people become infected with HIV.</p> <p>People have absorbed and re-iterated the health education messages that HIV is passed through sexual relationships and that condoms prevent AIDS.</p> <p>Risk of HIV infection is perceived to be controlled by behaviour. The risk of AIDS (or being identified as having AIDS) is negated by not having partners whom one does not 'trust,' and by men using condoms with partners they do not trust.</p>
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BELIEF

<p>Steps in the internal logic of men's beliefs relating to condoms and how it affects behavioural outcomes.</p>	<p>Men state that condoms should be used to control risk of HIV infection. For men condoms symbolise being responsible and protecting their family.</p> <p>A responsible man is an <i>hombre serio</i>. Responsible men use condoms to protect their family and <i>mujeres de la casa</i> from HIV infection.</p> <p>A man is at risk of HIV infection from a non-trusted partner (<i>a mujer de la calle</i>).</p> <p>An <i>hombre serio</i> does not have non-trusted partners. Therefore, in practice, an <i>hombre serio</i> does not need to use condoms.</p> <p>Women want their men to be <i>chulos/papi chulos</i>. Men want women to be attracted to them.</p> <p><i>Chulos</i> don't use condoms because women reject condoms and men don't enjoy sex with condoms</p> <p>Men want their peers to think they are responsible and attractive to women.</p> <p>Men tell their friends that they use condoms when they don't, because they want their friends to think they are responsible and therefore not infected with HIV.</p>
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<p>Steps in the internal logic of women's beliefs relating to condoms and how it affects behaviour outcomes.</p>	<p>Men use condoms to prevent AIDS. Men use condoms with <i>mujeres de la calle</i>.</p> <p>If a man suggests using a condom with me, it means he does not trust me and so I do not trust him. He either thinks I have AIDS or that he has AIDS.</p> <p>A man who uses a condom may be infected and is therefore unhealthy. I do not trust him.</p> <p>Infected people are of <i>mala fe</i> and want to infect others</p> <p>A man who suggests using a condom may put holes in it to infect me.</p> <p>A healthy man does not use a condom – because he is not infected. It doesn't matter how many partners he has because he is not infected.</p>
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BEHAVIOUR OUTCOME:

<p>Women</p>	<p>Women do not trust condoms or men who use them.</p> <p>Women reject condoms and men who use them.</p> <p>Women reject talking about condoms.</p>
<p>Men</p>	<p>Women reject condoms.</p> <p>Men don't like condoms.</p> <p>Most men do not use condoms.</p> <p>Where condom use is most established and reinforced by the male peer group is on first time encounters with unknown (or unfamiliar) women.</p> <p>Men lie to their friends (and outsiders) and tell them they use condoms when they don't, so that they will not think they are infected.</p>

2.3. IMPLICATIONS FOR INTERPRETING TRaC DATA

The PEER data provide a potential framework by which data produced by the TRaC survey may be better interpreted and which may assist design of future surveys so that questions can be framed more appropriately within the cultural context, so as to be better able to track trends in behaviour. This section outlines a few issues in interpretation of TRaC data in the light of the PEER data.

PEER data highlight that there is often a difference between stated norms of behaviour and actual behaviour. These distinctions are not so easily made by reading the TRaC data on its own, and contextual data is required to be able to fully interpret the responses and make best use of the results.

Partners and Risk

TRAC Data: The total sample for the TRaC survey was 1500. N represents the number of actual respondents to the question. The data on most questions do not disaggregate male and female respondents.

Norms:

In your community a real man needs to have more than one partner (N=1484)	15.4%
In your community it is normal for everyone, men and women, to have more than one partner (N=1462)	71.3%

Behaviour:

Have had a regular sexual partner other than wife in the last 12 months (N=1360)	34.2%
Have had occasional sexual partner in last 12 months (N=1360) (of those who responded yes 71.4 were men)	20.9%
You think your husband/wife has had other partners in the last 12 months	13.1%

The response to the first question on norms of behaviour appears to contradict the findings of the PEER data. This response reflects the stated norm among men that a responsible man should have few partners, whereas responses to question two reflect what is perceived to be actual behaviour of ‘others’ in the community.

However, responses to questions which directly ask the respondent about their own behaviour, again contradict the response that 71.3% of respondents agree that it is normal for everyone in the community to have more than one partner. It would be possible to interpret these data as reflecting that actual behaviour is changing in favour of partner reduction.

If we look at these data in the context of PEER findings, it would seem more likely that they reflect the differences between what people state in different contexts, regarding norms and actual behaviour. The statements on individual behaviour reflect the normative standards of ideal behaviour that is acceptable for men and women to present publicly. That is that women have only one partner and responsible men have few occasional partners, and only have regular partners (all of whom may be defined as a wife).

It should also be noted that the data reflect the difference between answers that are given to outsiders regarding normative behaviour and responses that people give within their own social networks. An illustrative example of this from the PEER research was that during the PEER interviews men and women all spoke very freely about perceptions of actual behaviour regarding multi-partner sex. However, when women who had not been involved in the PEER research and with whom the analyst had not established a relationship of trust, were asked whether men in the community usually had more than one partner, the response was “no, only their wife.”

Condom Use: TRaC Data

Norms:

In your community it is OK to use and to be seen with condoms (N=1409)	86.4%
In your community it is acceptable for a woman to propose condom use (N=1421)	83.5%
In your community people think that real men use condoms (N=1377)	83.5%

Behaviour:

Used a condom in the last sex act with a regular partner (N=1035)	63.9%
Used a condom in last sex act with occasional partner (N=1216)	83.5%
Always use a condom with partner with whom you live (N=957)	3.9%
Always used a condom with regular partners in the last 12 months (N=465)	46.5%
Always used a condom with occasional partners in last 12 months (N=284)	70.8%
Always used a condom in the last 12 months with a commercial partner (N =128)	69.5%

Findings from the TRaC survey and findings from the PEER data regarding patterns of condom use also appear to contradict each other in key areas. The TRaC survey data would seem to indicate that condom use is established with occasional partners and is becoming established with regular partners. These findings are not born out, however, by the narrative data from the PEER interviews. One reason for the difference may again be that TRaC survey results represent the standards of behaviour that are perceived as the socially acceptable response to questions relating to condom use.

The TRaC responses on acceptability of carrying and using condoms reflect the PEER findings that from both men and women’s perspective it is socially acceptable for a man to carry and use condoms. However, what is not apparent from the TraC survey is that from women’s perspective, it is only acceptable for a man to use condoms with ‘other’ women. The findings to question two, relating to the acceptability of women proposing condom use to their partners, could be significantly misinterpreted as meaning that women propose using a condom themselves with their partners, and that condom use is therefore acceptable to and reinforced by women. This misinterpretation stems from the question not establishing the contexts within which women propose condom use. In the light of the PEER data, the responses suggests that given that male infidelity is both accepted and reinforced by women – that women propose that their partners use condoms with their *other* women; not with themselves.

Another indication that responses relating to behavioural indicators may not reflect actual trends in behaviour is that with each of the questions relating to individual condom use, the number of respondents who answered the question (N) declines rapidly. There are also gender disparities in answering the questions, as the decline in N is much greater among women than men. The data indicate that there are significant social barriers among both men and women to directly answering questions relating to personal condom use. The exception to this pattern are the responses related to commercial partners, as use of commercial sex is low in a social context where other forms of multi-partner sex are common. This conclusion is also born out by findings of PEER data which suggest that women do not talk about personal experiences of condom use because of the stigma attached to women with whom men use condoms, and men often lie to their friends (ie present a false public face) about their condom use, because of the stigma of being suspected of being infected with AIDS if they say they do not use condoms. It is likely that the responses to the first two questions may reflect representations by men of what behaviour ought to be, and that responses to questions on established condom use reflect a small percentage of men who are becoming established condom users.

2.4. IMPLICATION FOR MESSAGE DESIGN

PEER data provides an in-depth view of how people understand and negotiate behaviour and how health education messages become interpreted within specific social and cultural contexts. The PEER data helps to make clear the internal logic, which may lead to an outcome that is contradictory to that which may be intended by designers of communications messages.

Logframe Indicator 1: Reduction in Number of Partners

Partner reduction strategies should focus on reducing those partners who are already defined as not trusted and risky partners.

It is accepted (by men and women) that men have more than one family. Multiple families are a social resource for men (through which their essential needs are met by a range of women). The first wife (*esposa*) and secondary partners (*queridas/amantes*) are all considered to be regular partners. There is no potential for partner reduction among these regular partners as they form the social fabric of the community.

Men may have additional regular partners (*amantes*) with whom they do not form households. For women, *amantes* are essential for economic support and for men to prove their masculinity (this is also reinforced by women). There is limited scope to reduce these partners as they are perceived as trusted regular partners and the exchange relationships form an essential part of the economic fabric of the community.

Non-trusted partners are perceived by men to be one-off encounters with unfamiliar women (*mujeres de la calle*) or by women with *hombres de la calle* (men who go with *mujeres de la calle*). These encounters are important for defining a man's masculinity, and are more significant than commercial partners. Partner reduction strategies should focus on reducing those partners who are already defined as not trusted and risky partners.

Logframe Indicator 2: Increase in Condom Use.

Condom messages need to de-link condom use and use with non-trusted partners.

Currently condom use is directly linked by men and women to use with non-trusted partners.

- This results in men stigmatising women with whom they use condoms as *mujeres de la calle*.
- The linking of condoms with non-trusted partners (*mujeres de la calle*), negates the aspirational behaviour of men that a responsible man uses condoms.
- The definition of a 'responsible man' (an *hombre serio*) is a man who does not go with *mujeres de la calle*. Therefore a man who needs to use condoms cannot be an *hombre serio*.
- Women associate men using condoms with *mujeres de la calle*.
- No respectable woman identifies herself as a *mujer de la calle*, and so women reject condoms as insulting.

Condom messages need to de-link condoms with negative images of preventing infection / protecting oneself against infection.

Messages need to link condoms with core positive values such as 'being healthy', 'being attractive', 'being a man', 'trust a man who uses condoms.'

The suggestion that condom messages need to be de-linked from messages about preventing infection and protecting oneself from AIDS, appears to go against the grain of most health education messages. The message that condoms prevent infection has been well understood. However, in the specific social context of gender relations of the bateyes, the association between condoms and protecting oneself from AIDS ultimately appears to reinforce non-use of condoms:

Condom use is directly linked by men and women to prevention of infection

- Condom use is always initiated by men.
- A man who proposes using a condom is clearly defining the relationship as not trusted.
- A non-trusted relationship is one in which there is risk of infection.
- For women condoms come to signify that a man uses condoms because he may be infected.
- For women therefore, condoms symbolise lack of trust and potential infection.
- Women reject condoms and men who use them as unhealthy

- Men need to be attractive to women to prove their manhood.
- Men usually accept sex if the woman rejects the condom.
- Men reinforce amongst their peers that men need to use condoms to prevent infection.
- May publicly state to other men that they use condoms for fear of being suspected of being infected.

Multiple coordinated messages need to be directed to each population segment (which represents a set of values and behaviour), that at the community level are mutually reinforcing, to change the current stigma against condoms and condom users into a stigma against condom non-users.

The population segments identified by the PEER study do not correspond to profiles of actual users or non-users.

The profile of an actual condom user is most likely to any man who has a condom available on a first encounter with a sex-worker or unfamiliar woman.

The population segments described here act as markers for idealised behaviour associated with the specific gender identities. These gender identities need to be used in stories by communications programmes to reinforce intended behaviour through positive images of condoms which will be associated with a core value of each identity.

For men there are two competing gender identities: *hombre serio* and *chulo/papi chulo*. These identities do not correspond to different men in real life. They correspond to different aspects of gender identity that a man wishes to portray to other men and women. A man may therefore strive to be an *hombre serio* in how he is perceived in relation to his family; but a *chulo/papi chulo* in relation to other women.

For women there are two competing identities: *mujer de la casa* and *mujer de la calle*. *Mujer de la casa* corresponds to married women in the eyes of men and is the identity that any married woman would assume for herself. *Mujer de la calle* is used by men to identify any women with whom he has relations who is not his *mujer de la casa*. No woman identifies herself as a *mujer de la calle*; it is a term always used to apply to behaviour of 'other' women.

Currently messages of condom use for HIV prevention interact with these gender identities in the following way:

An *hombre serio* use condoms to protect a *mujer de la casa* from infections of a *mujer de la calle*
 → women do want their men to be *hombre serio* → women want their men to be *chulo* → healthy *chulo* do not use condoms.

Below is an example messaging matrix for a coordinated campaign which reinforces positive messages of condom use that appeal to core values of each identity or population segment.

2.5. OUTLINE OF EXAMPLE MESSAGING MATRIX

In presenting this matrix we are not suggesting that these are the ultimate messages or the essential core values to be used. The PEER study has highlighted that any messages need to be carefully piloted, in order to understand how they will be read in the context of relationships in the community.

It is recommended that the PEER researchers who participated in this study pilot the messages in their respective bateyes in order to ascertain their appropriateness.

Gender Identity	Most significant motivation in life/core value	Ultimate barrier to condom use and partner reduction	Message to be taken away
<i>Hombre-Serio</i>	To be responsible to his family or families	<p>Only has sex with women he trusts. Condoms are for use with non-trusted partners.</p> <p>If he uses a condom it is because he has a non-trusted partner, and therefore he is not behaving like an <i>hombre serio</i>.</p> <p>He doesn't exist in the eyes of women. For women he is <i>pariguayo, palomo</i> or <i>maricon</i>.</p>	<p>Condom use keeps you and your family healthy (this message would allow a man to use a condom with a non-trusted partner and maintain an internal identity as an <i>hombre serio</i> because he is a responsible and healthy man)</p> <p>Condoms lead to a healthy future</p>
<i>Chulo</i>	To be attractive to many women	Doesn't care about protecting himself, or his partners. Cares about being attractive to women. Women reject men who use condoms.	<p>A healthy man is an attractive man</p> <p>Women want a healthy man</p> <p>Healthy men use condoms.</p>
<i>Mujer de la casa</i>	To economically support her children while maintaining her social respectability	She will never suggest condom use for herself because men only use condoms with <i>mujeres de la calle</i> . In all her relationships, she is a <i>mujer de la casa</i> . These relationships are necessary - economically and physically but are all of trust.	<p>Condoms keep your family healthy</p> <p>Healthy men use condoms.</p> <p>Healthy family = healthy home = healthy future for you and your children</p> <p>Trust a man who uses condoms</p>
Un-married women*	Economic support from men; partnership to create a home.	Has multiple partnerships for economic support. Some relationships are of trust and so therefore she would not think condoms are necessary. Aspires to have children to create a home. Men who propose condom use are unhealthy and she rejects them.	<p>Healthy men use condoms</p> <p>A healthy man is an attractive man</p> <p>Condoms lead to a healthy home and a healthy future</p>

* The term *mujer de la calle* is not used here to define a woman's gender identity as it is a term only ever applied to others. Women identify themselves as *mujer de la casa* or unmarried.

**DETAILED ILLUSTRATIVE QUOTES
FROM PEER DATA**

3. DETAILED ILLUSTRATIVE QUOTES FROM PEER DATA

3.1. Contextual Data

3.1.1 Expressions of Cultural Identity Of the Bateyes

El gaga, vudú, velación, priye were most commonly referred as the primary expressions of cultural identity in the *bateyes*. *El gaga* is considered the most important festival. While having its roots in Haitian culture, *el gaga* is now perceived as a shared Haitian and Dominican celebration, and to some extent represents an integration of Haitian culture with Dominican society.

El gaga is a mix of cultures. It is more Haitian than Dominican – but it is a mixture, Dominicans dance to the rhythm and Haitians are those who play the instruments. There is a relationship between them at the level of the batey- it is a mixture of culture.

Before el gaga was a Haitian custom – but now it's a mix with Dominican culture – it is more a part of the culture here – it is a part of the culture of the batey. They talk more of the Haitian culture when they talk about el gaga – but they lack some identity here – it is a mixture here, there is no clear identity of culture.

Many people in the batey enjoy el gaga and velación – outside the batey they do not believe much in these – but in the batey they are a big thing. In the batey there is a culture of growing up seeing el gaga and velación.

In the batey there are distinct types of cultures. There is velación, vudú, gaga. But the most important is el gaga, because el gaga is liked by Dominicans and Haitians, it is shared by everybody.

El gaga is part of the cultural tradition of the batey, celebrated mainly in Semana Santa. There is a representative who is responsible for el gaga in the sector. Velación is a tradition in the bateys to celebrate the saints. They are traditions. For example they celebrate in some places Saint Antonio, in other places they celebrate the Virgin Dolores or Our Lady of Mercedes. El gaga they celebrate here and in Haiti, but here Dominicans and Haitians celebrate it together. In the batey, Dominicans and Haitians they enjoy the fiesta.

El gaga is important because during el gaga people meet to sing and dance. It is a Haitian festival – but there are many Dominicans who celebrate el gaga – but it is Haitian and the Haitians understand it.

In Haiti, *el gaga* is both a celebration and a form of political protest. In the *bateyes* *el gaga* was also perceived as an expression of protest, a celebration through which both Haitian and Dominican *braseleros* (cane workers) could come together and express their problems and shared feelings of oppression.

El gaga is a fiesta and a form of protest, of those who were not in agreement with how they were treated as braseleros (cane workers). Braseleros are now called bateyeros because the cane has gone. Before el gaga was not a fiesta it was a form of protest against their treatment – it was political. Now el gaga has changed because the culture of cane has changed and now it is a fiesta. Before it was a way for the Haitians and Dominicans to come together and express their problems and struggle. They play instruments and put masks on and bang tambola to express their needs and dissatisfaction both politically and economically. Now in Semana Santa it is a

fiesta but on Independence Day it is still a protest. In Haiti, el gaga is a fiesta during Semana Santa – but when there is a problem they go into the street and use it as a demonstration.

3.1.2 Religion: Vudú, Catholicism and Evangelism

Religion was not a predominant theme of the interviews. Nonetheless some important issues were raised in themes relating to cultural identity. It is note worthy that *vudú* was talked about uniformly and openly throughout the interviews, as *vudú* is a notoriously closed subject when people from bateyes are talking to outsiders. *Priye, el trille* and *las fiestas de palos* are also mentioned frequently as aspects of *vudú*. *Vudú* is also an integral part of *el gaga*.

El gaga has an owner (dueño) – the dueño of the el gaga who is a brujo (witch) – is usually an old person who has a lot of influence in the batey – he is the dueño of the fiesta.

My friend said that since he was born he has known of vudú and el gaga these are things that are typical of Haitians. This is certain because they make miracles. For example – when a person is ill and the doctor can't cure them - the spirits ask for something – for example a cow or another animal – to cure him or his children – some can't see the spirit with their eyes but it is real. He knows about it because since he was born he has seen his father do this work.

Although the interviews did not probe around religion, it would appear that people may at times identify themselves as both Catholic and Evangelist. A person may consider themselves to be a Catholic and at the same time visit the Evangelical Church, often switching to the Evangelical Church after a traumatic event, such as finding out they are HIV positive. It also appears that the Christian church and *vudú* are perceived to be integrated without contradiction at the level of the batey. In many of the interviews, *velación* is referred to alongside *vudú* as central expressions of the culture of the batey. *Vudú* is the dominant expression of Haitian culture. *Velación* is perceived as the Dominican expression of the same phenomenon, the personal relationship with saints (*velación*) and spirits (*vudú*). *Vudú* however, is considered stronger than *velación* because the spirit can inhabit the body of the *vudú brujo* (witch). Both *vudú* and the church are considered to work though the bible, as the *vudú brujo* asks God to enable the spirit to pass into him/her. One explanation also suggests that a *vudú brujo* only has power to do harm to a Christian who has no faith in the church. Both God and *vudú brujos* can create illness. The *vudú brujo* only has power to heal diabolical illnesses – that is those created through *vudú*. Illness created by God can only be cured by God – and some by doctors (because after God came doctors).

In vudú there are brujos – there is a padre Papa Boko. In the Christian church there is velación. When there are problems people go to the vudú brujo to improve their life or their health.

Vudú and velación it is more or less the same. In velación they ask the saint to give them something and they benefit from the saint – it is similar to vudú – if someone is ill they give thanks to the saint for curing them. Vudú is a little stronger than velación because in vudú the spirits manifest themselves in the person.

Vudú is a Haitian term and velación is Dominican – but velación and vudú are more or less the same – velación in reality is witchcraft – but vudú is mystical – vudú there are witches and people go and ask them for things – for advice or to help them – every vudú brujo has their spirit – and every witch has a day for their fiesta depending on their spirit.

The vudú brujo can cure diabolical illnesses – for example if you have a friend to whom someone has done something through a spirit the brujo can cure him – but if it is an illness of God the

brujo can't cure him only God can. The illnesses that doctors can cure are illnesses that come from God because after God came doctors – but the illnesses that come from brujos who do harm, the doctor cannot cure these– only the brujo can.

There are Adventists, Catholic and the Reform Churches. The Catholic Church is bigger – but there are people baptised in the Catholic Church who don't go to the Catholic Church – they visit the Christian Adventist Church – most visit the Evangelical and Reform Churches but they say they are Catholic. The Church doesn't have a problem with cultural practices like vudú practically – but spiritually it is a struggle. But both the Church and brujos use the Bible – the vudú brujo asks God for the spirit to pass into the brujo. A Christian who has no faith in the Church is the one who the brujo has the power to do what they want with.

3.1.3 Identity of Batey in Relation to Dominican Society

Within the bateyes, Haitians and Dominicans are described as living together in harmony and with little or no discrimination. How Dominican and Haitian identity is defined in the batey is not clearly articulated. There are a number of factors perceived to contribute to a person being identified as Haitian. Language is a key factor, if they or their parents speak creole they are Haitian. Another factor referred to is where in the batey people live. Those who live in the *varencones* (houses built by the government or cane company) are identified as Haitian as this is historically where migrant workers were housed. A person can be a Spanish speaker and live in a house other than the *varencones* and still be identified as Haitian. Ultimately identity appears to rest on place of birth not of the person - but of grand-parental generations.

The difference between Haitians and Dominicans in the Batey is first language – second where they live – the type of house – Haitians live in the varencones because their houses are the ones that came from the cane company and third the difference is the birth of the person – they say everyone born here has the right to be Dominican - they talk about it but they don't accept it. There is a bad interpretation of the Haitian constitution – the constitution says that if a Haitian has a child anywhere in the world the child has the right to obtain Haitian nationality – but they translate it as the children of all Haitians that are born wherever are Haitians.

Many people think that all Haitians are delinquents. I am Haitian, but I don't know anything about Haiti. We were all born here, but my Grandparents were Haitian, that is why I am Haitian.

There is little difference between Haitians and Dominicans in the bateyes. When the Haitians come here they don't know how to speak Spanish they are forced to speak Spanish quickly – the majority learn Spanish – they are intelligent people because they learn quickly – for us it is not difficult – so many times when they have been here a long time and things go well and they understand well – they speak more Spanish than Creole. Many say they don't want to speak in Creole – because many people say when they speak in Creole there is a difference between Haitians and others. They call those who speak only Creole 'Congos.'

There are those born here – whose parents are Haitian who only speak Spanish. There is not much difference between Haitians and Dominicans in the batey it is a mixture. The discrimination is not in the batey – it is outside.

They say we are Haitians and because of this we work cheaper than others. They say they pay Haitians less because the peso is worth more than those who come from Haiti can earn in Haiti. They say this about those born here and those born in Haiti. For those outside they think all people in the batey are the same

Nonetheless, people living in the bateyes consider that wider Dominican society perceives the bateyes as Haitian, and that there is a deep misunderstanding of Haitian culture in Dominican society.

Those that live outside the batey, I have heard that they say that those who live in the bateyes are dirty, that they are Haitians. There is much confusion about the bateyes because they think that everyone who lives in the bateyes are Haitians.

Those outside they say bateyeros are drug addicts, brutes and criminals and that they are thieves – when they speak of people here they say they are ‘Africans’ – they say when a child is born we cry and when they die we have a fiesta – it is a misunderstanding of our culture – when a person dies they go and visit the persons house and they may play dominos and sing to share the time with the person it is a custom – a way of sharing the pain.

The language used in the interviews to describe how those outside perceive the bateyes indicates that Dominican society dehumanises the *bateyeros*, considering them to be living outside civilized society.

Those outside they say that bateyeros are criminals, that they are Haitians, that they are insignificant, that they are worth nothing.

The people who live outside the batey they say bad things about us. They say we are delinquents and drug addicts. They say we are Haitian and that we are good for nothing. But when it comes to work, that we work hard.

Those outside say that people that live in the batey are dirty and have no hygiene, that they are poor and live like brutes.

The people who live outside the batey say that they are not the same as those who live in the batey, because they say that bateyeros are savages, they fight and do not have good education. But they say they are good workers.

Those outside, some of them say that people living in the bateyes are of a lower category because they are dirty and they say they live like animals, they say many of them are ferocious.

A key issue raised in all the men’s interviews was that most of those identified as Haitian lack the official documentation (i.e. birth certificates) to gain rights as Dominican citizens. Many people, who were born in DR and whose parents were born in DR lack official documentation so that they are excluded from rights to access state schools, health care and secure legal employment. In this respect they are neither Haitian nor Dominican, knowing nothing of Haiti they have no entitlements as Dominicans. To all intents and purposes it is “as if they do not exist.”

We have a major problem that affects the Haitian immigrants in the batey, it is the lack of documentation for identification. Because of lack of documentation there are many difficulties, we cannot undertaken commercial transactions, we cannot declare our children born in this country, when they do not have birth certificates they cannot enter the state school. Because of this many do not learn to read and write and cannot get medical treatment.

Those that do not live in the batey do not want to know anything about us as human beings. They say that we are poor, that we are uncivilised, that are children do not have the rights to the land where they were born and do not have rights to Dominican nationality. They say we are Haitian immigrants and do nothing for society.

A very important thing is that many children lack documentation because their mother has not registered their birth and because of this they can't go to school. They can study in the school here up to a certain age, but they can't enter the state school.

It is a problem for many immigrants – there are women who have three or four children who do not have papers – they can't enter school. This is a problem for many people here – mainly because parents lack education and can't read and when they have children they don't register them – they just leave it – my cousin has four children and none of them have papers.

3.1.4 Economic context

There are virtually no sources of employment in the bateyes. Only one of the bateyes in which the research took place (Batey Tres) had any existing employment connected to the sugar industry, and that was only very sporadic cane cutting. The sources of employment for men are largely working as *motor-conchos* (motorbike taxis) and street vending (such as selling fruit). The bateyes are seen as a cheap source of labour for the construction industry, and many men migrate temporarily for work in areas of major construction such as Puerta Plata, usually for about 15-20 days at a time; sometimes for several months.

When work is difficult and they need to improve the situation, many go to work in Bavaro, Barahona, La Romana, San Pedro. Some may go for eight days, others may go for up to thirty days, depending on the work.

The majority of men leave to work outside – in construction and transport. In this batey there is no source of work – so they leave for the cities many leave and go and return every month or two.

A woman's economic role in the batey is defined in terms of a woman's role in the family. The ideal economic role for a woman (from both men and women's perspective) is as the "*mujer de la casa*," who looks after the home and children and takes care of her husband's needs. The idealised division of labour is for men to work and economically support their family, and for women to manage the finances to provide for the needs of the household.

They say that in the family it is woman who manages the money, because the men work and bring the money to her and she distributes it, she manages the money in the house because she is the one who buys food and clothes for the children.

They say it is the man who works, and the women have the right to spend the money because they have to buy food for the children.

There are many economic problems because many people don't work. Some men work in motor concho – but women work only in the house. Men work and give money to the wife to buy things – she manages the money – but many times women have to work – if a woman lives alone in the house she has to work – there are also men who don't earn much and the woman works and she manages the money in the houses – some sell clothes – sell food in town. If all the man can do is to be a motor concho then the money doesn't go anywhere so the women have to work as well but the women don't give the money to the men. If she works to maintain the house it is a shame for the man because they say he is a man who is maintained.

Despite these idealised roles, many women do seek employment, often street vending and entering into domestic labour in households in the cities. Women's labour is perceived by both men and women as coming out of absolute economic necessity, and to ultimately lead to social decline due to lack of

adequate care of children. Women's labour is cited in the interviews as a major reason for the perceived growing "delinquency" among children and young people in the communities.

Men perceive that lack of documentation as a result of mothers failing to register their children's birth to be the major factor preventing young people from accessing education and a secure future. Women didn't refer to the issue of documentation at all in the interviews. The major problem cited by women was that because of lack of financial support from their husband, many women are forcing children into labour, such as shoe shining and car washing and preventing them from going to school.

When relations are good with the wife then it is good with him – he works for the woman. But sometimes the woman also works and sometimes she can earn more money than the man. She may work as a domestic looking after children and cleaning houses in Villa Mella – and many other areas of the city. There are some men who don't like their wife to work – but many accept it as a necessity. For the woman to work it is an obligation of economic necessity in the batey. Because of this delinquency is rising – because both parents work nobody knows what the children are doing. They think more about resources and money than the children– because without money the family can't continue.

There are problems with raising children. There are difficulties when both the mother and father work because there is nobody looking after the home.

Raising children is difficult because the parents have to work in the fields. They force children to work in shoe shining, and children spend most of their time alone because the parents are working.

3.1.5 Family formation

Most marriages are informal, non-legalised unions. A marriage is defined through sharing a house and having children. It is an accepted norm for men to have more than one family. Men in bateyes Estrellas and Casabes described it as more common for a man to have second or third families outside the batey, usually in the places where men migrate for seasonal construction labour. In these contexts the second and third family are perceived as an essential social resource for the man – so that he has a *mujer de la casa* who can look after his basic needs (eg washing clothes and cooking) as well sexual needs when he is away from his first home.

To have two families is a form of resource so as not to live alone, so it is another resource. Those who have two families it depends on the man how he maintains them. The money that the man produces at times is not enough – he doesn't always give the exact money to the two families it depends on how the woman treats him who he gives more to.

Many say it is good to have many families –there are those that say it is good to have various families and children because when all the families meet there are more hands to support the man- and they can give attention to the papa – this is the most common opinion.

Many men have one family here and they form another family outside. Many times they abandon one family because they have another.

A man lives here and has a family there. An example is that a man works cutting cane, he has to leave in the morning and come back at night – his clothes are dirty and he needs food – because of this if he works away from here he also has to find a wife there and so he forms a family with this woman and has one or two children. So then this man has a responsibility to both families –

he must maintain both. When he works there and is paid he gives money to the wife there and he maintains both families.

There is not enough money to look after his family here – so he has to go for work and looks for women there – he maintains that other woman and after two or three years he has a family and he doesn't want to abandon her because she has been good company for him.

When they are outside the house – some go to the interior of the country they need to stay – in a house or a hotel so they look for a woman – and they have two families. They need two homes – for food and to their wash clothes because the man works hard.

In bateyes Tres and Central women described the usual family formation as being for a man to have more than one family either within the batey or in surrounding bateyes. As well as being a social resource, having more than one family is also essential for male gender identity. A man may have as many as four or five families living within close proximity to each other.

The man who has more than one family gains by being a macho man. He has a reputation that many women want him – they are with him so he must be a great man. The man with only one woman has to look for girlfriends in the street (mujer de la calle). Women gain nothing from it, but they think he is a dependable man who finds things for the house. They think if a man looks good he will look after her.

It is common for a man to have more than two families - a man can have three families in the same community –some may have four families – in my family we are 25 children.

Her father he earns little money - he has four families and can't support them - usually the first family is the most important – the women aren't jealous they are neighbours – but with the family of preference he spends more time and because of this there can be problems. There aren't problems between the children – among the children they all talk to each other and celebrate birthdays. Some of them say their father cares more about the other children. In the third family the woman doesn't work and the kids say it is not fair because the first family doesn't get as much – in the first family his wife worked so he didn't give so much money to her – relations between families depend on the women – some help each other and some don't.

One of my brothers has a family here with children, and he has another family with two children and another with one child. It is difficult as there is no employment and he lives off fishing – but often he doesn't have money to share with all three families.

The first wife is considered to be the principal union, to which there is the ultimate economic commitment. The second /third/fourth wives are referred to as the *querida*, and are often perceived by both men and women to be given preferential treatment both emotionally and economically as the *querida* is more motivated to please him sexually. Children from all marriages are perceived as an essential economic resource. The first wife may take over care of the children of second wife, bringing them into her home if the man abandons the second wife.

The majority need to maintain their families here– many have other families without shame - they have a family elsewhere – if they earn money they have to send money here – and to maintain the other family – so they can't save money – the children suffer a lot when they can't save money – many times the children of the other family – come to live with his first family and he leaves the other wife.

There was one man in the batey. He was working on a finca. On the finca he met a woman because he returned there monthly- he formed a family. He came back here for three days – every month. When he finished this work his children were grown – he built a home here for the other family to come - because he wouldn't abandon the other family. The relations between the women was OK – because his wife understood that he could not live alone when he was away– because he needed someone to wash his clothes and give him food – so he couldn't abandon his second wife – his first wife understood that well. The women lived together and brought up the children together.

The second wife is the querida. He always stays with the first wife. Sometimes he abandons the second one.

When they work away from the batey they form another family. The second wife is the querida – she has more privileges than the first wife – the man feels good with her because she is more coquettish and sexy. This is because us men are egoists – sometimes the first wife knows about the querida and sometimes she doesn't. There can be problems – usually he maintains the two families – but often the querida works – so that she can maintain the children – he often has to divide his money between the two families but usually he gives more money to the wife than to the querida.

From men's perspective the idealised behaviour is that a man should only have multiple families if he can financially support them equally.

A responsible man can have two families- but he doesn't do it for pleasure but for obligation to have children with the wife here and the wife there – he is a responsible man.

Two families- for the man is a big commitment – they need a lot of money to maintain two families – they spend some time here and some time with the other family – but there are many who bring the children back to live with the first wife.

They say it is irresponsible to have two families and not look after them – a man with two families who maintains the two families is a responsible man – there are many with two or more families – some are responsible and some are irresponsible.

The issue is whether he can maintain the two families - the Dominican society accepts this – the family knows he has another wife and children – if they maintain them they say nothing – it is permitted.

I have heard that there are many people who work outside the batey who form other families, leaving their wife and children without sustenance. For me this is bad. But there are those who form other families and they don't forget the others.

The irresponsible man does not maintain the first wife when he has a querida in the place where he works.

The good man is the one who works and looks after his family and their house, the bad man is the one who abandons his family.

In the women's interviews the family is described as the most important thing in life, "a sacred creation," that defines the woman's role. The family is described as a place of harmony, security, trust.

They say that the family is everything, that you have a family when you marry and that the family is the person you love.

They say the family signifies union, understanding, responsibility and love, for others it is a united group they say the family is very important because it comes from something very important [God].

They say the family is communication, respect, trust and love. They say the family is united in respect and solidarity.

They say the family signifies love, affection, understanding and dedication. They say the family is the most important thing in a woman's life. They say that the family is everything.

They say that the family is the most important thing and to maintain a united family they have to have good communication with their children and with their husband, because he is the head of the household.

These statements are juxtaposed with detailed descriptions of high levels of marital disharmony and physical and verbal abuse between partners.

They say that men like to hit women and women hit their children when the man hits them. Also there are women who are traumatised by the situation that they and their children are in.

They say in the community there are many cases where men and women hit each other, and mothers hit their children when the mother is of bad character.

Many say families here are not united because they fight and do not have companionship.

Women say that there are men who abuse them and don't look after them, and don't maintain the children, they leave them alone and because of this they suffer.

They say here it is very common for men to mistreat women. A man who lives with his wife when he spends a lot of time not working it makes him go mad and he may start to maltreat his wife and she becomes afraid of him.

Ultimately for women, the idealised family is characterised by the home, the mother and her children, Men are perceived as economically essential for family formation, but not as a core element of the functioning family unit.

They say the family is united and most times it is the mother who is in charge.

The family is the most important – when a woman has children everything changes – they can look after their children - they have their children to look after – a family is a mother and children, the father lives in the house – but it is the mother who looks after the children– most of the time the woman feels that the family consists of her and her children.

Looking after children in the family is the most important – the most important thing is to have children – the husband is not so important – they say a husband is like a badly stuck plaster. A man is not a secure thing – they find other women and abandon her.

Women say that the family is her children because when the time arrives that they cannot look after themselves or are ill, their children will be grown and will be the ones who will maintain them, for this the family gives support when it is necessary.

3.2 Partners

3.2.1 Social norms for men

There are two competing sets of norms for men in relation to partners and numbers of partners. These are represented by the categories of *hombre serio* and *chulo*.

Hombre serio

The category *hombre serio* represents a man who is perceived to be 'respectable' in the eyes of other men. Men aspire to be perceived as *hombre serio* by other men in relation to how they conduct themselves towards their family and their position in society. An *hombre serio* is listened to and respected by other men.

An hombre serio is a responsible man, he works to look after his family.

An hombre serio is a man of the house - they have only one partner – they only have a wife or a girlfriend – when they go out they go only with their wife and they don't look for women in the street – there are not many like this.

A man who is responsible with his family only has one wife – he works and when he earns money he gives the money to his wife – this is being responsible, having two families is irresponsible.

They aspire to be an hombre serio because he has peace in his house – his qualities are that he doesn't argue with his wife he goes to church and educates his children and gives them information and gives a good example to his children.

The hombre serio is the man who when he has money returns home to his wife. But there are not many of these.

The hombre serio is a worker – everyone trusts him and respects him and has confidence in him – he may have a querida but he respects the other person.

An hombre serio is a responsible man who works for his family – he is a good man.

Palomo

A man who presents himself as an *hombre serio*, may also be ridiculed by other men as a *palomo* (pigeon) behind his back, if his wife has a lover whom she is supporting with his money (her *chulo*). In other words from men's perspective an *hombre serio* is a tenuous category that also runs the risk of social ridicule if he is inadvertently supporting another man through his wife.

A palomo is a man who has his wife and he works - he brings clothes and maintains his family like a serious man- but if the woman has a chulo they call him a palomo – the husband who gives the money to the woman who maintains the chulo they call him a palomo.

There is another type of palomo – he arrives in a bar and buys beer and food and he gives food to a girl – but she gives it to a chulo – then the man who bought it is a palomo. There are those who are in a bar, a man buys them a drink and she gives it to her chulo who has no money he is a palomo. It is bad because he lives like a serious man –but if his wife has a chulo he is a palomo.

The palomo is the one that other men use economically. There are men who earn money and others ask him for money and he gives it to them – he is a palomo.

The palomo is the man who women take money from him he is a man who works hard – and women take the money – but if he doesn't have money he doesn't get the women.

Chulo/papi chulo

The category of *chulo/papi chulo* represents a man who is considered to be a 'real man' in terms of his attractiveness to women. All men aspire to be attractive to women in order to reinforce their masculine identity. A man aspires to be *chulo/papi chulo* in the eyes of women and also to be admired by other men for his attractiveness to women.

Us Dominicans are egoistas – because of this the man has the ambition to have many women

The type of man that you find a lot here are chulos. A chulo is a man who women like He is clean and wears good clothes, they are often young – women like chulos.

A chulo is a man of the street and lives off women. A papi chulo is a man who has two or three women in the street, a papi chulo is a man who likes to have many women.

Those men who have many women they call papi chulo and those that have many women that give them money they call chulo. Men have their women for pleasure and for money, this is what they look for in a relationship.

The chulo is the man who goes out looking good and doesn't work – he is a bad man in the batey. The papi chulo is a man who likes to have many women other than his wife. The chulo is man who looks good and have a special form of attraction, above all they attract women. The papi chulo looks for women in the street while maintaining his woman at home.

The papi chulo is a man who is always elegant and well perfumed and when he is with women they think that he is well-dressed and always has two or three women – because of this they think he is the best.

Most commonly they like almost all women – but sometimes this is not just chulo – most men look for women.

A chulo doesn't work he lives off the woman – some women have their husband in their house – the husband gives her money to attend to the house – but this woman the money that he gives her she gives to the chulo - and also if she works she gives money to the chulo.

The man who has a family and also gives money to women in the street is an irresponsible man he is a charlatan. A papi chulo is very elegant but he is irresponsible because he has a house and looks for other women in the street.

The difference between a chulo and papi chulo is only how they treat their women – the chulo hits his woman if she doesn't work and give him money – he is a sort of dictator – the papi chulo doesn't do this – but he doesn't work because he is the papi.

One man he was a chulo – he had a woman and the woman worked for him – he didn't work because she maintained him. The woman gave him money to go out and drink – she bought him whatever he wanted – clothes – he slept in the house – she worked as a domestic.

A papi chulo is a man who has two or three women – he has young women and he wears good clothes. A chulo is a man who likes to live off women – he doesn't work – a chulo doesn't have responsibility for women. A papi chulo is more correct because he works and maintains the children.

Profile of a chulo:

“The important things in the culture of the batey are dancing and looking for women. They like to walk out ‘vacano’ that is well dressed and clean and well and they look for mujer de la calle (women in the street). The mujer de la calle is not a mujer de la casa (woman of the house) she is not the same. The mujer de la calle like a handsome vacano.

To be ‘vacano’ is very important but it costs a lot. Some of them work in construction and in the market and sell fruit in the street – they say it is better to be hungry and to buy clothes so that you look good for women.

A vacano man can have four or five women – but is impossible to say how many women a vacano man has – because he has women in every situation he can find them wherever he goes. He feels proud of himself and other men want to copy him.

A man like this he may give some money to the women and because he is well dressed they think he has money- this man is a chulo.

This man doesn't use condoms because it is not important – if they find a condom they say it is not important and they don't use it. There are hotels where he can find condoms and others that don't have them – if he finds it in a hotel he may use it.

He will mainly use condoms in the street with women who are dirty -but the chulo he isn't afraid of AIDS he isn't afraid of anything – he says it is not important if I get AIDS and it is not important if I infect others – this is the chulo.”

Hombre serio and chulo/papi chulo represent mutually exclusive norms of male behaviour which sit side-by-side as aspirational behaviour for men. The hombre serio contrasts with the chulo and papi chulo as by definition an hombre serio has few partners.

Pica flor

A man who only has occasional partners (ie has multiple one time encounters) is a pica flor. This is not a dominant category and does not represent an aspirational behaviour for men

A pica flor does not have any relationships he only has relations for the night if they accept – he has to use words to convince people. He is young and has jewellery and goes dancing – but he has to work to have the clothes.

3.2.2 Actual Behaviour: Men

Men's perspective

From men's perspective while the 'hombre serio' presents the ideal of 'responsible' behaviour, men also state that in reality few *hombre serio* exists. It is essential to have multiple partners in order to define masculinity. Different categories of partners for men include; *esposa* (wife - principle union); *querida/s*: second/third/fourth wife (trusted partner); *amante*: lovers defined as trusted partners (established relationship) in which he may support her or she may buy gifts for him and *amantes* who are defined as occasional non-trusted partners (first or second time encounters).

The amante is a woman that a man goes to apart from his wife. A man has his wife and his querida who is like a second wife and he has an amante. She is a woman who goes out and dances with him – she doesn't live in the house – it is a relationship outside the house. They may talk on the telephone – or go out of the house to the beach. Sometimes they have economic problems – many times they call and say lets go out and the woman says I can't I don't have money – sometimes the woman pays. The relationship is all for pleasure because the man feels good. The man says he has a meeting and then goes out with the amante – she is often young and beautiful, and usually the man presents her outside the batey as his wife because she is young.

The difference between the amante and the querida is that the querida is the second woman – he conceptualises her as his wife – she is like a wife because she cooks and looks after children – it is a commitment and his family know about her. The amante is not a commitment the family doesn't know about her. It is normal to have an amante – there are those that have two or three.

They have amantes for enjoyment – because men here are egoists – but it costs a lot of money. Sometimes the amante wants to go to high class places – the man needs new clothes and good shoes and perfume. But the amante never cooks – she always wants to go to the restaurant – to have a good life – she doesn't drink water – she drinks beer – so the amante costs a lot. The amante makes conditions- she wants to go out in a car or taxi – it is costly. If a man is poor he can't have amantes. Many have more than one amante and more than one querida. There was a military man he had his wife, a querida, and various amantes and he paid for a house for his amantes.

If the amante is good the woman gives money to the man and buys him things. They give necklaces, clothes and shoes. She buys these because he loves these things. Some women work in small businesses and some have money from the family from their husband. These are the benefits for the man – but sometimes he spends a lot on the lover and then the family suffer- the family suffer to maintain his amante.

With the amante the man gives money to the lover. Most times the man maintains the women – but sometimes the woman also gives to the man. He has a wife in his house – but the amante is in the disco. The family is a thing established it is fundamental – but the amante he enjoys because he doesn't have the same responsibility. He goes out with his amante just to dance – he meets her in fiesta and dances and talks. He may go out with her on a Saturday and the wife never knows. The amante only lasts a short time. Most men have amantes. For example, a man

left with his friends - he had his lover separate in another house. She lived alone – so he went to discos to dance and went with his friends drinking. The wife never saw the amante.

There are many men in the batey who when they have money go in the street to look for women – leaving his wife the house – if he earns money he goes corner by corner to spend 100 pesos here and there. There are some men when they have money they return to the house with the wife – but they are not the majority. There are women who make money easily from men – they call these men palomo.

With the amante he goes to the disco and buys her things – the amante needs to have good clothes for him to walk out with her and present her as his girlfriend. Many live in the same batey as the man but they never go out together in the batey – they go out – sometimes if the woman wants the man she gives the man money. The amante is a woman of the street – she treats the man more sexually because she wants to conquer him.

The wife is the woman who looks after all the problems in a man's life, if the man is ill she is with him. But in the case of the amantes it is a woman who goes out looking good, but if they have a defect it is money. Because if the man doesn't have any money she gets rid of him.

They say men in the batey think badly about their wives. Why? Because if they thought well of them they wouldn't go out looking for amantes in the same batey. The difference is that men in reality do not value their wife, they do not admire her because she works in the house, those they admire are the amantes, they are the ones who spend their time with the men of the batey. The men like love and pleasure and money if the woman has it for a good sexual relationship. Above all the women like money, if you don't have money you can't get a woman or a good sexual relationship.

As well as a second family – he may have amantes – they meet sometimes without commitment – amante is a woman who lives in a house without a husband – chulo's are men who have many women and the women maintain him they buy him clothes because there are women who like their men to look good. In reality men like to be like this.

Many times the man has a wife and others. The first he considers mujer de la casa – the others are his amantes.

Between the husband and wife the man wants his wife to be the main woman, but when he is with his friends he gives the impression that he is not interested in his wife and that women look for him, that is the impression he gives to men.

In a context where men have multiple non-commercial partners, commercial sex appears to be less significant. A man who has to pay for sex and is unable to attract any other partners is labelled by other men as a *palomo* as is seen as weak and unmanly.

Men who go to prostitutes are often those don't have a wife – so they have to look for prostitutes to satisfy themselves. The woman may ask for a hundred pesos. Many times they find them in the same batey - there are centres of prostitutes. If the man is not satisfied with his wife in the house he goes out to look for her –but if he has amantes usually he doesn't need a prostitute

Women's perspective

Women not only accept but actively reinforce that a man cannot be faithful to one woman.

Women ridicule men who cannot attract women. Women call a man who only has one woman a *palomo* (pigeon/pathetic man); *pariguayo* (nerd); or *maricon* (derogatory term for a gay man). Women consider that *hombre serio* do not exist, and are the same as a *pariguayos*. Women state categorically that no woman is interested in a man who has only one woman. Women want their men to be *tiguere* (tigers) and *chulo/papi chulo*. A woman may argue with her husband that he is looking like a *palomo* if he does not have other women outside the marriage.

A man with many women is very macho – he feels very powerful – a man is more a man who has lots of women - a man who only has one woman the people call a pariguayo – pájaro [bird] – maricon [derogatory term for a gay man] – palomo. Palomo is a bad word for a man it means he is weak and cold. They say he is a mujercita coquita [coquettish little woman]. An hombre serio is a pariguayo – it is the same.

The majority of women prefer their man to be macho. This means that they will argue with other women to defend their man.

*Most men are mujeriego [have lots of women]. They are not satisfied in the house and when they are not satisfied they go out on the street and they look for *mujer de la calle*. A man who has only one woman is very rare and they are good for nothing – they are scared. *Hombre serio* is very rare – there is one man in this batey who is like that – but he is very old.*

Women accept it if a man has other women and if he forms another family with them she accepts it because she loves him.

For a man it is normal to have many women. They respect a man who is discrete and doesn't offend or provoke his wife and his amantes between them he respects them and so they accept it. Women may be jealous but in the end they accept it because it is the culture. It is impossible for a man to have only one woman – every time a man has a conquest of a new woman it makes him feel younger.

*Nearly every man has more than one woman. They have a wife and others outside, women accept it because they are accustomed to it. The women say that a man with only one woman is a *pariguayo* – he is a *palomo* – an idiot because he can't find women – he is not a *tiguere* in the street.*

*The hombre serio does not exist – women like men who go in the street – for a woman if she likes a man it is not important if he likes other women – most women like a man who has good clothes that are modern – they like to call their man *papi* or *tiguere* – they like men like this because they look good in front of other people. If a man goes alone no woman will look at him – no woman will look at a man who only has one woman.*

*A man who is maintained by a woman is a *chulo*. A *palomo* is a man who is not a *tiguere* – he is very quiet and only works and doesn't look for women. Women like *tiguere*s, a good looking well-dressed man is a *tiguere*. Women like *papi chulo*, *papi champú*. A *papi-champu* is well dressed and they meet them in discos. A woman wouldn't be interested in a man who has only one woman.*

*Women like a man who has many women. An hombre serio is rare but women call him a *palomo* or a *maricon*. Women look for men who have lots of women – it is very rare for a young woman to look at an hombre serio.*

Women say if their husband is very calm and stays in the house they say he is an idiot and they look for someone hot in the street – she says it is a shame for her – she prefers that he looks for others.

3.2.3 Social norms for women

Mujer de la casa

The norm of 'respectable' behaviour for a woman is to be a *mujer de la casa*. All women aspire to be a *mujer de la casa*. A *mujer de la casa* is a married woman who manages the household and children and takes care of her husband's needs. Women gossip about other women who openly have a lover or more than one partner. They call them *cuernos/cuernula* (horned animals) and shun other women who openly have lovers. From men and women's perspective a *mujer de la casa* must be seen to have only one partner, that is, her husband.

*If a woman has more than one man we call her a vagabond – because men say that a woman has to have one because we work – a woman has to have one husband to be a serious woman – a *mujer de la casa**

*The man feels best with his wife because she is the *mujer de la casa* she is responsible for the house. The wife can't have another man or if she does he doesn't know. Lovers are for *mujer de la calle*. He only trusts the *mujer de la casa* because she is with him every day – he doesn't trust *mujer de la calle* because they only pass some days with him.*

*The wife is the *mujer de la casa*. The amante is the *mujer de la calle* – for the man the wife is the most important because she is only with him she is the valuable one because she has responsibilities in the house and looks after the children.*

*The man always trusts his wife – you have to know the person to trust them – they don't trust *mujer de la calle* because they are women of pleasure and may go with him one day and another the other. He trusts his wife because she is with him everyday.*

*Here in the batey it is very easy to distinguish the wife from the amante. The wife is very different and very important because she is the *mujer de la casa* and no woman can compare to the *mujer de la casa*.*

*The woman cannot have more than one man, but for the man it is acceptable to have six or seven. It is ugly in a woman to have more partners but not in a man, because the *mujer de la casa* has to look after her children.*

*Society does not accept women who have more than one man. They say she is good for nothing they say she is *cuernula* – the man is machista and does not accept the woman has more than one partner.*

*A *mujer de la casa* must have one partner because she feels good with one partner – but there are other women *mujer de la calle* who have various men.*

Mujer de la calle

If a woman is publicly acknowledged as having more than one partner, she is perceived as a *mujer de la calle*. *Mujeres de la calle* are women who have multiple partners who support them (often perceived as young, unmarried women) and women who have sex directly in exchange for money (prostitutes/*cueros*).

Before, to say mujer de la calle was an insult because it meant prostitute – but mainly mujeres de la calle are young women – mujeres de la calle try to get the better of mujeres de la casa because they dress well – mujeres de la casa have to look after the children so they don't have time to look good. A mujer de la calle doesn't have an established family – but she is not the same as a prostitute.

Mujeres de la calle sell their bodies like prostitutes – but the prostitute has to sell her body to people she doesn't know – but mujeres de la calle go with people they know – some give them gifts and others money – those women with amantes are mujeres de la calle – many young women go with different partners and get pregnant – most young men women have sex before marriage and a conscientious man may form a family with them.

Mujeres de la calle are women who have many different relationships – most do it for economic reasons – they do not charge money but they have relationship with this one and that one to get money.

When a woman has two or three men – one night she sleeps with one and the next day she sleeps with another and three days later she sleeps with the third – and finally she goes with another – but she lives only with these four men. A prostitute is different because she invites all men - to her all men are more or less the same.

Prostitutes and cueros are the same thing – they work in the bateyes and in discos outside the bateyes. Prostitutes are mujeres de la calle, they ask questions and they go out with men and work at night on the road – some have husbands and some have children – but this is their form of work.

Mujeres de la calle are the ones who have various men - and look for men with money – prostitutes are those in the park – mujeres de la calle look for men who have money – prostitutes never refuse anyone – but mujeres de la calle chose their men.

3.2.4 Women: Actual Behaviour

Actual behaviour of women reflects the economic reality that no woman can be financially dependent on one man. Within the economic structure of the bateyes women do not aspire to be economically independent of men, the role of a respectable *mujer de la casa* is defined through her position of maintaining the household. Men spread their needs through multiple households. Men also lack sources of employment so that they are economically unable to support each household without other sources of income flowing in from other men.

A woman may have various partners, for example two, three or even five. Because her husband does not maintain her and look after her well she looks for lovers. She gets many advantages from lovers, like affection. There are those who have a husband and lovers and they don't work because her lovers treat her like a queen.

Some women have a husband and three lovers – a friend of hers has only her husband – she is stupid – those that have two or three are 'sabia' [clever] because when they lack something the other gives them something.

Many women have more than one man – a woman may have a husband in the house and an amante – but it is dangerous if he finds out– he could kill her because he is very jealous. A woman has a husband and two lovers the husband went to Santo Domingo- the amante knew the husband was in the city – he wanted to come to her she said no because she was with

another amante – the first lover saw that she went out in the morning to look for the other amante and he followed her and stabbed her.

Some women can have children to other men and they live with her in the house – it is Ok for men to have many women because they can do what they like – because men are brutes.

Older women may have younger men and they maintain them – there are older women who look for young men because they have more sexual pleasure with them – they give money to the man – if they don't pay the young boy doesn't continue with her.

She has a husband and the other man she calls amante – she is not an idiot, she looks for a man who will give her money. Usually the husband is the last to know that she has a lover. There are those who look for pleasure and others for money. But it must be kept secret – although someone always knows – but still it is a secret thing. If her husband asks her the woman denies it – and if he finds out he may kill her. But most women look for lovers – the society here supports men going out looking for women but not women looking for men – so for people they think it is much worse for a woman to have more men.

A woman with a husband will have other men – they may have three other men and they call them amigo or amante – I know women who have three men – when women trust each other they will talk about it with their friends. The husband doesn't know because the mujer de la casa should not have other men. She may meet her amante when she goes to the market – mujer de la casa are often left alone in the house so they look for amante. Sometimes they look for money – and she feels good with her amante because he gives things that the husband does not give – the husband doesn't give what she wants – and if she has a lover she feels good because he gives her things. There are also older women who maintain a younger man and get money from the amante – she uses the money from her lover to buy the younger man clothes.

Most women have the man of the house and an amante. She has to look for amantes for money – because the man of the house does not give enough money. She looks for money from lovers and she prefers lovers because she does not have to cook for them.

What does a woman look for in her amante? Money and satisfaction. With money she can buy things and if he doesn't have money she looks for another lover. More or less the amante always gives money – if she doesn't work she needs the money so she looks for those who can give her money.

The amante gets money through business – she looks for a man who has a source of work as her amante– she looks for a man who has money as a lover. There is a woman her husband works in the larimar mines –when she met him here there was a lot of money that he gave her – after time her husband was unemployed and couldn't find work – so she looks for amantes and her husband doesn't know. If he knew another man had entered her he would kill her – the men don't accept it – but they can have three or four – but if he knows he will kill her.

A woman can be married and her husband leaves her alone in the house so she looks for a lover – but she can't leave her husband because he will look for her – and he may come back at midnight and enter the house and demand sex with her.

If she has a man in the house she may look for one lover – but if she is alone she may look for three – the minimum is two – if she has a husband it is difficult to manage more – but she may look for three or four.

Women need a husband because there is no source of work for women. They need him to maintain her – because women have no independent source of work. It is better for a woman to have men maintain her – the husband probably knows she is getting money from another man – but they don't admit it.

There was a woman who married young and for many she years she was unfaithful to her husband and he didn't know – her lover was a friend of her husband and he ate in their house – he gave the wife money for the food – people gossiped about it and wrote an anonymous note and put it on a pole outside her house – but she denied it and the lover said it wasn't true and so they continued – but the husband knew really he just chose not to see it..

A woman who is sabia – is a woman who has a husband and various lovers and they give money to her but she doesn't give money to him – the men love her and give her money and clothes – but she doesn't exchange anything – there are many sabia women. What do women aspire to – to live free without responsibility and to have free relations – to have children and to have sex freely – either to work or be maintained by men – because most men are bad and don't want to work – and they don't take responsibility and they prefer to live free - most women have more than one man – but not all. A stupid woman is one who works in the house and looks after her husband while he maintains other women in the street.

3.3 Condom use

3.3.1 Knowledge and threat of AIDS

There is no indication from the PEER data of lack of knowledge on modes of transmission of HIV. HIV is understood to be transmitted predominantly through sexual relationships, as well as through blood contact and contaminated needles. It is understood that AIDS cannot be contracted from sharing food with or talking to someone who has AIDS.

A person who is thought to have AIDS is socially rejected. While people with AIDS are not physically excluded from their community or family, they are socially excluded – treated apart. Family and friends will no longer want to eat or drink near them, and people will walk at a distance from them in the street. Consequently, there is a high degree of stigma attached to having AIDS and gossip about who in the community may have AIDS is very powerful.

There are many people who are contaminated with AIDS here. There are people who have died, a child of six years died of AIDS. Here if they think they have AIDS people treat them separately – they walk to the side of them and won't go near them because they have sores on their bodies – they cover their mouth when they talk to them.

There is a lot of AIDS here – they call it the red zone and they take tests in the antenatal clinics – many young people come out positive and if the community knows a person has AIDS they treat them apart.

If there is no comment that a person is ill they trust him. They may say he was with someone and she died of something and they think he is ill – or if his wife has a child who is ill – they start to gossip about the chain of who was with who and they can mention a list of people. There are people who write anonymous notices and put them on the wall that someone has AIDS - they may put the names up by the colmado [shop] or in the salon. Those people then go for a test and put a copy of the test results in the same place if it is negative – they are afraid of AIDS but they are more afraid of the gossip.

How do they treat people with AIDS? – They criticise them and they are afraid to talk to them and drink with them – they know that AIDS is passed through sexual relationships – but still they don't want to eat or drink with them. It is not because they are afraid to catch AIDS – but because it is an infected person.

They say you get AIDS from sexual relationships – people say you have to keep people with AIDS apart – they are more afraid about what people say - that they may say they have AIDS – because what affects people is the gossip – because may friend may say this or may say that they won't talk to me and they feel that language can kill them.

If a friend has AIDS they will help him to go to the hospital but they won't eat or drink with him because they know AIDS is infectious. If he knew he had AIDS he would leave the house and kill himself. AIDS is the most talked about illness.

There are many illnesses – but the one the attacks the population most is AIDS and so they have more fear of AIDS than the others. There are those who have AIDS and it is incurable – it will kill people and they have to stay in bed. I have seen and heard of many people with AIDS and the community doesn't treat them well – they think they are contaminated – they don't treat them equally and they put their food and drink apart.

When a person has AIDS the people investigate how he got it – whether it is another person – and with whom they have had relations– if he was in the street - they understand that AIDS is passed by relationships – not by sitting next to each other – but some push out people with AIDS and won't have them in the family. There are those who know that it can't pass by sitting next to each other – but still they don't want to sit with them.

People with AIDS are popularly perceived as a threat to those who are not infected. People with AIDS are considered to be of *mala fe* (bad faith). While it is known that anybody can contract AIDS, once a person knows they have AIDS they become of *mala fe* because they do not want to die alone and want to infect others.

They say a person with AIDS becomes a person of bad faith and they don't care about anyone – because they don't want to die alone – because AIDS changes people – they become of bad faith and want to infect others.

AIDS changes them and they want to infect others – there was a young women who had AIDS and they treated her really badly because she was of bad faith – those people can infect people in a chain because nothing is important to them.

Some young people have contracted STDs – many talk about AIDS and syphilis. If they think they have an infection they have fear and are ashamed – because they say they have been to a prostitute- many times they want to continue in relations to contaminate others because they have bad faith – so they say I'll infect others.

3.3.2 Risk perception

Risk is related to men having many non-trusted partners. If a man has many partners whom he considers as *mujeres de la calle*, then he considers he may be at risk of infection. If a woman has sex with an *hombre de la calle* (that is a man who has non-trusted partners) she may be at risk of infection. It

is perceived that risk can be negated by reducing the number of partners who are defined as non-trusted. This can be achieved through rapidly transforming a non-trusted partner into a trusted partner.

A relationship of trust is one in which you know the partner and there is love, a relationship without trust is when you do not know the person.

A relationship of trust is with a mujer de la casa. A relationship that is not of trust is with a mujer de la calle.

A relationship of trust is when the man likes the women, and feels secure with the woman and she is healthy. The opposite is a relationship without trust.

In the batey if you don't trust a woman you don't have relations with her. Because if there is trust nothing will stop it and you are able to have relations.

They say that a relationship of trust is when you have relations with a woman for the first time without a condom. They say that you cannot have sex with someone you don't trust.

A friend has a husband and three lovers. One of the lovers she thought had AIDS because another lover of his had died of AIDS. But she said it wasn't important because she trusted him and had known him for years – this was because she loved him whereas her other lovers were only for money.

There are men who have more than one family. He doesn't use condoms with his lovers because she is a healthy person, he trusts her.

A mujer de la casa will never use condoms with her husband because it is a relationship of trust – the only women who will use condoms are mujeres de la calle – because that is not a relationship of trust – even if the mujer de la casa knows that he has four other women and goes to their bateyes at weekends to look for women – she won't use condoms because it is a relationship of trust.

Few women talk about condoms – they take care not to get pregnant but it is very rare to use condoms consistently – because if a man knows a woman he doesn't use them – if he knows her and has confidence he doesn't use them.

He changes his amantes often – but practically he doesn't use condoms with them because he trusts them – because if a man knows a woman he doesn't use condoms if he knows her and has confidence in her – those in the street they may use condoms with them.

If a man has lots of women she will use a condom, but after a few times she doesn't – only at the start – if she thinks he is a man with lots of women she will use it to begin with – but once she knows him for sometime she doesn't use it.

If a man wants to use a condom it means no trust because they have a commitment so they won't infect each other.

A relationship of trust is pure and healthy – it depends on the relationship with the amante if he trusts her.

Most don't trust a person when they are with them for the first time – with an amante he uses condoms because he thinks she has others – but after a time he stops using them because the relationship changes to one of trust.

At first they need to use a condom because they don't know what sort of person they are – but later when they know them they don't use condoms.

3.3.3 Condom use: men's perspective

It is perceived that risk of HIV infection can be negated by using condoms with all non-trusted partners. The intention to use condoms with non-trusted partners (*mujer de la calle*) is strongly stated by men, and reinforced by their peers. Men also state that men do not like condoms because they reduce the pleasure of skin to skin contact. Women do not like men using condoms. If a woman refuses a condom then most men will accept sex without a condom. There are a few stories from men – of a man who said 'no condom no sex' – on a first sexual encounter with a *mujer de la calle*.

Men use condoms it is very important here because there are many people with AIDS. The hombre serio uses condoms but the charlatan goes with whomever he wants to.

A man who uses a condom is an hombre serio because he is responsible – he has his family and he will use a condom so as not to infect his family.

They must use condoms with mujeres de la calle with women who are dirty.

Men say that condoms are a good thing – but there are many here who do not like them because the sensation is not good – you can buy them easily in the colmados. There are those who like them –because they have seen people with illnesses but those who don't use condoms are mainly mujeriegos – those who go with many women .

Those that use them are those who have a wife and have another woman and they use them so as not to infect the wife – a man like this is an hombre serio who looks after the house and takes care of his wife.

Those who use condoms it is take care of the mujer de la casa because she is not a bad woman.

AIDS is very frequent– many people have to take care. Those that have relations with mujeres de la calle and cueros must take care. The men who live in their house and have their wife – hombres serio – don't have relations with mujeres de la calle because it is dangerous.

Many men speak favourably about condoms because they prevent pregnancy and AIDS – because of this men speak well about condoms. In relations outside the house – if he goes with those he does not trust he uses condoms.

They say they use condoms with those they don't trust to prevent infection – with mujer de la calle they use them – but many men say if they trust a woman they don't use them.

A man was a taxi driver, he met a woman and she asked for a ride. He gave her a ride – to a cock fight. The woman went in – she went to the cock fight– she said leave me here in the– the women had a chulo there – a little later she left – she got on the motor again and she said – to the driver that her chulo was not there – she couldn't find him- she needed to buy milk for her child – in the conversation – he invited the woman to have relations with him and the woman accepted – and he passed a pharmacy to buy three condoms –when they arrived in the hotel –

he got out a condom – and it broke – he said pass another condom – the woman said she didn't want to give him a condom – he said if we don't use condom we won't have relations – he was a serious man.

Men will state that they condoms with *mujeres de la calle* when they are talking to their peers, when often in reality they do not use them. They tell their friends (and outsiders) that they use condoms with *mujeres de la calle*, because if they tell them that they don't use condoms (because women reject them) their friends will think they are infected with HIV and they will be gossiped about and socially excluded.

Men don't feel anything with a condom, when they talk to each other they say they use a condom but they don't.

People say they use condoms – but in reality they don't - there are men when they go with a woman they won't tell a friend if they used a condom. They say they use a condom so that their friends will think that they are healthy and don't have an infection.

The chulo is not afraid of AIDS – he isn't afraid of anything – he says it is not important – If I get AIDS it is not important if I infect others.

They don't use with their wife because he trusts her – if there is a woman in the street if he doesn't want to use a condom with her then he won't. The men when they are ill – when they have an infection they don't talk about it but in reality they don't use condoms – condoms don't give pleasure. Many say they use them but they don't, because if he says he uses condoms nobody will think he is infected.

Young people worry a lot it is a problem for youth they look for women they want to have a woman – but most of them don't have protection – many don't use condoms they are inconvenient and they don't feel anything and they are ashamed to buy them – they can buy them easily but they feel ashamed – if they use a condom women will think it is because they are infected.

Condoms, there are many who say to have relations why use this – some say if I am infected I will infect others because I will die. So they don't use condoms. There are cases visa versa where the woman says it is equal with condom or not with condom - - because they think they are infected they accept without it

There are some who use condoms to protect themselves if they have a relation with someone they know – like an amante – there those who don't want to use it because it is uncomfortable and they think it is safe if the person isn't ill – for this they don't use it but they tell their friends that they do.

3.3.4 Condom use: women's perspective

Women also reinforce that men should use condoms with *mujeres de la calle*. As no woman identifies herself as a *mujer de la calle* the support for men to use condoms with non-trusted partners (*mujer de la calle*) does not translate into personal intention to use condoms. There is no social support among her peers for a woman to use condoms, as a woman who uses condoms is by definition a *mujer de la calle*. Women will also propose that men use condoms with their other partners.

There are two types of men. Men who have a wife and many women and use condoms with mujeres de la calle because they want to protect their wife. And there are men who have no

responsibility who don't care about themselves or anything and only seek enjoyment. These men won't use condoms because they say it is a barrier between the man and the woman.

The men who look for women in the street use condoms to protect themselves and their family.

Those who stay with their families don't use condoms. But those who go in the street with mujeres de la calle – they use condoms with mujeres de la calle. If a man suggests using a condom she feels shame because she thinks the man who initiates condom use thinks that she is infected – and so she doesn't trust him because the man offends her by presenting the condom.

If a woman has doubts about her husband she will buy a condom and ask him to use it. There are men who the wife doesn't trust because he goes out in the street and he says he was out with a friend but he was lying – and if he goes out in the street he may get illnesses.

If the husband goes out in the street she has doubts that he is with other women and she can say if you have other relations you must use a condom.

There are women who ask men to use condoms when they go out – and some men say no- if the wife insists then they argue because of condoms.

A man never uses condoms with his wife – but with his mujer de la calle he uses them because he knows she has others.

Most men here have more than one family and look for lovers in the street. They have to use condoms because there is a lot of AIDS. Women say that mujeres de la casa don't ask to use condoms, but mujeres de la calle must use them. Some men have many women and visit prostitutes – men here don't like to stay in the house. Many women think that mujeres de la calle are infected – but they say sex workers are healthy because they work in this and know how to protect themselves – but mujeres de la calle look for men so are ill.

Many women don't use condoms – if she has a lover she won't use a condom because she thinks she is like his wife and if a woman has a lover the community think she is a mujer de la calle.

Condoms – some say condoms protect you – some say they use it the first time and that mujeres de la calle use them – but many men don't like them – they only use condoms in the street to protect their partner in the house – those in the street are prostitutes – the other women are mujeres de la casa – and so sometimes they use them with mujeres de la calle.

From a woman's perspective if a man suggests using a condom it is to prevent AIDS and so can only mean one of two things: he thinks she is infected or he is infected. For women condoms symbolise lack of trust and infection

Many women don't know about condoms, they don't trust men who use condoms.

Many women feel that a man wants to use a condom he thinks that she is a prostitute.

Many times if a man wants to use a condom she thinks it is because he has lots of partners and they think he is infected.

There are men who when they are infected want to put a hole in the condom to infect the other person. They don't trust a man who uses a condom it feels like an offence and they won't feel comfortable in a relationship in which he wants to use a condom.

Many don't use condoms because they say that the man will make holes in the condom to try and infect her.

Many people throw condoms away – there have been talks about condoms and many throw free condoms away – many women think that a man who uses condoms is more insecure – a man who doesn't use condoms is healthy.

If a man uses a condom he may break it or they don't put it on well and it leaks – women are not used to a man using a condom and because of this they feel bad – and many break condoms because they are people of bad faith [ie probably infected]

Men don't like to use condoms – to use a condom means that they don't have trust in their partner and they prefer relations of pleasure. If a man wants to use a condom with a woman apart from to prevent pregnancy – she thinks it is because he is ill.

Mujeres de la calle sell their body so they use condoms – but women with amantes don't use them. If an amante or boyfriend says he wants to use a condom – she feels bad because they think it means he has others – others say using a condom is insecure because they are fragile – and many men who are contaminated will beak the condom to infect her so that they will not die alone.

They don't like it if a partner uses a condom – they say that they don't trust him and don't want to use it – women feel infected if a man wants to use a condom – they don't trust men who use condoms – there are some women that say if a man uses a condom it is because he has other women and because of this they don't want to use it.

Many men can put holes in the condoms – a man will use a condom either because he has AIDS or because he thinks she has AIDS and wants to protect himself. Many say if someone looks good and healthy then they don't have AIDS. Most women don't use condoms because they don't like them. It is women who reject them – if a man wants to use and the woman says no he says OK.

If a man wants to use a condom she thinks he is in the street with others – they have more confidence in a man who doesn't use condoms because they think that means he is not infected – they say a man who doesn't use condoms is not infected – it doesn't matter whether he has lots of partners because he is not infected – but if he uses a condom she thinks he is infected.

**ANNEX ONE
SUMMARY OF PEER METHOD**

THE PEER METHOD

What is the PEER?

PEER is an innovative, rapid, participatory and qualitative approach to programme related research, monitoring and evaluation. The PEER method is derived from the anthropological approach which holds that building a relationship of trust with the community is essential for researching social life. What people say about social life and behaviour changes according to the level of familiarity between the researchers and researched.

PEER is more than a research method; it is also an approach to building active dialogue between programmes and the target community, and to building entry points to working with marginalized and harder to reach social groups. The aim of PEER is to give voice to marginalized groups, throughout the research and communications design process, thereby building capacity among the target group to express their concerns and enter into dialogue with programmes and service providers.

Principles of the Method

The PEER method is based upon training members of the target community to carry out in-depth conversational interviews with individuals selected by them from their own social networks. They are known as 'peer researchers'. The term peer, as used here, does not refer exclusively to young people, whose peers are often the same age, but to membership of any significant social network.

As peer researchers have established relationships of trust and established entry-points into their community, the interviews can take place over a relatively short period of time. An important aspect of the method, which differs significantly from surveys and focus groups, is that all interviews are carried out in the third person. Peer researchers ask interviewees to talk about "what other people like them" do or say, and are never asked to talk about themselves directly. Using third person interviewing enables people to talk freely about sensitive issues, to which they may not want to give personal attribution. The aim of the interviews is to collect narratives and stories which provide insights into how interviewees conceptualise and give meaning to the experiences and behaviour of 'others' in their social network. All interviews are confidential and peer researchers do not note down the names or addresses of interviewees or other people in their social network. Interviewees are not asked to identify whom they are talking about, simply to share their experience or story.

Recruitment of PEER Researchers

Selection criteria for the peer researchers were that they should be: from the peer network of the target group; have a basic level of literacy; be willing and available to undertake three-day training and participate in the data collection. Peer researchers were selected from men from bateyes Estrellas and Casabes in Santo Domingo and women from bateyes Central and Tres is Barahona.

Peer Researcher Training

Peer researchers underwent a short four day participatory training. During the training they were introduced to the concept of peer research, and worked with skilled facilitators to identify key themes for the research and develop 'prompts' to guide their interviews. The main themes identified by the men were social life; partners; and AIDS and condom use. The main themes identified by the women were the family, partners; and AIDS and condom use.

Data Collection

Data collection was carried out over a five-week period. During this time peer researchers received weekly supervision from staff from the NGOs MOSTHA and CEDESO.

Supervisors interviewed peer researchers on the interviews they had carried out during the week, and recorded detailed notes of the narratives. Peer researchers were asked to note down key phrases to remind themselves of the issues covered in the interviews. During the supervision process PSI staff were able to develop a strong rapport and relationship of trust with the peer researchers, enabling them to probe more deeply into issues raised by the interviews. The relationship of trust built up between the NGOs staff and peer researchers is essential for building entry points for working with the target group. In total ninety nine men and women were interviewed on each of the three themes generating two hundred and ninety seven interviews.

Data Analysis

Data analysis was carried out on three levels.

Collation of narratives: Narratives were collated by the supervisors into detailed set of interview notes.

Social analysis: At the end of the data collection period, the social analyst interviewed all the peer researchers together with one of their peers on key issues arising from the interview narratives. At this stage the peer researchers became the key informants for the social analyst.

Peer researcher's analysis: Peer researchers also conducted their own analysis of their interviews during a one-day workshop. The workshop enabled peer researchers and PSI staff to initiate a dialogue around the issues raised by the research, and establish the beginnings of a platform for sustained interaction.

Strategy Workshop

The recommendations for next-steps in BCC strategy were developed through a participatory workshop involving PSI programme and communications staff and participating NGOs. The workshops began with a presentation of the key findings of the research and suggestions for development of a messaging matrix.