

**Sexual debut, relationships and condom
use
among young people aged 15-19 years in
the bateyes
of Dominican Republic**

Results from a PEER/FoQus study carried out by

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Acronyms and Abbreviations

AIDS	Acquired Immunodeficiency Virus
FoQus	Framework for Qualitative Research in Social Marketing
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
MOSCHTA	Haitian Workers' Socio-cultural Movement
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
PEER	Participatory ethnographic evaluation and research method
PSI	Population Services International
STIs	Sexually Transmitted Infections

Structure of Report

This report presents results from a PEER/FoQus study conducted in Dominican Republic in July 2009. The report is structured as follows:

- Summary of the study (overview of FoQus and important themes emerging from the study)
- Introduction and background to the study
- Methodology (PEER and FoQus)
- An overview of key themes in the qualitative data, illustrated by quotations.
- Dashboard instruments
- Annexes: fieldwork tools

Summary

Introduction

This report presents results from a process of qualitative research and data synthesis carried out with male and female youth aged 15-19 years in two bateyes (Estrellas and Yabacao) in the Dominican Republic (DR). The work was carried out to provide an evidence base for PSI DR's behaviour change communications programme for HIV prevention for young people living in the bateyes.

The PEER method¹ was used to generate in-depth narrative data about the social and economic context of these communities; relationships (including marriage and pre-marital relationships); and perceptions of reproductive health, including family planning (FP) and HIV and AIDS. Data were processed and synthesised using the FoQus on Segmentation approach, producing the dashboard instruments. The dashboards are a synthesis of research findings, designed to help marketers and programmers develop and position products, services and behaviour change interventions that are better tailored to the target group.

Key Issues

Discrimination and Marginalisation: The Social and Economic Context of the bateyes.

There is a very strong sense of stigmatisation and discrimination experienced by residents of bateyes, and extreme marginalisation of communities. While the majority of the young people in the age group of this study are second or third generation Dominican, and identify completely as Dominican, they consider that wider Dominican society still identify them as 'haitianos' (Haitian), simply due to their residence in the bateyes. The peer researchers' stories are shaped by a back-drop of discrimination and poverty.

Opportunities and Aspirations.

Hopes and aspirations were expressed slightly differently between the two communities, and between young men and young women. In Estrellas, some express the desire to go to university and have a profession. This aspiration is reflected in the boy's archetype (see section 4.1). Young women in Estrellas also talk about dreams to finish school and follow a profession. For the young men in Yabacao, the aspiration of having a profession is not as strongly expressed as in Estrellas. For many young men the dream of becoming a base-ball player or a rapero (rap-star), while unattainable, feels more realistic for them than being able to study and have a profession. Young women's dreams, especially in Yabacao, focus on unattainable aspirations such as becoming a model. The most achievable dream for young women is to find a rich man who will offer them a life away from the batey.

Social Norms Supporting Sexual Debut.

Findings from the 2006 PEER study carried out among the male and female adult population of the bateyes suggest strong social norms supporting concurrent partnerships. The data indicate that there are strong social norms supporting early sexual debut. Data suggest that sexual debut can be as early as 11 to 12 years of age and that by 15 years, it is perceived by young people that the majority of their peers have had first sex². There are a number of factors which contribute to early

¹ Participatory ethnographic evaluation and research. For details see www.options.co.uk/peer.

² PEER data provide a narrative indication of age of sexual debut. The TRaC survey will be used to provide a detailed analysis of age of first sex. The indication from the PEER data suggest that perceived age of sexual debut is lower than that estimated by ENDESA Bateyes 2008, which suggests sexual debut at around 16 years for women and 16.3 years for men.

sexual debut: the peer group (el coro); the desire for experience; and the desire to become a man or woman through having sexual experience appear to be the most important drivers.

El Coro (the group of friends)

El coro appears to be a major influence on boys' sexual debut, more so than with girls. Boys talk about their sexual experiences with their friends, telling them details of who they have had sex with, what they did and what it was like. Once a boy reaches 11 or 12 years of age, he begins to feel that he is an 'outsider' in the group if he cannot start talking about his own sexual experiences. Those boys who have not yet had sexual relations may also, out of shame, pretend to their friends that they have had sex. For girls, talking about and sharing their experiences with trusted friends is an important aspect of first sexual experiences, but not as important a driver of sexual debut as for boys.

El novio/la novia (boyfriend / girlfriend)

For girls the direct social pressure to have first sex comes less from their peers, than it does from their boyfriend. To have a boyfriend (novio) is an important public display to friends and peer group that a girl is attractive and desirable.

Expression of Manhood / Womanhood

A young man or woman who has not had sex is perceived by their sexually experienced peers as still being a child. For boys, having first sex is about expressing their masculinity. For boys the social pressure from their peer group to have sex for fear of being called 'malicon' (gay) or palomo (pigeon) is a primary influencer. For girls, having sexual relations signifies the transition to womanhood/adulthood, and this appears to be the main motivator for sexual debut.

The Desire to Learn About Sex

A major concern of boys is that they will experience shame and humiliation if they are perceived to fail to perform sexually with a girl as a result of their lack of experience. While for girls first sexual experience is usually with someone they consider to be their boyfriend, for boys the first sexual experience is usually considered to be for experience alone and without affection or attraction. Both boys' and girls' stories talk about the young man ending the relationship with the woman once he has had sex. A number of girls' stories talk about friends being pressurised into having sex before they feel emotionally or physically ready, and experiencing physical pain, or feelings that they have let their parents down. There are also stories (although fewer) about girls pressurising their boyfriends into having first sex.

Social Support for Delayed Debut

For both boys and girls there is limited social support among their peer group for delayed sexual debut. The major motivators for delay come from: self-efficacy of the individual to follow their aspirations and not risk their chances of studying; desire among some girls to preserve virginity; family support; and mutual relations of respect between the boyfriend and girlfriend.

Concurrency and Partner Types

There are two main partner types referred to in the male and female narratives: the novio or novia (boyfriend/girlfriend) and agarre. The novia/novio is a public relationship which brings with it obligations and commitment. The agarre are perceived to be relationships without obligation, and vary in length between one

night-stands to short-term relationships lasting a few months. There are far more stories relating to agarre than there are to novia in the boys' narratives.

Motivators for Concurrency

Social norms strongly support concurrent partnerships. For young men a main motivator for concurrency is to gain esteem in the peer group and a reputation with women as being 'vacano' (a stud). For young women it is considered fashionable, 'en la moda' to have several agarre and to show that she can attract men. For both boys and girls a motivator for having agarre is that it is not a public relationship, and they are free to experience sex without commitment. While transactions do occur in relationships, they are small-scale, unsystematic and not a major motivator for concurrency.

Risk Perception

For young women and young men alike by far the greatest perceived risk of early sexual debut and unprotected sex with concurrent partners is the risk of pregnancy. While for young men and women, the freedom of the relationship is a major motivator for having agarre, loss of freedom as a result of pregnancy is the greatest risk for young women. For girls, pregnancy is seen to result in the loss of any future plans as well as being a physical risk for young girls. While girls experience freedom with an agarre, the risk is that there is no social mechanism to enforce the man taking paternal responsibility for the child should she become pregnant. For a young man, his greatest concern is if his novia becomes pregnant that he will be forced to marry her. Many stories in the boys' narratives refer to friends stopping studying following a girlfriend becoming pregnant, due to family pressure for the young man to work and support the family.

Fertility Control and HIV/STIs

There is little indication in any of the narratives of awareness of means of controlling fertility through modern contraception. While condoms are perceived as important for protecting against pregnancy, many narratives refer to young women using unsafe abortion to terminate unwanted pregnancy, sometimes supported by a mother or grandmother in doing so. Young people in the bateyes have been exposed to a significant amount of information about HIV/AIDS. However, HIV infection does not appear to be perceived as a very significant or real threat to their future, as compared to the risk and impact of an unwanted pregnancy. Narratives indicate that there are many misunderstandings relating to HIV and AIDS which fuel stigma and discrimination against those who are perceived to be infected. Data also indicate very limited knowledge of STIs among young people.

Determinants of Condom Use

Narratives indicate a positive attitude towards condoms among both young men and young women. There is an over-riding perception that condoms, while reducing the pleasure of sex, are necessary to protect from unwanted pregnancy and from HIV.

Trust appears to be the first major determinant of when and with whom condoms are used. There is social support for using condoms with a partner whom one does not trust, usually an agarre. Once a partner is perceived as trusted, there is no recognition that they may also be in a network of concurrent/multiple relationships (i.e. have an agarre) or have previously been in a network of concurrent/multiple relationships. While availability does not appear to be a major issue, accessibility of condoms to young people does. Many young men feel ashamed to go to the local

store to buy condoms. Young women do not perceive it to be socially acceptable to be seen buying condoms. If a woman wants to use a condom she therefore has to ask her partner to buy one. For young women, the ability to insist on their partner obtaining and using a condom is the major determinant of condom use with non-trusted partners. For younger boys especially, knowledge of how to use a condom and put it on correctly is another determining factor in whether a condom is used. Data suggest that condom use with non-trusted partners is lowest at sexual debut. Alcohol is also a major factor in ability to use condoms, especially with non-trusted partners. Sex with agarre usually occurs after dancing and drinking at the disco or colmadon³. Hence alcohol reduces the likelihood that the young man will either have a condom available, or be motivated or have the ability to use it.

Sources of Information

Young people in the bateyes appear to have reasonable access to both television and radio. Television and soap-operas in particular, are considered to be more of a female media. Young men prefer comedy, cartoons (such as South Park) or mini-action series. There are mixed views on Amor de Batey. There were more positive responses to the soap-opera from Yabacao, where the promoter has facilitated viewing sessions for the community. In Estrellas fewer young people appear to have seen or heard of Amor de Batey. In both bateyes, while it is enjoyed by women, there is a perception that it is slightly shameful or embarrassing for men to watch it, as soaps are a female genre. There is also a perception that Amor de Batey is viewed by those young people living outside the batey as only being relevant to people who live in the batey, increasing the possibility that batey residents could be stigmatised as having greater HIV infection rates. Programmes must be tailored to the needs of young people so that: activities take place on the weekends in the afternoons; are engaging, lively and interactive; and designed to meet the needs of different age groups. In particular it is very important to reach those young people who have not yet had sexual debut (or are just starting debut) in the age range of 10-13 years with specific activities, which enable them to learn about their sexuality and discuss their feelings with their peer group; as well as reaching those who once they are sexually active, are often in concurrent relationships.

³ Small shop/ bar in the community

1. Introduction

This report presents results from an in-depth qualitative study into relationships and sexuality among young people aged 15-19 years living in the bateyes of Dominican Republic. The study was carried out by PSI Dominican Republic (DR), a non-profit non-governmental organization (NGO) that specializes in sexual and reproductive health. PSI-DR promotes safer sexual behaviour and FP through interpersonal communications and mass media, while increasing access to and availability of quality condoms through a high coverage social marketing strategy.

PEER/FoQus study was carried out with male and female youth in the age group 15-19 years. The young people taking part in this study were from two bateyes: Estrellas (an urban batey on the outskirts of Santo Domingo) and Yabacao (a rural batey in the Province of Monte Plata). PSI has been working in the bateyes since 2005. As well as aiming to improve the availability of affordable and high quality condoms in the bateyes, PSI's communications have included producing and showing 'Amor de Bateyes', a soap opera set in the bateyes which has been screened on national television and in community settings (e.g. church halls). The soap opera addresses issues including multiple sexual partners, infidelity, condom use, HIV infection and testing, and coping with HIV. PSI also produces and distributes posters for condom points of sale.

PSI DR has conducted TRaC studies among the adult population of the bateyes and a PEER study was conducted among this population in 2006. The first round was conducted in 2006 and served as a baseline for the HIV/AIDS Prevention Project, and the second round was conducted in 2008. A TRaC study has also been conducted among the general youth population of DR⁴. Results from this PEER study will feed into the design of the quantitative TRaC study to better understand determinants of sexual debut, sexual relationships, and risk, for the development and promotion of a behaviour change communications for young people.

PEER (Participatory Ethnographic Evaluation and Research) is an innovative method which is particularly suitable for researching sensitive issues such as reproductive health and sexual behaviour. PEER produces detailed narrative data which give insights into the world view and everyday realities of peer researchers and their friends (Hawkins & Price 2002). In PEER, ordinary community members identify and investigate what *they* consider to be important issues in the lives of people like them. They are trained to become peer researchers, and conduct in-depth conversational interviews with people from their social networks. Peer researchers reported their findings back to the PSI team, and explored results using drama, photographs, and discussion.

PEER data were processed using the FoQus on Segmentation technique⁵. PSI marketers and programmers analysed the data and refined emerging ideas into the dashboards (see Section 5), which provides an in-depth description of the target audience, such that program design decisions are based on current and detailed evidence.

⁴ Youth TRaC, 2008

⁵ For more information see www.psi.org/research/foqus_segmentation.htm

1.1 Objectives

This study aimed to gather information to help design a behaviour change communications campaign for HIV prevention, targeting young people in the bateyes in the age group 15-19 years.

The specific objectives of the study were to:

- Identify attitudes, behaviour and practice related to sex among young people aged 15-19 living in the bateyes
- Understand sexual debut and how and when first intercourse happens
- Identify social norms, beliefs and contexts of sexual behaviour and sexual relationships
- Identify factors relating to condom use, and risk perception among young people 15-19 years old living in the bateyes.
- Describe the key determinants that may encourage youth to participate in educational activities

Background

There is very little research on sexual and reproductive health among youth in the bateyes in Dominican Republic, the main published data being available in the ENDESA⁶ Bateyes 2007. The following section summarises research evidence of relevance to this study.

The bateyes originally developed around the sugar cane industry, the inhabitants being migrant workers from Haiti. Many of the first and second generation inhabitants of the bateyes lack any formal of legal documentation, excluding them from any citizen rights in Dominican society. The state-owned sugar industry provided housing to the employees of the bateyes, in exchange for their labour. In the 1980s, Dominican Republic's domination of the world sugar markets began to go into decline, and the by the end of the 1990s the sugar industry had been completely privatised. Few bateyes now have any employment in sugar. The residents continue to be discriminated against by Dominican society as Haitian migrants, and residents live in poverty. The main sources of employment for men are temporary labour in construction or as petty traders, and for women in garment factories in the free trade zones and as domestic helps.

According to ENDESA Bateyes 2007, over 50% of the population of the bateyes are below the age of 19, with approximately 10% in the age group 15-19 years. Little is known about factors contributing to early sexual debut, concurrent partnerships and determinants of condom use among young people in this age group.

Sexual debut is understood to begin at an early age, the median age for young men is 16.3 years, and 16 years for women, in comparison to 17.5 years for women in rural populations and 18 years for young women in the general youth population (ENDESA Bateyes 2007). Seventy percent of young women and 60% of young men below the age of 18 have had sexual debut (ENDESA Bateyes 2007). Twenty five percent of young women and 23% of young men in the bateyes in the age group 15-24 years have had their first sexual experience before the age of 15 years. Thirty three percent of young women had their first sexual debut with a husband/live-in partner, whereas 63% was with a boyfriend. For young men, 53% state having

⁶ Encuesta Nacional De Salud (Demographic and Health Survey)

sexual debut with a girlfriend, and 30% with a friend or acquaintance (ENDESA Bateyes 2007).

Levels of knowledge about HIV and AIDS among young people in bateyes in the age group 15-24 years are significantly higher for women than men. ENDESA Bateyes 2007 indicates that 34% of women and 26% of men in this age group have comprehensive knowledge of HIV/AIDS. Levels of knowledge of HIV/AIDS are directly related to level of education and socio-economic status. Levels of condom use in first sexual relations, among young people aged 15-24 years in the bateyes, is very similar to levels in the rural population of the country. Fourteen percent of young women aged 15-24 report using condoms in first sexual relations, as compared to 47% of young men in the same age group (ENDESA Bateyes 2007). Twenty six percent of young women in the age group 15-24 years and 79% of young men, reported having had sexual relations with a person separate from their live-in partner in the year prior to the survey (ENDESA Bateyes 2007). There is a limited understanding of the social norms that support early sexual debut among young people in the bateyes and of factors affecting use and non-use of condoms.

Results from the TRaC 2008 indicate that condom use has increased over time. The proportion of people living in bateyes reporting other regular partners decreased from 34% in 2006 to 26% in 2008. Having casual partners also decreased from 20% to 15.7%. Having more than two sexual partners was reduced from 23% to 13%, and the proportion of concurrency (having an additional partner to the regular or cohabitational partner) was 127%. Behaviour such as condom use with casual and commercial partners increased in year 2008 (81% to 94% and 82% to 97%, respectively). The report of having condoms at home and certain aspects in social support increased too. Having only one sexual partner as against two or more is associated with beliefs against concurrency. Condom use is associated with: self-efficacy (s/he feels comfortable talking about condom use with her/his partners; feels comfortable asking for condom use with her/his partner); trust-scale and social support to use condoms.

A TRaC study among youth aged 13-24 years has been conducted in the general youth population of Dominican Republic (2008). Data from the Youth TRaC indicate that age at first intercourse has decreased from 15.9 years to 15.4 years and number of regular sexual partners increased from 1.47 to 1.72 between 2004 and 2008⁷. Condom use increased over time, but not significantly. Having had first sex appears to be associated to social support (youth don't like to be virgins and youth don't talk about their virginity with their friends) and social norms (friends think at your age you should not be a virgin anymore) towards sexual intercourse. Among sexually active youth, condom use at last sex is associated to self-efficacy and locus of control.

2 Method

2.1 Participatory Ethnographic Evaluation and Research (PEER)

PEER⁸ is a qualitative, participatory, research method that is effective for working with hard-to-research groups. The process helps programs understand health and risk perceptions and behaviours from an insider's point of view. PEER is based on training members of the target community (in this case male and female youth aged

⁷ The baseline for the youth 2008 TRaC was a knowledge, attitudes and practice study conducted by Gallup Dominican Republic, 2004.

⁸ See Annex 1 & 2 for a detailed description of the PEER /FoQus method

15-19 years) to carry out in-depth conversational interviews with trusted individuals they select from their own social networks. Peer researchers were recruited from their communities by the PSI Bateyes Programme Manager, who is experienced in working with the bateyes. They formed a group of 16 peer researchers; 8 young men and 8 young women. Four young men and four young women were selected from the batey Estrellas, situated in a district of the city of Santo Domingo, and four young men and four young women from the batey Yabacao, a rural batey in the Province of Santo Domingo. The peer researchers were selected to be broadly representative of the target population, providing a pool of peer researchers who could interview others to gather data on an even wider population.

2.2 FoQus on Segmentation

The in-depth narrative data generated by PEER were processed using the FoQus approach, which produces an evidence base for future interventions. The FoQus process used the following steps:

- **Building a character archetype**
Using peer researchers' ideas and narrative data from PEER, two person profiles (a man and a woman) were created (see section 5).
- **Identifying beliefs to reinforce and beliefs to change**
Based on the narrative data and archetypes, the consultant worked with PSI staff to identify key themes and potential determinants of behaviour. In future programmes working with these issues, PSI should work to reinforce factors that promote desired behaviour and change factors that obstruct them.
- **Describing current behavioural strategies**
The PSI then considered how the archetypes currently behave in regard to the behaviours in question (HIV prevention).
- **Acquisition stories**
The PSI group considered how the target audience acquires (buys or receives) products/services under study. In this case delayed sexual debut and condom use. This includes how non-behavers acquire alternatives to the desired behaviour.
- **Identifying openings to reach the archetype, and their level of knowledge sophistication**
The group identified opportunities when archetypes could be reached with messages about HIV/AIDS; their level of familiarity with these subjects; and their inclination to behave.
- **Category Experience**
The group outlined how the archetypes currently perceive their experience of using condoms and not using condoms.
- **Brand / Behaviour Associations**
Finally, the group identified how young people perceive condom users (including partners' suggestion to use condoms).

3 Qualitative Themes and Illustrative Quotations

The following themes emerged from the analysis of PEER data, and fed into FoQus on Segmentation dashboards and archetype development, detailed in section 5. These themes explain the context in which sexual debut and sexual behaviour occurs in the communities studied: risk perception and determinants of condom use among young people aged 15-19 years and factors and opportunities that may encourage young people to participate in educational activities for improved sexual health. Quotations from the data are italicized, and some have been edited for clarity and concision. Quotations are followed by an F or M to denote female or male interviewee and by the initials of the batey in which they live: Estrellas (E) and Yabacao (Y).

3.1 Economic and Social Context of the Bateyes

Discrimination and Marginalisation

Since the demise of the sugar industry the economy of the bateyes is sustained by small-scale subsistence agriculture, petty trading and seasonal labour. Estrellas is an urban batey on the outskirts of Santo Domingo and therefore a less typical batey than Yabacao, which has a rural economy. Estrellas is much more densely populated than Yabacao, and consists of very tightly packed houses made of tin and adobe. The population of Estrellas is (2,000 people, 488 families⁹ approximate), many of whom do not have direct access to water or good sanitation. On the other side of the street that marks the boundary of the batey are housing estates, built for government workers, all of which have access to the facilities denied to the batey residents. Most of the young men in Estrellas work in the market, as street vendors, motor-bike taxis, or on construction sites. Young women work as market traders or as domestic helps and house cleaners in the city. Yabacao consists of no more than 100 households. The main occupations for young men are working as motor-taxis, construction workers and farm labourers; and for women, domestic labour in households in surrounding towns.

While this study did not focus on obtaining interview narratives relating to the social and economic context of life in the bateyes, some of the findings of the PEER (2006) study conducted among the adult population of the bateyes¹⁰ serve to contextualise the data from this study among the youth population. The study in 2006 highlighted the strong sense of stigmatisation and discrimination experienced by residents of bateyes, and extreme marginalisation of these communities. While the majority of the young people in the age group of this study are second or third generation Dominican, and identify completely as Dominican, they consider that wider Dominican society still identify them as 'haitianos' (Haitian), simply due to their residence in the bateyes. The peer researchers' stories are shaped by a back-drop of discrimination and poverty.

Those outside the batey they are different to those in the batey. They discriminate against us and fight with those in the batey. They say we are blacks – or haitianos. They have bigger houses and say we are poor – they say 'plieto' [Haitian] – or 'moreno' [black] in an aggressive way. (M,E)

⁹ Population Census in Batey Estrella 2008. Child protection and development Project of MOSCHTA.

¹⁰ Results of Baseline PEER Study for Design of the Social Marketing Intervention for HIV Prevention in the Bateyes, May 2006. Kirstan Hawkins, Options Consultancy Services.

He works cleaning shoes. His friends outside the batey, normally when they talk about the batey they say bad things. They say that he will do something bad to them because he is dirty. (M,Y)

Those outside the batey treat us badly they say 'they are campesino [peasants]' – they say 'you aren't important' – 'you are nobody' – 'you live in an non-developed community' – it is better not to know them. (M,Y)

Social Life in the Bateyes

There are very limited social activities for young people to take part in. Those still in school, also work in their spare time, either in holidays or during the afternoons when not at school. For the majority of young men and women alike, social life revolves around meeting with groups of friends at the colmados to drink beer, dance and listen to music (reggeton, rap, bachata), and going to the disco in the neighbouring barrios on the weekend. Playing pool and sports (baseball in particular) are important pastimes for boys, as are sport (particularly volley ball), talking to friends, and dancing for girls.

They talk about their boyfriends or tell jokes - - they stay here in the barrio because most of her friends are in school. They like volleyball and go to the disco at the weekend. They go to the disco – in the barrio [outside the batey]. (F,E)

They talk to friends and work. They take advantage of school holidays to work – selling water –or in the market. Friends play basket ball– some do courses – and at weekends they meet in friends' houses. On weekends they go to the disco. (M,E)

She stays in the house – cleaning the houses with her mama – she has a baby. On weekends she plays volley ball and goes to a karate group. Her friends go to the disco at the end of the week, or swim in the river. There are 3 discos here, or they go to the colmadon¹¹. (F,E)

Some of them study and some work. They work in construction and as motor taxistas– on the weekend they go to the disco and the beach and the colmadon. The disco is in another community. There is a colmadon here and one in another community. Some go to church (M,Y)

They work to get money, some in construction and others are painters in the city. They paint buildings in town. At the weekends they go to the colmado. Some stay in their house and rest because they are very tired from work – others go to the cinema. (M,Y)

Opportunities and Aspirations

Hopes and aspirations were expressed slightly differently between the two communities, and between young men and young women. In Estrellas, some express the desire to go to university and have a profession. This aspiration is reflected in the boy's archetype (see section 5.1). Young women in Estrellas also talk about dreams of finishing school and following a profession. For the young men in Yabacao, the aspiration of having a profession is not as strongly expressed as in Estrellas. For many young men the dream of becoming a base-ball player or a *rapero* (rap-star), feels more realistic for them than being able to study and have a profession. Young women's dreams, especially in Yabacao, focus on aspirations

¹¹ A small bar

such as becoming a model or finding a rich man who will offer them a life away from the batey.

The peer researchers asked interviewees to talk about how sexual relationships affect the attainment of their goals (either positively or negatively). The over-riding narrative is that the possibility of attaining dreams ends at first relationships due to pregnancy. For young women the dreams are not realised because they become a *mujer de la casa* (a house-wife), with the expectation that they will stay at home and look after the children. For boys, pregnancy of a girlfriend means they have to leave studying in order to work to support the family (see section 4.5)

I have a friend who wants to play baseball or be a rapero. One wants to study law or engineering. For me it is more realistic to sing rap. (M,Y)

Her friends want to be secretaries and doctors. Their dreams have been affected because some have become pregnant and had to leave their studies. They have to look after children and their husbands, and some husbands stop them from going to school so that they can look after them. (F,E)

He dreams of being a singer or base-ball player, and to have money. One friend had a girlfriend whose father didn't give her much help. She became pregnant and her father didn't support her so the friend started selling drugs to support her. (M,E)

Her dream was to be a model. She had sex early and because of that she became pregnant. Before pregnancy she studied and did different things but after becoming pregnant she had to leave school. (F,Y)

Un amigo que quería ser ingeniero, estaba estudiando y estaba en coro con sus amigos en una banca y allí conoció a una muchacha y se metieron en amores y al tiempo ella quedo embarazada, no pudo terminar sus estudios y se puso a trabajar. (M,E)

The story below appeared repeatedly in the narratives from Yabacao in different forms. The majority of boys in this community dream of becoming a base-ball player, mainly because those who are not in school spend their days playing base-ball if they are not working. In this story, the dream of becoming a base-ball player ends with having sex, because sex is understood to sap the strength from a man, and the premiere league will not sign up men if they are sexually active.

One of his friends was a baseball player and so he couldn't get to have sex. It was an obstacle to becoming a baseball player, to have sex drained him of his ability to hit the ball hard, so he is now working as a moto-concho. Many friends say that sex takes energy away. But he decided to continue with sexual relations. He decided to continue with sex because his friends would say he was gay if he didn't have sex. (M,Y)

He has a friend. His father wanted him to play pelota (baseball). The only career that young boys want here is to play baseball. Their parents say 'child why don't you play pelota' when the parents can't pay for school, pelota only costs 10 pesos to play, and parents say 'why don't you go and play pelota' so they have something to do. So the boy who wanted to be a baseball player - he was good at it. But they said if he had sex they would not sign him up, he had sex and so he couldn't sign up for the team. (M,Y)

3.2 Social Norms Supporting Sexual Debut

Norms Relating to Sexuality among Adult Population

This study only looks at narratives from young people in the age group 15-19 years old. In order to contextualise these findings it is worth summarising some of the key findings from the PEER study carried out among the male and female adult population of the bateyes in 2006. Key findings suggest very strong social norms supporting concurrent partnerships. It was 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.' A man who only has one women is considered to be a '*palomo*'¹² by both men and women.

Men categorise women as '*mujer de la casa*' - house wife (married woman / respectable woman) and '*mujer de la calle*' – woman of the street (a woman who is unmarried/ not respectable/ has multiple partners). Normative standards of behaviour for women are they must be seen to be faithful to one partner, and must appear to be faithful to their husband. However, women consider it economically essential to have at least 2-3 partners for financial support. No woman can be economically maintained by one man in the context of limited sources of income, and men spread 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 activity¹³.

Age of Sexual Debut

The data indicate that there are strong social norms supporting early sexual debut. Data suggest that sexual debut can be as early as 11 to 12 years of age and that by 15 years the majority of boys and girls have had first sex¹⁴. There are a number of factors which contribute to early sexual debut: the peer group (*el coro*); the desire for experience; and the desire to become a man or woman through having sexual experience appear to be the most important drivers.

He said he has no friends who have not had sex. They all have had sex. There may be some who have not had sex, but in his group all have had sex. His friends started at 14 years, with different types of mujer de la calle (women of the street). (M,E)

My friends are 15-16 years maximum without having had first sex. (M,E)

He doesn't have any friends who do not have sex. He did not want to talk about friends' first experiences, I think it is because he has not had sex. He said some of his friends start having sex at about 12 years. Most start early so that they can talk to their friends. (M,E)

Many want their experience because they hear many people talking about sex and they want to try it. They start at 11, 12 or 13 years. (M,E)

At 13 or 14 they have a girlfriend. Boys start to have sex at 13. (M,Y)

¹² A pigeon – a weak man.

¹³ Results of Baseline PEER Study for Design of the Social Marketing Intervention for HIV Prevention in the Bateyes, May 2006. Kirstan Hawkins, Options Consultancy Services

¹⁴ PEER data provide a narrative indication of age of sexual debut. The TRaC survey will be used to provide a detailed analysis of age of first sex. The indication from the PEER data suggest that perceived age of sexual debut is lower than that estimated by ENDESA Bateyes 2008, which suggests sexual debut at around 16 years for women and 16.3 years for men.

Una amiga comenzó a tener relaciones sexuales, 15 años, su papa es un hombre recto. (F,Y)

The first sexual relation was with her boyfriend. She was alone and he invited her to have sex. She was 12 and he was 18. She had sex because she wanted to, he didn't make her. (F,E)

El Coro (the group of friends)

El coro appears to be a major influence on boys' sexual debut, more so than with girls. Boys talk about their sexual experiences with their friends, telling them details of who they have had sex with, what they did and what it was like. Younger boys will listen to older boys talking about their sexual experiences, and in this way they learn about sex and what is expected of them. Once a boy reaches 11 or 12 years of age, he begins to feel that he is an 'outsider' in the group if he cannot start talking about his own sexual experiences. In particular, boys fear that if their peers have had sex and they have not, that their friends will doubt their masculinity and call them 'gay' or a 'palomo'. To have one's masculinity called into question is a major concern for boys, and being able to display masculinity to friends through telling the group about their sexual exploits is of primary importance.

They talk in groups about sex, when they are alone in groups of the same age. The older ones talk more because they have experience. If he is in a group and is with friends who are talking about sex he feels bad because he has not had sex. They talk together about what they do, where and how they had sex and with whom, and whom they have seen having sex. Some may go to the river, others in their houses and some into the countryside. If he hasn't had sex he doesn't feel the same as the others because the others talk about sex and he can't say anything. He wants to have sex so that he can tell his stories to his friends about where and with whom he has had sex. The girls don't know that the boys talk about them. (M,Y)

There is a group of boys who have a group of girls. They go to the colmadon together. For them what is good is when they have sex with a partner and then they return to the group. The one that finishes early (his orgasm), the group think he is the best. Also if he comes quickly nobody will catch him having sex. (M,Y)

Those who have had sex are in groups, they talk about sex. Boys here talk about sex more than other things. (M,E)

Un amigo estaba con su novio, y le decía que hicieron (relaciones sexuales) porque él no quería ser un palomo, y a veces en el coro le decían, 'todo el mundo lo ha y fulano no ha mangao'. No se sabe enamorar y a veces el se siente mal. (M,Y)

He wanted to have a girlfriend because his friends talked about their girlfriends and he asked his friends why he didn't have a girlfriend. He felt different to his friends because he didn't have a girlfriend. They said it was because he was gay. So then he had a girlfriend and he felt the same as his friends, but not completely equal because his friends had more experience than him (M,Y)

Quien se ha estranado ataca mucho a quienes no, que son pajaros, que no tan en na, lo desesperan y muchas veces hacen que se metan y quieran probar con cualquiera (M,E)

Those boys who have not yet had sexual relations may also, out of shame, pretend to their friends that they have had sex.

Los amigos que no se han estrenado algunos dicen que han estado con mujeres y es mentira, lo dicen para no quedar mal. (M,Y)

El que no se ha estrenado lo atacan, le dicen palomo, que no esta en na...ellos se intimidan se sienten mal y le llega a la mente que tienen que hacerlo. (M,Y)

For girls, talking about and sharing their experiences with trusted friends is an important aspect of first sexual experiences, but not as important a driver of sexual debut as for boys. For girls, the experience is often framed in terms of love and sharing with friends their emotions of love for their first sexual partner.

What makes them have sex for the first time is that they talk about their love, he tells her he loves her. She trusts her friends to talk to them about it. They talk about if one has a boyfriend and another doesn't and they tell stories. Her friends say, 'you don't know what is good.' There are some friends who tell stories but are good friends, who have a boyfriend and advice them. They start to have a relationship out of curiosity. (F,E)

El novio/la novia (boyfriend / girlfriend)

For girls the direct social pressure to have first sex comes less from their peers, than it does from their boyfriend. To have a boyfriend (*novio*) is, an important public display to friends and peer group that a girl is attractive and desirable.

They start relations because they feel they are not fashionable (no estan en la moda) if they don't have a relationship. (F,Y)

She wanted a boyfriend. She heard her friends talk about their boyfriends and she wanted a boyfriend. The first time it was difficult. She felt ashamed, she wasn't accustomed to having sex, but she wanted a boyfriend. (F,Y)

Many stories refer to a young woman having first sex with their boyfriend as a display of love, and because of fear of losing their boyfriend if they do not have sex to show their love for him. Stories of young women's sexual debut often end with the boyfriend leaving the girl after they have had sex.

Her first relation with a boyfriend was that there was a person with whom she was in love. They were both in love. (F,Y)

Her friend had sex with her boyfriend because she wanted the relationship to continue. But he left after they had sex. (F,Y)

A friend of mine had not had sex...The first time he had sex he pressurised his girlfriend. He said if you don't have sex with me I will get another girlfriend. He went away, and when he returned she agreed to have sex with him. (F,Y)

Primer noviazgo, una amiga sus amigas le decían que porque nos e conseguían llevándose de las amigas, y después que tuvo relaciones sexual con ella la dejó. El novio le pide una muestra de amor y ella lo hizo. No sintió bien y la rechazaba no quería estar con ella, las amigas le decían que no saben tratar a los hombres. (F,Y)

To have sex makes them feel good. In the batey there is nobody who waits to have sex until marriage. Often the girl wants to have sex because she doesn't want him to have sex with anyone else. (F,E)

Una amiga tenia su novio y después de tener sexo el la dejó. Y después un amigo quiso estar con ella, y la convenció ella se entrego y la dejo. El que decidió fue él. Como todas las amigas tenia relaciones sexuales y el le pidió una prueba de amor ella acepto. (F,Y)

Transition to Man / Womanhood

For boys, having first sex is about expressing their masculinity and feeling that they have made the transition to manhood. For boys the social pressure of their peer group to have sex for fear of being called 'malicon' (gay) or palomo is a primary influencer.

Uno amigo tuvo su primera relación sexual porque quería estrenarse y sentirse un hombre. El tomo la decisión. (M,Y)

El que se ha estranado se siente mas hombre, como ya sabe lo que es eso. Los que no, se sienten como muchachos de su casa. (M,E)

Los que se han estranado saben mas de la vida y se desenvuelven con las mujeres. Son mas orgullosos y vacanos. Los que no se han estrando son mas reservados, más preservados y los muchachos de su coro lo atacan diciéndole 'palomo'. (M,Y)

For girls having sexual relations signifies the transition to womanhood, and this appears to be the main motivator for sexual debut. For young women, the pressure from the peer group is experienced in a different way to that of boys. Young women fear that if their friends are all sexually active they will be considered as a child by their peers. The transition to womanhood, for girls, is less to do with age than it is to physical development and first sex. Girls who have not had sexual debut are perceived to be children by those who have.

Algunas que no han tenido sexo...se les nota en el físico se les ve tan niñas...(F,E)

Some say it is fine not to have sex because to have sex is not an obligation. But others are motivated to have sex. The difference is in the way the girl behaves. The ones who have sex are those who behave like a woman. Those who don't have sex behave like children. When they are a woman they feel superior. They answer their mother back and they go in the street because they say I am a woman and so they argue with their mother. Those who behave like children they stay at home and do what their parents say. (F,E).

The Desire for Experience and to Learn about Sex

A major concern of boys is that they will experience shame and humiliation if they are perceived to fail to perform sexually with a girl as a result of their lack of experience. There are numerous stories of older brothers or cousins initiating their younger siblings into sex, through arranging first sex with a prostitute. There are also many stories referring to younger boys asking girls a few years older than them (and therefore experienced) to have sex with them (although this does not appear prominently in the girls' narratives).

When he had sex for the first time he didn't understand that he was having sex, but she taught him. Once he understood it was sex he went to look for other girls. He was 13 and she was 17. Boys often have sex for the first time with girls who are older, because she understands a lot. (M,Y)

Me contó otro historia de un amigo, que en época navideña, se fue para el campo y nunca echo nada, estaban con los primos mayores que el, en los campos aparecen muchos motores, se engancharon en 2 y llegaron a un sitio que estaban bebiendo habían 5 mujeres, por el alcohol estaban medio borrachos, y el dijeron que escogería una y que la agarra y que se le llevara para la parte de atrás del local. La tipa era una prostituta. Lo motivo la presión de los primos. (M,E)

While for girls first sexual experience is usually with someone they consider to be their boyfriend, for boys the first sexual experience is usually considered to be for experience alone and without affection or attraction. Both boys' and girls' stories talk about the young man ending the relationship with the woman once he has had sex. The first sexual experience is also often directly linked to alcohol, and drinking with friends at the disco or *colmado*.

The first relation he had was with the help of a friend. His friend's girlfriend had a friend and he got to know her. He eventually had sex with her and after sex he left her. He left her because most boys leave the first relationship because they don't want a commitment and because it is only for experience and without attraction. (M,Y)

Being Pressurised into First Sex

A number of girls' stories talk about friends being pressurised into having sex before they feel emotionally or physically ready, and experiencing physical pain, or feelings that they have let their parents down.

Una primera relación sexual, que tuvo una amiga, que ella odia la primera vez porque dolió demasiado, boto un sangrero. La mayoría de los hombres atacan para tener relaciones, el siempre atacaba tenían 2 meses, y el la amenazo con dejarla y ella para que no la dejara porque le quería mucho tuvo relaciones. (F,E)

Algunas muchachas se sienten mal después de tener relaciones sexuales como que defraudaron a su familia tanto que la cuidan. Una amiga que perdió a su papa, quería vivir una nueva experiencia, y conoció un muchacho le pidió amores, y ella dijo que si...Después ella se sintió mal. (F,E)

There are also stories (although fewer) about girls pressurising their boyfriends into having first sex.

She had a friend who had a boyfriend. She asked him to have sex with her. He wanted to wait to get to know her better, but she wanted to have sex because she wanted to know what it feels like. She was younger than him. (F,Y)

The first time his friend had sex he cried because it was the first time and he could not concentrate, so he couldn't do it properly and so she didn't want to continue. The girl started it – she was older than him. (M,Y)

3.3 Social Support for Delayed Debut

For both boys and girls there is limited social support among their peer group for delayed sexual debut. The major motivators for delay come from: self-efficacy of the individual to follow their aspirations and not risk their chances of studying; desire among some girls to preserve virginity; family support; and mutual relations of respect between the boyfriend and girlfriend.

Achieving Aspirations

There is very limited social support for boys to delay sexual debut. Nonetheless, it is important to note that there are stories about boys who have not yet had sexual debut, and who make a clear decision to delay first sexual relations. The main motivator for delay among boys is the fear that a pregnancy will curtail their aspirations to study or play baseball (although much less influential than pressure to be part of *el coro*).

Uno amigo que no se estrenado me contó que el quiere esparar su tiempo, que aun así se siente afectado por lo que le dicen. El medio estaba estudiando, jugando pelota y que si lo hace corrompe, se siente al menos de los demás. Cuando hablan en el coro de eso, el no dice nada, se queda callao. (M,Y)

Los amigos que no se han estrenado es porque no quieren un embarazo, tienen miedo a cometer un error. (M,E)

Hubo uno que dijo que no se ha estrenado porque no quiere que le pase algo, que le mujer salgo embarazada. Otros han dicho que quieren tener una casa, luego casarse y no tener que vivir con su papá y mamá. (M,E)

There was a friend who finished his studies and he didn't have a relationship because he was going to finish his study and then marry. They called him a palomo. (M,E)

Some talk to their parents about sex before having sex... Those who have had sex don't continue with school. Most who have sex leave school because this type of person they think studying is not important. Some don't have the mindset to have sex. Those who have sex don't think about their future. (F,E)

Una que no ha tenido relaciones, la tratamos igual, no le decimos que lo haga no la presionamos, que espere su tiempo. Ella no lo han porque quieren ser alguien en el mañana y esperan su tiempo y los hombres de la comunidad tienen varias. Que no cometa el mismo error que las otras que si. (F,E)

She has a friend who does not have sex. She wants to have a career and she wants to meet an ideal man. They say she is stupid to wait for the perfect man. They say she should have sex with whomever. They say it is nothing to have sex. (F,Y)

Not Feeling Ready / Preserving Virginity

For some girls preserving virginity until marriage remains an ideal and there is a fear among younger girls that if they have sex too soon they will not be able to marry. Some stories refer to young women resisting early sexual debut because they do not feel physically or emotionally ready to have sex.

Hay muchacha que no lo han hecho, porque hasta que no se casan, 'voy a guardar mis 5 cheles' no quieren salir con barriga...por miedo de los padres...(F,Y)

Algunas que no han tenido sexo, dicen que no han hallado un hombre para darlo los 10 cheles, y prefieren terminar sus carreras. (F,E)

They talk among their friends about sex more than other things. A friend doesn't want sex because she doesn't feel secure. If they don't feel ready it is the motivation not to have sex because they don't feel secure. (F,E)

She has a friend who does not have sexual relations because she wants to be a virgin when she marries. Some say it is good to be a virgin and others say men don't like virgins. (F,E)

Family Support and Mutual Respect

Another determinant of delayed sexual debut is strong family support to study further and aspirations for a career, and good communication and relations of respect within the family, as well as between a boyfriend and girlfriend.

La mayoría de los amigos mantenido relaciones sexuales. Tengo un amigo que no lo ha hecho porque la familia lo presiona mucho y es 'hijo de papi y mami'. Nosotros lo burlamos, lo respetamos pues no es así porque el quiere es por la familia. Incluso ha inventado historias pero sabemos que no es cierto, el lo hace por vergüenza. (M,E)

I have a friend who does not have sex. He says it is because he thinks if he has sex early with his girlfriend he can't marry her because she will become a bad girl. The other friends say he is a palomo. He feels OK about it. The difference is he doesn't want to be in a group of other friends. He has respect for his girlfriend, because he has only one girlfriend and the others have many. (M,Y)

Los novios son de la escuela,...y no han tenido relaciones sexuales con ellos y ellos no lo presionan. Algunas duran hasta un año y el novio no se le pedía. (F,Y)

3.4 Concurrency and Partner Types

There are two main partner types referred to in the male and female narratives: the *novio* or *novia* (boyfriend/girlfriend) and *agarre*. The *novia/novio* is a public relationship which brings with it obligations and commitment. The *agarre* are perceived to be relationships without obligation, and vary in length between one night-stands to short-term relationships lasting a few months.

The novio / novia

Boys' narratives reflect the same gender constructions as the 2006 PEER study among the adult population in the bateyes in which women are classified as '*mujer de la casa*' (women of the house/respectable women) and '*mujer de la calle*' (women of the street/ not-respectable). For boys the ideal concept of the '*novia*' or girlfriend, falls into the classification of *mujer de la casa*. A *novia* is a public relationship, usually a girl from the same batey, and the relationship is known and usually approved of by both sets of parents, often with the expectation of commitment and marriage. If a boy's *novia* becomes pregnant he will be obliged to marry her, with both sets of parents usually enforcing the marriage. For this reason, narratives indicate that boys

often look for a *novia* several years after sexual debut, preferring *agarre* for initial pleasure and sexual experience. A boy may also often have a *novia* in his batey and *agarre* in other locations, whom the *novia* does not know about.

They like the novia because when they go to the disco they have to ask permission. So she is girl from a good family and that is better than to have someone who can go where they want and is not a good girl. (M,Y)

They like mujer de la casa because she is a decent woman. If they have a good girlfriend they can marry her later. They look after the house and cook. They think about marrying later at 20 years. At 16 they may want to have a girlfriend who they can marry when they are older. My friend has a novia here and agarre in other places. (M,Y)

The mujer seria (mujer de la casa) they treat differently. A mujer seria is in the house and they talk about their problems. The mujer de la casa is the wife, the majority of them have them at 28 or 30 years. For young men the mujer de la casa is the one they get pregnant and then she becomes his wife. (F,E)

For girls, the *novio* is often the person for whom they express feelings of love. As discussed in the previous section, for the majority of girls, sexual debut usually occurs with a boy whom they consider to be their *novio*. After sexual debut girls often have a *novio* and *agarre*. The benefits of having a public boyfriend is that he is obliged to buy her things that enable her to look good, such as clothes and having her hair done. Girls also aspire to find an older boyfriend who lives outside the batey who can offer them a secure future.

Many times they look for two novios, one with money and one without. A novio is public and she introduces him to her parents. With her novio she needs to wait and take care, so she looks for an agarre to have pleasure. With a novio, often they have to wait to have sex after marriage. (F,E).

El novio es que tiene que darle todo a la novia, para su ropa, su salón, sus uñas. Es así una responsabilidad de marido y mujer. Usualmente los amores públicos son ya que tiene esa responsabilidad y tienen relaciones sexuales...Los novios de mis amigas del batey no tienen amores con hombres del batey porque se conocen todos las manías y saben como son prefieren hombres de otros lugares. (F,Y)

They prefer to have a boyfriend who is not from the batey because they can help them leave the batey. It is a way to grow. Their friends dream of marrying outside because there is no money here. (F,Y)

There are some who prefer to have a public boyfriend because with a boyfriend they can talk to their families if there is a problem. If the girl gets pregnant the novio has an obligation to her, to marry her and be responsible for the child. (F,E)

Agarre (casual / usually concurrent partners)

There are far more stories relating to *agarre* than there are to *novia* in the boys' narratives. There are a number of alternative terms used to denote the same status relationship as *agarre*: '*amor de colmadon*', *rana*, *experiente*, *la loquita*, or *jevita*. These terms are used in the narratives to identify different relationships (i.e different concurrent partners), but all are casual concurrent partners. While the terms are often used to denote different concurrent relationships, all terms denote a

relationship that is considered to be temporary and without commitment or responsibility on the part of the young man. *Agarre* are not public relationships, although as section 4.2 makes clear young men talk with their *coro* about their *agarre*. A relationship that a boy defines as an *agarre* is often with a young woman from another *batey* whom he has met at the *colmado* or *disco*, although a boy will also define young women with whom he has a non-committed relationship in his *batey* as an *agarre*. A boy may have several *agarre* concurrently, as well as a *novia*.

They have three types of women: a novia, a rana and an experiente (agarre). With the novia he has trust because the family know about her and she is public. (M,E)

Un amigo tuvo varias mujeres. Hay uno que tiene por la 5 esquinas, tiene 3 agarre. Con todas ha tenido relaciones sexuales, y ninguna sabe que el tiene otras. Porque hace eso, el anda montao, aparente y tiene mucha cotorra. (M,E)

They have relations with different women. They have sex with la loquita. (M,Y).

They have rana, loquita and agarre. They prefer agarre because when they have a novia who lives in another place they have to go a long way to see her. With an agarre they can see her easily if she is in the same batey. If they have a girlfriend in the batey people will talk a lot about him and say he is committed. So they prefer to have a novia in another place. But then they can't spend much time with her so they take advantage of having an agarre in the batey. (M,E)

They have relations with mujer de la calle or a noviazgo. The majority like mujer de la calle because it isn't difficult to have relations with mujer de la calle. With girlfriends they want to wait. They may use tactics like giving money to mujer de la calle, they meet them in the colmadros. (M,E)

While to young men *agarre* and *novia* are distinct 'categories' of women, synonymous with *mujer de la calle* and *mujer de la casa*, the terms are used to define the context of the relationship. There is little acknowledgement in the narratives that a young woman may be a *novia* to one boy and *agarre* to another. The major motivator for young men to have relationships with *agarre* is to have sex for pleasure without commitment. The more *agarre* a young man is able to attract the higher his status as '*vacano*' (a stud/man who can attract many woman) among his peer group.

She is rana because he can have sex more easily with her and she wants more men than the novia. So the rana is mujer de la calle. She likes to go with men at night but she doesn't sell herself. She has a novio among her men, but she doesn't want to know that he has other women. With the novia it is public so he has to buy some things for her. The rana when he goes to the colmado and disco he buys drinks for her, but the experiente he doesn't have to buy anything, it is sex and nothing more so he is free. Boys prefer rana and agarre. (M,E)

Un amigo me contó que estaba cansado de dar besitos. Estaba con una mujer mayor y decidió tener relaciones sexuales. Otro conoció una mujer de fuera del batey, te le propuso 'bregar' (sexo), el se sintió con miedo, pero la

metió en su casa. Ella era mayor y después el se sintió orgulloso de eso, y los amigos le decían que era 'vacano'. (M,Y)

They have girlfriends and they have others in the street. There are those who have two or three women. A friend has three women and they live in the same place and the women fight. Some prefer to have only one woman, but most prefer to have various women because they like to change the flavour. (M,E)

He has a novia, but if something happens with a novia he gets rid of her and the agarre becomes the novia. They look for an older agarre 19, 20, 21 years if they can, because they can have sex more easily with her. (M,Y)

They like agarre. An agarre is when they go to a fiesta or an activity and dance with a girl. She is an agarre because she isn't your girlfriend. After sex there is no obligation. Boys like this type of relationship because it isn't important in his life and he likes not being important in her life. They have about five agarres. (M,Y)

Groups of boys who are trusted friends (el coro) may also share the same women as agarre, without the young woman knowing that her different partners know and talk to each other.

There are friends and a woman comes who they like and one by one they talk to her. But among those three there is one she likes, but when that one gets to know her he explains to the others what she likes so that they can also have sex with her. She is mujer de la calle. (M,E)

Many girls also express a preference for having concurrent agarre rather than a novio, because they are free of commitment. While the novio does not know about the agarre, the agarre often know that she has a novio. Agarre offer things that the novio does not, especially sexual experience.

Los tipos de pareja son agarre y novio. Una amiga que tiene tres porque no esta en la moda tener uno. Si están en la discoteca con el novio el agarre no pueden decir nada, no tienen derechos. Beneficios es los novios dan dinero, y sienten con derechos de mandarla al salón. (F,Y)

The novio has benefits. The novio if he works, he can buy you clothes and things you need. The boyfriend buys things because it is public. They have an agarre because they feel freer. Those that have both is because the agarre has things that the novio does not, the agarre feels better in sexual relations than the novio. (F,Y)

El novio es el que va a la casa y se siente contigo. El agarre es el que habla en la calle y en las esquinas, el amiguito bien es el de la escuela. A veces tiene 2 y 3 agarre y ellos no lo saben, a veces coinciden en el mismo lugar. Ellas son vacanas, porque si un hombre tiene muchas es un vanaco y si son ellas son ranas. Ellas dicen que tienen el mismo derecho de hombres. (F,E)

Those who have agarre, they have two or three at the same time. They feel free. (F,E)

3.5 Motivators for Concurrency

Social Support of Peer Group

Social norms strongly support concurrent partnerships. For young men a main motivator for concurrency is to gain esteem in the peer group and a reputation with women as being 'vacano'. For young women it is considered fashionable, 'en la moda' to have several agarre and to show that she can attract men.

The idea with agarre is that at first the boy has to give them things, but in time he becomes famous and he then doesn't have to give money to attract women. The women look for him, because they want him because he is famous. To have a lot of fame they look for women who have money. Then they don't want women in the batey because they say she is rough, they look for women outside, who work in the centre of town. (M,E)

Pleasure

Another important motivator for both young men and young women is pleasure, and the ability to experience sex. For both boys and girls an important motivator for having agarre is that there is no public commitment in the relationship, and with agarre a young man or woman is free to experience sex.

They want more than one woman because they say the agarre does sex better. The girlfriend needs time to get to know her, but with the agarre there is no commitment. The agarre is not permanent. The novia is permanent. He has a novia in one community and an agarre in another. Some say the agarre is only for enjoyment...(M,Y)

Many like agarre because there is no commitment. They are boys who are not important like a boyfriend. They meet them in the fiestas or in other fiestas and in the discos. (F,Y)

Una amiga que tiene varios agarre, tiene varios por diversión (F,Y)

They prefer agarre because they prefer to have a short relationship without obligation. They prefer not to have responsibility, they prefer to feel free. (F,Y)

Transactions

While transactions do occur in relationships, they are small-scale, unsystematic and not a major motivator for concurrency. Girls perceive that there is an obligation on their boyfriends to buy them necessities such as having their hair done or going to the beauty salon. Transactions between agarres can occur in both directions (from girl to boy and boy to girl), but it is not a defining feature of the relationship in this age group. For boys one of the motivators to have agarre is that he is not obliged to buy them gifts and necessities as he is with a novia.

They have jevita, agarre, because with them they don't have responsibility. They don't ask for money to go to the salon. Those that he gives money to, for their hair, is the public relationship, the novia. The novia doesn't ask for money, he wants to give it to her so that she looks good. They prefer the hidden ones (agarre) because they don't have to buy anything or commit anything. But with the novia they have to buy things like sandals for them. (M,Y)

Girls may have several *agarre* to increase the chances that one of them may have money to buy her occasional gifts or drinks. Girls may, however, give money to their *agarre*. Girls particularly look for *agarre* who are older, who work and live outside the *batey*, in the hope that they will eventually be able to maintain them and offer them a new life.

Los tipos de parejas que a mis amigas les gustan son los que le dan su 'efeten' (efectivo). Son los novios, agarre, pasatiempos, amante. Algunos lo conocen en el batey y fuera del batey. (F,Y)

Tengo una amiga que tiene cinco novios. Ella tiene varios porque si ella quiere algo uno se lo compra, y otro mas, tienen una forma de vivir con cada cual. (F,E)

Usualmente lo tienen con hombres mayores. No le gusta con menores porque ellos no son un futuro. No trabaja igual que yo, por eso mis amigas están mejor uno de 20, 22 y más y que trabaje. Porque puede hacer más por mí. Las metas es conocer a un hombre mayor que tenga dinero y tu sepas que te va a asegurar tu futuro. (F,Y)

3.6 Risk Perception

Pregnancy and Marriage

For young women and young men alike by far the greatest perceived risk of early sexual debut and unprotected sex with concurrent partners is the risk of pregnancy. While for young men and women, the freedom of the relationship is a major motivator for having *agarre*, loss of freedom as a result of pregnancy is the greatest risk for young women. For girls, pregnancy is seen to result in the loss of any future plans as well as being a physical risk for young girls. While girls experience freedom with an *agarre*, the risk is that there is no social mechanism to enforce the man taking paternal responsibility for the child should she become pregnant. Young women are also often the subject of gossip in the community if they become pregnant. Parental support in dealing with an unwanted pregnancy is crucial for young women. While many stories refer to mothers and grandmothers supporting young women in bringing up the child, some also refer to girls having been rejected by their families following a pregnancy.

She had early sex and because of that she became pregnant. Before pregnancy she studied and did different things. But after becoming pregnant she had to leave school. People abused her on the street and criticised her and talked about her. She was thinking about an abortion but her mother said, 'no it is your role to have a baby.' After a while her mother helped her. (F,Y)

Una joven sale embarazada no puede seguir estudiando, no pueden estar en las actividades de su comunidad, no tiene libertad de salir, pues tienen hijos. (F,Y)

Hay una muchacha que salió embarazada y se la entregaron al novio. El era mayor que ella (ella tiene 15 años), pero era menor de edad. El era de otro batey, decía que no era hijo de el, y ella es de otro batey. (F,Y)

Conozco una amiga que tenía dos meses de atraso y no quería dos meses de atraso y no quería decírselo a la mama. La mama la llevo al medico y el ya no quería pues ella tenía miedo, la mama la llevo a la clínica y el dijeron

que estaba embarazado... Ella no quería decir quien era el padre, pues tenían amores escondidas. (F,E)

Los embarazos, que es algo muy cuando lo estas esperando porque es una bendición de Dios y cuando no es un desastre te daña la vida, no tienen el valor de comunicárselo a sus padres y madre. (F,E)

Sobre el embarazo, que no es un juego. Tiene que pensarlo bien, ponen riesgo su vida la de bebé. Es peligro en una menor salir embarazado por su cuerpo y causa la muerte y además la inversión de dinero, salud, educación comida etc. (F,Y)

If a girl becomes pregnant they have to marry her. Many boys say the child isn't mine, she has had sex with many people. Sometimes the parents agree that the boy must marry the girl. Sometimes if the boy says the baby is not his the father will support the son. (F,Y)

Ella estaba estudiando y después de eso tuvo que trabajar en casa de familia...y la mama se desencanto de ella y ya no la trataba igual y no la apoyaba y ella se sentía mal. El se la llevo pero a los 15 días volvió y la mando para su casa, la suegra la trataba igual. Ahora ella trabaja. (F,Y)

Many say pregnancy affects their future. You can't work so it changes your future. They don't want to start families because they have to get married. They are afraid of getting pregnant to an agarre. If he is married he rejects her and she lives alone. Those without children stay in school. (F,Y)

For a young man, his greatest concern is if his *novia* becomes pregnant that he will be forced to marry her. Many stories in the boys' narratives refer to friends stopping studying following a girlfriend becoming pregnant, due to family pressure for the young man to work and support the family. For boys, parental support is equally crucial, with stories of those who received parental support sometimes being able to resume their studies.

If she gets pregnant and her parents know who made pregnant then he has to be responsible. (M,E)

A friend, he had a novia who was a good girl from a good family. Then his cousin and friends pressurised him to have sex with her, because they said it is not good to give her affection and gifts without sex. She became pregnant, but his dreams were only temporarily affected, not completely, because he has support from his parents. He had to leave school to look for money, but then he went back to night school. So it only temporarily stopped him because his parents helped him. (M,E)

There was a girl, and she was very hot. She became pregnant and the boy stopped studying because her parents knew it was him, and they obliged him to be responsible for her so he had to work. After a time he was like a boy in the rubbish, because she threw him out, and he had given everything up for her. (M,E)

Un amigo el había terminado sus estudios de bachiller, y quería ir a la universidad, el había terminado con esa novia, y luego se la llevó su casa y salio embarazada, tuvo que dejar de ir a la universidad, y no podido todavía, tienen una hija, el trabaja en un sitio de bebidos (vendedor). (M,E)

Lo que mas le preocupa de las relaciones sexuales que tenga la 9, porque no le gustan los muchachos. Otros piensan que ellos están jodio y que si viene un muchacho estará más jodio, si es menor y sale el 9 tiene problemas legales. Y con relaciones a las mujeres, no les gustan a algunas salir embarazadas, y resulta que las mismas del coro salen preñadas en cadena, hace unos años atrás...(M,E)

Abortion and Fertility Control

There is little indication in any of the girls' narratives of awareness of means of controlling fertility through modern contraception. While condoms are perceived as important for protecting against pregnancy, many narratives refer to young women using unsafe abortion to terminate unwanted pregnancy, sometimes supported by a mother or grandmother in doing so. There is no option for young women to receive a safe abortion, and abortion is illegal in the Dominican Republic. While clinical abortions can be obtained from private clinics, the majority of young girls in the bateyes use methods such as pills bought over the counter at the pharmacy, local teas, and trauma (being hit in the stomach) to induce an abortion.

An unwanted pregnancy is a problem. Those who don't want to have a baby will take tea or pills. (F,Y)

Ella tiene un novio y su mama no sabia que ella tenia 2 meses de embarazo. Trato de beber pastillas y te (para abortar) y le decía a los muchachos mas grande que dieran un golpe por la barriga para botarlo y la familia se entero y le sacaron el niño..porque el papá del niño era un hombre 3 años mayor ella (16) y tenia su mujer embarazada. Después de todo eso, nunca le dijo que estuvo embarazada. (F,E)

If they don't want a baby they take tea to abort it. There was a girl who was pregnant and her mother prepared a tea. She didn't know she was pregnant but her mother knew she was. Her mother prepared a tea and then she started to bleed and her mother explained it was an abortion because she had been pregnant. (F,Y)

HIV / STIs

The narratives indicate a mixed level of awareness about HIV, and understanding of means of transmission and protection. Young people in the bateyes have been exposed to a significant amount of information about HIV/AIDS, from television and NGO activities in the bateyes. While AIDS is generally perceived in catastrophic terms, HIV infection does not appear to be perceived as a very significant or real threat to the lives of young peoples, as compared to the risk and impact of an unwanted pregnancy. HIV/AIDS is perceived more as a distant threat, but devastating when it occurs, bringing about rapid death.

She has heard that with a person with AIDS, it is not necessary to stop talking to them, because AIDS is not transmitted by shaking hands or sharing things. It is transmitted through cuts. You have to take precautions not to touch someone who has cut themselves or through sex. (F,E)

They say AIDS is the end of your life. It is the end of your life because you can't have sex anymore. (M,E)

El SIDA una enfermedad muy mortal. Es como estar entre la espada y la pared. No tiene vida. No se puede curar y traumatiza a la persona. Al pensar que la muerte lo esta rondando, y lo lleno de miedo. (F,Y)

They say AIDS is a terrible illness that you can contract from using the same cup or shaking hands with someone who has AIDS. (F,E)

SIDA es algo malo y que es contagioso, que no se pega por un beso, ni abrazo, solo pega con relaciones, pero no dejarían que una persona con SIDA se les pegue. (F,E)

They say that AIDS is a bad illness without a cure. Some say it is something from another world. It is not part of us, not part of my experience. They say the condom helps protect them from it, but they feel less worried about infections than pregnancy. (F,E)

Sobre SIDA, dicen que es una enfermedad muy contagiosa, no se cura y que es para morirse, que tiene tratamiento y se previene con el condón (M,E)

El SIDA es 'estar vivo pero esta muerto'. Enfermedad que mata, se puede bregar, bregar, pero no caer ahí. (M,Y)

SIDA is an illness that you have to prevent. You have to try and prevent it because many doctors have looked for a cure and they haven't found one. (M,Y)

There are limited stories about young people going for HIV testing, and there appears to be little knowledge about HIV voluntary testing and counselling.

Un día un amigo estaba en un colmadon, y había una tipa,..él le dio cotorra y ella le hacia el coro, y un primo de él le dijo que esa tenía el SIDA. Entonces le saco los pies..cuando tiene el SIDA la voz se corre, se hacen la prueba en la movíl (de Moschta) y la promotora corre la voz para avisar y que no caigan en gancho..(M,Y)

Narratives indicate that there are many misunderstandings relating to HIV and AIDS which fuel stigma and discrimination against those who are perceived to be infected. There is a prevailing discourse (especially among the young women's narratives) that a person who is infected with HIV becomes a person of 'mala fe', a bad person, who then wishes to infect others. This perception was prevalent among the adult population in the PEER study in 2006.

A woman and man were going to marry. The man went to a fiesta alone and had relations with mujer de la calle, and one of them had AIDS. He gave AIDS to his wife, she then went with other men to give AIDS to them because she then had a bad life. They say if they infect others people they will live longer. (F,E)

There was a friend who started a relationship and she did not use condoms. She knew a person who was infected with AIDS and then she got AIDS. Her personality changed, she had mala fe. She became a bad person because someone had infected her. Everyone knew she was ill so they did not have sex with her. But those from other parts who did not know had sex with her and she infected them. (F,Y)

Todas las amigas no se la desearían ni a su pero enemigo, destruyen la persona, si saben que alguien tienen la enfermedad no le gusta agarrar la mano de la persona. (F,Y)

Data also indicate very limited knowledge of STIs among young people, and there appear to be few stories circulating relating to young people's experiences of sexually transmitted infections. There is a prevailing perception among young men that STIs are infections that start in a woman's vagina, due to lack of care or cleanliness, and with which women then infect men.

STIS are 'un descuido de mujer' [because women don't take care]. It is an illness which starts with women who don't take care of themselves and they give it to men. (M,E)

My friends say they have no experience of STIs, they do not talk about it. (M,E)

Sexually transmitted infections, they don't know anything about them, they don't understand what it means. (M,Y)

Sobre venereas, sus amigas no han escuchado de eso, no saben...(F,Y)

Mis amigas nunca han dicho nada de ITS. Dicen que es algo muy riesgo y desagable. Otra amigas dicen que son muy comunes entre la pareja que no usa condón y el novio. (F,Y)

3.7 Determinants of Condom Use

Social Support for Using Condoms

Narratives indicate a positive attitude towards condoms among both young men and young women. There is an over-riding perception that condoms, while reducing the pleasure of sex, are necessary to protect from unwanted pregnancy and from HIV.

They say it doesn't feel the same with condoms, but it protects from an infection and pregnancy. (M,Y)

They say that what is good about condoms is that it stops you having an infection or a pregnancy you don't want. (M,Y).

They say about condoms that they don't feel the same having sex and a lot say it is a nuisance, but also necessary. (M,E)

Sobre el gorrito dicen, que se pueden proteger de alguna enfermedad, y otros no se siente lo mismo. Un amigo le contó que se siente mas seguro, con todas las mujeres, no importaba que el echaba palante con cualquiera pues esta protegido. (M,E)

Que es algo muy común, se usa para protegerse de un embarazo o enfermedad y aunque no se siente lo mismo se debe usar por protección. (M,Y)

His friends say without a condom there is no sex, because they have to use condoms to prevent infection. (M,Y)

There is also social support for young men and women to suggest using condoms. Young men state that a woman who suggests using a condom is intelligent and protecting herself. This social support for condom use is, however, entirely dependent upon context. The concept of 'trust' in a relationship is a major determinant of whether a young man or woman will actually propose condom use.

If a woman proposes condoms to a boy – the responsible men accept the offer to use a condom, the irresponsible ones don't. (M,E)

Boys say girls who use condoms are intelligent and are able to protect themselves. They say it is good. (M,E)

Sobre las mujeres que usan condón, dicen que ellas se cuidan de que no preñen, y que no le peguen una enfermedad. (M,E)

Ellas piensan que los hombres que usan condón son bien, porque se protegen, que en ese hombre se puede confiar. Confían mas en los que lo usan que en los que no lo usan. (F,E)

Trust

Trust appears to be the first major determinant of when and with whom condoms are used. There is social support for using condoms with a partner whom one does not trust, usually an *agarre*. The majority of boys' narratives state that young men will always use a condom with an *agarre*, because the relationship is 'without commitment' and therefore she is not a trusted partner, and it is understood that their *agarre* will also have other partners, and is therefore perceived as risky.

Algunos de los amigos se protegen pero otros no usan eso. Algunos dicen que con cueros sí lo usan, con las menores que son loquitas, las novias que son desacatá (M,Y).

Un amigo lo usaba con las mujeres de la calle, así podía estar con cualquier, pero con su mujer (novia) no lo usaba (M,Y).

Young women also state that is necessary to use a condom with an *agarre*, as they are relationships with no commitment, and therefore likely to be with multiple partners, and therefore risky.

Una amiga lo uso y le fue bien, lo uso con el agarre, porque el puede estar con ella y con otros, y así se previene de cualquier enfermedad. Lo consiguió porque el tenía y otra porque se lo dio una amiga, algunas veces lo consiguen en las charlas y las amigas se lo regalan. (F,Y)

Condomes, dijeron que es una manera de tener sexo seguro. Tiene una amiga que uso y se tiene un poco contacto de pile y se coje un poco de gusto, lo uso con un amigo bien, el lo compro en el colmado, en las farmacias y en las cabañas lo regalan. Mas comúnmente se consiguen en el colmado, usualmente es ella que propone usarlo. (F,E)

Mis amigas en general no lo usan, no siente igual. A veces piensan a veces no. (F,Y)

I have a friend who used a condom and it wasn't good because the condom came off and a month later she was pregnant, with an agarre. They use with an agarre – with someone who is not secure. (F,E)

Trust is defined in the narratives by the degree to which the relationship is public and by 'communication between partners'. Trust is established through a couple being able to talk together about their problems.

Trust starts with talking. When there is sincerity. At first it affects condom use, for example if he feels trust, when they use condoms they think there is no trust. (M,Y)

If there is no trust it is better to leave a relationship. For him trust is when they talk together in a relationship. Friends have trust when they have a problem and they talk to their novia about it, they trust her. When they don't talk they don't have trust. (M,Y)

Trust is when they talk and when he doesn't say anything bad. (F,E)

It is important to have trust between them with a noviazgo. Trust comes from talking. If the talk together they feel secure. She trusts that he will not have an agarre, because if he has an agarre he would tell her because they talk about everything. (M,E)

A trusted partner is usually defined as the *novio/novia*. Once a partner is perceived as trusted, there is no recognition that they may also be in a network of concurrent/multiple relationships (i.e have *agarre*) or have previously been in a network of concurrent/multiple relationships. Hence trust is the major determinant of risk perception, and therefore condom use.

An agarre can give him an infection. It is normal not to use a condom with a novia and to use them with an agarre. With the novia we do not use a condom because there is trust, but with an agarre there is no commitment. (M,Y)

La confianza, hace que dejen de usar condón. Van cogiendo confianza...(F,Y)

There are some who when they feel trust with a novio they don't use condoms. Trust is when they say what happened in the street, when they tell everything. They don't use condoms then because they trust that he doesn't have an infection. (F,Y)

My friends think that to have direct communications and respect is to have trust. If there is no trust they don't use condoms. (F,E)

If a trusted partner wants to use a condom, she thinks he does not trust her. She uses a condom with agarre because he goes with other women. If she suggests using a condom with her novio, he will think she is with other women. (F,E)

They say a novio who uses a condom is irresponsible – because he doesn't want the responsibility of having children. A responsible young man marries with commitment and so does not need condoms. (F,E)

They say if a girl wants to use a condom it is because they don't trust them and thinks they are with many other women. His friends don't have much trust in women because women have many relations with others. Most of them

do...because all the girls are from the barrio and there are no serious women here. (M,E)

Por un lado afecta el uso del condón, que es bueno que le usen los hombres pues saben que tienen más, no usan cuando tienen confianza. (M,E)

With a novio or husband they don't use condoms because they trust them, or they know them well and so there is less risk of infection, but with an agarre they don't know with whom that person has been. (F,E)

Another aspect of trust for young men is if a group of friends, *el coro*, are all having sex with the same girl (as an *agarre*). If the young men are trusted friends, they do not then perceive a need to use condoms, because they know with whom their *agarre* is having sex. As they trust each other as friends, they do not perceive that there is risk.

I know a person in the barrio. He doesn't trust women of the street so he uses condoms with them. The woman of the colmado, if he knows with whom she has relations he will not use condoms, but if he doesn't know the other men with whom she has relations he uses a condom. (M,E)

Accessibility

PEER data suggest that condoms are easily available in the *bateyes*, and can be bought in the *colmados* or accessed through the community health promoters¹⁵. While availability does not appear to be a major issue, accessibility of condoms to young people does. Many young men feel ashamed to go to the *colmado* to buy condoms, and will either ask a trusted friend or brother (usually older than them) to buy a condom for them. If a young man is motivated to use a condoms (i.e with a non-trusted partner), whether he actually uses a condom is first and foremost a question of accessibility, that is, whether he has a condom with him at the time of sex.

Between friends they pass condoms around so they have them when they go to the colmadon. (M,Y)

They can get condoms from their friends. Their friend works at the colmado and gives to them as a friend. (M,E)

Los amigos lo encuentran en los colmados, es lo mas común, farmacia y los amigos se lo dan, a los amigos le dan vergüenza comprarlo aquí porque son abiertos, y son mujeres que las venden y les da apuro...en cambio en los colmados pues conocen a quienes lo vendes. Las mujeres nunca lo compran. (M,E)

Young women do not perceive it to be socially acceptable to be seen buying condoms at the *colmado*, and feel ashamed to be seen carrying a condom¹⁶. If a woman wants to use a condom she therefore has to ask her partner to buy one.

Young women cannot be seen at the colmado buying condoms, nor can they carry them with them. Young women therefore have to ask their partner to buy the condom, if she is to insist on using one. (F,E)

¹⁵ This will be verified through TRaC data

¹⁶ It would indicate that she is '*mujer de la calle*'

Seria feo, una mujer andando con condones en la carretera le daría vergüenza. (F,Y)

Muchos consiguen en casa de la promotora, y lo mandan a buscar con mayores que saben que tienen relaciones sexuales. Los condones no lo venden en el colmado, los vende la promotora. Los varones andan con su condón. (F,Y)

Self-efficacy

For young women, the ability to insist on their partner obtaining and using a condom is the major determinant of condom use with non-trusted partners. As discussed above, a young woman has to ask the man to buy a condom. Narratives indicate that if a woman is with her *agarre*, she feels that she has the self-efficacy to ask him to use a condom, and will do so with all non-trusted partners. If, however, her *agarre* does not have a condom with him or refuses to use a condom, the young woman will then accept sex without a condom, for fear that she will lose her *agarre*.

Tengo otro amigo. Un día iban a tener sexo y ella le dijo que si tenía uno (condón). Mayormente el hombre es que tienen que tener el condón, si el no lo tiene en el momento, a ella le gusta usarlo, pero si el no tiene ellas acceden sin condón porque lo quieren. (M,E)

The important thing is to agree between the man and the woman to use a condom. If the man doesn't want to use a condom he looks for different ways to persuade her not to use. (F,E)

Ability

For younger boys especially, knowledge of how to use a condom and put it on correctly is another determining factor in whether a condom is used. Data suggest that condom use with non-trusted partners is lowest at sexual debut. For most boys, sexual debut occurs with partners whom they define as non-trusted. Many young men express concerns that they do not know how to use a condom properly. Younger boys are concerned that if they fumble, or take too long to put on a condom, that the woman will lose interest and they will feel ashamed in front of her.

Those who have sex at 16 years protect with condoms. But those of 14/15 years don't use condoms (M,E).

He knows a friend who has used one and it came out badly because he didn't have much experience and so it felt bad. (M,E)

Young boys prefer sex without a condom. The first time is usually without a condom. When they have experience they start to use condoms because they understand the risk. (M,Y)

Alcohol is also a major factor in *ability* to use condoms, especially with non-trusted partners. Sex with *agarre* usually occurs after dancing and drinking at the disco or *colmado*. Hence alcohol reduces the likelihood that the young man will either have a condom available, or be motivated or have the ability to use it.

His friend had a lot of alcohol and his girlfriend was drunk and they had sex. He started with a condom and then he took it off. (M,E)

3.8 Sources of Information

Activities in the Community

There are a significant number of health education activities targeting the bateyes, and it would appear from the PEER data that most young people have been exposed to health education messages on HIV prevention. The narratives indicate, however, that the effectiveness of current health education activities in reaching young people is limited. There are a number of NGOs active in the bateyes, including MOSCHTA¹⁷ and Profamilia. While young people appear interested to learn about sex and sexuality, much of the current health education appears to be delivered through talks, which are the least engaging form of activity for young people.

Talks are considered to be boring and it is difficult for young people to maintain concentration during them. In addition much NGO activity happens in the communities during week days when young people are either in school or at work. By far the preferred time to be engaged with health education activities is on the weekends, in the afternoons when all other activities have finished.

Moschta y Plan trabajan con algunos grupos de jóvenes los que quisieran no con todas, se daban charlas, sobre SIDA, aguas negras, se convocaban a otros jóvenes. (F,E)

They like activities that change, but giving information is boring. A talk is not for young people, they don't take it in. The themes are not themes for young people. They present illnesses in a scientific way and it isn't interesting. (M,E)

He said public health in the batey happens through interventions on prevention, about using condoms. Some have participated but not many. He doesn't participate because he works from 6pm. (M,Y)

None of our friends have participated. One of my friends has but I don't know what he did. My friends have not participated because when they come it is not a good day or time. (M,Y)

My friend has not participated, some of his friends did. The activity was from Moschtar, but nothing else. (M,Y)

He said a lot of young people participate in talks, the president of the neighbourhood group initiated it. His friends didn't participate in it, they just listened like an audience. This was the problem with the talk, because they couldn't say anything. (M,E)

He participated in activities about HIV, condoms, pregnancy and STIs. These activities were in school and his friends participated because it is obligatory. What he likes is a dynamic activity. He doesn't like a boring talk. It was a talk on the projector by a doctor and nobody really paid attention. It was lots of pictures and very boring. (M,E)

There are talks...some participate, but they don't like it when it interrupts their work. It is better when they have time to participate. (M,Y)

¹⁷ Haitian Workers' Socio-cultural Movement

*Entre las amigas dicen que el VIH y SIDA son diferentes, que es un virus y que el SIDA es un enfermedad. A veces llamo a *462 solo para mayores y a veces hay que decir con cedula. Los jóvenes no le dan información y a los mayores. (F,Y)*

He said it is very boring when they talk, talk, talk, it is rubbish that they talk – because it always the same. They talk as though they already know about things and it is always the same. (M,E)

Media

Young people in the bateyes appear to have reasonable access to both television and radio. Television and soap-operas in particular, are considered to be more of a female media. Young men prefer comedy, cartoons (such as South Park) or mini-action series.

They like passion, kisses and to see the body of the man. They like a story that is complicated with passion. They want to see a story that has young people in it. They can sing and dance listening to reggeton, with love and passion. (F,Y)

Women like novellas because they like stories. The novella Doña Alvavar is one – but it set a bad example to young people. (F,Y)

He said the cartoon is like South Park – it is brief and the information and is more enjoyable than a boring meeting where they bla, bla, bla. (M,E)

Amor de Bateyes

There are mixed views on Amor de Batey. There were more positive responses to the soap-opera from Yabacao, where the promoter has facilitated viewing sessions for the community, and hence young people have had more exposure to it. In Estrellas fewer young people appear to have seen or heard of Amor de Batey. In both bateyes, while it is enjoyed by women, there is a perception that is slightly shameful or embarrassing for men to watch it, as soaps are a female genre. There is also a perception that Amor de Batey is viewed by those young people living outside the batey as only being relevant to people who live in the batey, increasing the possibility that batey residents could be stigmatised as having greater HIV infection rates.

She hasn't heard anyone who has seen Amor de Batey. She has heard of it but none of her friends have seen it. (F,E)

They say Amore de Batey is a good novella about things that happen in the batey. She saw it in the colmado. (F,E)

Amor de batey no se vio entera, porque estaba incomplete. La vieron la ultima vez en ell 11 y al principio donde Leona en la en ramada. La mayoría de mis amigas no sabían de la novela. (F,Y)

Friends have not seen Amor de Batey. (F,E)

They have seen Amor de Batey at home on channel 11. In houses with women, they have TVs. The houses with only men do not have TVs. The novella is more for women, the men don't like to watch novellas, they play baseball. (F,Y)

A friend who saw Amor de Batey who does not live in the batey said: 'what is this? It is not about me because I don't live in a batey.' (F,Y)

They have seen two novellas on the theme of AIDS: Amor de Batey and Daniella. Both present the reality of the batey, they prefer Amor de Batey because it is more realistic. (F,Y)

Se realizaban radionovellas sobre 'Antony y Viviana', sobre cómo se contagia el SIDA y se previene, eso era de la organización Moschta. Se transmitía por radio cristal y los jóvenes la opina mucho, además se les daba CD para que lo escucharon. Sobre Amor de Batey se paso en el canal 11 en un colmadon, 'El Gordo', se juntaban ahí, pero algunos no podían verla porque no tienen televisión o no estaban ahí. (M,E)

He said he felt embarrassed because he said a novella is for women. He said his friends think it is for women – they think it is a joke for men to watch Amor de Batey. Many of my friends come to the decision that they don't like watching Amor de Batey, the name novella is not serious, it is for women. It is better for men to call it a mini series, because a mini series has a complete theme, a mini series has a full story and doesn't end on a cliff hanger, which is better for men. (M,E)

Opportunities

Currently young people gain the majority of their information through sharing experiences with their peers. This serves to increase the social pressure to start sexual relations, as younger children start to hear about sexual experiences of their older friends and siblings. Young people are very keen to learn about and discuss sexuality, and to be engaged in activities, especially as there are very limited activities in the bateyes for young people, the main ones being sport and dancing. Communication with parents on sexuality appears to be very limited, but where good communication does exist it appears to be a major factor in delaying sexual debut.

There are very definite opportunities to build upon young people's desire to learn about sexuality, their openness in talking about sex, and their desire for new and engaging activities. Young boys, in particular, want clear and practical information on how to use condoms. Young women are in desperate need of clear information about their bodies and fertility and how to control fertility using modern methods of contraception, and about dual protection with condoms. Information about drugs is also a theme that is important for young people, many of whom are concerned about friends starting to take drugs.

Se necesitan actividades más dinámicas, conciertos, actividades de barrio unido, actividades deportivas, hay jóvenes que componen y cantan del mismo batey que podrían estar. (F,E)

They have been to talks and learnt a lot that they don't know about using condoms in relations and family planning. My friends want to know about using condoms because many don't use them. (F,Y)

He has heard a message in the colmado and pharmacy. He has seen messages to use condoms and for promotion of condoms...the leaflets must have simple information. If they have simple information about how to use them they will. (M,E)

One of my friends participated in the talk that Moschtar gave, and Profamilia. They like to participate in activities about how to use the condom practically. They like to be trained in how to use it so that it is safe. They want to know how to prevent illnesses. They like dynamic talks with entertaining activities. (M,Y)

There are HIV prevention and pregnancy prevention programmes in the batey. A person from Moschtar came. My friends participated but not all of them. What they liked was that it was very dynamic. (F,E)

Ayer en una actividad, una promotora puso un condón con la boca, y los muchachos se entusiasmaron. Ayer estábamos hablando unas amigas sobre el condón y alguno dijo que era mejor usar pastillas para embarazos y la promotora dijo que no, que era mejor usar condón y les mostró como se puso con la boca. Se motivaron todos. Algunos por estar en el coro van a las actividades...(F,Y)

Que le gusta es que hablan con cosas claras y directas y que son muy dinámicos. Le gusta como los tratan y como desarrollan los temas. A veces algunos actividades son con los hombres y las mujeres de cosas que ellos son responsables, porque ellos son lo que convencen a las mujeres...(F,Y)

They want talks about drugs because many young people here are starting to take drugs. Older men take them in public and when they are young they learn about it. They send kids to buy them and it introduces young people to drugs. (M,Y)

Le mejor para las actividades son el sábado a las 3pm, o en la semana a partir de las 5pm. Una vez hicieron un concierto varias organizaciones, como Plan, iglesias y otras organizaciones, donde fueron muchos jóvenes, actuaron jóvenes del mismo batey, y eso les gusto mucho. Se hicieron pantomima, teatro...(M,E)

The weekend is the best time for them to participate. Saturday and Sunday in the afternoon they are freer. (F,Y)

Programmes must be tailored to the needs of young people so that: activities take place on the weekends in the afternoons; are engaging, lively and interactive; and designed to meet the needs of different age groups. In particular it is very important to reach those young people who have not yet had sexual debut (or are just starting debut) in the age range of 10-13 years with specific activities, which enable them to learn about their sexuality and discuss their feelings with their peer group; as well as reaching those who once they are sexually active, are often in concurrent relationships.

4. FoQus Outputs: Dashboard Instruments

The following dashboards represent a synthesis of research evidence, presented in a way that helps marketers and programmers reach programmatic decisions about tailoring products and services to a particular audience. Beliefs to reinforce and change are organised according to PSI's Behaviour Change Framework.

4.1 The Archetype / Person Profile

The Archetype is a way of synthesising and transforming the qualitative data into a character representing the target audience in a narrative form. The aim of the archetype is to bring programmers and marketers closer to the target audience. While Eliana and José are fictional creations, they are based on the detailed data collected by peer researchers about everyday life in their communities. The peer researchers and programmers fed into the creation of these characters.

Female Archetype: Eliana

Eliana is 15 and lives with her grandmother and grandfather in a house made of tin and wood, with a cement floor. The three of them live together in the house, which has its own latrine. Eliana does not have children but she has had an abortion. She lives with her grandparents because her parents threw her out of the house because she was pregnant. Living with her grandparents she has freedom and she can leave the house without them knowing through the door at the back of the house. She has left school. It was her decision to leave. She continued until 8th Grade and she left because she wanted freedom to be out in the street. She does not work. She respects her grandparents and helps them with chores in the house. Her boyfriend buys her clothes and other necessities.

She likes to go to the disco, with friends to the river, and to the *multi-uso* (sports-field/centre) to watch the boys playing basketball. She doesn't like playing sport herself, she just likes to watch the boys playing. At the *colmados*¹⁸ she watches the boys playing dominoes and drinking beer. She likes to dance to everything, especially reggeton. She listens to the radio station Mortal and she watches TV channels 5, 7 and 11. She watches all the novellas, sometimes with friends and sometimes alone. She will watch them until about 7pm, when she then likes to get ready to go out. She likes to wear sexy clothes, mini-skirts and low-cut tops (which show her cleavage) and Jordan trainers. She wears fake nails, and she gets new hair extensions every month. Her friends like to do the same things as her. She has two friends who she trusts and so they have the same partners (*agarre*). They like the men who wear baggie trousers that show their pants when they go to the disco. She will buy the first beer for herself and her *agarre*, and the others they buy for themselves.

Ideally, she likes men who are *tigres* (tigers), with money and who look elegant. She likes them because without money she can't go to the *colmado*. She thinks they can give her a good life, and she would like to have an ipod, and be able to go to the salon and make her friends jealous.

She had sex for the first time when she was 13 years old. Her first time was with her boyfriend and she felt bad because he left her after they had sex. She had thought he was going to be her partner for life. The pregnancy she had was with her first boyfriend and she had an abortion. She is worried about getting pregnant with her boyfriend, but she is uncertain how to protect herself properly. A friend who she trusts has advised her she can protect herself using pills. Eliana has a boyfriend and an *agarre*. Her boyfriend doesn't know about her *agarre*. She gives things to her *agarre* because he says he loves her. He lives in another *batey* and it isn't important to him that she looks for other men. She goes to the disco with her *agarre* and he has other partners that Eliana doesn't know about. When they go out, he decides where

¹⁸ These are small shops/minimarkets during the day and social places in the evening where people watch TV, especially baseball games, dance and drink beer.

they go and she sometimes pays. It makes her feel good to have an *agarre*, because it makes her feel that she is attractive to men and she has fun with him. When she has sex with her boyfriend she doesn't use condoms because she loves him and she trusts him. She protects herself with her *agarres* as she is afraid of getting pregnant and of getting infections. Her *agarre* buy the condoms at the pharmacy or at the *colmado*, or they ask their friends to give them condoms. They buy Pante, Te Amo no-logo condoms. If her *agarre* does not want to use a condom she says he has to use it, but if he insists that he doesn't want to use a condom, she accepts sex without it.

Eliana is kind, creative, coquettish, cute and she likes looking at herself in the mirror. Not many things worry her. Eliana would like to find an older man with money who will put her first and who could give her a life somewhere else. Some of her friends agree with her, but others say it is better to go to school and prep are for a profession.

Male Archetype: José

José is 17 years old lives with his grandmother in the *Borojol* (the part of the *batey* that is most concentrated with houses). He doesn't know his father, and his mother lives and works outside the *batey*. He is in school, and in his spare time he works in the *colmado*. He likes to play baseball and basketball. He also likes dancing and music (Bachata and Mambo), playing pool and going to the river with his mates. He likes watching the comedy shows such as '*El cartel de los sapos*', '*Raymon y Miguel*' and '*El poder de las 12*.' He listens to the radio stations 104.9 and Power 103.

He likes to wear Sports clothes: a basketball jacket, baseball cap, trainers, baggy jeans and Bermuda shorts. He buys his own clothes. His friends are all the other boys in the *batey*, and he knows them all through the *colmado*. He goes to the disco and the *colmadones*¹⁹ and likes drinking beer. They buy their drinks 1 and 1 (one I buy, one you buy). He likes women who look good so that he can boast to his friends. He had sex for the first time when he was 15, because of pressure from *el coro* (his group of friends) and out of curiosity. He had first sex with a *loquita*²⁰ who he met at the *colmado*. He is sexually active. He does not have a fixed girlfriend and he has three *agarres* who live in other *bateyes* and who he knows from school.

He would like his friends to think that he is '*vacano*²¹' because he can attract lots of women. His best friend is Miguel, he is a *vacano* who lives in another barrio. José knows he should use condoms with his *agarres* and a lot of the time he does use them with *agarre*. He gets the condoms from the *colmado*. He is too embarrassed to buy them himself and so asks his older brother to buy them for him. He likes Panté and El Te Amo. What he likes best is to have a flow of women and he likes to wear modern and expensive clothes.

He is sociable and intelligent. He has money and is popular with his friends, and he is proud of his '*Pepe*²²'. He is worried about showing himself up with women and feels he has to be experienced sexually. He has ambitions to have his own business, and would like to go to university to study accountancy. If he can he would like to finish his studies and continue working so that he can pay for himself to go to university.

¹⁹ bars

²⁰ A girl who was a casual fling

²¹ A stud, a man who can attract lots of women

²² His penis

4.2 Beliefs to Reinforce

Input: PEER interview transcripts, photo collages, archetype narratives, and synthesised data.

Eliana	José
Opportunity	Opportunity
Availability - I want to have information about sex, my body and how to protect myself	Social norm - If my girlfriend (novia) becomes pregnant I must take responsibility for it and support her
	Availability - I want to have information about sex and how to use condoms
Ability	Ability
Self-efficacy - I use condoms with someone who I do not trust	Knowledge – Condoms protect from pregnancy and infections
Self-efficacy– I use condoms to protect myself from pregnancy and infections	Social Support - A girl who proposes using a condom is intelligent and trying to protect herself from pregnancy and infection
Self-efficacy - I have sex because I enjoy it. Pleasure is important to me	
Knowledge - I can use pills and injections to prevent an unwanted pregnancy	
Knowledge - condoms protect me from HIV infection	
Knowledge - I can get infected with HIV through unprotected sex	
Social support – When a man proposes using a condom it is good because he is responsible and trying to protect me from pregnancy and infection	
Motivation	Motivation
Outcome Expectation - Girls who do not start sexual relations early are able to realise their dreams and be somebody in the future	Outcome Expectation - It is alright to delay having sexual relations to realise my dreams to be a baseball player or a professional
Outcome Expectation - An unwanted pregnancy will limit my opportunities for the future	Outcome Expectation - I am afraid to start having sex in case I make a girl pregnant or get an infection.
Outcome Expectation - I am worried that I will get pregnant the first time I have sex	Outcome Expectation - If I have to marry my girlfriend I can't realise my dreams
Outcome Expectation - I am afraid my partner may infect with me HIV if he has other partners	Outcome Expectation - I am worried about becoming infected with HIV
Attitude - I trust my boyfriend when we have good communication and can talk about our problems together.	Outcome Expectation - My biggest worry is that my girlfriend may get pregnant
	Attitude - My girlfriend (novia) is the partner I respect

4.3 Beliefs to Change

Input: PEER interview transcripts, photo collages, archetype narratives, and synthesised data.

Eliana	José
Opportunity	Opportunity
Social norm - I am ashamed to talk to my parents about sex as I am afraid they will reject me	Social norm - A boy who has not had sex is a ' <i>palomo</i> '
Social norm - Having sex makes you a woman. Once you have had sex you are no longer a child.	Social norm - I become a man once I have had sex
Social norm - It is OK for men to have many partners, because they are men	Social norm - If I have sex with various women at the same time, I am a ' <i>vacano</i> ' and my friends admire me
Social Norm - It is fashionable to have <i>agarre</i>	Social norm - There are two types of women: women of the street (bad women) and women of the house (good women)
Social Norm - It looks bad for a girl to buy or carry condoms	Social norm - I do not respect women of the street and do not need to take responsibility in relationships with them
Availability- Abortion is a way of managing fertility	Social norm - To fail in a relationship with a woman is very shameful for a man
Ability	Ability
Self-efficacy - I don't use condoms because sex does not feel the same with a condom	Self-efficacy - I only use condoms with women I don't trust
Knowledge – HIV means certain death	Self-efficacy - I feel embarrassed to buy condoms
Knowledge - I can have sufficient information about sex from talking to my friends	Knowledge - STIs are a disease of women that infect men
Social Support- I do not use condoms with the partner whom I trust	Knowledge - HIV means certain death
Social Support - If my boyfriend proposes using a condom I feel that he does not trust me	Knowledge - I am worried that I don't know how to use condoms properly and that it will break during sex
Social Support - If I propose using condoms to my boyfriend he will think I don't trust him	Social Support - I feel ashamed that I have not had sex when my friends talk about their sexual experiences
Social Support - I only trust my friends to talk to when I have a problem	Social Support - I feel afraid that my friends will call me a ' <i>palomo</i> ' because I have not had sex
Motivation	Motivation
Locus of control - If I propose using condoms to protect me, and my partner says no, I will have sex with him because I do not want to lose him	Outcome Expectation - If my <i>agarre</i> becomes pregnant I do not have to take responsibility because she cannot prove paternity
Outcome Expectation – An older man will be able to maintain me	Attitude - I prefer to have sex with <i>mujer de la calle</i> as they have experience and I do not need to take responsibility for the consequences
Outcome Expectation - If I have several <i>agarre</i> I increase my chances that one may have money and buy you things	Belief- My <i>agarre</i> has other partners, whereas my novia (girlfriend) does not
Outcome Expectation - My boyfriend will leave me if I do not show him I love him by having sex with him	Belief - It is better to have sex with a young girl because she has not sex before and does not have an infection

Intention – If I love my partner I will have sex with him if he asks me to	
Intention – I like to have several <i>agarre</i> who are my own age for pleasure	
Belief - I trust my boyfriend and therefore he is low risk. (I do not think that he has other partners or take into account partners he has had before me.)	
Belief - A person who has HIV is person of 'bad faith' and they want to infect others	
Belief - If I trust my boyfriend I do not need to protect myself from HIV	

4.4 Strategies to Behave and Acquisition Stories

Strategies to behave include techniques or tactics that members of the target audience use to overcome barriers to the desired behaviour (using condoms). Acquisition stories include how members of the target audience acquire the behaviour under study, and how non-behavers acquire alternatives to the desired behaviour.

Eliana:

If Eliana wants to use a condom with her *agarre* or *novio* she cannot go to the *colmado* to buy one, because only boys buy condoms and she feels embarrassed because people will know she is having sex. She does not carry the condom with her. She always asks her *agarre* to use a condom and to buy one at the *colmado*. If her *agarre* says no or doesn't have a condom with him, she accepts sex with him because he decides. She does not ask her boyfriend to use a condom because she feels he will think she does not trust him.

Jose:

Jose wants to use condoms with his *agarre* to protect himself from HIV. He is too embarrassed to buy the condom himself at the *colmado*, so he asks his friends to give him a condom or an older man to buy one for him. Sometimes he does not use condoms with his *agarres* when he has been drinking, as he feels that when he puts the condom on that it takes too long having sex.

He wants to protect himself from making his *novia* pregnant, but he does not use a condom with his *novia* because he feels that sex is not the same and he trusts her. She will think he does not trust her if he asks her to use a condom.

4.5 Openings

During the week Eliana's and Jose's and friends are either in school or working. They are also usually busy in the mornings on the weekends working and so the best time for any activity is in the afternoons on Saturday and Sunday at about 4pm.

Eliana likes watching novellas on Channel 11, but Jose and his friends will not watch novellas as they think they are for women. Jose prefers to watch comedy shows, mini-series or cartoons. Jose also listens to the radio to 104.9 Mortal y Power 103. Eliana and Jose find talks very boring and it is hard to concentrate on a long talk that presents things in a scientific way. They like games and short activities in which they can participate and have fun. They want to learn more about sex and their bodies

and about how to use condoms. Eliana wants to know more about her fertility and how to avoid pregnancy. José wants to know about sex and how to use a condom properly. He also wants to know about how to prevent his girlfriend from becoming pregnant.

Neither José or Eliana talk to their parents about sex. They have gained the knowledge they have from experience and talking to their friends. Sometimes the health promoter gives talks about HIV and condoms, but many of their friends don't go to it because they are working or in school. They have had talks from NGOs such as Profamilia and MOSCHTA. Some of Eliana's friends have seen *Amor de Batey* and enjoyed it, but a lot of José's friends have not seen it because they think it is for girls.

4.6 Knowledge Sophistication

Both Eliana and José have heard a lot of information about HIV on the radio and television. They know it is passed through having sex and that it is important to use a condom to protect from pregnancy and infection. Some people in the batey think that HIV can be passed by shaking hands, but José and Eliana know that this is not true.

Neither Eliana or José know anything about STIs and they have not heard their friends talk about sexually transmitted infections. Some of José's friends say they are infections that women who do not take care of themselves give to men. José knows how to use a condom, he learnt through experience. Many of the younger boys in his batey do not know how to use one properly.

Eliana has very little knowledge about how to prevent herself from becoming pregnant, or about her fertility. She knows that some friends say they can protect themselves from pregnancy with an injection or pills that they can buy at the pharmacy, but she does not know how they should be used or what to expect if she does use them. Eliana managed her unwanted pregnancy with an abortion, but she and her friends do not know about the risks of unsafe abortion, and she feels it is a way that she can manage her fertility.

4.7 Category Experiences

José

- He has used condoms with his *agarre*
- Sex does not feel so good with a condom but it protects him from infection
- His friends have experienced the condom breaking
- His friends are worried that they don't know how to use a condom properly and they take too long putting it on so their *agarre* loses interest

Eliana

- Sex does not feel the same when she uses a condom but it protects her from pregnancy and infection
- She has had an unwanted pregnancy and had an unsafe abortion
- She uses condoms with her *agarre* to protect her from pregnancy and infection, if he will agree to use one
- She has never bought a condom as she would be too embarrassed to do so
- Some friends have experienced condoms breaking and have become pregnant as a result. Her friends aborted the unwanted pregnancies using a herbal tea.

4.8 Behaviour Associations

This describes the target groups' emotional attachment to the behaviour and ideas and attitudes about the behaviour.

José feels that if he does not have *agarre* he will not be a part of the group – *el corro*. He will not be able to share his stories with other boys and they will call him a '*palomo*'. José wants his friends to think he is *vacano*, that he can attract lots of women. He knows that he should use condoms to protect himself from illnesses such as HIV/AIDS. He feels embarrassed buying condoms at the *colmado*, and he also feels uncertain how to use them and is afraid they will break. He will not use condoms with his *novia* as he can talk to her and so feels secure with her, but he is afraid that she will get pregnant and trusts that she knows how to protect herself. He uses condoms with his *agarre* if he has a condom with him, but worries that if he takes too long putting the condom on (especially when he has been drinking), that she will lose interest.

Eliana feels that if she has not had sex that she is not a woman. She knows she should use condoms with her *agarre*, she is most concerned about not becoming pregnant but she also feels that she should use condoms with *agarre* to protect her from infection. She would not feel comfortable buying condoms, so will ask her *agarre* to buy them. If her *agarre* does not want to use one, she will have sex without a condom because she doesn't want to lose her *agarre*, although she would feel more secure if he used one. If her *novio* asks her to use a condom she feels he does not trust her.

Annex 1: Method

Participatory Ethnographic Evaluation and Research (PEER)

PEER is a qualitative, participatory, research method that is effective for working with hard-to-research groups. The process helps programs understand health and risk perceptions and behaviours from an insider's point of view. PEER is based on training members of the target community (in this case male and female youth aged 15-19 years) to carry out in-depth conversational interviews with trusted individuals they select from their own social networks.

PEER was used for the following reasons:

- Very little is known about the social and cultural context of the research topic in this population, and PEER generates in-depth, contextual data on a range of issues related to the research topic
- Existing relationships of trust between peer researchers and their informants mean that findings are more detailed and insightful than if they had been gathered by an outside researcher
- PEER involves the participation of the target group from the early stages of the program, building ownership and involvement in program activities
- The method is particularly suitable for carrying out research on sensitive topics due to the use of 'third person' questions, which enable respondents to talk about delicate issues without personal attribution
- By participating in PEER, peer researchers become 'lay experts' in important issues in their community, and form a pool of expertise who can be involved in future stages of programmes (e.g. materials and message testing, participation in interpersonal communications activities).

Peer researchers were recruited from their communities by the PSI programme managers experienced in working in the bateyes, in collaboration with community leaders. They formed an initial group of 16 researchers; 8 young men and 8 young women. They came from the two bateyes of Estrellas and Yabacao. The selection criteria were:

- That they were in the age group 15-19 years, lived in the batey and were willing to take part
- That they had no previous involvement with PSI or direct exposure to PSI behaviour change interventions other than mass media communications
- That they be available for training and to conduct conversational interviews with their peers over a six week period

The peer researchers were selected to be broadly representative of the target population, providing a pool of peer researchers who could interview others to gather data on an even wider population.

Peer researchers attended a three day workshop in July 2009 where they learned about the aims of the research and practiced open-ended interviewing skills. They designed an interview schedule with the research team, reflecting what they thought to be the most important issues in their communities relating to sexual debut and sexual relationships, risk and condom use and community interventions.

Participatory design of the research tool ensured that the study focus was both programmatically relevant, and framed within the conceptual understanding of the peer researchers. Peer researchers were also given disposable cameras to take

photographs to illustrate daily life in their communities. The PEER method received ethical approval for a two year programme of work from the University of Wales, Swansea Ethics Committee, UK, in July 2007.

Data Collection

After the training, peer researchers carried out in-depth interviews with two friends, on three different topics (six interviews each in total), over the course of the following week. Rather than asking for personal information, peer researchers asked questions about what other people say or do (the 'third person'). Peer researchers were asked to write brief notes about key issues or stories immediately after interviewing their friends. The research team visited peer researchers over the course of the following week and met individually with them for an in-depth interview. This allowed the research team to probe in detail and ask for additional explanations to aid interpretation of the data. These detailed notes also form part of the final dataset.

Data Analysis

A workshop was conducted with peer researchers after data collection in July 2008. They gave feedback on their experiences, and helped analyse the data through the following exercises:

- **Arranging their photographs** into montages to illustrate daily life
- **Creating an 'archetype'**: Peer researchers were asked to create a character representing a 'typical person' from their community
- **Presenting photo montages and archetypes** to PSI staff, who asked questions to explore the issues further.

Finally, a knowledge game and educational session covering HIV, AIDS and FP was held to identify and address knowledge gaps and misunderstandings among the peer researchers.

Data were also analysed thematically by the research team. Emerging themes were assigned codes and explored further and triangulated during the final peer researcher workshop. The data were printed out, cut into text units (paragraphs and stories), and arranged under the coding framework. Data were then re-read, and a proportion of quotations were selected to capture the essence of each code. Analyses focussed on social norms, sexual debut, relationship categories, risk perception, condom use, and experience of health education interventions. Thus prepared, the data were processed using FoQus.

Annex 2: Inputs to FoQus: Collages of Daily Life

The FoQus process had several inputs. The principle was the wealth of narrative data generated by the PEER study (detailed in section 4 of the study). These data included de-briefing notes made by researchers, and notes made during workshops with programme staff and peer researchers. In addition, peer researchers were given disposable cameras and were asked to take pictures of everyday life in their communities. They were then invited to create photo montages to illustrate their daily lives, including activities, likes and dislikes, and hopes and fears. These montages acted as a starting point for discussion between programme staff and peer researchers to develop the archetypes.









Annex 3: Fieldwork Tools

Interview Themes

These prompts were developed by the peer researchers during the training. Men and women worked in separate groups to word their questions, so the men's and women's questions are slightly different.

Men's Prompts:

Sexual Relations:

Que hacen los panitas tuyos en la semana? Cuales actividades realizan y con quienes?, Que suelen hacer tus panitas los fines de semana?

Tu conoces algún panita que te haya contado de cómo tuvo su primera novia? Como fue? El te contó porque quiso tener esa novia?

Que dicen tus panitas de cuales son sus metas, lo que quieren llegar a ser? Dime una historia de un panita que sus sueños se hayan afectado por las relaciones sexuales?

Cuéntame la historia de un panita que se haya estrenado la primera vez? Como fue eso? El te contó porque se estreno? Que lo motivo? Quien lo decidió el o la jevita?

Con que tipo de mujeres (Parejas) bregan los panas tuyos? Y que beneficios tienen? Cuéntame una historia de un panita que haya tenido o tiene diferentes parejas? Como es eso?

Que es bueno y que les preocupa a tus amigos sobre las relaciones sexuales?

Tienes algún panita que no se ha estrenado? El te ha dicho porque no lo ha hecho? Cuales diferencias tiene con los amigos que si se han estrenado?

Condoms and Risk:

Cuéntame que dicen tus amigos sobre el gorrito?

Tu conoces algún amigo que lo haya usado? Como le fue? Con que tipo de pareja? Porque lo uso? Donde lo consiguió?

Tu conoce amigo que tenga relaciones sexuales y no le gusta usar el condón? Y que te han dicho porque?

Que dicen tus amigos sobre las mujeres que usan condón?

Que piensan tus amigos sobre lo que es la confianza en la pareja? Como empezaron a tener confianza tus amigos con sus parejas? Como afecta la confianza en la pareja el uso del condón?

Que opinan tus amigos sobre el SIDA?

Que opinan tus amigos sobre las enfermedades venéreas?

Que dicen tus amigos sobre el embarazo?

Community Interventions

Cuales actividades sobre salud se desarrollan sobre prevención? Quien las hace? Participan tus amigos/as? Que les gusta y que no les gusta? y porque?

Que dicen tus amigos/as que han participado en las actividades, sobre la mejor hora y el día para realizarlas? Que tipo de actividades nuevas le gustaría tus amigos/as que se pueden realizar en el batey?

Han visto tus amigos/as alguna novela que hable sobre el SIDA?

Que opinan tus amigos/as de la novela amor de Batey? Lo que se ve en la novela (personajes e historias) se vive aquí en el batey?

Donde vieron por primera vez la novela? como fue su experiencia? que te han dicho sobre lo que se debería mejorar?

Que tipos de mensajes han escuchado tus amigos/as sobre la prevención del VIH en el batey? Cuales han escuchado en el amor de batey? Que dicen tus amigos/as sobre como éstos mensajes los han influenciado o no? Y porque?

Te han dicho tus amigos/as si se reflejan las relaciones sexuales de los jóvenes del batey en la novela? que te han dicho que hay que cambiar o deberían cambiar?

Women's Prompts

Sexual Relations:

Las amigas que tu tienes que hacen en la semana? Como es su vida social? Realizan alguna actividades, cuales?, Que suelen hacer los fines de semana?

Tú sabes como alguna amiga inicio su primera relación de noviazgo? Ella te contó porque lo quiso tener?

Cuales son las metas o sueños que tus amigas quieren lograr? Las relaciones han afectado o afectan sus sueño?

Conoce una amiga que haya tenido su primera relación sexual (Como fue) quien tomo la decisión de ella o el? Ella te contó porque lo hizo?

Que tipo de pareja tienen tus amigas? Que te ha dicho de los beneficios que tienen de los diferentes tipos de parejas, donde se conocieron?

Que es bueno y que les preocupa a tus amigas sobre las relaciones sexuales?

Tienes alguna amiga que no haya tenido relaciones sexuales? Ella te ha contado que ha motivado a no tener relaciones sexuales? Como dice ella como la tratan sus amigas que han tenido relaciones sexuales? Que diferencias ves entre tus amigas que han mantenido relaciones sexuales y las que no?

Condoms and Risk:

Cuéntame que dicen tus amigas sobre el gorrito?

Tú conoces alguna amiga que lo haya usado? Como le fue? Con que tipo de pareja? Porque lo uso? Donde lo consiguió?

Tú conoce amiga que tenga relaciones sexuales y no le gusta usar el condón? Y que te han dicho porque?

Que dicen tus amigas sobre los hombres que usan condón? (Mujeres)

Que piensan tus amigas sobre lo que es la confianza en la pareja? Como empezaron a tener confianza tus amigas con sus parejas? Como afecta la confianza en la pareja el uso del condón?

Que opinan tus amigas sobre el SIDA?

Que opinan tus amigas sobre las enfermedades venéreas?

Que dicen tus amigas sobre el embarazo?

Community Interventions:

Cuales actividades sobre salud se desarrollan sobre prevención? Quien las hace? Participan tus amigos/as? Que les gusta y que no les gusta? y porque?

Que dicen tus amigos/as que han participado en las actividades, sobre la mejor hora y el día para realizarlas? Que tipo de actividades nuevas le gustaría tus amigos/as que se pueden realizar en el batey?

Han visto tus amigos/as alguna novela que hable sobre el SIDA?

Que opinan tus amigos/as de la novela amor de Batey? Lo que se ve en la novela (personajes e historias) se vive aquí en el batey?

Donde vieron por primera vez la novela? como fue su experiencia? que te han dicho sobre lo que se debería mejorar?

Que tipos de mensajes han escuchado tus amigos/as sobre la prevención del VIH en el batey? Cuales han escuchado en el amor de batey? Que dicen tus amigos/as sobre como éstos mensajes los han influenciado o no? Y porque?

Te han dicho tus amigos/as si se reflejan las relaciones sexuales de los jóvenes del batey en la novela? que te han dicho que hay que cambiar o deberían cambiar?

Questions Used to Develop Archetype

Peer researchers were asked the following questions to generate discussion and build an archetype.

What is his / her name?

How old is he she?

Where they live / type of house?

With who do they live? Does s/he have children? And how many?

Do he she study/work.

If he / she works – why did they leave school and what work does s/he do?

What does s/he like to do? (what music they like, does she watch TV, sport they do?)

With whom?

What does s/he like to wear? Who buys them?

Who are his/her friends?

What do they do together?

What do they do at the colmado – what do they drink – who buys it?

What type of man/woman does s/he like? Why?

Has s/he had sex? At what age did s/he start? Why? With whom?

Do s/he have a boyfriend? How did s/he meet him? Where does h/she live?

What does/he s/he do with his novio/novia? Are they having sex?

Where do they go?

Do they have another agarre apart from their novio? Why? Where do they meet them?

Does s/he use a condom and whom? Why?

What type of condom they like?

Where do they get their condoms?

What makes him/her feel good about him/herself?

What worries them?

What are his/her dreams/ aspirations? What does s/he do to realise the dream?