Cross-Generational Relationships

Perceived Norms and Practices in Jamaica

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Cross-Generational Relationships: Perceived Norms and Practices in Jamaica

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Contents

Acronyms v
Executive Summary 1
Background 3
Introduction 4
Methods 6
  Study Locations 6
  Participant Recruitment 6
  Sampling 6
  Data Transcription and Analysis 7
  Ethical Considerations 7
  Study Limitations 8
Findings 9
  Socio-Demographic Characteristics 9
  Media Habits and Information Sources 10
  Media Habits 10
  Sources of Health-Related Information 10
  Perceived Norms 12
  Relationships 12
  Perceived Relationship Length and Reasons for Relationship Termination 12
  Community Acceptance of Cross-Generational Relationships 12
  Perceptions of Those Engaged in Cross-Generational Relationships 13
  Marriage 14
  Views on Marriage 14
  Norms and Reasons Related to Infidelity in Marriage 15
  Concurrent Sexual Partnerships 16
  General Relationship Patterns 17
  Cross-Generational Relationships 19
  Family/Friends' Knowledge of Cross-Generational Relationships 20
  Benefits of Cross-Generational Relationships 20
  Negative Aspects of Cross-Generational Relationships 22
  Participants' Concurrent Sexual Relationships 24
Discussion and Conclusions 28
References 31
Annex A: FGD Guide 34
Annex B: Individual Interview Guide 39
Annex C: Demographic Survey for Persons Ages 16-17 73

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Acronyms

AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
C-Change	Communication for Change
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
FGD	Focus group discussion
FHI 360	Family Health International 360
GBV	Gender-based violence
IDI	In-depth interviews
IRB	Internal review board
KSA	Kingston and St. Andrew
LGBT	Lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender
MARP	Most-at-risk population
MOH	Ministry of Health
MSF 16–20	Males (16–20) who have sex with females
MSF 25+	Men (25+) who have sex with females
MSM	Men who have sex with men
MSM 16–20	Males (16–20) who have sex with males
MSM 25+	Males (25+) who have sex with males
NGO	Nongovernmental organization
SBCC	Social and behavior change communication
SEG	Socio-economic group
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

Executive Summary

FHI 360's Communication for Change (C-Change) project in Jamaica, through funding from USAID/PEPFAR, provides technical assistance in social and behavior change communication (SBCC) to improve the quality and scale of Jamaica's response to the HIV and AIDS epidemic. In 2011 the project conducted a study in Jamaica to explore the dynamics of cross-generational sexual relationships with the aim of informing programs working to decrease these practices and their related risks, including gender-based violence (GBV) and HIV. Cross-generational sex is defined as sexual behavior between two people who are at least 10 years apart in age (Hope 2007). There are several known associations between cross-generational sex, higher risk behaviors, and HIV risk (Hope 2007; Wyrod et al. 2011), including a link to increased HIV infection (Gregson et al. 2002; MacPhail, Williams, & Campbell 2002).

In Jamaica research on cross-generational relationships has been limited and focused primarily on its correlation with transactional sex between younger women and older men. Given the disproportionate HIV–prevalence rates among men who have sex with men (MSM) in Jamaica, this study sought to examine cross-generational relationships across multiple dyads—younger females/older males, younger males/older males, and younger males/older females. The study was conducted in two locations—Kingston and St. Andrew (KSA) and the western region of the island. Ten focus group discussions (FGDs) and 69 in-depth interviews (IDIs) were conducted with younger (ages 16–20) and older (ages 25+) males and females who had been involved in cross-generational relationships.

The study examined both perceived norms and actual practices related to dating, relationships, and marriage. Cross-generational relationships were perceived as beneficial for participants, with three primary drivers: sexual gratification, emotional support/security, and financial gain. The primary motivator of cross-generational relationships for males (older and younger) was sexual gratification and for females, emotional support. Financial and material gains were also key benefits for younger males and females and a component of most cross-generational relationships.

Participants' motivations and practices mirrored the perceived norms they reported. This was particularly true for motivations for involvement in cross-generational relationships, infidelity, and concurrent sexual partnerships (concurrency). Participants did not believe that cross-generational relationships were rare in their community—instead they mainly believed the community was indifferent to these relationships or approved of them for the material gain they offered. Participants believed marriage was less common among their peers than other types of relationships. Most marriages were thought to end in divorce as a result of infidelity. Participants also held the opinion that concurrency was common among their peers and most reported that

they had more than one sexual partner. High frequency of partners was most commonly reported by men (25+) involved in relationships with younger females.

Despite these findings, most participants reported high levels of satisfaction with their cross-generational relationship. Common areas of reported dissatisfaction included arguments fueled by jealousy, infidelity, and control factors. Instances of physical and sexual abuse were also cited. Most participants placed importance on HIV testing and in many cases, condom use.

This study has many implications for HIV–prevention programming in Jamaica around gender and STI/HIV risk reduction. While respondents' participation in HIV testing was high, issues emerged related to power and sexual control, infidelity, stigmatization of homosexuality, abuse, economic needs, and younger participants' trust in their older partners' guidance and support. Focusing only on the financial/material motivations for cross-generational relationships is not enough. Other motivators, such as the desire for emotional support and sexual pleasure, also need to be addressed by communication programming. Programs must also address the extreme power inequities that exist within these types of relationships for younger participants. Some strategies for doing so include: greater involvement of men, the family, and the community in programs addressing gender and social norms; livelihood development and creation of economic opportunities for young adults; and small group interventions to address personal risk reduction strategies and skills building.

Given participants' widespread perceptions of the community's acceptance of or indifference to some of the risk factors highlighted in the study, it is also believed that addressing individual-level behavior change in the absence of larger complementary efforts to address social norms, or their perception, would be insufficient. An integrated approach is needed that addresses not only HIV prevention but the broader set of related gender, cultural, and sexual risk factors identified. The use of multiple, reinforcing channels across all levels of Jamaican society would provide the support young men and women engaged in cross-generational relationships need to make healthy life and relationship decisions.

Background

FHI 360's Communication for Change (C-Change) project in Jamaica provides technical assistance in social and behavior change communication (SBCC) to improve the quality and scale of Jamaica's current response to the HIV/AIDS epidemic. The project works toward the overall goal of a national-led, sustainable, integrated, and coordinated HIV–prevention effort that enable national programs to plan, implement, and evaluate evidence-based, comprehensive programs for most-at-risk populations (MARPs), including men who have sex with men (MSM) and sex workers. C-Change works closely with civil society and Ministry of Health (MOH) implementers at community, regional, and national levels; policymakers, as influencers of the programming environment; and MARPs, as end-users of HIV–prevention programs.

Through this strategic approach, C-Change aims to achieve: increased coordination between the MOH and civil society actors; increased scale and reach of programs through technical assistance; increased quality of implementation and documentation; increased sustainability of programs; and accelerated momentum of social mobilization and advocacy. In keeping with its mandate to inform program planning and implementation for MARPs guided by evidence-based data, C-Change conducted a study in 2011 aimed at exploring the dynamics of cross-generational sexual relationships in Jamaica.

Introduction

Cross-generational sex is typically defined as sexual behavior between two people who are at least 10 years apart in age (Hope 2007). This behavior usually involves a young woman or man below the age of 20 who has a sexual relationship with an older man; on rare occasions, it may involve a woman who is more than 10 years older. Relationships with men who are 10 or more years older are in the minority, ranging from 0.9 percent of girls aged 15–17 in Malawi, to 21 percent of girls aged 15–17 in Nigeria (Malawi Demographic and Health Surveys 2004; Nigeria Demographic and Health Surveys 2003). However**,** in many southern African countries, it is the norm for a young woman to have a boyfriend who is five years older (Pettifor et al. 2005; Luke 2005).

Cross-generational sex has been associated with higher risk behaviors and HIV risk (Hope 2007; Wyrod et al. 2011). Studies have shown that the risk of HIV infection rises among women as the age of their sexual partner increases (Gregson et al. 2002; MacPhail, Williams, & Campbell 2002; Kelly et al. 2003). One potential reason is that the older partner may have had a longer period of sexual activity and possible HIV infection exposure (Gregson et. al 2002). Gender, age, and economic disparities also increase risky sexual behavior and reduce a young woman's ability to negotiate safer sexual behaviors. Studies have shown that girls and young women are unable to negotiate condom use in cross-generational sexual relations (UNDP 2003; Hawkins, Mussa, & Abuxahama 2005; Luke & Kurtz 2002; Nkos 2006; Dunkle, Jewkes, & Brown 2002), which is often attributable to power imbalances between men and women, especially when the age difference is great (Gupta 2002; Dworkin & Ehrhardt 2007; Anderson, Cockcroft, & Shea 2008; Greig, Peacok, & Jewkes 2008). Hurt et al. (2010) found a similar risk among MSM cross-generational relationships—men 23 years or younger had a 2.5-fold increase in HIV risk with partners five or more years older.

With fewer economic resources, young women often engage in transactional sex with older men for gifts and favors. A review of studies in sub-Saharan Africa found a widespread transactional component to sexual relations for adolescent girls not engaged in trafficking and prostitution (Hope 2007; Weissman 2006; Miz-Hasab Research Center 2005; Hawkins, Mussa, & Abuxahama 2005). While past research has demonstrated the explanatory power of economic concerns that drive women's attraction for older men, more recent investigations reveal a complex interplay of meanings and motivations that prompt both men and women across socio-economic strata to engage in cross-generational sex. A meta-analysis of southern African studies have shown that age-disparate relationships are perceived as meaningful and beneficial across a number of levels—social, physical, psychological, economic, and symbolic (Leclerc-Madlala 2008). Relationships with older men were seen as a common and readily available way for young women to gain materially, affirm their self-worth, achieve social goals, and increase longer term life chances, or otherwise add value and enjoyment to life.

While research on cross-generational sex in Jamaica has been limited, lack of socio-economic opportunities for young females is of concern because of its association with intergenerational and transactional sex. One study conducted in 2003 in the parish of St. James, using the PLACE[1] methodology, found that between 45 percent and 50 percent of males reported that their youngest sex partner was more than five years younger; approximately 41 percent of females reported that their oldest sex partner was more than five years older. Younger women ages 15–19 were also three times more likely to be infected with HIV than their male counterparts. This was attributed to intergenerational relationships, high levels of coerced sex, and poor condom negotiation skills (MEASURE Evaluation 2004).

Following reports of teenage schoolgirls exchanging sex for money, school fees, lunches, and/or other needs and wants, another study was undertaken in 2003 in five parishes—Hanover, St. Elizabeth, Manchester, Clarendon, and St. Catherine (Chambers 2003). The qualitative phase of the study indicated strong sexual relationship linkages between some taxi drivers and some schoolgirls. The girls perceived taxi drivers as "older men with money" and specifically sought them out. Many girls reportedly needed money because parents were unable to satisfy the demand for books, lunch, and travel costs. The study found peer pressure for both the school girls and the taxi drivers to be involved in the relationships, which they each perceived as conferring status (Chambers 2003). "Red-eye sex" may be another driver of intergenerational and transactional sex. Bombereau and Allen (2008) cite Chambers and Mitchell-Kernan's 1993 study in Jamaica, which describes red-eye sex as sex in exchange for improved social status and material items, despite female partners' basic needs having been met.

Today little is known about older women in relationships with younger men in Jamaica, though anecdotal accounts claim this occurrence is on the rise. Similarly, little research has been done on MSM relationships in Jamaica, and in particular cross-generational MSM relationships, though HIV prevalence among this population is high, at approximately 32 percent (Jamaica MOH 2012). The MSM population is also a small minority population, with closely interlinked sexual networks. A survey of nine Caribbean countries found the age difference between boys and their sexual partners was greater than that between girls and their sexual partners (Bombereau & Allen 2002).

With an estimated 1.7 percent HIV–prevalence rate among adults in Jamaica, including over 12,000 women (Jamaica HIV/AIDS Epidemic Update 2010), and given the disproportionate rates within the MSM population, continued efforts are needed to better understand the forces that drive the epidemic and develop science-based approaches to address it.

[1] Priorities for Local AIDS Control Efforts (PLACE) identifies locations where persons at high risk for HIV gather.

Methods

The purpose of this assessment was to explore the dynamics of cross-generational sex in Jamaica by focusing on males and females who self-identified as having participated in cross-generational sexual relationships. A further aim of the assessment was to inform existing programs working to decrease cross-generational sexual practices and their related risks, including gender-based violence (GBV) and HIV.

Study Locations

The study was conducted across two locations in Jamaica: Kingston and St. Andrew (KSA) and the western region of the island, including St. James, Hanover, and Trelawny. The study locations were selected because they represented urban capitals of the country where the largest proportion of the population lives and because they are the areas with the highest HIV prevalence.

Participant Recruitment

Participants were recruited from within communities, youth groups, night clubs, and taxi and bus stands by individuals who either worked with the target population or had social interactions with them (including members of the lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender [LGBT] community). Participants were screened to ensure they were not employees of the MOH, or social service or nongovernmental organizations (NGOs). Participants were also screened to ensure that they identified as someone who had at least one sexual partner, 10 years in age difference, to whom they were not married.

Sampling

Data were collected through 10 focus group discussions (FGDs) and 69 in-depth interviews (IDIs) (Table 1). Five FGDs each were conducted with men ages 16–20 who identified as having sex with older males (more than 10 years older)—referred to as MSM 16–20—and with females ages 16–20 who identified as having sex with older males (more than 10 years older). No more than six or seven participants were included per group. A semi-structured discussion guide was used to direct the discussions (see Annex A).

Sixty-nine IDIs were conducted across a variety of respondent groups, including both older and younger participants from two locations—KSA and the western region. Male and female interviewers conducted interviews with MSM, and female interviewers conducted interviews with females, using a semi-structured interview guide containing both open- and close-ended questions (see Annex B). Both FGD and IDI participants were also administered a demographic and media habits survey upon recruitment (see Annexes C and D). Traditional discussions were used in focus groups as well as collage, role plays, and other interactive and projective techniques. Participants from the FGDs and IDIs did not overlap and were not partners.

Table 1. Intended and Achieved Study Sample

	Intended			Achieved		
	KSA	**Western**	**Total**	**KSA**	**Western**	**Total**
I. Focus Group Discussions (10 Total)						
Male						
16–20 who have sex with older males	3	2	5	3	2	5
Female						
16–20 who have sex with older males	3	2	5	3	2	5
II. In-Depth Interviews (69 Total)						
Males						
25+ who have sex with younger females	10	10	20	8	8	16
25+ who have sex with younger males	10	10	20	11	10	21
16–20 who have sex with older females	3	2	5	3	2	5
16–20 who have sex with older males	5	5	10	6	6	12
Females						
25+ who have sex with younger males	3	2	5	3	2	5
16–20 who have sex with older males	5	5	10	5	5	10

The intended sample was expected to include 10 FGDs and 70 IDIs. Only 69 IDIs were actually included because some interviews did not meet the study's inclusion criteria (e.g., respondent was married to his/her cross-generational partner, relationship age differential was less than 10 years, etc.).

Data Transcription and Analysis

FGDs were recorded and transcribed. The FGDs were thematically analyzed using manual coding. A code book was developed to guide structured coding of the IDI data. A manual coding process was used to assign codes to open-ended responses from each questionnaire. Codes were checked and agreed upon by consensus with a larger team. Coding and closed-ended responses from the IDIs were transferred to SPSS, a statistical analysis program, from EPI Info data collection software and Excel for further processing. SPSS allowed the research team to identify patterns and frequency, which guided subsequent qualitative analyses. Quantitative data from the demographics and media survey were also analyzed with SPSS.

Ethical Considerations

Internal review board (IRB) approval was received for this study from both IRBs in Jamaica and the United States. Written voluntary informed consent was obtained from each study participant. Additionally, for participants ages 16–18 years old, written consent from a parent or guardian was received. Participants were informed that they could terminate the interview at any time or could choose not to respond to particular questions at their choice. Participants were not re-numerated for their participation but were reimbursed for their travel to and from interview sites and provided with a small hygiene gift pack as a token of gratitude for their participation.

Study Limitations

While this study was not designed to be statistically representative, it was intended to ensure participation across a variety of socio-economic groups (SEGs) with a focus on lower-middle and lower-income groups in keeping with Jamaica's socio-economic structure. It was difficult to recruit participants, particularly for the FGDs, from higher SEGs due to privacy concerns related to sexuality. As a result, themes presented for the FGDs represent lower and middle SEGs and were not inclusive of the higher income groups.

Findings

Socio-Demographic Characteristics

Table 2 shows the socio-demographic characteristics of the 61 FGD and 69 IDI participants. By design, more males than females (70 percent, n=86 vs. 30 percent, n=44) participated in the study as the sample included both heterosexual and MSM relationships. The majority of participants represented lower-middle and lower SEGs (73.4 percent, n=96).

Table 2. Socio-Demographic Characteristics of Participants

Characteristics	FGDs (n=61)	IDIs (n=69)	n	(%)
Age (years)				
16	6	5	11	(8.5)
17	13	4	17	(13.1)
18	12	6	18	(13.8)
19	15	3	18	(13.8)
20	15	9	24	(18.5)
25–34	0	23	23	(17.7)
35–44	0	10	10	(7.7)
45–54	0	5	5	(3.8)
55+	0	4	4	(3.1)
Gender				
Male	31	55	86	(70.0)
Female	30	14	44	(30.0)
SEG				
Upper middle class	0	4	4	(3.1)
Middle class	0	23	23	(17.7)
Lower-middle and lower class	61	35	96	(73.4)
Population Segment				
Male 25+ who have sex with younger females	0	16	16	(12.3)
Male 25+ who have sex with younger males	0	21	21	(16.2)
Males 16–20 who have sex with older females	0	5	5	(3.8)
Males 16–20 who have sex with older males	31	12	43	(33.1)
Females 25+ who have sex with younger males	0	5	5	(3.8)
Females 16–20 who have sex with older males	30	10	40	(30.8)

Media Habits and Information Sources

Media Habits

Radio and Television: Almost all study respondents reported ownership of a working radio and television (95 percent, n=123 and 97 percent, n=126, respectively). Regular radio listenership (at least once per day) was reported by over half of participants (63 percent, n=77). A variety of radio stations were cited as those listened to by participants. The top three named were: Zip FM (48 percent, n=63), Irie FM (37 percent, n=48), and Fame FM (32 percent, n=41). Other stations mentioned by 10 or more respondents included Mello FM (20 percent, n=31), RJR 94 FM (20 percent, n=26), Love 101 (18 percent, n=23), Hitz 94 FM (15 percent, n=19), Kool FM (8 percent, n=11), and Power 106 (8 percent, n=10). Some slight variation in terms of the radio stations participants listened to was found related to gender and SEG. Over three-quarters of participants reported watching TV daily (76 percent, n=97); TVJ (78 percent, n=102) was mentioned as the number one station watched by most participants.

Internet: Most participants reported internet use (86 percent, n=112), though participants from higher SEGs were more likely to report use (94 percent middle-to-higher SEGs vs. 79 percent lower SEGs). Over half of respondents reported accessing the internet from home (58 percent, n=65), which was the most frequently reported location. Other locations mentioned included internet cafes, schools, libraries, via mobile phones, at work, or at friends or relatives' homes. Frequency of internet use was less than that of radio or television. Less than half of participants reported using the internet on a daily basis (47 percent, n=61).

Participants primarily used the internet for social networking purposes (75 percent, n=97), followed by email (68 percent, n=89), and visiting entertainment-related sites (55 percent, n=72). Some respondents who reported using the internet indicated that they did so to research educational content (46 percent, n=60), play games (30 percent, n=39), visit dating sites (27 percent, n=35), or to research health-related content (26 percent, n=34). Of the social networking sites mentioned, Facebook was the most commonly visited (99 percent, n=96). Use of the internet for social networking purposes was more common among persons 20–25 years old (95 percent) and MSM (93 percent).

Mobile Phones: Mobile phone use was reported by nearly all participants (96 percent, n=125). Almost all who owned a phone capable of sending and receiving text messages (99 percent, n=124). Most participants did not have access to the internet on their phones (53 percent, n=66).

Sources of Health-Related Information

More than half of the participants reported that health workers were their primary source for health-related information (65 percent, n=84). This varied however by age group—less than half of those ages 16–17 relied on health workers for this information, as compared with persons 20–25 who were most likely to do so (48 percent vs. 80 percent). Other commonly cited sources of

health information included television, radio, and the internet. Some respondents also mentioned getting this information from friends, followed by newspapers and their family.

Perceived Norms

FGD and IDI participants were asked a series of questions related to dating, relationships, and marriage. Perceptions of community norms as well as actual practices were explored. Findings are presented separately for perceived norms and practices below.

Relationships

Perceived Relationship Length and Reasons for Relationship Termination

As a whole, respondents believed relationships among their peers lasted from a few months to a few years in duration. MSM tended to report shorter relationship intervals (days-to-weeks). The primary reason cited by most participants for why relationships ended was overall lack of interest. *"Because as soon as them tire of the person they are with, they just move on. It only takes a few months to get tired of them, because by then you will,"* reported one male age 16–20 who engaged in a relationship with an older female (referred to as MSF 16–20). Many participants also believed that desire for sexual gratification was the reason why relationships lasted such a short period of time. According to one MSM 16–20 participant, *"Sometimes they just go in it for the sex so when the sex stale, they move on."*

Some participants also indicated that longer term relationships involved a commitment that was restrictive or that had increased expectations over-and-beyond a person's derived benefits (material or sexual).

> One partner will get jealous of the other. Don't want they go anywhere and not to have friends. Don't want them out of them sight. The person can be too controlling, overprotective, and insecure. *(IDI, MSM 16–20)*

Community Acceptance of Cross-Generational Relationships

Commonality of Cross-Generational Relationships: IDI participants held mixed opinions as to the commonality of cross-generational relationships within their community. Only a few participants believed cross-generational relationships were rare. Rather, most believed they were neither rare nor uncommon or were indeed quite commonplace. Younger FGD respondents also believed that cross-generational relationships were common among their peers. According to one MSM 16–20 FGD participant, *"It is the in thing nowadays, I mean which older guy is going to want to have sex with somebody* [in] *their age group?"*

FGD participants believed that cross-generational relationships were appealing for younger Jamaicans because older men were more mature, responsible, patient, sexually experienced, and desired more than just sex from their relationships. The material gains or benefits derived from these relationships were also noted. According to one MSM 16–20, FGD participant, *"They* [older men] *will guide you in a certain direction…into not thinking one way."* "[Older men are]

more responsible, they can take care of you if you get pregnant" reported another female participant age 16–20.

Community Views of Cross-Generational Relationships: Most participants believed that the community did not care about or was indifferent to cross-generational relationships. According to one female 16–20 participant, *"People in my community don't care. They think it's normal for men to have younger girls."* Many believed cross-generational relationships were accepted as the norm and some reported they were embraced or encouraged because of the benefits that could be gained from them. FGD findings supported this as well.

> Provided that the person is of a statutory legal age then they're OK with it as long as they're old enough. It seems to be encouraged in some cases, especially in heterosexual relationships because of the advantages for the female being with an older male, that is, monetary gains, primarily. Ostensibly, she could gain experience and wisdom from the older partner, but practically speaking that's not necessarily what she wants. *(IDI, MSF 25+)*

Participants reported some level of gossip or criticism among their peers, particularly as it related to potential financial gains from cross-generational relationships. MSM 16–20 FGD participants believed the community's perception of their relationships was less about the age differential and more due to the fact that they were homosexual relationships. This finding was supported in some of the IDIs as well.

> It's not something they would approve of it they knew of it. Most of my friends are straight. They are not aware of my orientation. Regarding the age difference, they approve as long as it is a heterosexual relationship. It keeps them young and gives them bragging rights. It proves their virility. *(IDI, MSM 25+)*

Some participants noted that the greater the age differential between the two parties, the less favorable opinion the community had of the relationship. According to an MSM 25+ participant, *"In truth, most people don't care. It* [cross-generational relationships] *is very common. It only matters when you have a 60–year-old with a 16-year-old. Two consenting adults—nobody cares."*

<u>Perceptions of Those Engaged in Cross-Generational Relationships</u>

Those Involved with Younger Partners: Most participants believed that males and females involved with younger cross-generational partners were seeking improved sexual experiences. This belief was particularly emphasized by MSM 16–20. *"Some think that* [the] *younger person is skillful and flexible in bed and that is what the older person is looking for,"* said one MSM 16–20 participant.

> Older men normally can't satisfy me in bed so I go for younger guy for sex. They have nothing else to offer but that's why I couldn't settle down with a younger guy. He is my friend with benefits—just sex. Younger guy know what to do and they please me how I want to be pleased. Long running. I like it hard and dagga style. Older men can't manage. *(IDI, female 25+)*

Participants (particularly 25+ females who have sex with younger males) also believed that people who wanted to feel younger were likely to engage with a partner 10 or more years their junior. One respondent said of those cross-generational relationships, *"Usually it's someone in their fifties who still feels or wants to feel young and vibrant again."* Other attributes ascribed to a man or woman who dated a younger partner were that he/she: could provide material benefits, wanted to be in control, wanted to care or nurture someone, was stable or secure, or had low self-esteem.

Those Involved with Older Partners: Most participants believed someone who was seeking material or monetary gain engaged in a relationship with a partner 10 or more years their senior. MSM 16–20 and females 25+ were among the groups most likely to hold this belief.

> Somebody that wants money and security. They like the security and money and gifts that come with it. Don't like not getting what they want. If they don't get what they want, they will find someone else to give them money, sex, whatever. *(IDI, female 25+)*

Other key attributes participants used to describe those dating an older partner (10+ years) included someone searching for a mature, stable, and sexually experienced partner. A few participants thought that these individuals were ambitious, in need of emotional support, or were looking for love.

Marriage

Views on Marriage

For the purpose of this study, marriage was defined as a legal union between a man and a woman. Over half of IDI participants believed people within their age cohort typically did not get married. Instead, they cited visiting relationships,[2] followed by common-law relationships, as more popular. MSM were more likely to report this of their peers. Participants from across all groups believed the majority of marriages in their community ended in divorce or separation. Females 16–20 were the only exception. They almost equally believed that marriage in their community lasted until death. Older participants (25+) were more likely to believe that marriages in their community ended in divorce or separation than their younger counterparts. According to

[2] A relationship in which the couple does not live together but may visit each other and spend nights together in each other's homes.

one IDI MSF 25+ participant, *"Marriage is over-rated and all my friends are either unhappily married or divorced."*

Infidelity was the primary reason cited across all respondent groups that marriages failed. According to one female 16–20 participant, *"I've seen too many unhappy married couples and too many people cheating on their spouses. Also, I just see it as a piece of paper."* Boredom, loss of interest, and dishonesty were other reasons given by some participants. A few respondents also cited incompatibility, financial insecurity, marrying for the wrong reason, unrealistic expectations, and lack of communication as driving infidelity. *"Cheating is one of the main reasons because where one of them is not satisfied or just greedy* [e.g.,] *money or sex,"* reported an MSF 25+ respondent.

Norms and Reasons Related to Infidelity in Marriage

Most participants believed married men were primarily the unfaithful partner in relationships due to their desire for improved sexual gratification and excitement outside of marriage. Loss of interest, boredom, high male sex drive, and dishonesty were other reasons for infidelity reported by some. According to one MSF 25+ participant, *"They cheat because everyone cheats."* Said another participant (female 16–20), *"You have to face the harsh reality the men done set them mind say fit have more than one woman…you as the woman now have to leave him to his own."*

Participants held mixed beliefs about the community's acceptance of men's infidelity. Half believed the community did not care or was indifferent about the issue—or that they were encouraging of these relationships. According to one female 25+, *"Them have nothing bad to say as many of the people encourage it. They think it's a good thing for a man to have more than one partner."* According to another MSM 25+ respondent:

> It has become such a norm in Jamaica for men to have more than one sex partner. The music and culture influence it a lot as well. The lyrics in music telling men to have more than one woman and they will be seen as someone who young boys should look up to. Some men like myself just don't want to settle down because we just want sex.

The other half of the respondents believed the community thought male infidelity was disgraceful. According to one MSM 25+, *"They sometimes think he is dishonest and should be ashamed of himself."*

Participants' perceptions of the community's view on women's infidelity were homogenous. Women who were unfaithful to their spouse were seen negatively and as promiscuous by their community. According to one female 16–20, *"She is a bitch, whore, slut, Delilah, disgusting. She is a disgrace."* Said another participant, MSF 25+, *"They* [the community] *look on the women worse than the men. Women get treated worse than men when it's discovered they've had affairs. They are ostracized. They are outcast. It's frowned upon."*

Concurrent Sexual Partnerships

Most participants believed that individuals within their peer group had concurrent sexual partners. Said one MSM 25+, *"I really don't know why, but our culture encourages the 'village-ram' phenomenon."* Having concurrent partners was preferred, according to some respondents, because of the sexual gratification that it provided, monetary and material benefits gained, and curiosity and experiences sought. According to one 16–20 female, *"My personal partner is not working so I rely on the next partner for the money."* Having concurrent relationships was also viewed by some as providing a level of security or insurance against failed relationships.

> Sometimes the women don't want someone to build a relationship with. They want someone to provide for them. The old adage, which says you should keep a back up in the event that one fails. *(IDI, MSF 25+)*

Relationship Practices

General Relationship Patterns

Partner Attraction

Participants reported a wide variety of factors that they found attractive in a partner. In order of the frequency reported they cited: physical attractiveness, good morals and values, good hygiene, financial stability, and sexual prowess as key factors of attraction and for building a relationship with someone. Females from both age cohorts placed greater emphasis on partners' values and morals than other factors, and males (who participated in the study in greater numbers) placed greater emphasis on partners' physical appearance. According to an MSF 25+ respondent, his ideal partner should have *"nice beautiful breast and sexy ass—and good looking."* Females tended to be more interested in attributes leading to security (emotional and financial) while males were more interested in sexual compatibility and appearance with their partner. *"Must be ambitious, intelligent, loyal, and understanding. They must want to achieve something worthwhile,"* said one female 16–20 of her ideal partner.

Dynamics of Dating

Dating versus Relationships: For both male and female 16–20 groups, dating was viewed as casual and nonexclusive. It was a precursor to relationships, which evolved after trust and confidence during the dating period were established. Females 16–20 were more likely than MSM 16–20 to express a desire for a relationship. Some young women reported that they typically dated in search of a relationship because they desired the security and stability that came along with it. MSM 16–20 FGD respondents were more interested in dating than relationships because they generally viewed dating as more fun and exciting. According to one MSM 16–20 participant, *"Relationships are tedious and boring, they require too much work."*

Meeting Dating Partners: Participants typically reported meeting potential dating partners through friends or relatives or by direct approach. MSM 25+ were more likely than other groups to meet their younger partners through friends or relatives. Across all groups, most participants reported meeting potential dating partners at parties (55 percent), followed by bus stops, en route to work, or at school, supermarkets, or shops. Some participants reported meeting potential dates via social networking and dating sites (29 percent). Half of MSM reported this as a channel for this purpose. Young females, ages 16–20, were most likely to meet their partners while "on the road" (70 percent).

Meeting Cross-Generational Dating Partners: Places and ways in which participants met their cross-generational partner were reported as similar to meeting dating partners in general—with one exception—on the road was the most frequently indicated place for these relationships to start (51 percent). With cross-generational partners, participants indicated that an introduction was generally made (usually with a compliment or language to suggest attraction), followed by an exchange of phone numbers in order to maintain contact. Continuous contact by phone

(texting or calling) usually ensued until another meeting date was planned. The amount of attention (e.g., calls, text messages, showing care or concern) received from the potential older partner was an indicator for younger respondents as to whether or not they should continue the dialog. One MSM 16–20 described a typical dating pattern as, *"Maybe one* [phone call] *a day or a text now and again saying 'hi, how are you?' with follow up."*

Activities during Dating: Once a relationship was established, most participants reported meeting partners at each others' homes. Restaurants, movie theaters, parks, malls, hotels, parties, and night clubs (in descending order of popularity) were also dating sites that afforded couples with opportunities for conversation, intimacy, and fun. MSF 25+ were more likely to report intimate activities during dating, such as kissing, fondling, and intercourse, than other groups. Conversely, females 16–20 tended to report engagement in more platonic activities with their partners, such as talking, watching movies, and going to parties. Intimate activities were reported more prominently as part of dating when participants were asked specifically about their cross-generational partner, as opposed to with partners in general.

Desire for and Beliefs about Marriage

All Participants: Most IDI and FGD participants (both MSM and non-MSM) expressed a desire for marriage. This was despite most participants' beliefs that marriages usually ended in divorce or separation and were less common than other types of relationships within their community. Most participants also reported that they would consider marrying someone 10 or more years younger or older than themselves. Across all respondent categories, the primary reason for participants' desire for marriage was to support the sanctity of the institution, followed by the desire to be settled and start a family. The desire "*just to experience marriage"* and the view that marriage reflects love and affection were also reported by some respondents.

> I'm Roman Catholic and we always want to get married. When I watch movies and I see how romantic it is and when I go to family/friend's wedding I like to see what they are experiencing and I want it for myself. I wish it could be me. *(IDI, female 16–20).*

Participants 25+: For older respondents, reasons for marrying someone younger were to gain sexual pleasure and virility followed by feelings of youthfulness.

Participants 16–20: Almost all female 16–20 and MSM 16–20 IDI participants reported a desire to get married. These findings were similar to what was reported in the FGDs (for MSM 16–20, at least one or more individuals expressed a marriage desire per group). Younger respondents generally wanted to pursue marriage later in their life, however, ideally in their late twenties and after *"life had been enjoyed."* Respondents 16–20 were also more likely to report an interest in marrying an older partner. The primary reason cited for this was the maturity and experience this

partner brought to the relationship. Some examples provided were a partner's ability to take care of their needs in case of pregnancy and that they were more caring and loving.

> Cause I figure they're more mature and more experienced. They won't behave as immature as the younger person. They will be able to guide and protect me better than a younger person. They will encourage my education and will be supportive of my dreams and goals. *(IDI, female 16–20)*

> The person is older so he has a lot of experience. He would be educated and he would own his own home. He would be a responsible person, caring, loving. He has his wealth so I would be financially stable. I would be comfortable. *(IDI, MSM 16–20)*

MSM Participants: The strong desire found for marriage among MSM (older and younger groups) was driven by the desire to settle down and have a family and because of internalized beliefs that homosexuality was not natural or was wrong. According to one MSM 16–20 FGD participant, *"Homosexuality is biblically wrong."* Another MSM 16–20 respondent indicated, *"I would marry to start my family and feel the natural, true love of a woman*."

> I want to get married to a woman. Well, I have three children and want my children's mother. I only use men for sex, but my family always wanted me to get married. Plus, I have friends who are married and they say, "married life feels good." *(IDI, MSM 25+)*

Non-Desire for Marriage: Across all respondent groups, some participants did not want to get married and a few were not sure. Those uninterested in marriage were primarily MSM, who commonly cited the illegality of same-sex marriage as a reason.

> I have observed a lot of my friends go into marriage for the wrong reasons. They are forced into a heterosexual marriage when that's not necessarily what they want. I have no desire to be married to a woman and gay marriage isn't legal here in Jamaica. *(IDI, MSM 25+)*

Other deterrents to marriage were fear of marrying for the wrong reason, believing that marriage was "overstated" or stressful, witnessing failed marriages among family and friends, and believing that marriage was limiting (not allowing multiple sexual partners).

Cross-Generational Relationships

Overview

The average age differential between participants and their partners was 12 years for those involved with a younger partner and 14 years for those involved with an older partner. Terms used to describe a cross-generational partner were most commonly boyfriend or girlfriend,

followed by woman or man "on the side." A few participants indicated that their partner was their fiancé, a friend, or a sugar daddy. Almost all participants were engaged in cross-generational relationships with a single gender (male or female), but a few participants were in cross-generational relationships with both men and women. The average duration reported for participants' current cross-generational relationship was 22 months. MSF reported involvement in their relationships for the longest period of time—an average of 35 months as compared with MSM at 12 months. Young MSM participants from FGDs tended to report shorter relationships averaging one to three months at a time.

Factors that determined the length of MSM 16–20 relationships were the extent of knowledge they had about their partner's character, the amount of time needed to obtain what they needed from the relationship, and their interest level. According to one MSM 16–20 respondent, the duration of a relationship *"…depends. Why? To get a feel of what they're all about or have to offer, or rather, to review their resume thoroughly."* Young females in FGDs reported their relationships typically lasted three months, but sometimes up to a year in duration. For female 16–20 FGD participants, factors that determined length of time of a relationship included the extent of knowledge they had about their partner's character and the appeal of the dating experience. For these women, the more fun the dating was, the longer they stayed in the relationship.

Family/Friends' Knowledge of Cross-Generational Relationships

Most participants reported that their friends and family were generally aware of their cross-generational partner though some reported that they kept their relationship a secret. Most participants indicated that their friends and family either approved of their relationship or just ignored it. One MSF 16–20 reported, *"Yeah man, they approve of it and say it's a good thing me do by being with her because she more mature and can treat me better than a younger girl."* A few participants, however, reported feeling disapproval from friends and family. Some reasons given related to the sustainability of the relationship, concerns about their partner's integrity, and concerns over the nature of the relationship (particularly with MSM), among other factors.

> Some approve and some don't. None of them know how old he really is. But some of my friends think he's about 22 while some think he is 18. The ones who think he's older don't want me to talk with him because they think he will hurt me. My mother likes him. *(IDI, female 16–20)*

Benefits of Cross-Generational Relationships

Satisfaction in Cross-Generational Relationships: Participants reported high levels of satisfaction with their cross-generational relationships. On a scale of one to 10, one being completely dissatisfied and 10 completely satisfied, most scored their relationship between seven and 10, with an average score of 7.4 across all IDIs. Younger MSM reported the greatest

satisfaction with their relationships and older MSF 25+ and MSM 25+ were the least satisfied. Most participants believed that their cross-generational partners were good to them either all of the time or most of the time. Younger female 16–20 and MSM 16–20, in particular, were more likely to report that their partner was consistently good to them and in FGDs described feeling: happy, loved, cared for, sexy, and rich in their cross-generational relationships. Females 16–20 described their relationships in the following ways: *"It make you feel like you rich and beautiful"; "It make me feel rich me a drive inna this hot car here…gwan move inna him big house wid him…make me have family and so and want married";* and *"...make you feel sexy and make you feel like you want to give them you all."*

Respondents from across IDIs and FGDs highlighted a number of positive attributes they associated with their relationship. Sexual gratification from an older partner was the number one benefit reported, followed by emotional support and the loyalty of an older partner (spending time, nurturing, meaningful conversation, etc.).

> He's always there for me. He's very supportive. He comforts me and makes me happy when I feel down. He makes me smile all the time. Sex life is awesome. He's very good at making love. He's a very romantic person. We get along great. *(IDI, female 16–20)*

Financial support and material gains from an older partner were the third most commonly named benefit. One FGD female age 16–20 said, *"He takes care of my baby and helps me further my education."* An FGD MSM 16–20 participant stated, *"You always get the latest trends, the latest stuff."*

Cross-Generational Sexual Benefits: Almost all MSM 16–20 cited sexual gratification as the primary joy experienced in their cross-generational relationship—learning new positions and techniques and gaining access to networks and contacts were also reported. According to one MSM participant of his older partner, *"He always makes my nature rise."* Participants from all categories reported that their partners' willingness to try new ideas or positions during intercourse was a primary benefit of sex with their cross-generational partner. The energy and excitement that partners brought to intercourse and lack of sexual inhibition were also common benefits named. According to one female 25+ of her younger boyfriend, *"The sex is very good. He can go longer than older men, knows many positions, and always willing to try new things."*

Gifts in Exchange for Sex: Gift-giving in exchange for sex was reported in some cross-generational relationships by IDI participants (23 percent, n=16). MSF 16–20 were most likely to report receiving gifts in exchange for sex (60 percent, n=3), followed by females 25+ (40 percent, n=2), MSM 16–20 (25 percent, n=3), and females 16–20 (20 percent, n=2). Young MSM 16–20 FGD participants placed high value on the gifts and lifestyle they associated with cross-generational relationships. Most MSM 25+ and MSF 25+ reported they were expected to

give gifts to their partners in exchange for sex (62 percent, n=13 and 56 percent, n=9, respectively), followed by MSM 16–20 (40 percent, n=2) who were in relationships with older women.

Nearly three-quarters of those that reported giving or receiving a gift in exchange for sex reported that the gift was money. Other gifts received or given included outings or dates to do something special or go shopping. It is interesting to note that many of the participants who identified material benefits and gains as among the best things about their cross-generational relationships (in particular MSM and females 16–20) reported that they did not receive gifts in exchange for sex. This suggests that gift-giving in these relationships may be an expression of love, care, or support outside of sex.

Treatment by a Cross-Generational Partner: Perceptions of how well participants were treated by their partners were driven by both emotional and physical factors. The main factors cited by participants were kind, caring, or loving words that were sent by their partners via text messaging or other means of communication, as well as money or provision for their material needs. Carrying out domestic functions and being taken out by their partner were other ways in which participants measured how they were treated in their relationship. According to one female 16–20 participant:

> He's always very supportive in everything I do. He thinks and treats me like his world. He'll give me anything I want and he'll do anything for me. He talks to me and tries to guide me. He assists me to make good decisions. He buys me gifts. Anything I ask for. Many times he'll see something and know that I may like it so he buys it. He takes me anywhere I want to go. He helps me to study when I am studying for an exam. He encourages me to do well at all times.

<u>Negative Aspects of Cross-Generational Relationships</u>

Negative Aspects: Fewer negative aspects of cross-generational relationships were provided by participants than positive. Arguments were among the most commonly noted negative aspects of cross-generational relationships, followed by perceived neglect (e.g., not calling, not spending time, etc.). Experiences with quarrels or fights with a partner were most commonly reported among MSM respondents—with most MSM 25+ and nearly half of MSM 16–20 IDI participants reporting this as an issue.

> Arguments…like me being untidy and messy. I think he overreacts to my shit being all over the place, LOL! So then I would get annoyed and we argue. So him being so anal generally about stuff like that. *(IDI, MSM 25+)*

Other areas that caused participants unhappiness in their relationship included a partner's: immaturity, financial dependence, failure to follow instructions, physical distance away, physical abuse, neglect, controlling nature, lying, and poor communication. According to one MSF 16–20, *"She was too controlling. She didn't want me going out or talking long with my friends."*

Reasons for Relationship Disagreements: Factors that caused disagreement in participants' cross-generational relationships were varied. Jealousy and feelings of insecurity were the number one reason, followed by partners' promiscuity, controlling behavior, dishonesty, disobedience, and neglect, among others. Younger heterosexual males (nearly half) reported feelings of jealousy and insecurity with their older partner while older heterosexual women were more likely to report issues related to promiscuity with their younger partners. MSM and females 16–20 reported that feelings of jealousy (both in the older and younger partner) brought disagreement to their relationships. According to one MSM 16–20-year-old respondent, *"I wonder sometimes which young guy him going to go off with."*

Specific jealousy-related issues included the younger person's use of mobile phones and the internet, invasions of privacy (partner checking phone and internet activity), admiration for others, demand for material things, cheating, the older partner's second life, sex, and marriage. One female 16–20 IDI participant reported of her boyfriend's jealousy, *"Because he is the one who is providing for me, he doesn't want to see me with any male friends or company."*

Partner Control: Within the FGDs, MSM and females 16–20 noted feeling sad in their relationships when their older partners tried to control them or denied them their freedom.

> Because when you want to go out with him sometimes don't want to go and him don't want you to go so you feel cloaked up in the house and miss your life before you did meet him. *(FGD, female 16–20)*

Issues of controlling partners were also raised in the majority of FGDs with MSM 16–20. According to one participant, *"You feel controlled. He's controlling you because he's provided everything for you."* While MSM 16–20 reported the greatest satisfaction with their relationships, some MSM 16–20 FGD participants also noted that their relationships made them feel mechanical, unsure/insecure, old, depressed, and *"like a walking dead."* One such participant stated, *"It's the same thing every day. He needs to know what you are doing, where you are going."* Another indicated, *"I would rather not be there but because of what he does for me you know."*

Abuse: Approximately 15 percent (n=10) of IDI participants reported having been physically harmed or abused in their relationship. MSM were the most likely to report these instances. Among FGD participants, some MSM 16–20 reported that problem resolution with their partner

included aggression and violence. Roughly the same proportion of IDI respondents reported harming their partner physically as being harmed themselves. Females 25+ were most likely to report abusing their partner. Forced sex by participants' cross-generational partners was reported by approximately one in five of all IDI participants (except females 16–20) with relative consistency across all groups. Females 16–20, however, did not report any instances of forced sex. One MSM 25+ reported in relation to his cross-generational relationship, *"The only bad thing was that, was when he force me to have sex with him when I don't want to. It hurts when am not in the mood."*

Sexual Dissatisfaction: Some participants reported areas of discontent with their sexual cross-generational relationship. Reasons included (in order of frequency mentioned): complaints about partners' large sexual appetite, painful intercourse, premature ejaculation, and forced sex. One MSM 16–20 respondent reported, *"At times I am tired yet he required more sex. Simple put, if we have sex for an hour and I am tired, my partner might desire to go for two hours."* A few participants reported uncomfortable requests from their partner, including: oral sex, followed by requests for different types of sexual positions, group sex, sex without a condom, anal penetration, and kissing.

Participants' Concurrent Sexual Relationships

Having multiple relationships was viewed by some participants as providing a level of security or insurance against failed relationships. FGDs with MSM and females 16–20 revealed that it was important for participants to have another relationship to fall back on in case their cross-generational relationship failed, particularly if monetary and material benefit was involved. According to one MSM 16–20-year-old respondent, *"No sah, me date more than one person at the same time, supposed one don't work out…"*

Alternative reasons for having more than one partner at a time were for sexual variety (primarily reported by MSF 25+) and pleasure (primarily reported by MSM 16–20).

> Because they have this thing that say one person is not enough. One person may not give them enough love or monetary support. Sometimes the older partner is abusive physically or mentally. Maybe the personality just doesn't attract the other one anymore, in the sense that one partner may want one thing and the next hate it so that can be why they find someone else. Sometimes they get bored easily so they tend to have more than one partner to keep their life exciting. Like one partner for going out to parties with, one for sex, and one for hanging out with. *(IDI, MSM 16–20)*

Of IDI respondents, approximately half reported having more than one current sexual relationship (see Table 3). Those most likely to report multiple sexual partners were MSF 25+ (nearly three-quarters of respondents), ranging from two to four concurrent partners, and up to

200 partners over a lifetime. Most MSF 16–20 also reported concurrent relationships or could not recall the number of sexual partners they currently had. According to one such respondent, *"I just like to run a little for now. I have not found my special girl yet. I can pick up those and reuse from my list."*

Nearly half of MSM 25+ reported multiple partners and both MSM 25+ and MSM 16–20 reported a current average of two partners. Some females 16–20 reported multiple partnerships, with no more than two current relationships noted; though most respondents from this category reported being monogamous. According to one female age 16–20, *"I prefer to date one person at a time. There is less confusion and complication."*

When asked about the greatest number of concurrent sexual partners participants had ever had, responses ranged from one to 10, with higher partner numbers reported by MSF 25+. The tendency toward concurrency is particularly relevant because Jamaica's national statistics show that approximately 80 percent of persons with AIDS reported having multiple sex partners (Jamaica HIV/AIDS Epidemic Update 2010).

Table 3. Data on Participants' Sexual Partners

	Current Sexual Partners			**# of Concurrent Sexual Partners Ever**			**# Sexual Partners Last 12 Months**			**# Lifetime Sexual Partners**		
	Min	Max	Mean	Min	Max	Mean	Min	Max	Mean	Min	Max	Mean
MSF 25+	1	4	2.0	1	10	4.1	1	50	6.1	5	200	52.1
MSM 25+	0	6	2.0	1	7	2.8	1	20	4.0	1	100	32.7
MSF 16–20	1	4	2.0	1	4	2.6	1	6	3.4	8	20	11.6
MSM 16–20	0	3	1.4	1	4	2.0	1	10	2.8	2	34	13.4
Female 25+	0	2	1.2	1	2	1.6	1	2	1.2	4	25	9.6
Female 16–20	1	2	1.2	1	3	1.5	1	2	1.3	1	20	5.5

*Note: Those that could not recall the number of partners they have had or those that refused to answer the question were excluded from min/max/mean calculations.

<u>Pregnancy, STI, and HIV Risk and Control in Cross-Generational Relationships</u>

Sexual Control: Within cross-generational relationships, participants reported that it was primarily older men who controlled sex within their relationship. Older men 25+ in both heterosexual and MSM relationships were reported as being more in control of sex by both older and younger groups. The only exception to this pattern was seen with younger men and older women. The younger male partner was reportedly more in control of sex than his older female partner in these instances.

Preference for control was a motivating factor for both heterosexual and homosexual older men. Among MSM, the person who assumed the "top position" was often given control of sex because of his position as the "male" in the relationship. According to one MSM 16–20 participant, "*He's*

the top. He's in charge. Anything he says goes. I like to be submissive to him. I like when he's in charge. He's the man. He's the boss."

Older heterosexual males reported that they were often in control of sex because their younger female partners preferred to be submissive. They also cited their role as male and a stronger sex drive as reasons. One MSF 25+ respondent said, *"Because I'm the aggressor. Because I am older. Because she didn't have much experience. Because I'm hornier. I have a higher sex drive than she does"* to explain why he had more sexual control in his relationship.

Among older females, no single factor encouraged control by the younger male in her relationship. But the female's preference for being submissive and the stronger sex desire of the younger partner were both mentioned.

Condom Use: Approximately half of IDI respondents said they used condoms with their cross-generational partner all of the time (51 percent, n=35). Reports of consistent condom usage all of the time were highest among MSM (72 percent, n=41) and lowest with females (20 percent, n=3). The primary motivating factor for condom use was fear of contracting an STI, followed by fear of pregnancy, and distrust of their partner. One MSM 25+ respondent reported, *"For me personally, I am scared of STIs. I've never done an HIV test before and don't know his status, so I have to use a condom to protect both me and him from HIV/STIs."*

Those who reported rarely or never using a condom did so out of trust for their partner or preference for a sexual experience without a condom. One MSF 25+ respondent reported that he did not use condoms with his younger partner, *"Because I trust her. No other reason and it feels better having sex without one. This is for both partners OK."*

MSM 16–20 FGD participants reported that condoms were always an important consideration for them but that some older partners tried to resist, which sometimes brought disagreement into their relationship related to trust. Female 16–20 FGD participants were more likely to than younger males to report having unprotected sex with their partners—especially if they felt safe in their relationship. Relationship duration appeared to be a factor in this consideration and was tied to a young woman's confidence/trust in her partner. One female 16–20-year-old participant reported, *"Well, after a while you don't bother to use it"* related to condoms. Prevention of pregnancy was a key motivating factor for condom use among this group.

Condom Use Decision-Making: Despite reported gender differences related to sexual control in cross-generational relationships, the majority of IDI participants believed decisions to use or not use a condom were mutual (64 percent, n=44). In some cases, however, the decision to use a condom was made by one partner. Females 25+, in particular, tended to influence condom usage

more than their younger male partners. MSM 25+ and 16–20 were most likely to report mutual decision-making related to condoms.

Health reasons (particularly prevention of STIs) were the primary driver for participants to make decisions mutually related to condom use. Interest in condom use by both parties and a desire to prevent pregnancy were other key reasons. When condom use was driven by one partner in the relationship, health reasons, followed by prevention of pregnancy, and lack of trust/concerns about infidelity were the reasons provided.

HIV Testing: Almost all IDI participants reported having been tested for HIV (88 percent, n=61). MSF 16–20 were among the least likely to be tested (60 percent, n=3). Most participants reported HIV testing at least once if not more per year (64 percent, n=39) and said that they had shared their test results with their partner (71 percent, n=43). Most participants also believed they knew their HIV status (87 percent, n=60) and said that this type of information was very important to them (78 percent, n=54). The majority of IDI respondents also believed that their risk for HIV was not influenced by an age difference in sexual partners (87 percent, n=60). According to one MSM 16–20-year-old respondent, *"Is the same HIV. Whether it's from an older or younger person. Older people can be just as irresponsible as younger people. And there are younger persons who are responsible."*

Discussion and Conclusions

This study sought to explore the dynamics of cross-generational relationships in Jamaica with the aim of informing communication programs working to decrease cross-generational sexual practices and their related risks, including GBV and HIV. Cross-generational relationships are defined as those with 10 or more years' differential in age between partners. This is one of the few studies examining the dynamics of cross-generational relationships in Jamaica, and with MSM in general. Participants' perceptions of community norms as well as their actual dating and relationship practices were explored. Given the dearth of literature on this topic in Jamaica and the complexity of these cross-generational relationships, many dynamics were explored and presented across a variety of relationship dyads—older male/younger female, older male/younger male, and older female/younger male.

Study findings were consistent with previously published studies of young women in Africa showing that cross-generational relationships were perceived as meaningful and beneficial across several different levels—including social, physical, psychological, and economic (Leclerc-Madlala 2008). From this study in Jamaica, three primary drivers of cross-generational relationships were identified: sexual gratification, emotional support/security, and financial gain, with varying degrees of priority placed on each from each participant group.

Findings around perceived norms describe participants' understanding of their peer and communities' values, motivations, and practices, and their frequency of occurrence. These perceived norms cannot be aggregated to describe greater collective norms in Jamaica (Lapinski & Rimal 2005), however, they may help to explain deeper, underlying reasons for participants' attitudes and behavior. Perceived norms around community acceptance of cross-generational relationships, sexual concurrency, and inequities around gender norms may contribute toward an enabling environment, or may serve to self-affirm these practices.

Most participants perceived their community to be indifferent or approving of cross-generational relationships due to the benefits derived from them, and most participants believed their peers were engaged with multiple partners. Marriage, as defined as a union between a man and a woman, was perceived to be less common in participants' communities than other types of relationships (e.g., visiting relationships) and most marriages were believed to end in divorce, primarily due to infidelity. Perceived community acceptance or indifference to men's infidelity was reported by half of IDI respondents, as well as a perceived, more rigid double-standard of complete nonacceptance of women's infidelity.

In many instances participants' motivations and actual practices mirrored the perceived norms they reported. Study participants believed that older partners in cross-generational relationships were individuals seeking improved sexual experiences or feelings of youthfulness. Older

participants reported that these two factors were indeed among the top benefits and motivating factors associated with their current cross-generational relationship. Perceived perceptions of younger individuals engaged in this type of relationship were of someone seeking money or material gain. Among the actual benefits ascribed to and motivating factors for their current cross-generational relationship, material and lifestyle benefits were important, but less so than sexual satisfaction (for young males) and security and emotional support (for young females). Gift-giving, in general, and specifically in exchange for sex, was reported both as an expectation and a common occurrence in participants' cross-generational relationships, however, other lifestyle-related benefits, such as being taken out to nice places and having essential living needs met, were also cited.

High frequency of concurrent sexual partnerships was reported across all groups, and in particular with older males in relationships with younger females and younger males. This was consistent with findings around perceived gender roles discussed above where men believed the community was accepting of or indifferent to male infidelity and having concurrent partners. Despite the frequency of concurrent sexual partnerships, most participants, and in particular younger males and females, reported overall happiness with their cross-generational relationships. It is not clear to what extent multiple partnerships were known to participants' partners, but a common area of reported relationship dissatisfaction was arguments, fueled by jealousy, infidelity, and a partner's controlling behavior. Instances of physical (primarily among MSM) and sexual (across all groups except young females) abuse were also reported.

Most participants in the study expressed a desire for marriage, as defined as a union between a man and a woman, despite commonly held perceptions that most marriages in Jamaica end in divorce and the belief that marriage was not as common as other types of relationships (e.g., visiting relationships). Most participants were also open to a cross-generational marriage. The wish to support the sanctity of marriage or to start a family, as well as internalized stigma toward homosexual relationships among MSM participants, were reasons cited for this desire.

This study has many implications for HIV–prevention programming in Jamaica geared toward gender and STI/HIV risk reduction. While respondents' participation in HIV testing was high, a number of issues emerged—power and sexual control, infidelity, stigmatization of homosexuality, abuse, and economic needs—mixed with younger participants' trust in their older partners to guide and support them. Focusing only on the financial/material motivations of cross-generational relationship participants is not enough. Other motivators, such as the desire for emotional support and sexual pleasure, also need to be addressed by communication programming. Programs must also tackle the extreme power inequities that exist within these types of relationships for younger participants and incorporate strategies, such as greater involvement of men, the family, and the community in programs addressing gender and social norms; livelihood development and creation of economic opportunities for young adults; and

small group interventions to address personal risk reduction strategies and skills building. Educators should also consider building curricula around the issues identified for use in schools, which could be implemented through Jamaica's Health and Family Life Education Policy.

Given participants' widespread perceptions of the community's acceptance of or indifference to some of the risk factors highlighted in the study, it is also believed that addressing individual-level behavior change in the absence of larger complementary efforts to address social norms, or their perception, would be insufficient. It is recommended that communication programs draw upon theories and models relating to perceived norms in order to address the underlying causes of higher HIV risk practices. An integrated approach is needed that addresses not only HIV prevention but the broader set of related gender, cultural, and sexual risk factors identified. This approach should be communicated through multiple, reinforcing channels across all levels of Jamaican society to provide the support young men and women engaged in cross-generational relationships need to make healthy life and relationship decisions.

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Annex A: FGD Guide

Stage	Process	STIMULI/MODERATOR CUES
1. WARM UP & SETTLING IN	**Standard research introductions 7 min** • Purpose of research • Personal Introductions – moderator, note taker, participants (pair introduction • Consent for audio tape recording • The ground rules – use of cell phones, respecting one another, no right or wrong answers, free flowing discussion – everyone views, opinions and thoughts are equally important, confidentiality	
UNDERSTANDING DATING & RELATIONSHIPS – 25 MIN		
2. INTRODUCTION TO DATING/RELATIONSHIPS – HOW DO THEY START AND CONTINUE	When I say 'DATING' in the Jamaican context... what are the things that come to your mind? Probe: any moods, thoughts, emotions, places What about when I say 'RELATIONSHIP'…what are the things that come to your mind? Probe: any moods, thoughts, emotions, places **Moderator seek to understand if there is a difference between the two and what is that difference** Which do you or persons your age do? **Moderator if both – focus on dating, if one focus on the one they do** OK let us talk about how Jamaicans your age date some more. The first exercise I have for you this evening is the dating story. In front of you is a page with a story that I will need you to	MODERATOR TO ALLOW SPONTANEOUS RESPONSES, RECORD ON FLIP CHART FREE WORD ASSOCIATION Complete the story.

Stage	Process	STIMULI/MODERATOR CUES
	complete, when you complete that you would have developed a dating story. Reflect on your own dating experience. Start by telling us: • How do you meet new persons to date? • Where is this happening, where do you meet them? • How many different persons do you typically date? • What happens after the date? Do you continue to date each other? Why? Why not? • And let us make a list of different things that young people like you normally do when they get together with their date or someone they like? • If you do, how long typically? Weeks? Month? Years? Why? • Well different persons prefer different types of dating experiences, for example some persons have said they prefer to date 1 person for a long time, others prefer to date one person for a short time then they move on to another date and others prefer to date more than one person at the same time?	
UNDERSTANDING SEXUAL RELATIONSHIP WITH OLDER PARTNER – 35 MIN		
3. UNDERSTANDING SEXUAL RELATIONSHIPS WITH OLDER PARTNER	When I say sex, what comes to mind? Probe: any moods, thoughts, emotions, places When I say sex with an older partner/person, that is, someone 10 or more years older, what comes to your mind? Probe: any moods, thoughts, emotions, places How common is this, that is, sex between persons who are 10 years or more apart in your community? Why? Why not? Ok the next activity I have for you today will be using the picture cutting that are in front of you. This is another team activity. You will be placed in teams of (2 or 3 depending on # of	MODERATOR ALLOW SPONTANEOUS RESPONSES, RECORD ON FLIP CHART FREE WORD ASSOCIATION COLLAGE

Stage	Process	STIMULI/MODERATOR CUES
	participants) and you will all work on the collage together. Each collage will explain your thoughts, experience, opinions about relationships an older partner – that is someone 10 or more years older. The paper in front of you has different blocks with different titles or issues that you will shed light on. Please find pictures that will help you answer those issues. You may cut the images, use sections of the pictures, it might be a single word, a color that helps you provide answers. Also please find more than one picture that answer the issue but each picture must say something different. You may draw or write as well using the markers. The stick glue is there for you to paste the pictures on the paper. Team A – Collage: 1. How does a relationship with an older partner 10 years of older makes young people feel? 2. When persons in your community, friends or family see young persons (men for MSMs) in a relationship with someone (for MSMs a man) who is 10 or more years older, what do they think of them? 3. What types of persons usually get into a relationship with a partner 10 years or older? 4. What does a relationship with a partner 10 years or older do for young people? Team B – Collage: 5. The things that bring disagreement or problems in a relationship with a partner 10 years or older? 6. What happens when problems arise in a relationship with a partner 10 years of older? 7. What is sex like with a partner 10 years	

Stage	Process	STIMULI/MODERATOR CUES
	or older? 8. The best things about a relationship with a partner Each team will explain their collage while the other team listens. At the end of each presentation the moderator will ask the listening team what if anything they would change or add to the collage presentation. The final activity before we have our final wrap session this evening will be another team activity. Four persons will demonstrate two scenarios for us in relationships with persons 10 years or older. SCENARIO ONE: ONE PERSON WILL PLAY THE ROLE OF THE OLDER MAN AND THE OTHER WILL BE THE YOUNG FEMALE OR MALE. YOU HAVE JUST MET EACH OTHER. IN YOUR ROLE YOU DEMONSTRATE WHAT NORMALLY HAPPENS WHEN YOU MEET AND HOW A RELATIONSHIP GETS STARTED. WHAT WOULD THE CONVERSATION BE LIKE, WHAT QUESTIONS ARE ASKED, HOW DO YOU GET STARTED WITH A RELATIONSHIP, HOW THE MEETING ENDS. SCENARIO TWO: YOU ARE ALREADY IN A RELATIONSHIP. ONE PERSON WILL PLAY THE ROLE OF THE OLDER MAN AND THE OTHER THE ROLE OF THE YOUNG FEMALE OR MALE. YOU ARE TOGETHER PRIVATELY AND YOU ARE ABOUT TO HAVE SEX. WHAT HAPPENS, WHAT DO YOU DO, WHAT QUESTIONS ARE ASKED. **Moderator probe after each scenario:** In your experience based on what you know or have heard others say, is there anything else that would happen in this scenario? What?	ROLE PLAY

Stage	Process	STIMULI/MODERATOR CUES
	Moderator listen for – who initiates sex? What are the questions, challenges? Use of condom?	
CONSIDERATIONS ABOUT HIV & MARRIAGE		
	What do you think about how one might protect themselves from getting sexually transmitted diseases? Do you think that the chance of getting a STD such as HIV is greater in persons in relationships with a partner 10 years or older? Why? Why not? Is there an ideal age to get married? What age? Why? Why not? Is this something that you would want to do in the future? Why? Why not?	GENERAL QUESTION & ANSWER
WRAP UP	Any final comments, thoughts, considerations, and recommendations about what we spoke about today?	

Annex B: Individual Interview Guide

Section I: Dating & Relationships Generally

Q1A. Let us begin by talking about the dating life here in Jamaica, how do people in general typically meet other people to date? **Read Out**

Through friends, relatives or associates	1
Own initiative/direct approach	2
A combination of both	3

Q1A.1 And what about you, how do you meet new persons to date or get involved with? **Read Out**

Through friends, relatives or associates	1
Own initiative/direct approach	2
A combination of both	3

Q1A.2. And where do you meet someone new who could possibly be a date or get involved with? **Do not read**

Parties/sessions	1	Online/social sites/dating sites	7		
In my community	2	School	8		
Supermarket	3	Special occasions (e.g. weddings, balls)	9		
On the road	4	Church			
At the bus stop	5	Other (record)			
Work	6				

Q1A.3 Do people your age typically get involved sexually with one person or do they have sexual relations with more than one person?

One person	1	More than one person	2

Q1A.4. Why do you think people your age get involved with [only one person] [more than one person at a time] Probe **questions:** Why is it better? What are they looking for by getting involved in this way? What do you mean by that? **VERBATIM RESPONSES ONLY.**

Q1A.5. And how long on average do these relationships typically last, is it days, weeks, months or years?

Days 1 Weeks 2 Months 3 Years 4

Q1A.6. **If days:** Why do persons your age relationship lasts for days only instead of weeks, months or years? **Probe:** Is this what is preferred? Why? Why not? What do you mean by that? **VERBATIM RESPONSES ONLY.**

If weeks: Why do persons your age relationship lasts for weeks only instead of months or years? **Probe:** Is this what is preferred? Why? Why not? What do you mean by that? **VERBATIM RESPONSES ONLY.**

If months: Why do persons your age relationships last for months instead of weeks or years? **Probe:** Is this what is preferred? Why? Why not? What do you mean by that? **VERBATIM RESPONSES ONLY.**

If years: Why do persons your age relationships last for years instead of weeks or months? **Probe:** Is this what is preferred? Why? Why not? What do you mean by that? **VERBATIM RESPONSES ONLY.**

Q1A.7. Can you make a list of some of the things you typically do when you get together with someone that you like or are interested in? **Do not read list. Code all that apply.**

Talk	1	Touch/fondle/feel up	5
Play	2	Kiss	6
Watch movies	3	Have sex/make love	7
Listen to music	4	Other _____	
Go out (party, restaurant etc.)	5		

Q1B. Let us now talk about marriage here in Jamaica, by marriage I men marriage between a man and a woman. Do most people your age get married, remain unmarried and have a visiting relationship (live apart) or remain unmarried but live together (common law) or do they have no relationship at all? **Read Out**

Get married 1 Visiting relationship 2 Common law 3
Have no relationship at all 4

Q1B.1 **If respondent is not yet married ask:** And what about you, do you want to get married one day? **Read Out**

Yes 1 No 2

Q1B.2 Why [do you] [don't you] want to get married? **Probe:** What in particular have you noticed, experienced, witnessed that makes you feel this way about getting married? Any other reasons? What do you mean by that? **VERBATIM RESPONSES ONLY.**

Q1B.7 In your opinion do **most** marriages last until one partner dies or do most marriages end in divorce or separation?

Until death of one partner 1→Q1B.9 Divorce or separation 2→Q1B.8

Q1B.8 What are some of the reasons why marriages end in divorce or separation? **Probe:** Any other reasons? What do you mean by that? **VERBATIM RESPONSES ONLY.**

Q1B.9 Would you get married to a partner who is 10 or more years **older** than you whether now or in the future?

Yes	1	No	2	Not Sure	3

Q1B.10 Why do you say so? **Probe:** Any other reasons? What do you mean by that? **VERBATIM RESPONSES ONLY.**

Q1B.11 Would you get married to a partner who is 10 or more years **younger** than you, whether now or in the future?

Yes 1 No 2 Not Sure 3

Q1B.12 Why do you say so? **Probe:** Any other reasons? What do you mean by that? **VERBATIM RESPONSES ONLY.**

Q1B.13 Do married men or women ever go outside of their marriage for sexual pleasure?

Yes often/a lot 1→continue Yes but rarely 3→continue
Yes sometimes 2→continue Never 4→Q2.1

Q1B.14 Who is more likely to go outside of their marriage for sexual pleasure, is it the man, the woman or both of them equally?

The man 1 The woman 2 Both equally 3

Q1B.15 Why do you think married men or women go outside of their marriage for sexual pleasure? **Probe:** What do you mean by that? Any other reasons? **VERBATIM RESPONSES ONLY.**

Q1B.16 What do people in your community think about men who go outside of their marriage for sexual pleasure? **Probe:** What do you mean by that? Any other reasons? **VERBATIM RESPONSES ONLY.**

Q1B.17. What do people in your community think about women who go outside of their marriage for sexual pleasure? **Probe:** What do you mean by that? Anything else? **VERBATIM RESPONSES ONLY.**

Section II: Features of Attraction

Q2.1. Now let us talk about the type of person you find attractive, the type that you typically like to get involved with in a relationship. First of all tell me about the different qualities that such a person must have? **Probe:** What do you mean by that? Any others? **VERBATIM RESPONSES ONLY.**

Q2.3 So based on what you just told me, the ideal person for you is **(summarise the main points given at Q2.1)**. Why are you attracted to this type of person? **Probe:** Why is that important to you? What do you mean by that? Any other reasons? **VERBATIM RESPONSES ONLY.**

Section III: Current Relationships

Q3.1 Is there someone in your life **right now** [other than the person to whom you are legally married], that is, someone that you have a sexual relationship with [other than your legal husband or wife]?

Yes 1→continue No 2→Q3.5

Q3.2 How much older or younger than you is this person(s)? **Interviewer if more than one person ask about all persons. For each indicate whether the person is older or younger.**

1. [_____] Younger [ ] Older [ ]
2. [_____] Younger [ ] Older [ ]
3. [_____] Younger [ ] Older [ ]

Q3.3 Now thinking only of the person who is 10 or more years [older] [younger] than you, Which of the following would you use to describe the relationship you have with this person(s)? **Read Out. If more than one person multiple answers expected.**

Boyfriend or girlfriend	1	Just a friend	3
Fiancée	2	Sugar daddy	4
Woman/man on the side	3	Other _____	

Q3.4 Is this(ese) person(s) a man, woman or both?

Man	1	Woman	2	Both	3

Interviewer now go to Q3.9

Q3.5 **<u>If no at Q3.1 ask:</u>** What about within the last 12 months, was there someone in your life other than a person to whom you are legally married, that is, someone that you have sexual relationship with other than your legal husband or wife?

Yes	1→continue	No	2→Q3.13

Q3.6 How much older or younger than you was this person (s)? **Interviewer if more than one person ask about all persons. For each indicate whether the person is older or younger.**

1. [_____]	Younger	[ ]	Older [ ]
2. [_____]	Younger	[ ]	Older [ ]
3. [_____]	Younger	[ ]	Older [ ]

Q3.7 Now thinking only of the person who is 10 or more years [older] [younger] than you, which of the following would you use to describe the relationship you had with that person(s)? **If more than one person multiple answers expected.**

Boyfriend or girlfriend	1	Just a friend	3
Fiancée	2	Sugar daddy	4
Woman/man on the side	3	Other _____	

Q3.8 Was this(ese) person(s) a man, woman or both?

Man	1	Woman	2	Both	3

Q3.9. Now still thinking about your partner(s) other than your legal husband or wife who is 10 or more years younger or older than you, how did you and this person(s) meet? **If more than one person multiple answers possible**

Parties/sessions	1	Online/social sites/dating sites	7		
In my community	2	School	8		
Supermarket	3	Special occasions (e.g. weddings, balls)	9		
On the road	4	Church			

At the bus stop 5 Other (record)_____

A friend/relative 6

Q3.10 Now think back to some of the different times that you are/were together with this person, what are some of the things that you do or used to do when you get together?

Talk	1	Touch/fondle/feel up	5
Play	2	Kiss	6
Watch movies	3	Have sex/make love	7
Listen music	4	Other _____	
Go out (party, restaurant)			

Q3.11 How long have you been together or were you together in a relationship or as a couple with this person? If more than one person record for each

1. [_____] indicate whether of weeks, months or years
2. [_____] indicate whether of weeks, months or years
3. [_____] indicate whether of weeks, months or years

Q3.12 How many different sexual partners do you now have? Please include your legal husband or wife if you are married?

[_____]

Q3.13 And what is the most number of different sexual partners that you have ever had at the same time?

[_____]

Q3.14 And what is the least number of different sexual partners that you have ever had at the same time?

[_____]

Q3.15 Can you recall and tell me how many different persons you have had sex with in your entire lifetime?

[_____]

Q3.16 And how many different partners have you had within the last 12 months? **Interviewer check for consistency in responses given. If inconsistencies seek clarification. Look out for exaggerations or understatements.**

[_____]

Q3.17 **If more than one sex partners at the same time at Q3.12 ask:** Thank you for sharing this with me, I notice that you have more than one sexual partner I would like you to tell me why you have more than one sexual partner? **Probe:** Why is this important to you? What are the benefits to having more than one partner? What do you mean by that? **VERBATIM RESPONSES ONLY.**

Q3.18 Do you ever **receive** gifts from your sexual partners when you have sex with them in exchange for giving them sex?

Yes 1 No 2

Q3.19 Do your sex partners ever expect you to **give** them gifts when they have sex with you or in exchange for them giving you sex?

Yes 1 No 2

Q3.20 **If yes to Q3.18 or Q3.19:** What are some of the different gifts that you normally receive or give to your sex partners? **Do not read.**

Money for myself/himself/herself	1	Shopping	4
Money for family/children	2	Other (specify)_____	
An outing/date somewhere nice or special	3		

Section IV: Cross Generational Experiences

Q4.2 How common is relationship between persons who are 10 or more years apart in age in your neighbourhood or among people that you know? Would you say it is……..**Read Out**

Rare	1	Somewhat common	2	Very common	3

Q4.3 What do people in your neighbourhood generally think about people who are in such relationships, that is, a relationship between persons who are 10 or more years different in age? **Probe:** Any other reasons? What do you mean by that? Why do you say that? **VERBATIM RESPONSES ONLY.**

Q4.4 Now let us talk about your own experiences in a relationship with someone 10 or more years [older][younger] than you. First of all tell me how such a relationship normally gets started. In order to answer this question, think about your current or last relationship

with such a person, tell me how it got started? **In seeking to get the full story Probe:** So who made the first approach? Where did you meet each other? How did you meet each other? **VERBATIM RESPONSES ONLY.**

Q4.5 And now after you have established a relationship with an [older][younger] partner, how do you continue to see each other? That is what are some of the places you meet to see each other? **Probe:** Why these places? What do you mean by that? **VERBATIM RESPONSES ONLY.**

Q4.6 Have you ever been in a relationship with someone who is less than 10 years age difference than you?

Yes	1	No	2

Q4.8 Now say on a scale of 1 to 10 where 1 is completely dissatisfied and 10 means completely satisfied, all things considered, how would you rate your overall happiness or satisfaction with your relationship with your partner who is [younger][older] than you by 10 or more years?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Completely Dissatisfied/ Unhappy									Completely Satisfied/ Happy

Q4.9 What would you say are the best things about your relationship with your partner 10 years [older][younger] than you? That is, what brings you the most happiness or satisfaction? **Probe:** What do you mean by that? Anything else? **VERBATIM RESPONSES ONLY.**

Q4.10 What are the worst things about your relationship, that is, what brings you unhappiness? **Probe:** What do you mean by that? Anything else? **VERBATIM RESPONSES ONLY.**

Q4.11 What if anything would you say are the advantages of getting involved with someone less than 10 years older than you when compared to someone who is 10 years older? **Probe:** What do you mean by that? Why do you say that? Anything else? **VERBATIM RESPONSES ONLY.**

Q4.13 Do any of your friends or family know that you are in a relationship with a partner who is 10 or more years older or younger than you?

Yes 1 No 2 Don't Know 3

Q4.14 **If yes at Q4.13 ask:** What do they think about your relationship? **Probe:** Do they approve or disapprove of it? Why do they approve or disapprove of it?

Q4.15 Now thinking of the person(s) who are 10 or more years younger or older than you and who you currently are or have been in a sexual relationship with in the 12 months. Is/was this person good to you?

Yes all the times	1→Q4.16	Yes but rarely	4→Q4.16
Yes most of the times	2→Q4.16	Never	5→Q4.17
Yes sometimes	3→Q4.16		

Q4.16 **If yes at Q4.15 ask:** What does this person do that tells you he/she is good to you? **Probe:** What do you mean by that? Anything else? **VERBATIM RESPONSES ONLY.**

Q4.17 **<u>Ask all except those who responded "yes all the times at Q4.15":</u>** What are the things that make you say your [older][younger] partner is never good to you? **Probe:** Anything else? What do you mean by that? **VERBATIM RESPONSES ONLY.**

Q4.18 So why do you stay in this relationship? **Probe:** Any other reasons? What do you mean by that? Why is this important to you? **VERBATIM RESPONSES ONLY.**

Q4.19 **<u>Ask all:</u>** How often do you quarrel or fight with your partner who is 10 years [older][younger] than you? Would you say…….**Read Out.**

Regularly/Often	1	Rarely	3
Sometimes	2	Never	4

Q4.20 Does he/she ever hit, kick, box or physically hurt or harm you?

Yes	1	No	2

Q4.21 Have you ever been forced to have sex when you didn't want to by your partner 10 or more years [older][younger] than you?

Yes	1	No	2

Q4.22 Do you ever hit, kick, box, physically hurt or harm him or her?

Yes	1	No	2

Q4.23 What are the things that bring the most strife or war between you and your partner who is 10 or more years apart in age? **Probe:** Anything else? What do you mean by that? **VERBATIM RESPONSES ONLY.**

Q4.24 And what are the things that bring the most joy and pleasure between you and your partner who is 10 or more years [older][younger]? **Probe:** Anything else? What do you mean by that? **VERBATIM RESPONSES ONLY.**

Q4.25 How often if at all do you use a condom with this partner? Would you say…..**Read Out**

All of the time	1	Rarely/once in a while	4
Most of the time	2	Never	5
Sometimes	3		

Q4.26 Why is this so? **Probe:** Any other reasons? What do you mean by that? **VERBATIM RESPONSES ONLY.**

Q4.27 When it comes on to sex with this partner, is one of you more in charge of sex in the relationship than the other. By this I mean someone who is more likely to determine when, where or how sex happens?

Yes	1→Q4.28	No	2→Q4.30

Q4.28 Who would you say is more in charge of sex in your relationship?

Myself	1	My partner	2	Both Equally	3

Q4.29 Why is so? **Probe:** Any other reasons? What do you mean by that? **VERBATIM RESPONSES ONLY.**

Q4.30 Who decides whether or not to use a condom during sex?

Myself 1 My partner 2 Both Equally 3

Q4.31 Why is this so? **Probe:** Is it at all OK for you or your partner to decide to use a condom during sex in your relationship? Why? Why not? What do you mean by that? **VERBATIM RESPONSES ONLY.**

Q4.32 Thinking specifically now about your sexual experience with your partner 10 or more years [older][younger] than you. What are the good things or benefits of having sex with this person? **Probe:** Anything else? What do you mean by that? **VERBATIM RESPONSES ONLY.**

Q4.33 And what are the bad things or the disadvantages of having sex with this person? **Probe:** Anything else? What do you mean by that? **VERBATIM RESPONSES ONLY.**

Q4.34 Is there anything during sex with this person that you would rather not do that he or she wants you to do? If so what? **Probe:** Anything else? What do you mean by that? **VERBATIM RESPONSES ONLY.**

Q4.35 And is there anything during sex with this person that you would want to do that he or she does not want you to do? If so what? **Probe:** Anything else? What do you mean by that? **VERBATIM RESPONSES ONLY.**

Q4.35 What type of man or woman normally get into a relationship with a female or male who is 10 or more years **younger** than them? Describe that person in terms of their age, their likes, their dislikes, their dreams, and their goals? What do you mean by that?
VERBATIM RESPONSES ONLY.

Q4.36 And similarly what type of man or woman normally gets into a relationship with a female or male who is 10 or more years older than them? Describe that person in terms of age, their likes, their dislikes, their dreams, and their goals? What do you mean by that? **VERBATIM RESPONSES ONLY.**

Q4.37a. Have you ever been tested for HIV?

Yes 1 No 2→Q4.38

Q4.37b How often do you get tested?

Once per month	1	Once every 5 months	6
Once every 2 months	2	Once every 6 months	7
Once every 3 months	4	Every 6 to 12 months	8
Once every 4 months	5	Less often than once every 12 months	9

Q4.37c Did you share your test results with your sex partner?

Yes 1 No 2

Q4.38 Do you know your HIV status?

Yes 1 No 2

Q4.39 How important is such information to you personally? Would you say knowing your HIV status is……

Very important to you	5	Somewhat unimportant to you	2
Somewhat important to you	4	Very unimportant to you	1
Neither important not unimportant to you	3		

Q4.40 Some persons say that the chance of getting HIV is greater with a partner who is 10 or more years apart than them, others say the chance of getting HIV with such a partner is lower while others say that the age difference does not make any difference. Which view is closest to yours?

Chance is greater with a partner 10 or more years apart	1
Chance is less with a partner 10 or more years apart	2
No difference	3

Q4.41 What specifically makes you feel this way? **Probe:** What do you mean by that? **VERBATIM RESPONSES ONLY.**

Section V: Wrap Up & Closure

Q5. We are not at the end of the interview, do you have any final comments or suggestions that you would like to make? **Allow a few minutes of final comments**

Annex C: Demographic Survey for Persons Ages 16-17

Demographic Survey & Screener Questionnaire

Q1a. How old were you at your last birthday?

Less than 16 years 5→terminate	1→thank and terminate	19 years old
16 years old 6→terminate	2→check quota	20 years old
17 years old 7→terminate	3→check quota	Over 20 years old
18 years old	4→terminate	

Q1b. Do you or any member of your immediate family work with any of the following types of organisations?

The Ministry of Health	1	NGO's involved in health education e.g. USAID, UNAID, UNESCO, UNICEF 3
Social Services Organisation e.g.		
Jamaica Red Cross	2	

If yes to any of the above, terminate

From observation: Gender: Male 1→check quota Female 2→check quota

Q2. Do you have a working radio in your household?

Yes 1 No 2

Q3. Do you ever listen to the radio during the day or night time (whether at your home or somewhere else)?

Yes 1 No 2

Q4. Which radio stations or channels do you listen to most often? Please tell me only the stations that you listen to on a regular basis? Multiple answers allowed.

Irie FM	1	Love 101	8
RJR 94 FM	2	Music 99 Fm	9
Fame FM	3	Nationwide	10
KLAS	4	TBC	11
Power 106	5	NCU	12
Hitz 94 FM	6	Kool FM	13
Zip FM	7	Other (specify)_____	

Q5. In a typical week, how many days do you listen to the radio? Would you say....**Read Out**

Everyday	1	1 day per week	4
4-6 days per week	2	Less than once per week	7
2-3 days per week	3		

Q6. Do you have a working television in your household?

Yes	1	No	2

Q7. Do you ever watch the television during the day or night time (whether at your home or somewhere else)?

Yes	1	No	2

Q8. Which channels/stations do you watch most often on television? Please tell me only the ones you watch on a regular basis and these could include local channels/stations and cable channels/stations? **(Interviewer probe for local TV channels as well as cable channels. Multiple answers)**

TVJ	1	RETV	6
CVM	2	HYPE TV	7
Love TV	3	TVJ Sports	8
JNN	4	Lifetime	9
CVM Plus	5	National Geographic	10
Discovery	6	MTV	11
HBO	7	VH1	12
Showtime	8	Other (specify)_____	
Cinemax	9	_____	

Q9. In a typical week, how many days do you watch television? Would you say....**Read Out**

Everyday	1	1 day per week	4
4-6 days per week	2	Less than once per week	7
2-3 days per week	3		

Q10. Do you ever use the internet (whether at your home or somewhere else)?

Yes	1→Q11	No	2→Q15a

Q11. Where do you mostly gain access to the internet?

Home	1	School/library	4
Work	2	Phone	5
Internet café	3	Other (specify)_____	

Q12. In a typical week, how many days do you use the internet? Would you say....**Read Out**

Everyday	1	1 day per week	4
4-6 days per week	2	Less than once per week	7
2-3 days per week	3		

Q13a. I am now going read to you a list of different activities that the internet may be used for. Please tell me which of these you ever use the internet for?

Activities	Q13a
Email	1
Visit social network sites	2
Visit entertainment based sited	3
Visit dating sites	4
Look for educational content	5
Read the news	6
Look for health related content	7
Play games	8
Buy products and services	9
Other specify:	
None	99→Q15

Q13b. **Interviewer go back to Q13a and tick below all the activities that the internet is ever used for from Q13a:** Now thinking only about the activities that you use the internet for, please rank these in order to indicate which you use the internet most often to do. The activity that you use it most often for, please give it a #1, second most often 2 and so on until you rank all the activities that you use the internet for.

Tick	Activities	Q13b. Rank of activities
	Email	
	Visit social network sites	
	Visit entertainment based sited	
	Visit dating sites	
	Look for educational content	
	Read the news	
	Look for health related content	
	Play games	
	Buy products and services	
	Other specify:	
	None	

Q14. What social network sites such as Face book (if any) do you visit? **(Multiple answers. Check for consistency with Q13a).**

Facebook	1	My Space	4
Twitter	2	WAYN	5
Linked In	3	Other (specify)_____	

Q15a. **Ask all:** Do you personally own a working cell phone?

Yes 1→Q15b No 2→Q16

Q15b. **If yes ask Q15b-Q15c:** Are you able to receive SMS or text messages?

Yes 1 No 2

Q15c. Are you able to access the internet using the cell phone?

Yes 1 No 2

Q16. Please tell me the top three sources from which you most frequently obtain information about health? **Do not read. Probe for only three answers.**

Radio	1	Health workers/clinics/hospitals	8
Television	2	Pharmacist	9
Internet	3	NGOs	10
Newspaper	4	Church/religious organ.	11
Friends	5	Other (specify)_____	
Family	6		
Community groups	7		

Q17. Are you now or have you ever been in a sexual relationship with someone more than 10 years older than you within the last 12 months?

Yes 1→continue

No 2→*(if no, thank them for their participation and excuse them from the interview)*

Classification

Now just a few questions about yourself so we may put you into groups of respondents.

C2a. Which of the following groups does your occupation fall into? **(Show card OCC and Read Out)**

	Points	Code DP only
Service Worker/Operator/ Labourer/Craftsman/Repairman/Street Vendor/Single person business man/woman	**1**	1
Clerical Administrative/Licensed Service/ Worker/Sales	**2**	2
Self employed/business owner (i.e. employs at least one other person other than self but less than 10 persons full time)	**3**	3
Proprietor/Corporate Manager (i.e. Manager or owner of a business entity that employs 10 or more staff members on a full time basis)	**5**	

		4
Professional/Technical	**5**	5
Do not read: Unemployed	**0→C2c**	6
Do not read: Housewife/Retired	**0→C2c**	7
Do not read: Student	**0→C2c**	7
Do not read: Don't Know /Refused	**0**	8
Do not read: No response	**0**	9

C2b(1). Could you kindly tell me your exact occupation, that is, what do you do for a living?

_____

Interviewer no go to Q3b

C2c. **If unemployed/student/housewife/retired ask C2c to C3a, about the head of the household, otherwise skip to C3b:** Which of the following groups does the occupation (job title) of the head of your household or the person whom you depend on for your income falls into? **(Showcard OCC and read out)**

	Points	Code DP only
Service Worker/Operator/ Labourer/Craftsman/Repairman/Street Vendor/Single person business man/woman	**1**	1
Clerical Administrative/Licensed Service/ Worker/Sales	**2**	2
Self employed/business owner (i.e. employs at least one other person other than self but less than 10 persons full time)	**3**	3
Proprietor/Corporate Manager (i.e. Manager or owner of a business entity that employs 10 or more staff members on a full time basis)	**5**	4
Professional/Technical	**5**	5
Don't read: Unemployed	**0**	6
Don't read: Housewife/Retired	**0**	7

Don't read:	Student	**0**	7
Don't read:	Don't Know /Refused	**0**	8
Don't read:	No response	**0**	9

C2d(1). Could you kindly tell me the exact occupation of the head of your household or the person whom you depend on, that is, what does he/she do for a living?

_____

C3a. What is the highest level of education attained/completed by the head of the household? **(Read Out)**

	Points	Code DP only
Primary/Prep School	**1**	1
Secondary/High – up to 5th form	**1**	2
Secondary/High – up to 6th form	**1**	3
Vocational/Technical	**1**	4
College/University Certificate	**2**	5
College/University Diploma	**2**	6
Bachelor's Degree	**3**	7
Professional Certification e.g. ACCA,CFA	**4**	8
Master's Degree	**4**	9
Doctoral Degree	**5**	10
Professional Degree (Law, Medical)	**5**	11
No formal education	**0**	12
Refused / Don't Know	**0**	13
No Response	**0**	14

C3b. What is the highest level of education that you have personally completed? **(Read Out)**

	Points	Code DP only
Primary/Prep School	**1**	1
Secondary/High – up to 5th form	**1**	2
Secondary/High – up to 6th form	**1**	3

	Points	Code DP only
Vocational/Technical	**1**	4
College/University Certificate	**2**	5
College/University Diploma	**2**	6
Bachelor's Degree	**3**	7
Professional Certification e.g. ACCA,CFA	**4**	8
Master's Degree	**4**	9
Doctoral Degree	**5**	10
Professional Degree (Law, Medical)	**5**	11
No formal education	**0**	12
Refused / Don't Know	**0**	13
No Response	**0**	14

C4a. **SHOW CARD SAL. Using the scale on the card, can you tell me approximately:** Which of the following options best represents the total monthly income after taxes of your *household*? Please include all income that your **household** receives on a monthly basis including any remittances, pension, etc. **NOT AS INDIVIDUAL**

READ OPTIONS :	Code DP only	**DO NOT READ** **(Average Monthly Income)**
Less than $20,000	1	Less than $20,000
$20,000-$50,000	2	$35,000
$50,001-$100,000	3	$75,000
$100,001-$150,000	4	$125,000
$151,000-$200,000	5	$175,000
$200,001-$250,000	6	$225,000
$250,001-$300,000	7	$275,000
$300,001 - $350,000	8	$325,000
$350,001 - $400,000	9	$375,000
$400,001 - $450,000	10	$425,000
$450,001 - $500,000	11	$475,000
Over $500,000 (specify)_____	12	Over $475,000
Refused/Don't know	13	Refused/Don't know

C4b. How many different persons live in your household? Please include all adults and children that are not employed to your household?

[_____] **exact number only not a range**

Annex D: Demographic Survey for Persons Ages 18 and Older

Demographic Survey & Screener Questionnaire

Q1a. How old were you at your last birthday?

Less than 16 years	1→thank and terminate	25+ years old	5→check quota
16 years old	2→thank and terminate	35+ years old	6→check quota
17 years old	3→thank and terminate	45+ years old	7→check quota
18 years old	4→check quota	55+ years old	8→check quota
19 years old	5→check quota	65+ years old	9→check quota
20-25 years old	6→check quota		

Q1b. Do you or any member of your immediate family work with any of the following types of organisations?

The Ministry of Health	1	NGO's involved in health education e.g. USAID, UNAID, UNESCO, UNICEF	3
Social Services Organisation e.g.			
Jamaica Red Cross	2		

If yes to any of the above, terminate

From observation: Gender: Male 1→check quota Female 2→check quota

Q2. Do you have a working radio in your household?

Yes	1	No	2

Q3. Do you ever listen to the radio during the day or night time (whether at your home or somewhere else)?

Yes	1	No	2

Q4. Which radio stations or channels do you listen to most often? Please tell me only the stations that you listen to on a regular basis? Multiple answers allowed.

Irie FM	1	Love 101	8
RJR 94 FM	2	Music 99 Fm	9
Fame FM	3	Nationwide	10
KLAS	4	TBC	11
Power 106	5	NCU	12
Hitz 94 FM	6	Kool FM	13
Zip FM	7	Other (specify)_____	

Q5. In a typical week, how many days do you listen to the radio? Would you say....**Read Out**

Everyday	1	1 day per week	4
4-6 days per week	2	Less than once per week	7
2-3 days per week	3		

Q6. Do you have a working television in your household?

Yes	1	No	2

Q7. Do you ever watch the television during the day or night time (whether at your home or somewhere else)?

Yes	1	No	2

Q8. Which channels/stations do you watch most often on television? Please tell me only the ones you watch on a regular basis and these could include local channels/stations and cable channels/stations? **(Interviewer probe for local TV channels as well as cable channels. Multiple answers)**

TVJ	1	RETV	6
CVM	2	HYPE TV	7
Love TV	3	TVJ Sports	8
JNN	4	Lifetime	9
CVM Plus	5	National Geographic	10
Discovery	6	MTV	11
HBO	7	VH1	12
Showtime	8	Other (specify)_____	
Cinemax	9	_____	

Q9. In a typical week, how many days do you watch television? Would you say....**Read Out**

Everyday	1	1 day per week	4
4-6 days per week	2	Less than once per week	7
2-3 days per week	3		

Q10. Do you ever use the internet (whether at your home or somewhere else)?

Yes	1→Q11	No	2→Q15a

Q11. Where do you mostly gain access to the internet?

Home	1	School/library	4
Work	2	Phone	5
Internet café	3	Other (specify)_____	

Q12. In a typical week, how many days do you use the internet? Would you say....**Read Out**

Everyday	1	1 day per week	4
4-6 days per week	2	Less than once per week	7
2-3 days per week	3		

Q13a. I am now going read to you a list of different activities that the internet may be used for. Please tell me which of these you ever use the internet for?

Activities	Q13a
Email	1
Visit social network sites	2
Visit entertainment based sited	3
Visit dating sites	4
Look for educational content	5
Read the news	6
Look for health related content	7
Play games	8
Buy products and services	9
Other specify:	
None	99→Q15

Q13b. **<u>Interviewer go back to Q13a and tick below all the activities that the internet is ever used for from Q13a:</u>** Now thinking only about the activities that you use the internet for, please rank these in order to indicate which you use the internet most often to do. The activity that you use it most often for, please give it a #1, second most often 2 and so on until you rank all the activities that you use the internet for.

Tick	Activities	Q13b. Rank of activities
	Email	
	Visit social network sites	
	Visit entertainment based sited	
	Visit dating sites	
	Look for educational content	
	Read the news	
	Look for health related content	
	Play games	
	Buy products and services	
	Other specify:	
	None	

Q14. What social network sites such as Face book (if any) do you visit? **(Multiple answers. Check for consistency with Q13a).**

Facebook	1	My Space	4
Twitter	2	WAYN	5
Linked In	3	Other (specify)_____	

Q15a. **<u>Ask all:</u>** Do you personally own a working cell phone?

Yes	1→Q15b	No	2→Q16

Q15b. **If yes ask Q15b-Q15c:** Are you able to receive SMS or text messages?

Yes	1	No	2

Q15c. Are you able to access the internet using the cell phone?

Yes	1	No	2

Q16. Please tell me the top three sources from which you most frequently obtain information about health? **Do not read. Probe for only three answers.**

Radio	1	Health workers/clinics/hospitals	8
Television	2	Pharmacist	9
Internet	3	NGOs	10
Newspaper	4	Church/religious organ.	11
Friends	5	Other (specify)_____	
Family	6		
Community groups	7		

Q17. Are you now or have you ever been in a sexual relationship with someone more than 10 years older than you within the last 12 months?

Yes	1→continue
No	2→*(if no, thank them for their participation and excuse them from the interview)*

Q18. Are you currently married?

Yes	1	No	2

Classification

Now just a few questions about yourself so we may put you into groups of respondents.

C2a. Which of the following groups does your occupation fall into? **(Showcard OCC and Read Out)**

	Points	Code DP only
Service Worker/Operator/ Labourer/Craftsman/Repairman/Street Vendor/Single person business man/woman	**1**	1
Clerical Administrative/Licensed Service/ Worker/Sales	**2**	2
Self employed/business owner (i.e. employs at least one other person other than self but less than 10 persons full time)	**3**	3
Proprietor/Corporate Manager (i.e. Manager or owner of a business entity that employs 10 or more staff members on a full time basis)	**5**	4
Professional/Technical	**5**	5
Do not read: Unemployed	**0→C2c**	6
Do not read: Housewife/Retired	**0→C2c**	7
Do not read: Student	**0→C2c**	7
Do not read: Don't Know /Refused	**0**	8
Do not read: No response	**0**	9

C2b(1). Could you kindly tell me your exact occupation, that is, what do you do for a living?

_____

Interviewer no go to Q3b

C2c. **If unemployed/student/housewife/retired ask C2c to C3a, about the head of the household, otherwise skip to C3b:** Which of the following groups does the occupation (job title) of the head of your household or the person whom you depend on for your income falls into? **(Showcard OCC and read out)**

	Points	Code DP only
Service Worker/Operator/ Labourer/Craftsman/Repairman/Street Vendor/Single person business man/woman	**1**	

		1
Clerical Administrative/Licensed Service/ Worker/Sales	**2**	2
Self employed/business owner (i.e. employs at least one other person other than self but less than 10 persons full time)	**3**	3
Proprietor/Corporate Manager (i.e. Manager or owner of a business entity that employs 10 or more staff members on a full time basis)	**5**	4
Professional/Technical	**5**	5
Don't read: Unemployed	**0**	6
Don't read: Housewife/Retired	**0**	7
Don't read: Student	**0**	7
Don't read: Don't Know /Refused	**0**	8
Don't read: No response	**0**	9

C2d(1). Could you kindly tell me the exact occupation of the head of your household or the person whom you depend on, that is, what does he/she do for a living?

_____

C3a. What is the highest level of education attained/completed by the head of the household? **(Read Out)**

	Points	Code DP only
Primary/Prep School	**1**	1
Secondary/High – up to 5th form	**1**	2
Secondary/High – up to 6th form	**1**	3
Vocational/Technical	**1**	4
College/University Certificate	**2**	5
College/University Diploma	**2**	6
Bachelor's Degree	**3**	7
Professional Certification e.g. ACCA,CFA	**4**	8
Master's Degree	**4**	9
Doctoral Degree	**5**	10

Professional Degree (Law, Medical)	**5**	11
No formal education	**0**	12
Refused / Don't Know	**0**	13
No Response	**0**	14

C3b. What is the highest level of education that you have personally completed? **(Read Out)**

	Points	Code DP only
Primary/Prep School	**1**	1
Secondary/High – up to 5th form	**1**	2
Secondary/High – up to 6th form	**1**	3
Vocational/Technical	**1**	4
College/University Certificate	**2**	5
College/University Diploma	**2**	6
Bachelor's Degree	**3**	7
Professional Certification e.g. ACCA,CFA	**4**	8
Master's Degree	**4**	9
Doctoral Degree	**5**	10
Professional Degree (Law, Medical)	**5**	11
No formal education	**0**	12
Refused / Don't Know	**0**	13
No Response	**0**	14

C4a. **SHOW CARD SAL. Using the scale on the card, can you tell me approximately:** Which of the following options best represents the total monthly income after taxes of your *household*? Please include all income that your **household** receives on a monthly basis including any remittances, pension, etc. **NOT AS INDIVIDUAL**

READ OPTIONS :	Code DP only	**DO NOT READ** **(Average Monthly Income)**
Less than $20,000	1	Less than $20,000
$20,000-$50,000	2	$35,000
$50,001-$100,000	3	$75,000
$100,001-$150,000	4	$125,000
$151,000-$200,000	5	$175,000
$200,001-$250,000	6	$225,000
$250,001-$300,000	7	$275,000
$300,001 - $350,000	8	$325,000

$350,001 - $400,000	9	$375,000
$400,001 - $450,000	10	$425,000
$450,001 - $500,000	11	$475,000
Over $500,000 (specify)_____	12	Over $475,000
Refused/Don't know	13	Refused/Don't know

C4b. How many different persons live in your household? Please include all adults and children that are not employed to your household?

[_____] **exact number only not a range**

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