

# **'Money make the nookie go 'round'**

**Young women and sexual relationships in two  
locations in Trinidad**

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**A PEER study carried out by**

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## ACRONYMS

AIDS	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
PEER	Participatory evaluation and research method
PSI	Population Services International
SFH	Society for Family Health
STIs	Sexually Transmitted Infections

## GLOSSARY

Bad man	powerful man who gains money from crime/drug-dealing
Bacchanal	conflict/chaos
Big she up	look up to her
Bling	expensive/ostentatious jewellery
Boss	the person in charge/in control
Check-for-her	make a pass at her/ have sex with her
Fuckin' for style	having sex for no financial gain
Hornin'	cheating on the personal
Jumbie	trying to steal someone's partner
Licks	hit / beaten-up
Limin'	chatting/socialising/hanging out
Lock down	under a man's control
On the low	secret/clandestine
Passa passa	large ghetto street party
Prettin-up	getting dressed up/made-up for going out
Ranker	a 'bad man'
Throw away a child	have an abortion

## SUMMARY

### Key Data Findings

This study was undertaken in two locations in Trinidad, Sea Lots and Point Fortin, between November and December 2007. Participants were women aged 16-24. The study uses the PEER (participatory ethnographic evaluation and research) method to generate in-depth narrative data and provide an authentic insider view of the realities of the target group.

The FoQus on Segmentation strategy was used to gain programmer input into the study design, identify potential determinants of condom use, and explore factors that will be used to develop a concept for promoting condom use with outside partners. PSI/Caribbean will use the results to develop interpersonal communication activities and a media campaign directed at the target group.

Initially the study set out to understand transactional cross-generational relationships, identified as a major risk factor among the target group. The data revealed that within the target population sexual relationships and financial benefits are intimately linked within *all* relationships. Despite the differences in economic context between Sea Lots and Point Fortin, in all interview narratives **sex and money are inextricable**. An over-riding feature of the interviews is that sex is commoditised as part of the norm of relationships. Sex without financial gain is perceived within the target group as aberrant and certainly not normative. The data made clear that defining some relationships as transactional and some as not, is not meaningful in the context of the target group. The study has, therefore, focussed on understanding how patterns of **concurrent** relationships are managed and maintained.

The driving force behind concurrency is consumerism and style, referred to in the narratives as *'the look'*. The commoditisation of sex, is described as a cycle in which consumption fuels the need for concurrency, and concurrency is essential for status, which is based on having the right clothes, shoes, hair, nails, jewellery (or bling). There is no indication that money is used for investment in assets for the future or for savings. Investment is in young women's immediate asset, 'the look'.

'The look' ensures a young woman's social status and rank among her peers. It is also central to self-esteem. A young woman will not be stigmatised for having multiple partners. She will, however, be stigmatised for having multiple partners and not maintaining 'the look'. She also gains status by managing her multiple partners well and ensuring that she has enough of them to maintain 'the look'.

In both communities, there are two main partner types: the **personal** and **outside men**. The personal is usually defined as the live-in partner (especially in Sea Lots) or as the partner who spends the majority of his time and money on the young woman (more common in Point Fortin). Outside men are classified as any man with whom the young woman is having a sexual relationship and who is not the personal. Outside men are perceived as easily changeable and relationships with them are often short-term.

There are differences in patterns of concurrency between Sea Lots and Point Fortin. Patterns vary by age, experience, social opportunity, and women's financial goals as well as their desire to maintain control over their relationships. The patterns of concurrency are dynamic, flexible and complex, and are managed to maximise women's desired outcomes.

Strategies of concurrency require a high degree of **skilled management**, which should not be under-estimated. The cell-phone is central to juggling schedules with outside men and ensuring that those relationships that need to remain clandestine.

Young women have a **high degree of self-efficacy** in managing their strategies of concurrency. In all patterns of concurrency, trade-offs are made between relative losses and gains. For example being with a bad man (in Sea Lots) usually means that a young woman relinquishes much of her personal freedom in exchange for high status, money and protection.

**Image and rank are central to self-esteem.** Both image and rank are gained through successful management of concurrency and investment in 'the look'.

While consumption is the main driver of concurrency, concurrency is also closely linked to pleasure. Sexual pleasure is particularly important when seeking relationships with younger men. Likewise, it is imperative that a young woman can satisfy each of her partners sexually in order to keep them.

**Trust** is established in different ways in different relationships, and is usually related to time spent together, communication and being made to feel "number one," as demonstrated by a partner spending most of his time and money on a young woman. Trust is only established with a personal. Trust is not about fidelity since it is inevitable that with concurrency a person will be 'horned', (cheated on). Trust is about not overtly 'hornin' a partner or being horned publicly and humiliated. Such humiliation can result in a loss of status among peers, something to which many young women feel vulnerable. Being publicly horned is, therefore, to be avoided at all costs.

Another potential consequence of being publicly horned is loss of the personal. As insurance against such loss, young women often have an outside man who can quickly be 'promoted' to the status of a personal. In this way, women can save public face should their personal man leave them. Such a strategy allows them to maintain their financial security.

There is little mention of concern about HIV in the narratives. The two greatest perceived risks associated with a concurrent partner strategy are being horned and getting pregnant. Pregnancy prevention was identified as the main motivation for using condoms, when they are used.

There is **little evidence** in the narratives of any form of **sustained or consistent condom use**. When condoms are used, it is usually with outside men and at the beginning of the relationship. Condoms are sometimes reintroduced into relationships with personals when one partner suspects the other of 'hornin'. In this regard, condom use is considered a "demotion" or punishment for 'hornin' and getting caught.

There is a perception that a young woman can insist on condom use with outside men, and could implement a 'no condom - no sex' policy, should she be motivated to do so. Condom use with personals, however, is not the norm.

### Using the Data to Design the Campaign

The key recommendations for concept development are:

- Build upon skills that young women already possesses and demonstrate when managing their strategy of concurrency. The campaign should emphasise that women have the skills to manage their partners (and hence to negotiate condom use).
- Incorporate tools used for the management strategy into the campaign (e.g. cell phones).
- Appeal to the image and style appealing to young women, so that condoms are integrated into or become part of 'the look'.
- Emphasise fun and pleasure rather than disease prevention.
- Do not associate condoms with the concept of trust. Linking the two results in condom use being associated with getting horned, and could reinforce the idea that condom use represents a demotion in one's relationship.
- Position the campaign so that our archetype (the young woman who is being targeted) will see **“consistent condom use with outside partners as the safer sex strategy that will protect their image and keep their rank, and as more beneficial than giving sex too easily.”**

## 1. BACKGROUND

### 1.1 Introduction

The UNAIDS/WHO AIDS Epidemic Update from December 2005 reports that HIV infections in Trinidad and Tobago are six times higher among 15-19 year-old females than among males of the same age<sup>1</sup> and that a study among women giving birth in Tobago found 2.6% of them to be HIV-positive; among those younger than 25 years, prevalence was 3.8%.<sup>2</sup> Unprotected heterosexual intercourse remains the main mode of transmission in this country of 1.3 million. It is commonly thought that a driver of the epidemic is the practice of younger women having relationships with older men, most often for money or gifts. As a result, PSI Caribbean and its local affiliate, Society for Family Health (SFH), sought to gain an in-depth understanding into the phenomenon of transactional sex and cross-generational relationships among out of school females 16 to 24 years of age in Trinidad.<sup>3</sup> Little is known about what motivates young women to enter into these kinds of sexual relationships, their risk perception for HIV and other sexually transmitted infections, and influential behavioural and social factors.

A PEER/FoQus study was undertaken with the initial objective of understanding the practice of transactional sex and to identify influential factors of behaviour. Results from the study will be used to develop a communications strategy which includes a mix of interpersonal communication and mass media to reach this target group with safer sex messages.

The PEER (Participatory Ethnographic and Evaluation Research) method was chosen to generate narrative data, both for its ability to provide an authentic insider view of the realities of this target group and for its capacity to promote the participation and capture the voice of hard-to-reach populations around sensitive issues. PEER also offers the potential to bring the voice of the target population to the marketer, and to provide an entry point into communities both for concept testing and interventions themselves. PEER data were processed using the FoQus on Segmentation technique and synthesised data were presented to programmers during a half-day workshop in which peer researchers enacted role plays and presented collages that would later be used to develop archetypes for each community. Study facilitators and programmers then spent another day and a half interpreting data and completing a short instrument known as a “dashboard” to prioritize intervention areas and generate a positioning statement for the campaign.

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<sup>1</sup> Inciardi JA, Syvertsen JL, and Surratt HL (2005). HIV/AIDS in the Caribbean Basin. *AIDS Care*, 17 (Supplement 1): S9-S25

<sup>2</sup> Duke V et al (2004). Seroprevalence of HIV, HSV-1 and HSV-2 among women in Tobago : A cord blood-based survey, CAREC Surveillance Report, 24(3). November

<sup>3</sup> A subsequent study is planned for Tobago in 2008.

## **1.2 Defining the risk behaviour: Concurrency**

The study was conducted in two locations in Trinidad: Sea Lots and Point Fortin. During the initial training of peer researchers in October, it became evident that among this target population, sex and financial benefits are intimately linked within *all* relationships. To therefore define some relationships as transactional and some as non-transactional is of little help in understanding risk behaviour among the target population, and would have led to an inaccurate design of the programme and subsequent tracking survey to monitor and evaluate programmatic success. The study has therefore focused on understanding how patterns of *concurrent* relationships are managed and maintained, and how they contribute to young women's risk of HIV infection.

## 2. METHOD

### 2.1 Participatory Ethnographic Evaluation and Research (PEER)

PEER is a qualitative, participatory, research method that is particularly effective for working with hard-to-research groups to understand risk behaviour as they themselves experience and conceptualize their actions. It is based upon training members of the target community (in this case young women) to carry out in-depth conversational interviews with trusted individuals selected by them from their own social networks.

PSI Caribbean (PSI/C), in Trinidad and Tobago, worked through their existing networks in the two communities to recruit peer researchers, forming an initial group of 10 researchers; 5 from Sea Lots and 5 from Point Fortin. The criteria for peer researcher recruitment were based on: being members of the target group; willingness to participate, and basic literacy. 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. In accordance with the methodology, the study did not rely on a random or stratified sampling approach for validity.

Training took place over four days in a participatory workshop led by facilitators from the PSI/C contracted research agency, with support from the Options' research specialist and PSI research department in Washington, D.C. The peer researchers learnt a range of skills for developing and conducting informal interviews, and were observed practicing gaining informed consent. Themes guiding the research and interview discussion points were developed in collaboration with PSI/C and are outlined in Annex 1<sup>4</sup>.

### 2.2 Data Collection and Analysis

Peer researchers were instructed to interview three friends on three separate occasions. Each interview covered one of the three identified themes. Interviews were conducted in the third person, with questions introduced in the form of, "what do your friends say about..." Peer researchers were provided with notebooks in which to make brief notes, and were visited by a supervisor on a weekly basis to debrief on interview results. The supervisor took detailed notes. These notes make up the final data set, complemented by extensive notes made by the research specialists during additional debriefing sessions with the peer researchers.

The majority of the peer researchers conducted nine in-depth interviews and were able to take notes (after the interview) providing very detailed narrative data. For personal reasons one of the researchers from Sea Lots was unable to complete the interviews and dropped out of the programme. Data were analysed by the Options' and PSI research specialists thematically. Emerging themes were assigned codes and explored further and triangulated during the final peer researcher workshop. Quotations from the data are *italicized* in the report. Quotations have in some cases been edited for clarity and concision.

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<sup>4</sup> See annex 1.

## 2.3 FoQus on Segmentation

The in-depth narrative data generated by PEER were processed for items for audience segmentation and for concept development for the intervention using the FoQus tool. The FoQus process was conducted in seven steps the outputs of which are:

1. Building a person profile:

Archetypes were developed with the peer researchers who used drama and collages to describe a young woman with concurrent partners in each of their communities. The group then considered how the archetypes already find strategies to conform to the desired behaviour or to protect themselves against adverse outcomes.

2. Identifying beliefs to reinforce and beliefs to change.

Based on the narrative data and archetypes, facilitators worked with PSI programme staff to identify key themes and potential determinants of condom use. These data constitute the “segmentation” results, which are used to separate “behavers” (condom users) from “non-behavers” (condom non-users). The campaign should reinforce factors that facilitate condom use and should change factors that obstruct condom use.

3. Determining the current brand personality.

The group used narrative data to identify the archetypes’ current perceptions of condoms and condom users.

4. Describing the archetype’s opportunity, ability, and motivation to process messages.

Facilitators and programmers identified “openings” when archetypes could be reached with messages about condom use (opportunity), their familiarity with the types of condoms available on the market (ability), and their inclination to behave (motivation).

5. Identifying the frame of reference.

Facilitators and programmers identified competing behaviours that prevent the archetypes from adopting condom use.

6. Writing a positioning statement.

The group developed a positioning statement, which includes the archetype, product, point of differentiation (benefit), and the competition (competing behaviour).

7. Establishing a marketing mix.

The marketing mix for the campaign was then considered. The group identified the appropriate behaviour, condom use with outside partners (product); the actual cost to the archetype (price); how condom use should be promoted; and the appropriate channels to use for campaign dissemination (placement).

The outputs from the FoQus process are presented in this document along with the supporting narrative evidence-base provided by the PEER study.

### 3. CONCURRENCY IN RELATIONSHIPS

#### 3.1 Context of Study Populations

Sea Lots is an impoverished 'ghetto' area which has developed around the port area of Port of Spain. Employment levels are very low, and data from the PEER interviews indicate that crime levels are high, fuelling the informal economy of the area. The lifestyle of young men and women described in the interviews is of a 'day-by-day' existence, in which young women seek to secure their safety and maximise their economic and social opportunities through 'hustling.'

*They are all living the day to day life... Hustling, that is what their life is based on.*

Point Fortin is a more affluent area, with clearer distinctions between different economic groups. Point Fortin benefits from the oil industry, with many more employment opportunities being available. Interviews indicate that there are networks of young women who perceive that they have opportunities to study and aspire towards having small businesses or professional careers.

*What they want depends on background. If you are well educated and have parents who love you, you may want something for life.*

Data indicate similarities between the two areas in terms of patterns concurrency and an overall economic strategy which interlinks sexual relationships with financial gain. There are, however, differences in the types and classifications of relationships and the management strategies employed.

#### 3.2 Transactions in sexual relationships

Despite the differences in economic context between Sea Lots and Point Fortin, and differences in perceived opportunities between different socio-economic groups in Point Fortin, in all interview narratives **sex and money are inextricably linked**. In this respect sexual relationships (and friendships with boys/men) are **all** transactional in nature.

An over-riding feature of the interviews is that sex is commoditised as part of the norm of relationships. Young women, particularly in Sea Lots, are also encouraged by mothers to enter into sex for financial gain. Although basic needs are sometimes met through financial transactions in exchange for sex – the driving force behind concurrency in partners is consumerism and style, referred to in the narratives and our archetype as '*the look*'. Partners (especially 'outside men) are changed easily to ensure the flow of financial resources.

*My friends don't have any particular man, once the money running and the nookie fixing (good sex) they good...So basically relationships don't really matter 'cos money make the nookie go 'round.*

*The main thing in changing partners is who has the most money. The outside man can change randomly –because if your pay day is next week I will go with the man this week who has money.*

### 3.3 'The look'

'The look' (clothes, shoes, hair, nails, jewellery of 'bling') is central to status and self-esteem, and while the objects of consumerism may change with age, the drive for concurrency among partners is to achieve and maintain social status through style.

*Why is 'the look' important? That is something very important to them. That is something they like to maintain in the ghetto. Even if she is not going out she just look good on the block when they lime. It is like that.*

*Different age brackets you get different things from them. The younger ones want shoes and jewellery. Older ones may want things for the house, but it is still for vanity.*

Maintaining 'the look' drives the need for multiple, concurrent partners. The commoditisation of sex, is described in the narratives as a cycle in which consumption fuels the need for concurrency, and concurrency is essential for status which is based on consumption. In other words, it is crucial to maintain 'the look' in order to attract men. Attracting men establishes status among peers and provides the money to maintain 'the look'. And so the circle continues.

*She wants shoes, and vanity. That is what she wants from life: houses, cars, jewellery. She wants several men because they can have the money. Having several men and a lot of money, your friends look at you as though you are a boss.*

*They compete to see who will get the man with the money. They keep him long enough so they can top back up the wardrobe.*

There is no indication that money is used for investment in assets for the future or for savings. Investment is in young women's immediate asset of her look, and is therefore spent as soon as it is gained.

*They spend it on hair and clothes. They don't save they don't talk about life in ten years time.*

Those who manage concurrent partners well, gain increased status among their peers.

*They have praise when they have more than one man. Three or four and they say "what you doing woman, you have plenty men." One could be for clothes, one for groceries.*

When young women have fewer concurrent partners, or are looking for "love" or a committed partner, they are generally derided as being unattractive to men, or 'facially challenged,' and have lower social status among the peer group.

*Most of the times the pretty and intelligent women are the ones who have all the men. The ones who are facially challenged are the more loving ones and want to better themselves. They are always looking to settle down and do the cooking and cleaning.*

Those who do not maintain 'the look' and have multiple concurrent partners are judged morally as being dirty or stupid for having sex and not gaining anything from it (*fuckin' for style*). Sex without financial gain is perceived within the target group as foolish and shameful, and certainly not normative. A young woman will not be stigmatised by her peers for having multiple partners. She will, however, be stigmatised for having multiple partners and having nothing to show for it.

*If she doesn't look good they say "so what is she fucking for? Have you seen how she is looking?" They say, "why she have all those men and she looking like that? What she fucking for? She fucking for style."*

*Once they getting something she gets praise. If she is not getting anything they consider her a fool.*

*Her reputation is to look good, but if she is having sex and not looking good and getting nothing then they will stigmatise you.*

### **3.4 Partner Types: Personal and Outside Men**

Young women talk about two main partner types: the **personal** and the **outside man or men**. Who a young woman defines as her personal varies and depends upon the context. In many cases, he is the live-in partner. He may also be the man who spends the most time with the young woman and who supports her the most financially.

A young woman can have any number of outside men to meet her needs. Outside men are easily changeable and may need to be managed so that the personal does not find out about them. Management of these multiple partners involves juggling schedules so the personal does not run into a woman while she is with her outside men, maintaining separate phone numbers for different partners, or even having a different phone for each partner. While outside men can know about the personal, the personal should not know about outside men.

### **3.5 Patterns of Concurrency in Sea Lots**

There are notable differences in how concurrency is managed between Sea Lots and Point Fortin. Patterns of concurrency both between and within Sea Lots and Point Fortin vary depending on age, experience, and social opportunity, as well as the financial aims of the young woman and the level of control she wishes to achieve in her relationships. The patterns of concurrency are dynamic, flexible and complex and are managed to maximise desired outcomes.

Interviews in Sea Lots reveal that having concurrent sexual partners begins approximately by age 14. Discussions with women in Sea Lots do not indicate an aspiration for marriage or settling down with one partner. There is a perception of an inevitable circle of multiple partners.

*Once they get to 14 every one is in it honey, everyone is living the life.*

For the most part, emotion was not discussed as central to relationships (especially in Sea Lots). When it was talked about in the interviews, it was in the context of a young woman's vulnerability. Caring too much for a partner can only mean getting hurt, as it is inevitable that a man will also have other women. If a young woman becomes emotionally attached she risks being horned and losing public face.

*Bad men:*

Narratives indicate that a younger woman (16-18) would generally prefer a **bad man / ranker** as her personal. A bad man has the status, money and power in the community. He gains his money through crime, especially theft and drug dealing, and since he also carries a gun, can provide the young woman with protection.

*They prefer the man who does the wrong things. They are living a hustling life. The decent man he will try and help her and send her to school and she wouldn't want that.*

*The bad man carries a gun so he protects her. He is shooting and thieving and so he has lots of money. He shoots someone and has 10 thousand dollars. They prefer the one who sells drugs (because he has the most money).*

The bad man assures the young woman social status among her peer group. He is able to buy her expensive jewellery and accessories. Because her personal man is powerful (he "runs the block"), she also gains respect from women who also perceive her to be a winner ("big she-up"). Other men are fearful of the bad man and so she is protected from other men's unwanted advances towards her. Only other bad men will make a move towards her (check-for-her) and if they do have sexual relations with her, they will do it in secret (on the low).

*If a fella knows your boyfriend has a gun he wouldn't try to come up to you because your boyfriend will shoot him.*

*Women usually are with these men for sex, money and love. They get respect, fame and money. Cuz man running the block other women will big she up. If another man feel he more bad he will check for her or do it on the low<sup>5</sup>....men would not generally check for her though because they know that she with a bad man*

A relationship with a bad man will end if he loses his status, for example, due to an accident or shooting.

*There is this woman she was going with a bad guy - one day he got shot – he was paralysed from the hip down – he couldn't buy the fancy jewellery so that was the end of the relationship.*

The relationship also ends when he starts to spend more time and money on another woman, who becomes his personal. The trade off for big money and respect from others

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<sup>5</sup> Have sex with her in secret

is that the young woman relinquishes control in the relationship. Bad men typically try to control women in the area by 'breeding them,' (having children with them). This sets women in competition with each other for his time and money, and curtails their freedom by tying them more to the home. Young women also perceive pregnancy to be a way to ensure that they can keep the bad man's attention and to lock him into a relationship, even though they are aware that he will eventually move on to another woman.

*He (bad man) may have children in several homes. He has to steal to provide for them. He could have more than one woman who calls him her personal. Those women compete with each other for him. They may be making babies year after year to see which one will get him to stay there with them, to try to keep him.*

*Rankers are like a pimp they have 3 or 4 or 5 women under their control, and they just breed them, three or four times so they can't go out. They buy Jordans (sneakers) and gold for everybody.*

In terms of respect, a conflicting dynamic occurs when a young woman is in a relationship with a bad man. While she gains respect from her peers and other men for being with such a man, the bad man will likely disrespect her in public, threaten her, and beat her. She perceives herself to be under his control, 'under-lock-down,'

*The woman with the bad man usually under lock down (forbidden from going out) usually she is like 15 or 16 years old. She endures years of licks (beatings) and abuse.*

*With a bad man, if a woman living with him, he could bring another woman in the house and tell them to get along. If they don't, then he beat them sometimes in front of their children.*

Hence, through the strategy of having a bad man the young woman has maximum status and minimum control. A young woman with a bad man as her personal may look for outside men, but this is done covertly and usually with men who live outside of Sea Lots so that the bad man never finds out.

*The externals will be outside the area. They will sleep with you and you get money and run.*

#### Normal man: Personal man

As the young woman progresses through her strategy, she starts to look for a personal man over whom she can have control: a "normal man" as opposed to a bad man. In this case the personal is usually someone with whom she lives and importantly, with whom she can communicate.

*They worry if the personal leave home and they won't find someone like that person again. They may not find someone they can communicate with.*

The personal man often moves in to the woman's house and finances the household. She will often have children (from another man) living with her, and possibly her mother. In some cases, the young woman may move into the home of her personal.

From the personal, the young woman gains a sense of security and self esteem. A personal makes his woman believe that she is his “number one” by spending most of his time with her and most of his money on her. When a personal lavishes a woman with attention and money, she describes herself as “feeling like a queen.” The fact that he spends most of his time with her and has children with her makes her feel special.

*The fact that he gives her half of his pay and that he plans to settle down and start a family with her makes her feel good about herself.*

However, if her personal is not a ranker, he cannot provide her with all the money needed to maintain ‘the look.’ The young woman, therefore inevitably also manages a network of outside men. She now perceives herself to be totally in control of her strategy and relationships, and she gains her status among her peers through her skills in managing her outside men and her personal.

*When you look for a ranker there is no way you can be in control, so when she want to be in control she looks for a personal (normal man).*

*Those who have a personal, they don't want to be under control. Their man is not a ranker. If you have a personal man usually you can be in control because he is not a ranker, but she is controlling him.*

### Outside men

Young women maintain outside men to meet a variety of needs, each man having his specific purpose. Central to the management of outside men is the cell phone, sometimes referred to in the narratives as the “call a man service”.

*They use the phone service provided. Call a man service. They call Tom in the morning, Dick in the afternoon, Harry at night time.*

In the case of young women whose ‘inside’ man is a bad man, the cell phone is vital for keeping the strategy hidden from the bad man.

*She may tire of the inside man. And when she fed up she may (horn) in his face and then he might beat her and she will stop and do it on the low (very discreetly). Mostly she on the phone. Bad man so busy and not be around to see her on the phone. Bad man is in and out of Sea Lots and she is on the phone when he out.*

The risk of managing several outside men is that the personal may find out, and in retaliation, horn her publicly. If this occurs she does not only risk losing financial security, but also status amongst her peers for failing to manage her men well. To minimise this risk, the young woman makes sure she has an outside man lined up who can take the place of the personal if necessary: he can be ‘promoted’ to a personal. If her personal man proves to be too controlling by restricting her movements or decreasing the amount of money given to her, she will move on and find another personal. Alternatively, she will adopt a strategy of having only outside men.

No personal: managing outside men

Those who have been horned by their personal man may chose not to have a personal, but rather maintain a network of outside men who all meet her different needs. She may have one for groceries, one for rent, one for nails, and one for jewellery. In this way she can avoid any emotional attachment. Through this strategy of maintaining only outside men, she can maximise financial flow and control, while minimising vulnerability. The skills employed in managing a network of outside men should not be under-estimated.

*They have a schedule. They will meet one today and another later. They have different men for different things: one for the groceries, like at the end of the month, and one for every week that gives her money. They call them 'fuck friends' for money.*

The Cycle: sex, money, look, sex....

There is a perception of inevitability in the cycle of concurrency. If a woman does find a man for whom she feels an emotional attachment she perceives that he will eventually horn her, and leave her for another woman. It is therefore imperative that she continues to maintain her strategy of having outside partners, to ensure her future security and status.

*Some may fall in love. But he will turn and do the things she is trying to stop. He will go out and get a woman pregnant. It feels like there is no way out of that pattern. They go in circles. Everyone is in circles.*

### **3.6 Patterns of Concurrency: Point Fortin**

Aspirations

Interview results reveal that there are more perceived opportunities for a young woman to study or achieve her own businesses in Point Fortin than in Sea Lots. Several of the narratives describe aspirations to achieve an independent career. In this case, concurrent relationships are seen to support needs like buying books and paying for school fees.

*She may want to do some courses that she cannot afford so they do it for that reason. They want help and they are in it for that, and they done with the man after they get what they want.*

For those who do not perceive an opportunity for having a career or gaining an education, concurrency is a means of maintaining a much higher standard of living and social status than available employment opportunities allow. Having lower-status jobs is perceived as also inhibiting a young woman's chances of attracting wealthy and high status men.

*Most of dem do not talk about getting a job, and jobs they will get they wouldn't take them. Jobs like working at KFC is not good for their image or reputation. The men that they want would not go out with a woman who has those kinds of jobs.*

For all young women, regardless of social class, concurrent relationships are perceived as the means to achieving 'the look' and status among peers.

*Normal women from normal family dem women like to bling so the more the better. They like to dress and everybody wearing the clothes.*

As in Sea Lots, there is little aspiration in the narratives for a young woman to marry and move away from her strategy of concurrency.

*Most don't want children they like the lime light. If they have children they have to stay home and watch the children. Everybody's dream is to get out (of their family home) and get a man to live with. There is rarely any talk about getting married.*

#### Same-age boyfriends and friends (personal and outside men)

Narratives in Point Fortin point to younger women having two concurrent partners, the personal and the outside man. The 'personal' is often a same-age boyfriend and the relationship is defined through trust. Trust is shown by him ignoring other women's advances and by spending most of his time with her. He also makes romantic gestures, such as giving her gifts.

Outside men are referred to as 'friends' or sometimes 'friends with benefits,' and the transition from friendship to sexual partner is often fluid. A young man may be defined as a 'friend' for some time, spending time with the young woman and giving her gifts. Hence, they are often referred to as 'friends with benefits.' There is a sense of inevitability that the friendship will eventually become sexual.

*It all depends what makes him a personal man. He is there for you, but he doesn't have to be the only one to give money or sex.*

#### Older men as personal or financier

Young women often state a preference for having relationships with older men. Older men are seen as mature and stable, and as having the financial security to support a young woman by paying her school fees. She may call him her 'financier' because she gets most of her money from him. He is likely to remain a clandestine partner because the age difference is seen as publicly shameful, and because he is usually married. The interview narratives and peer researcher role plays indicate that the young woman usually feels no emotional attachment to the older man, it is purely an economic relationship.

*The older guy is because they are looking for financial stability and experience.*

*The woman who has a personal, the financier is supposed to be hidden, sometimes even your best friend don't know about the financier. The financier is the older man. For the one with many relationships there is nothing emotional.*

She may have a younger boyfriend for public face, whom she calls her personal.

*Most of the time she would not want the public to know she has an older man so the younger men are the cover up. Because the older men are married or she might be ashamed.*

Sexual satisfaction and having fun are also important factors in relationships with younger men, especially since older men are perceived to be dull, sexually unappealing, and unable to perform well enough to sexually satisfy a woman. Having enjoyable sex is perceived to be an important part of the lifestyle, or 'the look.'

*Older men do not perform like younger boys. Older men are always tired. Sex now is an in thing, some is for pleasure and most for money.*

No personal: managing outside men

The 'glamour girl' is the woman who can maintain 'the look' and multiple partners. She gains status through managing concurrency, and not having a personal who will try to control the number of partners she has. She has status among her friends by easily being able to attract men and does not make herself vulnerable to hornin' through an emotional attachment.

*A personal man hold her back. A personal man will tell her you are hornin' and whatever and make her want to stay home. She probably has experiences in the past so she doesn't want anyone to hold her down now.*

*My other friend says no matter whether (a man) is young, old, or doing the job, as far as sex is concerned she find that it better to have casual relationship.*

**4. OTHER KEY INTERVIEW THEMES**

In addition to the patterns of relationships described above, several other emergent themes emerged from the data that were common to both Sea Lost and point Fortin.

**4.1 Self-efficacy**

For the most part, young women have a high degree of self-efficacy in managing their strategy of concurrency. In all the relationship patterns, trade-offs are made between relative losses and gains.

<b>Community</b>	<b>Strategy</b>	<b>Gain</b>	<b>Loss</b>
<b>Sea Lots</b>	<b>Bad man as personal (may or may not have outside men)</b>	High money, status, protection. High esteem – feels number one in community	No control over relationship, high competition. Short-term strategy he will move on. Outside men must be clandestine
<b>Sea Lots</b>	<b>Normal personal + outside men</b>	Higher control. Communication with personal – he makes her feel special. Status by openly managing outside men.	No social status gained. No protection from bad man. Vulnerable to being horned and losing the breadwinner.

<b>Sea Lots and Point Fortin</b>	<b>No personal – outside men only</b>	High control. Status by being able to attract and manage multiple men. Not vulnerable to being horned.	No bread-winner, high management required, no communication with a personal partner.
<b>Point Fortin</b>	<b>Old man as personal + outside men</b>	High financial stability, mature.	Low sexual pleasure and fun.
<b>Point Fortin</b>	<b>Young man as personal + outside men</b>	Fun and high sexual pleasure.	Low financial security and immature

\*All relationships in these patterns of concurrency involve an economic or material transaction.

## 4.2 Image, Rank and Self-esteem

Image is central to self-esteem. This idea was presented clearly in interviews and later depicted in the collages. Maintaining one's image means looking sexy, having tight revealing clothes, and wearing plenty of 'bling.' It also means being seen at the right clubs and drinking branded, designer drinks.

Rank is also directly related to self-esteem. Young women gain rank among their peers through maintaining 'the look' and being able to show that they can attract multiple men. Both communities are highly competitive environments in which young women are competing for rank and status, and wanting to be seen as a "winner."

## 4.3 Pleasure

Pleasure was a central theme running through the narratives, both in terms of receiving and providing sexual pleasure. For the young woman, sexual pleasure is an important factor in her choice of outside partners, especially with younger men.

*A woman may have sex with a guy because she hear before that a guy is good and she just want to see for herself.*

*You hear he really packing so you want a piece of it.*

Being able to please a partner is also part of the strategy to maintain concurrent relationships. Young women are able to manage their partners' sexual satisfaction through techniques such as oral sex. They also use their ability to give the personal or financier sexual pleasure to negotiate their way out of doing undesirable things, such as housework. Failure to sexually satisfy a personal is one of the main factors that young women fear will result in loss of her partner.

*They think he will leave them if the sex is not good or they stop dressing up nice.*

*With older men whether the sex good or not they have to take it because that is where the money is.*

#### 4.4 Management

Strategies of concurrency take a high degree of skilled management. If the personal is a bad man it is imperative that he does not find out about outside men. If the personal is a 'normal' man then a woman has the ability to stand up to him and have outside men, maintaining her perception of being in control. The better her management skills, the more outside men she can handle. The more men she manages the more monetary rewards she reaps, and the greater her status among her peers. Outside men also need to be managed to ensure that they do not meet one another or are confronted with her hornin', which requires careful scheduling.

*The praise is asking her what she doing in a technical ghetto way. They ask what she doing to handle the men. They tell her she's the boss, and if she being a boss she get praise because people want to learn from her.*

#### 4.5 Trust

Trust is established in different ways in different relationships. Trust is only established with the personal. With a bad man this is through him spending the majority of his time with her and money on her. It is also established by sharing information about the source of his money. While disclosure can signify trust, it can also be used as a form of control over the young woman since she knows that if she were to inform on him, he would kill her.

*He may go and shoot someone so he has a lot of money for the day. If he tells her his business where he got the money from and how he got it, she trusts him because he tells her where he gets it from.*

With a 'normal' personal man, trust is about time spent together and communication. The time frame through which trust is established can vary from one week to several years. Trust is not about fidelity since the normative strategy of concurrency means that getting horned is inevitable. Trust is, however, established by not overtly hornin' a partner and not making outside relationships public. Trust is also established with a personal by being open and public about the relationship, either by living together or making open declarations that she is his "number one."

*Publicity makes them trust their partner. When people start recognizing they are linking (when lots of people see them liming together). They know when people see them together if he cheating someone would come back and tell them.*

*They trust their partner because they feel that they are the only one, they hear "I love you" often and they get what they want right through. Also they spend plenty time together and if they spending plenty time together and talking on the phone he don't have time to cheat.*

With outside men, emotional trust is not established. Some interviews did, however, reveal that trust in an outside partner's negative HIV status can be established through testing. This idea appears to be the result of a recent HIV testing awareness campaign that has been broadcast on radio. Ever being tested, not necessarily getting tested just

before or during the relationship, is considered sufficient evidence that an outside partner can be trusted not to transmit HIV.

#### 4.6 Hornin'

Trust and hornin' are interlinked. Being horned is perceived to be the greatest risk that young women face in managing concurrency and is seen as a public humiliation. Young women describe setting tests for their personal to determine whether or not he is hornin' them.

*Get horn is a bad thing. If he goes with someone you know your whole reputation has reached a stage where you won't want to communicate with the outside world.*

*You would wonder where would he find the time to cheat on you. You want to know every detail: where he is, who his friends are, where he does lime. You have to give them little tests too: drop in on them, if you see them up the road call them and ask them 'wey dey is' and if they answer correctly they pass.*

#### 4.7 Condoms

There is no indication of consistent condom use among young women. There is, however, a perception that the young women are in control of the decision-making around condom use.

*Nobody uses condoms. They may have it for flinging, but if the guy doesn't like it she won't use it.*

*I don't know of anyone who keeps using condoms, not even me.*

There is also little motivation to use condoms or reduce concurrency because of the risk of HIV.

*There is a guy who lives on my street and they all know he is HIV positive and they will still fuck him for money.*

Perceptions of self-efficacy to use condoms are linked to perceived levels of control and trust in relationships. Trust and condom use are inter-linked. Condom use with the personal stops once trust is established, which can be very soon into the relationship. Trust is established if the personal does not horn her publicly, and when she feels they are communicating. Condoms are perceived to interfere with establishing and maintaining intimacy.

*With the personal man she will insist to begin with then after a while she will stop using it.*

*He's in love and want to feel his woman so they don't use any. She does this because of how she feels for him they used the first two nights of their nine month relationship.*

*They begin to trust them and after a while you want the raw thing (sex without a condom). You get comfortable... You may feel like you missing out on something (feel like you not getting the best sex).*

Condoms are also believed to inhibit pleasure.

*My friend used to use condoms until one day one of her ex-boyfriend introduce her to raw sex, she enjoyed it and never want to use the condom again.*

*She taste the sex normal and said "I like it, so it taste sweeter". She liked sex without condoms better so she stop using condoms.*

Young women generally believe that condoms are for use with outside men. Condoms are only reintroduced into a relationship with a personal after experiencing an STI or other evidence of being horned. As a result, condoms are seen as a 'demotion', an accusation of being horned.

*They stopped (using condoms) but started back and continued to use condoms because they got an infection from their partner. Trust wasn't there anymore and they wanted to be safe*

Condoms are most likely to be used with younger men; it is unlikely that they will be used with older men. Older men resist using condoms and are also perceived to be unable to use them properly because their penis is too soft or small.

There is a perception that the young woman has the control to insist on condom use with outside men, and could implement a 'no condom - no sex' policy with outside men, should she be motivated to do so.

*One woman (I know), insists on using (condoms) because she has two or three guys and they say they don't want to use it. She says 'without a condom you are not getting anything' and they want a piece, so they use it.*

In the case where a woman has a condom policy, condoms are primarily used for pregnancy prevention.

*She want to use because she recently throw away a child (had an abortion) and she is trying to change. She used it for two or three months and then she went back to not using it.*

*She might say yes or insist that he test first before, she worries about protecting from pregnancy, using a condom will protect her from getting pregnant.*

#### **4.8 Pregnancy**

The primary associated with unprotected sex is pregnancy. Condoms are most likely to be used with same age boyfriends to prevent pregnancy, especially if both partners are students (in Point Fortin).

*A woman with her boyfriend, she trust him. They been together a while and she doesn't want to go on birth control because of the dangers, and she still using condoms because she doesn't want to get pregnant. He is OK with it because he is going to school as well and they live together.*

In this circumstance condom use often stops after a few months once trust is established, or when the young woman starts to use some other form of birth control. While methods of pregnancy prevention were not a focus of the interviews, narratives from Point Fortin indicate that contraceptive methods, such as the pill or injectables are commonly used. Narratives from Sea Lots and Point Fortin suggest that abortion is frequently used in the event of an unwanted pregnancy.

*If she gets pregnant she will throw it away because she is upset about having a child.*

Pregnancy is a major concern for young women since it hampers style, can compromise one's image, and limits freedom to manage outside men.

*What worries them most is becoming pregnant because that will slow them down because they are still hot.*

For young women with a personal, pregnancy is perceived as less of a problem than it is for young women who are only managing outside men. If a young woman does not have a personal there is no man to take parental responsibility. If she has a personal and becomes pregnant with an outside man, she will tell her personal the child is his and he will usually accept paternity.

*If she gets pregnant with the external, she tells the internal man it is his. Getting pregnant will benefit her getting more money from the inside man, because he is living in the house. With the inside man they will not look on pregnancy as a problem.*

With bad men/rankers a woman has no control over pregnancy. A bad man will try and impregnate a young woman in order to control her and mark out his territory. A young woman will also often be motivated to become pregnant with a bad man to try and maintain her position as number one.

*Some women say they don't want to use (condoms) because they want to tie the man down.*

#### **4.8 Role of Mothers**

Although it was not a focus of the narrative interviews, peer researchers identified that the main motivation for women within the target group to talk about HIV/AIDS is to educate their children, knowing that by the age of 14 or 15, they are likely to be sexually active. Since many of the households are female headed with men moving between households and communities, women perceive the need to protect their children and take responsibility for educating them about HIV/AIDS.

## 5 PRIORITIZING RESULTS TO DEVELOP THE CONCEPT FOR THE CAMPAIGN

In order to synthesize emergent themes identified during interviews, peer researchers created role plays and collages. They then debriefed researchers and programmers on the ideas contained in those presentations. The role plays provided a context for each of the relationship patterns identified and illustrated the dynamics in those relationships. The collages were pictorial representations of women typical of their friends. The information from the collages was used to develop an archetype for each community: Jewel from Sea Lots and Wendy from Point Fortin. In addition to general descriptions of the women, predominant themes contained in the archetypes were “the look,” patterns of concurrency, hornin’, management, image and rank, main concerns, and aspirations for the future. (Collages and full archetype descriptions for Jewel and Wendy are presented in the appendices)

After data had been synthesised with peer researchers, the study facilitators and programmers worked together to reduce the data even further and identify programmable themes. Themes were divided into constructs contained in PSI’s Behaviour Change Framework<sup>6</sup>. The group completed a short instrument known as a “dashboard” to prioritize intervention areas and generate a positioning statement for the campaign. (The complete dashboard is included in the first appendix).

The group identified areas where PSI/Caribbean could capitalize on Jewel and Wendy’s existing belief system to promote condom use. They prioritized areas that could be integrated into the first phase of the campaign. Both women feel efficacious in different areas of their lives, primarily their ability to control their image, manage men, exploit resources to satisfy their “needs,” and their ability to get out of doing things they do not want to do. Beliefs and attitudes about looking good, feeling sexy, and maintaining their major asset (image) are also important. Pleasure is also an important idea to reinforce, so too is the idea that a woman should not give anything away for free. Finally, concerns about preventing pregnancy already enable condom use and could be used to promote more consistent use, especially with outside men. The group felt that condom promotion with personals would be impractical at this point.

Next, the group identified potential channels, times, and places for reaching Jewel and Wendy. The women’s reliance on cell phones to manage their relationships suggests the potential for reaching them with text messaging or downloadable ring tones available on a PSI website with condom promotion material. IPC should take place when women are limin’. Other opportunities to reach Jewel and Wendy are at social hubs, like bars, street parties, and hair and nail salons. The best times for reaching them are men’s pay days, Fridays, Saturdays, when they are “prettin’ up for the weekend.” The tone of the messages should be sexy and suggestive with an emphasis on pleasure. The campaign must also disassociate condoms with hornin’ and show how condoms preserve Jewel and Wendy’s image.

Finally, the group generated a positioning statement to encapsulate the above ideas and demonstrate how Jewel and Wendy should perceive the promoted behaviour: “We want Jewel and Wendy to see consistent condom use with outside partners as a way to protect their image and keep their rank and more beneficial than giving sex too easily.”

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<sup>6</sup> For a complete description of Behaviour Change Framework, see [www.psi.org/research](http://www.psi.org/research).

## Young women and sexual relationships in two locations in Trinidad

This positioning statement constitutes the primary input into the marketing plan and will be used to develop the campaign.

## Appendices

### Appendix 1: Dashboard Instrument

**Input:** PEER interview transcripts, role plays, collages, archetype narratives, synthesized data

#### **Person Profile:**

##### **Archetype:**

Jewel and Wendy are 19 and 22 years old (respectively). Jewel lives in Sea Lots and Wendy lives in Point Fortin, Trinidad. Having “the look” is of primary importance to both and they work hard to maintain their image. Maintaining “the look” means wearing the latest style: clothes must be tight, sexy, and branded, not fake. Looking good also means being well groomed – fresh hairstyles (weaves) and painted nails – and being seen in nice, fast cars.

Jewel and Wendy live with their mother and either a stepfather or no male head of household. Both women like to lime with guys, but limit their circle of female friends to avoid bacchanal (*friction*). They hate women who look better than they do because they represent a threat and could jumbie (*try to steal*) your man.

Money is essential for maintaining the look and comes from having sex with several men at the same time (concurrency). Having several partners is essential. Jewel and Wendy are likely to each have a personal man who makes them feel like they’re “number one” (more important than anyone else) by giving them time, attention, and money. Having outside partners keeps the money flowing and provides other benefits, like sexual satisfaction, attention, fun, and excitement.

Hornin’ is inevitable, but the ultimate insult is to have your partners’ hornin’ thrown in your face. Both Jewel and Wendy take pride in their ability to manage their men and prevent them from finding out about one another. Neither woman can live without her cell phone, a tool essential for her job, “jugglin’ men.” Both are careful to erase their call lists so partners can’t check their phone’s history or identify how many times they’ve either placed or received calls from other men.

Going out and being seen in the right places is important. While Jewel goes to passa passas, Wendy likes to lime at Sting and The Edge (clubs). Both women order premium brands when limin' with guys who buy their drinks.

For Jewel, the way of getting "rank" and "fame" in Sea Lots is to either be with a "bad man" (drug dealer) or to find a desirable man who lives outside of the community and bring him back. Wendy gets "big up" in Point Fortin by having an old man with money who can afford to maintain her lifestyle.

Wendy worries about getting pregnant primarily because it will affect her look. She also worries that she'll disappoint her parents or ruin her career possibilities. Even though Jewel already has one child, she doesn't want any more. She knows in reality, however, that she'll have more.

Wendy would like to have a career and own her own business someday. While Jewel also has aspirations for the future, the steps to achieving them are just too hard. Wendy and Jewel do not foresee a day when they won't expect money from men.

**Perceptions to Reinforce:**

***Image:***

*Self-efficacy – I can manage my image*

*Self-efficacy - I'm a competitor – I'm always in the game*

*Attitude - I want to be #1, the best*

*Attitude - Maintaining your look is important*

*Attitude - Sex appeal is important*

*Belief - Looking good takes effort*

*Belief - Your image is your asset*

*Belief - You must invest in your image*

*Belief - Respect, power, rank, and fame are attainable*

*Belief - You don't give something away for free*

*Belief - Reputation is temporary, rank is permanent*

*Belief - It's about quality, not quantity*

*Belief - Sex appeal is tied to self esteem*

*Belief - Being sexy gets you attention*

### **Management**

*Availability - I have the tools I need to manage my trade (cell phone)*

*Self efficacy - I can manage many things, including my men*

*Self-efficacy - I can prioritize my needs and find the appropriate resource*

*Self-efficacy - I can stand up to my (“normal”) personal man*

*Self-efficacy - I can negotiate the value of my services*

*Self efficacy - I have the skills to get what I want – I hustle for what I want*

*Self-efficacy - I can make my outside men use condoms*

*Self-efficacy - I can give blow jobs instead of having unprotected sex*

*Self-efficacy - I can always find a way out of something I don’t want to do*

*Locus of Control - When I schedule my men, I’m in control*

*Locus of Control - I always have a contingency plan (a man in the wings)*

*Attitude - Blow jobs are valuable*

*Belief - Run background checks – you have to do your homework (research)*

*Belief - You must protect what you have today (your assets, image, beauty)*

*Belief - Your body is your asset*

### **Hornin’**

*Belief - My man is hornin’ me*

*Belief - You can horn with respect (for your partner) – observe discretion*

### **Pleasure:**

*Attitude - Pleasure is essential*

### **Pregnancy:**

*Self-efficacy - I can use family planning methods*

*Belief - Pregnancy can ruin your look*

*Belief - Pregnancy ties you down*

*Belief - I want to limit the number of children I have*

*Outcome expectations - Condoms protect against unwanted pregnancy*

### **Trust:**

*Self-efficacy - I can prevent myself from getting hurt*

*Belief - HIV testing establishes trust*

**Family:**

*Attitude - Women are important*

*Attitude – You need to start educating your kids early about HIV so they can protect themselves*

*Attitude - My family is worth protecting*

*Belief - I worry most about protecting my children*

*Belief - Mothers control their families*

*Belief - My children need to be provided for*

**Perceptions to Change:**

**Image:**

*Attitude - If you don't have a man, there's something wrong with you*

*Attitude - Having a man is essential to your image*

*Attitude - Money can make you feel special*

*Belief - Image is dependent upon having the right look*

*Belief - Your rank is reliant upon having men*

*Self-efficacy - I'll do whatever a man wants for money*

**Pregnancy:**

*Locus of Control - It's inevitable that I'll get pregnant*

*Belief - Pregnancy is used to tie your man down*

*Belief - Men don't get involved with family planning*

**Trust:**

*Belief - Trust comes with time*

**Condoms:**

*Attitude - It's not important to protect my health*

*Attitude - I have nothing to lose (no savings, no future)*

*Belief - Condoms are a demotion*

*Belief - Condoms are for hornin'*

*Belief - You use condoms when you don't trust your partner*

*Belief - Only money and guns protect you*

**Current Behavioural Strategies:**

Jewel and Wendy both have a “No money, no sex” policy – you don’t give something and receive nothing in return. With some outside men, they have a “No condom, no sex” policy, which is implemented inconsistently. They’re experts at negotiation and use their bargaining power to get what they want, especially money. They know how to play to men’s egos to maximize the benefits they receive. They’re strategic, they plan, they manage multiple tasks and men, and they manage their time. They can always find a way to get out of an undesirable situation by lying or making up an excuse. They engage in oral sex when they don’t want to have intercourse. They’re sexually experimental and like pleasure (which suggests they may try a new product).

**Opportunity to Process:**

Cell phones, text messaging, internet (Point Fortin), limin’, gossip, hip clubs, hair salons, social hubs, passa passas, fashion, music, invisible theatre, phone cards. Openings – pay days, Fridays, Saturdays, when “prettin’ up for the weekend,” when limin’ or gossiping, when talking to other mothers about their children.

**Ability to Process:**

Jewel and Wendy aren’t aware of the different types of condoms on the market (e.g., flavoured, studded) or the availability of lubricant, especially for rough or anal sex. Messages should be short and written in the local dialect. The image and style of the campaign are important – they should be visually strong. Messages must be sexy and suggestive. Emphasis should be put on pleasure. A dual protection message is important – condoms prevent pregnancy and STIs/HIV. The campaign must link with their image. Condom packaging must be attractive and fit with their look. Condoms should be viewed as a mainstream product.

**Motivation to Process:**

Jewel and Wendy are in denial about the need for consistent condom use with outside men. There is no perceived benefit of using condoms with personals. Pregnancy is a more immediate concern. For women with kids, concern about their children’s welfare is tantamount.

**Perceptions of Condoms:**

There are no perceived gains in using condoms. Condoms interfere with pleasure – Jewel and Wendy like their sex raw. Condoms can give you rashes. Condom use represents mistrust and a demotion in the personal relationship (if they haven't been used in the past). Condoms are for flings or outside partners only. Condoms can be used for pregnancy prevention, but often aren't. Wendy actually says that she "hates" condoms.

**Marketing mix (4Ps):**

**Product** – consistent condom use with outside partners, premium condoms, condoms with attributes like lubricant, colours, studs/ribs, with retardant (to prolong an erection)

**Price** – pleasure, hassle / nuisance to introduce, requires discipline, too late to introduce with current partners

**Promotion** – Disassociate condoms with hornin'. Show how condoms preserve Jewel and Wendy's assets and image. Associate condoms with pregnancy prevention. Make them a management tool. Condoms can enhance sexual pleasure.

**Place** – Sell condoms in hair salons, boutiques, bars, nightclubs, bathrooms, passa passa vendors, city centre shops and pharmacies, hair product stores (for weaves), mom and pop shops, parlour shops, City Gate and other transport hubs

**Positioning Statement:**

For Jewel and Wendy, consistent condom use with outside partners is the safer sex strategy that will protect their image and keep their rank, and is more beneficial than giving sex too easily.

Appendix 2: Collage from Sea Lots





## Appendix 4: Sea Lots Archetype

This is Jewel. She's 19 years old and lives in Sea Lots with her mother, stepfather, four siblings, her baby, and her "baby fader" (who's a "bad man"). Since families in Sea Lots are large and houses are small, Jewel, her baby, and baby's fader live in their own "spot," a one-room house adjacent to her mother's one-room house (where everyone else lives).

Jewel works hard to maintain her "look." She's "dark" and "pretty" and likes to keep her hair in a weave. Weaves cost anywhere between 200 and 400 TT and Jewel likes to get her hair done once a week.

Jewel dresses in "ghetto wear," usually a tight vest with tight jeans or pencil pants. When she doesn't wear pants, Jewel prefers to wear skirts that are tight and short. Sometimes she'll throw a hoodie on when it's cool. No matter what she wears, Jewel needs to feel sexy. Her clothes should be tight and revealing. Sometimes, she'll even wear beachwear or lingerie, especially when going to a *passa passa* (*street party*). Jewel likes to wear sneakers: her sneakers should always match her clothes. She prefers her clothes and sneakers colourful. Her favourite brands are Adidas, Timberland, Nike (Jordan's), Old School, and Fila.

Jewel likes to smoke Cool cigarettes: she usually smokes a pack a day. Her preferred drink is rum, particularly puncheon' (*strong rum bottled hot*), but she'll also drink beer. If she's limin' with a guy and he's buying the drinks, she'll order a premium brand like Malibu, Heineken, or Guinness. Jewel also likes to be seen riding in fast cars. It's a "vanity affair." She has a preference for B14s, Honda Civics, Audis, and Nissans because "image is everything."

Jewel likes to lime with guys who dress like bad men, usually in baggy, ghetto style clothes like Old School. She limes with guys because when there are too many women, there's always bacchanal (*friction*). She says that other women will either accuse her of sleeping with all of the guys or they'll try and steal her man. In her opinion, when you lime with guys, you don't have to worry about bacchanal. She realizes, of course, that they'll all want sex from her eventually. One bonus of limin' with guys is that they tell you what they think about women.

The things Jewel can't do without are money, her cell phone, and hair styles. Money allows her to buy the things she needs to maintain 'the look', including the weekly weaves. It also pays for her cell phone, which she adores. Jewel uses her cell to maintain her "call a man service": you call a man and let him know what you need and when. She's also careful to erase her call list so partners can't check her phone's history and identify how many times she's either placed or received calls from other men.

Last night, Jewel went to a *passa passa*. She took about an hour to get dressed and put on her makeup. It's important to look good at a *passa passa* and wear bright clothes and bold hair styles. She arrived at 11pm, and made sure plenty of guys noticed her moves throughout the night. *Passa passas* are sexually charged and all about driving the guys crazy with your moves (dancing). Last night's *passa passa* was huge: there were at least a thousand people in attendance.

Jewel worries most about her family. She needs to ensure that her child is provided for: that he has enough to eat, proper clothes, and the ability to get an education. Even though she only has one child now and doesn't want any more, she knows that in reality, she'll have more.

The things that would make Jewel happiest are getting married to a man with plenty of money and having a nice family.

The things she hates the most are cleaning the house. She's watless, hates to wash and clean.

The things that would make Jewel most proud are being independent and successful. While she has these aspirations, the steps to achieving them are just too hard: Jewel doesn't ever see herself ever getting out of Sea Lots. She's also believes that she will always need to rely on men for money.

## Appendix 5: Point Fortin Archetype

This is Wendy. She's 22 and lives in Point Fortin with her family. She has no children of her own. Her family is comprised of her stepfather, mother, brother, and sister. Some of her extended family lives in Brooklyn, NY and she'd like to visit them someday.

Having "the look" is very important to Wendy. She likes to stay slim, between a size 6 and 8 dress size. Her favourite brands of clothes are Apple Bottom, Roc-a-Wear and Levis. She's got to "keep it original", no fakes (fake brands) are acceptable. She likes her tops tight and sexy, nothing baggy. Her pants are "whatever's in style" and usually tight. She shops at Caché and prefers clothes purchased in the US. Wendy wears heels and sandals and has a "no sneaker policy." She doesn't like her toes covered: her toenails need to be done. She likes to wear nice jewellery, preferably gold. Wendy prefers to keep her hair in a weave and gets her hair done every two weeks. Each weave costs approximately 250 TT.

Wendy loves to shop. Someday, she'd like to own a clothing boutique. She would travel to NY to buy her stock or use the internet to replenish her supply. Even if Wendy had her own business, she says that she'd maintain a man for money. She'd use her own money to support the business and would use his money to keep "looking good."

Wendy likes to feel sexy. She likes her sex "good" and "sweet," and she doesn't set limits. She'll "do anything" and "let anything be done to her."

Wendy limes with guys and women, but prefers to socialize in small groups because when there are too many women, her "friends is jumbien' the man." She has to reduce the amount of competition for men's attention.

The things Wendy can't do without are: money, young boys, old men, and her cell phone.

The old man, or "financer", is essential for the money. He can be 35 years or older. There are no upward age limits: he can be "in diapers" or "just short of the grave." His funds help her keep "the look" (described above), is sometimes given to young boys (to keep them around), and is used to pay for tuition or other means necessary to reach her career goals. Wendy's financer makes her feel special when he buys her nice things.

Young boys give Wendy sexual pleasure and help her image, especially when they dress well, look good and are "glamour guys."

Wendy's cell phone is vital to managing her partners. She uses it to arrange dates and manage her partners so they're sure not to run into one another. Wendy's careful to erase her call list so partners can't check her phone's history and identify how many times she's either placed or received calls from other men.

Last night, Wendy went out with her boyfriend (a same aged partner). She took two hours to get ready before they went to Sting (a local club). She left at 10:30pm alone because her boyfriend was limin' with his friends and she didn't want to be an "outcast."

She then met her women friends at the Edge (another club) and went home at 5:30am. When she goes out, Wendy likes to drink. If she's limin' on her own, she'll drink local beer like Carib or Stag. If she's limin' with a guy who's buying the drinks, she'll drink Hennessey, Baileys, Hypnotic, or Alizé. She might also order a sexy drink like a Between the Sheets or Sex on the Beach.

Wendy worries most about getting pregnant primarily because it will affect her look (she'll get fat). She also worries that pregnancy would affect her future career and disappoint her parents, who expect her to get married before she has a child. Getting horned (cheated on) is a concern because it will ruin her image. She wants to make sure that she doesn't become fat because "fat women get horned." She also worries about loneliness, having no man at all. She'd hate to be without someone when all of her friends are with other guys: she wouldn't have anybody to go out with.

The things that make Wendy happiest are sex, clothes, alcohol, her boyfriend, money, and being seen riding in cars like Honda CRVs, Toyota Prato, Lexus, Rav4s, and Titans.

What Wendy hates most is: sneakers because they cover her toes, condoms, and women that look better than her because they're competition. She wants to be the best.

Wendy's most proud of her body and how she looks.

## **Appendix 6: Interview Themes for Sea Lots and Point Fortin**

The prompts below are the final prompts developed by the peer researchers during the training. As there were some clear differences in the social structure of Point Fortin and Sea Lots, peer researchers decided to work in two groups to develop a set of prompts that were appropriate to the different contexts of the two research locations.

### **Point Fortin Prompts:**

#### **1. PARTNERS:**

You're friends (dawgs/homies/bitches)– what do they say about:

What kinda man does yuh friends prefer? Why? What kinda relationship they prefer?  
What do they have him for?  
So how much men do they have (at one time)?  
How do they handle all of them?  
How do they end up dealing? Why they done?  
How they pick them up?

#### **2. WHO DOES SHE SEE HERSELF AS?**

You're friends (dawgs/homies/bitches) – what do they say about:

What do they like to do?  
What do they hope to achieve in life?  
How do their partners contribute to her goal in life?  
Why do they think he will leave her? Why do they worry about that?  
What they do about that?  
What does he do to make her feel special?  
Tell me about a time when one of you're friends men made her feel really special?  
What does she say she wants him to do now? Why?

#### **3. CHOICES IN RELATIONSHIPS: Point Fortin**

You're friends (dawgs/homies/bitches) – what do they say about:

What do they do to get what they want?  
How much space do they have in relationships?  
What makes them trust their partner? When does that happen?  
Tell a story about friend who stopped using condoms?  
Do you know someone who managed to keep using condoms with their partner? How did they do that?  
If they are not using condoms what is the best way to protect themselves?

## **Sea Lots Prompts**

### **Theme I : PARTNERS**

1. What kind of man does yuh friend prefer? Why?
2. What does they have him for?
3. How much men does they have?
4. How does they handle all of them?
5. How he come from something to nothing?
6. And the other way around?
7. How does the relationship start? (Story will lead to how the relationship ends)

### **Theme II: WHO DO THEY SEE THEMSELVES AS?**

- 1) What do they like to do occasionally?
- 2) Where do they like people to see them? Why?
- 3) What do they really want out of life?
- 4) What makes them feel weak/stupid?
- 5) What do they do to make themselves stronger?
- 6) Why do they think he will leave them? Why do they worry about that?
- 7) What does they do to about that?
- 8) What does he do to make them feel like a queen?
- 9) What makes them feel good about themselves?

### **Theme III : CHOICES IN RELATIONSHIPS/PROTECTION**

1. Who is the 'man' in the relationship?
2. How do the girls get their way?
3. How do the men hold the girls down?
4. How do they get the men to do the things they don't want to do?
5. What makes them frustrated in a relationship?
6. What makes them trust their partner? When does that usually happen?
7. Do they use condoms? Why? With whom?
8. When do they stop using condoms?
9. Does you know someone who managed to keep using condoms with their partner? How did they do that?
10. If they are not using condoms what is the best way to protect themselves?