

“A man gets as far as a woman wants him to”?
Sexual behaviour change among young people in Mexico

Cicely Marston

London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine

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Abstract

Young people's reproductive health is a growing policy and research concern, both because of high levels of disease and unwanted pregnancy in this group, and because of a desire to improve less tangible aspects of health such as psychological well-being. To design effective and targeted interventions to improve reproductive health, we need to know both how and why young people behave sexually, and what types of programmes might lead to behaviour change. Little is known about either topic.

This thesis uses a qualitative approach to examine sexual behaviour among young people and focuses on a low-income area of Mexico City. The study analyses the personal, social, and physical contexts of sexual activity among young people, the ways activity is explained and justified, and the processes of decision-making about sexual behaviour. Concepts of risk and vulnerability, their variation with context, and their effects on behaviour are explored. In addition, sources and ranges of meanings (individual and shared) of sexual activity and sexuality are investigated, as is the relationship of these to behaviour. A sexual health programme, Mexfam's "Gente Joven" – a peer-led, outreach programme – is also studied, with the aim of understanding how such a programme might affect young people's actions.

An interaction-orientated theoretical approach is used. Three social levels are considered: the macro, the individual, and the dyad. Despite not using an overtly gender-orientated perspective while collecting data for this project, it was impossible to analyse the final interviews without gender being considered as a major explanatory element. Stereotypical gender roles where men are controlling and women controlled did not provide a useful framework to interpret the data, however, and a more complex picture emerged with women seeming to have a certain flexibility to reinterpret and transform social rules, and men being more restricted than they first appear.

In the final part of the thesis, the processes by which Mexfam's "Gente Joven" programme might affect behaviour are discussed, in the light of the findings from the first part of the study.

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Graffiti promoting safer sex

These photos show some of the graffiti painted as part of outreach work done by the Gente Joven programme during the fieldwork for this study. Graffiti artists met up to paint messages and pictures on walls local to where they lived in the San Lorenzo area of Iztapalapa, Mexico City. There are condoms in some of the pictures, and the slogans include: "condón: úsalo, exígelo" (condom: use one, demand one) and "no a la violencia" (say no to violence).

Youth promoters

This picture shows some members of the group of youth promoters with whom I worked closely during the fieldwork. The group called themselves "halcones" (falcons), and designed the T-shirts worn here. On the back of the T-shirts is the Gente Joven logo. The picture was taken after a Gente Joven basketball tournament in Degollado, Mexico City.



Left to right, top row: Henoc, José, Alejandro, Jessica, Alicia (Gente Joven co-ordinator), Mario
Bottom row: Mary Carmen, me, Flavio

Introduction

This thesis examines sexual behaviour, reproductive and sexual health, and behaviour change among young people in Mexico. Young people's sexual behaviours are investigated, and the meanings and motivations behind sexual activity explored. The potential for behaviours to be affected by a sexual health programme is also examined.

The term "young people" refers to people between 10 and 24 years old and specific ages are given where necessary. For young people to have good reproductive health, each sex act should be free of coercion and infection, every pregnancy should be intended, and every birth should be healthy (Tsui et al. 1997, p.1; see also UN 1994).

In Chapter 1, I discuss why it is necessary to study young people's reproductive health, and outline briefly the types of services that exist to improve reproductive health for this group. The Mexican context, and the aims and objectives of this study are then described. In Chapter 2, the theoretical background to the study is presented and in Chapter 3, the theoretical framework developed for the present study is outlined, with the study design and methods used. Chapter 4 presents background quantitative information about the sexual behaviour of men in the study area. In Chapter 5, qualitative findings related to gender in Mexico are discussed, focusing on their implications for social expectations of sexual behaviour. Chapter 6 examines individuals' knowledge about sexuality-related topics, and their perceptions of risk of pregnancy and disease. Chapter 7 then explores young people's sexual behaviour in detail: in what circumstances does first coitus occur? What happens? Who is the first partner? What happens with subsequent partners? Why and when are modern contraceptives used? Finally, in Chapter 8, Mexfam's Gente Joven programme is discussed: what programme processes allow it to reach young people? How might the programme affect sexual behaviour?

Chapter 1

Study background, aims and objectives

1.1 Why study young people's sexual health?

In recent years, the sexual health of young people worldwide has received increasing attention from researchers and policy-makers. There are three main reasons for this. First, the potential negative consequences of sexual activity for young people are common and can be serious. These include unplanned pregnancy and infection with sexually transmitted diseases and HIV/AIDS (see for example Varga 1999; Senderowitz 1997b; Radhakrishna et al. 1997). Second, despite these potential negative outcomes, young people, particularly if they are unmarried, have often been ignored by sexual and reproductive health services, and their sexual activity is frequently socially condemned (Webb 1998; Senderowitz 1995). Third, the 1994 Cairo Conference Programme of Action highlighted the vulnerability of youth in terms of sexual health, and identified young people as a priority group for research and interventions (UN 1994).

For the majority of young people worldwide, sexual relations begin in the teenage years (UNAIDS 1997). Social changes have meant that marriage is increasingly postponed to later ages (Brooks-Gunn & Paikoff 1997; Population Reference Bureau 1996; Singh & Wulf 1990), and the likelihood of beginning a prior sexual relationship increases correspondingly (Blanc & Way 1998; Alan Guttmacher Institute 1997; Hawkins & Meshesha 1994). In many cultures, sexual activity of young people outside marriage is proscribed and condemned, yet the numbers of extra-marital first pregnancies and first births provide evidence of the importance of this type of sexual contact. The Demographic and Health Surveys¹ show that in less developed countries, teenage childbearing accounts for a substantial proportion of all births, with fertility rates for 15-19 year olds ranging from 120 to 160 per 1000 in sub-Saharan Africa, 80 to 100 per 1000 in Latin America and the Caribbean, 32 to 61 per 1000 in Southeast Asia and 84 to 140 in the Indian sub-continent. Data on the proportion of births that occur before marriage were only collected for some parts of sub-Saharan

¹ *These surveys provide estimates based on large, nationally representative samples of women.*

Africa and Latin America². In African countries an estimated 19 to 40 percent of first births to 15-19 year olds occur before first union or marriage, in Latin America the range is 12 to 34 percent. In some countries of these two regions, premarital childbearing among teenagers appears to be increasing (Singh 1998).

In less developed countries, low education levels combined with taboos on discussion of sex can mean that young people are ill-informed at a very basic level. For example, they may be unaware or misinformed about the mechanisms of conception and STD transmission (e.g. see Chapter 6). Social prohibition of sex outside marriage means that unmarried young people may be discouraged or forbidden from obtaining contraception, whether or not services exist for married people (Aibe & Kitamura 1996; Koontz & Conly 1994). In addition, young people are frequently reluctant to seek advice or services for contraception or treatment of STDs because of fear of social disapproval, even where services are available (e.g. see Senderowitz 1997a; UNFPA/IPPF 1997). Sexual activity among young people in less developed countries, then, frequently takes place in the context of low levels of information, and severely restricted access to methods of contraception or disease prophylaxis, whether the access is curtailed by low knowledge alone, or by cultural, physical or legal barriers.

1.1.1 Unplanned, unwanted pregnancy³ and the sexual double standard

Recent research has raised awareness of the potential negative health, economic, social and psychological consequences of unprotected sexual behaviour among young people (e.g. Bledsoe & Cohen 1993; WHO 1989). Worldwide, the negative social and medical consequences of young people's sexual activity tend to affect young women more severely than young men (Marques 1993). There is commonly a sexual double standard under which men are socialised to expect and initiate premarital sex, and women to refuse it: among the unmarried, sexually active men are perceived as normal, and sexually active women as degraded and immoral (see e.g. Szasz 1998b; Hawkins & Meshesha 1994; Singh & Wulf 1990).

Women in some cultures may be rejected by their families, expelled from school, socially condemned and even threatened with death if they become pregnant outside

² *These data are based on survey questions and are liable to reporting bias. In this case, the bias is likely to lead to underestimates of extramarital births, if women tend to misreport date of marriage and date of first birth in order to make the birth appear to have occurred within marriage (Singh 1998).*

marriage (Palma & Quilodran 1995; Senanayake & Ladjali 1994; Bledsoe & Cohen 1993). Young, unmarried women who become pregnant may have to choose between abortion on the one hand (often illegal and unsafe (Ankomah et al. 1997)) and expulsion from school or social condemnation on the other. Young men, by contrast, are less likely to be ostracised as immoral, do not have to leave school, and are less likely to bear the economic and social costs of abortion or childbearing (Marques 1993). Where data are available, a high proportion of births to young women in less developed countries are reported as unplanned or unwanted with levels far higher among the unmarried than the married (Singh 1998).

It is estimated that a total of 20 million unsafe abortions occur annually, with 18 million of these occurring in the less developed world (Singh 1998; WHO 1994). The high proportions of births to young women that are unplanned and unwanted correspond to evidence that these women are more likely to seek abortions than their older counterparts. In countries where the practice is illegal or severely restricted, abortion complications are a serious health problem (Singh 1998; Senderowitz 1995; Rogo 1993). In Latin America, abortion is widely practised despite near-universal legal restrictions, and the region has the highest abortion rate in the world – an estimated 4.6 million unsafe abortions are performed per year (UN Population Division 1998). Young women account for a disproportionate number of abortion complications compared to older women because they are more likely to obtain clandestine abortions, have obstetrical difficulties, and to delay the procedure until later in pregnancy (Senderowitz 1995). If the pregnancy is carried to term, young women are still at greater risk than older women, although it is likely that prior economic and social disadvantage also play a large part in these negative consequences (Singh 1998). Among the 15-19 age group the risk of dying during pregnancy or delivery is 20 to 200 percent greater than for older women (WHO 1989). Pregnancy-related problems are the main cause of death for teenage women worldwide (Population Reference Bureau 1989). In addition, in a review of four studies conducted in Latin America it was found that among the poor, early childbearing is associated with lower monthly earnings for mothers and lower child nutritional status (Buvinic 1998).

³ *The distinction between unplanned and unwanted pregnancies is frequently not made in the literature. An unplanned pregnancy is not necessarily unwanted and a planned pregnancy may be unwanted e.g. if the relationship breaks up (López Juárez 1998). The terms are not used interchangeably here.*

1.1.2 HIV/AIDS and sexually transmitted diseases (STDs)

The HIV/AIDS pandemic has been crucial in focusing interest on sexual behaviour in general because of the fact that HIV can be transmitted sexually. Half of all HIV infections have occurred in individuals under age 25 (United Nations Population Division 1998).

Data on the incidence of diseases purely transmitted through sexual intercourse (STDs) are scarce, but in more developed countries, over two-thirds of all reported gonorrhoea cases occur among the under 25s (Senderowitz 1995) and limited data available suggest that infection rates are at least as high as this in less developed countries, if not higher (United Nations Population Division 1998; Senderowitz 1995). Each year worldwide, around 1 in 20 teenagers contracts a curable STD, and the highest rates are reported in young people between 15 and 25 years old (WHO/GPA 1995). STDs can also act as a conduit for infection with HIV (Wasserheit 1992).

1.1.3 Other sexual outcomes

The concept of sexual health implies positive sexual outcomes beyond those related to pregnancy and disease. Sexual activity takes place within relationships, and other, non-medical aspects such as relationship status and sexual pleasure are also important. These are often ignored or sidelined in the literature, and certain elements of the sexual act are prioritised for research, for example use or non-use of contraceptives, or coital frequency (Malhotra 1999; Dixon Mueller 1993).

“In most demographic studies, the sexual act has been effectively neutralized [...]: It is quantity, not quality that counts” (Dixon Mueller 1993, p.270)

Young women and men are exposed to cultural attitudes and practices that will affect their experiences of sexual activity. Sexual violence and coercion, for example, may underlie both (lack of) sexual pleasure and (non) use of contraception (see for example Wood et al. 1998; Heise et al. 1999; Heise 1995; Holland et al. 1992). A woman who is raped could not be said to have had a positive or healthy sexual outcome, regardless of her pregnancy or disease status. On the other hand, sex may strengthen a relationship and be a source of mutual physical pleasure. “Negative” medical outcomes (e.g. a curable STD) may not be interpreted as such in the context of a particularly pleasurable experience.

1.1.4 Young people and sex

Sexual behaviours can have many different meanings and different potential consequences according to upbringing, custom, social class, circumstance, or other aspects of young people's lives⁴. Young people are not universally at risk of negative sexual outcomes and many studies have shown that factors such as gender, social class, cultural norms concerning youth sexual activity, and sex education all intersect to affect behaviour and outcomes (Dowsett 1999; UNAIDS 1999b; White et al. 2000, see also subsequent chapters). It is important, therefore, that sexual interactions among young people are not seen as solely related to their age, but also as rooted in their different cultural and social contexts. The stereotypical portrayal of young people in published literature has been criticised in detail by Aggleton and Warwick (1997). They point out that accounts frequently posit deficiencies in young people's personal and social function, do not consider the variability of different contexts, reducing sexual behaviour "...to the effects of biology, poor socialisation and faulty learning, boredom and frustration, among other factors..." (Aggleton & Warwick 1997, p.81). For example, they identify a number of images used in the literature, including the "unknowledgeable adolescent" (young people are largely ignorant of HIV disease and how to protect against it), the "high risk adolescent" (young people are more prone to risk-taking than adults), and the "over-determined adolescent" (young people's behaviour is largely the product of biological and social forces beyond their control e.g. hormones, peer group pressure). The specific social contexts in which young people's sexual behaviour takes place are often ignored.

1.2 Improving youth sexual health

I have outlined above how young people, particularly the unmarried, can have specific sexual health needs that are distinct from those of older adults. In recognition of these needs, programmes specifically designed for young people have begun to be implemented across the world. Broadly speaking, interventions attempt to achieve any or all of the following: increase knowledge of sexuality-related topics (e.g. increase knowledge of routes of HIV transmission, increase knowledge of contraceptive methods); change attitudes (e.g. encourage positive attitudes towards condoms, change attitudes towards sexuality more generally); provide medical services (e.g. provide contraception, treatment of STDs); build skills (e.g. teach how to put on condoms, teach negotiation of use of condoms); and ultimately, change

⁴ For a discussion of the cultural variability of sexual behaviour and meanings from an anthropological perspective see Tuzin (1991). See also Brummelhuis (1995)

behaviour (e.g. encourage postponement of sexual debut, encourage effective use of contraception, build skills needed to resist coercion).

It is increasingly becoming clear that in order to change behaviour, it is not sufficient simply to increase knowledge (see Chapter 2). Many HIV prevention programmes, for example, have concentrated on explaining how the virus is transmitted, with the expectation that this will lead to a reduction in the “risky” behaviours that may lead to infection. Increasing knowledge of HIV, however, does not necessarily decrease risk behaviours (DiClemente 1997). This has been attributed in part to the fact that, even if new knowledge leads to a desire to reduce risk behaviour, it is not necessarily the case that an individual has the skills needed to put that desire into practice. A particular focus of attention in this regard, for example, has been negotiation of condom use with partners. Skills-building elements of programmes aim to address this issue, using exercises and role plays to train young people in the social and life skills needed to carry out safer sexual behaviours (WHO Adolescent Health Programme 1995). Oakley et al. (1995) found that skills-building elements in interventions were associated with success. Kirby et al. (1994) report a similar finding in their review of school-based programmes in the USA. In this review, they also found that successful programmes had in common: a grounding in social-psychological theory and a focus on specific risk behaviours, use of experiential training methods e.g. role plays, games to personalise skills and information, and instruction on social influences and pressures.

Many strategies have been employed in sexual and reproductive health programmes, from mass media information campaigns, to teacher-delivered school-based classes, to one-to-one counselling. Where young people are not in school, it can be difficult to deliver information easily. To reach out-of-school youth, sex information can be given at dedicated “multiservice” centres that also offer vocational training, sports facilities, or other facilities intended to attract young people. Outreach approaches are also used, where programme staff seek out young people where they gather and deliver the information or services there. In this thesis, one particular approach is examined: the peer-led, outreach programme.

“Peer health education is the teaching or sharing of health information, values and behaviours by members of similar age or status groups.” (Sciacca 1987). In programmes with a peer component, young people are trained to inform other young people about sex and sexuality. Milburn (1995) identifies five rationales for peer education projects. First, they are inexpensive relative to other interventions – volunteers often give their services for free, or are paid a very low salary, although as

Senderowitz (1997a) points out, they also need supervision and support. Second, studies indicate that people frequently turn to their peers for information and advice, providing an arena for support. Third, research on child and youth friendships indicates the important and protective role peer social networks play in positive development. Fourth, the peer leaders have the opportunity to participate in meaningful roles and gain personally from the experience. Fifth, similarities between influencer and recipient can increase persuasiveness of messages. In a review of peer-led programmes, Senderowitz notes that the characteristics of good peer educators or counsellors are often overlooked in the selection of individuals for these roles (Senderowitz 1997a). They should be respectful, non-judgemental and confidential (WHO Adolescent Health Programme 1995). In addition, they should be credible (Scott & Black 1999; Rogers 1983) and share characteristics of their target audience such as age, ethnicity, and social status (Senderowitz 1997a).

Peer programmes can combine strong identification with the social and cultural environment of the target group; promotion of social norms and values supportive of positive attitudes and healthy behaviour; and involvement of young people in programmes targeted to them (Senderowitz 1997a). There is usually a high turnover of peer educators as young adults grow out of the appropriate age range or move on to other phases of their lives. For this reason, there is an ongoing need for recruitment and training to keep programmes running (Senderowitz 1997a).

1.2.1 What makes a programme successful?

Little is known about the relative merits of different approaches, because successes or failures of interventions are rarely evaluated adequately (Grunseit & Aggleton 1998; Oakley et al. 1995; Fullerton et al. 1995), although it appears that where information, skills training, and services are made available to young people, they are more likely to make use of them than their elders (UNAIDS/WHO 1998). In less developed countries, very limited evidence exists about the success of projects, and there is almost none available for individual project components or characteristics (Senderowitz 1997a; Hughes & McCauley 1998). Field experience of interventions, however, has led to some agreement about what elements of programmes are necessary and likely to improve operations and outcomes (Senderowitz 1997a). These are summarised below in terms of implementation and content.

Three main steps have been identified and recommended for successful implementation of programmes. The first step is to identify and understand the group to be served. Rather than having “youth” in general as a target audience, sub-groups

with differing needs and experiences should be identified and relevant services provided accordingly. For example, the needs and experiences of a 15-year-old are unlikely to be the same as those of a 23-year-old. Age, gender, marital status, current and past sexual activity, whether in school or not, and residence are all suggested as minimum characteristics that should be considered (Hughes & McCauley 1998; United Nations Population Division 1998; Senderowitz 1997a).

The second step is to consult the target audience of the programme and adapt or redesign the intervention according to the results of the consultation. Conducting a needs assessment with representatives of the target audience allows efforts to be focused on what is required in that particular group (Senderowitz 1997a) – for example what type of services are needed and how, where, and by whom they would most effectively be presented. Involvement of young people themselves in interventions, both at the planning and implementation stage is frequently cited as desirable, or even a prerequisite for success, with the idea that it increases young people's sense of ownership of and hence commitment to the programme (e.g. IPPF 1995; Hawkins 1995; Population Reference Bureau 1996; Senderowitz 1997a; Fee & Youssef 1993). Whatever the extent of young people's involvement, the opportunity for them to give feedback on the programme is often thought to be very important (Senderowitz 1997a).

The third step is to involve the community and parents (Senderowitz 1997a). Young people and programmes exist within a specific community context with its own organisations, values, and history. In areas where programme implementation has initially been resisted by parents or the community, or where such resistance has been feared, concerted efforts to gain community support prior to and during programme implementation have proved successful (e.g. Fuglesang 1995; Gataa 1995). Young people need a social and physical environment that will allow them to benefit from interventions – family and community support may be crucial for this.

Exact programme content varies according to cultural context and to the experiences of the young people to be reached. In general, it is thought that information relevant to the individuals concerned should be provided, as well as skills building exercises and medical services (Pathfinder 2001). Aggleton and Warwick (1997) emphasise the need for programmes that relate to the lived experience of the young people that they aim to reach. Approaches that are more holistic than simply providing biological or medical information about sex – that acknowledge the broader human experience of sexual activity for example gender relations – are particularly recommended (United Nations Population Division 1998; Senderowitz 1997a; Paxman 1993).

1.2.2 Mexfam's Gente Joven programme

This thesis was initially conceived of in terms of an examination of one of the few youth sexual health programmes considered to be successful: the Gente Joven (“Young People”) programme in Mexico. Eventually, however, the project developed into a more in-depth study of sexuality, with the programme forming an introduction to the main study during the fieldwork, rather than being itself the core of the study (see below). The Gente Joven programme uses a peer-led approach and has an emphasis on gender issues. It employs three main strategies: community outreach, school-based courses, and medical services. It currently operates in low-income communities throughout Mexico. The programme is run by Mexfam, a non-governmental organisation that has won many international awards for its work, including the 2000 United Nations Population Award in recognition of its outstanding activities in the field of population⁵.

From the early stages of the Gente Joven programme, Mexfam used an outreach strategy: taking information to the young people rather than relying on them to seek information for themselves. Work began first in schools. A modular course was developed for use in the classroom, and part of the programme was also dedicated to training teachers to deliver the same information as delivered by Mexfam personnel, in order that the information be “multiplied”⁶. The programme then expanded to target out of school youth, as well as those in schools. The latest stage in the development of the programme has been the provision of dedicated spaces for young people within existing Mexfam-run health centres, staffed by personnel trained to be sympathetic to the particular needs of young people.

1.2.2.1 Programme structure

The Gente Joven programme is delivered in many different settings, urban and rural, and the structure changes according to the local population. There are certain elements, however, that each part of the programme has in common. These

⁵ Other awards include the 1996 IPPF/Western Hemisphere Region's "Rosa Cisneros" Award for excellence in the production of educational materials. In 1995, Mexfam received public recognition by the Mexican Ministry of Health for exceptional work in family planning and reproductive health in Mexico during 30 years of activity. In 1992, Mexfam won the IPPF's George and Barbara Cadbury Award for the best contribution to the world family planning movement over the last three years. In 1991, they won the Population Institute's Global Award for Media Excellence for the youth sex education radio program *Estrenando Cuerpo*.

⁶ In Spanish, to diffuse information in this way is “multiplicar”. People who diffuse information are therefore “multiplicadores” – multipliers.

elements are the basic Gente Joven course, the educational materials, and the project staffing structure.

The basic Gente Joven course was developed following Mexfam research into what young people's needs were: what they wanted to learn, where their doubts lay, and where the gaps in their knowledge were. The course is divided into seven modules, each approximately two hours long. The course was originally developed for use in schools, but is also used for work in the community. Each module covers a particular topic. The topics are: family communication; puberty and the reproductive process; sexuality and youth; HIV/AIDS and sexually transmitted diseases; adolescent pregnancy and contraception; gender, sexuality and youth; and gender-based violence (see Rodríguez & Aguilar 1998). The last two modules were recently added to the course and were informed by academic research on gender and violence, although the programme had always had an emphasis on gender issues. These modules are taught using various techniques: lecturing, participatory exercises and use of audio-visual materials. The content of the course combines biological information (symptoms of STDs, structure of the reproductive system, changes at puberty) with discussion of emotional and relationship concerns (problems at home, emotional changes, girlfriends, masturbation). Social issues such as fidelity within partnerships, virginity, and social pressures to have sex are also discussed. Participants are taught how to use condoms.

The second distinguishing feature of the Gente Joven course is the educational material available. For the courses, there are a series of large (A1) spiral bound picture books, with laminated pages used to illustrate and provide structure for each of the modules mentioned above. Mexfam has produced a number of short videos. Most are between 15 and 25 minutes long, and deal with several topics including physical changes experienced at puberty (*La Paloma Azul*), the difficulties, myths and contradictions facing young people beginning their sexual lives (*El Último Tren*), sexual relationships and use of contraception (*Música Para Dos*), family problems and drug misuse (*Como Cuates*), and recently, AIDS (*Solamente Una Vez*). Some films are animated, and some use live action. Other materials include leaflets, transparencies, and cassettes. Mexfam also has its own brand of condom ("Panther"). These are distributed by co-ordinators and health promoters, as well as being available in Mexfam health posts and clinics. The price of the condoms varies, but they are sold cheaply (e.g. for 2 pesos⁷) or under certain conditions are given

⁷ 2 pesos = approximately 15 pence, or 20 US cents at time of study.

away free of charge. A recent addition has been the Gente Joven website⁸, which contains information and an email address for personal questions.

Many of the people working on the programme are volunteers. The main salaried post for programme delivery is that of programme co-ordinator. Each co-ordinator oversees all Mexfam activities, both for young people and for the general population, within an assigned geographical area. The co-ordinators introduce the programme to new locations within their areas. They liaise with local government and with other non-governmental organisations working in relevant fields e.g. substance abuse, domestic violence, HIV prevention. They supervise the work of the staff of the medical facilities. They deliver sex education in schools and in the community. They recruit, help train, and supervise health promoters, including the Gente Joven peer promoters. They train, or organise training in sexual health education for teachers, social workers, or other professionals working with young people. Co-ordinators usually have specialist training in a relevant area, for example social work, medicine, or psychology. According to the director of the programme, good co-ordinators have a strong vocation for social work, are good team workers, and have the ability to interact well with people in the community (López Juárez personal communication, 2000).

Within the Gente Joven programme, volunteer “peer” health promoters play a key role. They are recruited by the co-ordinator, or sometimes by other promoters, from various sources, particularly from the young people attending the Gente Joven courses. Promoters are volunteers, and have various roles in the programme depending on their level of commitment and their abilities. Fully trained promoters receive the basic course described above, and thirty further hours of training where topics are covered in greater depth. They help organise events, recruit other young people to the programme, and give some of the sessions of the course. They provide information to their friends and families, and are able to refer people to appropriate health facilities or other sources of information or services. Promoters stay with the programme for different lengths of time, often from a few months to a year, although some promoters stay for many years. The role of the promoters is described in detail in Chapter 8.

Mexfam also runs clinics and health posts dedicated to reproductive health services. These are attended by the community in general, but they are increasingly being

⁸ www.gentejoven.org.mx

made more user-friendly for young people. These health services are important because many non-Mexfam service providers are reported to be judgmental, or refuse to give contraceptives to unmarried young people. Mexfam doctors are trained to respond adequately to young people's needs, and to support them as much as possible. Mexfam also runs training courses for other doctors to improve services for young people more generally.

1.2.2.2 Examples of programme activities

One of the achievements of the Gente Joven programme has been its ability to reach so-called "hard-to-reach" youth. Almost all Gente Joven work takes place in low-income communities, and politically and socially marginalised groups are also reached. An example of the latter is the work carried out in Mexico City in squatter settlements, and with street gangs and graffiti artists. Some of the work with gangs was organised through the Popular Youth Council – an organisation of gangs that aims to end conflict with the police and carry out educational work of benefit to the community (Marques 1993). In addition, however, for example in the Iztapalapa area of Mexico City, personal contacts are made with gang members and graffiti artists to organise attendance at Gente Joven meetings. Some of the youth promoters are ex-gang members.

The programme uses a variety of methods to reach young people in the community including: street theatre, rock concerts, sports leagues and competitions, graffiti contests, and one-to-one advice given on the street or in other informal settings.

1.3 Project development and evolution

The initial impetus for this project was that despite the fact that the Gente Joven programme was widely considered to be at the vanguard of youth sexual health programmes in the world, there had not been any studies of the programme beyond internal appraisals of programme components and counts of numbers of condoms distributed and numbers of people participating in education and training sessions. The nature of the elements of the programme that enable it to reach so many young people so successfully were not known. For example, what is it about the programme that makes young people wish to join as peer promoters? What is the appeal for young people of the education sessions? How might the messages of the programme be related to behaviour? In its early stages, the present project was designed to examine the process of the programme qualitatively, with some examination of sexuality in general. These qualitative results were then to be triangulated with a large, randomised controlled trial of the programme to be run

concurrently. During the course of the project, two main events led to changes being made and its form is now somewhat different from the original conception. First, the quantitative part of the study unexpectedly was not funded, and this removed any possibility of incorporating new quantitative data. Secondary data are therefore used to provide background information (see Chapter 4). Second, because no similar study had been conducted before in Mexico City, it was not possible to assess in advance how openly the young people would be prepared to speak about these sensitive topics. It was suggested to me on more than one occasion that because Mexico is considered by some to be a relatively conservative, traditional country, most young people would refuse to take part, and even if they participated, would not admit to engaging in sexual activity before marriage. We were highly conscious of the sensitive nature of the interviews and used a variety of techniques to increase participation and reduce interviewees' reluctance to disclose details about their personal lives (see Chapter 3). During the period of fieldwork, far from being unable to work, we obtained exceptionally rich data from a group of young people previously considered very "hard to reach". Because of this unexpected but welcome result, the project became increasingly focused on the part of the project concerning analysis of aspects of young people's sexuality in general as the extent of the data available became clear. The programme component of the project, while providing an invaluable starting point for the investigation, was reduced correspondingly.

1.4 Aims and objectives

Until very recently there has been a conspicuous lack of research into young people's sexual behaviour, particularly in the poorest countries. A deeper understanding of how and why young people behave sexually is vital if we are to design effective and targeted sexual health interventions.

The policy and programming effects of this lack of specific knowledge about sexual behaviour are compounded by the fact that very few sexual health interventions for young people have been considered successful, and even fewer have been evaluated adequately. Consequently, we know little about what types of programme succeed, and correspondingly little about what types of programmes should be developed and implemented.

1.4.1 Aims of the thesis

The aims of this thesis are as follows⁹:

1. To identify the personal, social, and physical contexts in which sexual activity among young people takes place, the ways activity is explained and justified, and the processes of decision-making about sexual behaviour. For example, what are the differences in conduct and feelings about interactions within casual, short-term relationships compared to longer-term relationships? What are the perceived rule structures within given contexts? How are concepts of risk and vulnerability formed? How do these vary according to context? What types of relationships are socially sanctioned? How do these factors affect risk behaviour?
2. To identify the sources and ranges of meanings (individual and shared) of sexual activity and sexuality in the study area, Mexico City, and the relationship of these to behaviour.
3. To provide a descriptive account of sexual behaviour in Mexico City from existing quantitative data, including, for example, prevalence of sexual activity, age of sexual debut, types of behaviours engaged in.
4. To use qualitative methods to examine the relationship between elements of sexuality revealed by the investigation, and the Gente Joven programme. In what ways does the programme appeal to young people? What is the nature of the interaction between peer leaders and their "followers"? In what possible ways might elements of the programme affect sexual behaviour?

1.4.2 Overall objective

The final objective is to increase understanding of sexual behaviour and meanings, and to examine the links that these have to programme processes.

⁹ *Aims 1 and 2 based on Ingham et al.(1996)*

Chapter 2

Theoretical treatment of sexual behaviour and behaviour change

Improving understanding of sexual behaviour and the process of behaviour change could have profound practical implications for all sexual and reproductive health interventions. The majority of theoretical work on this topic has come from the field of social psychology, and various theories have been developed that attempt to identify and explain the myriad interacting factors affecting sexual behaviour and behaviour change. In this chapter, a range of these theoretical approaches will be presented and discussed.

Many theoretical approaches have concentrated on the individual. While these approaches have increased knowledge to some degree, I will argue here that they are not sufficient to explain sexual behaviour or behaviour change. After briefly outlining some individual-orientated perspectives and their limitations, I will introduce some of the possible alternative theoretical approaches: first, those that have focused on broader cultural factors, and second, approaches that are orientated around the dyad¹⁰ and the social networks containing those dyads. The effects of social networks on sexual behaviour are also important to consider in terms of understanding the possible modes of action of peer-led programmes.

2.1 Individual-orientated theories of sexual behaviour

Individual-orientated theories can be subdivided into studies of individuals' characteristics and individual-orientated behavioural models, discussed in turn below.

2.1.1 Individuals' characteristics

Various measures have been used to attempt to correlate individual characteristics with particular sexual behaviours. For example, testosterone levels, or other maturational factors have been linked to age of sexual debut and sexual activity (Udry & Campbell 1994; Rowe & Rodgers 1994). Scores on questionnaires developed by psychologists have been correlated with various behaviours. For example, Fisher and Byrne (Fisher et al. 1983) developed a measure of

¹⁰ *i.e. the two people engaged in the sexual interaction. Unless otherwise stated, dyads referred to here are heterosexual. Homosexual dyads will also be considered, but an extensive treatment of homosexual relationships is beyond the scope of this thesis.*

“erotophobia-erotophilia” relating to negative and positive attitudes towards sex respectively. They found that erotophobic individuals were less likely to predict sexual encounters, less likely to use birth-control clinics, and were more likely to respond negatively to buying condoms. Individuals with high levels of “sex guilt”, have been found to remember less information about birth control (Schwartz 1973), and, irrespective of their sexual experience, be more likely to believe in a contraception “myth”¹¹ than individuals with low sex guilt (Mosher 1979). These measures, although possibly drawing attention to some important variables, have serious limitations. They do not, for example, distinguish the different meanings that sexual activity might have for men and women, or the different contexts in which sexual activity takes place (Ingham 1992). Peto et al. (1992), suggest that individuals pass through life cycle phases: first, discovery of sexuality and love; then, repeating in any order: search for a lifestyle and partner, stabilisation of a relationship, deterioration/deconstruction of a relationship, and celibacy. Each position in the life cycle theoretically corresponds to specific psychological moods and roles, responsibilities and constraints (Bastard et al. 1997).

2.1.1.1 Denial

It has been suggested that denial may play an important role in individuals’ perceptions of risk of unwanted outcomes connected with sexual activity. Breznitz defines denial as protection “from some painful or frightening information related to external reality” (Breznitz 1983, p.257). The relevance of this concept to risk perception can be illustrated in the following three scenarios. First, it has been suggested that some young people may deny their own sexual activity altogether. For example, Rains (1971) hypothesises that in a society where women are socialised to believe that premarital coitus is morally wrong, young unmarried women will be unable to accept that they are sexually active. This clearly has negative implications for planning use of contraception and protection against STDs/HIV (Oskamp & Mindick 1983): “acceptance of one’s sexuality is a necessary precursor to effective contraceptive use” (Boyer & Kegeles 1991, p.16). Second, individuals may deny their own personal vulnerability to unwanted outcomes (Morris & Swann 1996). For example, in a number of studies some young men have been found to be confident that they can detect the “type of girl” that is likely to be HIV positive. By

¹¹ “A sex myth is a false belief about sexual behaviour or physiology that is either scientifically inaccurate or downright apocryphal. Sex myths are never useful, and frequently they are pernicious” (Mosher 1979, p.224).

avoiding this type they believe that they are not at risk of infection (Waldby et al. 1993; Wight 1993; Clark et al. 1996; Rosenthal 1997). Young women may believe that they personally cannot become pregnant (Morris & Swann 1996). Third, denial may also be manifest in systematic biases in information processing and behavioural information seeking ("cognitive avoidance"). Morris and Swann (1996) suggest that one reason people may fail to respond to AIDS-prevention messages is that they may only focus on non-threatening information and suppress any that is directly relevant to AIDS. They found, for example, that non-virgins in one study had selectively reduced memory for AIDS-relevant information in a film (Morris & Swann 1996). Ingham and van Zessen (1997) have pointed out that timing of risk perception is important in studies that rely on questionnaire derived data. They cite a Dutch study where 36 percent of respondents reported that they assessed risk after sexual contacts had already taken place.

"These post hoc reflections on risk therefore cannot be considered as simply contributing to a learning experience that leads to more timely risk perceptions in subsequent sexual encounters, but may represent a typical way of coping with risks" (Ingham & van Zessen 1997, p.86).

In other words, risks may be denied after the event as well as before.

2.1.2 Individual-orientated behavioural models

Behavioural models focused on the individual have been very popular in studies of sexual and other health behaviours. Three of these models are described below and their implications discussed. There are many such theories, with a variety of components included, and these particular models have been chosen to illustrate general points about individual-orientated models. The Health Belief Model and the Theory of Reasoned Action are included because they have been very widely used, and the AIDS Risk Reduction Model is included because it incorporates many of the features of other models.

2.1.2.1 The health belief model

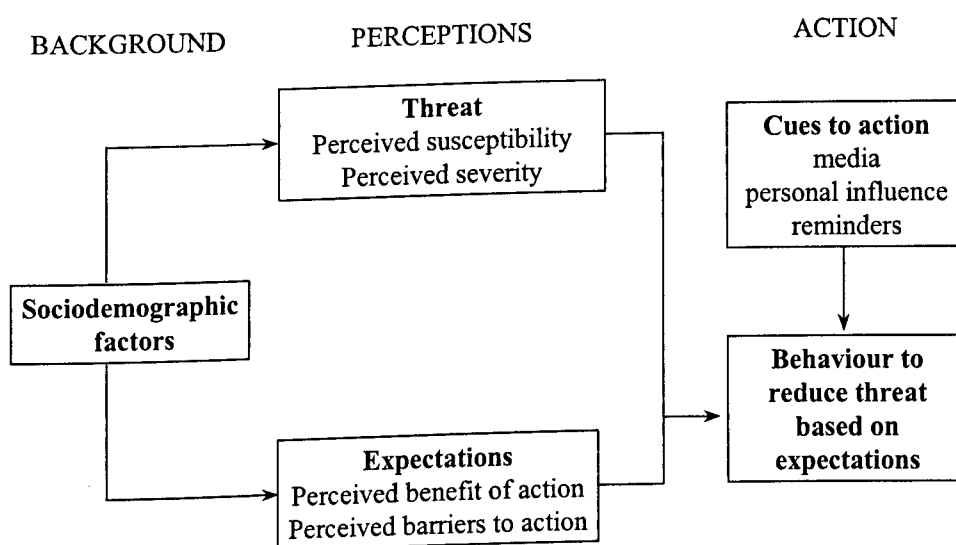


Figure 1 The health belief model (from Rosenstock et al. 1994)

This model was originally developed in the 1950s to try to help explain the lack of public participation in health screening and prevention programmes. Since then, it has been developed to include other health-related behaviours (Rosenstock 1974). It is proposed that individuals will take action to ward off, screen for, or control ill-health conditions (which here would mean unwanted pregnancy or disease transmission) in the following circumstances: if they regard themselves to be susceptible to the condition, if they believe the health condition to have potentially serious consequences, if they believe that a course of action available to them would help to reduce either their susceptibility to or the severity of the condition, and if they believe that the anticipated barriers to or costs of taking the action are outweighed by its benefits (Rosenstock et al. 1994).

A review of studies of various health-related behaviours published in 1984 indicated some support for the HBM and the authors concluded that the category “perceived barriers” was the most important construct in the model (Janz & Becker 1984). The usefulness of the model specifically in explaining sexual behaviour has not been demonstrated, however, partly because studies have tested individual HBM constructs, rather than the model as a whole (Rosenstock et al. 1994).

2.1.2.1.1 Protection-motivation theory

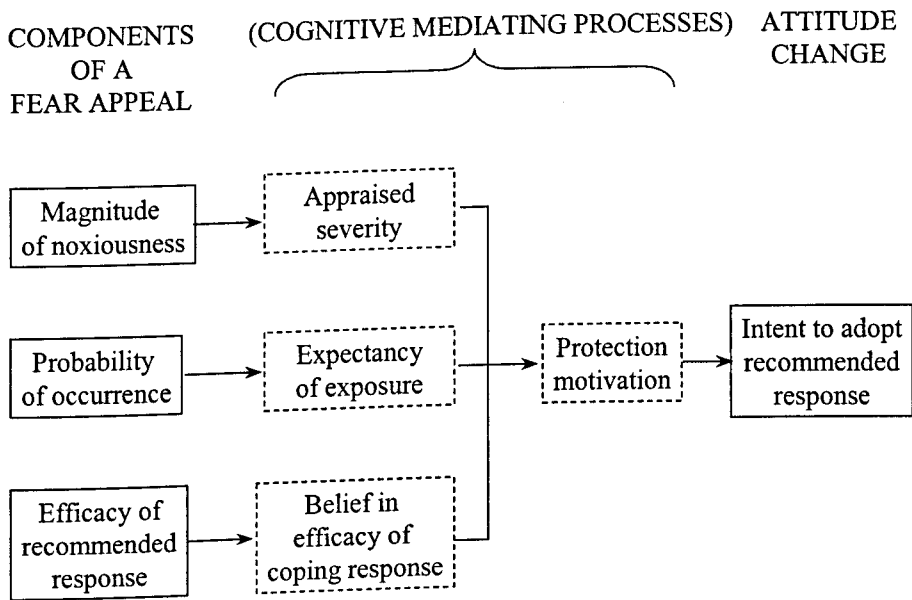


Figure 2 Protection-motivation theory (from Rogers 1975)

In a similar model, Rogers proposed a theory of protection-motivation to try to account for the effects of fear appeals, that is, communications designed to highlight the danger of a course of action e.g. smoking, having unprotected sexual intercourse, or the benefit of a course of action in preventing dire consequences e.g. using a condom, taking prescribed medicine.

The theory postulates that protection motivation, and hence attitude change, is a multiplicative function of the three mediating processes. According to this theory, people appraise the severity and likelihood of being exposed to a particular "noxious event", evaluate their ability to cope with the event, and alter their attitudes accordingly (Rogers 1975). This model attempts to explain attitude change, and not behaviour per se.

2.1.2.2 Theory of reasoned action

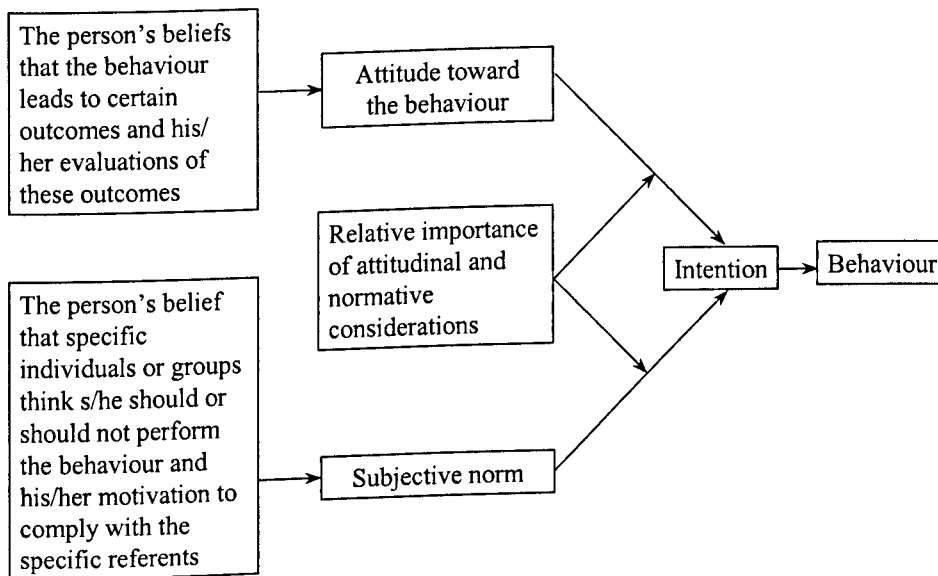


Figure 3 Theory of reasoned action (from Ajzen & Fishbein 1980)

In the theory of reasoned action (TRA), the social environment surrounding the individual is explicitly included in terms of normative effects on behaviour. The model assumes that people are rational, and that most socially relevant behaviours are under volitional control.

In this model, the most immediate determinant of any given behaviour is the intention to perform or not to perform that behaviour (Ajzen & Fishbein 1980; Fishbein et al. 1994). According to TRA, by changing behavioural or normative beliefs, it is possible to change corresponding attitudes and/or subjective norms, and hence change intentions. If behavioural intention is changed, this model assumes that this will influence corresponding behaviour (Fishbein et al. 1994).

In TRA, the individual is a social actor who weighs costs and benefits before performing an action. Janz and Becker point out that this treatment can be seen as a logical refinement of the "benefits" or "barriers" dimensions of the health belief model (Janz & Becker 1984).

According to Fishbein (1993), although the TRA was designed to explain all types of intentions, only intentions to engage in volitionally controlled behaviours lead to accurate predictions of behaviour. This is not a problem, he says, because most behaviours are largely under volitional control (Fishbein 1993). This reliance on a direct link between intentions and behaviour has been criticised, particularly when attempting to explain sexual behaviour, where individuals may have only limited control e.g. because they require skills, abilities, opportunities or the co-operation of

their partner to fulfil behavioural intentions (Kippax & Crawford 1993; Hewstone et al. 1997). Some researchers have suggested adding variables such as perceived behavioural control to the model in an attempt to increase its explanatory powers (see below). Fishbein, however, argues that the model is adequate without such additions and that they may only be necessary if the constructs of original model are not specified properly. "When the key constructs of the theory are not appropriately assessed, they cannot be expected to account for as much variance in intentions and/or behaviour as when they are appropriately measured." (Fishbein 1993 p.xxii).

2.1.2.2.1 Perceived behavioural control

One way in which researchers have attempted to improve on the TRA in explaining the link between intentions and behaviour, is through an increased emphasis on perceived behavioural control (AIDSCAP 1996) – the extent to which the actor believes him or herself capable of performing a particular behaviour. For example, according to Bandura, there is a clear need not only for skills, but also self-belief in one's ability to use those skills (Bandura 1994). This theoretical construct has been developed by a number of authors: perceived behavioural control is Ajzen's term (Ajzen & Madden 1986), but is based on Bandura's concept of self-efficacy (1982) and Rotter's concept of locus of control (1966).

Ajzen modified the theory of reasoned action to include perceived behavioural control and called this modified version the "theory of planned behaviour" (TPB). In TPB, intentions are viewed as plans of action in pursuit of behavioural goals (Ajzen 1985). Perceived behavioural control influences whether or not the goal is attained.

Perceived behavioural control has been shown in surveys to be important in condom use and intention to use condoms among young people (Schaalma et al. 1993; Breakwell et al. 1991; Rosenthal et al. 1991), but definitions of this perceived control vary and raw results may be misleading. For example, among gay men in one study, perceived ability to talk about safer sex was not predictive of safer sex, but talking about condom use was (Schwartz 1992).

Perceived behavioural control may be important in models of behaviour, but it is unlikely that an individual's perceived control is an intrinsic, unchanging quality rather than depending upon circumstances. For example, it may be possible for a person to be very confident about their ability to use contraception with one partner, while feeling it completely impossible with another. In addition, there may be a gap between what young people believe they can do and what they actually report that they do: "confidence in one's ability to carry out certain behaviours does not

necessarily mean that these behaviours will occur. Motivations and relevant skills are but two additional determinants” (Rosenthal et al. 1991, p.85).

2.1.2.3 AIDS risk reduction model (ARRM)

The ARRM, developed by Catania et al. (1990), unifies some of the central concepts found in other health behaviour models, and posits three stages to behaviour change. Cues to action trigger movement between stages in this model e.g. knowing someone with HIV infection.

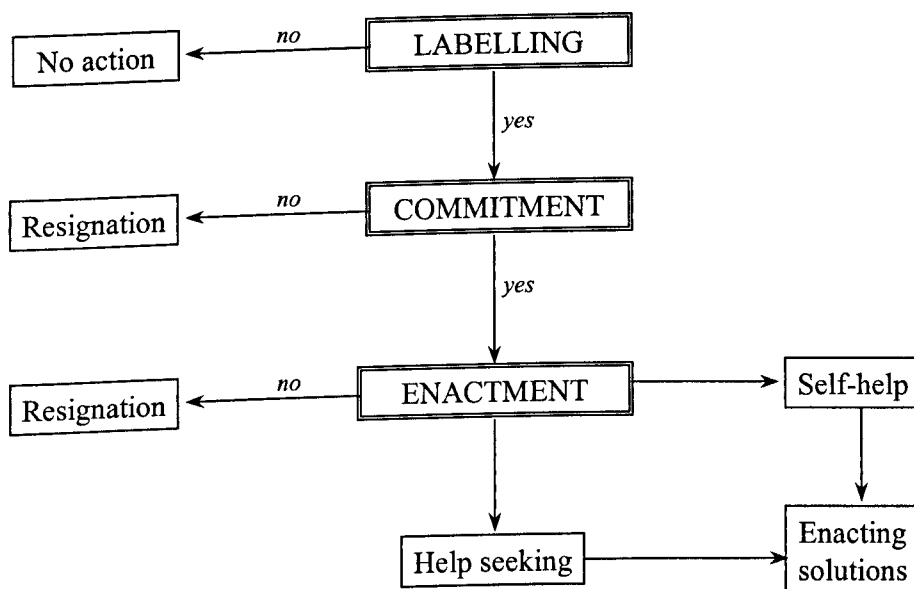


Figure 4 AIDS risk reduction model (from Catania et al. 1990)

The first stage, labelling, involves acknowledging that one’s own behaviour might lead to HIV infection. Three processes are thought to be important in this stage: knowledge of the sexual activities that are associated with HIV transmission, belief in personal susceptibility to contracting HIV and belief that HIV and AIDS are undesirable. In other words, not only being aware of HIV and its routes of transmission, but also acknowledging that personal behaviours might lead to HIV infection. The second stage, commitment to change, is where a decision is made to change behaviour to reduce risk, based on perceptions of whether the benefits of change outweigh the costs. The third “enactment” stage is where the individual seeks and enacts strategies to achieve this reduced risk, for example through self-help, informal social support, or professional help.

“These attempts may involve the need to circumvent financial, environmental, and psychosocial barriers... In addition, enactment of

solutions may require complex negotiations with one's sexual partner(s), who may not have the same degree of commitment to pursuing change."

(Catania et al. 1990, p.54)

This enactment stage addresses the gap between attitude and behaviour change noted in the other models described above. There has, however, been little research addressing variables relevant to this stage (Flowers et al. 1997).

Studies conducted using the ARRM or reinterpreted in the context of the ARRM have broadly supported the model or its components (Flowers et al. 1997; AIDSCAP 1996; Catania et al. 1994; Malow et al. 1994; Catania et al. 1990). Like the other models, however, ARRM has been criticised for its focus on the individual (e.g. AIDSCAP 1996). Flowers et al. (1997) conclude that:

"Sexual behaviour needs to be understood without the limitations of a health/medical discourse and in terms of the individual's interpersonal competencies and his wider social context" (p.224) and "... models like the ARRM must be expanded to articulate the contextualisation of sex and address it as a fundamentally interactive activity." (p.224)

2.1.2.4 *Limitations of individual-orientated models*

While these models are useful in identifying potentially important factors involved in behaviour, testing the models is difficult. For example, the use of highly structured survey questions to assess nebulous or complex factors such as perceived social norms, personal attitudes and beliefs has been criticised – as has the fact that many questions are "transparent" that is, if the respondent wishes to give a socially desirable answer, they can do so (Ingham 1992). In addition, critics have noted that:

"[These models] are built on an assumption of rationality in that they assume that there will be consistent and predictable relations between attitudes, cognitions, intentions and behaviour."

(Ingham & van Zessen 1997, p.84)¹²

Cognitive elements are often considered prerequisites for action, although they may just as well serve to legitimate actions (Bastard & Cardia-Vonèche 1997). Guizzardi et al. (1997) have emphasised that rationality in health behaviours can be viewed from two frames of reference: medical science, and an individual's life history. From the medical science viewpoint, the assumption is that rational behaviour implies

¹² See also Moatti et al. (1997) and Breakwell et al. (1994).

attempting to live as long and healthily as possible. From the viewpoint of the individual's life history, however, choices made vary from one individual to another, and often contradict health strategies proposed by medical science: for example, smokers seeking to reduce the health risks of tobacco may combine quality and quantity of life by smoking low-tar cigarettes, rather than not smoking; an obese person trying to lose weight may break a diet for a special occasion. Guizzardi et al. liken this type of rationality to what they call the "falling in love effect" with respect to lack of HIV prevention behaviour where the behaviour is not consistent with the perception of risk. The latter type of rationality is created within existing social structures whereas "the abstract medical logic attempts to impose an order where health is paramount" (Guizzardi et al. 1997, p.160)

Although the above models include the effects of social factors and community norms, the extent to which external factors influence an individual's cognition and behaviour is underplayed.

"The major weakness of the traditional formulations is that they treat behavioural dispositions and the environment as separate entities when in fact, each determines the operation of the other" (Bandura 1977, p.195)

In the following sections, theoretical approaches with a greater emphasis on factors external to the individual will be presented.

2.2 Macro, cultural perspectives on sexual behaviour

Most frameworks and models of sexual behaviour either explicitly or implicitly include the concept of "culture" as an influencing factor. It has been argued that culture should be seen as permeating every explanation of sexual behaviour, and that it should not be relegated to being simply a "background variable" (Fabrizio 2000). Behaviours and perceptions vary according to social, cultural and political factors. These include broadly shared values in social groups such as the roles of women and men, the shared understandings that help form concepts of "risk", the appropriateness of particular behaviours or relationships within the culture, and the way that information about sex is communicated in the society. A cultural perspective is increasingly seen as key to sexual behaviour research (e.g. see UNAIDS 1999b). Many culture-orientated analyses, often influenced by the work of Foucault, examine social discourses, and their relationship to behaviour. Whether or not the term "discourse" designates a well-defined theoretical object has been questioned (e.g. Freundlieb 1995), but as a working definition, "discourse" here will be taken to mean

ways of talking and thinking about events and relationships so embedded in everyday language etc. that they become taken for granted (Ingham 1992).

2.2.1 Gender

Sex research up to the mid 1960s, reflecting the cultural values of the time, included the near-universal belief in the existence of fundamental differences between the sexuality of women and men: differences that followed the biological differences between male and female (Gagnon & Parker 1995). Since then, however, the theoretical viewpoint that sexuality is elicited in specific historical and social circumstances, as opposed to through internal drives, has emerged (Gagnon & Parker 1995). The "natural order of things" with respect to sexual activity is now open to question (Wilton 2000; Connell 1995a).

While individuals within a dyad interact in unique ways related to factors other than gender, studies that have been carried out on the meanings of and feelings about sex among young people have highlighted gender issues as a key to understanding attitudes and sexual interactions (e.g. Holland et al. 1998; Heise 1995; Holland et al. 1992; Traeen et al. 1992; Wight 1992; Ingham et al. 1991; Fine 1988).

The male/active female/passive dichotomy plays an important role in discourses of sexuality in many cultures with repercussions for unwanted pregnancy and disease: "boys are more likely to be the pursuers and girls the pursued" (Brooks-Gunn & Paikoff 1997, p.207).

It has consistently been found that women are in a relatively weak position with respect to when and how they engage in sexual activity (Ingham & van Zessen 1997). In the typical "macho" discourse, for example, the man is dominant and aggressive while the woman is subservient and passive. In this discourse, there is little or no space for women to articulate desires that run against traditional values.

"Social norms that define a "good" woman as one who is ignorant about sex and passive in sexual interactions, and those that label inter-partner communication on sex, particularly when initiated by the woman, as taboo... make negotiating the use of a condom or raising the issue of monogamy a very difficult task"

(Gupta & Weiss 1995, p.264).

"As long as sexual relationships are defined by men pressurising and women resisting, open discussion about safer sex [...] will remain difficult."

(Lear 1995, p.1321)

A young man is expected to work towards sexual access and a young woman is expected to resist – a process termed a “war of attrition” by Holland et al. (1998). This “war”, along with the near-universal sexual double standard in which men are allowed more sexual freedom than women has been suggested as a source of “scripted refusal” – where a woman says no to sex when she means yes. In a study in the US, reported scripted refusal was explained as the result of a “double bind”. A woman who wants to have sexual intercourse with a man she thinks accepts the double standard is faced with the choice between acknowledging her desire for sex and facing negative sanctions (e.g. being labelled “easy”) or refusing and being labelled “respectable” (Muehlenhard & McCoy 1991). This reduced openness about intentions is likely to hinder discussion of contraception.

Muehlenhard and McCoy point out that the acceptance of the “no-means-yes” script prevents coerced sex from being labelled “rape” (1991). The Women Risk and AIDS Project and the Men Risk and AIDS Project in the UK used in-depth interviews to examine young people’s views about and experiences of sex. The young women interviewed “were generally reluctant to describe men’s behaviour as violence, or as rape, unless overt force had been used. They usually saw themselves as contributing to the pressure because they had not stopped it” (Holland et al. 1992, p.656). Sexual coercion and rape of young women has been reported as widespread in many different countries (Weiss et al. 1996), and many women experience violence from their partners later in life (Heise 1995).

The concept of shared notions of how interactions proceed has been examined in the context of heterosexual relationships in the UK (Hollway 1984). Three common discourses were identified. First, the male sexual drive discourse (men need sexual gratification and women must satisfy this need). Second, the have-hold discourse (the female role is to acquire and keep a male for protection and child rearing). Third, the permissive discourse (sex is pleasurable and there are no implied long-term commitments attached). Kippax et al. (1990) point out that only the last of these discourses potentially permits negotiation of condom use:

“If women are positioned as objects of desire within the discourses in which their sexuality is portrayed as absent or complementary to men’s sexuality, they will not be in a position to negotiate sex... The permissive discourse (potentially) makes subject and object positions equally available to both men and women.” (Kippax et al. 1990, p.541)

The authors point out that within the permissive discourse, women are given space to adopt only a certain type of active sexuality (and “permissive” has pejorative

connotations). They suggest the need for a minimum of a fourth discourse, with women at its centre to improve women's chances of successful negotiation of needs and desires within heterosexual relationships (Kippax et al. 1990).

The absence of any discourse of women's sexual pleasure or agency was also identified by Fine (1988), who analysed sex education in the US. She found a censure of positive views of women's sexuality, which she refers to as "the missing discourse of desire". In her study, she concludes that "... we find: (1) the authorised suppression of a discourse of female sexual desire; (2) the promotion of a discourse of female sexual victimisation; and (3) the explicit privileging of married heterosexuality over other practices of sexuality" (Fine, p.30). She argues that female desire and pleasure can only gain expression within the terrain already charted by men and that "this constriction of what is called sexuality allows girls one primary decision – to say yes or no – to a question that is not necessarily their own" (Fine, p.34).

Wilton (1997) cautions against the use of existing discourses of gender in academic research to analyse sexuality and sexual behaviour. She contends that women have often been constructed as victims of patriarchy – strengthening the gender categories that the work was intended to disrupt.

"It is difficult to identify the specifics of women's oppression without thereby contributing to the discursive constitution of femininity as frail, weak, vulnerable – precisely the attributes traditionally assigned to femininity in heteropatriarchal discourse" (Wilton 1997, p.9)

On this theme Rivers and Aggleton (1999) comment that:

"Men in developing countries have almost uniformly been characterised as inconsiderate, unreliable, predisposed to coercion, rape and violence, as well as being relatively unable to control or change their behaviour. As such they offer a counterpart for images of women as disempowered and with little control over their social and sexual lives." (Rivers & Aggleton 1999, p.7)

Other discourses have also been identified in analyses of sexuality. Wilton (1997) draws attention to the fact that heterosexual masculinity is often absent from discourses of sexuality, particularly in the field of HIV/AIDS prevention, where "other" groups are typically discussed: efforts to change the behaviour of men who have sex with women have been relatively unsuccessful compared to behaviour changes among gay men. Despite the acknowledged power differentials within heterosexual relationships, programmes have tended to concentrate on increasing assertiveness

in women, rather than encouraging responsibility among men (Wilton 1997). She notes that for Foucault the success of power “is proportional to its ability to hide its own mechanisms...” (cited in Wilton 1997, p.32), and in an earlier paper asserts that “as the monolithic norm around which patriarchal culture is constructed, masculinity is un-selfconscious, unquestioned and undefined” (Wilton and Aggleton 1991, quoted in Wilton 1997, p.33).

Connell has argued that masculinity is not one overarching characteristic describing all men, but that there are many types of masculinity, dominated by one, hegemonic masculinity (Connell 1995b). He defines hegemonic masculinity as:

“... the configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of the legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees (or is taken to guarantee) the dominant position of men and the subordination of women” (Connell 1995b, p.77)

Hegemonic masculinity is not necessarily what men “are”, but there is a social pressure for men to consent to it (Holland et al. 1998). Men that do not fit the hegemonic norm (e.g. gay men) are marginalised and subordinated (Connell 1995b). Men’s position in the masculine hierarchy may be fragile, and they may feel under pressure to perform certain behaviours in order to maintain their “masculine” status (Greig et al. 2000). Being “a man”, then, may be to exercise power not only over women, but also over “unmasculine” men (Holland et al. 1998; Wilton 1997). Connell further asserts that while few men may practice the hegemonic pattern in its entirety, complicity is important because “the majority of men gain from its hegemony, since they benefit from the patriarchal dividend, the advantage men in general gain from the overall subordination of women” (Connell 1995b, p.79). Breaking out of or challenging the status quo, however, may be extremely difficult for men under pressure to defend and prove their masculinity (Seidler 1997; Seidler 1996).

Young men and women can, therefore, both be seen to be under social pressures to follow particular patterns of behaviour. As Eyre points out in a study of African-American youth in the US: “The pressure on boys may actually be as great as on girls, but boys are pressured to have more sexual activity rather than less” (Eyre et al. 1998, p.481).

2.2.2 Cultural construction of risk

Cultural perspectives may be useful in understanding concepts of risk. Risk itself is not a fixed quantity. Douglas and Wildavsky (1982) note that not only do different people worry about different things, but no person can attend to everything. Because

of this, priority must be established among dangers. Additionally, because no person can “know” about every aspect of different dangers, there can be no guarantee that the dangers people seek to avoid are those that will harm them most. Successful surmounting of one danger may lead to complacency, and to openness to other dangers.

“Risks are conceptually uncontrollable; one can never know whether one is doing enough to prevent a hazard from occurring. Even after a hazard has occurred, one is still left with the question of how much more action would have been necessary to have prevented it, and whether such action would have been within the bounds of “reasonable” behaviour”

(Ravetz 1980, p.47)

A cultural approach to risk suggests that dangers are selected for public concern according to the strength and direction of social criticism. Any form of society produces its own selected view of the natural environment, a view that influences the choice of dangers worth attention. Each form of social life has its own typical risk portfolio (Douglas & Wildavsky 1982). For example, fear of losing a potential social relationship or being excluded from a social group may predominate over the dangers of “taking a chance” (Gross & Bellew-Smith 1983). Common values lead to common fears, and, by implication, to a common agreement not to fear other things. An alteration of risk selection and risk perception, then, would depend on changing social organisation (Douglas & Wildavsky).

“When we look closely at how private individuals make choices, we will see that they choose not to be aware of every danger. The institutions in which they live screen some disasters from their ken... Refusing to take all dangers into account is not behaving irrationally... The exercise of rational choice must include selection of focus, weighting of values, and editing of problems... Specialised risk analysis impoverishes the statement of a human problem by taking it out of context. The notion of risk is an extraordinarily constructed idea, essentially decontextualised and desocialised. Thinking about how to choose between risks, subjective values must take priority. It is a travesty of rational thought to pretend that it is best to take value-free decisions in matters of life and death.”

(Douglas & Wildavsky 1982, p.73).

Douglas and Wildavsky (1982) advocate the view of risk perception as bounded rationality: the social environment imposes constraints upon choice and sets

boundaries on the range of feasible alternatives. In other words, risk is socially constructed (Bajos 1997).

Most people cannot judge probabilities well (for example, many people enter National Lotteries where chances of winning are extremely low). They do not try to obtain information about dangers and do not take note of information thrust upon them. Individuals tend to discard low probabilities, but attitudes in choosing between probable gains and probable losses are different. People are assumed to be risk averse and to prefer certainty to uncertainty. Given the choice between a 90 percent chance of winning 3000 and a 45 percent chance of winning 6000, the majority of people choose the former. When both probabilities are drastically reduced to 0.001 percent and 0.002 percent, so that chance has almost evaporated, the majority switch their choice to the largest gain. A "reflection effect" occurs where the usual choices between sums and probabilities go into reverse when the sums concern prospects of losing. When faced with a certain loss of 3000 or a low probability of loss of 6000, people choose the low probability. In other words, people are not risk averse for negative prospects, only for positive ones. The simple rule: reduce uncertainty, is not followed when the prospect is negative. However large the possible loss, if its probability of occurring is low it can generally be pushed out of the arena in which the choice is made. Humans manage well by following social rules on what to ignore: institutions are their problem-simplifying devices. "Judgements of risk and safety must be selected as much on the basis of what is valued as on the basis of what is known" (Douglas & Wildavsky 1982). Risks must be socially plausible if they are to be avoided (Watney 1993).

Causality in the external world is generally treated as radically distinct from the results of individual perception. According to this approach, risk is a straightforward consequence of the dangers inherent in the physical situation, while attitudes toward risk depend on individual personalities. Douglas and Wildavsky (1982), however, argue that it is not possible to separate physically measurable risk and perception of risk. "Between private, subjective perception and public, physical science there lies culture, a middle area of shared beliefs and values" (Douglas & Wildavsky, p.194).

The influence between social and cultural constructions and individual behaviour is two-way. For example, research into sexual behaviour has led to classifications of behaviour types which have been used by those defined for political purposes (Weeks 1985). Cultural definitions and individual perceptions feed back to one another.

2.2.2.1 *Cultural constructions of AIDS*

AIDS is socially and culturally constructed. Gatter (1993), for example, points out that AIDS is often seen as a problem of certain groups – a result of their imputed social pathology and dubious morals. He notes that epidemiologists identify “at risk” groups in populations through correlations between risk behaviours and various characterising features of those groups. This has the following consequences: first, that specific cultural behaviours are reduced to quantitative explanatory variables and second, that disease becomes linked to culture because of the ways in which epidemiology has constructed and popularised the notion of “high risk”. According to Brown (1996), membership in “high risk” groups has been treated as if it were an independent variable rather than as itself the result of complex economic, political and cultural constraints. Use of the category “high-risk group”, “... has hampered prevention efforts by homogenising rather dissimilar relationships and practices, depersonalising women, and decontextualising the sexual encounter” (Brown et al. 1996, p.212). In addition, in the context of HIV, “risk” has two meanings. One is associated with the behaviour that places one or one’s sexual partner at risk. The other is associated with the probability of engaging in such a risk behaviour with an HIV infected person (Kippax & Crawford 1997).

2.2.2.2 *Avoidance of risk*

In addition to risk itself being culturally constructed, the means by which risk may be avoided is delimited by cultural perceptions. For example, the use of condoms has been widely reported to be perceived as associated with illicit relationships, and may imply infidelity if used within long term relationships (Ankrah 1999; Worth 1989). Women may be reluctant to carry condoms in case they are perceived as “easy” (Wight 1992), and men have reported reluctance to introduce condoms into an interaction fearing that if they stop to use a condom, the woman might change her mind, and end the interaction (Marín 1996).

2.2.3 A framework incorporating the cultural perspective

A cultural perspective is included in scripting theories, which examine links between culture and individuals. These scripting theory makes the following assumptions. First, that patterns of sexual conduct in a culture are locally derived – what is sexual and what sex means differs in different cultures. Second, that there is no innate sexual drive. Third, that over their lifetimes individuals acquire patterns of sexual conduct appropriate to their culture (including “deviant” behaviour) through processes

of socialisation or acculturation. Fourth, that individuals make adaptations to what is originally provided by culture as they grow older (Laumann & Gagnon 1995). In scripting theory, people acquire scripts for sexual conduct embodying cultural scenarios and what the individuals believe to be the domain of sexuality (Laumann & Gagnon 1995). Sexual conduct involves an organised cognitive schema (a script) that is needed by the actors to recognise that a particular situation is potentially sexual (Gagnon 1990). "Individuals improvise around the cultural scenarios and in the process of social action create a changed sexual culture for the society" (Laumann & Gagnon, p.188; cf. Ferrand & Snijders 1997). These scripts for sexual conduct incorporate who people should have sex with, when and where they should have sex with them, what they should do sexually and why they should do sexual things (Laumann & Gagnon, p.188). The recognition of a situation as sexual involves a complex interaction between person and context, rather than a simple response to universal sexual signs (Gagnon 1990).

"Scripts are involved in learning the meaning of internal states organising the sequences of specifically sexual acts, decoding novel situations, setting the limits on sexual responses and linking meanings from nonsexual aspects of life to specifically sexual experience" (Gagnon & Simon 1973, p.17)

A distinction is made between cultural scenarios (the instructions for sexual and other conduct that are embedded in the cultural narratives which are provided as guides or instructions for all conduct), interpersonal scripts (the structured patterns of interaction in which individuals as actors engage in everyday interpersonal conduct), and intrapsychic scripts (the plans and fantasies by which individuals guide and reflect upon their past, current, or future conduct) (Laumann & Gagnon 1995; Gagnon & Simon 1973).

Laumann and Gagnon (1995) link the effects of the social structure to the ways in which individuals enact social scripts. They term the social features of the individuals that enact scripts "master statuses". These comprise "the features of a person that most significantly shape how they conceive of themselves and their possible courses of action and how they perceive that others facilitate or retard these self-conceptions and courses of action" (p.191). Aspects of master statuses may include, for example, gender, age, and marital status. Sexual activity is viewed as a social transaction where a pair of actors shape each other's conduct. Actors bring with them into the dyad cultural scenarios and their unique sexual biography as shaped and defined by their master statuses. The social networks of the actors influence the formation,

maintenance and dissolution of the dyad and the networks are in turn influenced by the dyad.

2.3 Social groups or networks and sexual behaviour

We have seen above that culture is important in determining sexual behaviours, but it is not an unstoppable force. In terms of programme implementation, it would be unrealistic to expect to change a whole culture, but it is possible to alter the immediate social context of individuals and groups within that culture. How might such an alteration in social context affect behaviour?

The effect of social context on individuals has been considered in theories relating to social groups or networks.

“An analysis centred on the collective dimension cannot be made as long as the notion of social is understood merely as a multitude of individuals, even though they may be interacting. Nor is it enough to include the existence of cultural models if they are taken merely as a common framework for the actions of several individuals” (Guizzardi et al. 1997, p.162)

Social influence can be considerable. In his classic experiment, Asch (1956), for example, asked people to identify which of three lines was the same length as a comparison line. The error rate was very small: 0.7 percent. He then set up an experimental situation where the same task was performed in a group of people, each person calling out their answer in turn. In this state, accomplices called out the wrong answer before it was the turn of the subject of the experiment to answer. The error rate increased dramatically to 37 percent and only 25 percent of subjects did not make a single error, compared with 95 percent in the control condition. This study has been repeated on many occasions with similar results (Kent 1994).

When people have to express a judgement in the presence of others, it is suggested that they have two major concerns: being correct and making a good impression on the others. To determine what is correct there are two sources of information: what the senses and physical reality indicate, and what others say (Van Avermaet 1988). The individual either conforms to the view of the group because he or she believes what the others say (“informational influence”) or because of a desire to be liked (“normative influence”). In the latter case, the effect is likely only to be manifested in public and is simply compliance. In the former case, the person is converted to the idea, and will be consistent in public and in private. In the Asch experiment, results indicated that normative influence is the most important. In similar experiments it has been shown that the more difficult the task, the more heavy the reliance on others’

responses (Asch 1956). It has also been shown that a person's status within the group is important: high status members can afford to deviate from the majority, low status members have nothing to lose by deviating, while medium status members have most to gain by conforming and most to lose by not conforming (Dittes & Kelley 1956). In experiments of a similar design to the Asch experiment, it has been found that if confederates of the experimenter dissent from the majority opinion, in other words, the unanimity of the majority is broken, the naïve subject's error rate decreases dramatically, although with opinion statements only a confederate dissenter that shares the subject's view has this effect (Allen 1975). A review of studies using the Asch paradigm describes a number of influences on persuasion including attractiveness, gender, race and age of the persuaders as related to characteristics of the people being persuaded (Kent 1994).

From the point of view of changing behaviour, the opposite scenario is equally if not more interesting: can a minority change the majority view? Moscovici (1980) argues that minority impact has to do with the behavioural style of members of the minority: they must be consistent in advocating their position, both over time and within the minority. The consistent behavioural style makes them influential, at least after some time, when the majority begin to observe that the minority maintains its position in spite of their opposition, and when majority members begin to express the minority view (cited in Van Avermaet 1988). The ultimate effect on the majority appears to depend on the minority's behavioural style, by the context in which they emit behaviours, and by the behavioural reactions of other members of the majority group. Hollander (1958) suggested that leaders accrue "idiosyncrasy credits" by conforming to group norms, which then allow them to exhibit innovative behaviour (cited in Kent 1994). Paichler showed that a minority defending a position in line with the zeitgeist (the direction in which social norms are changing), had more impact than a minority opposing it. If due to the zeitgeist the majority have become uncertain of their opinions, the minority defending the new norm provides a clear anchor to move towards. As perceived confidence in one's group decreases, the minority influence increases ("snowball effect") (cited in Van Avermaet 1988). The majority's normative pressures may prevent the minority effect from being shown publicly and minorities may lead to conversion without compliance. Conversely, majorities may lead to compliance without conversion (Van Avermaet 1988).

Social groups, then, have been shown to affect expressed opinions under experimental conditions and it is believed that they may be responsible for converting individuals to a particular way of thinking (Leyens & Codol 1988). The types of social

groups that may have an effect on behaviour are often not specified. Groups thought to affect behaviour are sometimes referred to as “significant others”, incorporating friendship or peer groups, and family.

2.3.1 Social learning theory

Bandura's 1977 social learning theory sees psychological functioning in terms of “a continuous reciprocal interaction of personal and environmental determinants” (Bandura 1977, p.11). Social learning theory is based on the following observations: learning by observation as well as by direct experience is vital for survival; complex behaviours, e.g. use of languages, can be produced only through modelling the behaviours of others. According to Bandura, observational learning is governed by four component processes: attentional processes (the extent to which people attend to and perceive accurately the significant features of the behaviour), retention processes (people must remember the behaviour), motor reproduction processes (where the memory is converted to action and behaviour is reinforced and/or corrected by self or others) and finally motivational processes (the extent to which the behaviour is believed to have rewarding consequences). Social learning theory distinguishes between two processes in the social diffusion of innovation: the acquisition of innovative styles of behaviour and their adoption in practice. Because benefits cannot be experienced until new practices are tried, the promotion of innovations requires anticipated and vicarious reinforcement (Bandura 1977). Vicarious punishment, on the other hand, may inadvertently become associated with the publicised innovations, or cause avoidance of the communication altogether (see discussion of denial above) (Bandura 1977; Morris & Swann 1996). People who have high status, competence, and power are more effective in promoting others to behave similarly than models of lower standing (Bandura 1977).

In Bandura's formulation, rather than simply portraying the environment as an instigating force to which individuals react, the concept of reciprocal determinism is also important – “people activate and create environments as well as rebut them” (Bandura 1977, p.205). Social environments are created by the people in them, as well as affecting individuals' behaviours.

2.3.2 Social groups and behaviour

Peer groups¹³ have been identified as influential in a number of studies (Brown et al. 1997). Specifically, an individual's perception or knowledge of peer activities might predict his or her own behaviour (Moore & Rosenthal 1991). For example, perception of peer norms was the factor most strongly predicting condom use among a group of Northern Thai men (Van Landingham et al. 1995). In a study of 485 women in Cameroon, contraceptive use was associated with the characteristics of women's social networks. It was found that encouragement by members of social networks to use contraception was the most important factor accounting for contraceptive use. When encouragement was omitted from the analysis, perception that network members used contraception provided a weak substitute (Valente et al. 1997). Among gay men in the US, strong associations have been reported between risk behaviour levels and perceptions of the social/peer acceptability of condom use (Kelly et al. 1990a; Kelly et al. 1990b).

Discussion of HIV with peers and family was found to be respectively positively and negatively correlated with reported risky behaviour in a survey of US high school students (Holtzman & Rubinson 1995). The concept of "peer pressure" is often used in everyday conversation to explain deviant or risky behaviour, especially among young people. Brown et al. (1997, p.161), however, caution against seeing peers simply as "a monolithic force guiding adolescents into unhealthy or undesirable behaviour", and Hopkins (1994) has criticised views of individuals as simple recipients of peer influence in which meanings and contexts are absent. Cohen (1977) found that development of peer group homogeneity in a US high school was a compound process where both conformity pressures and homophilic selection (tendency to prefer individuals like oneself) worked to increase homogeneity. He notes that cross-sectional data on peer group homogeneity must therefore be interpreted carefully, with homophilic selection in mind.

According to Romer and Hornik (1992), social consensus and emergent cultural norms with regard to condom use enable "communication" about condoms – social consensus is vital for uptake of appropriate behaviour.

¹³ Research on peer processes has been criticised. Salmon (1979) notes that many references to "peer" processes in the literature are ambiguous, referring to intimate interpersonal friendships rather than group processes.

“Attachment to community groups not only informs its members about what is safe and unsafe, but imparts confidence that one’s sexual partner/s are likely to have the same information.”

(Kippax & Crawford 1997)

2.3.3 Opinion leaders and behaviour change

The idea that certain people within social networks are more influential on their peers than others – opinion leaders or innovators – has been used to try to explain diffusion of innovation i.e. the process by which an innovation is communicated through certain channels over time among the members of a social system (Rogers 1983). The credibility of the leader is seen as an important factor in this process. Credibility is conceptualised as having two strands: competence credibility (the degree to which the leader is perceived to be knowledgeable or expert about the innovation) and safety credibility (the extent to which the leader is perceived as trustworthy) (Rogers 1983).

According to Dearing et al. (1994), in HIV prevention there are limited communication channels because of the personal nature of the topic. In addition, the innovation requires the adoption of behaviour that may involve changing well-established behaviour patterns in order to prevent the possible future occurrence of the unwanted event. Motivation to adopt could be weak if the unwanted event may or may not occur whether or not the preventive behaviour is adopted or rejected (Dearing et al. 1994).

The idea of opinion leaders as facilitating diffusion of innovative behaviour has been used to try to introduce new ideas and practices into social groups. Kelly et al. designed an intervention in the US, in which gay male opinion leaders were identified and trained in HIV risk reduction. These men were then asked to initiate conversations in which they would pass the message on to friends. After the intervention, self-reported risk behaviours among the study population were lower than at the baseline survey, and lower than comparison populations that had not received the intervention (Kelly et al. 1991). Following this preliminary investigation, the same procedure was carried out in three separate cities at different times, to control for extraneous factors that might be responsible for changes. Following each intervention, there was predictable lowering of risk behaviour and increased reported condom use in all three cities (Kelly et al. 1992). There was an overall reduction in risk behaviour, with the trained leaders showing a greater reduction than the general population. Pre-intervention knowledge of AIDS and risk behaviour was high in the

study population, so simple knowledge increase cannot explain the results. Contrary to expectations, post-intervention measures of individuals' perceptions of community norms did not change in parallel to population behaviour shifts. The authors hypothesise that this may indicate that general changes in sexual behaviour may precede changes in the norms of the wider community rather than being caused by perceptions of changing norms. They suggest that the elements of the intervention responsible for population behaviour change may have included: the frequent safety prompts delivered by credible peers, the conversational suggestions about how to implement changes, and the opinion leaders' role in legitimising behaviour change (Kelly et al. 1992).

2.4 Dyad-orientated theories of sexual behaviour

It appears that in order to understand sexual behaviour, it is necessary not only to consider individuals, but also their cultural contexts, and their social interactions. Where sexual behaviour involves two people, the dyad, they are not acting independently as individuals, however much their personal characteristics may influence the interaction: rather, they are engaging in a particular type of social interaction, and outcomes will depend on the nature of the interaction. For example, there is a widespread discrepancy between levels of knowledge about AIDS and preventive intentions on the one hand and non-preventive sexual behaviour on the other. "This difference [...] is to a large extent attributable to the effects of the mutual interaction of partners in the course of the intimate encounter, that is to say: to the social dimension of intimate communication." (Ahlemeyer & Ludwig 1997, p.25). While individualistic models may be of some use in examining health behaviours such as smoking or wearing seat belts, they may be less useful for modelling sexual behaviour because interactions occur within the dyad that cannot be reduced to each individual acting separately.

"Defining sexual activity as an individual health issue imposes certain sets of constructs onto the field, with the result that some crucial and essential elements of interactional processes are made invisible"

(Ingham & van Zessen 1997, p.90).

Ingham and van Zessen (1997) report that in their European studies of sexual behaviour in young people, not more than one-third of respondents showed consistency between their risk perception, intentions and behaviour. For the majority, the use or non-use of condoms could only be understood in terms of the interaction processes.

Within a dyad there is a balance of power that may be affected by a number of factors, including age, social status and gender. This balance in turn affects whether or not sexual activity occurs, whether or not contraception is used, whether or not violence or coercion is involved, and the separate meanings of the activity for each individual. In addition, the timing of the sexual contact is important, as is the type of relationship.

2.4.1 Capital structures

Bastard et al. (1997) suggest that partners negotiate over their behaviour with regard to HIV depending on their comparative capital structures. They distinguish four types of capital structure: economic, social, cultural, and symbolic. The first, economic capital, can be mobilised directly to seduce the partner, to make the partner financially dependent, or to buy the partner's sexual services. In a study of male prostitutes in Glasgow, for example, a clear link was found between risk behaviour and the immediate circumstances of the sexual encounter. Unsafe commercial sex was not usually being undertaken by prostitutes volitionally. It was the prostitute-client power relationship rather than perceptions of minimal risk or invulnerability that determined what happened during the encounter (Bloor et al. 1992). The second, social capital, refers to the network that can be mobilised to find partners, or communication skills or social skills. The third, cultural capital, can be used to overwhelm the partner's beliefs e.g. an older, experienced man convinces a young woman that she will not become pregnant. The fourth, symbolic capital refers to the ability to use the other types of capital to create a strong value in the eyes of the partner.

2.4.2 Temporal context

Temporal context refers to the era in which the event takes place, to the time of day, and to the position of the event relative to other events in the life cycles of the individuals concerned. For example, engaging in sexual activity for the first time (either with a particular partner, or for the first time ever) may have different meanings and consequences than for the twentieth time. Likewise, engaging in sexual activity before marriage may be different now from ten years ago. Commencing sexual activity when very young may have different meanings and consequences from when older (Cohen & Hubert 1997). The relative temporal factors for both partners should be considered: what is the nature of the dyad? An older man and a younger woman? An experienced woman and an inexperienced man?

One study in Belgium identified three stages of relationships: the courtship-seduction phase, the familiarity phase, and the unravelling phase (Peto et al. 1992). In the first phase, the predominant concerns are to present the best image, win trust, and avoid sources of conflict. Respondents testified that they would like to use a condom, but that they abandoned the idea at the first sign of reticence from their partner. In the familiarity phase, the relationship is perceived to be safer, and even if condoms are used in the initial phases they may then be abandoned. It has been suggested that non-use of condoms may be used to symbolise love and trust in a relationship (Gage 1998). In the final phase, when the partners thought their relationship was ending, condom use paralleled use in the familiarity phase, unless the relationship was ending specifically because one of the partners was having a relationship perceived to be risky (results and explanation given in Bastard et al. 1997). In an older report, Gross and Bellew Smith (1983) cite studies in the USA that found that some individuals used contraception least at the beginning and end of relationships – the opposite trend to that reported by Peto et al., although the former studies examined use of contraception in general, not just condom use, and were carried out before HIV/AIDS risk was acknowledged.

2.4.3 Type of relationship

Many studies¹⁴ have suggested that the type of relationship in which sexual activity takes place is an important factor in use or non-use of contraception and disease prevention measures. Bastard et al. (1997) distinguish between primary and secondary space of a relationship. The primary space is the official relationship, where homogamy (similarity between partners' characteristics) is more likely, and trust is more likely to be the prevailing norm. The secondary space contains unofficial relationships e.g. with sex workers, or other partners, where norms of the relationship vary more and where for example, condoms may be more likely to be used (Bastard et al. 1997).

Ahlemeyer and Ludwig (1997) define four different types of intimate systems: romantic, hedonistic, matrimonial, and prostitutive. They consider that intimate social systems do not consist of real "individuals" but of communicative elements, which are selectively reproduced. In this view, the system continues to exist by either extracting actions from or preventing actions of the participants. They emphasise that condom

¹⁴ *Most of these studies have been conducted in more developed countries. Data from less developed countries are scarce.*

use in intimate encounters is “a result of a multiplicity of social and psychological factors and their particular configuration in the situation” (Ahlemeyer & Ludwig 1997, p.33).

2.4.4 A dyad-orientated framework

In order to place the interaction at the centre of the analysis, Ingham et al. (1996) developed the theoretical framework shown in Figure 5.

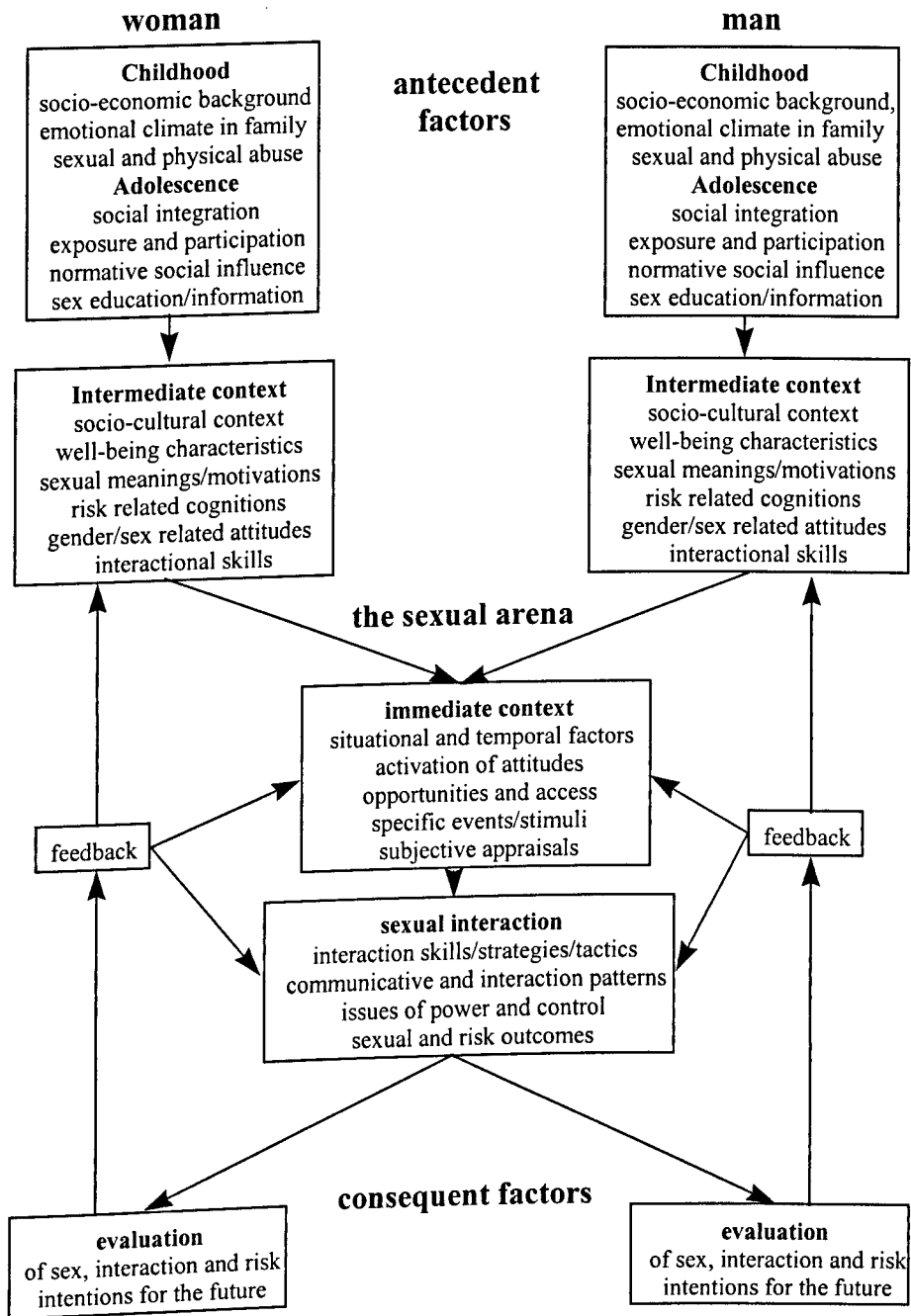


Figure 5 Dyad-orientated framework I (from Ingham et al. 1996)

Another version of this type of framework appears in Ingham and van Zessen (1997, citing Rademakers et al., 1992)

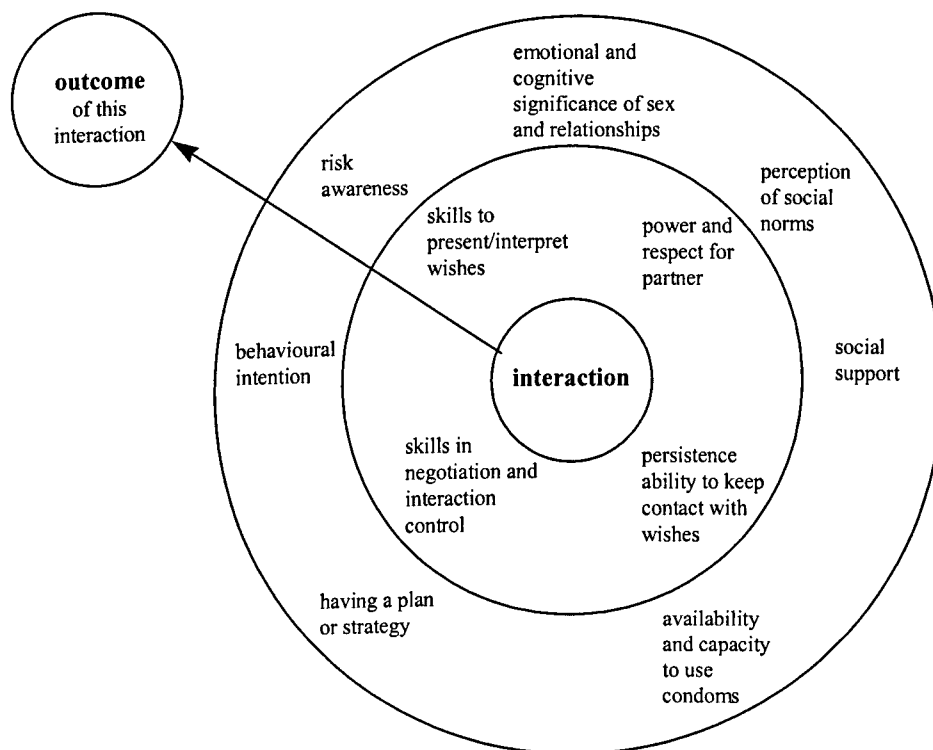


Figure 6 Dyad-orientated framework II (from Rademakers et al. 1992)

In this dyad-orientated approach, the interaction is central – individual and situational factors only become salient during the interaction itself (Ingham & van Zessen 1997).

2.4.4.1 Relational theory of sexuality

Ferrand and Snijders (1997) develop a “relational” theory of sexuality, based on the following postulates. First, that sexuality is dyadic, and that sexual dyads are a specific domain within the field of interpersonal relations. Second, that any relation is viewed as a sequence of interactions: expected and perceived actions and reactions of the other individual in the dyad. Third, that the relationship involves bargaining and change. Fourth, that the relations are embedded within networks. For each actor, the relation is an element in a system of interpersonal relationships, a relation links two actors, and simultaneously forms part of the relational systems of the actors involved. In addition, other people can observe part of the relational behaviour of the two actors. Fifth, social norms and socially determined expectations are not rigid – individuals and social groups can adjust their norms and expectations to their preferences, constraints, and the information available to them.

According to this paradigm, because individuals are embedded in social networks, and because social norms are not rigid, there is a feedback between actors’ behaviour and the social system: when individuals perceive changes in behaviour patterns of others in their personal network, this changes their expectations and

norms, which will in turn change their behaviour. This changed behaviour will in turn feed back to and influence the behaviour of the others in their personal network (Ferrand & Snijders 1997). Changed behaviour within a dyad must be perceptible in some way in order to have an effect on other group members, yet explicit discussion of sexual activity e.g. whether or not a condom is used may not take place outside the dyad. Openness about sexual activity is clearly important for networks to facilitate behaviour change.

According to Coleman, "... a norm concerning a specific action exists when the socially defined right to control the action is held not by the actor but by others" (Coleman 1990). The influence of networks on actors is mediated to a large extent by the fact that approval by "significant others" is important.

2.5 Conclusions

Each approach outlined offers a way of understanding sexual behaviour and how it might change. In the next chapter, I will present the framework used in this study, which attempts to identify key explanatory factors at each of three levels: the cultural level, the dyad level (including aspects of immediate social networks of which the dyad is one part), and the individual level.

Chapter 3

Study design and methods

3.1 Theoretical framework of the study

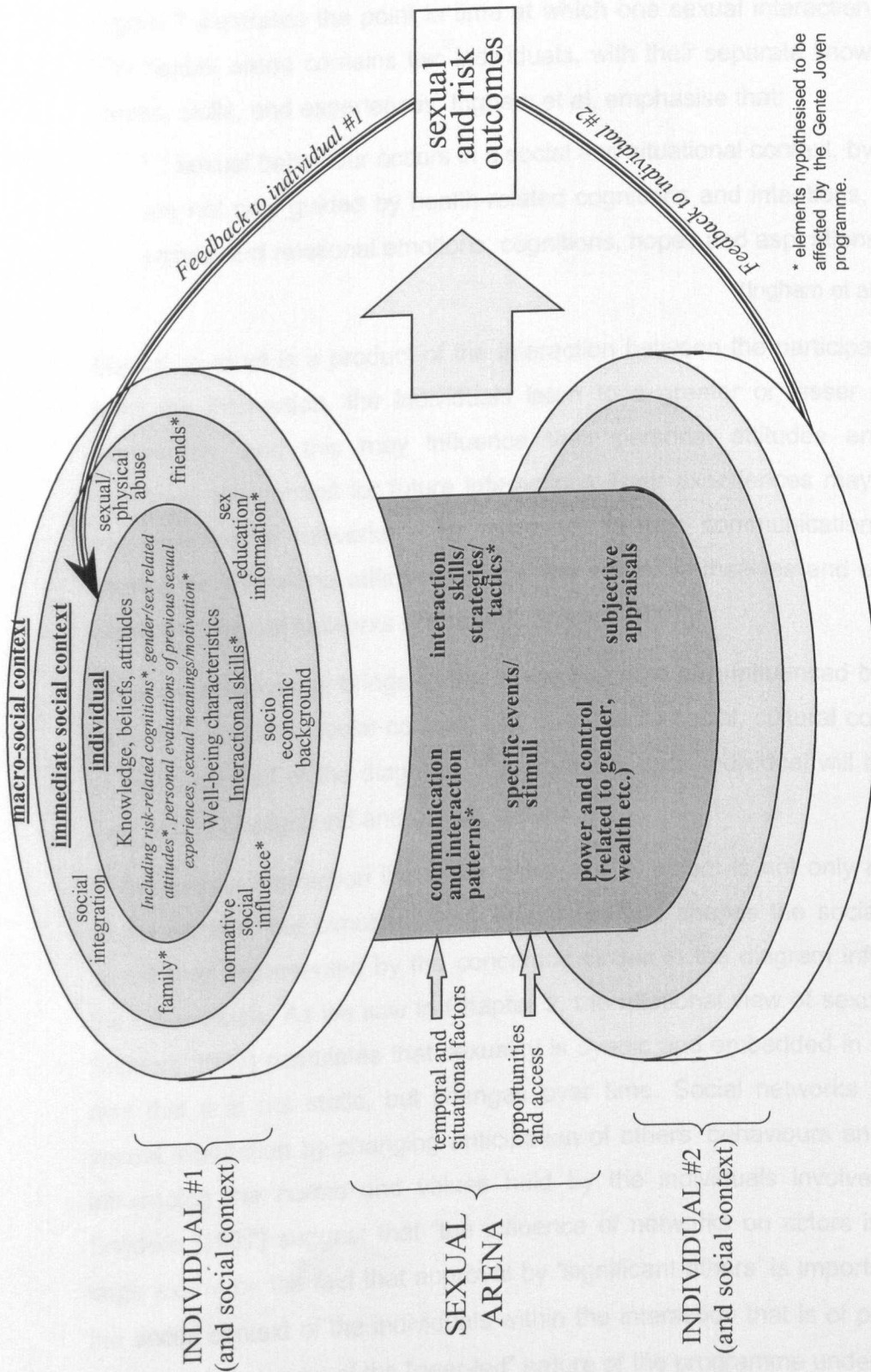
In Chapter 2 we saw that individual, dyad, and socio-cultural perspectives have all been used in attempts to understand sexual behaviour. In this thesis, an “interactional” approach will be used as the theoretical base for the study (Van Campenhoudt et al. 1997). This approach uses a combination of the three levels (individual, dyad, and macro), and social systems are seen as non-hierarchical – in other words, there is a system of reciprocal determination among macro processes and institutions, social networks and dyads, down to the level of the individual. In this approach, there is not a linear progression from the macro to the micro as there is in, for example, the health belief model, rather, macro cultural characteristics such as gender roles feed into social networks and dyads, but are also reinterpreted and transformed by individuals and groups in a dynamic process. Rather than identifying “determinants” of individual behaviour, it becomes necessary to see how interactions between micro and macro levels occur and how sexual health interventions can best be constructed within these processes.

The structures, processes and meanings that underlie sexual relationships are key to understanding behaviours within the relationship, and the potential effects of sexual health interventions upon these behaviours. The two individuals involved in the relationship have their own perceptions and expectations of the interaction, and these, as well as their behaviour, will be influenced by the characteristics of their partners, and the cultural context. The main focus of this study is on understanding these processes.

One of the further aims of the study is to understand how Gente Joven can reach so many young people, how the programme messages are communicated successfully, and what effects they might have on sexual conduct.

We have seen that young people, especially the unmarried, have specific needs that differ from older adults. Young people’s sexual activity is frequently stigmatised, making access to services and information difficult. It may be sporadic, making planning for use of contraception difficult (Singh & Wulf 1990). In Mexico, as in many less developed countries, education and information about sex is very limited. In

addition, government-provided services such as STD or family planning clinics are frequently unavailable, particularly to young, unmarried people. In this context, non-governmental interventions are extremely important. Many non-governmental organisations (NGOs) have attempted to reach young people in Mexico, but with very limited success. As described in Chapter 1, Mexfam's Gente Joven programme is the exception to this. The theoretical framework for the study is based mainly on the work of Ingham et al. (1996), and Ferrand and Snijders (1997). A graphical representation of the framework to be used is shown in Figure 7 (p.56). The elements within this framework are explained below. The framework is not intended to represent a final "model" of sexual behaviour, but to illustrate the elements emerging from the literature summarised in Chapter 2, and the relationships between these elements. It is hypothesised that the effects of participation in the Gente Joven programme on sexual behaviour can be interpreted in terms of the elements of this integrated framework. These elements are marked with an asterisk in the diagram.



* elements hypothesised to be affected by the Gente Joven programme.

Figure 7 Theoretical framework of the thesis

3.1.1 The framework

Figure 7 illustrates the point in time at which one sexual interaction is taking place. The sexual arena contains two individuals, with their separate knowledge, attitudes, values, skills, and experiences. Ingham et al. emphasise that:

“...sexual behaviour occurs in a social and situational context, by actors who are not only guided by health-related cognitions and intentions, but also by sexual and relational emotions, cognitions, hopes and aspirations.”

(Ingham et al. 1996, p.19)

Sexual conduct is a product of the interaction between the participants at that time. After the interaction, the individuals learn to a greater or lesser extent from the experience, and this may influence their personal attitudes and choices that constitute the context for future interactions. Their experiences may also feed back into their social networks – for example, through communication with friends – altering or reinforcing attitudes both of the actors themselves and of the individuals within their social networks (Ferrand & Snijders 1997).

What each individual brings to the interaction is in turn influenced by their past and present immediate social context, and their macro-social, cultural context (illustrated in the lower half of the diagram). For example, each individual will be influenced by their family background and overall culture.

In the sexual interaction itself, the behaviour of actors is not only restricted by the social context, but simultaneously influences and shapes the social context. Each social level represented by the concentric circles in the diagram influences each of the other levels. As we saw in Chapter 2, the relational view of sexuality (Ferrand & Snijders 1997) postulates that sexuality is dyadic and embedded in social networks, and that it is not static, but changes over time. Social networks can influence a sexual interaction by changing anticipation of others' behaviours and views, and by influencing the norms and values held by the individuals involved. Ferrand and Snijders (1997) suggest that “the influence of networks on actors is mediated to a large extent by the fact that approval by ‘significant others’ is important.” (p.13). It is the social context of the individuals within the interaction that is of particular interest in this study because of the “peer-led” nature of the programme under investigation.

Past experiences and the social environment of the individuals affect the meanings sexual activity has for them. The context of the interaction itself (partner and situation) is “chosen” in terms of a wide background of socio-cultural, interpersonal,

cognitive and emotional states (Ingham et al. 1996). The two individuals within the dyad are unlikely to have the same experience of the interaction. An example of this is a coercive interaction. Whether or not an experience “is” coercive cannot be rigidly defined: a woman may feel coerced, while her partner feels he is simply asking for coitus. A researcher examining interviews may identify a particular situation as coercive even if it is not defined as such by the interviewee (see Chapter 7). Meanings of sexual activity are not constant within the dyad, and reports from the two individuals involved are unlikely to be entirely consistent with one another. Nevertheless, an individual’s sexual behaviour is affected by their partner’s characteristics, both “perceived” and “real” (however these may be defined), and such characteristics must therefore be taken into account in the analysis.

In summary, the outcomes of sexual interactions will reflect the combination of the macro-social, dyad and individual characteristics of that interaction.

3.2 Hypotheses

According to the theories outlined above, in order to affect sexual behaviour, a programme must do more than simply provide information. It is hypothesised that the Gente Joven programme affects sexual behaviour via a number of routes, marked with asterisks in Figure 7. For example, the programme is hypothesised to affect communication and interaction patterns within the dyad, to affect gender and sex related attitudes, and to affect normative social influences on behaviour.

It is hypothesised that the context in which the programme is delivered, the mode of programme delivery, the communicators of programme messages, and the messages themselves are vital to Gente Joven success in affecting behaviour, with the youth-led approach being a key aspect of these factors.

3.2.1 The Gente Joven programme: Context and ethos

In Mexico, there is an unmet need for sex education – a topic that young people are likely to find interesting and relevant, yet on which they receive only limited information from formal sources. Young people are sexually active before marriage, and curiosity about and discussion of sexuality already exists on some level in informal settings – for example, within friendship groups – regardless of the presence or absence of the Gente Joven programme. For young people, sex is a new activity, and unlike other activities is not one that they can learn about easily through other people. Because they are unlikely to witness the sexual activity of others directly, they may be compelled to rely on media images of sex, or on reports from others

which may be inaccurate (for example because of a desire to appear “macho”), or hard to obtain (for example because of embarrassment, shame, or taboo). Gente Joven can provide accurate information and is not judgmental. In addition, rather than concentrating on the medical or biological aspects of sex, the programme looks at relationships, contraceptive use, and other practical issues likely to be of concern to young people, possibly increasing openness to the information. In other words, the programme may affect the “sex education/information” and “knowledge, beliefs, attitudes” elements shown in the framework (Figure 7).

The programme, unlike other interventions, succeeds in recruiting young people to become peer leaders, and in attracting other young people to attend courses on sexual health. This success indicates that there is some quality of the programme that others lack. It is hypothesised that one aspect of this might be the perceived relevance of programme messages. For example, when the programme is implemented in a new location, a needs assessment is carried out using a survey of 100 young people in the area, young people are consulted about the content of programmes, and themselves lead programme activities. As previously described, the programme focuses on relationships as well as biology when discussing sex, which again may improve its perceived relevance.

The programme is not didactic and desired behaviours are not prescribed. Rather than simply enumerating facts about sex and contraception in a classroom format, Gente Joven uses role play, games and debate to encourage young people to make up their own minds about how they should behave (“knowledge, beliefs, attitudes” element of the framework).

The programme focuses on aspects of the sexual interaction itself, and not just on increasing individuals’ knowledge. For example, relationships, gender issues, and strategies for use of contraception are all discussed. It is hypothesised that this focus on practical aspects of sexual conduct may result in increased likelihood of safer sexual behaviour (“interaction skills/strategies/tactics” and “communication and interaction patterns” elements of the framework).

The programme aims to present sex and sexuality as a part of life, without moralising or prescribing behaviours. This attitude may provide an environment where young people can ask questions without fear of criticism or punishment, and therefore be assisted in making informed choices about sexual behaviour (“knowledge” element of the framework).

3.2.2 Programme delivery

Gente Joven's outreach approach is possibly one of the factors in its success. Outreach enables young people to be met in places where they already gather and may have two main advantages: first, the young people do not have to travel far to obtain basic information and condoms; and second, there is no formal, medicalised and potentially alienating environment, so the advice and contraceptives are placed in a more familiar context – a context closer to that in which the sexual interactions themselves occur. In this way, access barriers are reduced (“services” and “sex education/information” elements of the framework).

Consultation with influential adults is also a notable feature of the programme. Convincing adults, particularly parents, that young people will not be harmed or debased by the programme may be crucial for its ongoing success. Parental involvement in the programme is encouraged, which may change family attitudes towards young people's sexuality or may make family support more available. Even if the adults consulted do not play an active part in the programme, they are less likely to campaign against it. Again, this is likely to reduce access barriers to the services and messages of the programme.

There is an unmet need for services providing contraception and medical care for sexually transmitted diseases, either because of access barriers, or because services simply do not exist. Gente Joven provides basic contraception and advice, but also benefits from being supported by other Mexfam-run services, for example clinics in which providers are trained to respond to young people's needs. The service that the programme provides is therefore more holistic than simple information dissemination and condom distribution and young people may be more likely to seek advice from a known Gente Joven source if they believe that a range of needs can be met. (The “services” element of the framework is intended to incorporate sexual health services of any type that are directed at young people. They are imposed from outside the immediate social group, hence their position in “macrosocial context” in the diagram, but their effects may be felt at any of the social levels illustrated.)

3.2.3 Communication of programme messages

Youth-to-youth communication of Gente Joven messages is hypothesised to be key to the success of the programme. It has been suggested that for many young people, peers are an important source of information about sex and using peers as a route for transmission of programme messages has been recommended for programmes

because of this (Milburn 1995). It is hypothesised that the delivery of Gente Joven programme messages by peer leaders increases their impact for the following reasons:

First, peers help create the norms within their own social groups. Peer leaders in Gente Joven are often chosen for training because they already have influence over their peer group. It is plausible, therefore, that their influence may extend to affecting attitudes towards sexual conduct. For example, if attitudes towards condoms are ambivalent, a young leader recommending condom use may provide the positive impetus needed for a “follower” to consider using them. If attitudes are overtly hostile (for example, they are thought to split or reduce sensitivity), a peer leader’s recommendation may even be a force for reversing attitudes. This process is hypothesised to occur through two interrelated routes. First through the perception that a leader is behaving in a certain way, and simple imitation of this behaviour. Second, through a change in the social climate such that certain behaviours are perceived to be possible where before they were not. For example, if condom use is widely believed to reduce sexual pleasure, or to be in some way unmasculine, young men may resist using them regardless of their personal experiences. If an influential member of the social group starts to promote condom use, on the other hand, the “followers” in the group may be more open to try using them, particularly in the knowledge that their actions have at least some social support (“friends” and “normative social influence” elements of the framework).

Second, trained peer leaders and young co-ordinators may be seen as a more credible source of information, even by young people outside their direct social network, than figures of authority whose motives in promoting safer sexual behaviour may be questioned, particularly if authority figures are generally viewed with suspicion. Young communicators of information may be seen as more aware of the issues facing young people, and more sympathetic. They may be perceived as less judgmental and less authoritarian because they belong in some way to the group of people to whom they wish to impart the information. (The “friends” and “normative social influence” elements of the framework)

Finally, the fact that the programme is youth-led may increase its popularity in general, perhaps being seen more as a social/community activity than as education in the sense of “schooling”. If the programme is seen as a form of entertainment, young people may be more willing to participate. In addition, the fact that young people lead the programme may increase their sense of ownership of the

programme, and its achievements, which in turn may reinforce its popularity and motivate people to join.

3.3 Study area

Mexico is a geographically and culturally diverse country. There are extreme inequalities of wealth, wide ethnic diversity, and corresponding differences in social characteristics of different groups (Szasz 1998a). The country is divided into 31 states, plus a federal district where Mexico City is located, and where the present study was carried out¹⁵. Mexico City has been a major centre for rural to urban migration within the country, and so contains a mix of people from the different ethnic groups that make up the population as a whole, as well as being home to some of the most extreme contrasts between the country's rich and poor. The qualitative part of this study took place mainly in a particular area of Mexico City, within the *delegación* Iztapalapa¹⁶ – an area to the east of the city. Iztapalapa has approximately 1.8 million inhabitants (INEGI 2000), predominantly low-income. A large number of the older inhabitants in the poorest parts of Iztapalapa are originally from rural areas of Mexico, and many of the young people were born in these rural areas, and moved to the city as young children.

Iztapalapa was chosen as the site of the study for two reasons: first, it is one of the areas in which the programme has been most successful in terms of reaching and recruiting “hard-to-reach” young people such as gang members and graffiti artists, as well as other socially or politically marginalised young people (e.g. those living in Degollado, see below). Second, the area was considered by Mexfam to be one in which my presence would not cause excessive disruption to the work of the programme. The fieldwork was based in an area of Iztapalapa known as San Lorenzo. I lived there with a local family, and the majority of programme activities observed were in that area. San Lorenzo is a relatively newly-developed part of the city (about 25 years old). Houses are of brick with concrete floors. Many were constructed by the current occupants who bought the land. Many plots of land contain a number of families living in rooms that are joined by a small communal space (the *patio*). In the communal space, there is usually a shared toilet and a source of running water. Some families have running water inside the house. In addition to San Lorenzo, a great deal of my work was conducted nearby in an area

¹⁵ Some interviews were also carried out in Ciudad Nezahualcóytl, a city whose boundaries merge with those of Iztapalapa and the Federal District and where conditions are similar to those in Iztapalapa.

known as Degollado – an illegal settlement on an ecological reserve which has been in existence for 10 to 20 years and comprises encampments of very basic houses, some made of brick, others made of scrap metal and cardboard. Many have dirt floors, there are few sources of running water, and there are chemical toilets shared between large numbers of families. Electricity is provided by (illegally) tapping overhead power lines. The living conditions in Degollado are very poor. Most families living there have extremely low incomes and have moved to Degollado from rural areas of the country. I was told that an estimated 100,000 people lived in Degollado. Mexfam was the only institution allowed into the community, which would not accept government authority of any kind and was reluctant to allow access to any external organisations.

In both areas, street violence is at very high levels. In San Lorenzo, there is a very large number of gangs. On Saturday nights, there are often gang fights in the streets. Weapons used in San Lorenzo are mainly fists, pipes, and bottles, but knives and guns are occasionally used. During the 10 month fieldwork period, at least two young men were killed in the streets near my house. There are gangs of women as well as of men. The women's gangs tend to be affiliated to the men's gangs, and women fight other women, not men. Drug use by gang members and other young people is common, principally solvents and glue, marijuana, and alcohol. Crack cocaine is used less commonly, but I was told that use is increasing dramatically in the area. In Degollado, the violence is reputedly much worse, and we were unable to enter the area late at night.

3.4 Study design

To examine the hypotheses outlined above, qualitative data were required to attempt to increase understanding of sexual behaviour among young people: in what contexts sexual activity occurs, its meanings and consequences for individuals, and how aspects of this behaviour relate to the Gente Joven programme. Qualitative methods allow a holistic approach where individual cases may be incorporated within a general framework, and where the dynamic nature of sexual interactions may be explored in detail by collecting narratives (Van Campenhout 1997). Quantitative approaches, while useful for providing a description of some aspects of sexual activity (e.g. condom use, age at first coitus), are not suited to examining the symbolic, emotional, and social dimensions of human life (Huygens et al. 1996). In

¹⁶ *The federal district (pop: 8.5 million) is divided into 16 administrative areas called delegaciones (INEGI 1997).*

addition, the results of a study comparing in-depth interview and survey data on sexual behaviour suggest that in-depth interview data have greater validity (Wight & West 1999).

This study uses four main approaches:

First, participant observation was used both to examine the broad context of young people's lives. This allowed a better understanding of the lifestyles of young people in the study area, relationships between parents and children, common beliefs and behaviours regarding all aspects of life, interactions between young people in different environments (school, parties, family) as well as other nuances of social life. Participant observation was also used specifically to examine programme delivery. Programme delivery comprises both physically reaching the young people and communicating programme messages to them. Through participant observation the following types of question were addressed. What do the young co-ordinators actually do in their work? What day to day activities do they perform that keep the programme running and keep other young people interested? What environment do they create to communicate the messages? What methods do they use to communicate those messages? How do they interact with the peer leaders (called youth promoters in the programme)? What sort of support do they give to the youth promoters? How do the promoters interact with their "followers"?

Second, unstructured key informant interviews were conducted with co-ordinators of the programme, youth promoters, and with young people both within and outside the programme. Key informant interviews were used to give a background on life in the area, and to explore opinions about the programme, and about sexual behaviour in general. In addition to the interviews, the extensive informal discussions that were possible during the course of the fieldwork were essential for the work both in terms of increasing my understanding of youth sexual behaviour and also in illuminating the processes of the programme.

Third, 19 youth promoters ("leaders") were interviewed in depth. These interviews examined the promoters' own sexual conduct, their motivation to join the programme, and their interactions with their "followers". These interviews usually lasted from 2 to 3 hours each.

Fourth, 64 participants in the programme who were not youth promoters were interviewed in depth about their sexual conduct and history, using interview topics developed by Ingham et al. (1996). These topics were adapted for this study to include additional questions about the Gente Joven programme itself. Interviewees

were asked about their upbringing, their sexual experiences, and their interaction with the programme and its peer promoters. These interviews usually lasted between 1.5 to 2 hours.

Fifth, 69 further interviews were conducted with young people who were not participants in the programme, but who were of comparable age, using the same framework as for programme participants. This group provides an indication of the types of attitudes and conduct of young people not exposed to the Gente Joven programme. These interviews usually lasted between 1 and 2 hours.

The quantity of data from the interviews was immense. Over 300 hours of interview produced over 3600 pages of interview transcripts. Characteristics of the interviewees are summarised in Appendices 1 and 4.

3.4.1 Participant observation

The participant observation of the programme was carried out with Alicia Caballero, the co-ordinator of the Gente Joven programme in the Iztapalapa area. I shadowed Alicia for two months. After this period I continued to attend Gente Joven meetings held in the community in the evenings and at weekends, while organising interviews during the day. All of the participation in the Gente Joven programme allowed me access to young people from various social backgrounds, in school and out of school. Not only was I able to see young people interacting in “natural” environments i.e. out of the interview context, but also many of the Gente Joven courses provided informal focus-group scenarios where classes debated various issues and knowledge and attitudes were revealed. Contact with some of the young people was initially difficult, partly because of their use of slang, which I found hard to understand, and also because of my lack of familiarity with social conventions in different groups. My observation of the Gente Joven course undoubtedly facilitated the subsequent interviews because I had the opportunity to overcome these initial difficulties in a very “safe” environment, and make contacts with young people, parents, teachers, and community leaders that would later prove invaluable. The fieldwork lasted for 10 months. Because I was living with a local family, I was also able to participate in everyday activities in the area that were unconnected with the programme, I was invited to social events, and was generally included in family life. I also socialised with a small group of the youth promoters and their friends. We sat and chatted on the street, played basketball, went to the cinema, went to parties, played pool and went to arcades to play table football and video games, as well as

engaging in more exotic activities such as a 24-hour non-stop walk from Mexico City to Chalma, a religious site.

3.4.2 The interviews

The sample in qualitative work is not chosen for generalisability or representativeness, and the sample frame is not fixed (Ingham et al. 1996). Theoretical sampling was used where interviewees were chosen for heterogeneity, and in accordance with the emerging data. The number of interviewees was determined by initial estimates based on consultation with other researchers, and by reference to previous studies, which informed the amount of funding sought and hence set a maximum number of interviews in the field. The final number of interviews conducted was then determined by the emerging analysis: when themes had begun to be repeated a great deal in the data (i.e. "saturation" had occurred) further participants would have added rapidly decreasing quantities of new information for the analysis, and further interviews were not conducted (see Ingham et al. 1996; Glaser 1992). Criteria for inclusion in the study were: age between 16 and 22 (except for Gente Joven promoters for whom there was no age limit); from a low- or very low-income family (roughly defined by geographical location because actual family income was not possible to ascertain); have had at least one experience of vaginal or anal sexual intercourse (except for Gente Joven promoters). As far as was possible, men and women were interviewed in equal numbers, as were programme and non-programme young people (see Appendix 1).

Certain modifications were made to the original design during data collection. For example, the upper age limit of the interviewees was increased from the original 20 years old to incorporate young people up to 22 years old. This was because many of the younger teenagers were not sexually active, and older youth were thought more likely to have had at least one experience of coitus. In most cases we could not determine in advance whether or not interviewees were sexually active, for ethical reasons (see below).

3.4.2.1 Interview procedure

Local interviewers were recruited and trained. All the interviewers were young (under 30) and were recruited according to my impressions of their personalities and whether they were friendly and approachable when I interviewed them for the job. All of the interviewers who finished the training and went on to work on the main project were friendly, reliable in terms of turning up for interviews, not too serious, not

judgmental or self-aggrandising, and interested in the topic. They were all from the geographical area of the study. Education level of the interviewers varied and included schooling up to age 18, technical training up to age 18, and university degree level (both in progress and complete). Recruiting interviewers was very time-consuming because of the difficulties of finding suitable candidates. It was necessary to have a rolling programme of recruitment for the first few months because interviewers dropped out, or were unsuitable. Interviewers who seemed suitable were first given 4 to 6 hours of training, where I explained the purpose of the study, some of the theoretical background, and where we went through the interview in detail. Issues about interview technique were discussed and solutions to potentially difficult situations were suggested. The purpose of open-ended questions was explained. I emphasised the importance of the interviewers' understanding of the theoretical background of the topic in the training because I felt that for the interviews to be conducted adequately there was a need for at least a superficial knowledge of the overall purpose of the research. As much as possible, I discussed emerging results with the interviewers so that the research process was to some extent participatory. The interview schedule initially drawn up was changed slightly over the course of the study according to the interview results. One of the later versions of the schedule is reproduced in Appendix 2. The initial session was followed by interviewers conducting and taping a practice interview, which I then listened to, gave constructive criticism on, and answered questions that arose. This allowed many initial problems to be ironed out before "real" interviews were conducted. The practice interviews were, however, treated as "real" interviews in that the interviewers were paid to conduct them and went through the same confidentiality procedures as for the main interviews (see below). Rarely, the practice interviews were of good quality, and conducted with a suitable interviewee, in which case they were included in the main study. During the project, I held sporadic re-training sessions in which we listened to a particular interview as a group, and commented on it. I also made general remarks about interview techniques to all interviewers based on particular elements of the interviews that I listened to. Each of the interviewers had their own style and I encouraged them to develop individual approaches while learning from others' experiences. For the most part, the interviewers were extremely competent and related well to the interviewees. Many interviewees commented on how much they had enjoyed the interviews.

3.4.2.2 *Ethical issues*

3.4.2.2.1 Recruitment for interviews

Interviewees were asked to participate in the study either by me, or on my behalf by their friends or by Gente Joven co-ordinators. Their voluntary participation was emphasised, and we explained that the purpose of the study was to try to improve youth programmes, according to what young people themselves said, and according to the way that they really lived. We told them that they would not necessarily benefit personally from the study, but that we hoped that it would help improve the situation for other young people. When people were interested in participating, I explained in greater detail what the interview involved. Interviewees were recruited in schools, through friendship networks, and through the Gente Joven community outreach networks. A screening questionnaire was developed for use in schools to try to cut down on non-sexually active interviewees (Appendix 3). One of the difficulties we had was in recruiting sexually active interviewees without it becoming generally known how we were recruiting. Not only would it have broken confidentiality of prior interviews to have made our recruiting strategy transparent, but it would have prevented interviewees from participating, particularly women, for whom sexual activity is stigmatised.

3.4.2.2.2 Confidentiality

Confidentiality is paramount with sensitive material, and it was vital that the young people felt certain that their interviews would not be made available to anyone other than the researchers. For this reason, at the beginning of the interviews considerable time was spent explaining not only the purpose of the interview, but also procedures in place to protect confidentiality. In addition, a sheet of paper was given to each interviewee on which these issues were also explained and they were asked to read it and ask the interviewer if they had any questions. They were told that the interview would be tape-recorded, with their permission, so that the interviewer would be able to listen properly and not have to write notes. When the interview was over, the interviewer thanked the interviewee, and reiterated that the interviewee's name would not be on the tape, and that nothing that had been said in the interview would be repeated to anyone other than the researcher. Each interview was given a unique number and a separate list containing first names and interview locations was drawn up using the number as an identifier. Initial verbal explanations about confidentiality were revealed not to be sufficient early on in the project when some young people

refused to be interviewed, thinking that the information would be given to their parents.

The interviews were conducted in locations that were as private as possible, and often in places suggested by the interviewees because we always travelled to where they were, rather than asking them to come to us. Most of the interviewers were not known to the interviewees. The exceptions to this were the majority of the interviews that I conducted, and occasional cases where interviewees requested a particular interviewer who was known to them. The tapes were transcribed in separate areas of the city by people who had no connection with the interviewees.

3.4.2.2.3 Post-interview resources

The interviews covered sensitive material and I was concerned that interviewees would require help with issues raised. I was fortunate in having the backing of Mexfam in terms of the immediate help Alicia was able to give, in the few cases where it was necessary, and also in being able to refer interviewees to their services. All interviewees were given Mexfam leaflets and condoms after the interview (whether or not they were sexually active), and were told to contact Mexfam if they thought of more questions after we had left. They were also told that Mexfam has special medical services for young people. Interviewees frequently asked questions during and after the interviews about contraception, disease, and other topics. The interviewers were told not to give information unless they were absolutely confident that it was correct, and were told instead to ask me (or my field co-worker if I was not present) for appropriate leaflets that they could give to the interviewee concerned. Immediate practical help was also given where possible. For example, one young man revealed at interview that he had wished to use a condom with his girlfriend, but had not known how. After the interview, he was shown how to use a condom. One woman was afraid that she was pregnant, and the interviewer arranged a pregnancy test and counselling for her.

3.4.2.2.4 Well-being of the interviewers

The safety and emotional well-being of the interviewers was constantly monitored during the fieldwork. I employed an excellent field co-worker, Flavio Hernandez, who worked full-time during the interview phase of the study. He was from the area and was able to accompany me or the interviewers (particularly the female interviewers) if we entered areas where this was considered to be necessary. If the interviews ended late, the interviewers took taxis paid for by the project, and Flavio accompanied the

women to their homes if this was necessary. Except in cases where the interviewer was comfortable entering a particular area (e.g. if they lived or worked there), we always met in a neutral location and then entered areas in a group, both for safety and to ensure that everyone could find the interview locations. All the interviewers were told to stop any interview if they ever felt unsafe or uncomfortable (this never happened). I asked all the interviewers to come to me if they felt that they needed to talk to someone about the material in the interviews, and offered to arrange counselling for any of them that felt they needed it. They were also made aware of all the Mexfam services.

3.5 Data analysis

Data analysis involved a number of different steps. First, data were “cleaned” by listening to interview tapes at random points in the interviews and comparing these with the transcribed versions. It would have been too time-consuming to have checked the whole of every transcript against each tape, and I considered this to be the best way to ensure that what was in the transcript was as near as possible a faithful reproduction of the tape content. Transcribers were instructed to include notes about tone of voice and laughter, as well as any other noises e.g. pausing of the recording, doorbells ringing etc. These instructions appear usually to have been followed. It was necessary to retranscribe one set of interviews because the transcriber had not faithfully recorded exactly what was on the tape.

During the first reading of the interviews, descriptive data were recorded for each interviewee (age, sex, age at first coitus, use of contraception at first coitus etc.) These data were were organised case by case using an Excel spreadsheet. The in-depth analysis involved reading the interviews and adding preliminary coding using Nud*ist, a qualitative data analysis software package. Analysis followed the principles of grounded theory, in which categories within the data are identified, named and reanalysed (Glaser 1992). The codes and emerging categories and patterns therefore come from the data and categories that “fit” across the data are retained, while those that do not appear across the data are either discarded or re-evaluated in the light of the on-going analysis, until relevant categories are identified (Glaser 1992). During the reading of the interviews, coding was refined, and emerging themes examined between transcripts. Once all the interviews had been read and coded, emerging themes were re-analysed in more detail, going back to the original transcripts. This process was repeated until the final themes were chosen. In other words, the process was cyclical, with hypotheses derived from early data analysis tested against analyses of subsequent data (cf. Eyre et al. 1998). Individual case

studies were examined at each stage (“vertical” analysis (Ingham & Van Zessen 1988)), in order to attempt to understand the links between themes emerging across individuals (“horizontal” analysis (Ingham & Van Zessen 1988)). Vertical analysis was achieved in practice by writing a short (one or two page) summary of each of the cases, as well as systematically recording key details on the Excel spreadsheet mentioned above, which grew in size as the analysis progressed, requiring constant cross-referencing to the original texts. An abridged version of the final spreadsheet is presented in Appendix 4 and shows the type of information recorded. Because qualitative data are not easy to categorise, many of the cells of the spreadsheet contain detailed “comments” which are visible on screen when the cursor passes over the cell but which are not reproduced here because they are too numerous. Comments included more detailed explanations of basic categories e.g. if an interviewee was sexually abused in childhood, the spreadsheet appears only to record the fact that the abuse took place, but more details of the abuse are in fact recorded in the comments. As well as increasing the detail recorded for each case to help with the vertical analysis, this also allowed a semi-quantitative exploration of basic categories (e.g. age at first coitus) without losing sight of the original, more complex data from which those categories were derived.

In addition to the data from the interviews, the analysis took account of the observations that I made. The discussions I had during the fieldwork further informed my interpretation of the data. Preliminary findings were discussed with people living in the study area. The entire process was iterative, with findings from each type of analysis feeding into and re-shaping the other types of analysis, with hypotheses either being disproven, or substantiated, until the conclusions presented here were reached.

3.5.1 Translation

All of the analysis was carried out using interview transcripts in the original Mexican Spanish. I translated only the final quotations selected. Because the interviewees used local slang and colloquialisms, and because natural speech patterns in Spanish are different to those in English, the quotes have been restructured into coherent sentences, and where possible, slang has been translated into the nearest British English equivalent. It is impossible to translate precisely between Spanish and English, however, and some changes are inevitable. I have attempted to keep these to a minimum and have added footnotes where direct translation was particularly difficult. The original quotes in Spanish are reproduced in Appendix 5.

3.5.2 Presentation of data

In order to provide some context for the qualitative data presented, interview quotes are followed by a unique number for that particular quotation¹⁷ (#X), and several other identifying characteristics of the interviewee: the interview number, interviewee age, sex, degree of emotional support from family, and programme status¹⁸. Most of the interviewees are still in education, but if they have left school, the highest education level that they reached is also quoted. The Mexican education levels cited are explained in Appendix 4. Emotional support from family is divided into three categories: more family support, less family support and little family support. Programme status is also described in terms of three groups. The first is “not” Gente Joven – i.e. those who have not been exposed to the programme. For those exposed to the programme, interviewees are divided into two groups. In the first group are those who are “quite” Gente Joven, in other words, those who have attended talks, or other Gente Joven events, or whose friends have participated in the programme. In the second group are those who are “very” Gente Joven: they are promoters and others who are involved to a greater degree in the programme. The division between the “family support” groups, and the “very” and “quite” Gente Joven groups is not always clear. Use of the distinction is intended to give an idea of family support or extent of participation in the programme, rather than to indicate an absolute and easily-defined difference between the groups (see also Appendices 1 and 4). Further details of the characteristics of particular interviewees (e.g. age at first coitus) can be found in Appendix 4.

3.6 Limitations of the study

In this study, a part of the Gente Joven programme was examined in detail. Most of the data were collected in one area of Mexico City, and most programme activities observed took place in the same area. Young people’s sexual behaviour in Mexico City is unlikely to be the same as in rural areas, and may also be different to that in other urban areas. The sample is not “representative” in the quantitative sense of “randomly selected” but the same themes re-occurred in the interviews, suggesting that many of the issues identified by individual interviewees also apply more generally. The extent to which interviewees told the “truth” in interviews is also very difficult to assess. One interview was omitted from the analysis because it seemed

¹⁷ This unique quote number corresponds to the number of the original Spanish quotation in Appendix 5.

¹⁸ In the few cases where respondents are virgins, this is also marked.

implausible. Some details were possible to cross-check, but in most cases, we rely on self-reporting with all its attendant limitations.

My participant observation of the programme must have affected the way the programme operated to some degree, but it is impossible to assess exactly in what way, and to what extent. The participant observation part of the programme was conducted mainly with one group of youth promoters, and again, it is possible that they were different in some way to other groups of promoters elsewhere in the city, or in the country. My other observations of the programme in other settings, however, suggest that this is not the case, at least in terms of the results presented here.

Finally, an important limitation to this study is linked to the fact that very little previous work has been done in this area. As described in Chapters 1 and 4, very few studies have been conducted and even fewer have been published. As a result, many aspects of sexual behaviour are covered in this thesis, in order to paint as broad a picture as possible of young people's sexual behaviour, and hence to provide the context and key information needed for understanding the process of the Gente Joven programme. Because of limitations of time for the study and space in which to present the findings, an extremely detailed, and in-depth treatment of each of the narrower topic areas has not been carried out here – rather an attempt has been made to link the different elements of the broad picture revealed by the study data, in order to make sense of the young study participants' sexual behaviour.

Chapter 4

Young people's sexual health in Mexico: Background information

Before beginning fieldwork data collection, existing data were examined in an attempt to gain as much background information as possible.

In Mexico as a whole, teenagers make up a quarter of the population (Júarez forthcoming; Singh & Wulf 1990). It is thought that premarital sexual activity is increasingly common, and young people are therefore exposed to more risk of early, unwanted pregnancy and to STD infection. Very few data are available in the field of sexual and reproductive health among young people, because both quantitative and qualitative studies have tended to concentrate on older, married adults, usually women. Available quantitative data are often contradictory¹⁹. Following a detailed review of the literature on Mexican young people, Juárez and Gayet conclude that "even for basic statistics, such as level of sexual activity, age at first sex, contraceptive use... results are not consistent" (2000, p.16). Despite the lack of data, there is some evidence that premarital sexual activity is increasing. One study found nearly twice as many premarital conceptions among young women aged 15-19 (35%) compared with those reported by older women, aged 45-49 at the time of the survey (17%) (Juárez 1997). In the last two decades overall fertility in Mexico has declined rapidly (from 5.5 children per woman in 1975 to 3.0 in 1991-95), yet fertility among teenagers has shown no evidence of decline and is currently estimated to be at 94 births per 1000 teenage women per year, three times the level of more developed countries (32 per 1000) (Juárez 2001; Juárez & Castro 1997). Teenage pregnancies in Mexico are frequently unwanted and end in illegal and often unsafe abortion (Frejka & Atkin 1990).

In Mexico almost all new cases of HIV infection in the country occur via sexual transmission of the virus (PAHO 1997). Sexual transmission was previously via anal sex between men, but an increasing number of infections are now occurring via heterosexual sex (PAHO 1997).

¹⁹ Surveys including information on young people and sexual activity: Mexico City 1985 (DHHS/CDC 1994); Mexico City 1994 (CONASIDA 1994); various locations including Mexico City 1999 (INSAD 1999).

4.1 Characteristics of the study site

There are very few quantitative data available on the sexual behaviour of young people in Mexico City, the site of the study. Data that do exist had not previously been explored. Before the fieldwork began, a profile of the sexual activity of young men in the area of the study was built up from existing quantitative data. This chapter presents the profile that was used to inform the subsequent work.

4.1.1 Data characteristics

The data presented here are from a household probability survey carried out in 1992-1993 by CONASIDA²⁰ in Mexico City (Federal District), and the adjoining urban areas Naucalpan and Nezahualcóytl. The survey was of a representative sample of 8,068 men aged between 15 and 60 and is specifically concerned with sexual behaviour, designed in the context of the global HIV pandemic.

4.1.2 Men's sexual activity and sexual relationships in Mexico City

It has been suggested that patterns of sexual activity outside marriage differ considerably from other types of sexual activity. Table 1 compares the sexual activity of the population as a whole with that of the subset of single men. It can be seen that the proportion of men who have ever been sexually active is 64 percent in the single group. Of these, 80 percent had had coitus in the previous year and fewer, 44 percent, in the last month. By contrast, among the sexually experienced men in the population in general (84 percent), 90 percent had had coitus in the previous year and 74 percent in the previous month. It appears from these data that the sexual contacts of the single men are more sporadic than that of men in general and it is therefore important to consider married and single men separately.

²⁰ *The survey was carried out by Kathryn Tolbert and Jose Antonio Izazola with a grant from the United States National Institutes of Health*

Sexual Activity	Entire sample				Single men only			
	All		Ever had sex		All		Ever had sex	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Ever sexually active	84.1	6785	100	6785	63.5	2220	100	2220
Sexually active in the last year	76.7	6101*	90.0	6101*	51.0	1784	80.4	1784
Sexually active in the last month	62.8	4995*	73.6	4995*	27.7	967	43.6	967
Total	100	8068	100	6785	100	3496	100	2220

*112 missing cases

Table 1 Sexual activity of men aged 15-60, Mexico City, CONASIDA 1994

The proportions of men married and single are shown in Figure 8. The single men are concentrated in the young age groups, with the proportion married rising in the older cohorts, reaching 50 percent in the 25-29 age group.

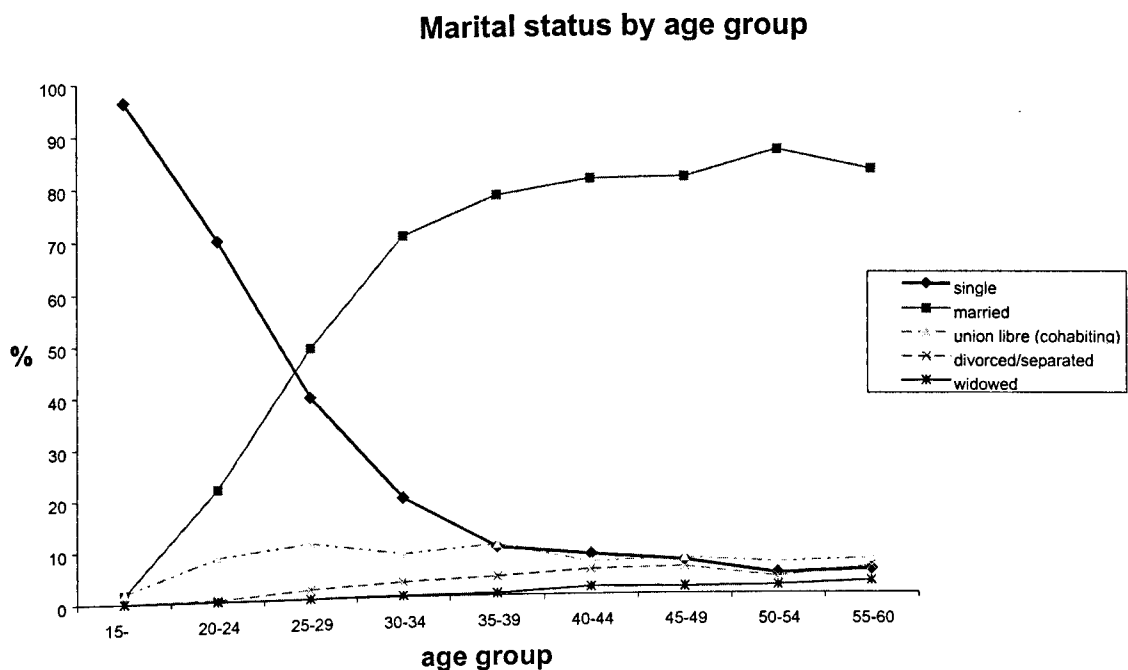


Figure 8 Marital status by age group, Mexico City, CONASIDA 1994

In the survey, the men were asked to define themselves according to whether they considered themselves to be heterosexual, bisexual, or homosexual. Table 2 shows the proportions of men under age 25 who define themselves as heterosexual, and who are sexually active, grouped according to marital status. The majority of young

men included in the table are single: 98 percent of the men aged 15-19 and 76 percent in the 20-24 age group.

Sexual activity	Age group 15-19				Age group 20-24			
	married		single		married		single	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
<u>Virgins</u>	0	0	60.6	961	0	0	22.8	242
<u>Ever sexually active</u>	100	29	39.4	626	100	327	77.2	818
<i>(Sexually active in past year - of ever sexually active)</i>	(89.7)	(26)	(82.1)	(514)	(98.2)	(321)	(81.0)	(663)
<i>(Sexually active in past month - of ever sexually active)</i>	(72.4)	(21)	(24.0)	(150)	(84.4)	(276)	(35.0)	(286)
<u>Total</u>	29		1587		327		1060	

Table 2 Sexual activity among 15-24 year old heterosexual men, by age and marital status, Mexico City, CONASIDA 1994

This survey collected information for older as well as younger cohorts. It is therefore possible to investigate changes in markers of development of sexuality and sexual activity over time. The available information includes age at which the men first masturbated, age at which they first engaged in *caricias sensuales* (literally "sensual caresses"), and age at first penetrative sex. The mean ages for these experiences by age group of men are shown in Figure 9. The 15-24 age group is not shown because it contains a very large number of censored cases (those who have not yet lived through the age range). From the graph, it can be seen that the mean ages at first masturbation, first "caricias sensuales" and first penetrative sex are almost identical for all cohorts, despite societal changes that have taken place: the average pace of sexual development appears to have remained constant over time.

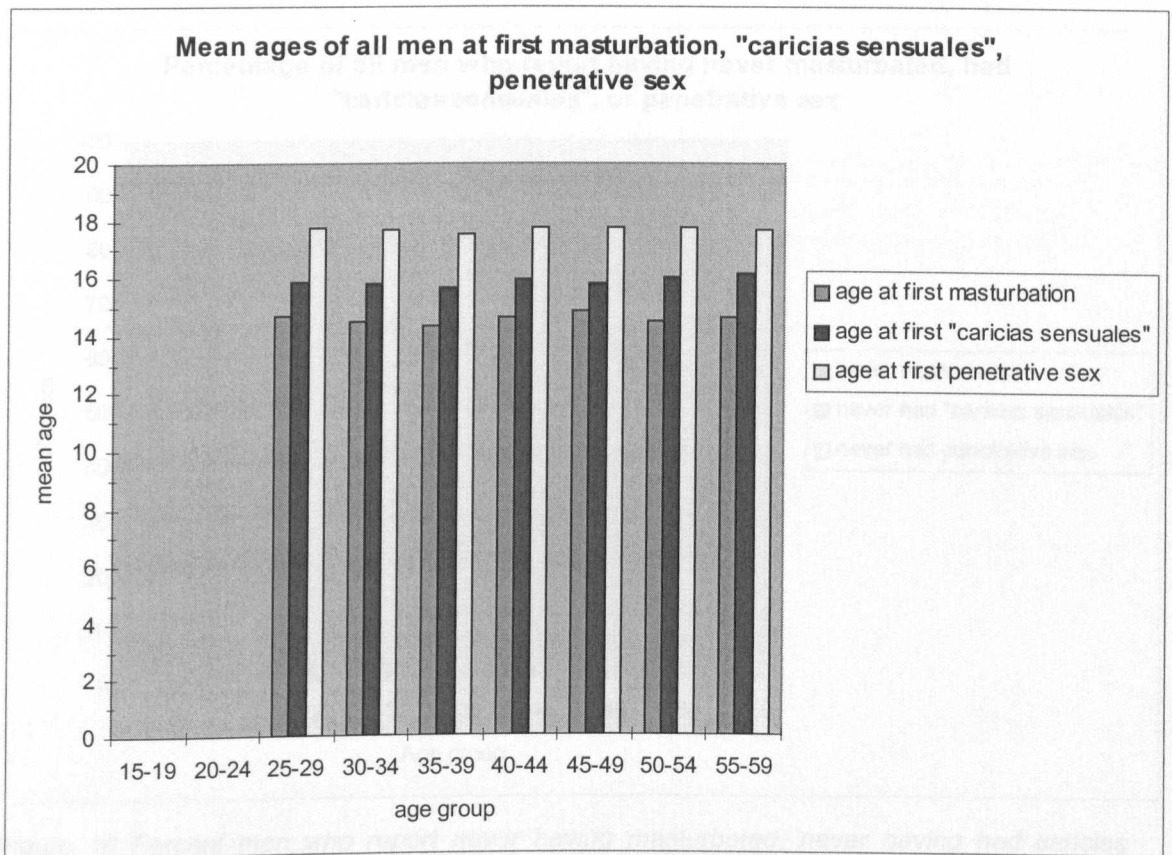


Figure 9 Mean ages at first masturbation, caricias sensuales, and penetrative sex, by age group, Mexico City, CONASIDA 1994

Figure 10 shows the percentage of men who have not engaged in the sexual developmental activities. Unsurprisingly, the largest proportion of men who report never having masturbated or engaged in sexual activity are in the youngest age group. The most obvious difference is in the proportion who have never had penetrative sex, which is far higher for teenagers than for the older age groups.

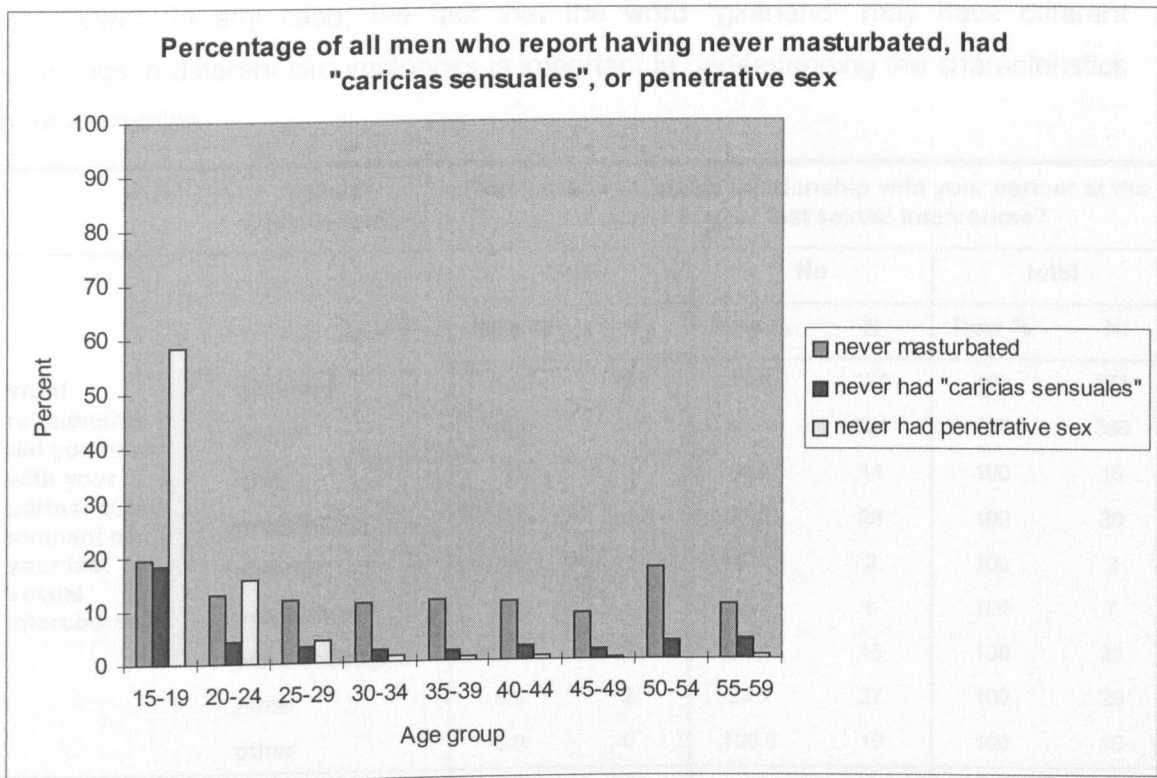


Figure 10 Percent men who report never having masturbated, never having had caricias sensuales, and never having engaged in penetrative sex, Mexico City, CONASIDA 1994

4.1.2.1 Who are the men's sexual partners?

Men were asked what relationship they had had with their partners at the moment of the last sexual intercourse, and whether or not the relationship was stable at that time. The young men's responses to these questions are cross tabulated and shown in Table 3. This table shows some interesting characteristics of the men's relationships. For example, women in the category "girlfriend" (*novia*) might be expected also to be seen as stable partners. Nearly one-fifth of the women described as "girlfriends", however, are not simultaneously seen as stable partners. It is hypothesised that a "stable" girlfriend might be more likely to be a woman with whom the men have emotional ties, perhaps where there is a societal expectation of marriage (the word *novia* means both "girlfriend" and "bride"). The "non-stable" girlfriends on the other hand, may be women with whom the men have sex, without this corresponding commitment. In fact, as we will see in later chapters, the qualitative research shows that men may have a number of different "girlfriends", some or all of whom may be seen as unstable partners from the man's point of view, whether or not this view is shared by the woman, who is often unaware of the existence of her boyfriend's other partners. The men may also name female sexual partners as "girlfriends" because they may feel that this is more acceptable to the

interviewer. In any case, the fact that the word "girlfriend" may have different meanings in different circumstances is important in understanding the characteristics of relationships.

Type of Relationship		Did you have a stable relationship with your partner at the moment of your last sexual intercourse?					
		Yes		No		total	
What relationship did you have with your partner at the moment of your last sexual intercourse?	girlfriend	Row %	N	Row %	N	Row %	N
	friend	82.0	550	18.0	121	100	671
	lover	16.9	62	83.1	304	100	366
	prostitute	31.3	5	68.8	11	100	16
	cousin	6.7	2	93.3	28	100	30
	neighbour	0.0	0	100.0	2	100	2
	work colleague	14.3	1	85.7	6	100	7
	none	25.0	5	75.0	15	100	20
	other	6.9	2	93.1	27	100	29
	total	0.0	0	100.0	10	100	10
total		54.5	627	45.5	524	100.0	1151

Table 3 Stability of relationship with partner at last sexual intercourse by type of partner among 15-24 year old single, heterosexual men, Mexico City, CONASIDA 1994

In order to create a profile of the men whose last coitus was within stable versus non-stable relationships, a number of other variables were compared: age, education level, AIDS-related knowledge and attitudes, and whether or not the men reported having sex with other women while in stable relationships.

The profiles are shown in Table 4, with an additional column for comparison, showing the equivalent variables for heterosexual men in the same age group who had never had coitus.

The men who had stable relationships at last sex appear to be slightly older than those in non-stable relationships. Again, it appears that the younger the men are, the more likely they are to have sporadic sexual contacts. Those with non-stable relationships at last sex are less educated, and have lower scores for knowledge about HIV/AIDS than those with stable relationships. Fewer of the men in stable relationships at last sex perceive themselves to be at high risk of contracting HIV/AIDS. Perceived risk of contracting HIV/AIDS was calculated on the basis of responses to questions where the men scored themselves according to their own perceived past, present and future risk of HIV/AIDS. The knowledge scores are based on correct true/false responses to statements about HIV/AIDS such as "it is possible to catch AIDS through sex with an infected person" and "there is a cure for

AIDS". Men who had had at least one stable relationship were asked an additional question: "when you are in a stable relationship, do you have penetrative sex with other women?". A smaller proportion of men whose last coitus was within a stable relationship reported this type of activity than those whose last coitus was not within a stable relationship. This may be because men who do not report sex outside stable relationships may value stable relationships more, and may tend to have sex within these relationships more as a result. On the other hand, men who reported sex outside stable relationships might simply be more likely to have sex outside a stable relationship, even if they have a current stable partner. The data in the survey do not allow this to be checked. The men with no experience of coitus were on average younger, and fewer had high knowledge scores. The low knowledge is worrying because this is the group on the point of commencing sexual life and knowledge is necessary, even if not sufficient, for safer sexual behaviour (see also Chapter 6).

4.2 Conclusions

From these data, it is clear that sexual activity is common outside marriage among young men, that knowledge of AIDS is relatively high, and that contraception is often not used during coitus. In the subsequent chapters, sexual behaviour will be examined in depth using qualitative techniques.

Selected Variables	Stable relationship at last coitus (N=627)	Non-stable relationship at last coitus (N=524)	Never had coitus (N=1203)
<u>Mean age</u>	20.1 years	19.8 years	17.6 years
<u>Highest level of education attained</u>			
Primary or less	7.8%	13.0%	10.5%
Up to secondary	28.7%	33.2%	38.7%
Preparatoria (age 16-18) and above	63.5%	53.8%	50.9%
<u>Mean age at first sex</u>	16.8 years	16.2 years	-
<u>Perception of own risk of HIV/AIDS</u>			
Perceived high risk	29.8%	36.8%	25.6%
Perceived low risk	70.2%	63.2%	74.4%
<u>HIV/AIDS-related knowledge</u>			
High scores	56.8%	53.2%	42.8%
Low scores	43.2%	46.8%	57.2%
<u>Report sex with other women while in stable relationships*</u>			
Yes	14.9%	33.0%	-
No	85.1%	67.0%	-
<u>Used condom to prevent STD at last coitus</u>			
Yes	22.1%	33.4%	-
No	77.9%	66.6%	-
<u>Used modern method to prevent pregnancy at last coitus</u>			
Yes	55.7%	51.3%	-
No	44.3%	48.7%	-

* figures refer to subset of group who have ever had a stable relationship

Table 4 Stability of relationship at last sex by selected variables, 15-24 year old single, heterosexual men, Mexico City, CONASIDA 1994

Chapter 5

Gender roles among Mexican youth: being a man, being a woman

In Mexico, men's and women's roles and statuses are profoundly unequal. To understand heterosexual interactions, it is essential to take into account the meanings of membership in the categories "man" and "woman" – gender constructs – in the cultural context (UNAIDS 1999b; Malhotra 1999; Szasz 1998c; Vance 1991; Caplan 1987). The theoretical framework for sexual behaviour used to inform the data collection took into account many possible influences, and was not focused on gender issues (see Chapter 3). During the data analysis, however, it proved impossible to make sense of the findings without taking a gender-orientated perspective.

This chapter begins with a brief overview of gender differences in the setting where this study was carried out, followed by a discussion of how gender constructs might affect sexual interactions²¹.

5.1 Gender in society: what it is to be a man or a woman

It has been pointed out in Western contexts that "masculinity is often treated as an ontological category that is fixed because of the power which men share in relation to women" (Seidler 1987, p.87). Masculinity is the norm, and femininity the "other". Notions of hegemonic masculinity have been used to explain how men can be both powerful and oppressed: one form of masculinity is dominant and men are under pressure to conform to this form (Connell 1995b).

In Mexico, the stereotypical man, the *macho*, is strong, dominant and aggressive, and the stereotypical woman weak, passive and obedient. Men are confident and forceful, women modest and innocent (Szasz 1998a). Men are under pressure to prove their masculinity actively in order to match up to the "approved" model: by fighting, competing with other men, by proving sexual knowledge, by earning money, by expressing opinions. "Feminine" behaviour in this context is often simply the absence of "masculine" behaviour (not lifting heavy objects, not expressing opinions, not fighting). To the extent that "feminine" activities exist at all (crying, playing with

²¹ In this and subsequent chapters, interview quotations are followed by quote and interview numbers, interviewee age, sex, *Gente Joven* status, family emotional support category, and education level if not in school. Please see Chapter 3 for more detail.

dolls, wearing skirts, wearing the colour pink), they are strongly socially prohibited for men. These prohibitions begin early in childhood:

Int: What does it mean to have sex, or what does sexuality mean in practice?

Resp: Something important, because a person identifies themselves with their sexuality. So, for example, when I was little I used to like playing with cars, aeroplanes... But there are some little boys that like feminine things, like dolls, or leotards [...]. I didn't have problems with that, because I was always there with my cars, my boats, guns... Although yes, I have seen some boys that are a bit effeminate.

Int: Would you say that that's important?

Resp: Yes

Int: Why?

Resp: It's important in order for a person to discover the essence of themselves and because of the importance that it has in the family. Because, for example, a family man is older and he has to set an example and, I don't know... if he likes dolls or something, well, no, it's no good. He's going to be criticised by everyone else because it doesn't reflect his manhood, because he doesn't have his sexuality clear. He's a man, and he should wear trousers, he can forget about skirts.

#1 (Int 79, 22 year old man, not Gente Joven, little family support)

During the interviews in this study, many of the young people, particularly the young men, articulate beliefs or report events that conform to or reinforce the *macho* stereotype. The women interviewed tend to question these values more than the men do, usually in terms of expressing their frustration at being oppressed by these same values.

In society as a whole, gender differences are emphasised from childhood and are marked out within the family. Parental roles are very strongly gender-specific, with most interviewees in this study reporting that their fathers work outside and mothers inside the home²². It is not unusual for men to forbid their wives to work outside the home and some women are forced work in secret, and often under the threat of violence from their spouse if discovered, in order to obtain independent income with which to feed and clothe their children.

²² *The few exceptions to this consist of women working outside the home in families where the father is absent, or where it is financially essential for both parents to work.*

In many homes, male and female children are treated differently. From early childhood, girls help their mothers with the cooking, washing up, washing of clothes, and other household tasks. Boys are frequently not expected to help at all, and may instead be waited on by female members of the family. Girls are discouraged from “dangerous” play such as running and jumping, and play with “girls” toys such as dolls, or miniature cooking equipment. Boys play more physical and aggressive games. In school, sports for boys are more physically demanding than those for girls and girls do not play “rough” sports like American football, or soccer. Teachers ask boys and not girls to help carry heavy items. Some interviewees report that boys and not girls are given corporal punishment. Young men are taught to be tough and aggressive – they fight back, and never cry:

One time I arrived home with my T-shirt covered in blood because I'd had a fight and my father says to me: What happened? I say: it's just that I had a fight with a boy and that's why I'm like this. He says: and did you hit him? – well, he went away with a split lip – Well, that's okay then, because the day you arrive here beaten up and he gets away without a scratch, I'm going to make sure you get a beating from me.

#2 (Int 98, 18 year old man, very Gente Joven, little family support, completed two years of *prepa*)

Young people in Mexico almost always live with their parents and/or extended family until they marry, and sometimes afterwards as well. Because of this, and because of prevailing ideas of obedience to elders, the family often exerts considerable influence over young people's behaviour. Broadly speaking, young women have many more restrictions on their behaviour than boys and young men. Women have to return home earlier than their male siblings, they are sometimes not allowed to go out at all, or may have to be chaperoned. In some families, boyfriends must be vetted before the daughter is allowed to leave the house to go out with him, and even then they are not permitted to go out very frequently. One woman has to show tickets to her mother to prove that she did indeed go to the cinema with her boyfriend. A woman may not be able to choose her friends independently, and may be restricted to socialising with (female) friends meeting her parents' approval. In some families, parental control is so great that for example, some young women are forbidden to have any social life – one interviewee is not allowed even to receive telephone calls. Some of the young women are told by their parents that continuing in education is a waste of time if they will just marry afterwards. In addition to restraints because of rules, gossip exerts a powerful social control over women's behaviour. A woman's reputation can be ruined

by gossip, and many of the women in the study complain that they have had serious problems because of rumours that have been spread about them, usually about their sexual lives.

Gender-related differences in expectations, rules and behaviour, then, affect every area of social interaction. In the next section, I will focus specifically on how these differences affect sexual behaviour.

5.2 Gender roles and sexual behaviour

5.2.1 Being a man

As in other social interactions, men are expected to be “active” in their sexual relations and women “passive”. Sexual experience is an important part of what it is to be a heterosexual man. One of the key elements marking this division of roles is that to penetrate in sexual intercourse is “masculine” whereas to be penetrated is anti-masculine (although not feminine per se). A man may have anal intercourse with other men without disrupting his perception of himself as heterosexual and masculine as long as he penetrates the other man and not vice versa (Carrillo 1999). A corollary of this is that a powerful social influence on men’s behaviour is the threat of being thought to be a *maricón*: the penetrated partner in anal intercourse between men. Being “penetrable” is shameful (Szasz 1998a, p.143). Men are called *maricón* when they are not being “manly” enough. Wilton (1997) says that in Western heteropatriarchal discourse, “‘masculinity’ means that-which-fucks-women (into submission)” (p.32. [emphasis in original]). It seems that in the context of machismo, masculinity might mean “that-which-fucks (another) (into submission)”.

No man in the study reports any strong parental pressure to abstain from sex – most report no pressure at all and men who do not have girlfriends may be suspected of being homosexual, as in the case of this woman’s first sexual partner:

Resp: [...] His family thought that he... well, he never had a girlfriend

Int: They thought that he was going to switch channels?

Resp: (Laughs) Yes.

#3 (Int 18, 17 year old woman, quite Gente Joven, less family support)

In the cases where parents mention sex to their sons, it is to tell them to “be careful”, or to “respect” their girlfriend, or to make sure that the girl that they marry is a virgin. Young men in Mexico City are sometimes encouraged to begin sexual activity by members of their families and friendship groups, who take them to sex workers to be initiated into the world of the adult man. In this study, some men report being taken to

brothels by other men (e.g. cousins, friends), who pay on their behalf and wait outside the door until they finish. Stories of this type were often told to me during the course of the fieldwork, although few men report that they themselves had had their first coitus in this way, reporting instead the experiences of others.

There is a strong social imperative for men to be sexually knowing. Men report being ridiculed or fearing ridicule from peers for being ignorant of sexual matters, and many describe peer views of sexual intercourse as something desirable, and something required for status within the group. They boast to their friends about sexual activity.

Int: When you talk about sex with your friends, what sort of things do you talk about?

Resp: Well, with them, it wasn't much. Just the classic thing of "have you done it yet", of whether you've done it or not, and how it was, and that sort of thing. But no, the typical ones that want to show off saying they've done it, and they haven't even... No, nothing more than that. If they've had sex or not, and who with, and that's it.

#4 (Int 21, 19 year old man, Gente Joven talk, little family support)

The purpose of men's stories of their sexual experiences appears to be for the teller to gain status by making his experiences public.

In those days yes, we talked more about new things that we found with partners, and if you'd slept with her yet, and how many times...

#5 (Int 156, 22 year old man, not Gente Joven, little family support, completed two years vocational training)

They used to talk to me about their partners, then that they... that they used to take them home and that they used to do the deed there.

#6 (Int 22, 16 year old man, Gente Joven talk, more family support)

Men exaggerate their stories for effect, and doubt the veracity of one another's accounts:

Int: You were saying that you used to talk about things to do with sex with your friends. What sort of things did you talk about?

Resp: Oh, we used to just tell lies, I mean, they were fantasies. We used to exaggerate things that had happened to us. We exaggerated in every possible way – we used to talk about things we didn't know from personal experience, that we had read or seen in a film... er... it was really just bragging about things we wanted to experience.

#7 (Int 122, 22 year old man, not Gente Joven, less family support)

Men's conversations tend to position women as sexual objects. They talk in school about classmates' breasts, for example, or discuss the physical attractiveness of women who are nearby, and what it would be like to have sex with them. They are encouraged by one another, and by older men, to shout *piropos* (comments to attractive women on the street). These *piropos* range between the general ("hey baby", "you're beautiful") to the specific ("nice breasts").

Int: Did your friends used to talk about any important differences between men and women?

Resp: Yes, just like always: men's machismo.

Int: Like what sort of examples could you give me?

Resp: Well, it would be... er... that they [women] were just created for men, and in whatever way you want them... You can have them whenever you want them.

#8 (Int 19, 17 year old man, quite Gente Joven, little family support)

Int: What sort of things did you talk about?

Resp: Well, about some girl, how she was a bit of alright²³ and all that. Some of them used to say they'd made love with her...

#9 (Int 112, 16 year old man, not Gente Joven, less family support)

Men have a wide vocabulary of words relating to the physical aspects of sexual activity, enabling their conversations about such activity. Most of these words are considered to be obscene and are unacceptable outside informal arenas. Women are often not permitted to use or even hear these words. Many men interviewed dislike hearing women speak using "obscene" terms, and disapprove of their use by women. Men in the study area are often uncomfortable using such words in conversations with women and avoid doing so.

There is an entire form of speech in Mexico City that is based on competitive use of sexual innuendo and double entendre – *albures*. These are almost exclusively used by men with other men. Women are not expected to respond to *albures*, and to a certain extent, it seems that they are not expected/permitted to understand the sexual innuendo. In reality, women usually do understand *albures*, and some women use them occasionally to joke with close friends. To use *albures* is competitive, and aims to humiliate another man (see also Paz 1961). In using *albures*, a man challenges the other man to continue the interchange, with the loser being the first to

²³ He says "está bien buena".

be unable to respond appropriately. The victor is admired, while his opponent loses face. *Albures* used by young men simultaneously demonstrate the men's sexual knowingness, and assert "manliness".

Male communication with one another about sex, then, is focused on the physical, is often competitive, and is status-building. Men rarely discuss emotional aspects of relationships. Young men who do not feel comfortable with the competitive conversations about sex are either forced into them unwillingly, or are sometimes prevented from talking about sex at all with other men:

...I got on better with women because with men, for them talking about sex was just to do with obscenity and curiosity. For them, that was how you talk about sex: talk about how many women they'd done it with – show off, more than anything – that was talking about sex with men. But for me to go up and ask, well, one day I did that with a friend who I felt really close to and from that moment on he stopped talking to me. I asked him whether... which he believed: that when a person makes love, the size of the penis was more important or whether it was to do with the level of excitement that a person reaches. And at that moment, he stopped talking to me because to talk with my male friends about that was to show off. It was like saying: I've got a bigger one than you.... Or: you're an idiot, I'm going to have your girlfriend, I've already slept with her and you haven't been able to. And with girls, talking about that was something very serious, it was something that you dealt with delicately. And I liked talking like that more than talking like it was a fight. And I did used to do it, yes, I used to do it, but I didn't like it.

#10 (Int 134, 18 year old man, not Gente Joven, more family support)

Some men simply listen to what their friends say.

Resp: They used to tell me, I mean, they would start talking about things, you know, that I did it with that girl, you know. Right, great, be careful.

Int: Basically, you could say that they used to talk about the girls they'd been with?

Resp: Uh-huh. Yes, the girls they'd been with. That's what they used to talk to me about. I hardly ever talk about that. I don't like it the way they go around showing off.

#11 (Int 72, 18 year old man, quite Gente Joven, more family support)

Some of the men, by contrast, report being able to discuss more personal matters with other young men, particularly with male relatives of their age, for example with

cousins or brothers, but more commonly discussions with these relatives took the same form as discussion with male friends.

Men are expected to have multiple partners. Many of the women in this study referred resignedly to their partners' possible infidelity, as if it were inescapable, and male extramarital sexual activity is widely considered to be inevitable.

5.2.2 Being a woman

In Mexico, rapid social change means that external "liberal" sexual values are omnipresent in the media (e.g. in imported television dramas from the US), yet in society as a whole, traditional views are still commonly held, existing side by side with these newer influences. As in many other countries, virginity is prized, and prevailing metaphors for sexual intercourse include "pollution, dishonour and shame" (Amuchástegui 1998). A young woman starting her sexual life outside marriage risks being perceived as worthless, or as a *cualquiera*²⁴ (anybody's). These ideas are intertwined with the concept of a woman's "reputation", which she must guard. The social importance of women's reputations has also been described in detail in other cultural contexts (e.g. Kitzinger 1995; Stephenson et al. 1993).

Young women should not have many boyfriends because they risk being seen as promiscuous, even if they do not have sex:

In secondary school, I had a lot of boyfriends and it was there that I began to realise that men can have a lot of girlfriends and no one says anything, and for me as a woman they started to say to me: What are they going to say about you? And I don't know what else. I mean to, I can say in all honesty that my conscience was very clean and I used to say: Well what can they say? The fact that I might have a lot of boyfriends doesn't mean that I go around sleeping with them and snogging²⁵ them all.

#12 (Int 135, 21 year old woman, not Gente Joven, little family support)

Women should be virgins, but for men it is not important:

Resp: My mother told me, well, one time my mother said that when I get married... that all women have to have, they have to not have had sexual relations before getting married, because it is bad, that it is punished by God

²⁴ *Cualquiera*: the translation more literally is "a whoever" and implies lack of social status in its dismissiveness. Women called *cualquieras* are also said to be "easy". These terms are always disparaging.

²⁵ She uses the word "agasajar" which implies sexual activity without penetration.

and that all women have to be virgins at marriage. But she never said anything to me about men... You sort of interpret it to mean that for us there's no problem.

#13 (Int 61, 17 year old man, Gente Joven talk, little family support, completed two years of *prepa*)

Nevertheless, as in other parts of the world (Dowsett et al. 1998), women in Mexico clearly do not find the social value of virginity to be an absolute barrier to premarital sexual intercourse. In this study, many of the women articulate the profound conflicts they feel between traditional expectations of their behaviour and the modern ideas that they are exposed to²⁶. One woman particularly reports being torn between what she wants in terms of sexual activity, what her boyfriend wants, and what the church and her family have taught her:

[...] the church tells you that you have to respect yourself, that you can have sex with your husband (laughs) and that there are certain rules of behaviour, I mean, for example, that you can't masturbate, that you mustn't... Because it's for a particular reason – to procreate, and only to procreate and that's it. So you read books, and the books tell you something else: that you have the right to know your body, to recognise it, to see what its reactions are [...] and they [the church] told me, for example, that if you put a finger in your vagina, that's bad. So that made me really confused [...]. So I fought against all that, I mean against all the things that religion imposes on you. When I started having sex...I felt really bad. Even worse, the first times I tried it – to have sex – I couldn't do it, because of the same thing... I was saying to my mum, I was telling her that when... the first time I tried to have sex, and it was about to happen, you know, it was like being in a film and seeing all the faces of the people you love – your dad, your mum, your sisters and brothers, the people closest to you, and you say: no. I mean, I couldn't do it. And you get really tense, because, well, I remember that my boyfriend couldn't get in me and he was asking me whether I wanted to do it, and – no – and it's like, you want it, but at the same time, you can't. I mean, you're not reacting. And even now... I mean here in the strike²⁷ I had a sexual

²⁶ In studies in Costa Rica and Chile, it has been found that middle-class young women place a lower value on virginity than their working-class counterparts (Dowsett et al. 1998). From discussions during the fieldwork, it appears that this is likely also to be true in Mexico.

²⁷ This interview was conducted during a year-long strike at the UNAM, a university in Mexico City. The respondent was one of the students who were occupying the university buildings, sometimes overnight, during this time.

experience, and you say... well, according to you, you've got over it, but you don't get over it. I mean, it's, it's not so easy to say: okay, finally I've got over it. And it's not true because the same thing happens: you go back to feeling this horrible fear that runs through your whole damned body, and no. You want to get up and run, and say: sorry, but see you later.

#14 (Int 39, 22 year old woman, not Gente Joven, little family support)

Women's families, and the social norms to which they are exposed have been shown in previous studies to affect sexual debut and outcomes (e.g. Berglund et al. 1997; Pick de Weiss et al. 1991). In this study, the women are relatively similar in terms of socio-economic status, and it is reasonable to assume that at a general level, they shared similar cultural norms. At the level of the family, however, there are notable differences. More traditional families, which are in the majority, emphasise the importance of virginity at marriage. In these families, young women are brought up to believe that a woman's value rests in her virginity, and for example, that a woman who is not a virgin will not be able to marry because she will be rejected by men.

Resp: About virginity... for my dad, let's say, a woman isn't worth anything unless she's a virgin before she marries. She's a person who has no value, who doesn't deserve respect. For my mum I think it's the same.

#15 (Int 126, 22 year old woman, very Gente Joven, little family support)

A woman who is not a virgin at marriage loses her right to be treated well.

Int: Why did your dad tell you you had to arrive at the altar still a virgin?

Resp: Because when a woman's no longer a virgin, she doesn't have the same value any more.

Int: He told you that?

Resp: Yes, he told me that.

Int: Did he ever tell you what sort of value he was talking about, or anything?

Resp: (takes some time to answer) I think that he meant that no man... if he hit me, if he insulted me, I had to put up with it because of having had sex with another person...

#16 (Int 46, 22+ year old woman, very Gente Joven, more family support)

Women are also told indirectly about how they should behave. Many are told to "take care", even if they are not told exactly what is meant by that. They are also told that they must be respected by men.

Int: In your house did your parents treat men and women differently?

Resp: Yes, already at that age they used to tell you that a woman had to make sure she was respected because a woman loses more than a man. My mum says they're like crows.

Int: How?

Resp: (laughs) That they [men] can roll around in the mud and go on as if nothing had happened, but women can't.

Int: And what did your mum say that a woman would lose?

Resp: First of all, I guessed that it was virginity, I mean, she said that a woman had to look after²⁸ herself, because she had more to lose. She never told me what. It was later that I found out.

#17 (Int 116, 22 year old woman, not Gente Joven, less family support)

On the other hand, women brought up in less traditional or more liberal homes are taught that although society values virginity, this is not the most important aspect of a woman's worth. Some women, rather than being told not to have sex, are even told that when they start their sexual lives, they should ensure that it is on the basis of their own feelings and decisions.

Resp: They [my parents] told me that it wasn't so important. I mean that it wasn't something fundamental, rather that the thing was that I had to look after myself. That the more mature I was, the better my sexual relations would be. I mean it was never like: you have to marry as a virgin or that kind of thing. I mean, no, it wasn't important, I mean no... no... they didn't think of it as important.

#18 (Int 38, 20 year old woman, not Gente Joven, less family support)

This young woman is aware that even if her parents did not have strong views on virginity, however, she might be affected by the opinions of other people.

Resp: Virginity... well... for my mother it isn't very important because, I mean, she says that I'm going to live my life as I want to and that... maybe for the man, for my partner, yes, it might be very important, depending on how *macho* he is, but, I mean, my mum says that there isn't a particular age to do it, just that we have to take care of ourselves.

Int: And what did your dad say to you?

²⁸ The verb used is *cuidarse*, which does not have a direct English translation, but is "to take care of oneself" or "to look after oneself" with overtones of "protect oneself".

Resp: My dad, well, he just told me to take care of myself... that I should do it when I want to, but that I should really take care.

#19 (Int 88, 18 year old woman, not Gente Joven, less family support)

Attitudes towards sex and sexual behaviour within her friendship group may affect a woman's attitudes and behaviours regarding sexual activity. Hopkins asserts that "group memberships give rise to self-definitions which include representations of the attitudes and behaviours associated with these groups..." (1994, p.336). If a woman's female friends are all sexually active, it may seem more acceptable to begin sexual activity. If the group is very disapproving of sexual activity, on the other hand, the woman may take this into account in a situation where she must decide whether or not to have sex. It has been suggested that women who talk to their friends about birth control may facilitate acceptance of themselves as sexual beings (Milan & Kilmann 1987).

The way in which women in this study report speaking to friends about sex is very different to that reported by the men. Young women have a dialogue, with opinions sought and proffered. They discuss what they like and dislike, and how they feel.

[My friends] talked about... among women: what it would feel like, and then one would experiment: yeah, it's great – and another: no, it was horrible – or... I don't know, that sort of thing...

#20 (Int 150, 18 year old woman, Gente Joven talk, more family support)

The women usually talk about sex with a close female friend one-on-one, unlike the men who tend to talk in larger groups.

I have a friend who's here at the school too, and she tells me a lot about what she does with her boyfriend because she's very curious, I mean, really curious. And so she'll ask me: you know, this is what I felt, like this, and I don't know if it's good or bad. And I tell her that it depends on how you see it: if it hurts it's bad, but if you liked it, it's good. I mean, little things like that are what we talk about.

#21 (Int 144, 18 year old woman, Gente Joven talk, little family support)

Many of the young women, however, do not talk explicitly about sexual relations to anybody, focusing instead on emotional and social aspects of relationships. Some women say that others lie about or underplay their sexual experience to appear less sexually active.

Int: When you talk about sexual things like puberty, caresses, or sexual relations, who do you do it with? Male friends and female friends or just...

Resp: Only with female friends.

Int: Just women?

Resp: Yes, like they looked at me sometimes like I was depraved, because I had some friends who were real liars. They were like: ooh! Just looking at me. Supposedly they got scared talking about sexuality, and then later, they'd give their boyfriends a good seeing to – it was a massive contradiction.

#22 (Int 116, 22 year old woman, not Gente Joven, less family support)

5.2.3 Men and women: cultural expectations of sexual interactions and gender roles

Cultural expectations of sexual interactions place men as active agents and women as passive recipients in sexual interactions. They are also expected to have different goals in a sexual interaction:

...I think of it like this: a woman has to give sex to inspire love. A man, to receive sex, has to give love...

#23 (Int 94, 20 year old man, not Gente Joven, less family support)

Men are portrayed to young women as the instigators of sexual activity that must be resisted:

Int: Did they speak to you about virginity?

Resp: Yes, my mother did. Well, with my mother there were, there were various occasions when she would say to me: you know what? A woman has more to lose than a man. I mean, she used to tell me lots of things. She would say: take care of yourself, don't let them touch you here... I mean, go out with whoever you want, but take care of yourself – don't let them grope you.

#24 (Int 118, 19 year old woman, not Gente Joven, less family support, completed two years of vocational training)

Some of the young men are told by their mothers to "respect" their girlfriends, with the strong implication that to have sexual relations would be to lack respect. Women are even more commonly told that they must make sure that they are respected.

Women control whether or not a man respects them by retaining their sexual purity. Women cannot initiate sexual relations because this would be to force her partner not to "respect" her.

Int: What did [your parents] think about virginity?

Resp: Well, like all parents, that supposedly it has to be guarded

Int: Guarded? In what way? What for?

Resp: Well, she has to respect herself, conserve herself, not let herself go so easily...

#25 (Int 129, 17 year old man, not Gente Joven, little family support)

Equally, women cannot desire sexual relations because they are constantly resisting them. If women can neither initiate nor desire sexual relations, then, logically, all sexual relations must be coerced. "Respect" is thus frequently used by the men simply to mean "not sexually assault":

Int: What were the rules from your dad and mum when you were little?

Resp: Well, up to now they've always been the same – letting them know where I am, what time I'll be back, who I'm with... er... not to smoke, not to drink... er... respect my partner... that's a very important rule.

Int: What do you mean by respect your partner?

Resp: I mean, not to go too far²⁹ with her... if she doesn't want to do something, not to pressure her, not to make her, you know? Referring to sexuality, you know? Also, to look after her, you know? Not just because she's my girlfriend, but also with a female friend you have to look after her.

#26 (Int 29, 19 year old man, quite Gente Joven, more family support)

In this sense, "respect" simply means "go as far as she'll let you and no further".

The options for women, then, in the stereotype of "good girls" resisting sex, are to refuse sex, or to give in reluctantly (see later), but not to demand it. This woman reported that she felt she was in control of her sexual interaction because she could say no.

A man gets as far as a woman wants him to, as they say...

#27 (Int 115, 22 year old woman, not Gente Joven, less family support, educated at least to end of *prepa*)

This comment from a male interviewee on the same subject, however, shows how little real influence women may have under some circumstances³⁰:

Int: How much do you try to influence things to have sexual relations?

Resp: I don't know if you've heard the expression: a man gets as far as a woman wants him to... Well, that's what I try to do...

²⁹ He says "*pasarme de listo con ella*" which also means "take advantage of her"

³⁰ Sexual coercion is discussed in Chapter 7.

Int: If she wants to...

Resp: Then go ahead.

Int: And if she doesn't want to?

Resp: And if she doesn't want to, well, go ahead anyway...

#28 (Int 56, 19 year old man, not Gente Joven, less family support)

Women do not necessarily follow cultural expectations of resistance to sex. This woman, however, is uncomfortable when she feels she might be playing too active a part:

Resp: Before it was embarrassing. It really embarrassed me... having sex. I don't know why... Perhaps he, he thought that... I don't know... That I was desperate for sex and it embarrassed me. But little by little over time, that feeling's gone. Now... now I know that it's... That perhaps it can be considered a necessity and something to enjoy, you know?

Int: Why did you think that he thought that? I mean that you were desperate for sex?

Resp: I don't know why... Once we had sex one Thursday – a Thursday because it was when my mum was going to see my granny and on the Saturday it happened that my parents – my whole family – had gone to a party and I don't know... sort of half jokingly he said to me: Today? If we just did it on Thursday, why now another time? So I felt like it was me that was initiating doing it.

29 (Int 141, 22 year old woman, quite Gente Joven, little family support, at least completed *prepa*)

This male interviewee reports being taken aback when a woman asks him directly to have sexual relations with her:

She said to me, well: I want to make love with you. I never showed it when she said it to me, but I did feel a bit strange, you know? Until then, no one had said it to me so directly, you know? And until that moment as well, I had the idea that it was the man who should start sexual relations – he's the one that proposes them, you know? And in this case it was the other way around.

#30 (Int 49, 22+ year old man, very Gente Joven, little family support)

Men are expected to be sexually knowing and women innocent. Men are the active agents in initiating sex, and women passively accept or refuse. This act of refusing, the only active act expected of a woman in sexual activity, may not always be easy to

carry out, going as it does against ideas of male control of interactions. Women whose partners strongly wish to have sex may find themselves in a difficult situation of having to “make sure they’re respected” when this involves a woman actively contradicting a man’s wishes. Women, not men, risk being condemned for engaging in this sexual activity whether or not they have consented.

Chapter 6

Individual knowledge and risk perception

One of the aims of sexual health programmes, including the Gente Joven programme, is to increase levels of knowledge and understanding in the target population (e.g. see Boyer & Kegeles 1991). Knowledge alone, as we have seen, has been shown not to be linked in a straightforward way to behaviour change (see Chapter 2). Nevertheless, for a person to make a concerted effort to avoid a particular unhealthy outcome, that person requires a certain minimum baseline level of knowledge both of the outcome and of the means of preventing that outcome. Levels of knowledge of HIV, for example, have been positively linked to condom use (e.g. Van Landingham et al. 1995), and knowledge of contraceptive methods is one factor that is necessary for their use (Pick de Weiss et al. 1991). In other words, some knowledge is necessary, if not sufficient, for behaviour change. Levels of knowledge may also feed into perceptions of personal risk of disease or pregnancy, and these perceptions can also play some part in deciding behaviour. In this chapter, sources of information available to the young people in this study will be described. Knowledge, attitudes and risk perceptions and will then be outlined.

6.1 Sources of information about sex

“A safe and supportive environment is part of what motivates young people to make health choices...” (p.39) “...The information that young people need and are entitled to is part of a safe and supportive environment for them...” (WHO/UNFPA/UNICEF 1999, p.56)

Sources of information reported by the young people in this study were limited, but included formal and non-formal sources. Formal sources included sex education in school, and some information or propaganda provided by non-governmental organisations. Non-formal sources of information included personal research, pornography, and information from family and friends.

6.1.1 Formal sources

Despite an official government syllabus in schools (Juárez & Gayet 2000), the majority of the young people reported having had no sex education, then when questioned further remembered one short talk they had attended, or a class where sex had been mentioned briefly. They were usually quick to dismiss this type of talk

as useless. It appears that the young people desire a different type of sex education from that which they receive in schools. Apart from classes given by school teachers, a number of the interviewees reported having received sex education from outside agencies (mainly government-run) who came into the school specifically for that purpose. Regardless of exactly who was giving the information, it was frequently reported as superficial, with embarrassment inhibiting learning and discussion. Some interviewees report that boys and girls were separated for certain topics, most commonly for talks on menstruation, but also for other topics like contraception. In at least two cases, talks on condom use were given only to the boys.

Community-based courses on sexuality are also available in Mexico City for those who wish to attend them. The courses are run by the local government, by the health services (IMSS), and by non-governmental organisations (e.g. Mexfam, CONASIDA). The Mexfam courses to do with the Gente Joven programme are discussed in Chapters 1 and 8.

The Catholic church has a strong voice in Mexico, as does the pressure group Pro-Vida (affiliated to the US Pro-Life organisation). The Catholic church in Mexico follows the Vatican line and proscribes abortion and “non-natural” contraceptive methods. While Pro-Vida is ostensibly an anti-abortion group, it has widened its scope to campaign against sex education outside the home, which it claims has led to increased STDs and extramarital pregnancy³¹. The organisation has produced and distributed anti-contraception as well as anti-abortion propaganda including videos and pamphlets.

The church and Pro-Vida both promote methods of contraception that rely on abstinence, principally the calendar “rhythm” method, and the Billings method. These methods, of course, are not intentionally promoted for unmarried young people because the same system of belief prohibits sexual activity outside marriage. Instructions about use of periodic abstinence methods tend to overstate reliability, and understate the importance of the woman having a regular (and recorded) menstrual cycle. Most of the young people who participated in this study only seemed to have internalised a very simplified “five days before and after menstruation” version, even if they themselves were using it for contraception. Some pamphlets advocating periodic abstinence methods begin with exaggerated, or even untrue, claims about the dangers of other forms of contraception, particularly

³¹ See, for example, the website: <http://www.prodigyweb.net.mx/cprovida>

hormonal methods. Mistrust of hormonal methods among young people is extremely common in this study, even among those who are relatively well informed. At least part of the reason is probably this type of propaganda.

6.1.2 Other sources of information

Some interviewees use school and public libraries to research topics related to sexuality. In addition, leaflets are reported as an important source of information about some topics. Some of the interviewees had friends whose parents provide information. Where young people actively seek information they often do so with friends – for example, going in a group to a health centre to pick up leaflets, or reading books together and sharing information. The young men say that when they seek information, they look for information about topics such as sexual positions with their friends, and look for other information at the same time.

Both young men and young women face problems in accessing information. The women are both trespassing on the “masculine” domain of sexual knowledge, and accessing literature about sex that may be confused with another part of the masculine world: pornography. For example, one woman researches information on sexuality and is laughed at by her female friends, who call her *cochina* (dirty). Young men, however, may also face problems for the opposite reason: that men already know everything about sex, so they risk ridicule if they ask questions.

Int: What did [your friends] say to you?

Resp: Well, they used to say... well – I can't say can I?

Int: Yes of course you can.

Resp: Well, that: I screwed some bird and all that, and well, I didn't have a clue, you know? So I was like: What's that? And suddenly, well then you're humiliating yourself, you know: What's that? – [and they say:] What? You don't know? Fuck off! It's like this and like this, and...

#31 (Int 100, 19 year old man, not Gente Joven, less family support)

Pornographic materials are easily available in Mexico City. “Erotic” pocket-sized comic books are prominently displayed at every news stand, and pornographic magazines and videos are widespread. Most of the young people had seen some form of sexually explicit pornographic material. Among the many interviewees in this study who reported obtaining some information about sex from pornography, fourteen (including two women) identified sexually explicit pornographic videos and/or magazines as a major source of their knowledge about sexuality.

6.1.2.1 *Information given in the family*

Sexuality and sexual intercourse are discussed in many families to a certain degree, although some interviewees report that the subject is absolutely taboo. In some families³², sex is discussed openly, with parents answering their children's questions and volunteering information. Some parents provide books about sexuality for their children. One interviewee attended a course on sexuality with her mother. In these families, sexuality and sexual intercourse are neither taboo nor embarrassing subjects. The interviewees reporting this type of openness also report good general communication with their parents. More female than male interviewees report open communication about sex, and if a particular parent is mentioned at all, it is the mother in every case who appears to be more approachable and more able to provide information both to daughters and sons.

More commonly, the topic of sexuality was touched upon in the family, but indirectly, or without specifying exactly what was being said.

R: She never talked to me about sex, but about... Don't let him take advantage, don't let him go too far, or that sort of thing – the normal sort of stuff. For the age I was at, 12 or 13 years old, there couldn't have been more than a kiss or a hug, you know?

#32 (Int 142, 22 year old woman, Gente Joven talk, less family support)

Many of the interviewees say that there is little or no communication about sex in their families. Often there is no discussion of the subject at all. Some explain this by saying that their parents do not have time to discuss such matters with them. Others are told that sex is dirty and wrong, and discussion is explicitly prohibited.

Most of the young people in this study, however, while not prohibited from discussing sex, receive very strong signals from their parents that discussion of sex is different from discussion of other topics. For example, some parents change the channel on the television when there is a sex scene, or answer reluctantly and briefly, if at all, when asked about sexual matters:

Resp: I've tried to talk to them, but they always change the subject, or they say: oh, well, I don't really know... So they're always avoiding the subject. They never give me an answer and they never let me talk to them about it.

#33 Int 120 (17 year old woman, virgin, Gente Joven talk, little family support)

³² Reported by 26 of the 86 female and 10 of the 67 male interviewees.

Some parents give false information to avoid having to talk about sexuality with their children:

[The subject of sex] was taboo. One time I asked my mother why she bought those sanitary towels because she used to use some really thick ones, and she told me it was because she was going to go horse riding, or something like that. Because later we were going to go horse riding... because there was a lot of friction and these helped minimise the friction of the ride (laughs). That's what she told me.

#34 (Int 116, 22 year old woman, not Gente Joven, less family support)

Once when I was younger, I found a condom, on a sort of keyring. I showed it to my dad, and I asked him what it was. And he said to me that it was a balloon. He told me that it was a balloon! How weird! (laughter)

#35 (Int 31, 20 year old man, very Gente Joven, little family support)

Many of the interviewees describe communication about sex in terms of embarrassment and sometimes fear. Either they themselves were too embarrassed to ask their parents questions, or they say that their parents were too embarrassed to talk to them about sex. Some of the respondents were afraid that their parents would react negatively to questions about sex.

6.1.2.2 *Information from friends*

I never approached my mum about anything to do with sexuality. Never... because since she was the opposite sex – I know she was my mum, but... it was really embarrassing to talk to her. I mean, I didn't ask her about the doubts I had at that time – I talked to my friends about them. It was amongst us that it used to get talked about.

#36 (Int 84, 20 year old man, Gente Joven talk, little family support)

Friends are often described as an important source of information for young people (e.g. Brown et al. 1997; Bernard 1991). In addition, friendship groups help create attitudes and expectations about sex (as we have seen in Chapter 5. See also Ferrand et al. 1988; Bandura 1977). One of the key tenets of peer-led education strategies is that young people are able to give each other information (Milburn 1995). It is therefore useful to examine what types of information are already given in a "natural" i.e. pre-training, non-programme setting.

Interviewees were asked whether they have talked to their friends about sex-related topics at two points in their lives: at age 12-13 years, and at the time of interview. In

most cases the interviewees talk to some extent to their friends at both ages. The vast majority of the communication reported is within single-sex groups.

Many of the interviewees obtain their information about puberty from their friends. For example, rather than being told about menstruation by a member of their family, some of the women find out about it from their friends. Many of the girls report that they did not talk much about puberty when young, however, because of embarrassment. Young men, if they talked to their friends at all, spoke about the growth of facial and public hair, wet dreams and masturbation.

The gender differences in topics of conversation discussed in Chapter 5 persist in the types of information given between young people. Women discuss relationships and also consult one another about specific medical topics, sometimes in preference to seeing a doctor. Particularly reported is advice given about hormonal contraceptive methods, and gynaecological problems.

Int: And with your last partner – where did you get the injectables?

Resp: I got prescribed them.

Int: Oh right – you went to the doctor this time.

Resp: Yes, I went to a female doctor and she recommended an inject... almost none of my friends knew about it, and I wanted... an opinion that was a bit more... a bit more informed, you know? Like from a doctor.

#37 (Int 115, 22 year old woman, not Gente Joven, less family support, educated at least to end of *prepa*)

The majority of the men talk to their friends almost exclusively about the physical aspects of sex, for example, sexual techniques, avoiding diseases, buying and using condoms, and withdrawing before ejaculation to avoid pregnancy. The emphasis for the men is frequently on avoidance of disease, sometimes in terms of avoiding “dirty” women, described here as infected “things” to be avoided.

Int: Did you ever talk about sexual risks with your friends?

Resp: Yes, lots of times. Actually, with my friend, it was part of what we used to talk about, of what we knew because in secondary school they don't give you much information, but with the little that we knew, we always ended up talking about sexuality. My friend was like my teacher because of his experience. He always used to tell me to try to have an orgasm outside: don't take too many risks. That was always what he said. One time he told me: if you meet a woman who's been with a lot of men, don't take a risk.

I remember that he used to say: it's better to look for something that's less (laughs) ...used.

#38 (Int 41, 21 year old man, not Gente Joven, little family support)

A number of interviewees, male and female, discuss with their friends whether or not they use condoms. In some cases, the interviewees actively seek to learn about condoms. For example, in order to practice using condoms before first sex, some respondents report buying condoms with groups of friends. One group of boys put them on themselves, and a group of girls put condoms on the end of a broom. Two of the men (neither sexually experienced) practised using condoms while masturbating, to prepare for the moment of first intercourse. Other contraceptive methods are also discussed, mainly by the young women, including rhythm, OCs and injectables.

Young men and women rarely speak to each other about sex. Some women, however, report talking to male friends about experiences of sexual activity, to give the female perspective, and to try to understand a male point of view. In this woman's case, the openness may have come with age, but some younger women also report similar communication.

... I find it really really easy to talk about sex, with men as well as women. And not just about general things like what I think about abortion, or what I think about venereal diseases. It's also: what can I feel? We have a lot of questions about things like: what does the opposite sex feel like? You know? And... er... a lot of my male friends ask me things like: What does a woman feel like when she's being touched? Or: What do you women feel? And I always tell them: I can tell you what it is that I feel, but I can't tell you what "women" feel because that's very... but yes, I'm very open in that way. That's what has changed [over time].

#39 (Int 43, 22+ year old woman, not Gente Joven, little family support)

Where women talk with men and vice versa, it is usually to access gender-specific areas of "expertise", thus women ask men about sexual techniques and condoms, while men ask women about relationships and forms of contraception other than condoms. Women and men rarely speak openly about sexuality. In very rare cases, interviewees reported having a friend of the opposite sex with whom they could communicate and talk about personal feelings.

More difficulties in talking with the opposite sex are reported than successes. Men say that women are unwilling to engage in conversation about sexual topics.

Int: And what was the reaction of the girls to your questions? Did they answer you? What did they say?

Resp: A lot of them... look, out of all of them, very few answered clearly. Lots got annoyed, and of those that answered there were two groups: those that were prepared to talk, and those that answered in a really short way. So I understood that answering like that was like telling me to fuck off and so I didn't ask them again after that. And with the girls that I could talk to, there were a lot of them, but not as many as I would have liked. With them, well, I carried on talking, joking as well: when we saw each other in the street, we'd insult each other and sexually as well, and there wasn't any problem because we understood what sort of conversations we used to have, what relationship we had, and that was what made it work.

#40 (Int 134, 18 year old man, not Gente Joven, more family support)

In some cases, the lack of willingness of women to talk to men is attributable, at least in part, to the differences in how men and women communicate about sexual issues, with women tending not to talk about physical aspects of sex, and men focusing on these aspects.

...he would talk to me about his experiences, that he'd grabbed this, or touched, or caressed his girlfriends. That was how I got to know about sexuality, and since I didn't have any information or experience in that sort of thing... I don't know... Sometimes, yes, I saw it as a bit dirty... I don't know... Since I had the idea that you should get married and be a virgin until marriage and that sort of thing.

#41 (Int 89, 19 year old woman, not Gente Joven, little family support)

Int: [Your friend] used to tell you about what he did?

Resp: Uh-huh. And how he did it, and who he used to do it with, and everything. But there came a moment where I just got sick of it and I was like: just don't tell me anything any more. Then sometimes he'd be like... I mean: I fucked another bird. And I'd be like: Oh really. Right.

#42 (Int 82, 17 year old woman, not Gente Joven, little family support)

Many of the young men say that they change the way they speak when they are talking to women. This man experienced the consequences of not changing his form of speech when addressing a woman.

Resp: I used to be a bit... scared [of girls when at school]... trying not to annoy them or anything... Because if I talked to a girl and had the bad luck

of her getting annoyed, well I felt really bad. Really I would never mean to make her angry. That's why I used to keep my distance with girls.

Int: So why did you keep your distance?

Resp: Just because I didn't want any problems. So that they didn't slap me or whatever.

Int: Did that ever happen to you?

Resp: Yes

Int: Really? What happened?

Resp: The worst thing was the slap in the face.

Int: (Laughs) What had you done?

Resp: Well, I just said something that was out of order. It seemed so easy – since among boys you talk about, like... oh that girl, she's gorgeous, and look what big things she has... And so one day I said that to a girl: oh you're gorgeous – you've got really big things... Oh my god! The next thing I knew I was facing in the other direction with my cheek stinging (laughs). And after that, that girl never spoke to me again. That's why I found it frustrating.

Int: You say that at the same time it scared you, talking to women, didn't you? So how was it that you were daring enough to say that to her?

Resp: Well, she was the one I spoke to more than the others, and she was the prettiest. So it seemed easy to tell her what I felt. Just that she didn't understand. And there's the dilemma.

#43 (Int 79, 22 year old man, not Gente Joven, little family support)

Given that young men and women seem not to be able to talk to one another about sex and sexuality, it is possible they will continue to find it difficult within their sexual relationships.

6.2 Knowledge and attitudes about sex and risk

6.2.1 Ignorance of basic facts about coitus and contraception

Among the interviewees there is sometimes considerable ignorance, or reported previous ignorance of various aspects of sexuality. For example, male and female interviewees report not knowing the correct words for male and female genitalia until secondary school (from age 12-13 to age 15-16). One woman says she did not know that testicles existed, another thought masturbation was another word for coitus, and another reports that she had vaguely heard of contraceptives, but had no idea what they were until well after she left secondary school. A number of interviewees

discovered what sexual intercourse was for the first time when they were in secondary school.

This woman knew she had to keep her virginity, but did not know what it was.

...Although you don't know where virginity is... Because sometimes you have the idea that it's in your head, or in your navel, because you don't even know what it's all about, because no one tells you even what... But, well: you have to look after it!

#44 (Int 89, 19 year old woman, not Gente Joven, little family support)

Serious gaps in knowledge are reported when the young people are already sexually active. In four cases³³, interviewees report finding out what sexual intercourse was in the moment when it first happened to them:

There are talks in the church, so you see it from a theoretical point of view. The talk is about that stuff where... they talk about virginity: If you're not a virgin any more, you'll regret it from now on. And if you're a virgin, you have to stay that way until you marry. I mean, that was the idea of that horrible talk. So obviously when you hear all that stuff, it really hits you and you say I'm a disgraceful woman [...] Because I mean, I thought that I had had sex the first time, and I came to realise, when I finally did have sex, that I hadn't had sex before and I felt really bad – I started to cry...

#45 (Int 39, 22 year old woman, not Gente Joven, little family support)

There is considerable lack of knowledge of contraceptive methods, their use, function and side effects among the participants in the study. Failure to use effective methods of contraception by interviewees can be ascribed in part to this lack of knowledge. During the interviews, several of the young men say that they do not know how to put on a condom correctly. To a certain extent, ignorance of methods can also be attributed to medical negligence, with young people refused contraception, given inappropriate methods, or being given inadequate or false information about methods.

³³ Including one male interviewee.

6.2.2 Attitudes and perception of effectiveness of contraceptive methods

6.2.2.1 Condoms

Almost all the young people agree that the advantages of condoms are that they protect against pregnancy, STDs and HIV. Some interviewees say that condoms are convenient, and that they are cheap. Their use does not require a doctor or a nurse. Some interviewees even described condoms as “wonderful”.

Two of the women say they like condoms because both partners are involved. Many of the interviewees say that condoms give them peace of mind, because they feel protected against pregnancy and disease. Some interviewees mention that although they have heard that sex feels different with condoms, they themselves do not feel any difference. Interviewees who are more positive about condoms also seem to use them more.

The most commonly cited disadvantages of condoms are that they do not work well to because they break, come off, or because sperm and disease can pass through them.

...one of my cousins said to me that the structure of the condom is sort of like something knitted, you know? And that the HIV virus is very small, and I mean, it can get through that way.

#46 (Int 27, 17 year old man, not Gente Joven, little family support)

Condoms are often considered to be expensive, and there is a commonly-held belief that only the most expensive brands (costing around 27 pesos³⁴ for three) are reliable. State-subsidised condoms, which are available for free, and other subsidised condoms available for one or two pesos³⁵ are considered to be of inferior quality. All condoms have to meet standards of quality set by the government, and condoms available through clinics or in pharmacies should, in fact, be equally effective regardless of price.

For some interviewees, condoms are uncomfortable, or reduce sensation. Where women report loss of sensation, they usually refer to the man, not to themselves, and some men and women felt that men's complaints about loss of sensation were attributable to machismo.

³⁴ *Approximately equivalent to £1.80, prices as at time of study.*

³⁵ *Approximately equivalent to between 7 and 13 pence, or 10-20 US cents.*

... there are a lot of people that say: it doesn't feel the same and whatever, but it does feel the same. What changes? Just that you don't come inside a woman. That's the only thing. Because it's almost the same. The plastic isn't very thick. It's not like you're putting a bag on or anything – that's just machismo.

#47 (Int 45, 20 year old man, not Gente Joven, little family support)

Some interviewees are strongly pro- or anti-condoms. Many, however, see advantages and disadvantages to using condoms, and some consider them to be unpleasant but necessary:

Int: What do you think are the advantages and disadvantages of condoms?

Resp: There are lots of advantages... er... like... I don't want a family and... well, I can avoid it. So there's not having a family, not catching anything... but at the same time I don't like them because it doesn't feel the same.

#48 (Int 155, 22 year old man, Gente Joven talk, more family support, completed two years of secondary school)

The value of peace of mind compared to pleasure appears to be used to decide on whether or not to use condoms.

6.2.2.2 *Opinions of contraceptives other than condoms*

A large number of the interviewees considered that the rhythm method was the best for avoiding pregnancy. The method is used in this context as follows: the "infertile" period around menstruation is identified, and the young people have sexual intercourse only in this period. The infertile period is thought to be of fixed length for all women, and there is disagreement on exactly how long it is, with young people stating that it lies between three and ten days before and after menstruation. The method is widely considered to be reliable. No interviewee reported checking temperatures or cervical mucus.

A common variation on the rhythm method alone, is to use condoms during the "fertile" period, even if other methods are known:

Int: How often do you use condoms?

Resp: Well, every time I have sex I use one.

Int: So you always use one? Are there any times when for some reason you don't use one?

Resp: Oh, well – yes, could be... When I have a high chance that the person, well, that my partner isn't fertile. Well, then I don't use one.

Int: Do you use another type of contraceptive?

Resp: No... I don't trust other ones – they're very complicated.

[...]

Int: What's the best way to avoid an unwanted pregnancy?

Resp: The best way is not to do anything, but if you do it, well, have a method of birth control that you've agreed with your partner. Use one that's the most effective, like an IUD or a condom, or the pill, something like that. I don't like them myself, but if a couple is happy with it, and avoids pregnancy like that, well, that's valid.

#49 (Int 92, 21 year old man, not Gente Joven, little family support)

In general, the rhythm method is used in a haphazard fashion, likely to result in pregnancy. As in the case of the interviewee quoted above, most young people using the method have an exaggerated idea of its reliability.

There is a very widely held belief that modern methods apart from condoms are dangerous. This belief is particularly associated with hormonal methods, with injectables considered to be the worst.

Int: Why did you decide to use the pill?

Resp: Because, well, the female condom is very complicated, and I've always said that if you're really excited, and you put in your female condom, and well, it's all over already... Injections are too risky. Injections are very risky... So the pill is the most feasible and the most convenient – and male condoms.

Int: And why do you say that injectables are so risky?

Resp: Why? Because, for instance, there are some injections that can make you sterile. I can't remember the exact name of the injectable, but there's an injectable that can leave you sterile if you inject it. So yes, they're very... with that injectable well, in a year, you can have sex and you don't get pregnant, but at the same time in that year so many things can happen to you that make you sterile... That's what I'm afraid of.

#50 (Int 146, 17 year old woman, Gente Joven talk, little family support)

A small number of interviewees recommend using condoms in conjunction with another modern method, in case one method fails. They do not, however, follow their own recommendations.

6.2.3 HIV/AIDS: Knowledge, attitudes and risk perception

Whereas most of the interviewees in this study are aware of risks of pregnancy, and many actively attempt to avoid this outcome, most STDs are unknown, and HIV is not usually considered to be a serious risk.

Most interviewees are familiar with the modes of transmission of HIV by sexual and blood contact (for the latter, they specifically mention syringes for injecting drugs and unclean medical equipment). Some also mention transmission from mother to child. Myths about HIV transmission are reported by a small number of interviewees: transmission via mosquitoes, or via sweat from an infected person, for example. Some think that it is possible to avoid HIV by being clean.

The interviewees, however, frequently understate the risks of HIV transmission through unprotected sex, and overstate improbable routes of infection. The two main examples of commonly-mentioned unlikely infection routes, illustrated below, are via razors, and via bleeding from the gums. Being deliberately infected by others is also sometimes mentioned. If infection with HIV is seen as uncontrollable, and occurring under almost any circumstances, using protection specifically for vaginal or anal intercourse may seem less important.

Int: What do you think about AIDS?

Resp: That it's a very dangerous illness these days...

Int: Do you think you're at risk of getting it?

Resp: Yes

Int: Why?

Resp: Because a lot of times, we... in a party, you meet a girl, and you start kissing and all that, and I found out that even through kissing... if the girl's gums are bleeding, she can infect you with it. You can even get infected that way.

Int: Uh-huh. And do you know how you get AIDS?

Resp: Yes

Int: How?

Resp: Well, by having sex without protection, through blood transfusions, through tattoos, through infected syringes... Through exactly what I was saying, through bleeding gums. A lot of times as well... well, maybe not, I don't have proof, but in the hairdresser when a person... through razor blades... a person can be cut, and can have the illness, so another person comes along and can be infected from the same blade.

#51 (Int 27, 17 year old man, not Gente Joven, little family support)

There is a certain degree of confusion about who is actually at risk of HIV infection. The interviewees are asked "what sort of person is most at risk of infection?". Many say that absolutely anyone is at risk, while some say that risk behaviour is key. There are frequently hints that people infected with HIV are somehow defective, immoral, or dirty:

Int: What sort of person gets infected?

Resp: I don't know... people who don't know anything... who are very alone, ignorant... I really don't know... Sex workers and people like that...

#52 Int 109 (17 year old woman, not Gente Joven, little family support)

Int: What do you think about HIV/AIDS?

Resp: Well, that it's something that we can't... well, we can take care of ourselves, but no one's exempt from being infected. That there are some people that have it because of their own fault. There are some that have it... well, that it's an illness and that's it.

Int: These people who can get AIDS... You said that there are some people who have it because of their own fault... Why is it their fault?

Resp: Well, because they've never taken care of themselves. Because they don't care about anything and they just go to bed with anyone, with whoever takes their fancy, or because they don't take care of themselves.

#53 (Int 129, 17 year old man, not Gente Joven, little family support)

There is also a common perception that it is a "homosexual and prostitute" disease. There seems to be some confusion, however, about why exactly some groups of people may be considered to be at risk. Here the young woman appears to have received the message connecting "immorality" to HIV infection:

Int: What sort of people get infected do you think?

Resp: People that don't take care of themselves. Homosexuals are the people who are most at risk of getting infected. Lesbians, and people that don't take care of themselves.

#54 (Int 10, 16 year old woman, virgin, not Gente Joven, less family support)

Others identified housewives as being particularly vulnerable to HIV infection.

Int: What sort of people do you think get infected more?

Resp: Housewives... Because men go and they sleep with other people, and well, housewives are never going to demand that their partners use condoms, and well, that's exactly why they get infected.

#55 (Int 27, 17 year old man, not Gente Joven, little family support)

Some interviewees differentiate between HIV-infected people in terms of culpability and innocence: those to blame for their HIV status deserve no support or sympathy.

Int: What do you think of HIV?

Resp: Well, how horrible, how nasty. People who have it because of stupidity, because they didn't take care of themselves, well, whatever. But people who have it because of a transfusion or because of being raped – well that's terrible.

#56 Int 80 (15 year old woman, virgin, not Gente Joven, more family support)

Some of the interviewees were more sympathetic to those with HIV

Int: What do you think of AIDS?

Resp: Well, it's a horrible disease. Horrible. I think that like cancer or like a lot of diseases, but that it's horrible. Not so much because of what it can do to you physically, but because of the emotional side... because it's a disease... it's the disease that's to do with sin, to do with promiscuity, the homosexual disease, you know? It's the one that's like that. Anyone might get cancer and everyone says: poor thing. And someone who gets AIDS, everyone starts asking if they're homosexual, or how many partners they had or why?... Even though AIDS has the advantage over cancer that you can try to avoid it.

Int: What type of person gets infected in particular?

Resp: In particular? A person that doesn't take care of themselves. That doesn't use a condom – whether it's a housewife, or a homosexual, or whether they're 20 or 80 years old... The thing is that they don't use a condom.

#57 (Int 43, 22+ year old woman, not Gente Joven, little family support)

6.3 Risk perception

In general, risk of pregnancy is far more of a concern to the young people in this study than risk of HIV or STDs. Many young people are not aware of the existence of STDs and know of HIV as a disease associated with “others” – homosexuals, sex workers, injecting drug users. These same young people often had fatalistic views about their chances of HIV infection, often appearing to equate the risk from a chance scratch with an infected needle with the risk from unprotected sexual intercourse. This fatalistic outlook and the belief that condoms do little to reduce chances of infection mean that these young people are likely not to perceive condom use as necessary or useful for them personally. The young people who saw HIV as a personal risk had either received the Gente Joven programme, or had friends or relatives with HIV or AIDS. This group were also more sympathetic towards those infected with HIV and did not express views of HIV as a punishment for immoral behaviour. On the other hand, many of the young people take steps to prevent pregnancy when they engage in sexual activity (see Chapter 7). The steps they take, however (particularly use of rhythm and withdrawal), are often far less likely to be effective than they believe them to be.

Chapter 7

What happens in sexual interactions and why?

Interaction-orientated theory emphasises the importance of cultural factors, individual factors, and the dyad in explaining sexual outcomes (Van Campenhoudt et al. 1997). Each individual comes to the interaction with his or her own knowledge, attitudes, cultural and family background. Dowsett et al. (1998) point out that “for many young people, sexual motivations are complex and may even be unclear or largely unformulated, and the pursuit of sex may be bound up in confusing expectations and fears. These expectations and fears are likely to be couched in identifiable ideas, terms and frameworks, and formed in local or immediate cultural contexts” (p.295). What actually happens in the interaction depends on the way in which the particular individuals relate to one another, and the context (temporal, geographical, cultural etc.) of the interaction. In the previous two chapters, we examined the socio-cultural context prevailing in the study area, and individuals’ levels of knowledge and risk perceptions. In this chapter, sexual experiences of the young people interviewed in Mexico City will be examined in terms of the interaction-orientated framework.

Studies have consistently shown that women’s and men’s experiences of sex are very different and that these differences are linked to gender-related constructs and inequalities (e.g. Wingood & DiClemente 2000; Dowsett et al. 1998; Holland et al. 1998; Dixon Mueller 1993; Vance 1991). As discussed in Chapter 5, sex has very different meanings for women and men in Mexico, and their sexual lives would be expected to be correspondingly different. For this reason, men’s and women’s sexual experiences are examined separately here. In the first section, women’s experiences are discussed in terms of the socio-cultural environment, relationship characteristics, and physical factors. The same factors are then discussed with regard to young men. In the final part of the chapter, reasons for use and non-use of contraception will be examined.

7.1 Young women's sexual activity

Sixty-one of the women interviewed for this study had experienced coitus³⁶. Age at first coitus ranged between 13 and 21 years, and most women had older partners. Partner age, where known, ranged from 15 to 36.

7.1.1 Social influences

Social values concerning virginity and “decency” inform women’s sexual activity even if the women themselves do not agree with these ideas. Feelings of ambivalence towards their own sexual activity are extremely common among the women in this study. On the one hand, they complain about the sexual double standard, and themselves engage in coitus, while on the other, they are surrounded by and concerned about social values – particularly those expounded in the family – favouring virginity and the “pure” woman. Many of the women described feeling guilt or regret after first coitus because they felt they had let their families down. Their feelings of guilt, however, appear to stem more from having broken their parents’ rules than from their own subscription to traditional views of (female) premarital sexual activity as “immoral” per se, because almost none described feeling guilty in themselves for the simple fact of having engaged in sexual activity.

Resp: ...I felt guilty. I felt guilty but I made myself think about it, and I thought: I enjoyed it, and there was no reason to feel guilty.

Int: In what way did you feel guilty?

Resp: In what way? In that... well, I took advantage of the situation, didn't I? I took advantage of the fact that the house was empty and that there was no one in... the house is sacred, supposedly (laughs). How was I going to go and do that in my house? It's something that you do in whatever place you like apart from at home. That's why I felt guilty.

#58 (Int 50, 22+ year old woman, very Gente Joven, little family support)

Int: How did you feel after having had sex?

Resp: I started to cry

Int: Why?

Resp: Because, think about it, I mean, I started thinking, you know? My mum told me so often to take care of myself and everything, and then I went

³⁶ One other young woman had had coitus, but problems with the interview tape mean that her story of her first coitus is not recorded and she is omitted here.

and “fell”. But, I mean, I thought... I was afraid that she would say: you know what? Now you've got what you wanted, you can get out of here. Goodbye.

#59 (Int 118, 19 year old woman, not Gente Joven, less family support, completed two years of vocational training)

Resp: [...] at that moment, I was thinking that [my parents] were going to tell me off, that they were going to hit me, I mean, that they were going to throw me out of the house for having done something so stupid. [...] I regretted it, because I was going to disappoint my parents, you know?

#60 (Int 28, 18 year old woman, not Gente Joven, little family support, completed secondary school)

The only apparent exception to this is a woman who experienced a high degree of coercion at her first coitus. She refers to her family, but also describes feeling bad in herself.

Int: Why did you have sex?

Resp: I think it was because you couldn't say no because of the pressure he was putting on.

Int: Basically it was pressure?

Resp: Yes

Int: When this happened you were 14 and how old was he?

Resp: He was 17.

[...]

Int: How was your first sexual experience? What did you feel? Did you reach...?

Resp: It didn't reach anything more than pain. I didn't like it.

[...]

Resp: I felt bad because... I don't know... when these things happen to you, since you hear a lot of things about this sort of thing, I got home and I felt bad to have arrived like that – looking as if I had been drinking, but I hadn't drunk anything. It just happened. I felt bad... I don't know... So the next day my mum and dad were saying that a neighbour had got pregnant and they started talking about virginity, and I was...

Int: How did you feel?

Resp: Well, really really bad [...] A woman isn't worth anything when she's not a virgin.

Int: How would you rate your first sexual experience

Resp: Terrible.

#61 (Int 46, 22+ year old woman, very Gente Joven, more family support)

7.1.1.1 *Changing the rules*

Although women are very conscious of traditional views and expectations of sexual activity, they often take pains to point out that these do not apply in their personal cases:

Int: Physically and emotionally how did you feel [after first coitus]?

Resp: Well, calm, you know? I didn't feel that I'd done something wrong, I didn't feel dirty, far from it. I felt good because it was another step along the way. I was very much in love and I felt, well, obviously, that he was with me 100 percent.

#62 (Int 115, 22 year old woman, not Gente Joven, less family support, at least completed *prepa*)

The women acknowledge traditional cultural values prohibiting and condemning premarital sexual activity, but articulate an alternative set of social "rules" that they appear to be guided by. These alternative rules include notions of appropriate or desirable sexual partners and situations that allow for coitus to occur outside marriage. Premarital sexual activity is still subject to many restrictions within this alternative set of norms. Sexual relations are only one part of a social interaction that is embedded in a wider network of social interactions (Ferrand et al. 1988). Women's peer groups are therefore likely to be important in the articulation and support of these alternative rules of behaviour particularly because women in this study tended not to talk to their families about personal sexual matters, but did report talking to peers. The main "rules" for women in this study appear to be that for a woman to have penetrative sex outside marriage, she should be in love with her partner (cf. notions of sex as a "surrender to love" reported for example by Amuchástegui 1998; Dowsett et al. 1998), she should have chosen the partner carefully, she should not have sex "too soon" in a relationship, and she should not have "too many" partners.

This woman contrasts her experience of sex within a loving relationship with the possible problems she would have had in a different experience. She distinguishes between having sex for the "right" reasons (love) from having sex for the "wrong" reasons (physical attraction), implying that women who have sex because of physical attraction alone will later regret their actions.

Resp: The sex... well... you know I wasn't like those girls that regret it, like: oh no, I've let my mother down. No, because I wanted to do it, you know?

Because I loved that man. I mean, I went out with him for two years, and they were two really great years. And it wasn't just for sex, you know, because there was more to it than that. So that's why, because I really felt like it. I loved him... I'd have said, well with just attraction full stop, I'm not doing it.

#63 (Int 85, 19 year old woman, not Gente Joven, more family support)

Women may refuse sex at the beginning of a relationship, but then agree later when they are in love.

Resp: Because I fancied him, because I loved him a lot, because before that, well, he kept on about it, but I told him no, it's like: come off it! I don't feel anything for you... But then afterwards, yes, because I loved him a lot. Loads.

Int: So that was why you had sex with him?

Resp: Uh-huh, and he says that he, well, he... I know that he loved me a lot as well.

#64 (Int 121, 22 year old woman, not Gente Joven, little family support)

Many of the women talk about love as unidirectional: something that they feel for the man. There is an implication, made explicit in the next example, that although the woman may be in love, the feeling is not necessarily mutual.

Int: And what do you think was the motivation for you and him to have sex at that moment?

Resp: Er...well for me perhaps because I... well, I love him a lot and I loved him at that moment too. I feel like that was the reason, and... I don't know, I don't know... For him... maybe it was just for the sake of having sex, but, (laughs) to tell you the truth I've never asked him.

#65 (Int 141, 22 year old woman, quite Gente Joven, little family support, at least completed *prepa*)

It appears, then, that since being "in love" need only apply to the woman herself, citing love as a motivation for sex may be a rhetorical device to justify women's actions, whether or not it is also the case that women need to feel "in love" before engaging in coitus.

If women have had more than one sexual partner, careful choice of partner is mentioned as a factor in the woman's "defence". This woman, for example, contrasts her behaviour with that of another, generic, "person" (although it must be a woman, given the context) whose sexual behaviour is questionable.

Int: What do you think of your ability to control your sexual life?

Resp: I feel like I've controlled it a lot. In that it's very common that once a person has had sex, well, then it's easier to go to bed with anybody. As soon as you meet a boy, if he said nice things to you, and if you fancied him, you went to bed with him, you know? I don't think that's the case for me. I always looked for special people that for me... had that... I don't know what... that I fancied, that I trusted enough to have that... intimacy, you know? With them.

#66 (Int 115, 22 year old woman, not Gente Joven, less family support, at least completed *prepa*)

Another example of women's ambivalence towards sex is the fear that many report at first coitus of being thought to be sexually experienced. Women and men both mention that women should not move "too soon". A woman who does not wait for long enough may be "too" sexually experienced. She is also breaking the stereotype of the man controlling the interaction (see below).

Int: How did you feel about your first sexual experience?

Resp: Well, a bit freaked out because I'm telling you, I had so many things in my head. I was saying that now he wasn't going to love me because I hadn't waited long enough for the right moment.

#67 (Int 116, 22 year old woman, not Gente Joven, less family support)

Some of the women go to considerable lengths in their attempts to demonstrate their virginity.

I thought that he would be like: what's the deal? Have you already had sex with other people? Lots of things are coming into your head all at once, so you feel insecure, don't you. It's sad because that way it's like... you feel insecure, because you think that you're worth something to that person and they're going to feel cheated. And above all, that it gives you, at that time – and always – a bad name. So well, the penetration felt really good, but [...] I said to him: ow! It hurts! It hurts! It hurts! Because you always, you know your friends say: did it hurt you? – Yes it hurt a lot. And yes, so you say: it's hurting me and that sort of thing. Also since you've never used that muscle, and something goes in, and you start to feel a bit strange, don't you? And well, I said to him that it was hurting me, and I know that I was going on about it so much... insisting so much that he was the first (laughs, annoyed)... Because I denied it so much, I think that I was just affirming it.

And afterwards, we left... Well... that was when we started, like that, every day almost (laughs).

68 (Int 89, 19 year old woman, not Gente Joven, little family support)

The women sometimes seem surprised that they are treated well by subsequent partners despite the fact that they are not virgins:

[...] He was really affectionate with me. And even though he knew that it wasn't my first time... – it wasn't his first time either – but now yes, I feel like it really brought us closer, and in fact, we're about to have our first anniversary.

69 (Int 143, 19 year old woman, quite Gente Joven, more family support)

They feel more able to have coitus again once they are no longer virgins:

[...] When a person³⁷ has sex, afterwards it's easier for them to have sex again. The thing is to jump over that taboo, jump to the other side.

#70 (Int 116, 22 year old woman, not Gente Joven, less family support)

In many cases, women describe a gradual reduction in their ambivalence towards sexual activity over time, and often report a transition from feeling guilty about sex, to seeing sex as positive:

Int: Can you describe and explain the general changes that have happened in your sexual life over the years?

Resp: Well, over time you learn more, you become more clear about things, and you get rid of the cobwebs that you have in your head.

Int: What sort of cobwebs?

Resp: Like all the stuff about how sex is bad, it's a sin. Sex is only for dirty people or to have children.

#71 (Int 116, 22 year old woman, not Gente Joven, less family support)

All the recent times that it's happened, it's been very... now it's very pleasant for me. I mean I enjoy it all as much as I possibly could. Now it's without any pressure from, well... in the past, a long time ago, things used to come into my head: my mum, my dad, my brothers and sisters. I made myself feel guilty about having sex in secret. And now that's not the case... Now I just think about him, and about what we're doing, and that's it.

#72 (Int 141, 22 year old woman, quite Gente Joven, little family support, at least completed *prepa*)

7.1.2 The dyad

A central tenet of the interaction approach to sexual behaviour is that a woman's relationship with a specific partner will affect sexual outcomes, including whether or not coitus occurs. Thirty-nine of the 61 women's partners at first coitus were already sexually experienced. The majority (55) of the women had first coitus with a boyfriend, with whom they had already engaged in some degree of sexual activity, e.g. kisses, caresses, but not penetrative sex. About three-quarters of the women had a relationship of six months or more. Of the six women who did not have first coitus with a boyfriend, one had first coitus with an ex-boyfriend, two with friends, and one with her boss. The final two women were raped (one by her boss, and one by her cousin's fiancé). None of the women had first coitus with a stranger.

In many respects, and often because of gender-power inequalities, women are not easily able to control sexual interactions because of the extent to which they are affected by the behaviour of the male partner. Social values mean that sex is expected to occur within a relationship that is at least ostensibly loving. A woman cannot guarantee that she will not be rejected by her partner after having had sex with him, she can only attempt to choose the partner so that this is not a high possibility. Equally, she must rely on the discretion of her partner, and/or other people who may be aware of the fact that the woman has had sexual intercourse (see also discussion of partner choice and reputation in Stephenson et al. 1993). Contraceptive use, too, is affected by the partner. In many studies it has been shown that women are often unable to control use of contraception because they are unwilling or unable to admit knowledge of contraceptives, or demand their use (see final section of this chapter).

7.1.2.1 *Emotional relationship with the partner*

As discussed earlier, notions of acceptable premarital sexual relationships for women draw heavily on the presumed strength of the emotional relationships between women and their partners. A woman may wish to feel "in love" before engaging in coitus, she may wish to make a relationship closer, or she may desire to please her partner whom she loves. Gender differences in expectations and priorities at first coitus, including the sexual double standard, may have negative emotional effects on women. Other studies have shown, for example, that a woman may lose status because of having had sex, or having had sex "too soon": her partner may be

³⁷ Again, the generic "person" is likely to be a woman.

suspicious of her because she has consented to coitus (cf. Wight 1993; Holland et al. 1992). Another risk is that the man may only be interested in coitus, and not in having an emotional relationship. Men may “romance” a woman to convince her to have sex with him (as reported e.g. in Australia by Rosenthal et al. 1998). In the UK, women reported regret about their first sexual experiences when their partner was not emotionally involved in the way they thought at the time (Ingham & Van Zessen 1988). In these circumstances the woman may ultimately be rejected by her partner. Fear of rejection by the partner, of course, may also be a motivation to have sex with him in the first place (Holland et al. 1992).

Because of women’s reliance on their partners for positive sexual outcomes, trust is likely to be important factor for women in choice of partner. A common fear for the women in this study is of being used for sex, then abandoned. They frequently cite trust in their partner, or similar factors as part of their motivation for coitus with that partner. This is particularly true of first coitus.

Resp: ...I fell in love with him... I felt a lot of things, and I had lots of boyfriends, but I didn’t really trust any of them in the same way, and none of them showed me...made me feel as good as he did. I really liked him a lot... I liked a lot of them a lot, but him I really trusted.

#73 (Int 115, 22 year old woman, not Gente Joven, less family support, at least completed *prepa*)

Resp: I felt good with him, I mean, I’ve always felt good with him. I mean, it was really different with him. I felt sort of protected... I felt, I felt good. Even lots of times I felt like having sex with other people or whatever, and I didn’t feel right. I didn’t even do it with him until I felt really right.

#74 (Int 147, 20 year old woman, quite Gente Joven, little family support)

The pessimistic outlook of many of the women about the potential outcomes of their first sexual experiences in terms of being treated badly by the partner is also indicated by the fact that after they had first coitus, some women reporting positive feelings about the event sometimes seemed to feel this way at least partly because their fears had not been realised.

Int: How did you feel after sex?

Resp: Well, not very good because as I said, I was hoping for different circumstances, but the thing is that afterwards... I mean, for me, what I’m really interested in at the end of the day, is his behaviour after we had sex. And since his behaviour was good, well, so I felt good. I mean I didn’t like

the circumstances, but I didn't feel degraded, or just used as a sex object, I mean, no.

#75 (Int 38, 20 year old woman, not Gente Joven, less family support)

On the positive side, the relationship may be made stronger, with the sexual activity reinforcing the intimacy of the relationship, even if it is feared that the opposite will occur.

I wanted to do it because of everything that we had talked about, and what we'd already done (laughs) and well, I felt like doing it, and well: I'm going to do it and to hell with it – I went with that attitude, you know – If he uses me like they say men use women, well, I don't care. I felt like doing it, and I went in all prepared to defend myself psychologically. But no, it was really great. I mean our relationship improved a lot, and made me feel really secure.

#76 (Int 97, 22+ year old woman, very Gente Joven, little family support, completed university)

7.1.2.2 *Power imbalances*

Gender-related power imbalances are often highlighted in the literature on sexual behaviour (e.g. Wingood & DiClemente 2000; Holland et al. 1998; Rivers et al. 1998). In this study, sexual activity is often (not always) characterised by the interviewees as being controlled by the man, with the woman's control being limited to saying yes or no to the man's wishes, if she is able to express herself at all.

Int: Your ability to control your sexual life: have you played an active role in creating your sexual life?

Resp: I think so, yes, because of permitting or not permitting. The thing is that you have control – as you should have, because at the end of the day that's how it should be. If you want it, you do it, and if not, you don't do it.

#77 (Int 108, 21 year old woman, not Gente Joven, little family support)

Int: How much do you try to influence the way things happen in terms of pleasure or protection?

Resp: Well, no, not accepting anything. If he kisses you, if you don't... If you don't want anything, I mean, you just say: no. But you have a big influence in accepting his kiss, his caress, his hug. I mean, the way that he treats you, how he cuddles you, and well, that's already a lot.

Int: What sort of influence do you use?

Resp: Well, more than anything, accepting it, you know? Accepting it.

#78 (Int 11, 18 year old woman, not Gente Joven, little family support)

Int: How much do you try to influence the way that things happen in terms of pleasure or protection?

[...]

Resp: Not much. Yes I do... I do have an influence, but... well, no. Well, I always make the final decision... I try to do it, but... it doesn't work, and I end up giving in to what... To what he prefers, you know?

#79 (Int 142, 22 year old woman, quite Gente Joven, less family support)

Where the woman is a virgin, the man may gain control over her by penetrating her, because in allowing this to happen, she "gives herself" to him. One woman reports that her boyfriend felt that she belonged to him after coitus and that he had the right to treat her as he pleased. She says that at the time, she believed that because she had had sex with him, she would have to stay with him:

Int: So you did think you'd be with him for the rest of your life?

Resp: Yes, but afterwards I didn't like his behaviour. He thought that since now he was "eating" and everything, that he could shout at me, and that he could tell me...and I don't like arguing. To tell the truth, I exploded and said: that's it [...] Ever since the first time it was like that, that now I was his property, and he could boss me about and order me around as much as he liked [...] I said to him: you want to treat me as if I were your property.

#80 (Int 158, 17 year old woman, very Gente Joven, first coitus at age 16 with 18 year old boyfriend, little family support)

7.1.2.2.1 Coercion

Another result of power imbalances may be that women have sex in response to pressure from partners: verbal pressure, implied or explicit threats of physical violence, or actual violence (Rivers et al. 1998; Holland et al. 1992; Wood et al. 1998; Heise 1995). Such pressure will be termed "coercion" here. Power imbalances may also result from differences in age, status and wealth (Bastard et al. 1997).

Many of the women interviewees in this study report sexual interactions that appear to have been coerced. Very few of the women specifically identify themselves as having been coerced, however, as we will see. This was particularly the case for women who were positive about their subsequent relationship with the man: even if they had been pressured into sex, at least they had not been used or abandoned. Coercion that the women experience is both verbal and physical.

Very commonly, verbal pressure is exerted by boyfriends, ranging from repeated requests for sex to emotional threats. For example, men are reported to become angry when women refuse sex.

Int: He had already said lots of times that he wanted to have sex?

Resp: Uh-huh

Int: And what did you say to him?

Resp: I said no, later, that he should wait for me, that I wasn't ready for it

Int: And what did he say?

Resp: He got annoyed, and he'd just say: I'll come back tomorrow.

Int: Did that always happen?

Resp: Yes, he always got cross, and then I would bump into him somewhere else, and would talk to him and he'd say: what do you want? We'll talk later. And I'd say to him: are you angry? And he would say: no.

[...]

Int: So your first time, why did you finally say yes after all his pressure?

Resp: I think that more than anything it was the pressure, that if you don't want to, he'd get annoyed, and then he wouldn't come round, and then my parents would ask me why he wasn't coming round and whether we'd fallen out, and I mean, I would just make something up to tell them.

#81 (Int 158, 17 year old woman, very Gente Joven, little family support)

Women say that their boyfriends threaten to leave them, or threaten to go and have sex with someone else instead. One woman says that her boyfriend told her that she was not "woman enough" after she refused repeated requests for sex.

In this study, women resent being made to refuse sex repeatedly, and pressure from their partners conflicts with expectations of behaviour that the women have grown up with:

[...] He had been suggesting it to me for a long time, but... sometimes it made me really angry because... since our parents bring us up to believe that if he loves you he has to respect you, and all that stuff, you take those things as if they were rules.

#82 (Int 115, 22 year old woman, not Gente Joven, less family support, at least completed *prepa*)

Some of the men interviewed in the study report that they often need to "convince" women to have sex:

Well, really I'm the one that's always like: go on – you know – look, go with it, it's not going to hurt you. But I'll try any number of things, you know? The thing is to convince them...

#83 (Int 100, 19 year old man, not Gente Joven, less family support)

Later in the interview, the same interviewee is asked directly if he has ever pressured anyone into having sex with him:

Resp: No... "pressured" no, let's just say er... a bit of insistence, that's all, you know? For whatever, fifteen minutes, you know? Go on – no – go on...

Int: What is it you did?

Resp: Well, I'd be saying to her: look, you have to understand that it's not going to hurt – just the opposite, look, I really love you, seriously...

Other men also report telling women that they love them in order to persuade them to accept sex, using their knowledge of the social disapproval of women who have sex outside loving relationships. Men report that their friends sometimes allow women to think that they are *novias* in order to gain sexual access to these women. It should be noted, however, that the reverse may also occur: that men sometimes consider women to be their girlfriends when the women themselves see the relationship to be for sex only.

Int: How many girlfriends have you had up to now?

Resp: Girlfriends, well, no... Well, this girl's my girlfriend, but the rest... Well one of them was...

Int: Two?

Resp: The first and her. Because the rest I haven't loved. Just friends with "rights"³⁸, you know? I tell them: yes, you're my girlfriend, but you don't meet the criteria...

#84 (Int 72, 18 year old man, quite Gente Joven, more family support)

There is a cultural stereotype that there are men who use this tactic of simply saying "I love you" to persuade women to have sex with them, without feeling any genuine emotional ties to the woman. This type of behaviour is widely known, and to some extent, expected, complicating a woman's selection of an appropriate sexual partner.

In other cases, physical circumstances appear to make it difficult for women to refuse sex. This seems often to be the case if the women are in the man's house at the time, or if they are in a hotel room that has been paid for by the man, which may put

³⁸ He says "*amigas cariñosas*" to indicate friends with whom he engages in sexual activity.

the man in a position of increased power over the woman (cf. scenarios for date rape summarised in Vanwesenbeek et al. 1999, where rape was more frequent when men initiated and paid for dates). They often report that they felt they had already gone “too far” to have been able to refuse sex.

This woman was apparently coerced into having sex by her partner, whose previous advances she had refused.

Int: Did you try to influence the way things happened?

Resp: How do you mean?

Int: If you tried to influence... I mean what...?

Resp: If I seduced him too, or...

Int: Yes?

Resp: No, it was the other way around. I mean, he was the one who started everything and finished everything (laughs)

[...]

Resp: It was really nice, really great. I remember when he was penetrating me and I was saying to him: no, no (laughs). I was very innocent, wasn't I? I mean, I get undressed and I say to him: but you're not going to penetrate me, right? And he says: no, no. Well obviously he was going to do it, and when it started, it was very painful. Obviously at the same time I felt pleasure and I mean, no but yes (laughs). And, I mean it was very nice, and when everything had finished, well, don't think that it just finished and: see you later. No, obviously there were kisses, caresses, and hugs and I ended up very content, to tell the truth (laughs).

#85 (Int 121, 22 year old woman, not Gente Joven, little family support)

It appears that she has penetrative sex because it was “obvious” that it was going to happen so she effectively consented by entering into the situation in the first place, even if verbally she said no. In her telling of the story, she emphasises her naivety at having not understood the situation: she should somehow have known that her verbal request would be rendered meaningless by her having entered the situation at all. Whether or not women express negative views about the pressure seems to depend on the subsequent behaviour of the partner. In the previous example, the interviewee reports what appears to have been coerced sex as a positive experience. This may be explained by the fact that she was in love with him, and he did not abandon her afterwards.

The idea of certain behaviours leading inexorably to sexual intercourse is also expressed by this woman, talking about her first time. She goes to her boyfriend's house, and is engaged in other sexual activity with him when he penetrates her.

Int: The first time that you had penetrative sex with him, did you try to influence the event in any way?

Resp: I pushed him, well, it's just that that first time, I don't know if I can really call it the first time because he just penetrated me, and came out. No, well, yes, I left and I got up and left but...perhaps yes, because... going alone to his flat, well, from the start that's sort of instigating it.

#86 (Int 135, 21 year old woman, not Gente Joven, little family support)

Men also report instances where they have been with women and penetrative sex is not planned, but where they penetrate her without having obtained her specific consent. This scenario appears to be the equivalent to that described above where the women have gone "too far" for vaginal penetration to be avoided. For example, this man says that he had already had oral sex with his partner:

[...] Afterwards, we started to... I don't know... go further. I mean, well there was an attempt at penetration. She was surprised at that more than I was, so since there wasn't the opportunity to finish it completely...it was only the tip, as you might say, you know? Because I don't know whether she didn't like what I was doing or what... I think she did because of the fact that she kept going afterwards, but let's say that that was the first attempt at having sex, well we did have sex... there were kisses, there was oral sex, we explored each other completely... Penetration, well, it only got as far as an attempt, and I didn't want to force the situation...

#87 (Int 94, 20 year old man, not Gente Joven, less family support)

Women are put under more pressure to have sex if they are not virgins. Some of the women in this study complain that once they have sex with their boyfriends, they are expected to continue to have sex regularly, and feel increasingly pressured into doing so (cf. UK findings by Holland et al. 1992). Some women complain that after the first time their boyfriends start to demand sex and that they agree in order to avoid arguments, or, as in this woman's case, they feel they have nothing more to lose.

[After the first time] it was planned, and that was because he went on and on and on asking, and that's the reason I gave in, and I said, well, with him I've already lost, so now who cares?

#88 (Int 158, 17 year old woman, very Gente Joven, little family support)

It is sometimes very difficult for a woman to refuse coitus with a new partner if he knows she has had sex before. For example, this woman feels she has to justify to her boyfriend the fact that she is refusing sex with him despite not being a virgin.

[...] he went on and on, and he wanted us to have sex, but I told him... I mean, for me it's not that. Just because I've kissed someone, because I've kissed them, or because we're going out. Well, you know, I don't know whether we're going out or not, and he wants me to sleep with him. For me it's something very different. And I explained to him: the thing is that for me this is something else. You have to be on the same wavelength as the other person. You have to have a relationship, know them more in depth, but it's not just like this and that's it. So he asked me: are you a virgin? (laughs). And I told him: no. Well, I told him the truth: no, no I'm not, but just because I'm not doesn't mean that I'm going to sleep with just anybody. And I explained to him, and he just kept on, I mean, he kept on and on and I started to cry. I mean I couldn't stand it. I start to cry... I started to cry. Until that, he hadn't been so pushy with me, and he said to me: let's go to sleep. We were talking... he said that I should think about things, that there wasn't anything wrong with it, that it wasn't to do with whether or not I did it with him, but that I should just think about... what... what would happen if things went badly in my marriage... that I would regret... lots of things. But, well, no. No, but who knows. Sometimes I think that that's how all men are, or at least that's what he says.

#89 (Int 39, 22 year old woman, not Gente Joven, little family support)

On the other hand, women can gain control in relationships over time:

Int: Can you describe the general changes that have happened in your sexual life over the years?

Resp: Well, before I was very shy, closed when it came to that sort of thing. Now I'm very open. Before I didn't used to enjoy it, now I enjoy it fully... In the past, they didn't used to respect my body... and now I respect myself, and I learned to say no when I didn't want something.

#90 (Int 46, 22+ year old woman, very Gente Joven, more family support)

Even where it appears that there is considerable pressure from the man, the women usually explain their agreeing to coitus in terms of their relationship with him: "because I loved him" rather than "because he made me do it". Women may under-report pressure to have sex for a number of reasons. For example, they may

consider this pressure to be “normal” behaviour for men, or pressure from the men may not fit well with the notion of first coitus as happening within a loving context.

A good example of many of the different issues involved in women’s coerced sexual experiences is the story of this woman’s first coitus. An older, sexually experienced man approaches her at her school and asks her to go on a date with him. They arrange to go to La Villa de Guadalupe in another part of Mexico City, but her partner takes her instead to a hotel, where they have sexual intercourse, apparently under pressure from him. There is considerable irony in the choice of venue for the date, given subsequent events, because La Villa is the site of the huge cathedral dedicated to Mexico’s most revered virgin: the Virgin of Guadalupe. Pilgrims often approach the site walking on their knees, or crawling, and the pious from the whole of Mexico ask for blessings and forgiveness there. The woman laughs at herself for her nervousness and unwillingness to comply with her partner’s wishes once she is in the hotel room, where she knows “what [she’s] there for”. As with the other women who do not report coercion as such, the woman in this case subsequently had a long-term relationship with the same man:

Resp: He says to me: shall we go to La Villa? I say: let’s go. But instead of La Villa he took me to a hotel and that’s where it happened (laughs).

Int: And you, how would you describe what happened?

Resp: Well, look, I didn’t want to, you know? I’ll tell you a funny story. I didn’t want to. He says to me: shall I go and wash? I say to him: yes. And after that, I crawled under the bed because I knew what I was there for, you know? I crawled under the bed. He was looking for me, he says: what are you doing under the bed? I say: oh, it’s because I dropped a peso. He says to me: go and wash. I say: yes, and I go and wash and he comes into the bathroom to wash at the same time. I say: no, no what are you doing here? – Just think! – I cover myself with the towel, everything getting soaked. He says to me: I like being with you, I’ve come to admire you. No, I say to him, get out of here! He says: no, you’ve got to understand me, I mean, even the first time I saw you I loved you, I found you attractive, I’d already seen you a few times but I’d never introduced myself. Okay, I say, and that was when the lesson began, and that’s how it ended. But, just imagine, how funny – crawling under the bed!

Int: How old was he?

Resp: Him? He was 28

Int: And you?

Resp: Guess!

Int: You said 15, right?

#91 (Int 118, 19 year old woman, not Gente Joven, less family support, completed two years of vocational training)

Some of the women in this study experience considerable physical pressure to have sexual intercourse. Some women experience physical violence when they refuse sex. Women report having to shout, hit the man, and even in one case, threaten the man with a knife to avoid sex. In two cases mentioned earlier, the women were physically forced to have sex, and they identify this as rape. Some men report having deliberately set out to make women drunk so that they would be more likely to agree to coitus. In one case, a man reports having added drugs to women's drinks for the same purpose³⁹. Two women who were not formally interviewed during the study reported to me having been drugged and then raped while unconscious.

With boyfriends, even if they do not consider themselves to have been raped, some of the women report a high degree of physical and verbal coercion. In the case of this interviewee, for example, her long-term boyfriend had invited her to come round when he knew his family would be out, and succeeded in persuading her to have sex with him. She reports that she agreed, but it is clear from her account that this was not a very meaningful type of consent:

Resp: Yes, it was more willingly, I think it was more willing than forced [...] I think that it was all about... that I didn't know to say no in time [...] On the one hand, they were telling me to take care of myself but they didn't tell me how, and on the other they were telling me that I mustn't let people touch me, but they touched me. So when the moment came when I had to decide if it was yes or no, I didn't know to say yes or no [...] To tell you the truth, I didn't know even what it was to have sexual relations. [...] I even said to him: no, no I don't want to, I don't want to, and he didn't want to let go of me at that point.

#92 (Int 151, 22+ year old woman, very Gente Joven, little family support, completed *prepa*)

Among some of the men, there is a casual acceptance of the idea that women sometimes have to be forced into having sex.

Int: Do you talk to your friends about things related to sex or sexual activity?

Resp: Yes

Int: And? [...] What sort of things do you talk about?

[...]

Resp: We talk about, about what I've done, you know? About how everything started, about whether she wanted to do it of her own free will, or if she was forced.

#93 (Int 99, 19 year old man, quite Gente Joven, less family support)

7.1.2.3 *Physical location of sexual activity*

In Mexico, there are considerable logistical difficulties involved in engaging in sexual activity. Most young people live with their families, and social norms mean that young women are frequently not allowed to enter a man's house alone, and young couples may not be permitted to enter a bedroom together. The most common locations for first coitus reported by young women in this study were (in order of frequency): the partner's house, hotels, their own house and a friend or relative's house. As we have seen, women report that entering a man's house can be considered to be tantamount to consenting to sexual intercourse. It is of interest, then, that the majority of women have first intercourse either in the man's house, or in hotels, which are highly likely to be paid for by the man. The women that had first coitus in hotels had partners ranging in age from 21 to 34 years old, with one exception where the partner was 18. The near-absence of younger male partners from this group may be because younger men are less likely to have money to pay for a hotel room.

Where sexual activity takes place in a house, fear of being caught is frequently mentioned. The young couples are usually alone for short periods of time only, and are aware that parents or other relatives may return at any moment.

Resp: [...] It was one time when my mum wasn't at home. She went to look after my granny at her house, and my dad was going to catch her up over there. She took her her food, and my brother, my brothers weren't in. They'd all gone to work. [...]

³⁹ *The man in this case does not specify what drug he uses, and says they were not drugged, but "les echábamos objetos para que se excitaran" (we put things in to make them excited).*

When we started to have sex, I felt very nervous, like I was afraid that my brothers were going to come back, or my dad, or whatever. I think it was like, about twenty minutes that we were there, from when he arrived to when I said: you know what, let's go because I'm scared.

#94 (Int 141, 22 year old woman, quite Gente Joven, little family support, at least completed *prepa*)

The couple in the following example were having sex at the man's house, but had to stop because someone arrived home.

[...] the first time wasn't very good, I mean, since we got caught, well, they didn't catch us, but someone was going to come in, and so we didn't finish (laughs)...well that was the first time... yes there was penetration, coitus.

#95 (Int 117, 22 year old woman, not Gente Joven, more family support, education level unknown)

In this case, the couple managed to engage in coitus, despite being in the man's house with his family present:

[...] they'd just finished eating, and we'd got up to wash the dishes and we'd got up to talk, all the women together, in the kitchen, and all the men and his little sister were in the living room watching the TV. That day we were going to watch the film "Ghost" and his youngest sister said: It's about to start, let's watch it. And since they were all in the living room watching the football, we went upstairs and he went up as well, and another of his brothers, the single one, went up too. Then suddenly, someone called for his brother and he left, and then there was a phone call for his sister, and she left. So we were there on our own – and this really makes me feel satisfied because really we never planned it, it just happened spontaneously, and really when I realised that everything had happened and he was asking if I wanted to go on or really start, and well, that was it. After that we were watching the film, and in fact when his sister arrived she said to us "I was stuck on the phone – I got all the good gossip" (laughs) and then afterwards we went downstairs and everyone was there, and no one realised. And there are times when my friends say to me: imagine what would have happened if someone had come upstairs, you know, and I'm like: maybe that was what was so exciting...the adrenaline that I felt, and I said: if they come in and catch us here...

#96 (Int 148, 19 year old woman, very Gente Joven, more family support, incomplete *prepa* because of university strikes)

7.1.2.4 *Communication with the partner*

“Communication” is frequently identified by the women as a characteristic of good sexual relationships. Lack of discussion about sex, sexuality, and contraception is associated in the interviews with coercion, unhappiness after sex, and non-use of contraception⁴⁰. Before first coitus, conversations between the women and their partners about sex and contraception varied from extremely open to none at all. Just under half of the women report having spoken to their partners about coitus beforehand, and agreeing that it would take place. They did not necessarily plan the exact date and time of the event, although some did. This interviewee describes how she and her boyfriend had discussed having sex before their first time:

Resp: Yes, we'd talked, we'd talked about it... actually for months beforehand. Is now the right time? ...We'd talked about why, and if not, why not? [...] And in fact, we were talking about it for a long time before, I mean: When should the moment be? How should it be? And all that. And we both agreed that, well, the moment was when both of us felt that it was the moment. Because there had been times that, well, that I felt that: no, it still isn't the right time, and probably he was like: it still isn't the right time. So it happened when we both felt like it was the moment, and we went with it. As I say, we'd agreed that we were going to do it according to our feelings, you know? [...] So that it turned out well, you know, so to speak.

#97 (Int 110, 22 year old woman, not Gente Joven, more family support)

About a third of the women report little or no discussion with their partner before the event:

Resp: ...it was in my house after a party, with this boy, and he was in my mum's room. I thought that he was already asleep. I went downstairs and the sofas were taken, and the other room was taken as well, so I went upstairs to lie down next to him, you know? But I never imagined that anything was going to happen. And I lay next to him and we started to kiss, and everything started happening. I was tense: What am I doing? Shall I do it? And since we'd been like that once before already, and he had said that he wanted to go all the way with me, and I said no to him, I mean, better wait. So that day, well, I said yes to him. After having sex, we went to sleep.

Int: How old were you?

⁴⁰ See also section below on contraceptive use.

Resp: Who me? Fifteen. It was two months ago.

#98 (Int 86, 15 year old woman, not Gente Joven, less family support)

The remaining women report a slightly different type of communication with their partners, in which the event appeared to be entirely orientated around the wishes of the man. Sexual activity was sometimes discussed, but in a way that did not allow the women to express or achieve their personal wishes. In these scenarios, women either did not express their own views at all, or were ignored by their partners. In contrast to the "no communication" scenarios, remarks about sex may have been made, the couple stopped short of communication that would have allowed discussion or understanding of each other's point of view. This occurred, for example, in the coercion scenarios described above.

Approximately one-third of the women had planned their first coitus. The planning was occasionally only a very short time beforehand, but both partners agreed before the event to have sex at a particular moment. These women had almost always also had open discussions with their partners beforehand.

Resp: I'd arranged to visit him after school. His sister was always there, but that day by chance she wasn't, and we ended up thinking and decided that we would do it.

Int: You two spoke beforehand

Resp: Yes, in fact, before that, we'd talked about sexuality, what we felt for one another, whether we'd go all the way or not...

#99 (Int 150, 17 year old woman, quite Gente Joven, more family support)

The remaining women, however, did not plan their first coitus at all. These women report varying degrees of communication with their partners before the event.

Int: And why, how did everything happen?

Resp: There was no one in my house. We'd never felt that way, neither of us. Nothing had ever happened between us, and I think that it was the moment.

Int: Had you discussed it beforehand?

Resp: Well, yes, but not in detail. We'd talked about, he had told me that he'd never had any experience, nor me, so for both of us it was the first time.

#100 (Int 109, 17 year old woman, not Gente Joven, less family support)

7.1.2.4.1 Communication after first coitus

In general, there is more communication reported between partners after first coitus.

[...] Above all, it's been with much less fear, you know? Less nervousness. I mean, in fact, now there's no fear. I think... I would say that one of the best things, the most beautiful things that we have in the relationship is that that we can...talk. Ask in detail about what's happening with this, you know? Because... So yes, it's matured well.

#101 (Int 110, 22 year old woman, not Gente Joven, more family support)

He treated me affectionately, he respected me. I mean, we talked about condoms. I mean, before doing it, we talked, we sort of cleared the ground.

#102 (Int 11, 18 year old woman, not Gente Joven, less family support)

This increase in communication also applies with new partners. This woman contrasts her experience with communication in her second relationship with the lack of communication in her first relationship, where she was pressured into sex.

[...] It was really lovely the first kiss. Also that experience. It was really slow, really affectionate, [...] really gentle. I mean, really relaxed. If I resisted, he didn't make me – he just carried on kissing me. [...] And he was talking to me: do you like this? [...] I mean for him it was always talking, talking, talking, talking. And it was really strange for me, not like the other animal [her other partner], that just arrives, "eats", and leaves... So it was really great. [...] He said to me: shall I use a condom? He used a condom. We were clear right from the beginning about what we wanted, and what each of us expected. And he said to me: okay, with commitment or without commitment? And I said: without commitment. And he says: well, let's use a condom. Is that okay with you? – Well, yes [...] and also I was very clear that I didn't want to have a formal relationship with him. I mean, it was just an experience, and I wasn't interested in formalising anything. So I talked to him and I said: well, let's see what happens, but nothing else. You're under no obligations and nor am I.

#103 (Int 151, 22+ year old woman, very Gente Joven, little family support, completed *prepa*)

7.1.3 The individual

Women in this study rarely mention their own needs and desires as individuals in terms of first coitus. For example, none of the women report their emotional

responses to first coitus in terms of themselves as individuals. Instead, all the emotions related to other people: usually their partners, and often also their families (for example experiences of guilt and regret, as described above). Nevertheless, sexual intercourse has a physical impact on a woman's body and has implications for outcomes that affect her as an individual.

7.1.3.1 Pleasure and pain

The invisibility of female sexual pleasure in discourses about sex is discussed at length by Wilton in her analysis of health promotion and education in more developed countries (1997), and many of the women participating in the Gente Joven programme during this study were surprised to learn about the possibility that a woman might enjoy sex. The social construction of meaning around first coitus may for some women override the physical sensations of the act itself. Nevertheless, the fact remains that a woman may desire coitus because she is curious about how it feels, or because she expects/desires physical pleasure. By having sex, a woman may take control of her physical desire and satisfy it. Given the gender-related imbalances in power, and the gender-differentiated social consequences of sexual activity, however, a woman may be limited in how she may satisfy physical desire without suffering emotional or social costs. She may lose some physical control after she has had sex once, because she may no longer have the power to refuse sex on subsequent occasions – having forfeited the excuse of preserving her virginity, or having once “ceded” (as described above). She may also suffer emotionally – for example feeling used or betrayed.

Some of the women in this study report having taken deliberate steps to protect themselves against potential negative outcomes in terms of their relationships with their partners when wishing to have sex because of desire for physical pleasure or curiosity. This woman took control of the situation, in that she initiated her first coitus, and physically stayed on top of her partner.

Resp: Because I really liked kissing, cuddling, whatever you want to call it...kisses, cuddles, but penetration – I feel like I was in the generation where you got more information and you expect more. I mean now it's not so much that they tell you to marry in white, but that you have to choose the person, the place – well, I didn't choose the place – I feel like I did it. There was a boy that I found really attractive so he... I always went, lots of times, to a hotel with him, but nothing ever happened. I went to the hotel with other boys as well but penetration never happened, so I said: I want to leave this

boy that I was attracted to – I did feel something for him, but his ideas clashed with mine – so I said: I'm going to leave him but if it's going to be anybody, I want it to be him. So I remember we went to a disco, drank a bit. He had a car, and in the car, I mean, he was surprised because I didn't say that I wanted to do it. It was because of my decision that I wanted to, so he undid his zip, and me on top of him, and so that's how it was and so the thing is that I did everything – I'm such a bad girl! You know I didn't want to feel used or utilised because there had been lots of times when he said yes – for him it was his first time as well – and he told me that he wanted to, that he wanted to and I said to him "no way, come off it!". I went away for a weekend with him and nothing happened, and I would say that probably that time when I was with him for the whole weekend, it would have happened but nothing happened. Instead, as I said, when I realised that his ideas weren't like mine, then, as I said, I got on top of him and that was that. I mean: I did everything, you know?

#104 (Int 135, 21 year old woman, not Gente Joven, little family support)

All the women saying that they had first coitus because of physical desire were in relationships with their partners that had already lasted a number of months.

The women report negative feelings about the physical experience of first coitus to a far greater degree than the men do. Many of the women say that first coitus was very painful and/or disappointing:

Int: And how did you feel after that experience?

Resp: Well, I felt let down, you know? Like this magical thing that everyone says it is... like our teachers say that sex is the most beautiful thing. I was saying: well, where do I find the beauty? For me there was a lot of physical pain.

#105 (Int 115, 22 year old woman, not Gente Joven, less family support, at least completed *prepa*)

Painful sex, however, is not necessarily associated with negative feelings about the experience as a whole – these feelings depend more on the emotional relationship the woman has with her partner. Whether or not coitus is painful, the women frequently say that it is unsatisfying. Very few of the women report experiencing physical pleasure at first coitus.

In sexual experiences after first coitus, women's emphasis on the relationship aspects of the event is not as pronounced, and they begin to refer more to physical motivations for sex.

[...] With the first one, I had sex because of love, and with the second, well, it was because of lust, you know? Because, well, he was younger than me, and he hadn't had sex before, and well, let's teach him then! (both laugh)
And on top of that, I really fancied the boy a lot.

#106 (Int 121, 22 year old woman, not Gente Joven, little family support)

After the first time, women report much more concern about their own enjoyment of sexual activity, and many expect to feel physical pleasure.

Int: How did you feel... well, I mean, how did you feel the first time?

Resp: I felt excitement but nothing else. I mean I wasn't even satisfied, I didn't have my orgasm or anything like that.

Int: And how do you feel now, or after that...

Resp: Almost, I mean, the same. I mean, so much excitement, but without reaching full satisfaction, seeing as how he doesn't think about what I want to feel.

Int: Have you spoken to him, or have you tried to...

Resp: Yes, but it's like he doesn't listen. [...] I mean, I relate to him on a different level. He's like my best friend, but not my best lover.

#107 (Int 116, 22 year old woman, not Gente Joven, less family support)

Int: How much do you try to influence the way things happen in terms of pleasure or protection?

Resp: Er... well, I try to enjoy it myself, because for example, with the partner when I was 15, I was more concerned about the other person, and not about myself. And because of that, a lot of times, he was the one who used to be satisfied and so I couldn't guarantee that for myself. So now I try to worry about my pleasure. I mean, worry about the other person's as well, but also about mine.

Int: Do you talk to each other about it?

Resp: Yes.

#108 (Int 38, 20 year old woman, not Gente Joven, less family support)

This woman even criticises her partner when she does not feel physically satisfied:

It was in the woods, and it was just like, take off your trousers and there you go. And it was really bad. I mean the boy was a premature ejaculator. He

hadn't had a partner for two years, and he'd only done it with one girl. And when I said to him: don't you know that women have multiple orgasms? He said to me: what's that? So I was left like... I mean, it was a complete let down.

#109 (Int 102, 19 year old woman, very Gente Joven, less family support)

7.1.3.2 *Pregnancy and STDs*

Sexual intercourse may also have an impact on women as individuals through unplanned pregnancy or STDs. While STDs are always unwanted, this is not necessarily true of pregnancy: for example, a woman may decide that the risk of pregnancy is relatively unimportant because she believes that she became pregnant, her partner would "do the right thing" and marry her. Indeed, if childbearing is conceived as a route to adult status, and the logical consequence of a loving relationship, pregnancy may not be considered to be a negative outcome at all (as found in Nicaragua by Berglund et al. 1997). This is discussed in more detail in the section on contraception at the end of this chapter.

One of the reasons that sexual behaviour and contraceptive use change over time among interviewees in this study is that at some point a sexual relationship has a negative outcome, for example: pregnancies, and pregnancy scares, abortion, STDs, or emotional bad treatment from a partner. For example, after a pregnancy scare that followed coercive sex without condoms:

Int: Imagine that he'd refused to use a condom...

Resp: If he'd refused? Well, I think that I'd have convinced him...

Int: You'd have convinced him?

Resp: Yes, I'd have done everything possible to convince him. Because the first time, you're waiting for your period to come, and it's terrifying to be waiting for that moment. So really after that I didn't want to go through the same pain. I can tell you when you have your period, you have everything in life, and you say: I'm not going to do it again without a condom. It didn't happen after that.

#110 (Int 126, 22 year old woman, very Gente Joven, little family support)

After an abortion:

[...] Now I'm wary of having sex with other people, you know? I mean I don't want to re-live what happened with the first one.

#111 (Int 11, 18 year old woman, not Gente Joven, little family support)

After pregnancy:

After having had sex once and having my baby... After that I took care of myself more. I was more picky. So the people who have been with me, sexually, have been something special for me. I've found something special in them that makes me want to have sex with them.

#112 (Int 115, 22 year old woman, not Gente Joven, less family support, at least completed *prepa*)

After being treated badly by her ex-boyfriend

Int: Would you like to have sex [with your current boyfriend]?

Resp: No, not yet. Since, well, I wouldn't like to start having problems. I don't know. I'm afraid of the same thing happening again, that I wouldn't be satisfied.

#113 (Int 158, 18 year old woman, very Gente Joven, little family support)

7.2 Young men's sexual activity

Fifty-three of the men interviewed for this study had had coitus. Age at first coitus ranged between 10 and 20 years, and, like the women, most had older partners although the partners tended to be closer to their own age than those of the women. Partner age, where known, ranged from 9 to 35.

7.2.1 Social influences

In a society where sexual intercourse and particularly penetration has a high symbolic importance in masculine identity, motivations and reasons for young men to have first coitus are completely different to those of women. To some extent, men must "prove" their masculinity and an important way to do this may be through demonstrating sexual prowess (Szasz 1998b).

The social importance to the young men of having their first sexual experiences is illustrated by this man, whose reaction to his first coitus is to tell his friends about it:

[...] I felt happy, because now I knew what the score was. I even went to tell my friends, and...I mean, I felt happy, I felt... I don't know...excited, you could say, like: wanting to do it again.

#114 (Int 61, 17 year old man, quite Gente Joven, little family support, completed two years of *prepa*)

This interviewee, who did not particularly enjoy his first coitus, illustrates his negative feelings by saying that it was not even worth bragging about:

Int: How did you feel after that experience?

Resp: Deep down nothing happened to me. Nothing physical either, obviously, but deep down... just that... It wasn't even something you could brag about either. It was really unimportant in that moment.

#115 (Int 122, 22 year old man, not Gente Joven, less family support)

The young men in this study were not easily able to articulate their reasons for having first coitus. In most cases, the reasons they gave presupposed a shared understanding between the interviewer and interviewee that young men would naturally desire sex. Men's reports frequently contained two related assumptions: first, that under certain physical circumstances, sex is inevitable; and second, that sexual intercourse is desirable and therefore requires no particular explanation. Specific motives for sex were rarely given by the men – the most common explanation for the first time was that “one thing led to another”. These young men's cases are typical:

[...] You know, that day, there wasn't a “why”, it just happened.

#116 (Int 95, 20 year old man, quite Gente Joven, little family support, completed vocational training)

[...] I don't know what happened, we started kissing, and it happened.

#117 (Int 104, 17 year old man, not Gente Joven, more family support)

[...] the situation lent itself to it, because we were alone [...] I think we let ourselves get carried away by the moment. I think it was the moment.

#118 (Int 122, 22 year old man, not Gente Joven, less family support)

Men whose partners had initiated the coitus described their motivation to comply in even more passive terms. If the woman wants sex, the implication is, the man will oblige and no further questions about his motivation need be asked or answered:

She wanted to experiment, and well, I didn't object to the idea!

#119 (Int 119, 22 year old man, not Gente Joven, less family support)

[...] It was because she started to say she wanted to do everything with me.

#120 (Int 99, 19 year old man, not Gente Joven, less family support)

After their first coitus, the feelings most commonly reported by the men in this study are of triumph, excitement, of having achieved a long-term goal, of becoming a man. They want to have sex again as soon as possible:

Int: How did you feel after that sexual experience?

Resp: Well, very good. Because it was the first one that I had. It was a real experience! Because it's something that supposedly you've been waiting for, for a long time, isn't it? Ever since you start to realise that sex exists, and about having sex, and all that stuff, it's something that you're waiting for, isn't it?

#121 (Int 92, 21 year old man, not Gente Joven, little family support)

Int: How did you feel after that experience?

Resp: How did I feel? Well, like, as if... I wanted to tell the entire world about it, you know? As if now I was... I don't know...a real man, you know?

#122 (Int 99, 19 year old man, not Gente Joven, less family support)

In this study, it appears that a man's friendship group may have a stronger direct influence over his sexual behaviour than a woman's group over hers. This is because in contrast to the women, many of the men report talking about sex with their friends, so would be likely to receive more direct messages from their peers than women about sexual behaviour.

If a group of men value sexual experience highly, this may encourage an individual man within the group to begin sexual activity if he has not yet done so:

Int: Do you feel that your sexual behaviour was controlled by you, or by other people?

Resp: No, perhaps a bit by the environment you live in... the majority of my classmates had already had sex, or.... Yes, the majority had already had sex. I feel like that influenced me, but it wasn't the main thing.

Int: You say it influenced you a bit... what sort of thing could have influenced you?

Resp: In that I was seeing my classmates talking about how far, how great sex is, how great it is to ejaculate inside a woman... I said: good, but I've never done it. It would be great if it were true what they say. Basically it's that.

#123 (Int 37, 20 year old man, very Gente Joven, less family support)

Apart from the general social pressures on men to begin their sexual lives, men in this study also describe direct pressure from friends to have sex. In the case of this young man, for example, his masculinity is questioned when he initially avoids sexual intercourse at a party:

Int: Can you tell me what happened [the first time], how it happened, where it happened, in what circumstances?

Resp: Well, it was under pressure, wasn't it...

Int: What did your friends say

Resp: That: you're not a man, that...I don't know what...the classic, you know. What the boys say to you: if you don't do it, you're gay⁴¹ etc. etc., you know.[...] She had had a party because her parents had gone on holiday Friday, Saturday, and Sunday. The Friday night, we went to her house and she had a party. Each person went and took a room, a partner, and well, you can guess the rest, can't you.... So I stayed there with the girl in the sitting room. Afterwards, one of my classmates came down, and she'd gone to the kitchen, and he said: still nothing? And well, I said: no, and they started with: you're gay... Because the majority had already finished and were starting to come downstairs. They said: you're gay... you're this and you're that. Fine. I went upstairs with the girl to a bedroom and we had sex. [...]

Int: How did you feel after the experience?

Resp: Well, more than anything, a bit revolted, you know? Because it had been... tense, you know? Because of the pressure of my classmates. As for the girl, to tell the truth I think that she may have felt a bit the same because of her friends, because we went downstairs straight away and went to our separate groups: she went to the women, and I went to the men. I mean, as if it had been pre-planned. More than anything I felt a bit revolted.

#124 (Int 56, 19 year old man, not Gente Joven, less family support)

While friendship groups may be an important influence on men, the influence is not unidirectional: members of the same group exert as well as receive influence (Bandura 1977). In addition, social groups do not exist in isolation. If a particular group values sexual experience highly it is likely to be in large part because of the cultural backgrounds and beliefs of the individuals within the group, and a simplistic model of peer "pressure" leading to sexual activity would therefore be misleading (Hopkins 1994).

As discussed in Chapter 5, the influence of men's families over their sexual activity is limited to vague advice to "be careful", or "respect" their girlfriends.

⁴¹ He says *mariquita* – a diminutive variation of *maricón*.

After first coitus, men do not necessarily have penetrative sex with subsequent partners. The most common reason given for this is that the women refuse – the implication being that coitus would occur with these women if only they agreed:

Int: How many partners have you had? Or girlfriends?

Resp: I've had about seven or eight.

Int: And two with penetrative sex?

Resp: Yes.

Int: Why not with the others?

Resp: Because, well because they wouldn't! (both laugh) No, no, that's not true... Because, well, because they didn't want it like that, and well, you have to respect them, their ideas.

#125 Int 22 (16 year old man, quite Gente Joven, more family support)

On the other hand, men report feeling relief at not being virgins, suggesting that they might feel less pressure to have sex after the first time.

Int: Can you compare your first experience with this one... How has it changed?

Resp: Maybe the excitement, you know. The first time, you feel like, like: what's going on? Well, then you know, right? Now at least I'm not a virgin, am I. And now I see it as something normal. In my life it's something normal now.

#126 (Int 29, 19 year old man, quite Gente Joven, more family support)

The social aspects of having first coitus tend to be positive for men: vaginal penetration represents a transition to adulthood, a proof of masculinity, and may increase an individual's status within their peer group. As with the women, however, the strong social pressures on men are not insurmountable, and some men informally told me that they deliberately chose abstinence, to avoid risk of unwanted pregnancy, or to avoid being emotionally hurt by the woman.

7.2.2 The individual

A second element of a man's reasons and motivations for sex rest in physical aspects of the event. As for the women, the man may wish to have sex for physical pleasure, or because of curiosity about how it feels. In fact, these are the only specific reasons that the men give for first coitus.

The first time? Well [it was because of] sexual desire, in the first place, and curiosity because I didn't know. The whole world talked to me about it. I didn't know what it was like.

#127 (Int 124, 22 year old man, not Gente Joven, less family support)

Only three of the men reported that the coitus had been physically disappointing.

On the physical side there are potentially negative outcomes. These, as for women, include the risk of pregnancy or STDs. The men may, however, take risk of pregnancy less seriously than the women: in this study they tend not to mention pregnancy as a potential risk of sexual activity, possibly because they feel that they would not be directly affected. STDs and HIV/AIDS are sometimes taken more seriously than other negative outcomes, but the majority of the men do not consider themselves to be at serious risk of disease. Some of the men report generally positive feelings, about first coitus, for example, but worry afterwards about STDs because in the heat of the moment, they do not use a condom. One man also reports being worried about pregnancy after first coitus.

A commonly reported concern that men have about their first coitus is that they will be unable to sustain an erection and/or "know what to do". These anxieties are never mentioned in terms of the partner's pleasure, simply in terms of ability to achieve vaginal penetration. Clearly if the act of vaginal penetration is a defining moment in the transition from child to manhood, being unable to perform this act has serious implications for the man in terms of his self-esteem. After their first coitus, some of the men report a lessening or removal of the anxiety that they would not know what to do when having sex: they now know what sex is all about (see below).

7.2.3 The dyad

The men had first coitus within a far wider range of types of relationship than did the women. While 24 of the young men had first coitus with a girlfriend, for 17 it was with friends or other women that they knew, and the remaining 11 had first coitus with strangers (including one with a commercial sex worker). Twenty-three of the men had partners who were already sexually experienced.

The men's first coitus in this study also tends to be unplanned, and in a wider range of locations than the women's. Many of the men interviewed appear to be more concerned with the fact of having sex, than in the relationship with their partner. Many say that they first had coitus simply because the opportunity arose and the key characteristic of the partner in many cases appears to have been her willingness to

consent to coitus at that moment. Some of the men say that they delayed coitus because they did not have a condom to hand.

Unlike the young women, who tended to talk about their experiences of first coitus in terms of the relationship they had with their partner, the men tended to talk in terms of themselves as individuals and their position in society. This young man is very unusual in his emphasis on his relationship:

[...] I knew that either it would bring us closer together, or it would separate us [...] I was more sure that it would bring us together, and because at that point it was something that we needed, both of us, both of us [...] More than anything because... Look, she wanted it, I wanted it, we did it because of love. So love moves the world, really love moves the world. You, why do you do things? For love: of your partner, of your children, of yourself....so... or of whoever, but love moves the world [...] So our motivation more than anything was to satisfy one another, and ourselves, logically.

#128 (Int 48, 19 year old man, quite Gente Joven, less family support)

Men may mention relationships less at least in part because they are unused to expressing their feelings about relationships, rather than simply because no relationship existed. For example, this interviewee mentions his feelings for his partner only after prompting by the interviewer, and appears to be in doubt about their relevance:

Int: And the motives for you two having sex?

Resp: I don't know...heat of the moment...

Int: Anything else?

Resp: Well, no, I mean, because we love each other, maybe.

#129 (Int 8, 18 year old man, very Gente Joven, little family support)

Within a stable relationship, one motive for engaging in coitus for the first time may be the possibility of the relationship becoming closer afterwards. On the other hand, a girlfriend may be seen as an inappropriate partner for penetrative sex, because of notions that she should be "respected". A man may prefer to have sex with a stranger so that he continues to "respect" his girlfriend. This interviewee had first vaginal intercourse with his girlfriend when they were both drunk, but subsequently has only had oral sex with girlfriends:

Int: So after your first sexual experience you've had others, but with...

Resp: With prostitutes.

Int: Why did you change?

Resp: Because, I don't know... Only for satisfaction. I mean, well, up until now, I've respected the last three girlfriends that I've had, you know? I wouldn't have liked to have had sex with them, I mean, no. Because, because I respect them a lot. Their parents totally trusted me, and to let them down in such a... well such an illogical way, just for a moment of pleasure, well, you're like: what's all that about?

#130 (Int 101, 18 year old man, quite Gente Joven, more family support)

Men also have sex with women other than their girlfriends because the opportunity does not arise with the girlfriend, or because she will not consent to coitus. Some men who do not have girlfriends have sex with friends or strangers.

Some men are afraid of hurting their partners emotionally or physically, and this can be a sufficiently negative proposition that they avoid coitus, even if they engage in other forms of sexual activity. These men make a point of distancing themselves from the type of "women as sex objects", coercive attitude expressed by some of the other men described above, saying that it is important to wait until both partners are ready. Some specifically say they wish to avoid pressuring women, pointing out, for example, that if women do not want coitus, they will not enjoy it, and that this may damage the relationship.

... I can probably convince a friend to do it, but if she's not sure about what she's doing, well, it's better to stop it, isn't it... So that I avoid any problems... Future problems of some sort, you know? Any sort of problem... I don't know... That thing of: you made me have sex with you, and now you have to stay with me... And, I don't know... Whatever, you know? We're not all the same, we don't all think the same, so that's why... better stop it before it starts...

[...]

The main thing is that I always... I had said to her: if you don't want to have sex with me, then don't do it. Just because you're my girlfriend, you're not obliged to have sex. If you don't want it, then no. [...] So I never pressured her to have sex [...] and I think that that was the reason she agreed, you know? Having something good.

#131 (Int 107, 22 year old man, very Gente Joven, less family support)

In addition, like the women, men risk rejection after first coitus (possibly because of having hurt the woman in some way). Although this may be upsetting emotionally for the man, it is likely to have less serious social consequences than for a woman,

because rather than damaging his reputation, having more partners may increase the man's social status (Szasz 1998a).

After the first time, men tend to cite love and closeness of relationships more frequently as the reason for coitus.

7.2.3.1 *Power imbalances*

There is a social expectation that men will be in control of their sexual interactions with women. Men sometimes mention that they want their partners to enjoy sex. The emphasis, however, is usually on the man giving or not giving the woman pleasure. One such man was astonished to discover that women could reach orgasm by masturbation because he had thought that female orgasm required a man. There a strong sense, particularly in the men's own reports, that sexual interactions are expected to be entirely under the control and initiative of the man. Where women take the initiative, the men are taken by surprise:

[...] As I say, it embarrasses me. I'd never felt... it's the first girl, this last one... er... knelt down... because my penis was erect, she started to kiss it, you know? So I started to feel nice [...] I told her: hang on! Hang on! I was embarrassed that she would do that to me, being my girlfriend. So she said to me, annoyed: hang on yourself. So after that, I didn't say anything to her. I let her carry on.

#132 (Int 155, 22 year old man, quite Gente Joven, more family support, completed two years of secondary school)

Power imbalances do not necessarily work in men's favour. Sexual experience and age may also change the power balance in a relationship. In this study, some men report negative emotional outcomes after their first coitus. These men's partners were all older, sexually experienced women. Negative reactions appear to be linked to the fact that their first experiences did not fit the stereotype of masculine behaviour as sexually controlling and dominant. They lacked control within the interaction, and felt that their ability to "perform" was being judged.

Not all the men having first coitus with experienced women were negative about it: on the contrary, feelings ranged from positive to negative. On the other hand, where the partner was a virgin, the men were almost exclusively positive about the event. Of the men's partners, most of the strangers were already sexually experienced, while most of the girlfriends were virgins. In fact, the only cases where men were negative

about first coitus with a girlfriend were when she was not a virgin. Men's partners who were friends were sometimes virgins and sometimes not.

This young man was seduced by his school teacher, who controlled the entire interaction, including initiating condom use. He was ambivalent about the event, and expressed negativity in terms of concern about STDs, despite the fact that he used a condom. The source of his negativity seems likely to be the fact that he felt out of control:

[...] I was fine, it was satisfactory, but I was afraid, or rather, if I had thought things through better beforehand, well, before starting...I let myself get carried away. I thought: shall I say to her that without a condom, nothing's going to happen? No, well, we're here now. So what if? What if – that was the question – what if I hadn't used a condom. In fact, the frightening thing was disease, or that she might have got pregnant. I was terrified that she would get pregnant, because it wrecks everything, doesn't it? Everything. There are lots of things you can't do.

#133 (Int 64, 20 year old man, very Gente Joven, less family support)

Another man initially cites the dangers of pregnancy to explain why he cut his first coitus short, but his negativity seems more related to the fact that he has to endure the indignity of his partner telling him what to do, and is also humiliated by his inability to "do it".

Resp: The first time was [...] in the Cerro de la Estrella⁴² when I was at secondary school. A few of us went, and well, I saw that everyone left, and they left me with a girl in a little cave up there, you know? And that's where we started. I didn't know how to kiss very well, and supposedly she taught me. And we started and we took everything off. I got undressed, and I was shaking, really no one had seen my body before, and I wasn't sure what it was all about. And she said: no, look, we're going to do this and this – But it's just that... I don't know – No, but you have to put your penis in here, and here and like this. Then I just put it in like four times and pulled it out, and pulled up my trousers, and said: no, I'm scared. In that moment, I knew that people could get pregnant like that. My fear was, I said: she mustn't get pregnant. Better not to do it. I still didn't know much about AIDS, about condoms and that. That was the first time.

⁴² *The Cerro de la Estrella is the name of a hill in Mexico City.*

Int: How did you feel after that happened?

Resp: Normal, not with much... I said what an idiot I am. I don't know. I should know this, but no, no. It wasn't a case of thinking about it as such. No, it happened, you know? That's what it was.

Int: How would you rate that experience?

Resp: It was stupid.

Int: How did you feel emotionally and physically?

Resp: Normal. I'm just saying that...it was just the thing of saying: I was an idiot. Because in the films it happens so easily and simply, and I couldn't do it.

#134 (Int 100, 19 year old man, not Gente Joven, less family support)

A woman who is experienced "knows" what sex should be like. She is able to compare her partner with previous partners. A man who has sex with a non-virgin therefore invites comparison between himself and other men. The concern is not the woman's pleasure, but whether his performance matches up to other men: whether he is also able to "do it". This man has sex when drunk with a partner that he describes as "easy", and although there is vaginal penetration, he is unable to "finish" (by which presumably he means ejaculate).

Int: How did you feel afterwards?

Resp: Really strange – or rather, I didn't know what... Very frustrated, to tell the truth

En: Why?

Resp: Because I didn't finish it off... and because I thought that I had come across as, as... like... inexpert, a real novice.

#135 (Int 124, 22 year old man, not Gente Joven, less family support)

When the men pass this "test", they report very positive feelings about the interaction.

[...] As far as my first experience is concerned, I'd say that it gave me a lot of confidence. And I know that I did it well, because she was telling me that she'd already had an experience – some good experiences – because for her it was pretty common to have sex – she was saying to me: don't feel bad – I remember her words – don't feel bad: you satisfy me⁴³. But at that age, I didn't know what she meant, what I wanted was to get out of that

⁴³ She says "me llenas" literally "you fill me up".

thing, of being inexpert, and will I do it or won't I? What do I know? And I'm going to do it because I want to and I need to do it. And it was very productive. I felt very capable of doing it and the little or nothing that I knew in those moments, well, I learned there. I finished with the theory and moved on to the practice, and that was... well over time, it set the standard to be able to do it better.

#136 (Int 41, 21 year old man, not Gente Joven, little family support)

Men are sometimes pressured by women who accuse them of being homosexual, or insinuate that if they refuse they will compromise their masculinity. In one case, a man reports having been blackmailed by a woman who wished to have sex with him. Some men report that women undress in front of them, or persistently ask them for sex.

In some cases, the men agree to coitus after being pressured. The tone of the stories that the men tell about pressure is very different to the tone of the women. In the case below, for example, the tone is jokey, and the interviewee seems to be bragging to the (male) interviewer, while at the same time identifying himself as having been pressured.

Int: Has anyone ever pressured you to have sex?

Resp: Yes, that girl that I said pressured me. And well, if a person's weak, and the flesh is ready, well, you're not going to turn her away, are you?
(both laugh)

Int: What sort of pressure do you consider that it was?

Resp: Well, it's just that she came up to me...it was a surprise. I was there, as I say, with my sister and my cousin, dancing, and afterwards the music finished, and she called me. She said: come here – so I went – the thing is that I like you – and I don't know what else and... I don't know... So it was like she started to pressure me saying: go on, make the most of it, this doesn't happen every day, go on! And afterwards...she started sort of making insinuations, you know, making insinuations to me, you know, like she was putting her arms round me, like she wanted to kiss me. I was backing off saying: no, that she should wait. That sort of pressure. And then she said to me: I'll wait for you over there, outside, you know?

So I said to my sister and my cousin: I'll be back in a bit. No, well, walk me back to my house! And, well, taking advantage of the fact that no one was there, what had to happen, happened.

#137 (Int 71, 22 year old man, not Gente Joven, little family support, completed two years of vocational training)

A similar tone is evident in another interview, given to a female interviewer:

Resp: [...] almost straight away, she started, and she said to me... No well, on purpose, she just turned around and went past, almost rubbing against my legs. She says: ooh! What a big one you've got (laughs)... and me: my god! Shut up! Shut up! Shut up! You know? She says to me: don't tell me you're afraid – no, well, actually yes. She says: what of? – Of pregnancy – well, it'll only be stroking... And me: oh, what's happening. And she says: go on! And she says: just look. And she starts to take her blouse off. Ah! I didn't want to look! I didn't... I say to her: no! Get away! You know? I say to her: if you're going to get naked, go somewhere else! She says to me: what are you a poof⁴⁴ or what? I say, no... I say no, come off it! She says: well then? And I'm like: no, no, no! No – I'd better bring you your posters, and then you should go, you know? She says: no (singing). You are a poo-oof, you are a poo-oof! And I'm: oof! Shut up! She says: let's see, try to... let's see. If you're not a poof, let's see you do something to me. And I'm here: oh! You want to see? Well, that was enough. I said: no, well, if this girl wants it, well, you can't exactly deny her it can you? Well, you know, he who's hungry asks for bread...

#138 (Int 105, 16 year old man, not Gente Joven, little family support)

In one case, a young man expressed fear of being used and resisted pressure from his girlfriend to have sex, with somewhat unpleasant consequences:

[...] I didn't like the sexual insinuations that she made towards me. I didn't like them at all. I felt like the only thing she wanted from me was sex. She was 22 when I was 16. She was six years older than me, and that was exactly why it made me... that was exactly why things didn't work. Because she, in the moment when I told her that I didn't want to have sex with her, three days afterwards, she dumped me. She got really angry with me. She stopped talking to me, and apart from that, she went around saying that I

⁴⁴ She uses the word "puñal".

was immature. [...] It made me scared that that was the only thing that she was looking for and that as soon as I, I mean I was going to commit myself emotionally to her, and as soon as I didn't fit with what she wanted sexually, or emotionally, she was going to get rid of me. So I was scared of feeling bad about myself afterwards for having accepted something that wasn't the best thing for me, and that I knew wasn't the best thing for me...

#139 (Int 134, 18 year old man, not Gente Joven, more family support)

7.2.3.2 *Communication*

The men reported less discussion with their partners about first coitus than the women. Open discussion about sex was reported exclusively with girlfriends.

[...] we talked a lot, and she was the one who asked me: have you had sex? And I tell her: no and I was a bit embarrassed because she was just looking at me like this, so I said to her: the thing is that I'm not experienced, and I said to her: have you? And she said no. [She said:] Are you sure? – Yes, I haven't had any sexual experience. Then, yes, we felt comfortable because neither of us had...

#140 (Int 104, 17 year old man, not Gente Joven, more family support)

Over half the men reported no discussion or very little discussion with their partners before first coitus. In cases where there was no discussion at all, the partners were usually not girlfriends.

Int: Could you tell me about your first sexual experience? How did it happen?

Resp: It happened with a school friend. We were in her house, we were going to do some homework. Well, there were three girls and me, but we sent the other girls off to get materials, but well, neither she nor I were a couple. We were dancing, she offered me a drink, and I don't know... It was the moment. I wasn't even conscious of what I was doing.

#141 (Int 35, 20 year old man, not Gente Joven, more family support)

In the remaining cases, the men may have spoken to the women about sex, but essentially agreed to coitus when it was suggested by the women. Most of the women in these scenarios were already sexually experienced. The communication was incomplete in the sense that the women made it clear that they wished to have sex, but the discussion did not progress beyond that level.

Very few of the men had planned first coitus (7 out of 53), and of these, two had planned it without consulting the partner. Some had spoken to their girlfriends about coitus in advance, but had not planned a specific moment. Most of the men, however, had not planned first coitus at all.

After the first time, men report more communication with partners. This man, for instance, says his girlfriend wanted coitus:

I told her that we had to think about it very carefully, and act properly, you know. Not act like... because of, well, what I had seen, that she had another two sisters, that ended up pregnant after short-term relationships, you know? And...we talked about it really clearly. That's how that happened.

#142 (Int 64, 20 year old man, very Gente Joven, less family support)

7.2.3.3 *Where first coitus took place*

As well as having different types of partners, the locations for first coitus among the men were also somewhat different to those of the women (see Table 5). In common with the women, many men had first coitus in a house or hotel. Unlike the women, however, a relatively large proportion of the men had first coitus outdoors (8 out of 53), including in parks, woods, and alleyways. The nature of the locations and partners suggest that the men, unlike the women, tend to take opportunities for coitus where or whenever they might find them, rather than having sex with a particular partner.

Like the women, the men report fear of being caught at first coitus. This man was in his girlfriend's house:

[...] We were really scared, afraid. Every other second she would get up, say: hang on a minute, like that. Every other second.

#143 (Int 95, 20 year old man, quite Gente Joven, little family support, completed vocational training))

Location of first coitus	Women	Men
His house	27	14
Hotel (probably paid for by him)	13	5
Her house	10	17
Friend or relative's house	5	6
Outside	0	8
Party	1	2
Other	3	1
Unknown	2	0
Total	61	53

Table 5 Location of first coitus

7.3 Contraception

Use and non-use of contraception has frequently been the focus of studies on sexual health. Given the high prevalence of unwanted pregnancy and of STDs, it is clearly important to understand the factors influencing the use and non-use of modern and “natural”⁴⁵ contraceptive methods. Because effective pregnancy prevention is usually important for unmarried young people, and because “natural” methods are not as effective as modern methods (Population Action International 1994), they are considered here to represent an unsatisfactory alternative to modern methods, but preferable to use of no method at all. Almost all the young people in this study who use modern methods use condoms, so this group is simultaneously protecting against transmission of STDs. Despite the fact that condoms provide dual protection, most of the users either focused on pregnancy prevention or on STD prevention when describing their motives for use of this method.

7.3.1 Non-use of contraception

Simple absence of an easily available method of contraception at the moment of first coitus is often reported as the reason for non-use in this study, as is inability to use condoms. Men in particular mention that they do not use a method because at the moment they are keen to have sex, they do not have a condom to hand. The experience of coitus appears often to be more important for the men than risks that might be involved.

For a modern method to be used at first coitus, three elements are necessary. First, willing users of the method are needed: two users in the case of male condoms, but

⁴⁵ *i.e. methods based on withdrawal and periodic abstinence.*

only one (usually the woman) in the case of other methods⁴⁶; second, there must be an initiator of method use; and third, a method must be physically available and usable. If all three elements are present, it would be expected that the couple would use a modern method. If any of the elements is missing, there are three possible outcomes: first, natural methods might be used where there is no modern method available (although the first two elements are still required); second, the couple may be unprotected by any method; third, the couple may abstain from sex. Immediate causes of failure to use modern contraceptives at first coitus can be one or all of the following: unwillingness to use the method, unwillingness or inability to initiate use, or simple absence of a method. These factors become relevant, however, only if coitus occurs despite their presence. In examining non-use of contraception, therefore, it is necessary not only to examine these immediate causes, but also the other factors coming into play that may reduce the importance to the individual or couple of the risk of negative physical consequences of the sex.

The most common reason given for non-use by men was that coitus had not been planned, that they had got caught up in the moment, and had sex without thinking about it. Many men specifically link the spontaneity of their first coitus to the absence of a condom at the time. Some of the men added that they did not know how to use condoms at first coitus:

Int: How was it that you decided not to use protection? Or why?

Resp: Well, in the moment... well, it didn't cross my mind... and also back then, well, I still didn't have much information about what a condom was, let's say. And no, well, I don't know, apart from not knowing the score, how to put it on and blah blah blah, and in the moment, I didn't even remember and I didn't even have one to hand.

#144 (Int 23, 20 year old man, quite Gente Joven, little family support)

In the following example, the young man gives a number of different reasons for his non-use of a condom:

Int: In that moment, did you use any sort of protection?

⁴⁶ *Female condoms may be slightly less likely to require male consent than male condoms (see Hart et al. 1999) but only one of the interviewees reported use of this method, and this was after discussion with her partner.*

Resp: No, in that moment, protection didn't seem very important, and apart from that, I didn't have any reason to carry a condom, and it never entered my mind that I should carry one because she was just my friend.

#145 (Int 35, 20 year old man, not Gente Joven, more family support)

When questioned further, however, he admits that he would not have wanted to use a condom, even if one had been available:

Int: If you had had protection in that moment, would you have used it?

Resp: Back then, no, because I thought that when you used a condom it wasn't the same. I had been told that by my friends, who were even worse informed [than me].

Int: If she had asked you for it would you have accepted?

Resp: I can't tell you because as I say, it was so quick. Either I would have accepted or the excitement would have been lost.

#146 (Int 35, 20 year old man, not Gente Joven, more family support)

The presence or absence of a condom is clearly not the only factor affecting non-use, and unwillingness to use may help explain why for at least some of the men in this group absence of condoms would not be a disincentive for coitus.

One theme that emerged from the interviews was a sense of urgency regarding sexual experiences: if the opportunity for coitus is presented, a man should take it. For example, this man explained that he could not leave his potential sexual partner in order to buy condoms, because he might have missed out on having sex:

Int: Why didn't you use protection?

Resp: Well, because there wasn't time. You can't exactly go and buy it right then and there (laughs)... and then what would happen if she stopped being in the mood? No, let's go for it, right now!

#147 Int 105 (16 year old man, not Gente Joven, less family support)

In addition, some men report inability to use condoms: they report attempts to use condoms that end either in non-use or misuse. Men may be unwilling to admit ignorance of condom use, and may prefer not to use a condom than risk looking "unmanly".

In all these cases, the positive reasons for unprotected coitus appear to outweigh the physical risks. This man did not use contraception:

Int: In that moment, how much did you think about the risks that were involved in having sex?

Int: For me, it was more important to have that experience than to protect myself.

#148 Int 41 (21 year old man, not Gente Joven, little family support)

Within the relationship, actual or perceived resistance to condom use by the partner may reduce willingness to initiate use of this method, and may stop use altogether.

Int: And what did you used to use? I mean, what...?

Resp: No, he didn't like me to... he didn't like me to use anything

Int: Not even condoms?

Resp: No, nothing.

Int: So, what did you do to take care of yourselves?

Resp: Before he came, he came out, and that's it.

Int: So, you never had a problem, I mean that you were saying "oh no, I might get pregnant"?

Resp: Yes, I used to think that.

Int: So, he never liked using a condom?

Resp: No. I didn't like using it either

Int: In other words, nothing – natural style?

Resp: Natural, yes.

#149 (Int 28, 18 year old woman, not Gente Joven, little family support, completed secondary school)

Social expectations of women's ignorance and innocence in sexual matters may mean that a woman feels that she cannot initiate condom use, or may mean that she cannot easily show a man how to use a condom if he does not know because she does not wish to seem sexually experienced (Rivers et al. 1998). This, combined with the fact that to initiate or demonstrate condom use may be to question and/or reduce masculine control of the interaction, may make condom use problematic for women (Wilton 1997).

Women whose first coitus is coerced do not use contraception. Male pressure on the women to have sex is reported in about half the cases of non-use, including the two women who were raped. All of these women have partners who are sexually experienced, and who put considerable pressure on them to have sex at that particular moment. Under these circumstances, the women appear to be unable to refuse coitus or demand condom use:

It wasn't planned at all. In fact, I was scared. I was horribly afraid. We started to get undressed but the light was on. So I said: switch off the light,

because I felt embarrassed in that moment, really really embarrassed. Okay. He switched off the light, then switched it on again and I was telling him: no, to switch it off. We were caressing one another, playing, and me afraid. We didn't have anything, no condom, nothing, and he was saying to me: no, don't worry. He was always coming out with that phrase: don't worry, I'm going to look after you, you know? But I was incredibly scared, with an huge feeling of guilt because I knew that, well, I knew that I shouldn't be doing it. I thought about my parents, thought about myself, thought about him. What was he going to think about me? You know? So, it wasn't very pleasant the sex that we had, because I was feeling guilty in that moment, that I shouldn't be doing it, that: what would happen to me if I got pregnant? We didn't even have a condom, or a contraceptive, we didn't bring anything. Only him, saying to me: no, don't worry, I'm going to look after you. So it wasn't very pleasant, let's say, because of the feelings of guilt, because of the fear, because of lots of things.

#150 (Int 126, 22 year old woman, very Gente Joven, little family support)

Where first coitus is not pressured, some of the women report that it was unexpected, that they were carried away by the moment, that they had desired sex, but that it "didn't occur" to them to use contraception. In all these cases, the women report having very close, long-term emotional relationships with their partners. The women either initiate coitus, or report physical desire to have sex. In these cases, it appears that the relationship status combined with the physical desire to have sex means that the women are less concerned about the potential negative outcomes of the experience. Women, like men, can be "carried away", but the women seem to wait for the relative safety of a long-term partner to get "carried away" with.

A related theme is that some women appear to have no intention of avoiding pregnancy. Again, these women are in long-term, loving relationships. This woman, for example organised a trip with the specific aim of having sex with her boyfriend, yet used no contraception. When asked about her history with this same partner, she says:

Int: Okay another question: with him, with your first partner, in the other times you had penetrative sex with him did you use some sort of contraceptive method?

Resp: No, none.

Int: In all the times you did it, you never protected yourselves?

Resp: No.

Int: With no method?

Resp: No.

Int: None?

Resp: None.

Int: Why?

Resp: Because we didn't. That's why. Perhaps deep down, I wanted him to get me pregnant, so that we would be together forever.

#151 (Int 116, 22 year old woman, not Gente Joven, less family support)

Condom use may imply lack of trust in the partner (Ankrah 1999; Worth 1989). The difficulties of discussing the need for condoms occur even in relationships where there is relatively open discussion about sex. This couple did not use condoms:

Int: Did you know a bit about the sexual history of the boy? Had you talked about his sexual experiences, or about yours?

Resp: Well, not at that time, no [...] I used to ask him things indirectly, to know, well: what have you done? And I remember that I used to tell him what I had read in books, you know? And whether I had ever kissed another boy [...] Also, he never asked me anything directly, but I asked him, if he had more sexual... let's say that it was quite extensive compared to mine, but finally, like for example, I would ask him if he had used a condom, or if he had used it with other women that he'd been with, you know? I never asked him for any proof because I trusted what he told me. It was because love made me into a fool. [...] What I do remember is that I inspected his member to see if it didn't have anything suspicious or anything like that. That was the only thing that I used to say, also I used to say: if I ask him, he's going to say: why are you treating me like this? What are you thinking? Because at least as far as I'm concerned, if I were to be asked I'd say: do I look like a sex worker? Or: what's the matter with you? You know? And that stopped me from asking him.

#152 (Int 32, 19 year old woman, very Gente Joven, less family support)

Initiation of use of hormonal methods may be avoided by women because not only might this indicate advance planning for coitus, but may be seen as the equivalent to consenting to sex, rather than simple preparation for the possibility of it occurring. In one interviewee's case her use of oral contraceptives appears to reduce her ability to say no to coitus at a particular moment. Sexual interactions in this study where modern contraception is not used are characterised by lack of communication about sexual intentions, and lack of communication about contraception.

7.3.2 Use of contraceptives

In the interviews, contraceptive methods tend to be described as pertaining particularly to men or to women⁴⁷. There are only two “men’s” methods: the male condom and withdrawal. Women’s methods include all of the remaining methods, but particularly mentioned are hormonal methods, IUDs, and rhythm. Men tend to focus more on risk of disease and women on risk of pregnancy when talking about motives for use of contraceptives. With a longer-term partner, however, the overriding concern both for men and women is risk of pregnancy. When expressing concern about pregnancy prevention, men tend to phrase their remarks in terms of protecting the women (rather than themselves) from the consequences of unwanted pregnancies.

The couples using modern methods at first coitus are strikingly different to non-users in terms of their communication. Modern method use is very frequently associated with open discussion of sex within the couple. In fact, all the men and most of the women who report open discussion with their partners also use modern contraceptives. Many previous studies of young people have found that contraceptives are frequently not used because coitus is unplanned and unexpected, as discussed above. Where open discussion of sex takes place, however, coitus was only planned in under half the cases in this study, yet modern contraceptives are still used. This suggests that planning is not in itself the deciding factor in contraceptive use. Open discussion of sex may favour use of modern methods for several reasons. To some degree, coitus is not “unexpected”, even if it is not specifically planned: the possibility that it might occur is known, thus a couple may abstain from coitus on a particular occasion if contraception is not available, knowing that the opportunity is likely to arise again in future. They may also be more likely to obtain contraceptives knowing that they might have sex. The willingness or otherwise of the partner to use contraceptive methods may be assessed. Open discussion suggests a close emotional relationship, which may in turn lead to an increased desire on the part of the men not to cause problems for their partners in terms of pregnancy. Discussion of sex allows the women to admit that they might become sexually active, and gives them a forum to discuss their personal desires, including use or non-use of contraception. Most interviewees who openly discuss sex report that both they and their partner together decide to use contraception.

⁴⁷ *Vasectomy and tubal ligation are not addressed here because they are very rarely used by young people.*

Of those interviewees who do not use contraception at first coitus, many report having used contraception subsequently with the same partner. The women particularly reported having had unprotected coitus only once, while the men sometimes have a number of episodes of unprotected coitus before a modern method is used.

This woman did not use contraception at first coitus because it was unexpected, but afterwards demands condom use with the same partner.

[...] The second time it was planned, and I said to him: this time there aren't going to be any risks. And he said: no, not this time...

#153 (Int 86, 15 year old woman, not Gente Joven, less family support)

In longer-term relationships, the interviewees often go with their partners to a clinic to seek advice on contraceptive methods. This can occur before sexual intercourse, after first coitus using a condom, or after first coitus where no contraceptive was used. In all cases, however, it is associated with open communication in the couple. The only women reporting going to clinics alone are those with personal experiences of unplanned pregnancy.

7.3.2.1 *"Men's" methods*

In general, men are responsible for male condoms. If condoms are not used because one was not available, the men say that they were not carrying one, whereas women say that their partner was not carrying one. None of the men mention the wishes of their partners as factoring in their decisions to use condoms, supporting the idea that for men more than women, condom use is more easily based on a unilateral decision.

The interviewees reporting open discussion of sex were not the only ones that used modern contraceptives. All of the women that report use of condoms without open discussion with their partners, however, say that their partners either announced their intention to use a condom, or simply put the condom on without discussing it, leaving the woman to object rather than seeing her positive consent. Where there is no prior open discussion about sex, the women never report insisting on using a condom for first coitus – they simply do not object when the partner wishes to use one.

One man did not talk to the woman (a friend of his) in advance about having sex, but has open communication during the event itself. He appears to be concerned about preventing pregnancy, interrupting the interaction to get a condom, which he has to hand:

[...] We were already naked, right, and everything, and I say: well, what's the score? Shall we do it? I still asked her, you know? (laughs)... And she says: well, yes – [And I said] Ah good. I was almost there already, on top of her, you know, already almost inside her, and er... she says...I said to her: hang on a second, will you? So well, I already had my little condoms there in my drawer... Let's have a look, hold on a second – [She said:] You're going to put a condom on? – Yes – Ah good – [I said:] you want it, right? Good then. We started to have sex and it was, it was a quick penetration, you know? It wasn't very long. Well, it was my first time, right? It didn't even take...I think it was five minutes, I think, and er... so I, when I felt like I was going to ejaculate... I came out, and as well as having my condom, I ejaculated outside her.

#154 (Int 107, 22 year old man, very Gente Joven, less family support)

Some women only report condom use if their partner suggests it, and if he is carrying a condom. Other women, by contrast, take control of condom use. They believe that they are equally responsible for protection, they carry condoms, and they insist on their use.

Int: With this person did you use some sort of protection?

Resp: Yes, a condom.

Int: What would you have done if he'd refused to use a condom?

Resp: Well, bye bye, baby.

Int: Why?

Resp: What do you mean: why? AIDS, sexually transmitted diseases, and then pregnant – don't be ridiculous! No, I mean, I'm only 19!

#155 (Int 102, 19 year old woman, very Gente Joven, less family support)

Int: How is it that you decided to use that sort of contraceptive?

Resp: Since I decided, well, I think that I worry about myself, and about the other person, you know? I think that if you love yourself, you take care of yourself. I think that that is a... At least, that's a basic principle for me, you know? If you don't take care of yourself, no one's going to take care of you. And if you don't demand [condoms], then no one's going to demand them for you.

#156 (Int 50, 22+ year old woman, very Gente Joven, little family support)

Some of the men that used modern contraception at first coitus without prior open discussion with their partners did so because their partner demanded condom use at

the moment of coitus. In all these cases the women initiate the entire interaction and it takes place on their terms⁴⁸. For example, one man uses a condom because it is put on him by an older, more experienced woman – on previous occasions he has not used condoms:

Int: How was your experience of using a condom?

Resp: At the end, I didn't even know how to use it, you know? (Laughs) The girl said to me... She put it on me, in fact. And...she just told me how to put it on, and that's it.

#157 (Int 133, 17 year old man, not Gente Joven, little family support)

Withdrawal is controlled by men in that the women have to trust them not to ejaculate too soon. There is a sense from some of the women using this method that if the man is sexually experienced, he can be trusted to withdraw in time, but that otherwise it is necessary to use a different method. Interviewees using withdrawal to prevent pregnancy feel that the method is reliable.

Int: How much do you try to influence how things happen in terms of protection?

Resp: Well, a lot, I think. Because if it hadn't been as it was, I wouldn't have done anything.

Int: If it hadn't been like what?

Resp: I mean, like that, safe, with trust, security.

Int: Security about what?

Resp: Well, more than anything that I wouldn't get pregnant.

Int: But why were you so sure that you wouldn't get pregnant?

Resp: Because he wouldn't ejaculate inside me.

#158 (Int 108, 21 year old woman, not Gente Joven, little family support)

The trust in the partner may be misplaced, however:

Int: He ejaculated inside you?

Resp: Yes

Int: So you didn't do anything to prevent a pregnancy?

Resp: I mean, yes, we agreed that he was going to come out before [ejaculating], but when it came down to it... (laughs)

#159 (Int 158, 17 year old woman, very Gente Joven, little family support)

⁴⁸ In one case, the partner was a commercial sex worker and had insisted on condom use.

7.3.2.2 "Women's" methods

7.3.2.2.1 Rhythm

In cases where the rhythm method is used, the couples are characterised by the fact that they only discussed sex beforehand in a very superficial way, or not at all. Coitus is usually unexpected and unplanned. In three cases, however, there is communication with the partners and discussion of the method, which results in use of rhythm, and in one of these cases, rhythm and withdrawal combined. Where rhythm is used at first coitus (11 cases), it is on an ad hoc basis, relating to the woman's general idea about whether or not she might be fertile, according to how close she feels she is to menstruating. The precise details of the method appear to be unclear to many of the interviewees using it. In the three cases where there is open communication about sex, rhythm is discussed by both partners. In the cases of the men reporting use of rhythm, the details are often very vague. For example, this man reports having used the method, but it is not clear whether or to what extent he discussed the details with his partner:

Int: How did you know that she wasn't fertile? Or how did you both know?

Resp: Because I think that something happened, I think she'd just finished menstruating a couple of days before or something like that.

#160 (Int 92, 21 year old man, not Gente Joven, little family support)

In other cases, the women report having used the method without necessarily talking to their partners about it.

Some interviewees report using rhythm alone to prevent pregnancy with a long-term partner. More commonly, both men and women report using condoms in combination with rhythm in long term relationships with the aim of avoiding pregnancy as described in Chapter 6. When this type of combination is reported, in all cases it refers to the use of condoms in the "fertile" period, and unprotected sex in the "infertile" period. At least two pregnancies resulted from the use of this combination during the course of the fieldwork period, indicating either that the method combination was not being used consistently, or simply that it does not work very well to prevent pregnancy. The interviewees reporting this combination believe that it is effective in preventing pregnancy, and often specifically mention that they wish to avoid pregnancy.

Int: In this last sex, what type of condom did you use?

Resp: No, I didn't use one.

Int: You didn't. Why do you think you didn't use one?

Resp. It was that she could... er... I mean, that she had just finished menstruating and there wasn't any risk. I don't know what that period's called, but she... yes, we could.

Int: Imagine that it hadn't been in that period... Would you have used a condom?

Resp: Yes, I'd have got one. There's a pharmacy in front of my house.

#161 (Int 29, 19 year old man, quite Gente Joven, more family support)

7.3.2.2.2 Modern contraceptives

Women who were not in long term relationships with their partners, who report use of "women's" modern contraceptive methods frequently take responsibility for their own protection, particularly using hormonal methods, rather than relying on their partners, or coming to a joint decision with them.

The "female" methods are frequently out of the men's control. A number of men report telling their partners that they should protect themselves, but they do not follow this up. One woman's mother sent her to the doctor to have an IUD inserted when she found out that her daughter was sexually active. Some men encourage their partners to use hormonal methods in order to be able to stop using condoms. If men use neither a condom nor withdrawal, they rely entirely on the woman to use "her" methods to prevent pregnancy.

This man is aware of some of the risks of relying on the woman to be responsible for pregnancy prevention:

Then, they would tell me I'm on the pill. I used to say to them: yes, but not right now, no. I mean, they were the sort of girls... probably they were telling you that so that you'd mess up. You see how there are some that: she already took pills, nothing will happen. I'm not one to trust in that sort of thing, still, that's why.

#162 (Int 154, 18 year old man, quite Gente Joven, little family support)

Another man says he relied on his girlfriend to use injectables, but she did not, and became pregnant.

I mean, what happened is that I was going out with a girl, right? I was with her for two years, one year seven months with her, right? And... my name's not going to come out on this, or anything... The girl had an abortion and mine, I mean, we screwed up... and I know it shouldn't have been like that,

you know? I... I feel guilty about that. This person needn't have gone through that, nor me, I mean, it was a trauma for both of us, to have done that, you know? But yes, it really affected our lives. [...] What happened is that we had sex, and well, yes we screwed up, because I told her that she should take care of herself, you know? I mean, I even went and found out about it, you know? And I said to her: look, they told me that there are these injections, and this and that... and well I went to the doctor and all that and...I don't know. The girl wanted to tie me down and she had her baby, I mean, she got pregnant and... er... and I said no to the baby, you understand... And at like, two months, she decided to abort it and well, then after that... No one knows this, you know... This is the first time I've talked about it...

#163 (Int 55, 19 year old man, quite Gente Joven, little family support)

He reports that the abortion was performed in a house, in dirty conditions, and that afterwards:

This girl I'm talking about even wanted to take me to the police because she didn't want me to leave her. She had told me that she was still pregnant. I say to her that, well, it didn't make sense, that she shouldn't cause problems, told her to bring me the written proof, you know? [I told her] that at the end of the day, if she was pregnant or not, that was her problem. Because I'd told her to take care of herself. You know, well, if you're a girl, and you're already 19, 20 bloody years old, you know how to think, you know how to understand things, work things out, and if they're telling you to take care of yourself so that there's no problem, well, it's your responsibility. But you're hardly going to be there injecting her, or... I mean, you're saying to her: take care of yourself, and it's your responsibility, and mine and whatever, but be aware of what's going on. It would be bad if someone were to say: no, as far as I'm concerned, whether you take care of yourself or not, it's your problem, you know? But I had said to her that she should take care of herself: take care of yourself, take care of yourself, take care of yourself. And now you see we screwed up. I'd told her to take care of herself, and I didn't stop her or anything, we just agreed about the abortion, and that was it. And now, if she comes out with some other stupid thing, now it would be illogical. I mean, I would say to her mother: I always told your daughter to take care, I gave her injections, I gave her all this and she didn't want to use it... well, that was her problem.

One man says that his partner refused to use a condom, and also refused to use hormonal methods. In order to avoid pregnancy, he asked her about her menstruation, marked the days on a calendar over a period of four months, then subsequently arranged for coitus to take place only in the “safe” period. This is the only example in this study of a man attempting to take control of a “woman’s” method. He did not discuss the method with his partner, and did not tell her why he was asking about her menstruation. He simply made excuses not to see her in her “fertile” time. At the time, he believed that the rhythm method would prevent pregnancy, although he says that now, knowing more, he would have abstained from sex without a condom. He also says that subsequent events made him believe that she had refused to use other contraceptives because she wished to trap him into marriage by becoming pregnant with his child.

7.3.3 Characteristics of the partner as determinant of method use

Some interviewees report consistent use of condoms, and say that they would refuse coitus if condoms were not used. Some even report use of two modern methods at once to prevent both pregnancy and disease (condoms with spermicides; condoms with oral contraceptives). Some interviewees say they only used condoms because they did not have coitus frequently enough with their partners to make it worthwhile using other methods.

In many cases, however, condoms and other methods are used or not used by the same individuals under different circumstances. The fact that coitus is unexpected is still a reason given for non-use of condoms in experiences after the first time. Two of the women also say that not only was coitus unexpected, but that at the time they were under the influence of alcohol and/or drugs so did not consider the risks. After first coitus, some of the men report starting to carry condoms in case they are needed, and are therefore able to use them even when coitus is unexpected. The main reported reasons for method use and non-use, however, concern the characteristics of the partner.

7.3.3.1 Assessing risk of infection

Risk is not fixed, but is socially constructed (see Chapter 2). Both men and women report assessing risks before sex in terms of perceived likelihood of their partner being infected with an STD. This assessment is based on the type of relationship they have with the other person, and often determines whether or not a condom is used.

Most of the interviewees, if concerned about disease at all, conceive of themselves as potentially being infected by STDs. Even if they have had unprotected coitus with a partner whose disease status they do not know, almost none mention the possibility that they might transmit infections to others. This interviewee, for example, did not use condoms with his first partner, but does not appear to consider this to be a salient point when discussing his failure to use a condom with a subsequent partner:

Int: And you don't use a condom against diseases?

Resp: No, because in fact, it was her first time.

#164 (Int 36, 22+ year old man, not Gente Joven, less family support)

Because it is her first time, he runs no risk of being infected, so there is no need for a condom to be used.

Some of the interviewees have HIV tests following "risky" sex (which is always unprotected coitus with a risky woman/man rather than simply unprotected coitus). In every case, this is because of their anxiety about having been infected with HIV. In one exceptional case, a man who had unprotected coitus with one partner specifically mentions that he intends to abstain from sex until knowing his HIV status in order not to risk infecting future partners.

Occasionally, assessment of the risk of a partner being infected with a disease is based on clinical tests. One young man, for example, reports that he and his girlfriend were tested for STDs and HIV before they began (anal) sexual relations, and they had agreed that it was not necessary to use condoms because they were both clear of infection.

Usually, however, assessment of partners relies on perception of their likely sexual histories according to socially constructed stereotypes. For example, one woman reports using condoms with men who are "too handsome" because they have probably had many other partners. Another woman says that she has not considered using condoms because she cannot imagine that a man she knows could be ill. Men report using condoms with women they consider to be *cualquieras*. Part of the assessment is based on how quickly the woman consents to coitus: if she is quick to consent, she is considered to be more risky. Similarly, a man says that if a woman consents to have sex with him at all, then she has probably also had other partners, and so he would protect himself.

On the other hand, one couple always use condoms except for one time when they wanted to experience unprotected sex. They knew that neither was infected with HIV and planned the event carefully to use rhythm to prevent pregnancy.

7.3.3.2 *Different partners, different methods*

Both women and men report that they use condoms with partners who are not girlfriends or boyfriends, particularly in relationships seen as transitory.

Int: And what type of protection did you use? Or do you use?

Resp: Condoms

Int: Do you always use them?

Resp: Not always

Int: You don't always use them. And who... who have you used condoms with?

Resp: Who with?

Int: I mean, I'm talking about which of your girlfriends have you used condoms with, or when do you use condoms?

Resp: With those who haven't been [...] Well, with those who haven't been and with my girlfriends, you know?

Int: And for example, with those who haven't been your girlfriends are there also times when you don't take care of yourself, and times when you do?

Resp: No, with those who haven't been my girlfriends, yes, I take care of myself.

#165 (Int 99, 19 year old man, quite Gente Joven, less family support)

Int: And with the third partner you had, you said that you used protection?

Resp: Yes, because [...] I didn't know him very well, and there was no commitment. [...] He was my friend, the one with "rights"⁴⁹. [...] With him, yes we used a condom.

#166 (Int 116, 22 year old woman, not Gente Joven, less family support)

Women sometimes demand condom use on the basis of their perceived risk of infection by their partner:

For example, now, my partner has other partners, you know? So... er... I don't know what... I know that he doesn't like using condoms. With me, he, he... he's almost forced to use them, you know? But he... but... well, I don't

⁴⁹ She says "el cariñoso" to denote a friend with whom she has a sexual relationship of some kind.

know how many people he goes to bed with, and those people how many more etc., so yes, yes I think I'm at risk.

#167 (Int 43, 22+ year old woman, quite Gente Joven, little family support)

Men particularly report differentiating between types of women, and different women's sexual experience when deciding whether or not to use condoms. In this example, the man directly compares the categories "virgin" and "cualquiera".

Int: Why didn't you use condoms with the others?

Resp: I mean... with the other girl, I don't know... Because we lasted two years, and I really knew that she was a virgin, you know? In how she acted, how she was, and all those sort of things. But with the other girl, yes I had the feeling that she might be a *cualquiera*. With her, yes I did use a condom.

#168 (Int 100, 19 year old man, not Gente Joven, less family support)

With commercial sex workers, condoms are expected and used:

[...] I used to look after myself a lot. Because I used to say: what's the score? I don't know how many people have passed this way, and me without a condom... It's like you said, you think about it, you know: no, I'm going to catch something... some infection...

#169 (Int 101, 18 year old man, quite Gente Joven, more family support)

In the following quote, the interviewee summarises many of the issues also raised by other men:

Int: With partners you've had sex with, have you always used protection?

Resp: I'm 22 years old, and condoms, pills, I've used injections since I was 19. Before sometimes I used to do it "naturally", maybe so as not to lose the opportunity to do it. And sometimes I had the opportunity to put a condom on, even though I didn't like it. I used to say: no, it's really uncomfortable. And sometimes there are people that you end up loving a lot and I don't like doing it with a condom, do it "naturally", and that's it. And with others, it's better to protect yourself. Maybe people who I knew from doing jobs that I never knew where they belonged, or where they came from. I didn't know even where they lived. I was in the habit of getting to know them from one moment to the next and sleeping with them, you know? And they used to say to me that I was good. Lots of times I really took care of myself with them, you know?

I feel like they did it very quickly... I don't know... on the first time anyone suggests it. Well, I feel like their lives have been pretty active sexually.

#170 (Int 156, 22 year old man, not Gente Joven, little family support, completed vocational training)

7.4 Conclusions

We have seen in this chapter that men's and women's experiences of sexual activity can be very different. Gender-related expectations are related to outcomes, with acceptance of more traditional gender roles associated with lack of communication. Where couples communicate, sexual outcomes tend to be more healthy both in terms of use of adequate contraception and in terms of emotional sequelae. Individual's perceptions and cultural expectations combine in the dyad to affect outcomes.

Chapter 8

Consciousness-raising and empowerment: the role of youth promoters in the Gente Joven programme

In previous chapters we have seen that young people's sexual behaviour and sexual health are related to myriad interacting factors at the micro, individual level, the dyad level and the macro, cultural level. We have seen, for example, that an individual's knowledge and attitudes may have some effect, but that power structures related to gender and other factors are also key to understanding behaviour. On the other hand, the way a particular dyad interacts sexually is not simply the product of overwhelming cultural forces – individuals can have the power to change what occurs in the interaction. This suggests that a programme that aims to improve sexual health should not simply aim to increase knowledge, but should also attempt to address power relationships within dyads and in the culture in general to enable young people to be able to make meaningful choices about their sexual activity (cf. Wingood & DiClemente 2000). It is not useful to create desired goals (e.g. condom use, abstinence from coitus), without addressing the fact that it may be difficult to achieve those goals in practice (Lever 1995). "Empowerment", then, in (at least) the sense of enabling young people to make choices is an important aspect of a programme's success or failure in changing behaviour.

8.1 Does the Gente Joven programme work?

As described in Chapter 1, Gente Joven is an outreach programme with both community-based and school-based activities. *Promotores juveniles* (youth promoters) play a pivotal role. Many behaviour change theories highlight the potential influence of the immediate social context on an individual (e.g. Ferrand & Snijders 1997; Rogers 1983; Ajzen & Fishbein 1980; Moscovici 1980; Bandura 1977). The idea that one or more members of a social group can affect the rest of the group has been the main theoretical underpinning of interventions with a "peer education" element (UNAIDS 1999a) and peer norms, for example, have been linked with condom use (Kirby & DiClemente 1994).

Programme messages are disseminated by co-ordinators and youth promoters in group meetings, or one-to-one in informal settings. The Gente Joven programme is participatory in that there is a dialogue between the participants (i.e. those giving and

those receiving the messages). Young people are sought out using contacts with other programme participants, through people working with youth, and through community leaders. Outside the school environment, the young participants are under no compulsion to attend meetings, yet many not only attend, but also subsequently become volunteer promoters and encourage others to attend. Something in the programme, therefore, appeals to the participants. This will be explored below.

Whether or not the programme “works” to improve sexual health is a complicated issue. I will present the evidence indicating that it is likely to affect sexual health first by looking at some of the end results of the programme on sexual behaviour, then by examining the process of the programme in detail in an attempt to explain why behaviour might be affected.

8.1.1 Differences between programme participants and non-programme interviewees

There are marked differences between interviewees who have participated in the Gente Joven programme, and those who have not. The differences manifest themselves in the ways that the young people communicate their ideas and desires, their attitudes towards sexuality and sexual behaviour, their relationships with their partners, and their use of contraception. In a broad sense, the “gender gap” appears to be smaller among programme participants.

8.1.1.1 Knowledge, attitudes and risk perception

One of the most obvious effects that the Gente Joven programme has on participants is in increasing their knowledge of sexuality-related topics. Many of the young people participate in the programme because of their need for information about these topics, and favourably compare the information from the course to information they receive in school or from other sources. The women enjoy the discussions of relationship issues, while for men the condom demonstrations are often the most important. Both men and women say that they enjoy learning about sexually transmitted diseases.

Levels of knowledge among programme participants are generally higher than in non-participants, as would be expected. Ideas about HIV, for example, are much clearer among the programme participants, who are less likely to have fatalistic or simplistic views of the virus. Programme participants are able to identify HIV risk situations that they have previously been in. Non-programme interviewees

(particularly the men) very often assess their risk of disease in terms of their perceptions, based on appearances, of their partners as being “clean” or not, whereas programme participants are more likely to refer to their own behaviour as risky, for example, having had sexual intercourse without condoms with partners who themselves have previously had unprotected intercourse. They also say that they are more aware of the risks of disease now than they had been before:

Resp: I never used to worry about disease, I didn't find out about how many partners he'd had before either... and... now I know that the first thing to do is to inform yourself, and without getting embarrassed, you know? And without judging him. I want to know how many other partners he might have had. And without judging the person... same as how I wouldn't want to be judged.

#171 (Int 158, 17 year old woman, very Gente Joven, little family support)

Attitudes towards condom use are dramatically different between participants and non-participants in the programme. Programme participants make positive comments about condoms and even when citing disadvantages qualify their criticisms by saying that it is still worth using condoms despite their problems. Non-programme interviewees talk more about loss of sensitivity, breakage, unreliability and other disadvantages of condom use.

Ideas about pregnancy and contraception are also clearer among programme participants, although there is still occasionally confusion evident in perceptions of hormonal methods of contraception, some of which may even have been caused by incorrect information given by Gente Joven personnel. This woman was given emergency contraceptive pills in the Mexfam clinic in Nezahualcoytl.

[A member of Gente Joven staff] told me that injectables were the best thing because that way you don't have to be taking pills [daily oral contraceptives], and you don't have to have those emergency pills. She says those [emergency pills] are very strong, and you can run the risk of becoming sterile, you know? Because they say that it's a very high dose that they can give you. I say to her: well, right, so, okay. And... that's where I learned more things.

#172 (Int 51, 18 year old woman, quite Gente Joven, little family support)

Many participants, male and female, say that their opinions about sex and sexuality have changed:

...since now we have the information, we don't see it as something dirty any more, now we see it as it is: as something natural, something beautiful... So why carry on with the lies.

#173 (Int 33, 22+ year old man, very Gente Joven, little family support)

In the programme, different types of sexual expression, and different lifestyles are discussed, including sexual preferences, and sexual activity. In general, there is considerable emphasis on tolerance and respect towards others, but the discussion of different forms of sexual expression is particularly singled out for comment by the participants:

...Before, I tended to... not always, but I used to make comments – to be a bit judgemental about people, you know? And if you're homosexual... the usual sort of coarse expressions that you use. So now I learned to respect them a bit more because it's the way that they want to be... so well, respect them.

[...]

Int: Did the programme change the way you saw other people at all? With homosexuals... Has there been any other change?

Resp: Well, I'd say that more than anything now it's not just pointing at people for the sake of it, or making comments just because, well, just because you have a mouth. So yes, it's changed my attitudes a lot – I even feel proud of being a woman and having my particular sexual preference, and respecting others for their preferences.

#174 (Int 68, 20 year old woman, quite Gente Joven, more family support)

There also appears to be more self-analysis and reflection on past experiences among programme participants. For example, men and women begin to analyse critically their communication with others, as we will see in more detail below. Gente Joven women are the only women who cite physical pleasure as a motive for their first sexual experiences. Because many of the Gente Joven women had first coitus before entering the programme, it is possible that they did not have different experiences than the non-programme women, but that the programme changed the way they talk or think about what happened. Alternatively, women who are concerned with physical aspects of sex may be more likely to participate in the programme. In view of other changes described below, however, it seems likely that it is more a matter of redefining past experiences, or at least being prepared to talk about them in a different way: acknowledging their own physical desire to themselves or to the interviewer. Gente Joven women are also the only women who identify any

past sexual experiences as coercive. This may be because women who have had coercive sex are more likely to join the programme. The non-programme women, however, describe situations that appear to have been coercive – they simply do not identify them as such, suggesting that women who have participated in the programme may be more likely to question such situations and their role within them. Analysis of and reflection on past behaviour has been shown by Gold (2000) to be effective in reducing unprotected anal sex among gay men.

Some say that their antisocial behaviour has lessened because of the programme:

Int: Do you think that your behaviour has changed as a result of the programme?

Resp: Yes

Int: How were you before? Aggressive?

Resp: Yes, very... well, I mean, you know – I'm not aggressive, it's just that they wind you up. And now I try to control myself, but sometimes I can't and now with this thing, with the young people, well, yes it's changed, because well, we have to have respect for ourselves.

#175 (Int 154, 18 year old man, quite Gente Joven, little family support)

Interviewees also report less drinking and drug-taking than before. From my observations in the study area, the reduction in aggressive behaviour and the reduction in drug-taking were both visible, particularly the former. Over the period of the course, there were frequently noticeable changes in the behaviour of the participants, often with those who had originally been the most disruptive members of the group actively policing other group members: asking them to be quiet so they could hear what the group leader was saying, for example. One fourteen-year-old began one of the community-based courses by physically fighting with other participants throughout the first session. She later became a very active youth promoter.

8.1.1.2 Closing the gender gap

A focus on the wider context of sexual activity in sexual health programmes has been recommended (e.g. Rivers & Aggleton 1998). The Gente Joven programme specifically addresses the subject of gender inequalities and overtly campaigns against them. The programme addresses topics such as traditional expectations of men and women and questions them. Virginity is discussed as a social construct and common myths such as “you can tell if a woman has had sex by the look in her eyes” or “all women bleed the first time they have sex” are dispelled. Social expectations of

masculinity are examined in terms of their oppressive effect on men, such as the fact that men are not permitted to cry or express their feelings. In addition, sexual pleasure is discussed in terms of men and women, and both emotional and physical aspects of pleasure are emphasised.

After the course, women are more able to express their opinions and recognise their own needs:

Int: Do you think that your behaviour has changed because of the programme?

Resp: Mmm, yes, you see... When they talk about these topics, I'm not going to let people say so many stupid things to me any more. Now I know that I can express my own opinion.

#176 (Int 73, 15 year old woman, virgin, quite Gente Joven, more family support)

Resp: I liked the programme. And it made me see a lot of things.

Int: Like what?

Resp: For instance... er... that the partner has to be in agreement, you know? And that they have to feel pleasure. I mean that both people have to feel... And er... the forms of protection, and... he never wanted to use any protection... And I never felt pleasure.

#177 (Int 158, 17 year old woman, very Gente Joven, little family support)

Int: Has the programme influenced your sexual life?

Resp: Yes, a lot [...] in learning to enjoy your sexuality, and that it's not just penetration, but enjoying it with your whole body.

Int: Have your opinions about sex or sexuality changed?

Resp: Yes, in that you have to be free and responsible

[...]

Int: Have your opinions about other things changed at all?

Resp: Well, I'm more well-known for talking about these topics that I used to be afraid to mention in public.

#178 (Int 46, 22+ year old woman, very Gente Joven, more family support)

Int: What is it that you used do before the programme, and what is it that you do now?

Resp: What did I used to do? Before, I used to do whatever other people told me to do, even if I didn't want to and even if I wasn't comfortable with it. But now I think more about myself. I think more about what I want and

well... Yes there have been some conflicts and there will be in the future as well.

#179 (Int 50, 22+ year old woman, very Gente Joven, little family support)

Women interviewees who are sexually active – for whom social prohibitions did not act as a barrier to coitus – sometimes harbour feelings of unease or guilt about their non-virgin status. These negative feelings are reduced by the course:

...When I was younger, well, the comments, you know... that you always hear, were from my mum, from my aunt, my aunts, you know? From my cousins, and the majority... from my best friend, you know? That it was always: [not] until I get married. So yes, so it was when, well you can't say the truth. Whether they're right about [waiting] until I get married... Now that we've been in this course where they said it's not like that. That sex isn't a sin. If you do it before... before you get married and all that sort of stuff. Well, to tell the truth I started to see it differently, that it's not necessary to arrive at the... at the... what's it called... the wedding or ... yes at the wedding as a virgin. It's not very necessary and also that the hymen doesn't mean that you're a virgin, you know, and that you're not going to be any more or less of a woman either.

#180 (Int 74, 15 year old woman, quite Gente Joven, more family support)

Int: Have your opinions about other things changed?

Resp: Yes, yes.

Int: Like what?

Resp: Like about marriage... er... having sex, er... how can I put it?... At an early age.

Int: And as far as marriage is concerned, how has it changed?

Resp: Well, in that... I mean, that now it's not so necessary to be a virgin... I'm not going to go wild or anything, but now you don't feel like it's a mortal sin.

#181 Int 139 (19 year old woman, quite Gente Joven, more family support)

It is not always easy to take on these new ideas:

... I think that I see [sexuality] more naturally and more openly. And some things still cause me trouble, but I think that I'm discovering them. I'm working on those things that... yes, well, a lot of things have changed, a lot of topics.

Int: What sort of things cause you trouble?

Resp: There are things that... like things about gender that I still have... well, what I learned in childhood, and that have been very hard work to change [...] and realising... I think that that in itself is a big step forward. I think that confusion is also a big step forward and I think the important thing is to know when it's necessary to change something, and when things should be left as they are.

#182 (Int 50, 22+ year old woman, very Gente Joven, little family support)

Many of the male participants, particularly the promoters, comment that they are now better able to express their feelings than before the course:

... before [in my family, we] didn't ever give ourselves the opportunity to... to give each other a hug... er... I don't know... to show that we really were there, the way we felt, our emotions... and today in terms of sexual life... Well, I allow myself to show my emotions more, my feelings, without so many complexes, without so many...so many worries about rejecting myself, or about being rejected... I think that it's something that's helped me a lot.

#183 (Int 47, 22+ year old man, very Gente Joven, more family support)

In addition, men are aware of the limitations that they have in expressing their emotions. This man is asked to score his own emotional health out of 10 and gives himself 7. The interviewer asks why:

Because I still can't learn to express my feelings towards another person. I know that I feel them, but I can't... I can't say it openly just like that. That happened a lot to me with my partner. She used to ask me: do you love me? Yes. But she always used to give up on me, knowing that I did love her a lot, but... I don't know why, you know? Why I couldn't... why I couldn't say it to her.

#184 (Int 98, 18 year old man, very Gente Joven, little family support, completed two years of *prepa*)

Because communication between partners is associated with healthy sexual outcomes, the extent to which a programme can encourage mixed-sex communication can be considered to be part of the "process of laying the foundations for the social skills necessary to ensure safer sex in the future" (Wight & Abraham 2000, p.31). Men's and women's abilities to interact with one another are improved by the Gente Joven programme. The men particularly talk about how the programme

has changed both their views about women and their ability to communicate with women:

...my opinions have changed in the way that I relate to women. My perspectives have changed. Before, I used to be influenced a lot by ideas of women as objects to get pleasure out of, and now my ideas have changed. Now you go around treating people like human beings. You treat them in a different way.

#185 (Int 49, 22+ year old man, very Gente Joven, little family support)

Resp: It was always women that used to come up to me and tell me things.

Int: From what age?

Resp: Throughout secondary school

Int: Because of the programme?

Resp: Yes, because of the programme

Int: And did they know that...

Resp: That I was there

Int: And how did they know?

Resp: I used to make comments to them...

Int: Like what?

Resp: To start with they were trick questions. Trick for them because I used to ask them: Hey! What's your opinion about virginity? I mean, things like that. And then I used to make comments about how virginity as such is just a little membrane, you know? Or something like that, and well, that it's not very important. That's all it is. Or: Did you know that you can get herpes on your mouth as well? It's a cold sore. Or something like that. And they'd be like: Ugh! Herpes! (laughter). And, well, now in the factory I make the same sort of comments but I say to them: you know what? If you're interested in something, look it up, or if you have any questions, ask me them... If I don't know them, I have someone I can ask and I'll give you the answer.

#186 (Int 98, 18 year old man, very Gente Joven, little family support, completed two years of *prepa*)

This woman seems to wish she were as open as her fellow promoters, and expresses her frustration at being unable to achieve complete communication with the opposite sex in a manner reminiscent of the complaints from the men described in Chapter 5:

...there are some [female promoters] that I say: Shhh! to, because we're on the bus and they're talking about all the things they do with their boyfriends,

you know? So people are turning around and giving them dirty looks. And I say to them: shall we leave the conversation until we get to the office? They say to me: no, why? It's just something natural. They're much more open than I am, you know? So they start talking to me in the middle of the bus, in the middle of the metro, and that sort of thing, so now I don't tell them not to because I know that they're not going to understand me and they're going to carry on talking. So I listen to them talk. With boys as well. Sometimes we're all together and the boys get embarrassed and they don't want to talk to us about sex, or how they see it, or how we see it. Because the thing is that you ask the boys questions and you ask their opinion, but the boys don't answer. It's not the same talking with just girls as talking when the boys are with us.

#187 (Int 126, 22 year old, very Gente Joven, little family support)

Programme participants report far more communication with their partners than non-programme interviewees. Some participants say that communication has improved as a result of the programme and a number of women say that they now talk to their partners about their desires.

Int: Has the programme influenced your sexual life?

Resp: Well, yes, in a way it has. There was something that I didn't used to have with my partner, and that was communication, you know? Yes. Probably, for me, to finish badly, to be unsatisfied, used to annoy me, you know? And well, one time in conversation, well: Why not talk to him about it? You know? And since then, I feel like it has changed.

Int: Basically in that way, through communication?

Resp: Communication

Int: Okay... Have your opinions about sex changed?

Resp: Well, yes, you could say so, because well, you have a very fixed idea in your head, you know? I mean, you have a very strong basic idea. You say: well, sex is this way, you know? You think that it is and... talking to them they tell you really it's not how you think, and tell you how it really is. So well, really I think [my opinions] have changed.

Int: Does your boyfriend participate in the programme?

Resp: No, he's heard. I mean, comments that I make. I mean, like: look this and this happened. Or: look, I heard... I don't know... how this works, that this can happen if we do this, but no, actively as such, no, he's not [in the programme].

Int: Okay. Have your opinions about other things changed at all regarding the programme?

Resp: More than anything it's that, you know. That really they give you a solid base, you know. Now you're not just guessing. They really clarify a lot of things. I mean, I don't know... I mean probably what you thought was yellow is really blue, you know?

#188 (Int 140, 22 year old woman, quite Gente Joven, less family support)

Women report taking more control of interactions once they have participated in the programme, for example, demanding condom use and taking responsibility for "men's" contraceptives:

Int: Has the programme influenced your sexual life?

Resp: Yes

Int: How?

Resp: It's influenced me in terms of being more careful, well, with people that I might have sex with in the future, that I know that it's not only them that can use condoms, but that I can also contribute to a pregnancy, and that now it would be double protection. It's better.

#189 (Int 148, 19 year old woman, very Gente Joven, more family support, incomplete *prepa* because of university strikes)

All of the Gente Joven participants report more use of modern contraceptives, and all used contraception at last coitus, if last coitus was after they had participated in the programme.

There is a marked difference between the way in which the Gente Joven and non-Gente Joven interviewees talk to their friends about sex. Gente Joven men and women give advice to their friends. They break the gender stereotypes of communication. For instance, women who have participated in the programme are the only women in the study who report ever talking to their friends about physical aspects of sex. Gente Joven men report talking to friends and relatives about relationships and about their feelings. From my own observations and conversations with young people in the study area, it appears that there is genuinely a very marked difference in gender-related attitudes and behaviours between the two groups, rather than simply a difference between the way they present themselves at interview.

Apart from participation in the programme, there is no other obvious difference between the two groups that could easily account for the variations described. They have a similar range of family backgrounds and pre-programme sexual experiences;

they are of comparable ages (although the promoters tend to be at the upper end of the age range); they are of similar socio-economic backgrounds within the same city; they have received comparable school education (apart from the programme, in the cases where it was school-based). In terms of what the interviewees say about their sexual experiences, those who have had sexual relationships after participating in the programme report more “healthy” behaviour in these relationships compared to those they had before the programme, suggesting that the change is at least temporally related to the programme. Programme participants seem to report “unhealthy” behaviours that took place before the programme as much as do the non-participants, suggesting that they are not altering their stories according to their new knowledge. As we will see below, it is likely that, if anything, programme participants would be more open about their experiences, good or bad, because one of the main effects of the programme is to validate the experiences of the participants and encourage open communication and acceptance. One important factor, however, in terms of the characteristics of the interviewees is that it is likely that negative comments about the Gente Joven course would be suppressed somewhat for reasons of courtesy. Despite the fact that we stressed our independence from the programme, and told interviewees they should be as honest as possible about it, we had often been introduced to these same interviewees by Gente Joven co-ordinators, with whom they already had a personal relationship. In addition, it is likely that because of this same factor, interviewees who had been “sold” the programme would be more likely to consent to be interviewed. Given that this study is, in part, about how to “sell” such a programme, however, this is not necessarily a problem for the analysis: it is unlikely that any programme would be able to reach absolutely everybody, and it is useful to examine those who are reached by it and why. Nevertheless, negative comments about the programme may have been suppressed to some degree.

8.2 How does the programme work?

The Gente Joven programme is able to transform attitudes and behaviours among young people, and it is able to recruit promoters who believe enough in the aims of the programme to work without pay. So what is it about the nature of this programme that leads to its success?

The Gente Joven programme is run by Mexfam and the institution itself has a direct role in programme success in terms of the basic course, the materials and the training of the young promoters. It also has an indirect role in that it facilitates the work of the promoters, who are key to the overall impact of the programme. The

direct input from Mexfam is outlined below, followed by a discussion of the pivotal role of the youth promoters.

8.2.1 Direct input from Mexfam

The extent to which the content of the programme takes account of the reality of the lives of the students will affect its perceived relevance, and acceptability (e.g. see Rivers & Aggleton 1998; Freire 1997b). The fact that the content of the Gente Joven courses is largely guided by a set of topics that are imposed from outside the group does not seem to impair the participants' feelings that the course speaks to them directly and addresses their concerns.

While most participants say they learned from the course, the men occasionally say that they found the courses boring because they already knew all the information. These men left the programme before completing the course. The course may simply be unsuitable, either because it is not pitched at the correct level for them, or is not addressing issues they perceive to be important. In addition, the attitude may to some extent be symptomatic of the social expectation that men "know" everything about sex. Whatever the reason, these participants seem not to have been reached effectively by the programme.

Generally, the content of the programme, and its clear messages appear to be perceived as relevant and useful. This may be partly because although there is a core Gente Joven course, sessions are flexible and are modified according to issues raised by participants which may or may not have a direct bearing on "sex". For example, in the fieldwork area, alcohol and other drug misuse was a constant concern for participants and they frequently introduced this theme, which was taken up by the promoter or co-ordinator leading the session. A course may continue beyond the standard seven sessions because the participants feel that they wish to learn about other themes, or to want to continue discussing themes that have already been introduced. In the same way, a session may last longer than planned, if participants would like to continue.

...perhaps they take a while... the course takes a while, because a lot of times they end up staying longer, but they explain it all to you well. Lots of times... One time, they finished the topic early and they said to us: if you want to talk more about this, well, stay. And then we carried on talking, and it's like you can remember all of it.

#190 (Int 61, 17 year old man, quite Gente Joven, little family support, completed two years of *prepa*)

There are no taboo topics, and in asking questions, young people also affect the agenda of what is discussed:

...questions, worries, whatever you have we talk about it. There's no inhibition or embarrassment about talking about those things.

#191 (Int 138, 19 year old woman, quite Gente Joven, more family support)

The role of dialogue in the programme will be examined in more detail below.

The materials provided in the Gente Joven programme (videos, slides etc.) add interest to the sessions and are used to illustrate points, or to prompt discussion. The materials may also lend credibility to the young people leading the sessions by making them appear more "official".

The training of the young people who lead the courses is also key to their effective dissemination of information. The youth promoters are well-informed and have access to books and other materials to assist them in answering questions and in giving information. Programme co-ordinators are extremely knowledgeable, and seminars and other events are organised by Mexfam to discuss new topics.

... a lot of things about the course surprised me. I mean the [promoters] because well, they're really... really well trained, you know? To know what it is they're going to talk about. They're not going to come and just... talk about their own experiences because well, probably it's someone that doesn't even know anything and just annoys you, you know? But I think that they're people that really come prepared. I didn't know what they were going to talk about and they came, you know, with all that they were going to say. So that was what I really loved.

#192 (Int 74, 15 year old woman, quite Gente Joven, more family support)

8.2.2 Youth leadership: opening up dialogue

The fact that the Gente Joven programme is youth-led is key to its success. Young people giving the information are seen as in touch with the real concerns of their peers:

Int: what do you think of the youth promoters?

Resp: I think that it's great that they give the talks as well because I think that they understand the situation better because they're young themselves.

#193 (Int 139, 19 year old woman, quite Gente Joven, more family support)

Credibility of the person giving information has been highlighted as important in effective diffusion of innovations both in the context of programmes and in general

(Rogers 1983; Scott & Black 1999). Young people are seen as more credible presenters of the messages than older adults:

Resp: The project is called Gente Joven [...] and that's to do with the fact that there's a certain affinity between the people that are going to give the information and the people [taking the courses]. How old are the people who give the information about sexuality? Well, if I'm 17 and a 40 year-old arrives... well I'm probably going to say: oh yeah? This one probably can't even do it anymore and doesn't even want to, or she's a widow that's going to give me a class about sexuality, you know? There should be young people, you know? It's a really important factor. More than anything because it doesn't seem so far removed from you, you know when you're like: so what's the deal? [And they're like:] [...] Well, once upon a time – well this is the way I see it – I'm like: yeah right, maybe back when you were young... (laughter). So well, I think that this a reason that we all have, those of us that are here, the younger ones, you know? Because of [thinking] that: oh no, now they're going to... well, now they're going to just talk crap, about when she was little, or something like that (laughter).

#194 (Int 32, 19 year old woman, very Gente Joven, less family support)

The fact that the educators are themselves young⁵⁰ and are not paid to work for the programme is evidence that the course follows a youth agenda – after all, promoters must be convinced that the information is useful to work as volunteers in its dissemination. As Alicia says:

...when I talk to them it's because that's what I think. I say it because I think it, and because that's the way I feel, and... I'm not capable of messing them around and I think that that's one of the reasons they trust me because I'm not capable of messing them around. I say to them: you know what? We're going to do this, and I always tell them the truth: what happened and what didn't happen. What was done or what wasn't done. I always tell them exactly the same thing...

#194

A key element of the Gente Joven programme is that there is dialogue between the participants and the leaders of the programme. Sessions are participatory, and

⁵⁰ Co-ordinators are often under 30 years old and the promoters I observed were mainly aged between 16 and 24.

comments and questions are encouraged. Participants are able to seek clarification of issues discussed:

Resp: The best thing about the programme is the way they talk, because the information is something that everyone gives you, but it's not the same if they're dictating to you, if they're talking with loads of technical detail, and you don't understand anything, as when someone the same age is talking to you. They're going to talk to you on your level: look, the thing is that this and this and this is called this because of this and because of this. And I think that that was the thing I noticed most, more than the information, because the information's always there. It's not the same to get it from a book as from a person who's at your level, who talks to you.

#195 (Int 150, 17 year old woman, quite Gente Joven, more family support)

Int: What do you think of the promoters?

Resp: I admire their... their patience, you know?... Because it's not just arriving, explaining and that's that. It's more like: hey listen, I didn't understand that, you know? And they explain it to you again, and, and, there's no problem.

#196 (Int 140, 22 year old woman, quite Gente Joven, less family support)

The programme provides a forum for discussion where ideas and opinions about sexuality or other topics may be expressed freely. The openness of the communication in the programme is particularly mentioned by the women interviewed, perhaps because, as we saw in Chapter 5, compared to the men they have very little access to arenas where they are permitted to discuss topics related to sexuality. Men also comment on the opportunity the programme give them to express themselves.

Int: Why did you decide to join the programme?

Resp: Because I feel that it was something I needed, and at the same time that it was something that the others needed as well, the ones younger than me. So by talking with them, I get stuff off my chest, you know, because that way I don't have to carry all the weight of the things that make me feel bad, and at least now I come here with them and: it's like this and this. Having said it, I feel good about myself, and it's probably useful for them because if it hasn't happened to them, at least I've told them.

#197 (Int 155, 22 year old man, quite Gente Joven, more family support, completed two years of secondary school)

Giving women a forum to talk about sex and sexuality, and giving men a forum to discuss relationships and feelings without being ridiculed subverts traditional expectations of gender roles and communication between men and women is opened up.

Among the promoters, there is usually extremely open communication and many comment on how much they enjoy this:

... I hang out with promoters. With the programme, you have a dialogue. I've noticed the difference in how you can talk about sexuality with another person, or with another professional. Since we're in the same line, we can talk about things in a really different way, that's not very common. I would say that because we can talk so openly we don't feel uncomfortable no matter what topics we're talking about... and I feel really good being with the promoters.

#198 (Int 49, 22+ year old man, very Gente Joven, little family support)

The groups of promoters reinforce one another's learning through discussion:

... generally we're sharing, exchanging ideas. Sometimes a person might have read a magazine, or have seen an article in the newspaper, or something on TV, and we come and talk here, and things come out, and generally, yes [sexuality is] the basic topic of conversation.

#199 (Int 49, 22+ year old man, very Gente Joven, little family support)

In the group of promoters I knew well, no topic was taboo, and no topic was dismissed as irrelevant. Discussions included, for example, bestiality in pornography, causes of drug addiction, budgeting to manage money, and kissing techniques, among many others. This type of discussion was not confined to the group: promoters often report discussing similar issues with friends and family who are external to the programme (see below).

The dialogue that exists within the programme creates a sense of respect for the participants. Equality between group members is emphasised and participation actively encouraged. The only rules about communication in the group relate to respect for others' opinions. Attempts to ridicule or silence group members are stopped early.

Int: Do you think your behaviour has changed because of the programme?

Resp: Yes... I was one of those really quiet people, and now I'm more open

Int: Why do you think that, or why did you change?

Resp: I think that they made me feel more comfortable. Among friends, I'd say: It's like I'm the doctor and you're the promoter, you know. Here we're all equal, and we're all one generation. It's better: one 30, one 20, some 17, and 15 years old, but we're equal. That way they made you feel equal, they give you information in the same way. All that has a big influence.

#200 (Int 64, 20 year old man, very Gente Joven, less family support)

Contributions to discussions are taken seriously. Even if participants are unwilling to ask questions in front of the group, they may approach the course leader later, or may write their questions on pieces of paper and post them in a box sometimes made available for that purpose. The questions are then answered in the following session. The overall effect is often to increase willingness to express ideas and opinions in public.

Resp: Before the course well we were all very closed, you know? All of us, because we arrived and the first thing they said was: okay – tell us something about your sexuality. And almost everyone was thinking about having sex, or... you know, something with your partner, you know? And so they got embarrassed, or some said: no, it's that I haven't... I haven't had sex, or it's that... Everyone, you know? They were all shy. After the course when it finished, they asked us the same question: okay, now can someone say something about their sexuality? And then everyone wanted to speak, you know?

#201 (Int 66, 22+ year old woman, quite Gente Joven, little family support)

Int: Do you think that it changed you at all, how you thought about sexuality after the course?

Resp: Yes, it changed how I thought... It broadened my horizons.

Int: In what way?

Resp: Well, I don't know... in everything. Being more informed, and feeling more confident.

Int: More confident?

Resp: Everything, yes, in terms of speaking... in terms of...

[...]

Int: In what way could it have influenced your relationship, your emotional relationship with your family, with your friends... Do you think the course had any influence?

Resp: Well, as far as my relationships were concerned, well, it made me more open.

#202 (Int 67, 18 year old woman, quite Gente Joven, more family support)

The mutual respect that characterises the programme extends to its non-prescriptive nature. Throughout the programme, the aim is to provide information and guidance to allow young people to make personal choices about sex, not to proscribe sexual activity. As Alicia says:

Probably you've been given those same topics in other schools or in other places, possibly they've been bombarded with them so much... but now we go back to the same thing: sex education is anatomy, that it isn't anatomy, sexual education is when they talk about your body and pregnancy, but on the other hand, they tell you: don't do it because it's bad. On the one hand they tell you: you're free and you can do whatever you like, and on the other, they prohibit everything. And on the one hand they tell you: okay, you have the right to know all this, but you don't have the right to do it. You have the right to know it, but you don't have the right to ask me if you can do it or not. And almost always the first mistake is: you have to listen because I'm telling you. Because you're young and you don't know anything about anything. That's what I think makes the young people stay. They stay because we don't prohibit... first we don't prohibit anything, second it's voluntary and third, it's something that can happen to anyone and they are completely free to leave or stay and to decide what it is they want to do with their lives and since everything is... since we don't tell them: it's good, it's bad [but that] it depends on what they think. So they say: ah! They don't hassle me here, they don't forbid me to do things, here they don't say that it's my fault, or that I can't do it. So out of curiosity they start to form more constructive habits, and they can say that something is useful for them, or something is not useful. And that's what makes them stay. The fact that they want to know more, or the fact that they're thinking about situations and they want to know what's happening – or one thing that's very important, at least in my work, that's been noticeable is the fact of understanding that it also becomes our responsibility – as young people – to be able to work with other young people and to be able to give them the opportunity that we don't have at this moment, the knowledge that we have, and pass it on to other young people. It's like a commitment. I mean, now you know. You had the

commitment, now my commitment is to pass it on to someone else that doesn't have it. That's how it is.

#203

The dialogue and the supportive atmosphere within the Gente Joven sessions allow many of the participants to talk about their personal worries, questions, experiences, or problems, either with the group as a whole, or on a one-to-one basis with a coordinator or promoter. Some participants report relief at the knowledge that they are not alone. This woman, for example, has described being the victim of three attempted rapes:

Int: Do you think that the programme might have helped you at all to understand what happened to you in the past?

Resp: Well, yes. Yes, seeing the fact that lots of girls have gone through the same thing, you know? And well, that I haven't been the first one, and it won't be the last time that it happens to someone either, you know?

#204 (Int 145, 22+ year old woman, very Gente Joven, more family support)

Whether or not they specifically talk about problems there is the sense that all participants are valued and their contributions valuable. Alicia says that some of the participants attend meetings and continue with the programme because:

...unfortunately we have a lack of affection, a lack in terms of meeting those little necessities. Since it's affection that sometimes you're looking for indirectly as much as the information, but you also think: well at least it's worth being with someone that's paying attention to me. That's really important. At least with the young people I've had contact with and I've not seen for, say, one, two, three, four or five years: when they see me, they look at me with such affection and tenderness that I'm like: my God! Why? Well, because that's what I give them. So sometimes it's five minutes of attention. I've always said, five minutes of attention and understanding, and with that alone you've won it. That's one of the most important parts because there are some holes in that area where generally as an adult you say: you're wrong, you need this, I know what it is that you need....

#205

This interviewee reinforces the point about lack of support:

Int: What do your parents think of the programme?

Resp: They think it's crap. No, it's just that they say that... that they give us... My mum gets annoyed and is like: Well what is it that you all do there?

Well go and see for yourself, don't just go around criticising, so that you can see what they do. They give us talks and young people go along... People that only like hassling people... That day I even started crying I was so angry: when a person behaves badly, they don't even notice.

#206 (Int 154, 18 year old man, quite Gente Joven, little family support)

Successful promoters and co-ordinators are very committed to their work. One characteristic they have in common is the desire to revolutionise and change the status quo: they have a strong sense of the injustice of gender inequalities, for example, and strong beliefs that young people should not be prevented from understanding, exploring and expressing their sexuality freely and responsibly. They are committed to the well-being of others

They do not wait for young people to find them but they actively seek out those needing help. On the subject of recruiting promoters, Alicia says:

...sometimes they arrive of their own accord – it's exactly their need that makes them come. Not all of them though. Others you have to seek out, and others you have to be behind them, pushing them along, because there are some that are so hurt that they don't want to get close. So you have to be looking for them. Generally one of the places where I can find them is er... I've done it when I organise talks, I've done it when I'm on the street corner talking with someone young, and sometimes I move very slowly. You've seen that for example, with the graffiti artists I move very slowly because I don't want to bore them, but I took [name] to the doctor, and now I know what it is that's happening with him, and what problems he has, and that's how I go – little by little, depending. And I create in them that need, and that commitment little by little. Sometimes it's talking in the street, talking, or sometimes it's the other way around: that the ones who are interested just leave, and the ones who weren't interested, stay.

#207

Int: Is there something particular about the programme that you like?

Resp: The relationship with the young people

Int: What's it like?

Resp: It's... It's friendship. It's not like (thinks). It's not like, you're there for one second and then you leave and that's it. No... It's friendship.

Int: There's follow-up.

Resp: Yes, it's just that there's friendship and you carry on, you know? Because it's your friend and you carry on with him. And you don't let him die alone.

#208 (Int 31, 20 year old man, very Gente Joven, little family support)

Among the groups of promoters, there is especially strong emotional support:

Int: Was there anything in particular you liked about the programme?

Resp: Something in particular? No... almost everything was very special for me... I felt like I was among friends, among family.

#209 (Int 64, 20 year old man, very Gente Joven, ex-promoter, less family support)

This mutual commitment, emotional support, and dialogue are a key part of the process of recruiting and keeping promoters. As Alicia says:

...I think that it's the need to see that you [as a promoter] are useful for something... I never give them anything [presents]. I give them my attention, I give them my affection, I give them the trust that they need, but nothing more. And I tell them that. Exactly that is what I tell them, and I've always said... [name] used to say to me that we... that we... that the young people – and now we get back to the same thing again – that we can't ask things of the young people simply because they're young and they don't have commitment, and they leave and never come back, and I used to say to her: excuse me, but it's not true. When you know that the young people that you have are there because they want to do it, because of the commitment that they have, or that you're making, because they're committed to you, you can demand anything you want because they're going to do it, because you're not telling them to as if you were their mother...

#210

8.2.3 Consciousness-raising

The programme has a consciousness-raising effect. Many of the women participants say that the course “makes you think” and the promoters particularly say that the course “opened their eyes”:

...when I started to have contact with Mexfam is when my eyes started to open. I mean, I was like a stone. I was a stone. I don't understand how it's possible that parents in this society can... how they can get you as a woman and shut your eyes completely. They shut your eyes. [...] When I had contact with Mexfam, it was a relief on the one hand, but it was also

profoundly and tremendously frustrating because it made me so angry to say that so much time, so many years of pain, of sacrifice, of tears, of keeping everything bottled up inside you, of thinking that you were nobody and that you're useless [...] It helped me a lot to be in contact with Mexfam because I was able to clarify my ideas, I was able to strengthen what I believed, and knew that what I was doing, I was doing well.

#211 (Int 151, 22+ year old woman, very Gente Joven, little family support, completed *prepa*)

...Like for example... I don't know... it's like it's opened my eyes and I'm more mature and now, it's like... now I feel more... sort of like... a weight's been taken off.

#212 (Int 158, 17 year old woman, very Gente Joven, little family support)

...This course helped me realise that there were... that there were more doors to... well, I mean, more books, more information, and all that, you know? You can inform yourself and you can't just be shut into just one thing.

#213 (Int 63, 20 year old woman, virgin, very Gente Joven, little family support)

...I think that I've learned to be... tolerant about the opinions of other people, about the ideas and customs of other people. I've learned to respect...opinions about aspects of social things, emotional things, sexual things, all those sorts of things. I think that yes, it's something that... that knowing the programme, er... I don't know... it's made me... It's given me that perception, you know? Perhaps it's because of being in this environment of respect, of tolerance, of understand... perhaps understanding... towards the perceptions of other people.

#214 (Int 47, 22+ year old man, very Gente Joven, more family support)

Int: Has the programme influenced your sexual life?

Resp: Well, I think that it's given me knowledge, it's given me knowledge about the use of certain contraceptive methods, but nothing more. What has helped me most are the courses in general. What have influenced my life the most have been the courses, not so much the course manual, since I saw that afterwards, but first I was in the courses, and then when I first read the manual I already had the information about what was inside, so it didn't influence me very much.

Int: In what way have the talks helped you?

Resp: Oh, well the talks have helped in a lot of things – my relationship with my partner. I feel like I've become aware of... Before, I was aware, but in

terms of prevention of sexually transmitted diseases I never imagined what they were. I even... I had no idea what they were, and so it sort of goes in, and you say: it looks critical, you know? Going through that – better protect myself. I think that I've become aware of that more than anything

Int: Have your opinions about sex changed?

Resp: Yes

Int: How?

Resp: I feel like they've changed because before I just thought that to have sexual relations was penetration and that's it. And that's where it ended, you know? And that relations, that sex was just to have these relations, and you realise that that's not so, that sex is one thing, that sexual relations are another, and so you change the way you think and it's opened up a lot of doors for me because I've got to know about other options, so yes, it helped me a lot.

[...]

Int: What's the best of the programme for you? What do you think is the best part of the programme?

Resp: I think that the best is dealing with family communication and communication with your partner. I think it's the best thing about the programme because makes you see that there has to be a balance so that there's good communication with your partner... there has to be a good...balance. There has to be communication, dialogue and all that's included in the programme. It's communication. So I feel that the best part is the communication because without communication we wouldn't be able to make steps towards contraceptive methods. Without communication, we wouldn't be able to make steps towards sexually transmitted diseases.

#215 (Int 44, 22+ year old woman, very Gente Joven, little family support)

8.2.4 Spreading the word

Young people participating in the Gente Joven programme are convinced by and help to create the messages of the programme. The existence of volunteer promoters not only helps the programme to achieve credibility and relevance for the participants, but functions to increase the social status of the promoters themselves who are given Mexfam materials and can give courses under the Mexfam banner. In this way, their work is recognised as valuable and is made "official". They also gain status by being able to impart knowledge to others.

The programme can be seen as empowering at two different levels: at the level of consciousness-raising for all participants, and at the level of directly increasing social status for the promoters, who also have access to the networks of emotional support and further consciousness-raising activities within promoter/co-ordinator groups. The participants are told that they have the responsibility to ensure that other young people also have the benefit of the new knowledge that they learn in the course, and that if they feel it has helped them, they should try to help others in the same way. The logical conclusion of this is to become a promoter. The “promoters” in the terminology of the programme are “leaders” in the sense that they join the programme in order to engender attitude and behaviour change among others, and are often invited to become promoters specifically because of their leadership qualities. They themselves are convinced by the messages of the programme and they are prepared to work, unpaid, with the programme to “sell” the same messages to others.

Int: Why did you decide to join the group?

Resp: Because... sexuality is a topic that we all know about, but which nobody wants to talk about. It's a topic that has a crucial influence in your life and in the lives of all human beings. It appeals to me... joining and staying because it's an opportunity for me to know more about... also about my own sexuality... clarifying doubts I have, and also the opportunity to transmit [the information]. To transmit it. Something that ... I was left with that desire – that they should give me information when I need it, and that in the moment when I'm obtaining information, I can also give it. It's really satisfying for me to be able to share what I'm learning.

#216 (Int 49, 22+ year old man, very Gente Joven, little family support)

...I think that since the information has helped us so much, I think that it's the way... I don't know... Yes, the way to return the favour to someone who sometimes doesn't have support.

#217 (Int 46, 22+ year old woman, very Gente Joven, more family support)

Int: Why did you decide to join the programme?

Resp: Because I was fascinated by the course. I fell in love with the course, and the things that I could discover. So it fascinated me, and I said: there's a lot of material there. A lot of people like me or worse off than me, who need information, who need... er... a guide, you know? Someone who can open

their eyes – someone who's concerned about them, concerned about other people.

#218 (Int 50, 22+ year old woman, very Gente Joven, little family support)

Int: Why did you decide to join the programme?

Resp: Well, one because I like... I like sexuality topics, but one of the reasons I joined here, I'd say, is because.... Because during adolescence I suffered a bit, you know? This stuff that is sexuality... so what I wanted, well, is to transmit the information to other young people – to youth, and try to topple some of these myths that they've been telling us, that limit us and well, also, well, I want to know a bit more about my sexuality, you know? It's something that has really helped me grow.

#219 (Int 47, 22+ year old man, very Gente Joven, more family support)

...I really like giving [information]. I've really got into the books in depth, and the workshops where I've been to learn more, so I can guide young people, in the way that I wish I'd been guided.

#220 (Int 49, 22+ year old man, very Gente Joven, little family support)

The fact that the work of the promoters is voluntary may be key to its success. It has been found that if people are given money to perform a task, they are less likely to consider that task interesting in itself, and are more likely to attribute their behaviour to the fact that they are paid, than to their intrinsic beliefs about the value of the task (Stroebe & Jonas 1988). Thus paid promoters, although initially more easy to recruit, may not be as effective as volunteers because among other reasons, they are likely to be less enthusiastic about the task they are performing.

Whether or not the young people become promoters, when it is known that they have participated in the programme they are frequently approached for advice and information by friends, relatives, and acquaintances:

Int: Do you think your behaviour has changed because of the programme?

Resp: Uh-huh

Int: Why or how?

Resp: Because, well, there are a lot of things that... that I know that probably aren't very difficult or anything, but that lots of my friends, or classmates don't know and, well, they come to me.

#221 (Int 140, 22 year old woman, quite Gente Joven, less family support)

Int: Why did you decide to join the programme?

Resp: Because, because I can have... not exactly knowledge, but yes I can have a foundation to be able to tell things to some friends, that they don't, that they don't dare ask about either at home or by going to a doctor...to talk about questions that they have.

#222 (Int 141, 22 year old woman, quite Gente Joven, little family support, at least completed *prepa*)

Int: And what do your friends think of the programme?

Resp: Well they take advantage of me (laughs), what with all the information that they get out of me for free (laughter).

#223 (Int 97, 22+ year old woman, very Gente Joven, little family support, completed university)

In addition, some give Gente Joven leaflets to their friends, or simply initiate conversations about programme messages with friends and family. They are very certain both of their information and of their opinions after having participated in the programme:

Int: Have your opinions about other things in your personal life changed?

Resp: Well, yes, lots of things compared to people of my age. Now I treat my nieces and nephews in a different way. If I hear that they call the penis some other word, I say to them: No, it's "penis" (laughter), or: not "eggs", no, they're "testicles".

Int: And how do they react?

Resp: Well, they laugh. Now with my friends that I talk to, they're men, adults, who have children in primary school, in secondary school, or in the *bachillerato*⁵¹, and I say to them: Hey, do you talk to your son – well, yes – and have you talked to them about sex? – No – why? – well, they haven't asked – well don't wait for them to ask! And I'm always trying to motivate them like that. Now seeing as the young men aren't there, well, at least [I can talk] with the parents... And yes, I've changed a lot. Before I wouldn't have spoken out, now I do because I know that it's necessary.

#224 (Int 98, 18 year old man, very Gente Joven, little family support, completed two years of *prepa*)

...And I was talking to him. I say it's like with these young people, that just give us some leaflet, you know... They should come and do a course like the others... Something that you're going to remember for a long time...

⁵¹ *Schooling beyond secondary school*

forever, you know? So things changed a lot, even with my cousins, you know... My cousins like just end up looking at me... Because I talked to my cousin: You know what, I met a boy who's homosexual... he's a really nice person, he's like you can't imagine. A *maricón*, yes... You know, in your profession there must be a shit load of *maricones*, you know? So well, he saw *maricones* very differently: Yuck! How disgusting! Get him out of here! But I started to see it another way. So my cousins were like: she's mad. They saw it like: my God! This girl's completely lost it, she's delirious. All my cousins. My aunts... er... well, they took it as the most normal thing ever. My mum said to me: what an expert you are now! You know, like as if: ooh! And then even my boyfriend asked me: and what did the bloke in the course say? This and this. Hey, when you see him, ask him about this... you know? And I would ask the bloke: hey, he said this that and the other, and it was really good. Yes, for days afterwards all I talked about was the course, you know? You're probably going to think: what a filthy girl⁵²... She just goes around talking about sex the whole time, but that's not it. Rather, it was all the stuff that had made an impact on me from the course... All the things I'd learned.

#225 (Int 74, 15 year old woman, quite Gente Joven, more family support)

Lately we've talked about sexuality a lot, which never used to happen. Mainly, it's with my friends that know that I was working in Mexfam. I said what it was, and obviously, since they're my little promoters I gave them a little course, and if they have any questions, they come and ask me. And now I talk more openly, not so much because before I didn't talk about it, but because I was neither closed nor open because it didn't interest me. But now, because of my work, you have to open up and above all come across people who are very closed, who you come across now and again, and well, respecting the boundaries that everyone has.

[...]

When I joined Mexfam, they started to laugh at me, and then from there, the whole thing started to develop, all the: hey, look at what there is! So they found out that I sold condoms: Hey! Have you got any condoms? – yes, how many do you want? – well, however many, and I'm like: my God! You're really going over the top! And that's it. I don't know. Really it opened up. I

⁵² She says "que cochina"

don't know... The conversation [...] And I remember that I said to one of them... I don't remember how it came up, but I was talking to her about STDs and she said: what's that? – Sexually transmitted diseases – AIDS? – No, not just AIDS. AIDS you can't cure, but the others, for example chlamydia... And she was just looking at me like: What are you talking about? And so I was laughing at her, going: you with your sex life, and you don't even know! And she says: okay, no-one knows everything so go on, tell me. And so I more or less gave her some advice, I mean more or less, I told her, and now she's got it, more or less. Above all when they come for condoms.

#226 (Int 148, 19 year old woman, very Gente Joven, more family support, incomplete *prepa* because of university strikes)

[I talk to my sisters] about how if they don't want to get pregnant at an early age, or... or at a late age, they just have to take care of themselves, and I've always said to them, and with strong language... I've always said it with strong language... I always say: Okay: there's the fucking condom, over there. If you don't... If you don't... If you're embarrassed, there's the fucking condom. Over there. You can use it so that you don't get pregnant. And now I'm always saying to them: it would be the bloody limit if I'm here in the fucking programme and you don't even know how to take care of yourselves. Over there are the fucking books – you can go and have a look at them.

#227 (Int 31, 20 year old man, very Gente Joven, little family support)

8.3 The Gente Joven programme: a Freirian model?

The Gente Joven programme changes communication and social relations, including gender relations. A clue to how it can achieve this may be found in the theoretical treatment of education and its role in social reform advanced by Paulo Freire (e.g. Freire 1970; Freire 1997a; Freire 1997b).

“There is no such thing as a neutral educational process. Education either functions as an instrument that is used to enculturate the young into the logic of the present system, or it is the means of dealing critically and creatively with reality to discover how to participate in the transformation of their world.” (Freire and Macedo (1987), quoted in Murrell (1997), p.19)

In Freire's view, for education to lead to participation in the transformation of the world, there must be a dialogue between teacher and student that encourages active

questioning of the subject matter, of the learning process and of society itself (Freire 1970; Freire 1997b; Shor 1993). Teachers and students should both participate both in the process of learning and of teaching.

“...for the one who knows to be able to teach the one who knows not....First, the one who knows must know that he or she does not know all things; second, the one who knows not must know that he or she is not ignorant of everything. Without this dialectical understanding of knowledge and ignorance, it is impossible, in a progressive, democratic outlook, for the one who knows to teach the one who knows not.” (Freire 1997b, p.188)

The dialogue that Freire advocates attempts to redress the uneven power balance between teacher and student, and to “liberate” students rather than “domesticate” them (Freire 1970).

The type of education Freire advocates can be seen in the strategies of the Gente Joven programme. To explain this further, I will discuss in turn the roles of the teacher (in the case of the programme, the co-ordinators and promoters) and the students (programme participants or “followers”), from a Freiran perspective.

According to Freire, teachers must both teach and learn. He asserts that a pedagogy that restricts itself to teaching “the truth” that must be accepted without question is oppressive, however liberating the subject matter (Freire 1970). “Merely pouring information into another person is fundamentally disrespectful of that person” (Fraser 1997, p.186).

By opening up a dialogue, teachers question the power inherent in their position, and acknowledge the views, opinions and experiences of the students. Participatory education for Freire does not imply a “levelling” of teacher and student:

“Teachers and students are not identical... it is a *difference* between them that makes them precisely students or teachers. Were they simply identical, each could be the other. Dialogue is meaningful precisely because the dialogical subjects, the agents in the dialogue, not only retain their identity, but actively defend it, and thus grow together... Dialogue is not a favour done by one for the other, a kind of grace accorded. On the contrary, it implies a sincere, fundamental respect on the part of the subjects engaged in it, a respect that is violated, or prevented from materialising by authoritarianism. Permissiveness does the same thing, in a different, but equally deleterious, way.” (Freire 1997b, p.117 [emphasis in original])

There is a tension between the idea of a liberating education produced by a dialogue between equals, and the reality of the power structures that exist within educational situations. Although Freire says that dialogue is not a “grace accorded”, the existence of power structures (for example in terms of age differences between school teachers and pupils) implies that in many situations, for dialogue to exist one side will to some extent be “graciously” allowing it to take place, however much its importance is acknowledged. In the Gente Joven programme, the educators are young and from similar social backgrounds to the students. This fact may reduce the inherent tension between the need for a dialogue between equals and the inequalities between those that “know” and those that “know not”, encouraging a genuinely participatory experience.

Freire advocates a method of teaching that begins with the knowledge of the participants. He is highly critical of educators who simply seek to impose their knowledge on others.

“One does not teach what one does not know. But neither, in a democratic perspective, ought one to teach what one knows without, first, knowing what those one is about to teach know and on what level they know it; and second, without respecting this knowledge” (Freire 1997b, p130).

In the Gente Joven programme, the promoters share some of the experiences of the participants, and through dialogue learn more about their experiences and needs. From a Freirian perspective, simply telling participants that they must empower themselves, or that they must demand their rights, will not work because of the hypocrisy of telling people that they “should” empower themselves while simultaneously failing to respect the fundamental realities of their lives. Without understanding the knowledge and experiences of the students, the hope of changing behaviour with simple prescriptions shows arrogance as well as ignorance.

The need for participatory learning does not, for Freire, imply that educational programmes should have no content to be taught, but that it is important to be aware of who chooses the content, and in favour of or against whom and what it is chosen (Freire 1997b). In the Gente Joven programme, while youth promoters continue to work as volunteers to disseminate the information taught in the basic course, it can be argued that the material, although mostly developed externally, is seen as relevant and addresses real needs. If young promoters cannot be recruited to a programme, it may be because the programme is seen as alien and irrelevant to their lives.

Participants in the programme, according to the Freirian view, should be both teaching and learning. The dialogue in the programme allows participants to share personal experiences in the group. In addition, there are specific exercises that are used that encourage participation, that emphasise the knowledge that already exists in the group and reveal that the “teacher” does not necessarily know everything. For example, in one exercise at the beginning of the course, the group is sometimes divided into two teams whose task is to write down as many words as possible for “penis” while the other group writes words for “vagina”. The lists are then read out, to general hilarity, and the team that has produced the most words wins. If the session leader does not know a word, he or she asks for an explanation, and also asks for confirmation of its veracity from the other team. Similarly, small groups are asked to present their ideas about the pros and cons of (for example) abortion, pornography, and pregnancy. They are encouraged to relate their ideas to their own experiences.

In learning, the participants are able to see the “teacher” as a source of potentially useful knowledge, but who can be questioned. The dialogue and the content of what is taught encourages new views of power structures in society, and participants learn to view their own knowledge and experiences as real and valid, while respecting the points of view of others. In Freirian terminology, they develop critical consciousness. The new critical consciousness is then put into action: the young people become promoters, they eschew traditional gender roles, make decisions based on their personal needs, assert their right to use, carry and demand contraceptives, and to live a healthy sexual life.

Conclusions

An interaction-orientated approach investigating three social levels: the macro, the individual and the dyad, has been valuable in the examination of sexual behaviour in this study. The combination of these three levels in the analysis of dyadic interactions also enables us to understand better how the Gente Joven programme may have an impact on the different factors influencing sexual behaviour.

One finding in terms of theoretical approach is that despite not using an overtly gender-orientated perspective while collecting data for this research, it was impossible to analyse the final interviews without gender being considered as a major explanatory element. Cultural factors in general, but particularly those related to gender roles and gendered social expectations of behaviour are vital in illuminating motivations for particular behaviours. Simple models of gender roles, however, where men are thought to be free to behave sexually as they wish while women are severely restricted cannot be said to explain adequately the behaviour of the interviewees in this study. Stereotypical male and female roles are not rigidly adhered to by all individuals, and far from being universally dominated and socially controlled, women appear to have a certain flexibility to reinterpret and transform social rules, while men may be more restricted than they first appear. For example, among the interviewees in this study, in the “new” social rules, it is acceptable for a woman to engage in coitus before marriage as long as she is “in love” – a state which she herself often defines. She may also choose to remain a virgin. The young men, on the other hand, are not as free to behave as they wish as the stereotype suggests. Rather, they appear to be under considerable pressure to conform to a particular, dominant model of masculinity, with little room for manoeuvre. It is possible that social pressures to conform to particular gender roles could even be stronger on men than on women because whereas women are increasingly taught to challenge the status quo, the issue for men is hidden and remains almost completely unquestioned.

A finding linked to the reinterpretation of social rules for women’s sexual behaviour with important programme implications is that women may not wish to plan first coitus. Interviewees comment that their first time was somehow better for not being planned, and the idea of planning the exact time and place may even be seen as negative by some women because it is inconsistent with the more acceptable state of being “carried away”. This is not necessarily a problem for health, however, because planning does not seem to be linked very strongly with positive emotions or effective

contraception at first coitus. In fact, it appears to be far more important to acknowledge in advance with the partner that coitus will take place at some unspecified time in the future, which requires good communication within the dyad. Given that communication is key in healthy sexual behaviour, the fact that communication between men and women is often limited is a cause for concern.

From these findings, namely that gender roles and communication play an important part in shaping sexual behaviour, the part that the Gente Joven programme plays in terms of these two arenas is of considerable importance. The programme encourages communication in a non-sexual arena, and helps young participants to use these communication skills within their sexual interactions. The programme also questions social norms concerning gender, and encourages independent decision-making. Young people within the programme are acknowledged as sexual beings and their opinions and thoughts are respected.

The following elements of the Gente Joven programme appear to be key to its success: First, the presence of the young promoters. The volunteers working in the programme are evidence of programme relevance and interest for them, as well as being contributors to its success. The fact that the programme is run by young people for young people appears to be important in its impact and its perceived relevance for participants. The Freirian idea of an equality between teacher and student may also be easier to achieve when the teacher is of a similar age and social background to the students. Second, the presence of a highly motivated programme co-ordinator. The volunteer promoters are trained and supported in their work by the co-ordinators, who are vital to the smooth running of the programme. The co-ordinators had a very clear vision of the goals of their work, and a strong commitment to the well-being of others. Many of the promoters shared this vision, and commitment, and working together, they were able to recruit young people to be participants and promoters in the programme. Third, the content of the programme is important: the fact that questions are encouraged and answered allows the agenda to some extent to be set by the participants, and the topics covered include emotional and social as well as physical aspects of sex and sexuality. Fourth, and perhaps the most important element, particularly in terms of the community outreach work, is the quality of the communication between promoters, co-ordinators and other participants: there is mutual respect for others' opinions and ideas, and also emotional support that takes the programme beyond a simple one-way flow of information, and nearer to the Freirian ideal of a genuinely empowering education.

Appendix 1 – Characteristics of the interviewees

Interviewees are categorised in the text according to their sex, age, and status within the Gente Joven programme respectively (see tables for numbers in each category). They are also referred to by their individual interview number. Where the interview number is repeated over different quotes, this indicates that each of the quotes is from the same individual interviewee. Because there are few interviewees in the older age categories, to protect confidentiality, those over 22 are combined and referred to as “22+”.

Age	Women	Men	Non-virgins	Virgins	Not Gente Joven	Quite Gente Joven	Very Gente Joven	All
14	2	0	0	2	1	1	0	2
15	10	0	2	8	2	8	0	10
16	8	7	7	7	8	6	1	15
17	11	6	11	4	9	7	1	17
18	9	12	14	7	8	10	3	21
19	13	11	22	0	12	9	3	24
20	10	13	19	3	9	9	5	23
21	4	3	7	0	5	1	1	7
22	11	10	21	0	15	4	2	21
22+	8	4	10	2	1	2	9	12
Total	86	66	113	33	70	57	25	152
Mean age	18.8	19.4	19.8	17.0	19.1	18.2	21.0	19.1

Table 6 Number of interviewees according to sex, virginity status and programme status, by age

	Women			Men			Total
	Not in programme	Quite Gente Joven	Very Gente Joven	Not in programme	Quite Gente Joven	Very Gente Joven	
Non-virgin	27	18	15	30	17	6	113
Virgin	7	15	1	3	5	3	34
Total	34	33	16	33	22	9	147

Table 7 Number of interviewees according to programme status, virginity status, and sex

Appendix 2 – Interview schedule

The following is the schedule used for the in-depth interviews. The questions listed here were used as starting points for discussion and do not necessarily represent the exact questions asked. Parentheses contain suggested prompts. Section 10 was omitted for non-Gente Joven interviewees.

1. General information

- a) Age and sex
- b) Civil status. If not married, relationship situation or partner situation
- c) Occupation
- d) Civil status of parents
- e) Occupation of parents
- f) Do you have brothers and sisters? Sex, current age and occupation of each
- g) Where did you live when you were little? Who did you live with?
- h) What's the highest level of schooling you've reached?
- i) Are you religious? Is religion important for you?

2. Family/family life

- a) What was the atmosphere like in your family when you were little? (Did you have a close relationship with your parents/brothers and sisters? How easily could you talk to them?)
- b) How were you as a child (Typical, solitary, happy...)
- c) In your house, were the rules clear and consistent? (Were they always the same?)
- d) What ideas and beliefs did your parents and other members of your family have about sex or sexuality? (or what was their behaviour like regarding sexuality?) (what did they think of virginity/masturbation? Were the rules different for boys and girls) Is it the same now? Do they still have the same rules about sexuality?
- e) When you were a child, did anyone do anything to you, or make you do anything sexual that you didn't want?

3. Secondary school (puberty – age approximately 12-13 years)

- a) When you were about 12 or 13 years old, how did you get on with other people at your school, socially speaking? (Did you only have male friends? Only female? Both? Who did you get on with best? Did you share your secrets? What sort of activities were you typically involved in with your friends? How were you in general at that age?)
- b) Did you have sex education classes at school (or at that age)? Did you think that there were differences between men and women? Which? (Was there any difference highlighted in school? By parents/teachers/friends?) how did you used to think, feel and behave with someone of the opposite sex?
- c) In your house, did you talk about sex/sexuality? (What was discussed?) In your house, did they discuss your first wet dream/ your first menstruation? What sort of

information did your parents or other people give you? What were your sources of information about sex/sexuality in childhood or adolescence?

- d) Did you used to talk about things to do with sex with your friends? What sort of things did you talk about? Did you discuss things like puberty, caresses, sexual relations with both your male and female friends? Were there other sources of information about sex?
- e) In the talks about sexual relations, were risks thought of? (What was your attitude, and your friends' attitudes about risks?)

4. Social life now (age 16-18)

- a) Describe the most important changes in your social life since you left secondary school/ compared to your social life when you were 12 or 13 (Have there been other important changes we haven't talked about?)
- b) What's your social life like at the moment? (How many nights a week do you go out? What do you do? With whom? How many people would you call good friends at the moment? Are they men or women? How much do you drink? What sort of drugs do you use? Do you have any illegal activities?)
- c) Do you talk to your friends about things to do with sex/sexuality? What sort of things?
- d) Do you talk about things to do with sexuality with anyone in your family? What sort of things?
- e) On a scale of 1 to 10, grade your appearance, your personality, physical health, emotional health. Why did you choose these grades?
- f) How do you resolve your problems? (Give an example of how you've dealt with a problem – do you talk to anyone about problems?) Would you say you are happy with your life at the moment?

5. First sexual activities

- a) When did you first feel sexually attracted to someone? What did you do?
- b) What age do you remember other people finding you sexually attractive? How did you respond?
- c) Have you tried to *ligar*⁵³ someone that you like sexually? What did you do?
- d) What sexual activities have you had? (What age did you masturbate for the first time? What age was your first orgasm? Have you had sexual relations: vaginal, oral or anal?)

IF THE INTERVIEWEE HAS NOT HAD SEX, JUMP TO SECTION 9: KNOWLEDGE AND ATTITUDES

6. First sexual relations

- a) Detailed description of the first sexual experience: what happened, where, why, when, with whom, how? (Your age, age of partner, motives for having sex).
- b) Did you use protection to avoid a pregnancy or disease? Which? How was it that you decided to use/ not to use protection? Did you try to influence how things happened? How? What happened? Did you know anything about the sexual history of your partner.

⁵³ There is no exact word for *ligar* in English, but it means "flirt successfully with" (or "to pull" in some versions of British slang)

- c) How did you feel afterwards?
- d) How would you evaluate your first sexual experiences? (How did you feel emotionally and physically? How do you feel now?)
- e) Do you feel like the speed of your sexual development has been controlled by you or by other people? Why?

7. Sexual development over the years

- a) Detailed sexual history (draw time line if necessary). Partners with and without sexual relations. Why with some did you have sex, and with others not? What sort of protection did you use? What? Who with? When? How? Where did you get the protection you used?
- b) Do you think you've played an active role in creating your sexual life? What would you do if you were attracted to someone at this moment (How would you "court" them? Is it different now to how it was in the past? In what way?).
- c) What have you done or seen? Solo sex, pornography. How often? Why? How do you feel about it? Has this changed over the years? (Feelings, frequency etc.)
- d) Have you paid anyone to have sexual relations? Has anyone paid you?
- e) Have you pressured someone to have sex with you? Has anyone pressured you to have sex with them? (Do you know anyone who's experienced pressure or force to have sex?)
- f) Have you had (or do you know someone who has had) any sexually transmitted disease? Do you know anyone who's had HIV? What happened? How has that influenced you? Have you had (or do you know someone who has had) an unwanted pregnancy? What happened? How has that influenced you?
- g) Describe and explain the changes that have occurred in your life over the years in a general way. Your opinions about your relationships with other people, your perceptions of the differences between women and men, your ability to control your sexual life. (Has there been some person or information that has particularly influenced your thinking about sexual things?)

8. Case number 2 and contrast with the past year

- a) Could you describe the first time you had sexual relations with your most recent partner? (What did you do? Where? Why? When? Who with? How? Ages, time partner known, motivation to have sex, contraception. Imagine your partner had refused/demanded a condom – what would you have done? Did you try to influence the event in any way? Were you successful? How would you evaluate the event?)
- b) What is it that generally leads to sex?
- c) What sort of sexual activities do you engage in normally?
- d) How much do you try to influence the way things happen in terms of pleasure or protection?
- e) What does sex or sexual activity mean to you? Why?
- f) In the last 12 months have you used a condom? How often? Do you always use a condom with some partners? Do you use them sometimes? Never?
- g) Do you use some other type of contraceptive? Which? How did you decide to use that contraceptive?
- h) How much do you think about the risks involved with sex? (Do you think you're at risk?)

i) How happy are you with your sexual life at the moment?

9. Knowledge and attitudes

- a) What do you think about condoms? (What are they for? What are they best for? What are their advantages and disadvantages? How has using condoms been for you?)
- b) What do you think of HIV and AIDS? Do you think you're at risk of acquiring it? Do you think you have been in the past, or might be in future? (How do you get HIV? What sort of person gets infected? How can you avoid infection?)
- c) What's the best way to avoid an unwanted pregnancy? What sort of things could you use? [FOR THOSE WHO ARE NOT SEXUALLY ACTIVE: What sort of things would you do to avoid an unwanted pregnancy]

10. The Gente Joven programme (Mexfam)

- a) How did you hear about the Gente Joven programme? When? How long have you been in the programme? What sort of activities have you been involved in?
- b) Why did you decide to join the programme? (Was there something in particular that you liked about the programme? Were your friends in the programme? Why did they participate?)
- c) What do you think of the youth promoters? Have you talked with them about sex? What sort of things do you talk about? How was the talk?
- d) Does the programme seem useful to you? In what way? Do you use the programme to obtain contraceptives? Which? Where?
- e) What do your parents think of the programme?
- f) What do your friends think of the programme?
- g) Has the programme influenced your sexual life? How? Have your opinions about sex/sexuality changed at all? How?
- h) (If s/he has a girlfriend/boyfriend) Does your girl/boyfriend participate in the programme? Have his/her opinions changed as a result of the programme? How? In what way?
- i) Have your opinions about other things changed? What things? How?
- j) Do you think your behaviour has changed because of the programme? (How? Why?)
- k) What do you think is the best thing about the programme? The worst? If you were in charge of the programme, would you organise it differently? How? Why?
- l) In the area where you live, would you like there to be services for young people? What sort of information or services would be the most useful?

11. The future

- a) Describe your ideal sexual life.
- b) What do you think will be your future risks?
- c) What did you think of the interview? Is there anything that you think is important about your sexual life or about the Gente Joven programme that we haven't discussed?

Appendix 3 – Screening questionnaire

This questionnaire was occasionally used in schools to attempt to determine sexual activity of individuals in advance of the interviews without asking directly.

CONFIDENTIAL

Name: _____

Age: _____

Sex: Male __ Female __

1. Did you have sex education at school? Yes __ No __
1a. How many hours, approximately? 0 __ 1 __ 2-4 __ 5+ __
1b. What topics were covered?
 Puberty Yes __ No __
 Biological changes Yes __ No __
 Emotional changes Yes __ No __
 Family and communication Yes __ No __
 Contraceptives Yes __ No __
 Abortion Yes __ No __
 Pregnancy Yes __ No __
 Human sexual response Yes __ No __
 Gender Yes __ No __
 Other (please say what) _____
- 1c. Do you think the information you received was sufficient? Yes __ No __

2. Did you get information about sexuality from:
 Teachers? Yes __ No __
 Parents? Yes __ No __
 Sisters/brothers? Yes __ No __
 Cousins? Yes __ No __
 Other relatives? Yes __ No __
 Other adult? Yes __ No __
 Friends? Yes __ No __
 Books? Yes __ No __ (Were they pornographic books? Yes __ No __)
 Magazines? Yes __ No __ (Were they pornographic magazines? Yes __ No __)
 Films? Yes __ No __ (Were they pornographic films? Yes __ No __)

3. Have you ever used a condom? Yes __ No __
3a. If you answered "yes", why? (You can choose more than one reason)

To protect against pregnancy _____
To protect against disease _____
My partner wanted to use it _____

- 3b. If you answered "no", why? (You can choose more than one reason)
I haven't had sexual relations _____
Condoms cost too much _____
I use another contraceptive _____
I don't want to use condoms _____
My partner doesn't want to use condoms _____

4. Would you be interested in participating in our project so that your voice can be heard at the international level and so that programmes for young people can be based in real experiences, not just in the ideas of adults? Yes __ No __

4a. If you would like to participate, do you have a telephone number where we can contact you to organise an appointment?

Yes _____
No _____ (If not, please speak to Cicely or Alicia at the end of the talk)

THANK YOU

Appendix 4 – Excel spreadsheet used in “vertical” data analysis

Introduction to the spreadsheet

The spreadsheet overleaf was used to summarise characteristics of individual cases. An abridged version is included here to indicate the type of analysis that was carried out, and to give further information interviewee characteristics that could not be included in the main text because of space restrictions. The interview numbers of the quotations in the text and in Appendix 5 correspond to the numbers in the first column of the spreadsheet. Each case spans three pages and the columns approximately follow the order of the topics of the interview: demographic characteristics, family, schooling, first coitus, first coitus with last partner, then finally, general characteristics of the interviewee. Because of the nature of the interviews, not all of the information was available for all of the interviewees. The spreadsheet was useful not only for summarising cases, but also helped to ensure that all the cases were examined systematically: empty cells in the spreadsheet drew attention to any missing information, and demanded a rigorous approach to reading and coding interviews. The form of the spreadsheet evolved during the course of the analysis. Additional columns were added as new items became of interest and when this happened it was necessary to return to the interviews already coded to identify the relevant additional information. To simplify the presentation, not all of the columns of the spreadsheet are shown here, and the “comments” that appear in many of the cells containing additional remarks are also not shown.

Explanation of education levels cited

In the spreadsheet and main text, education levels are cited in terms of the Mexican system as follows:

School level	Age attended	Time to complete level (with no repeated years)
Primary school (<i>primaria</i>)	7 to 12 years old	6 years
Secondary school (<i>secundaria</i>)	13 to 15 years old	3 years
<i>Prepa</i> /vocational training	16 to 18 years old	3 years, sometimes less depending on the subject
University	19+ years old	4 to 6 years, depending on the subject

After secondary school, students may attend the *preparatoria* (*prepa*), completion of which is required to enter university; alternatively, they may study for a vocational qualification e.g. computing, or secretarial work. For vocational qualifications, the course can be between one and three years in duration. To study at the *prepa*, it is necessary to pass an exam, and entrance is competitive.

Interview number	age (if over 22 recorded as 22+)	Virgin?	Genite Joven status	Education level	dyad (couples have identifying letter)	Interviewer	religious? (0=not at all, 2=yes)	number of male siblings	number of female siblings	respondent's position in the family	type of family	support from fam? (1=more, 3=little)	were girls and boys treated differently?	Mother close?	Father close?	family rating according to respondent C	open communication about sex in family	violence in the home? ("a bit" = physical punishment only)	alcoholic in close family?	sex abuse in childhood?	raped in childhood?	Sex of school friends (n=no real friends)	degree of sex education received (0=none)	sex education duration	source of information re. menstruation	source of information about sexuality-related topics
1	16	y	n	n	in school	n	Virginia	1	1	2	2	trad	3	y	ish	n	positive	?	?	y	n	f(m)	1	some time	school?	school?
2	18	n	n	n	in school	n	Jose	2	3	2	6	laissez-faire	3	y	ish	0	pos and neg	?	?	y	y	m(f)	1	?	school	friends
4	16	y	q	n	in school	n	Hilaria	1	1	1	2	?	3	y	n	n	negative	?	?	n		f	2/3	?	mother	school
5	16	y	q	n	in school	n	Virginia	1	2	1	2	trad, conflict	3	n	n	n	negative	?n	?	n		m(f)	0/1	?	mother	mother
6	16	y	n	n	in school	n	Hector	1	3	5	8	trad		y	?	ish		?	?	n		m(f)	1	?		very little
7	16	n	v	n	in school	a	Virginia	1	1	2	4	conflict	3	n	ish	n	pos and neg	y	y	n		m	out of school	mother		parents' books,
8	18	n	v	n	in school	a	Hector	0	0	1	1	conflict	3	n	y	n	negative	?	?	n		m(f)				mother, GJ
9	15	y	q	n	in school	n	Hector	1/2	1	4	5	trad, strict	2	y	ish	n	pos and neg	n	?	n		f(m)	1	?	mother, sister	GJ
10	16	y	n	n	in school	n	Jose	1	2	1	3	trad, quite strict	2	?	ish	n	positive	?n	?n	y	n	m(f)	1	?	n	school, teacher
11	18	n	n	n	in school up to end of bachiller	n	Flavio	1	2	0	2	separated, live with mother	3	n	n	n	negative	n	n	n		m	1		a bit, sister	books, friends
12	20	n	n	n	in school	n	Alicia	1	1	3	2	strict	3	y	n	n	pos and neg	?	?	y	n	m	1			porn
13	18	n	q	n	in school	n	Alicia	1	4	2	4?	strict?	2	?	y		de ad neg	?	?	?		m	1			friends, porn
14	20	n	q	n	in school	n	Flavio	2	1	2	4	?	2	n	ish	ish	positive	?n	?n	n		m(f)	0			leaflets
15	18	y	q	n	in school	n	Flavio	1	1	4	3	strict, overprotective	2	y	?	is h	pos and neg	?n	?	n		m(f)	2/3	?		school
16	?	y	q	n	in school	n	Erika	?	1	0	?	absent	3	n	n	n		bit	?	n		m	1	1.5 hours per		school, friends
17	20	y	q	n	in school	n	Alicia	2	6	3	5	laissez-faire, close	2	n	ish	ish	positive y	bit	?	y	n	f(m)	1/2	some time	mother	school
18	17	n	q	n	in school	n	Alicia	1	0	2	1	separated, live with mother	2	y	y	ish	pos and neg	n	n	n		m(f)	1		mother, school	parents
19	17	y	q	n	in school	n	Alicia	1	0	1	1	violent	3	n	ish	ish	pos and neg	y	y	n		m(f)	1			parents, friends,
20	18	y	q	n	in school	n	Jose	1	1	2	1	fairly supportive, open	1	n	y	ish	pos and neg	psych	?n	n		m	1	?		parents
21	19	n	q	n	in school	n	Jose	1	2	3	6	trad	3	?	ish	n	negative	bit	n	n		m(f)	3			school, magazines,
22	16	n	q	n	in school	n	Flavio	1	0	2	2	open	1	n	y	y	positive y	n	?	n		m	1	mother	parents, DIF	
23	20	n	q	n	in school	n	Flavio	1	1	1	3	strict	3	n	n	n	negative	?	n	y	n	m(f)	1			books, porn, friends
24	22	n	n	n	in school	n	Flavio	1	1	1	1	supportive, open	1	n	y	n	positive y	n	n	n		m(f)	0	0		family, books
27	17	n	n	n	in school	n	Jose	0	3	1	5	conflict w. Hnos	3	?	ish	ad	pos and neg	?	?	y	atempted	m(f)	1			books, primo
28	18	n	n	n	in school	n	Alicia	0	1	4	3	neglect, laissez-faire	3	n	n	n	negative	bit	n?	n		f	1	mother	school, mother, leaflets	
29	19	n	q	n	in school	n	Jose	0	1	0	2	communication	1	n	ish	y	pos and neg	n	n	n		m(f)	1			father
31	20	n	v	n	in school	n	Cicely	1	1	2	1	violent	3	y	n	n	negative	y		sort of		m	0			GJ
32	19	n	v	n	in school	b	Alicia	1	2	0	1	overprotective	1	y	y	n	pos and neg	bit	n	y	n	m(f)	1		mother	parents
33	22+	y	v	n	in school	n	Jose	1	4	1	6	trad, strict, violent	3	y	n	n	negative	y	?	n		m	2	2 hours plus biol		books, school
34	22	n	n	n	in school	n	Jose	1	1	0	1	violent	3	?	y	n	pos and neg	y	?	y	n	m(f)	1	mother	friends	
35	20	n	n	n	in school	n	Jose	0	3	1	2	some communication	1	?	ish	ish	positive	n	n	n		m(f)	1	3		school, friends

Interview number	ever had confidant(e)?	age at first coitus	age of partner	age gap	time known before coitus (months)	feeling about first coitus	how was the experience?	physical factors (pain?)	was first coitus planned?	motive for first coitus	contraception at first coitus?	was method used reasonable to prevent pregnancy?	method type (modern, unreliable, none)	reason for non-use	Whose idea was it to use contraceptive who was partner?	partner experienced?	degree of communication in dyad	scenario	location of first coitus	"territory" (his, hers, shared)	
1	n	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2	n	15	21	6	0	very negative	rejection	unsatisfying	by partner	partner desire	condom	y	modern		partner	boss (male)	y	no discussion	he just puts condo	hotel shared	
4	friend	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
5	prima	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
6	friends	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
7	n	14	21	7	2	positive	-	n	y	love	withdrawal	n	unreliable		partner	boyfriend	y	little discussion	macho	his flat territory	
8	y	17	16	-1	?	positive	pregnancy	n	n	heat of moment	withdrawal	n	unreliable		-	girlfriend	y	little discussion	approve char	school neutral	
9	friends	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
10	sister	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
11	n	16	21	5	12	ambiv.	-	bit	possibly by partner	heat of moment	condom	y	modern		partner	boyfriend	y	incomplete	macho	his house territory	
12	friend	14	20	6	0	ambiv.	performance anxiety	n	by partner	heat of moment	withdrawal	n	unreliable		partner	random girl	y	following orders	she demands	his house territory	
13	primo (17)	17	15	-2	0	ambiv.	embarrassed	?	n	heat of moment	n	n	none		-	classmate (female)	y	no discussion	approve char	his house territory	
14	friend	19	25	6	0	negative	out of control	unsatisfying	n	heat of moment, peer	condom	y	modern		partner	CSW	y	no discussion	she demands	brother? territory	
15	friend	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
16	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
17	friend	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
18	sister? friends, parents	17	19	2	24	positive	pregnancy	n?	n	love, heat of moment	n	n	none	sudden	-	boyfriend	n	no discussion	didn't occur	his house territory	
19	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
20	n	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
21	friend	17	17	0	some time	positive	-	?	sort of	physical desire	condom	y	modern		both	girlfriend	n	little discussion	he just puts condo	his house territory	
22	n	14	16	2	some time	positive	-	n	n	heat of moment	condom	y	modern		partner	girlfriend	do n't know	little discussion	she demands	her house territory	
23	poss friends	12	14	2	?	positive	mean't nothing	satisfying	n	heat of moment	n	n	none		-	amiga	n	no discussion	approve char	in garden territory	
24	friends	20	19	-1	?	very negative	rushed	unsatisfying	n	physical desire	condom	y	modern		both	girlfriend	y	open discussion	open discussion	party	neutral
27	n	10	9	-1	some time	ambiv.	-	n	n	heat of moment	n	n	none		-	amiga	n	no discussion	*	his house territory	
28	friend	17	19	2	5	negative	guilt	pain	n	heat of moment	withdrawal	n	unreliable		partner	boyfriend	y	incomplete	macho	his house territory	
29	brother	14	14	0	3	positive	-	?	sort of	opportunity arose	condom	y	modern		both	girlfriend	n	open discussion	open discussion	his house territory	
31	n	18	35	17	6	ambiv.	-	unsatisfying	y	curiosity	rhythm	n	unreliable		own	girlfriend	y	incomplete	*	hotel	shared
32	friend, mother	17	19	2	42	ambiv.	-	pain	sort of	physical desire	n	n	none	sudden	-	boyfriend	y	open discussion	open discussion	his house territory	
33	n, friend	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
34	friends	22	?	?	2	ambiv.	-	n	y	?love	condom	y	modern		both	boyfriend	prob n do n't know	little discussion	he just puts condo	his house territory	
35	friends	16	16	0	0	positive	-	satisfying	n	heat of moment	n	n	none		-	amiga	do n't know	no discussion	approve char	her house territory	

Interview number	age at 2nd coitus (first sex with last partner)	time known before 2nd coitus	general feeling about experience (2nd) pain?	was 2nd coitus planned? contraception?	degree of communication in dyad (2nd)	would contraception used have prevented	whose idea was it to use contraception (2nd)?	motive for 2nd coitus who was partner (2nd)	has respondent ever experienced or used pressure to have sex?	any mention of women's pleasure being important?	age at first masturbation or yes/no if age unknown	ever paid for sex?	when was last coitus? (months)	has girlfriend/boyfriend?	number of lifetime partners	ever experienced violence? (y=yes, n=no, r=rape, d=domestic, c=child sex)					
1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	n	n	?	n	n	-	?	0	c				
2	17 or 18	?	0	negative	partner	n	no discussion	coerced	yes	yes	n	yes	n	recent	n	10	ut yrc				
4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	n	n	n	n	n	-	n	0					
5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	n	n	?	15	n	-	n	0					
6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	n	n	15	8	n	-	n	0					
7	16	18	8	ambivalent	yes	condom	open discussion	own	love	boyfriend	n	n	?	n	n	0.8	y 2 d				
8	18	16	?	positive	yes	withdrawal	open discussion	?	love	girlfriend	n	y	?	14	n	?	y 1				
9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	y	n	n	15	n	-	y	0					
10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	sort of	n	?	once tried	n	-	y	0	c				
11	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	n	n	?	n	n	24	n	1					
12	20	16	2	positive	yes	?	open discussion	physical desire	n	n	14	14	y	1	y	3	c				
13	17	15	2	?	n	n	no discussion	partner	love	girlfriend	own pressure	y	17	17	7	2 or 3					
14	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	n	n	?	13	y	12	n	1					
15	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	n	n	?	12	n	-	n	0					
16	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	?	?	?	13	n	-	n	0					
17	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	n	n	n	?	n	-	n	0	c				
18	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	n	sort of	n	n	n	2	y	1					
19	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	sort of	n	12	15	n	-	y	0	d				
20	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	n	n	15	15	n	-	n	0	y				
21	17	same partner	?	positive	n	n	condom	open discussion	y	both	love?	girlfriend	y	y	n	18	n	3	y	1	
22	15	15	?	positive	n	n	condom	y	own	seduced	girlfriend	n	n	?	13	n	12	y	2		
23	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	n	n	y	17	n	96	y	1	c				
24	21	20	?	positive	n	n	condom	y	both	love	girlfriend	n	y	n	n	n?	recent	y	2		
27	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	n	y	14	12	n	84	n	1	c				
28	same partner	?	?	positive	n	?	withdrawal	incomplete	n	partner	?	boyfriend	n	n	n	n	>12	y	1	y	
29	19	?	12	positive	n	n	rhythm	open discussion	n	both	love	girlfriend	n	y	15	11	n	0.2	y	9	
31	same partner	-	12	?	n	y	rhythm	incomplete	n	own	love	girlfriend	sort of	y	?	14/15	n	24	n	1	yc
32	19	24	2	positive	y	y	condom	open discussion	y	both	closeness	boyfriend	n	y	17	y	n	1	y	2	c
33	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	?	n	13	13	n	-	n	0					
34	22	same partner	?	positive	n	y	condom	?	y	both	love	boyfriend	n	n	n	12	n	recent	y	1	yc
35	missing	g	ng	ng	ng	ng	missing	ng	g	missing	missing	missing	n	?	?	16	?	?	n	4	

Interview number	age (if over 22 recorded as 22+)	virgin?	Genite Joven status	Education level	dyad (couples have identifying letter)	Interviewer	religious? (0=not at all, 2=yes)	number of male siblings	number of female siblings	respondent's position in the family	type of family	support from fam? (1=more, 3=little)	were girls and boys treated differently?	Mother close?	Father close?	family rating according to respondent c	open communication about sex in family	violence in the home? ("a bit" = physical punishment only)	alcoholic in close family?	sex abuse in childhood?	raped in childhood?	sex of school friends (n=no real friends)	degree of sex education received (0=none)	sex education duration	source of information re. menstruation	source of information about sexuality-related topics
36	22+	n	n	in school	b	Flavio	0	0	1	1	?	2	-	ish	ish	positive	n	n	n	n	mf	0	-	-	parents, books	
37	20	n	v	in school	f	Flavio	1	2	0	1	trad	2	-	y	n	positive	y	n	n	n	y	2	-	-	parents, books, friends	
38	20	n	n	in school	n	Flavio	0	1	0	1	liberal, strict, distant	2	-	y	n	negative	y	n	n	n	n	n	1	?	y	parents, books
39	22	n	n	in school	n	Alicia	2	2	0	1	conflict	3	y	n	n	pos and neg	y	y	n	y	n	n	1	n	n	books, friends
40	19	n	n	in school	n	Jose	1	0	1	1	quite supportive	1	?	y	y	positive	n	n	n	n	mf	2	-	school	school	
41	21	n	n	in school	n	Jose	1	2	2	1	trad	3	y	n	n	negative	?	n?	n?	n	m	?	-	-	friends, uncle	
42	19	n	n	in school	n	Virginia	1	2	0	1	fair	1	n	ish	n	positive	y	bit	n	n	mf	1	-	mother	friends	
43	22+	n	q	in school	n	Virginia	1	2	1	1	conflict	3	y	ish	ish	pos and neg	n	y	n	n	m	1	1	school	books	
44	22+	n	v	in school	n	Flavio	0	7	2	7	authoritarian, strict, traditional	3	y	n	n	negative	y	poss	ss	n	mf	1	?	mother, school	none	
45	20	n	n	up to second year of	n	Flavio	1	1	1	3	laissez-faire	3	?	ish	n	pos and neg	bit	?	n	n	m	-	-	-	street	
46	22+	n	v	in school	n	Flavio	1	1	1	1	supportive, strict	1	n	y	y	positive	y	bit	n	n	f	1	?	father	book, CCH	
47	22+	y	v	universit y	n	Jose	1/2	1	1	3	trad, supportive	1	y	y	n	pos and neg	n	?	n	n	m	1	?	-	parents	
48	19	n	q	in school	n	Alicia	2	1	1	3	divorced, remarried	2	y	ish	y	positive	bit	n	n	mf	1	-	-	-	very little	
49	22+	n	v	in school	n	Jose	0	2	3	5	trad, strict	3	y	n	n	pos and neg	y	?	n	n	m	1	-	-	street, books	
50	22+	n	v	in school	n	Flavio	1	1	1	3	trad	3	y	n	n	pos and neg	n	n	n	n	mf	1	n	-	books, friends	
51	18	n	q	in school	n	Alicia	1	1	0	1	trad	3	y	ish	n	negative	ish	bit	n	y	y	mf	2	-	mother	school, books
53	19	n	n	seconda	n	Alicia	0	2	1	4	supportive	1	n	y	y	positive	y	?	n	n	m	0	-	n	none	
54	19	gn	q	up to first year of	n	Jose	2	0	3	1	violent	3	-	y	n	pos and neg	y	?	y	y	n	1	-	-	school, mother	
55	19	n	q	in school	n	Flavio	1	2	3	5	laissez-faire	3	n	n	n	-	n	?	n	n	m	1	-	-	books	
56	19	n	n	in school	n	Jose	2	0	1	1	laissez-faire, separated parents	2	?	ish	n	positive	?	?	n	n	n	2	?	-	-	friends, school
57	16	nn	q	in school	n	Jose	1	0	4	5	conflict	3	?	n	n	negative	psych	y	n	n	n	1	?	-	television	
58	15	n	q	none	n	Claudia	1	2	3	6	lived with tios, strict	3	y	n	n	negative	y	?	n	n	n	0	-	?	-	none, mexfam
59	16	n	q	completed primary	n	Claudia	1	1	1	3	trad, strict	-	?	?	ish	positive	bit	bit	n	n	?	1	-	-	teachers	
60	16	n	q	in school	c	Claudia	0	3	0	3	stepfather	3	?	n	n	de ad	pos and neg	y	?	y	n	?	?	-	-	-
61	17	n	q	up to fourth of prepa	c	Flavio	1	2	0	3	violent, unstable	3	-	n	n	pos and neg	y	?	y	n	n	0	-	-	-	called
62	20	n	n	ratio to be	n	Cicely	1	1	2	4	violent, overprotective	3	y	n	n	negative	y	y	n	n	m	1	-	-	school	
63	20	y	v	in school	n	Flavio	1	0	1	1	trad, absent	3	-	n	n	negative	?	?	n	n	f	0/1	not much	n	books	
64	20	n	v	in school	n	Flavio	1	0	1	1	distant, fairly supportive	1	n	n	n	positive	n	n	n	n	mf	4	some time	-	-	school, GJ, friends,
65	20	n	q	in school	n	Jose	2	1	0	1	violent, absent parents	3	y	y	n	pos and neg	y	y	y	y	n	m	1	?	mother	school, books
66	22+	n	q	in school	n	Jose	1	2	1	1	strict, distant	3	y	n	n	pos and neg	n	?	n	n	m	1	?	school (mother)	school, books	
67	18	y	q	in school	n	Jose	1	1	1	2	supportive, open	1	n	y	ish	pos and neg	y	n	n?	n	n	f	1	?	mother	school,

Interview number	ever had confidant(e)?	age at first coitus	age of partner	age gap	time known before coitus (months)	feeling about first coitus	how was the experience?	physical factors (pain?)	was first coitus planned?	motive for first coitus	contraception at first coitus?	was method used reasonable to prevent pregnancy?	method type (modern, unreliable, none)	reason for non-use	Whose idea was it to use contraceptive who was partner?	partner experienced?	degree of communication in dyad	scenario	location of first coitus	"territory" (his, hers, shared)		
36	n	13	16	3	0	ambiv.	pregnancy, reprisal	n	n	heat of moment	withdrew, rhythm	n	unreliable		both	random girl	prob	no discussion	approved	his house	his territory	
37	n	17	19	2	?	positive		n	sort of	love	condom, rhythm	y	modern		both	girlfriend	n	open discussion	she puts	condo	hotel	shared
38	primas	15	18	3	8	negative	wrong time and	pain	y	love	condom	y	modern		own	boyfriend	?	open discussion	she demands	party	neutral	
39	y	19	17	-2	12	very negative	guilt	pain	sort of	love	withdrew	n	unreliable/none	didn't care	?	boyfriend	n	little discussion	didn't occur	her house	her territory	
40	?	19	older	2	?	positive			y	love	condom	y	modern		both	boyfriend	y	open discussion	open discussion	?	?	
41	uncle (58)	16	?	?	0	positive	learned how to do it	satisfying	n	curiosity	n	n	none			stranger (female)	y	following orders	approved	her house	her territory	
42	friends	15	18	3	3	positive	querna, disease		y	love	condom	y	modern		both	boyfriend	y	open discussion	open discussion	she	her house	her territory
43	friends	20	19	-1	1	negative	STDs	unsatisfying	n	rebound	n	n	none	semi-destructive!		boyfriend	do n't know	no discussion	didn't occur	his house	his territory	
44	friends, family	18	20	2	7	positive		?	n	love	condom	y	modern		partner	boyfriend	y	little discussion	open discussion	cabaña	shared	
45	n	13	25	12	0	positive	guilt, worthless	satisfying	by partner	heat of moment	n	n	none			prima	prob	following orders	approved	she	her house	her territory
46	friend	14	17	3	12	negative	worthless	pain	n	coerced	n	n	none	pressure		boyfriend	do n't know	no discussion	open discussion	macho	his house	his territory
47	brother	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
48	n	19	19	0	4	positive		n	sort of	physical desire	PAE	y	modern		both	girlfriend	n	open discussion	open discussion	she	hotel	shared
49	friend	20	32	12	10	positive		n	y	partner desire	female sterilized	y	modern		partner	girlfriend	y	open discussion	open discussion	she	his house	his territory
50	friends	21	15	-6	6	ambiv.	learned about	unsatisfying	n	heat of moment	condom	y	modern		own	boyfriend	n	open discussion	she demands	her house	her territory	
51		16	17	1	12	ambiv.	learned about	pain	y	closeness	condom	y	modern		both	boyfriend	n	open discussion	open discussion	she	his house	his territory
53	friend	16	16	0	5	negative	rushed	pain	n	heat of moment	n	n	none	pressure		boyfriend	y	no discussion	didn't occur	her house	her territory	
54	friend, mother	15	23	8	8	ambiv.		?	?	?	condom	y	modern		both	boyfriend						
55		16	23	7	0	positive		n	y	to learn	condom	y	modern		partner	amiga	y	open discussion	she demands	her house	her territory	
56	n	15	15	0	0	negative	disgust	n	n	peer pressure	n	n	none			classmate (female)	n	no discussion	approved	party	neutral	
57	n	15	15	-	-	positive		n	n	seduced	n	-	-			girlfriend	-	-	-	-	-	
58	n	13	30	17	0	very negative		probably	n	rape	n	n	none	pressure		boss (male)	y	no discussion	rape	workplace	her territory	
59	n	13	14	1	?	negative	STDs	n	?	heat of moment	n	n	none			amiga	?	no discussion	approved	she	her house	her territory
60		15	16	1	48	positive		n	?	love	condom	y	modern		partner	boyfriend	n	little discussion	she puts	condo	his house	his territory
61	n	15	17	2	2	ambiv.	made man, but out	n	by partner	coerced	n	n	none			girlfriend	y	following orders	approved	she	hotel	shared
62	friends	18	16	-2	12	positive	love, con ganas	satisfying	n	heat of moment	immediately withdrew	n	unreliable/none		n/a	girlfriend	n	little discussion	approved	she	her house	her territory
63	n	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
64	n	17	25	8	0	ambiv.	STDs, out of control	n	n	seduced	condom, ovulo	y	modern		partner	teacher	y	following orders	she demands	she	her house	her territory
65	friend	18	?	?	8	positive		n	y	coerced, love	condom	y	modern		own	boyfriend	y	open discussion	she demands	?	?	
66	n	18	18	0	12	ambiv.	guilt	unsatisfying	n	opportunity arose	n	n	none	didn't care		boyfriend	n	no discussion	didn't occur	she	her sister's	her territory
67	sister	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Interview number	age at 2nd coitus (first sex with last partner)	age of partner	time known before 2nd coitus	general feeling about experience (2nd)	pain?	was 2nd coitus planned? contraception?	degree of communication in dyad (2nd)	would contraception used have prevented	whose idea was it to use contraception (2nd)?	motive for 2nd coitus who was partner (2nd)	has respondent ever experienced or used pressure to have sex?	any mention of women's pleasure being important?	age at first masturbation or yes/no if age unknown	ever paid for sex?	when was last coitus? (months)	has girlfriend/boyfriend?	number of lifetime partners	ever experienced violence? (y=yes, n=no, r=rape, d=domestic, c=child sex)				
36	28	21	5	positive	n	n	n	no discussion	n	heat of moment	girlfriend	n	n	?	n	n	0.3	y	7	y		
37	20	same partner	60	positive	n	y	rhythm	discussion	n	both	love	girlfriend	n	y		n	12	n	1			
38	20	20	1	positive	n	sort of	condom	open discussion	y	both	closeness	boyfriend	y	y	?	n	recent	y	2			
39	21	same partner	18	ambivalent	n	y	injections	open discussion	y	own, both	love	boyfriend	y	y	?	21	6	n	1	yd		
40	19	same partner	?	positive	n	n	condom	open discussion	y	both	love	boyfriend	n	sort of	n	n	n	recent	y	1		
41	21	?	?	?	n	n	n		y	own	love	companion	pressure	y	?	y	y	recent	y	3		
42	19	23	5	positive	n	n	n	no discussion	n		love	boyfriend	n	y	?	y	n	recent	y	2	y	
43	23	24	0	positive	n	n	condom		y	own	physical desire	amigo	sort of	y	y	16	n	recent	n	>6		
44	19	19	8	positive	n	y	condom	open discussion	y	both	love	boyfriend	n	y	?	14	n	recent	y	3		
45	15	18	1	positive	?	probably	n	no discussion	n		aprovechando	lover	n	n	?	13	y	recent	y	12		
46	21	21	2	positive	n	y	condom	open discussion	y	both	love	boyfriend	y	y	y	?	n	recent	y	3	d	
47	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	?	y	13	16	n	-	n?	0		
48	19	same partner		positive		y	PAE	open discussion	n	both		girlfriend	n	y	y	y	n	2	y	1		
49	23	34	some time	positive	n	n	condom	open discussion	y	own	?	girlfriend	sort of	y	14	18	n	6	y	2		
50	23	17	same partner	positive	n	y	condom	open discussion	y	own	love	boyfriend	n	y	y	7	n	recent	y	1		
51	18	26	2	positive	?	?	condom		y	?	closeness	boyfriend	y	y	10	10	n	recent	y	2	rc	
53	18	17	0	positive	sort of	partner	iud		y	own	partner requested	friend	n	y	y	n	n	recent	y	3	y	
54	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
55	19	22	?	positive	n	y	condom		y	both	both wanted	girlfriend	n	y	13	13	n	recent	y	4	y	
56	19	21	0	positive	n	respondent	condom		y	own	physical desire	random girl	y	n	15	14	y	1	y	16		
57	n16	n18	n0	negative	n	n	n	condom	n	n	seduced	random girl	n	n	sort of	?	n	n	n	n	>1	
58	15	?	?	?	?	?	n	?	n		?	boyfriend	y	n	?	?	n	recent	y	2	yc	
59	16	?	?	?	?	?	condom		y	?	?	?	?	?	?	12	?	?	y	4		
60	16	17	?	positive	n	n	condom		y	both	drugs	boyfriend	y	n	?	n	-	<1	y	2	yc	
61	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	y	n	?	13	n	24	y	1	yc	
62	20	17	same partner	positive	bit	n	condom	open discussion	y	both	?	girlfriend	n	y	18	13	n	recent	y	1	yd	
63	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	n	n	?	n	n	-	y	0		
64	20	18	3	positive	n	y	condom		y	own	love	girlfriend	y	y	?	13	n	6	y	3		
65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	y	n	18	13	n	24	y	1	yc	
66	19	same partner	30	positive	n	?	rhythm	open discussion	n	both	love?	boyfriend	y	n	18	n	n	54	y	1		
67	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	n	sort of	n	9	n	-	n	0		

Interview number	age (if over 22 recorded as 22+)	virgin?	Gente Joven status	Education level	dyad (couples have identifying letter)	interviewer	religious? (0=not at all, 2=yes)	number of male siblings	number of female siblings	respondent's position in the family	type of family	support from fam? (1=more, 3=little)	were girls and boys treated differently?	Mother close?	Father close?	family rating according to respondent c	open communication about sex in family	violence in the home? ("a bit" = physical punishment only)	alcoholic in close family?	sex abuse in childhood?	raped in childhood?	sex of school friends (n=no real friends)	degree of sex education received (0=none)	sex education duration	source of information re. menstruation	source of information about sexuality-related topics
68	20	y	q	in school	n	Flavio	1	2	1	2	trad, quite supportive	1	bit	n	n	pos and neg	?n	?n	n		mf	1	?	friends	school, friends	
69	21	n	q	in school	n	Flavio	1	2	0	2	violent mother, controlling	3	y	ish	n	pos and neg	y	?	sort of		f	1	?	mother	nurse, school	
70	18	y	q	in school	n	Jose	1	2	2	4	quite strict	2	bit	ish	ish	positive	?n	?n	n		mf	1	?		GJ	
71	22	n	n	up to 4th of CETIS	n	Israel	1	2	3	2	trad	3	y	n	n	pos and neg	probably	?	n		m(f)	1	8-10 hours		street	
72	18	n	q	in school	n	Flavio	1	0	1	2	supportive	1	bit	y	y	positive	y	n	n	n	m	1			school,	
73	15	y	q	in school	n	Luz Maria	1	1	0	2	divorced, live with mother, supportive,	1	y	y	n	pos and neg	?n	?	y	n	f(m)	1	some time	mother	mother, school	
74	15	y	q	in school	n	Jose	1	0	0	1	supportive, close, open	1	n	y	de ad	positive	n	n	n		f	3	some time	mother, aunt	school	
75	15	y	q	in school	n	Edith	1	2	0	1	?		n	?	?	positive	?	?	n		mf	?	?	?	school, books, parents	
76	15	y	q	in school	n	Luz Maria	1/2	2	2	3	supportive	1	n	ish	?	negative	n	?n	n		m	1	6 months	sister, mother	mother, sister	
77	14	y	q	in school	n	Edith	1	1	0	1	supportive	1	y	y	n	pos and neg	n	?	n		mf	1	?	mother	aunt, school	
78	15	y	q	in school	n	Jose	2	6	2	9	trad, supportive mother	1	?	y	n	positive	y	y	n	sort of	f	4	?	friend	school	
79	22	n	n	?	n	Israel	1	1	6	8	authoritarian, unsupportive	3	y	n	n	negative	y	pos	ss	y	m	1	2 years		none, magazine	
80	15	y	q	in school	n	Luz Maria	1	1	0	1	supportive	1	n	y	y?	pos and neg	y	n	n?	n	mf	1	1 year	mother	school, friends	
81	19	n	n	in school	n	Luz Maria	1	1	0	1	quite supportive	1	n	ish	n	negative	n	n	n		mf	3	2 weeks	mother	school, mother	
82	17	ng sex part	n	in school	n	Luz Maria	2	2	0	3	strict, distant	3	y	n	n		bit	?	n		mf	2	over 6m	friends, teacher	school, friends	
83	16	y	n	in school	n	Jose	1	0	2	1	supportive, open	1		y	y	pos and neg	y	n	?n	n	mf	1	?	father	friends ?	
84	20	gn	q	in school	n	Jose	1	4	0	5	divorced, live with mother	3	?	ish	n	positive	n	n	y	y	mf	3	?		school, prima	
85	19	n	n	in school	n	Edith	1	2	2	4	divorced, live with mother	1	y	y	n	positive	y	n	?	n	f	2	?	mother	mother, prepa	
86	15	n	n	in school	n	Edith	1	1	1	1	divorced, traditional	2	bit	y	n	pos and neg	bit	?	y	n	m	1		mother	friends, magazine	
87	18	y	n	in school	n	Flavio	1	1	4	6	trad, strict, violent	3	y	y	n	pos and neg	y	y	n		mf	1	?	s		
88	18	n	n	in school	n	Flavio	1	0	0	1	trad	3		ish	n	pos and neg	n	?	n		m	1	?	mother	books, social worker	
89	19	n	n	in school	n	Luz Maria	1	1	3	3	aggressive mother, conflict	3	probab ly	n	n	pos and neg	y	n	n		n(f)	0		mother	boyfrien d	
90	15	y	n	in school	n	Flavio	2	1	1	1	unstable, violent	3	n	n	n	negative	y	y	y	empt ed	m	2	3/4 months	mother	school	
91	14	y	n	in school	n	Alicia	1	0	2	2	quite supportive	1		ish	ish		n	?n	n		mf	1	?	n	?	
92	21	n	n	in school	n	Luz Maria	0	2	3	5	conflict, no support	3	n	n	n	negative	y	?	n		f	0			books, magazines	
93	20	n	n	in school	n	Luz Maria	0	1	0	2	happy	1	n	ish	ish	positive	bit	?	n		mf	1	1 hour	mother	books	
94	20	n	n	in school	n	Edith	1	1	6	8	laissez-faire, trad	2	y	y	n	positive	n	?	n		m	1	1 year		friends, school, girlfrien	
95	20	n	q	completed CETIS	n	Flavio	1	1	1	2	laissez-faire	3	?	n	n	positive	n	?	n		m(f)	1	?		calle, porn	
96	19	n	n	not known	n	Edith	0	2	0	1	trad, not strict	3		ish	n		poss	ss	n		m	1			calle, porn	
97	22+	n	v	universit y	n	Luz Maria	1	1	0	1	divorced, boarding school	3	y	n	n	negative	y	?	n		f	1	1 class	friend	calle	
98	18	y	v	up to second of	n	Cicely	0/1	1	2	2	violent	3	n	n	n	pos and neg	y	y	n		mf	2	some time		GJ	

Interview number	ever had confidant(e)?	age at first coitus	age of partner	age gap	time known before coitus (months)	feeling about first coitus	how was the experience?	physical factors (pain?)	was first coitus planned?	motive for first coitus	contraception at first coitus?	was method used reasonable to prevent pregnancy?	method type (modern, unreliable, none)	reason for non-use	Whose idea was it to use contraception?	who was partner?	partner experienced?	degree of communication in dyad	scenario	location of first coitus	"territory" (his, hers, shared)		
68	n	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
69	friend	18	20	2	?	positive	guilt	?	y	love	condom	y	modern	-	own	boyfriend	y	open discussion	she demands	hotel	shared		
70	friend	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
71	n	19	19	0	?	ambiv.	STDS, performance	?	n	to avoid oral sex	unintended withdrawal	n	unreliable/none	-	n/a	amiga	didn't know	no discussion	approved	her house	her territory		
72	family	18	24	6	1	positive	-	n	n	heat of moment	condom	y	modern	-	both	girlfriend	probly	open discussion	she demands	her house	her territory		
73	mother, friend	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
74	n	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
75	friends	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
76	sister	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
77	friends, mother	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
78	friend	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
79	menor, viejito de la	20	20	0	24	positive	made man	n	n	physical desire, love	n	n	none	-	-	girlfriend	n	little discussion	macho	his house	his territory		
80	friends	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
81	older people	18	24	6	time	positive	pregnancy	pain	n	heat of moment	condom	y	modern	-	partner	boyfriend	y	little discussion	she just puts condom	her house	her territory		
82	friends	-	-	-	-	-	unclear from transcript because of recording problems, attempted or actual rape														-	-	-
83	friends	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
84	friend, sister, friend, mother	17	17	0	0	positive	-	g?	gn	curiosity	condom	y	-	-	own	random boy at disco	-	-	-	-	-		
85	friend, mother	17	25	8	24	positive	-	pain	y	love	condom	y	modern	-	own, both	boyfriend	y	open discussion	she demands	her house	her territory		
86	friend	15	25	10	1	positive	-	pain	n	heat of moment	rhythm	n	unreliable	-	n/a	amante	y	no discussion	didn't occur	her house	her territory		
87	friend	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
88	friend	17	15	-2	6	positive	-	satisfying	n	curiosity	condom, PAE	y	modern	-	own	boyfriend	y	open discussion	she just puts condom	his house	his territory		
89	friend	18	25	7	time	positive	con ganas, tierna	satisfying	sort of	love	rhythm	n	unreliable	-	both	boyfriend	y	open discussion	open discussion	his house	his territory		
90	n	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
91	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
92	n	17	15	-2	time	positive	made man	-	sort of	?love	rhythm	n	unreliable	-	both	girlfriend	n	little discussion	approved	her house	her territory		
93	friends	16	21	5	12	ambiv.	-	pain	y	?love	condom	y	modern	-	own	boyfriend	y	open discussion	she demands	his house	his territory		
94	friends	14	14	0	0	positive	closer relationship	?	n	physical desire	n	n	none	-	-	amiga	probly	little discussion	approved	his house	his territory		
95	friends	16	18	2	36	positive	know what it's all	satisfying	n	heat of moment	withdrawal	n	unreliable	-	own	amiga cariñosa	n	little discussion	approved	her house	her territory		
96	mother, girlfriend	16	?	?	0	negative	made man	unsatisfying	n	curiosity	n	n	none	-	-	random girl at event	y	no discussion	approved	her house	her territory		
97	friends	19	22	3	6	positive	closer relationship	satisfying	y	love	condom	y	modern	-	partner	boyfriend	y	open discussion	open discussion	hotel	shared		
98	friends	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		

Interview number	age at 2nd coitus (first sex with last partner)	same partner	time known before 2nd coitus	general feeling about experience (2nd) pain?	was 2nd coitus planned?	contraception?	degree of communication in dyad (2nd)	would contraception used have prevented?	whose idea was it to use contraception (2nd)?	motive for 2nd coitus	who was partner (2nd)	has respondent ever experienced or used pressure to have sex?	any mention of women's pleasure being important?	age at first orgasm	age at first masturbation or yes/no if age unknown	ever paid for sex?	when was last coitus? (months)	has girlfriend/boyfriend?	number of lifetime partners	ever experienced violence? (y=yes, n=no, r=rape, d=domestic, c=child sex)	
68	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	?	n	n	n	n	-	y	0		
69	21	same partner	36	positive	?	n	condom	open discussion	y	both	love	boyfriend	n	y	?	n	n	1	y	1 yc	
70	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	n	n	13	15	n	-	n	0		
71	22	?	0	positive	n	n	condom		y	own	physical desire	random girl	sort of	y	12	12	n	6	n	4 or	
72	18	same partner		positive	n	n	condom	open discussion	y	both	heat of moment	girlfriend	n	y	10	10	n	1.5	y	1	
73	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	n	n	11	n	n	-	y	0 c	
74	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	y	sort of	n	n	n	-	y	0	
75	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	?	n	n	?	n	-	?	0	
76	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	n	n	n	n	n	-	n	0	
77	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	n	n	?	?	n	-	y	0	
78	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	?	n	?	?	n	-	n	0 dc	
79	same partner		48	positive	n	?	rhythm	open discussion	n	both	love	girlfriend	n	y	16?	13	n	rec	y	1 yc	
80	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	n	n	13	10	-	-	y	0	
81	19	same partner	12	positive	n	n	condom	open discussion	y	both	heat of moment	boyfriend	n	y	n	n	n	0.3	y	1	
82	missing from transcript											y	sort of	15	n	?	?	y	2	y	
83	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	n	n	n	n	n	-	n	0	
84	g20	g?	g1	gpositive	g?	gy	gcondom	gy	gown	gphysical desire	gariga	gn	g?	g?	g12	gn	g2	g0	g4	grec	
85	19	19?	2	positive	n	n	condom		y	own	love	boyfriend	n	n	18	n	n	rec	y	2	
86	15	same partner	3	positive	n	y	condom	open discussion	y	own	?	boyfriend	n	n	?	n	n	0.1	y	1 c	
87	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	?n	?	?	n	n	-	y	0 d	
88	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	y	y	17	16	n	12	n	1	
89	19	same partner	12	positive	n	?	condom	open discussion	y	both	love	boyfriend	n	y	6	6	n	rec	y	1 y	
90	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	y	n	n	n	n	-	y	0 ydc	
91	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	?	?	?	?	n	-	?	0	
92	20	19	some time	positive	?	y	condom		y	both	love	girlfriend	n	y	13	13	n	not rec	n	2 y	
93	20	same partner	62	positive	?	y	condom	open discussion	y	both	love	boyfriend	n	y	16	n	n	rec	y	1	
94	19	?	?	positive	?	y	condom		y	own	physical desire	vecina	n	y	y	14	gn paid	6	n	4	
95	19	?	4	positive	n	n	n	no discussion	n	-	physical desire	girlfriend	n	y	?	9	y	5	y	2	
96	18	23	long	positive	n	n	n	no discussion	n	-	love	girlfriend	n	y	?	8/9	n	1	y	2	
97	23	20	1	negative	n	n	n	no discussion	n	-	coerced?	boyfriend	?n	as love	19	19	n	rec	y	3 y	
98	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	n	y	12	12	n	-	n	0 d	

Interview number	age (if over 22 recorded as 22+)	virgin?	Gente Joven status	Education level	dyad (couples have identifying letter)	interviewer	religious? (0=not at all, 2=yes)	number of male siblings	number of female siblings	respondent's position in the family	type of family	support from fam? (1=more, 3=little)	were girls and boys treated differently?	Mother close?	Father close?	family rating according to respondent C	open communication about sex in family	violence in the home? ("a bit" = physical punishment only)	alcoholic in close family?	sex abuse in childhood?	raped in childhood?	sex of school friends (n=no real friends)	degree of sex education received (0=none)	sex education duration	source of information re. menstruation	source of information about sexuality-related topics
99	19	n	q	in school	n	Luz Maria	1	0	1	2	lenient, quite close	2	n	y	y	positive	y	n	?	n	mf	1	1 class	mother	parents	
100	19	n	n	in school	n	Edith	2	0	1	1	strict, divorced	2	n	ish	?	positive	?	?	n		mf	1/2	?		calle, porn	
101	18	n	q	in school	n	Flavio	1	0	4	3	open, supportive	1	n	y	y	positive	y	bit	?	n	mf	1	?		parents	
102	19	n	v	in school	n	Israel	1	1	0	1	liberal, conflict	2	n	y	y	pos and neg	y	n	y	n	f(m)	1	1 week	mother, school	parents, school	
103	16	n	n	in school	n	Cicely	2	0	1	1	supportive	1		y	y	positive	y	n	n	n	mf	3		mother	school,	
104	17	n	n	in school	d	Edith	1	0	4	5	divorced but close	1		y	ish	positive	n	n	n		m	4			school	
105	16	n	n	in school	n	Luz Maria	1	1	1	2	extended	3	n	n	ish		bit	?	n		m	1	6 hours		IMSS, books	
106	18	n	v	in school	e	Luz Maria	0	0	1	2	conflic, support, laissez faire	2	?	y	n	pos and neg	y	?	y	n	m(f)	1	1 year	mother	parents	
107	22	n	v	in school	n	Flavio	1	1	1	2	separated	2	n	y	n	pos and neg		bit	?	n	mf	0			books, porn	
108	21	n	n	in school	n	Luz Maria	1	1	3	5	neglect children, traditional	3	y	n	ish	pos and neg	n	n	y	n	f	0	1 hour	school	none	
109	17	n	n	in school	d	Luz Maria	2	0	2	3	traditional, lenient	3		ish	ish	negative	n	n	n		mf	2		mother	school, magazines	
110	22	n	n	in school	n	Edith	1	3	0	4	liberal	1		y	y	positive	y	n	n	n	mf	1		mother	none	
111	16	y	n	in school	n	Jose	2	2	3	5	trad	3	probably	ish	n	pos and neg	?	n	?	n	m	2/3	?		school, calle	
112	16	n	n	in school	n	Flavio	1	1	1	2	distant	3	?	n	ish	n	pos and neg	?	n	?	n	m	1	?		parents, teacher
113	17	y	n	in school	n	Edith	1	0	2	3	supportive, fairly open	1	n	ish	ish	positive	y	n	?	y	n	mf	1	?	mother, father	parents, school
114	22	n	n	in school	n	Luz Maria	0	1	4	6	neglect	3	n	n	n	negative		bit	?	n	n(f)	1	1 year		leaflets, school, parents	
115	22	n	n	at least prepa	n	Luz Maria	0	1	1	2	overprotective, close	2	n	y	y	positive	n	n	n		mf	1	?	mother	books	
116	22	n	n	in school	n	Luz Maria	1	0	1	1	trad	2	y	ish	n	pos and neg	n	n	y	n	n	1		friend	books	
117	22	n	n	unknown	n	Luz Maria	1	2	0	3	supportive, trad	1	bit	y	ish	positive	bit	?	n		f	1	1 class	mother	books, magazines	
118	19	n	n	second of CONALEP	n	Edith	1	2	0	3		2	y	y	n	pos and neg	y	?	n		mf	1		mother	school, mother, books	
119	22	n	n	in school	n	Edith	1	1	2	2		2	y	y	n	positive	?	?	y	n	m	0/1	some later		none really, book	
120	17	y	q	in school	n	Edith	1	3	0	3	trad, quite strict	3	y	n	n	negative	psych	?	n		m(f)	2	2hours	school	school, GJ	
121	22	n	n	in school	n	Luz Maria	2	8	2	11	trad	3	y	n	n	pos and neg	y	y	n		f	0		school, sister	friends	
122	22	n	n	in school	n	Luz Maria	0	1	1	1		3	y	n	n	positive	n	n	n		m	0			primo	
123	19	n	n	completed CONALEP	n	Israel	2	1	1	1	strict	2	?	y	n	pos and neg	?	?	?	sort of	m	2	6m		books	
124	22	n	n	in school	n	Luz Maria	0	0	3	2	strict, quite open	2	y	y	n	pos and neg	bit	n	y	n	mf	3/4	24m		books, school	
125	19	n	n	in school	n	Luz Maria	1	1	2	2	open, supportive	1	bit	y	ish	pos and neg	y	bit	n	n	m	2	12m		school	
126	22	n	v	university	f	Jose	2	1	1	1	distant, aggressive	3	y	n	n	pos and neg	y	?	n		mf	1		n	very little	
127	18	n	n	in school	n	Israel	1	1	1	1	open, supportive	1	n	y	y	positive	y	n	n	n	mf	1	12m	sister	parents	
129	17	n	n	in school	n	Karla	0	1	1	1	distant	3	n	n	n	negative	?	?	n		m	2	2m		school, calle	
130	21	n	n	up to second of CETIS	n	Israel	2	5	2	1	neglect, violence	3	?	n	n	pos and neg	y	y	y	y	m	1	2 days		friends, school	

Interview number	ever had confidant(e)?	age at first coitus	age of partner	age gap	time known before coitus (months)	feeling about first coitus how was the experience?	physical factors (pain?)	was first coitus planned? motive for first coitus	contraception at first coitus?	was method used reasonable to prevent pregnancy? method type (modern, unreliable, none)	reason for non-use	Whose idea was it to use contraception who was partner?	partner experienced?	degree of communication in dyad	scenario	location of first coitus	"territory" (his, hers, shared)				
99	friends	14	18	4	0	positive	man, pregnancy	satisfying	seduced	n	none	-	amiga	probably	following orders	aprovechar	her house	her territory			
100	n	17	?	?	0	fairly negative	performance anxiety	n	seduced	n	unreliable	own	random girl	y	following orders	aprovechar	on a hill	neutral			
101	friends	15	15	0	?	positive	best thing ever	satisfying	n	heat of moment	n	none	-	girlfriend	n	no discussion	aprovechar	her house	her territory		
102	friends	15	16	1	?	positive	closest relationship	satisfying	y	love	condom	y	modern	?	boyfriend	y	open discussion	open discussion	his aunt's house	his territory	
103	mother, aunts, mother, vecino	15	older	2	7	ambiv.	n	y	close	male and female	y	modern	both	boyfriend	?	open discussion	open discussion	his flat	his territory		
104	n	16	16	0	8	positive	n	sort of	heat of moment	condom	y	modern	partner	girlfriend	n	open discussion	she demands	her house	her territory		
105	n	15	15	0	0	positive	pregnancy, con	y	n	coerced, seduce	condom	n	unreliable/none	n/a	vecino, Girl on street	n	following orders	aprovechar	his house	his territory	
106	friends	15	?	?	0	very negative	pain	n	rape	n	n	none	pressure	-	cousin's fiancée	y	no discussion	rape	cousin's	her territory	
107	friends	15	18	3	0	positive	pregnancy	n	n	curiosity, seduce	condom	y	modern	own	amiga	y	no discussion	he just puts	condo	his house	his territory
108	n	20	30	10	1.5	ambiv.	?	y	biological need	withdrew, rhythm	n	unreliable	both	exboyfriend	y	open discussion	macho	hotel	shared		
109	boyfriend	16	18	0	10	positive	guilt	n	n	love	condom	y	modern	own	boyfriend	n	open discussion	she demands	her house	her territory	
110	friends	20	21	1	24	positive	relationship, but nostalgic	n	y	love	condom, gel	y	modern	both	boyfriend	n	open discussion	open discussion	his house	his territory	
111	friends	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
112	friend	14	15	1	0	positive	made man	n	n	heat of moment	condom	y	modern	own	(female) friend of cousin	tknow	following orders	puts condom on	cousin's house	his territory	
113	sister, friend	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
114	n	17	16	-1	12	negative	unsatisfying	y	closeness	n	n	none	-	girlfriend	n	little discussion	didn't occur	his house	his territory		
115	female friends	17	17	0	24	ambiv.	correspondencia	pain	sort of	coerced, love	OC	y	modern	both	boyfriend	y	open discussion	open discussion	his house	his territory	
116	n	17	19	2	24	positive	pain	y	love	n	n	none	didn't care	-	boyfriend	n	open discussion	wasn't important	tent	shared	
117	friends	18	19	1	6	positive	guilt	n	n	heat of moment	withdrew	n	unreliable	partner	boyfriend	y	no discussion	didn't occur	his house	his territory	
118	friends	15	28	13	0	ambiv.	guilt	satisfying	by partner	coerced, love	n	n	none	pressure	-	boyfriend	y	incomplete	macho	hotel	shared
119	n	18	17	-1	0	negative	unsatisfying	y	curiosity	condom, pill, rhythm	y	modern	both	amiga	n	following orders	she demands	hotel	shared		
120	friend, boyfriend	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
121	friend	19	36	17	3	positive	closer relationship	pain	sort of	love	withdrew, rhythm	n	unreliable	both	boyfriend	y	incomplete	open discussion	his niece's house	his territory	
122	primo	15	15	0	0	fairly negative	wrong time and place	unsatisfying	n	heat of moment	n	n	none	-	classmate (female)	y	no discussion	aprovechar	school	neutral	
123	brother, uncle	15	15	0	?	positive	reprisals	?	n	curiosity	condom	n	unreliable	?	amiga	?	no discussion	aprovechar	his house	his territory	
124	?	17	18	1	0	fairly negative	ance anxiety, peer	unsatisfying	by respondent	curiosity	condom	y	modern	own	random girl	y	no discussion	he seeking sex	tent	neutral	
125	n	16	17	1	1	positive	made man	?	n	love	condom	y	modern	both	girlfriend	n	open discussion	open discussion	his house	his territory	
126	friend	20	21	1	12	negative	guilt, fear	n	n	coerced	n	n	none	pressure	-	boyfriend	y	incomplete	macho	hotel	shared
127	parents	17	17	0	0	some time	positive	love	satisfying	sort of	love	rhythm	n	unreliable	both	girlfriend	n	little discussion	aprovechar	woods	neutral
129	n	14	16	2	?	positive	made man	satisfying	n	heat of moment	n	n	none	-	girlfriend	tknow	little discussion	aprovechar	her house	her territory	
130	n	19	20	1	1	some time	positive	n	by respondent	novios	condom	y	modern	own	girlfriend	n	no discussion	he seeking sex	alleyway	neutral	

Interview number	age at 2nd coitus (first sex with last partner)	age of partner	time known before 2nd coitus	general feeling about experience (2nd) pain?	was 2nd coitus planned? contraception?	degree of communication in dyad (2nd)	would contraception used have prevented	whose idea was it to use contraception (2nd)?	motive for 2nd coitus who was partner (2nd)	has respondent ever experienced or used pressure to have sex?	any mention of women's pleasure being important?	age at first orgasm	age at first masturbation or yes/no if age unknown	ever paid for sex?	when was last coitus? (months)	has girlfriend/boyfriend?	number of lifetime partners	ever experienced violence? (y=yes, n=no, r=rape, d=domestic, c=child sex)		
99	19	23	girlfriend	ambivalent	n	n	n	discussion	n	-	heat of moment	ex-girlfriend	n	n	13	13	n	0.5	y	15
100	?	?	(24)	ambivalent	n	sort of	condom	y	own	heat of moment, peer	amiga	y	N	?	16	n	not recent	y	4	
101	18	25/27	0	ambivalent	n	y	condom	y	own	"manly need"	CSW	n	sort of	13	13	y	3	n	>2	
102	19	24	2	negative	n	n	condom	y	own	heat of moment	boyfriend	n	y	13	12/13	n	not recent	n	4	
103	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	n	?	?	n	n	>12	n	1	
104	17	17	15	positive	n	n	withdrawal	open discussion	n	-	heat of moment	girlfriend	n	sort of	?	13/14	n	recent	y	1
105	15	15	24	positive	prob	n	condom	y	own	ensena a la chava	girlfriend	n	n	15	n	n	2	n	2	
106	18	18	0	negative	n	y	condom	y	own	seduced for his	second boyfriend	y	y	15	not really	n	recent	y	5	
107	20	22	18	positive	sort of	condom	y	both	love	girlfriend	own pressure	n	?	11/12	n	12	n	14		
108	20	same partner	3	ambivalent	n	y	withdrawal, rhythm	open discussion	n	both	despedida	ex-boyfriend	sort of	y	n	18	n	12	y	1 c
109	17	same partner	15	positive	n	prob	condom	open discussion	y	both	love	boyfriend	n	n	17	n	n	recent	y	1 y
110	same partner	48	positive	n	y	condom	open discussion	y	both	love	boyfriend	n	sort of	20	n	n	<1	y	1	
111	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	y	n	15	15	n	-	y	0	
112	15	14	friends	positive	?	sort of	condom	y	own	heat of moment	amiga	3	n	5					5	
113	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	?	n	n	n	n	-	y	0 c	
114	22	same partner	me time	negative	n	sort of	condom	open discussion	y	?	?	girlfriend	n	n	13	13	n	12	n	1
115	22	25	6	positive	n	sort of	injectables	open discussion	y	own	closeness	boyfriend	y	n	18	n	n	recent	y	3
116	20	32	3	negative	n	y	condom	y	partner	partner requested	boyfriend	y	y	14	once tried	n	recent	y	4 c	
117	21	same partner	had split up	negative	n	y	PAE	little discussion	n	own	physical desire	ex-boyfriend	n	n	18	n	n	8	y	5
118	19	same partner	42	positive	n	y	injectables	plete discussion	y	both	love, habit	boyfriend	y	y	15	n	n	recent	y	1 yc
119	?	?	?	?	?	n	condom	y	both, own	physical desire	girlfriend	n	n	?	13	n	recent	y	>3 c	
120	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	n	n	?	n	n	-	y	0 y	
121	21	18	4	positive	n	y	condom	y	both	physical desire	boyfriend	n	y	8	y	n	6	y	2 d	
122	22	21	2.5	positive	n	n	n	open discussion	n	-	heat of moment, love	girlfriend	y	y	7	y	n	recent	y	7
123	19	15	0.5	positive	n	y	rhythm	open discussion	n	own	?	girlfriend	y	y	16	16	n	recent	y	8 dc
124	22	?	0	positive	n	n	n	open discussion	n	-	physical desire	conocida	n	y	15	7	n	1	n	3 c
125	19	20	0	positive	n	n	condom	y	own	heat of moment	amiga	sort of	n	?	15	n	6	n	4	
126	22	same partner	me partner	positive	n	y	condom	open discussion	y	both	love	boyfriend	y	sort of	?	12	n	6	n	1 yd
127	18	same partner	me partner	positive	?	y	rhythm	open discussion	n	both	love	girlfriend	n	y	14	14	n	recent	y	1
129	15	18	2	negative	?	n	n	no discussion	n	-	heat of moment	girlfriend	n	y	?	?	n	recent	y	3
130	19/20	?	?	?	?	?	condom	y	own	?	?	n	n	19	18	n	>12	n	2 c	

Interview number	age (if over 22 recorded as 22+)	virgin?	Genite Joven status	Education level	dyad (couples have identifying letter)	interviewer	religious? (0=not at all, 2=yes)	number of male siblings	number of female siblings	respondent's position in the family	type of family	support from fam? (1=more, 3=little)	were girls and boys treated differently?	Mother close?	Father close?	family rating according to respondent c	open communication about sex in family	violence in the home? ("a bit" = physical punishment only)	alcoholic in close family?	sex abuse in childhood?	raped in childhood?	sex of school friends (n=no real friends)	degree of sex education received (0=none)	sex education duration	source of information re. menstruation	source of information about sexuality-related topics
131	17	n	n	up to second of bachilleres	n	Flavio	1	2	0	2	traditional	2	bit	y	?	positive	n	?	y	n	mf	2	?	mother	school, friends, parents	
132	17	mn	n	studying primary	n	Flavio	1	0	2	1	conflict, traditional	3	y	n	n	pos and neg	y	?	y	n	f	0	—	doctor	none	
133	17	n	n	in school	n	Edith	0	1	1	1	traditional, closed separated, live with mother, supportive, open	3	y	n	n	negative	?	y	n		m	1	12m	—	school, books	
134	18	n	n	in school	n	Luz Maria	0	3	2	6	divorced, live with mother	1	n	y	n	pos and neg	y	n	n	n	mf	1	?	—	mother, sibs, books	
135	21	n	n	in school	n	Luz Maria	1	2	2	3	separated, live with mother	3	y	n	n	negative	n	n	y	attempte d	mf	1	one class	tia	siblings, school	
136	20	n	q	in school	n	Jose	1	0	1	1	separated, live with mother	2	?	ish	n	positive	n	n	y	n	m	1	?	book	books, aunt	
137	20	n	v	in school	n	Luz Maria	1	3	2	6	trad	3	y	ish	n	negative	n	n?	n		mf	1	1 hour per year	mother	teachers	
138	19	n	q	in school	n	Flavio	1	2	0	1	supportive, trad	1	y	y	n	pos and neg	n	n	n		mf	1		school	GJ	
139	19	sort of	q	in school	n	Edith	2	3	2	4	trad, open, supportive	1	y	y	n	pos and neg	n	n	n		mf	3/4	over some time	mother	school, mother	
140	22	n	q	in school	n	Flavio	1	1	1	2	violent, neglect, support	2	y	ish	y	positive	y	y	pos	s		f(m)	3	over some time	mother	school, parents
141	22	n	q	started prepa at least	n	Luz Maria	1	3	1	5	trad, closed, strict	3	y	n	n	negative	bit	y	y	n	m(f)	3	10 hours ish	mother	school, books, friends	
142	22	n	q	in school	n	Edith	1	1	0	1	separated, live with mother	2	?n	ish	n	positive	y	?	?	n	mf	1	12'16 hours	prima	school, books	
143	19	n	q	in school	n	Edith	1	2	0	2	divorced, live with mother, supportive, open	1	n	y	ish	positive	y	n	n	n	mf	1	1 year	mother	mother, school	
144	18	n	q	in school	n	Luz Maria	1	1	1	1	conflict	3	n	n	ish	pos and neg	y	y	?	y	attempte d	f	4	1 year	mother	parents, school
145	22+	n	v	in school	n	Jose	1	2	0	2	supportive, trad	1	n	ish	ish	positive	y	n	n	y	attempte d	mf	3/4	?	father	school, parents
146	17	n	q	in school	n	Edith	1	1	0	1	divorced, traditional	3	n	ish	n	pos and neg	y	y	pro b	n	mf	3/4	years	mother	mother, school	
147	20	n	q	in school	n	Luz Maria	1	0	1	1	distant, traditional	3	—	n	n	pos and neg	bit	?	y	n	f	1	2 hours	friend	calle	
148	19	n	v	incomplet e prepa	n	Luz Maria	1	1	1	1	supportive	1	n	y	y	positive	n	n	n		mf	1	1 hour	mother	school, books	
149	20	n	n	up to sixth of primary	n	Edith	1	1	3	1	laissez-faire, mother died at 14	3	?	n	n	negative	n	y	n		mf	0	—	—	none	
150	17	n	q	in school	n	Alicia	1	1	1	1	divorced, supportive, open	1	n	y	n	positive	y	n	n	n	mf	2	1 year?	mother	home, school, books	
151	22+	n	v	nivel superior	n	Cicely	0	1	2	2	violent	3	y	n	ish	pos and neg	y	y	y	n						
152	17	y	q	not known	n	Luz Maria	1	1	2	1	divorced, supportive mother	1	y	y	n	pos and neg	y	y	n		f	1	1 year	mother, aunt	school	
153	20	n	n	in school	n	Luz Maria	0	1	0	2	divorced, live with mother	3	y	n	n	—	bit	n	n		f	2	?	n	school, books	
154	18	n	q	in school	n	Flavio	1	5	2	7	violent, laissez-faire	3	y	n	n	pos and neg	y	y	?	n	m	1	?	—	calle	
155	22	n	q	up to second of secondary	n	Edith	1	5	2	4	close to sibs	1	y	ish	n	positive	?	?	n		m	1	?	—	calle	
156	22	n	n	completed carrera technica	n	Israel	1	3	2	6	trad	3	y	n	n	pos and neg	?	pro b	n		m	1	?	—	porn, calle	
157	18	y	n	completed secondary	n	Karla	1	1	1	2	father dead, mother a wandering alcoholic	3	—	n	n	negative	psych	y	n		mf	1	?	—	none	
158	17	n	v	in school	n	Cicely	1	2	1	1	trad, strict	3	y	n	n	negative	n	?	n		mf	1	?	n	mother, father	none, GJ
159	21	n	v	finished prepa	n	Cicely	0	1	2	3	trad, strict	2	y	ish	n	positive	n	?	y	n	mf	1	?	n	books	

Interview number	ever had contidant(e)?	age at first coitus	age of partner	age gap	time known before coitus (months)	feeling about first coitus how was the experience?	physical factors (pain?)	was first coitus planned? motive for first coitus	contraception at first coitus?	was method used reasonable to prevent pregnancy? method type (modern, unreliable, none)	reason for non-use	Whose idea was it to use contraceptive who was partner?	partner experienced?	degree of communication in dyad	scenario	location of first coitus	"territory" (his, hers, shared)				
131	friends	15	17	2	3	positive	?	n	heat of moment	n	n	none	didn't care	-	boyfriend	n	no discussion	didn't occur	her house	her territory	
132	n	15	23	8	1	negative	n	y	married	mn	mn	-	-	mhusband	-	-	-	-	-	-	
133	la banda	15	16	1	0	positive	meant nothing	?	n	heat of moment	withdawal	n	unreliable	own	amiga	y	no discussion	aprovechar	parque ecologico	neutral	
134	friends	17	16	-1	2	positive	made man	normal	n	love	condom	y	modern	both	girlfriend	n	open discussion	open discussion	her house	her territory	
135	friends	19	22	3	12	negative	unsatisfying	sort of by respondent	curiosity	rhythm	n	unreliable	own	lover (male)	n	incomplete	didn't occur	open discussion	car	his territory	
136	aunt, prima, friends	16	19	3	24	negative	guilt	unsatisfying	n	partner desire	condom	y	modern	both	boyfriend	y	open discussion	open discussion	his house	his territory	
137	friends	19	34	15	0	positive	tierna	normal	sort of by respondent	to learn	condom	y	modern	both	amigo	y	open discussion	open discussion	hotel	shared	
138	friend	17	18	1	12	positive	guilt, pregnancy	bien	y	love	condom, rhythm	y	modern	both	boyfriend	n	open discussion	open discussion	hotel	shared	
139	friends	19	7	7	0	negative	y	by partner	coerced	n	n	none	his responsibility	-	amigo	y	incomplete	didn't occur	hotel	shared	
140	friends	19	23	4	12	positive	n	n	love	condom	y	modern	both	boyfriend	n	open discussion	she demands	her house	her territory		
141	friends	17	18	1	30	positive	?	n	love, heat of moment	ded withdawal	n	unreliable/none	sudden	n/a	boyfriend	n	no discussion	didn't occur	her house	her territory	
142	n	18	32	14	a bit	very negative	used guilt, pregnancy	pain	poss by partner	physical desire	n	n	none	pressure	-	lover (male)	y	incomplete	didn't occur	hotel	shared
143	friend	18	21	3	24	ambiv.	normal	y	heat of the moment	condom	y	modern	both	boyfriend	y	open discussion	open discussion	hotel	shared		
144	mother, friend	17	17	0	6	positive	love	sort of	?love	condom	y	modern	partner	boyfriend	y	open discussion	open discussion	his house	his territory		
145	brother, primo	21	27	6	6	positive	n	n	?love	condom	y	modern	both	boyfriend	y	open discussion	open discussion	his house	his territory		
146	friends	17	18	1	?	positive	pain	?	love	condom	y	modern	both	boyfriend	y	open discussion	she demands	his house	his territory		
147	n	17	27	10	4	positive	n?	n	love	n	n	none	his responsibility	-	boyfriend	y	little discussion	didn't occur	his house	shared	
148	n	16	17	1	6	positive	n	n	love	n	n	none	sudden	-	boyfriend	?	little discussion	didn't occur	his house	his territory	
149	n	19	28	9	0	ambiv.	man, but out of	n	n	curiosity, opportunity	n	n	none	his	random girl	y	no discussion	aprovechar	friend's house	his territory	
150	friend	15	22	7	14	ambiv.	correspondida	n	y	?love	condom	y	modern	both	boyfriend	y	open discussion	open discussion	his house	his territory	
151		17	18	1		very negative	used	pain	by partner	coerced	withdawal	n	unreliable	partner	boyfriend	y	incomplete	didn't occur	his house	his territory	
152	mother	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
153	n	19	24	5	?	negative	unsatisfying	sort of	next step	rhythm	n	unreliable	both	boyfriend	y	open discussion	didn't occur	hotel	shared		
154	brother	16	15	-1	36	positive	do with another girl	satisfying	sort of	heat of moment	n	n	none	-	girlfriend	n	little discussion	aprovechar	his house	his territory	
155	brother, primo	14	13	-1	0	positive	made man	?	n	seduced	ded withdawal	n	unreliable/none	n/a	amiga	tknow	no discussion	aprovechar	her house	her territory	
156	n	14	15	1	0	positive	reprisals	satisfying	n	heat of moment	withdawal	n	unreliable	own	random girl	y	following orders	aprovechar	friend's house	his territory	
157	n	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
158	friend	16	18	2	12	negative	used, guilt	n	y	coerced	n	n	none	pressure	-	boyfriend	n	incomplete	macho	his house	his territory
159	n	18	15	-3	9	ambiv.	guilt	pain	n	opportunity arose	unintended withdawal	n	unreliable	own	boyfriend	n	little discussion	didn't occur	his house	his territory	

Interview number	age at 2nd coitus (first sex with last partner)	age of partner	time known before 2nd coitus	general feeling about experience (2nd)	pain?	was 2nd coitus planned?	contraception?	degree of communication in dyad (2nd)	would contraception used have prevented?	whose idea was it to use contraception (2nd)?	motive for 2nd coitus	who was partner (2nd)	has respondent ever experienced or used pressure to have sex?	any mention of women's pleasure being important?	age at first orgasm	age at first masturbation or yes/no if age unknown	ever paid for sex?	when was last coitus? (months)	has girlfriend/boyfriend?	number of lifetime partners	ever experienced violence? (y=yes, n=no, r=rape, d=domestic, c=child sex)
131	17	same partner	24	?	?	n	n	open discussion	y	-	love?	husband	n	n	?	n	n	0.3	y	1	yc
132	17	same partner	24	negative	m?	my	iud		my	own	obligation	husband	n	n	n	n	n	recent	y	1	yc
133	16	16	0	ambiv	?	y	withdrawal	little discussion	n	-	heat of moment	amiga	sort of	n	?	14	n	15	y	4	
134	18	same partner	13	positive	n	n	condom, Ocs	open discussion	y	both	love, heat of moment	girlfriend	n	sort of	17	16	n	1	y	1	
135	20/21	30/31	9	ambiv	n	n	withdrawal	no discussion	n	-	seduced/coerced	boyfriend	y	y	15	17	n	recent	y	3	c
136	19	same partner	me partner	positive	n	?	condom	open discussion	y	both	love?	boyfriend	n	y	y	n	n	9	n	1	c
137	20	24	0	positive	n	n	condom	little discussion	y	both, own	heat of moment	ex-boyfriend	n	y	19	when little	n	?	n	3	
138	18	20	7	positive	n	y	condom, ovulos		y	both	love	boyfriend	n	not really	?	y	n	2	y	2	
139	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	y	y	?	17	n	3	n	1	y
140	22	same partner	39	positive	n	sort of	condom	open discussion	y	both	love	boyfriend	n	y	y	n	n	0.3	y	1	d
141	22	same partner	90	positive	n	y	iud	open discussion	y	own	love	boyfriend	n	y	16	12	n	0.5	y	1	c
142	21	28	0	positive	n	y	condom		y	-	physical desire	amigo	n	y	n	n	n	12	n	2	
143	19	?	?	positive	n	n	condom		y	both	love	boyfriend	n	y	n	11	n	recent	y	2	
144	18	same partner	13	positive	n	y	condom	open discussion	y	both	love	boyfriend	y	y	18	n	n	0.8	y	1	dc
145	21	same partner	me partner	negative	?	?	condom	open discussion	n	both	love?	boyfriend	n	n	?	13	n	24	y	1	c
146	17	same partner	me partner	positive	n	y	Ocs	open discussion	y	own	love	boyfriend	y	y	?	n	n	1	y	1	d
147	20	same partner	me partner	positive	n	n	condom	open discussion	y	both	love	boyfriend	n	y	12	6	n	0	y	1	c
148	18	19	[84]	positive	n	n	n	no discussion	n	-	heat of moment	amigo	n	y	16	n	n	>12	y	2	
149	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	n	n	?	18	n	>12	n	1	
150	17	same partner	me partner	positive	n	?	Ocs	open discussion	y	both	love	boyfriend	n	?	?	n	n	recent	y	1	
151	24		0	positive	n	y	condom	open discussion	y	both	curiosity	amigo	y	y	24	24	n	recent	y	2	yc
152	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	n	?	14	16	n	-	y	0	d
153	20	same partner	24	positive	?	n	condom	open discussion	y	both	love	boyfriend	n	y	15	13	n	recent	y	1	
154	18	20	3	positive	n	sort of	condom		y	?	physical desire	girlfriend	n	y	?	y	y	6	y	5	y
155	?	?	?	positive	n	n	n	little discussion	n	-	heat of moment, love	girlfriend	n	y	?	13	n	?	n	4	
156	22	17	me time	positive	n	y	withdrawal	little discussion	n	own	physical desire	girlfriend	own pressure	Y	15	14	N	2	Y	10-15	
157	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	n	n	?	?	n	-	n	0	
158	16	18	me partner	negative	n	y	withdrawal	plete discussion	n	both	coerced	boyfriend	y	y	n	n	n	9	y	1	y
159	21	?	0	negative	-	n	no penetration	plete discussion	y	-	curiosity	amigo	y and towards others	y	18	20	n	0.3	n	1	c

Appendix 5 – Quotations in Spanish translated in main text

Quotations are reproduced here in Spanish. They appear in the same order that they appear in the text, and may be matched with their English translation according to the unique quotation number (#X), as well as the interview number (Int X), age, sex, Gente Joven status, and family emotional support category of the interviewee.

Quotations from Chapter 5

#1 (Int 79, 22 year old man, not Gente Joven, little family support)

Int: ¿Qué significa tener sexo o sexualidad práctica?

Resp: Algo importante, porque uno se identifica con su sexualidad. Por decir, yo cuando estaba chiquito me gustaban mucho los carritos, los aviones, pero hay unos chavitos que les llama la atención las cosas femeninas, que la muñequita y que los leotardos [...] yo no tuve problema con eso, porque siempre andaba con mis carritos, mis naves, las pistolas, aunque sí he visto unos medio afeminados.

Int: ¿Dirías que es algo importante?

Resp: Si.

Int: ¿Por qué?

Resp: Es importante para descubrir la esencia de uno y la importancia que tiene en la familia, porque si, por decir, algún hombre de la familia es mayor y es el que tiene que dar el ejemplo y, no sé, le gustan las muñecas o algo, pues no, a la vez que va a ser criticado por los demás, por lo mismo que no refleja su hombría, pues no tiene bien clara su sexualidad. Es hombre y a él los pantalones, ni modo que las faldas.

#2 (Int 98, 18 year old man, very Gente Joven, little family support, completed two years of *prepa*)

...yo una ocasión llegué con la playera manchada de sangre porque me había peleado y [mi papá] me dice, me dice, que te pasó, le digo no, es que me golpeé con un chavo y estoy así. Me dice: ¿y lo golpeaste?, no pues se fue con el labio roto, pues está bien porque el día que llegues madreando y se vaya limpio, yo te voy a dar tu madriza.

#3 (Int 18, 17 year old woman, quite Gente Joven, less family support)

Resp: [...] su familia pensaba que él... pues nunca tuvo novia.

Int: ¿Pensaban que se iba a cambiar de bando?

Resp: (ríe) Sí.

#4 (Int 21, 19 year old man, quite Gente Joven, little family support)

Int: Cuando platicas sobre sexo con tus amigos ¿Qué aspectos cubren?

Resp: Pues, con ellos no, no era mucho simplemente lo clásico si tú ya, o tú no, de que si ya has tenido tú y sino, y que cómo fue, y así pero, no, los típicos que te quieren presumir que si y ni siquiera, no ya de ahí nada más, si las tenían o no y ¿con quién?, y ya

#5 (Int 156, 22 year old man, not Gente Joven, little family support, completed two years vocational training)

En esta época pues si platicamos mas en el aspecto de ver que cosa nuevas encontramos con la pareja de si ya te acostaste con ella cuantas veces lo haces...

#6 (Int 22, 16 year old man, quite Gente Joven, more family support)

Resp: O sea, ellos me platicaban sobre su pareja, luego que se, ahora si que se la llevaban a sus casa y ya hacían el acto ahí.

#7 (Int 122, 22 year old man, not Gente Joven, less family support)

Int: ...tu decías que tu platicabas de aspectos sexuales con tus amigos, que tipo de cosas hablaban?

Resp: Ah, puras mentiras nos decíamos, o sea eran fantasías, ah exagerábamos las cosas que nos habían pasado en todos los sentidos, decíamos cosas que no conocíamos, que habíamos leído o visto una película, este era más bien como fanfarronear de las cosas que queríamos conocer

#8 (Int 19, 17 year old man, quite Gente Joven, little family support)

Int: tus amigos hablaban alguna diferencia importante de hombres y mujeres?

Resp: Si como siempre, el machismo del hombre

Int: Cómo que ejemplos más o menos, me podías decir?

Resp: Pues podría ser este, de que las mujeres las crearon no más para el hombre, y como uno quisiera, las podía tener cuando uno quería

#9 (Int 112, 16 year old man, not Gente Joven, less family support)

Int: ¿Qué tipo de cosas son las que hablaban?

Resp: Pues de alguna chava que estaba bien buena y todo eso, decían algunos que ya habían hecho el amor con ella.

#10 (Int 134, 18 year old man, not Gente Joven, more family support)

Resp: Me llevaba mejor con las mujeres, porque con los hombres, para ellos el hablar de sexo, era una morbosidad groserísima, para ellos en esos términos era hablar de sexo, platicar acerca de que cuantas mujeres lo habían hecho, presumir más que nada, eso era platicar de sexo con los hombres, pero que yo llegara y les preguntara, uita, una vez lo hice con un amigo que yo sentía muy cercano y en ese momento me dejó de hablar, le pregunte que si, que él que creía, que si cuando uno hace el amor es más importante el tamaño del pene o la excitación que uno tiene y en ese momento me dejó de hablar porque hablar con mis compañeros hombres de eso era presumir era decir ay, típico yo la tengo más grande que tú, o tú eres un pendejo, yo te gané a tu chava, yo ya me acosté con ella y tú no has podido y con las chavas hablar de eso era algo muy serio, era algo que se trataba con mucha delicadeza, y a mi me gustaba más hablar así que hablar pelado, y lo hacía incluso, si lo hacía pero no me gustaba

#11 (Int 72, 18 year old man, quite Gente Joven, more family support)

Resp: Si, o sea luego me dicen o sea ellos me empiezan a platicar sus cosas no, que yo ya con esta chava no pues orale, no está bien cuídate.

Int: Básicamente se podría decir son los ligues que tienen ellos?

Resp: Aja si los ligues que eso es lo que me platican, yo casi no platico no no me gusta así como dicen andar presumiendo.

#12 (Int 135, 21 year old woman, not Gente Joven, little family support)

...en la secundaria tuve muchos novios ahí me empecé a dar cuenta que los hombres si pueden tener muchas novias y no les dicen nada y yo como mujer si me empezaron a decían oye pero que van a decir de ti y no se que o sea yo la verdad mi conciencia estaba muy limpia y yo decía pues que pueden decir no, el que tenga muchos novios no significa que me ande acostando, agasajando con todos.

#13 (Int 61, 17 year old man, quite Gente Joven, little family support, completed two years of *prepa*)

Resp: Mi mamá me decía, bueno una vez mi mamá me comentó que cuando yo me casara, [...] que todas las mujeres tenían que tener, no tenían que haber tenido relaciones antes de casarse porque era malo, eso estaba penado por Dios y que todas la mujeres tenían que ser vírgenes cuando llegaran al matrimonio, pero nunca me platicó de los hombres, tu ya lo interpretas ahí tal vez, entonces por nosotros no hay problema, y ya fue la única vez

#14 (Int 39, 22 year old woman, not Gente Joven, little family support)

[...] la iglesia te dice, que [...] tienes que respetarte, que tu puedes tener relaciones con tu esposo, (se ríe) y que hay ciertas normas, o sea por ejemplo, que no puedes masturbarte, que no debes... porque es para ciertas cosas, para procrear, y que únicamente para procrear y ya, entonces tu lees los libros y los libros te dicen otra cosa, que tu tienes derecho a conocer tu cuerpo, a reconocerlo, a ver cuales son sus reacciones [...] y ellos [de la iglesia] me decían por ejemplo, que el hecho de que tu introduzcas un dedo en tu vagina, eso es malo, entonces eso me cre yo mucha confusión [...] yo luche contra todo, o sea contra toda la imposición que la religión te mete, cuando yo empecé a tener relaciones, no, o sea yo me sentía muy mal, es más las primeras veces que intente, tener relaciones no pude, por lo mismo dichoso de, le digo a mi mamá, a ella le contaba que cuando, la primera vez que intente tener relaciones y me iban a introducir, no sabes, es como si estuvieras en una película y que ves todos los rostros de la gente a que quieres mucho, tu papá, tu mamá, tus hermanos, la gente mas cercana a ti, dices no, o sea no puedo, y te pones bien tensa, porque bueno yo me acuerdo, que no me podía introducir mi novio y me decía que si quería, y no, como que tu quieres, pero a la vez no puedes o sea no, no reaccionas, y todavía, o sea aquí en la huelga, me pasó una experiencia, y dices, bueno según tu ya lo habías superado pero no lo superas, o sea, no, no es tan fácil, decir ay, ya por una vez ya lo supere, y no es cierto, porque igual vuelves a sentir ese miedo tan feo que te recorre todo el maldito cuerpo, y no, te quieres parar corriendo, y discúlpame pero ahí nos vemos

#15 (Int 126, 22 year old woman, very Gente Joven, little family support)

Resp: De la virginidad... Para mi papá, supongamos, una mujer no vale nada si no es virgen antes de llegar a su matrimonio, es una persona sin valor que no merece respeto. Para mi madre creo que es lo mismo.

#16 (Int 46, 22+ year old woman, very Gente Joven, more family support)

Int: Tu papá te decía que tenias que llegar virgen al altar porque?

Resp: Porque una mujer cuando ya no es virgen no tiene al mismo valor

Int: Eso el te decía?

Resp: Aja el me lo decía

Int: Alguna vez te llego a decir valor de qué o qué?

Resp: (Tarda en contestar) yo creo que se refería a que ningún hombre si me pegaba, si me insultaba tenía que aguantar por el hecho de haber tenido relaciones con otra persona

#17 (Int 116, 22 year old woman, not Gente Joven, less family support)

Int: En tu casa había una diferencia señalada por tus papas acerca de los hombres y las mujeres?

Resp: Si ya a esa edad te decían [...] que una mujer se tiene que de dar a respetar, porque [...] una mujer pierde más que un hombre dice mi mamá que son como los cuervos

Int: Cómo?

Resp: (Se ríe) que se pueden revolcar en el lodo y tan campantes, pero que una mujer no

Int: Y según tu mamá que perdía una mujer?

Resp: Ay por primera vez intuí lo que era lo de la virginidad, o sea me decía que una mujer tenía que cuidarse, porque tenía más que perder, nunca me dijo que, hasta que después ya lo averigüé

#18 (Int 38, 20 year old woman, not Gente Joven, less family support)

...me decían que no era importante o sea, que no era algo fundamental, sino que el problema es que yo tenía que cuidarme, pero que entre más madura fuera, iban a ser mejor mis relaciones, o sea, nunca fue de que tienes que llegar virgen al matrimonio, o cosas así, o sea, no, ni darle importancia, o sea era, no, no le daban mucha importancia

#19 (Int 88, 18 year old woman, not Gente Joven, less family support)

R : De la virginidad, pues...dice bueno, para mi mamá no es muy importante, porque osea, dice que yo voy a vivir mi vida como quiera y que... tal vez para el hombre, para mi pareja si sea muy importante, depende su machismo, pero osea, dice mi mamá que no hay una edad para... hacerlo más bien siempre y cuando nos cuidemos

Int: ¿Tu papá que es lo que te decía?

R : Mi papá, pues me decía nada más que me cuidara, que (un pequeño silencio), que lo hiciera cuando quisiera pero que tuviera mucho cuidado

#20 (Int 150, 18 year old woman, quite Gente Joven, more family support)

Platicaban que... este... entre mujeres: que se sentirá y por allá llega una a experimentar – no, es que es lo máximo – otra: no, fue horrible – o no sé, cosas así.

#21 (Int 144, 18 year old woman, quite Gente Joven, little family support)

Tengo una amiga que es de aquí de la escuela, y me platica mucho de lo que hace con su novio, por que tiene muchísima curiosidad pero muchísima y luego me pregunta: ay fijate es que sentí así y no sé si es bueno o es malo y yo le digo que depende de como lo hayas visto, si te lastimo es malo, pero si te gustó es bueno, o sea cositas así es de lo que platicamos.

#22 (Int 116, 22 year old woman, not Gente Joven, less family support)

Int: Cuándo tu hablas de aspectos sexuales como pubertad, caricias o relaciones, las hacías con amigos y amigas o nada más?

Resp: Con puras amigas.

Int: Únicamente mujeres?

Resp: Si así me veían a veces como una depravada, porque tenía unas amigas bien mochas, como que: uy nada más me andan viendo, pero según se espantaban de hablar de la sexualidad y luego se daban unos bien buenos con sus respectivos novios, era una contradicción muy gruesa

#23 (Int 94, 20 year old man, not Gente Joven, less family support)

[...] yo lo considero así, la mujer para inspirar amor tiene que dar sexo, el hombre para recibir sexo tiene que dar amor...

#24 (Int 118, 19 year old woman, not Gente Joven, less family support, completed two years of vocational training)

Int: ¿Te hablaron acerca de la virginidad?

Resp: Si, mi madre. Bueno, mi madre hubo, hubo varias ocasiones en que me decía: sabes qué, una mujer tiene más que perder que un hombre, o sea, me decía muchas cosas. Me decía: cuídate, no dejes que te toquen aquí, o sea, anda con quien quieras pero cuídate; no dejes que te manoseen.

#25 (Int 129, 17 year old man, not Gente Joven, little family support)

Int ¿Qué opinaban [los padres] acerca de la virginidad?

Resp: Pues como todos, que según se debe de guardar

Int: ¿Guardar?, ¿Cómo guardar? ¿Para que?

Resp: Bueno tiene que respetarse, que conservar, **no soltarse tan fácil**

#26 (Int 29, 19 year old man, quite Gente Joven, more family support)

Int: ¿Cómo eran las reglas con tu papá y tu mamá cuando eras chico?

Resp: Pues como hasta ahorita, siempre eran las mismas de avisar en donde ando, avisar a que hora regreso, en otro caso avisar con quien ando, este no fumar, no tomar, este respetar a mí pareja o sea esa es una regla muy importante.

Int: ¿A que llamas tú respetar a tú pareja?

Resp: O sea no pasarme de listo con ella, si ella no este no quiere hacer algo, no oprimirla, no obligarla no, referente a la sexualidad no, también a cuidar a la chava no, no nada más por que es mi novia y ya, si no también a una amiga hay que cuidarla.

#27 (Int 115, 22 year old woman, not Gente Joven, less family support, educated at least to end of *prepa*)

[...] como dicen por ahí el hombre llega hasta donde la mujer quiere [...]

#28 (Int 56, 19 year old man, not Gente Joven, less family support)

Int [...] ¿Qué tanto tratarías de influenciar para que tuvieran una relación sexual?

Resp: No sé si has oído esta frase: el hombre llega hasta dónde la mujer lo deje, pues eso mismo estoy tratando de hacer

Int: Si ella quiere...

Resp: Adelante

Int: ¿Y si no?

Resp: Y si no, pues también adelante

#29 (Int 141, 22 year old woman, quite Gente Joven, little family support, at least completed *prepa*)

Resp: M... Antes era como que con mucha pena, me daba mucha pena... eh... tener relaciones, no sé, porque tal vez él, él pensaba que no sé, que yo estaba muy necesitada de tener relaciones y me daba pena, pero ya, poco a poco con el tiempo se me ha quitado, ya, ya sé que es una... tal vez tomarlo como necesidad y un gusto ¿no?

Int: Mm ¿Por qué pensabas que él, él pensaba eso, osea, que tu estabas muy necesitada de relaciones sexuales

Resp: No sé por qué... (dice dudando) en una, en una ocasión tuvimos relaciones un jueves; un jueves porque era cuando mi mamá se iba a ver a mi abuelita, y en, el sábado se dio que mis papas, y toda mi familia se había ido a una fiesta y no sé, igual entre, entre broma y juego me dijo hoy, ¿no? si apenas lo hicimos el jueves, porque ahorita otra vez [...] Entonces yo sentí que yo era la que lo estaba incitando a hacerlo.

#30 (Int 49, 22+ year old man, very Gente Joven, little family support)

[...] me dijo ella pues [...] quiero hacer el amor contigo. yo nunca lo exprese de esa manera cuando me lo dijo pues si sentí algo extraño no, hasta ese momento nadie me lo había dicho tan directamente no, y yo tenía esa mentalidad hasta ese momento también, de que el hombre es el que debería propiciar la relación sexual el que la propone no y en este caso fue lo contrario no...

Quotations from Chapter 6

#31 (Int 100, 19 year old man, not Gente Joven, less family support)

Int Qué te decían?

Resp: Te digo eso de que no que, no, si lo puedo decir... no verdad

Int: Sí, que tiene de raro

Resp: Ah que me cogí una vieja y esto, y pus yo no sabía ni que onda no, pus ¿que es eso? pues de repente pues después ya humillándote tu mismo, pus ¿que es eso, no? "¡ay! ¿tu no sabes, güey? ¡No mames! Esto es así y así...".

#32 (Int 142, 22 year old woman, Gente Joven talk, less family support)

...me decía este... no vayas a este... no sé a tener nunca relaciones... nunca me habló de relaciones sexuales, sino que no se pase, que no te agarre de más, o algo así, lo normal, o sea. A la edad que yo tenía, a los doce años trece años, no podía haber otra cosa más que un beso, un abrazo ¿no?.

#33 (Int 120, 17 year old woman, virgin, quite Gente Joven, little family support)

Resp: yo he tratado de platicarles pues si pero siempre me cambian el tema o luego me dicen hay es que pues es que yo no se bien entonces siempre me evaden siempre son... nunca me dan una respuesta o nunca dejan que yo hable con ellos sobre esto.

#34 (Int 116, 22 year old woman, not Gente Joven, less family support)

Resp: Era tabú, yo una vez le pregunte a mi mamá que porque te compraba esas toallas, porque usaba unas bien gordotas y me dijo que eran porque cuando iba a montar o algo así, porque luego íbamos a montar este que porque luego había mucha fricción y estas les ayudaba aminorar la fricción de la montada (se ríe) es que así me decía...

#35 (Int 31, 20 year old man, very Gente Joven, little family support)

[...] una vez cuando yo era más chavo, me encontré un condón como tipo llavero. Se lo enseñé a mi papá y le dije que ¿Qué era? y me dijo que era un globo, me dijo que era un globo ¡Qué raro! (ríen)

#36 (Int 84, 20 year old man, quite Gente Joven, little family support)

... Nunca me acerque a mi mamá en aspectos de sexualidad, nunca [...] porque como era de mi sexo opuesto, si se que era mi mamá pero... me daba mucha pena decirle, ósea mis dudas que tenía en ese momento no se las decía a ella, se las comentaba a mis amigos, entre nosotros salía...

#37 (Int 115, 22 year old woman, not Gente Joven, less family support, educated at least to end of *prepa*)

Int: Mhu. Y este y con la última pareja la inyección de dónde la obtuviste?

Resp: Mh... la inyección si me la recetaron.

Int: A ya fuiste a un médico.

Resp: Si fui con una doctora y ella me recomendó una inyec... de eso casi nadie de mis amigas sabia y ya quería yo un... una opinión más, más sabía no?, como de los doctores.

#38 (Int 41, 21 year old man, not Gente Joven, little family support)

Int: Alguna vez platicaste sobre los riesgos sexuales con tus amigos?

Resp: Sí muchas veces, con mi amigo de hecho era parte de lo que platicábamos con lo que sabíamos por que en la secundaria no te dan mucho información, pero con lo poco que sabíamos siempre esas eran las platicas que tenias sobre la sexualidad, el como mi amigo también era como mi maestro por su experiencia siempre me decía constantemente trata de tener un orgasmo afuera no te arriesgues tanto siempre fue me dijo alguna vez si conoces a una mujer que haya tenido que

ver con varios hombres no te arriesgues me acuerdo que me decía mejor busca algo que no este tan (ríe) usado.

#39 (Int 43, 22+ year old woman, not Gente Joven, little family support)

... se me hace super, super fácil hablar de sexo tanto con hombres como mujeres, y no nada más en cuestiones generales sobre que pienso sobre el aborto o que pienso sobre las enfermedades venéreas sino incluso ¿Qué puedo llegar a sentir?, tenemos muchas dudas en cuanto a ¿Qué siente el sexo opuesto? ¿no? y este, muchos de mis amigos me preguntan, bueno es que ¿Qué siente una mujer cuando la tocan? o ¿Qué sienten? y yo siempre les digo, yo te puedo decir lo que yo siento, no te puedo decir lo que las mujeres sienten porque eso es muy, pero si soy muy abierta en ese aspecto, eso fue lo que cambió.

#40 (Int 134, 18 year old man, not Gente Joven, more family support)

Int Y por ejemplo, ¿cuál era la actitud de ellas hacia las preguntas que les hacías, te contestaban bien, o que te decían?

Resp: Muchas de ellas, mira, de todas, no muchas contestaban claro, muchas se molestaban, y las que contestaban había de dos tipos, las que si estaban dispuestas a hablar y de las que no, de las que te contestaban, pero te contestaban muy cortante, entonces yo entendía que contestarme cortante era algo asi como mandarme a la chingada, entonces yo ya, ahí con esas chavas, yo ya no volvía a hacer una pregunta de esas, y con las chavas con las que si podía yo platicar no, o sea si eran muchas, pero no tantas como yo hubiera querido, ya con ellas pues seguía platicando, cotorreando incluso, ya cuando nos veíamos en la calle, nos insultábamos incluso con el sexo y no había ningún problema porque nosotros entendíamos que platica teníamos, que relaciones teníamos y en base a eso era que nosotros funcionábamos en ese sentido.

#41 (Int 89, 19 year old woman, not Gente Joven, little family support)

... me platicaba sus experiencias, de que agarraba una cosa, o tocaba o acariciaba a sus chavas, como que ese era mi acercamiento con la sexualidad, y como yo no tenía ningún tipo de información ni de experiencia en ese aspecto, no sé, aveces si lo veía un poco sucio, no sé, como que tenía la... el concepto de que uno se tenía que casar y ser virgen hasta el matrimonio y esas situaciones.

#42 (Int 82, 17 year old woman, not Gente Joven, little family support)

Int Te contaba todo lo que hacía? [talking about male friend of hers]

Resp: Aja, y como lo hacía y con quien lo hacía y todo así llegó un momento en que ya me harté como que así ya no me cuentes nada, luego a veces llegaba así o sea ...ya me chingué otra vieja y yo ¿sí? ah.

#43 (Int 79, 22 year old man, not Gente Joven, little family support)

Resp: yo me dirigía a ellas como con miedo, con intención de no hacerlas enojar, ni de nada, porque cuando platicaba con una chava y de mala suerte se enojaba, pues yo me sentía súper mal, en realidad no era mi intención hacerla enojar, por eso hablaba con ellas pero como muy distante.

Int: Digamos ¿por qué dabas esa distancia?

Resp: Simplemente porque no quería problemas. Para que no me cachetearan o me pellizcaran.

Int: ¿Llegó a pasarte?

Resp: Sí.

Int: A ver, cuéntame.

Resp: Lo más horrible fue la cachetada.

Int: -risas- ¿Qué hiciste?

Resp: Pues, se me ocurrió decirle una cosa fuera de lugar. Se me hizo fácil, como entre chavos se hablan de que ay que esta chava, bien buena y mira qué cosotas tiene y yo un día le dije eso a una chava, ay estás bien buena, tienes unas cosotas. N'hombre, ya que me aguanté ya estaba viendo del otro lado, -risas- me andaba ardiendo mi mejilla y esa chava ya después nunca me habló. Por eso siento frustración.

Int: Dices tú que a la vez te daba miedo ¿no? Hablarle a las mujeres, pero, ¿cómo te atreviste tú a decirle eso a ella?

Resp: Pues, era con la que platicaba más y estaba más bonita, entonces a mí se me hizo fácil decirle lo que sentía, nomás que ella no lo comprendió; he ahí el dilema.

#44 (Int 89, 19 year old woman, not Gente Joven, little family support)

...Aunque ni sepas dónde está la virginidad, porque aveces como que tienes la idea de que está en la cabeza o en el ombligo, porque no sabes ni que onda, porque nadie te dice ni qué... pero pues ¡tienes que cuidarla!

#45 (Int 39, 22 year old woman, not Gente Joven, little family support)

Resp: Es que hay unas platicas en la iglesia, si lo ves desde el punto de vista teórico, se trata la platica de eso de la, cuando hablan de la virginidad, si ya no eres virgen que te arrepientas, y lo seas a partir de ahí, y si eres virgen que no dejes de serlo hasta que te cases, o sea, ese es el fin de la mugrosa platica esa, entonces obvio que cuando escuchas todo eso pues te cala, y dices, soy una desgrasiadísima como mujer [...] Bueno ni supe si lo había sido o no, sino hasta que la tuve [...] yo pensé que si había tenido relaciones la primera vez, y me vine a dar cuenta, cuando las tuve, que no las había tenido, y me sentí muy mal, igual, empecé a llorar...

#46 (Int 27, 17 year old man, not Gente Joven, little family support)

[...] me comento precisamente uno de mis primos que la estructura del condón es como un tejido no, y que el virus del VIH es muy pequeño y o sea si se puede introducir por ahí.

#47 (Int 45, 20 year old man, not Gente Joven, little family support)

[...] hay muchos que dicen, es que no se siente lo mismo y equis, si, si se siente lo mismo, que es lo que cambia, que no vienes en una mujer, eso es lo único, porque es casi igual, el plastico no es muy grueso, no es de que te pongas una bolsa, eso es tipo machista...

#48 (Int 155, 22 year old man, quite Gente Joven, more family support, completed two years of secondary school)

Int ¿Cuáles crees que son tus ventajas y desventajas del condón?

Resp: Sus ventajas son muchas ¿no? este... el que... este... yo no quiero realizar una familia... este... pues me lo puede evitar. El no tener una familia el no contagiarme y a la ves a mi no me gusta por que no se siente igual.

#49 (Int 92, 21 year old man, not Gente Joven, little family support)

Int: ¿Con qué frecuencia usas el condón?

Resp: Pues cada vez que tengo relaciones sexuales lo uso.

Int: O sea, ¿siempre lo usas? ¿hay ocasiones en que de repente no lo llegas a usar?

Resp: ¡Ah, bueno! Sí puede ser, cuando tengo un alto porcentaje de seguridad de que la persona, bueno, de que mi pareja no está fértil, pues entonces no lo uso.

Int: ¿Usas otro tipo de anticonceptivos?

Resp: No, no le tengo confianza a otros. Son muy complicados.

[...]

Int: ¿Cuál es la mejor manera de evitar el embarazo no deseado?

Resp: La mejor manera no hacer nada, pero si se hace pues tener un método de control con el cual hayan quedado de acuerdo estas dos parejas, usar lo que tenga mayores posibilidades de éxito como el dispositivo, o el condón, o la pastilla, algo así, cada quien. A mi no me gustan éstos, pero si alguna pareja se acomoda de esta manera y así evita el embarazo, pues es válido.

#50 (Int 146, 17 year old woman, quite Gente Joven, little family support)

Int: Y porque decidiste usar este anticonceptivo [pastillas]?

Resp: porque mira el condón de la mujer es muy complicado yo siempre he dicho en lo que tu estas bien excitada te pones tu condón de la mujer y pues igual y ya se te paso, no inyecciones son muy riesgosas, las inyecciones muy mucho muy riesgosas, pues lo más factible y lo más comerciables son las pastillas y el condón para él

Int: Por qué dices que las inyecciones son muy riesgosas?

Resp: ¿Por qué? Porque por ejemplo, hay inyecciones que le pueden dejar estéril, no recuerdo bien el nombre de la inyección, hay una inyección que te puede dejar estéril si te inyectas entonces si son muy... que con esa inyección pues en un año puedes tener relaciones y no quedas embarazada igual en ese año te pueden pasar tantas cosas que pues te hacen estéril eso es lo que me da miedo.

#51 (Int 27, 17 year old man, not Gente Joven, little family support)

En: ¿qué piensas del SIDA?

Resp: Que es una enfermedad muy peligrosa en estos tiempos.

En: ¿Crees que estas en riesgos de adquirirlo?

Resp: Sí.

Int: ¿Por qué?

Resp: Por que muchas veces, nosotros en un fiesta conoces una chica y te pones a agasajar con ella y como se me dio el conocimiento de que incluso por un beso y a la chica le sangre la ansia, te puede transmitir esta enfermedad pues, hasta en esa forma puedes ser infectado.

Int: Aja, sabes precisamente ¿cómo se obtiene el SIDA?

Resp: Sí.

Int: ¿Me podrías explicarlo?

Resp: Pues por tener relaciones sexuales sin protección, por estas transfusiones de sangre, por tatuajes, por estas jeringas infectadas, por estas precisamente como te decía, por el sangrado de la encía, muchas veces incluso, a lo mejor no, no lo tengo muy comprobado en la peluquería cuando una persona, por las navajas de rasurar una persona puede ser cortada, y esta puede tener la enfermedad, llega otra persona y puede ser infectada por esa navaja también.

#52 (Int 109, 17 year old woman, not Gente Joven, little family support)

Int ¿Qué tipo de persona se infecta?

Resp: No sé, las personas que no tienen conocimientos, que están muy solas, ignorantes... la verdad, no sé. Las sexo servidoras y personas así.

#53 (Int 129, 17 year old man, not Gente Joven, little family support)

Int ¿Qué piensas de VIH-SIDA?

Resp: Que, pues que es algo de lo que no nos podemos cuidar, bueno podemos cuidarnos, pero no estamos exentos de contagiarnos, que hay quienes lo tienen por culpa, hay quienes lo tienen sin que, pues que es una enfermedad y pues ya

Int: Esta gente que podría adquirir el SIDA, tú me dices que hay quienes lo tienen por culpa, está gente que entra en la culpa, ¿por qué tendría la culpa?

Resp: Pues porque nunca se han cuidado, porque no les importa nada y se acuestan con quien quieren, con quien se les antoja o porque no tienen cuidado en ellos, no se cuidan.

#54 (Int 10, 16 year old woman, virgin, not Gente Joven, less family support)

Int ¿Qué tipo de personas crees que se infectan?

Resp: Los que no se cuidan, los homosexuales son de las personas que tienen más riesgo de infectarse, las lesbianas y los que no se cuidan.

#55 (Int 27, 17 year old man, not Gente Joven, little family support)

Int: ¿Qué tipo de personas crees que se infectan más?

Resp: Las amas de casa. [...] Por que los hombres van y se pueden meter con otras personas y pues el ama de casa nunca le va a exigir un condón a su pareja y pues precisamente por eso.

#56 (Int 80, 15 year old woman, virgin, not Gente Joven, more family support)

Int ¿Qué piensas de VIH?

Resp: Pues que, que feo, que horrible, la gente que lo tiene por tonta, porque no se cuida pues ni modo, pero la gente que lo tiene por una transfusión o por una violación, pues que mala onda

#57 (Int 43, 22+ year old woman, not Gente Joven, little family support)

Int: ¿Qué piensas del SIDA?

R : ¡Ay! es una enfermedad ¡espantosa!, es una enfermedad espantosa yo creo que igual que el cáncer o que igual que muchas enfermedades, pero que es, es espantosa no tanto por lo que físicamente puede hacerte sino por lo que emocionalmente hace de, de esa enfermedad, porque es una, es la, la enfermedad del pecado, la enfermedad de este, de, de la promiscuidad la enfermedad de los homosexuales ¿no?, es la que se le tiene así, cualquier persona se puede enfermar de cáncer y todo el mundo le dice que pobrecito y alguna persona se enferma de SIDA y todo el mundo empieza a preguntarse si es homosexual o cuantas parejas tenía o ¿¡porqué?! (toma aire), aunque el SIDA tiene la ventaja a diferencia del cáncer que puede tratar de, de evitarlo

Int: Mjú ¿Cuál tipo de persona crees que se infecta de, de SIDA? en especial

R : ¿En especial?, una persona que no se cuida, que no utiliza preservativo aunque sea ama de casa o aunque sea este, homosexual o que tenga veinte u ochenta años ¿no?, osea, el chiste es de que no utilicen condón

Quotations from Chapter 7

#58 (Int 50, 22+ year old woman, very Gente Joven, little family support)

...me sentí culpable, me sentí culpable pero me capacite y pense, y me gusto y no había porque sentirme culpable.

Int: ¿Culpable en que forma te sentiste?

Resp: ¿En que forma?, en que mmm... pues aproveche la situación no... Aproveché en que la casa estaba sola en que no había nadie, de que la casa es sagrada... según (se ríe). Cómo iba yo a hacer eso en mi casa no...eso se hace en cualquier lugar menos en casa, por eso me sentía culpable.

#59 (Int 118, 19 year old woman, not Gente Joven, less family support, completed two years of vocational training)

Int: ¿Cómo te sentiste después de haber tenido relaciones sexuales?

Resp: Me puse a llorar.

Int: ¿Por qué?

Resp: Porque imagínate, o sea, como me puse a pensar ¿no? tanto que me decía mi mamá que me cuidara y todo y donde fui a caer. Pero, o sea, yo pensaba yo tenía el temor de que me dijera: ¿sabes qué? Ya logré lo que quería y ya vete. Adiós.

#60 (Int 28, 18 year old woman, not Gente Joven, little family support, completed secondary school)

Resp: [...] en ese momento pensaba en que [mis padres] me iban a regañar, que me iban a pegar, ósea en que me iban a echar de la casa por haber hecho mi pendejada [...] Me arrepentí, por que iba a desilusionar a mis papas, no? a mis padres.

#61 (Int 46, 22+ year old woman, very Gente Joven, more family support)

Int: Porqué tuviste relaciones sexuales?

Resp: Creo yo que fue porque no se podía decir no por esta presión de parte de él

Int: Básicamente fue presión?

Resp: Si

Int: Cuando fue esto tenías 14 años y el que edad tenía?

Resp: El tenía 17

[...]

Int: Como fue esto de tu primera relación, que sentiste llegaste a?

Resp: No llego hacer más que dolor, no me agrado

[...]

Int: Como te sentiste después de tu primera relación sexual?

Resp: Me sentí mal porque no se cuando en ocasiones te pasan las cosas como que oyes muchas cosas de ese tema, llegue a mi casa me sentí muy mal de haber llegado marcada así como si hubiera tomado, no tome nada, me dio nada este me sentía mal, no se entonces al otro día mi mamá y papá estaban platicando que una vecina había salido embarazada y empezaron a tratar este tema de virginidad y yo

Int: Y como te sentiste sentimentalmente?

Resp: Pues muy mal, muy mal [...] una mujer ya no vale nada cuando no es virgen

Int: Como valorarías tu primera experiencia sexual?

Resp: Este pésima

#62 (Int 115, 22 year old woman, not Gente Joven, less family support, educated at least to end of *prepa*)

Int: Físico y emocionalmente cómo te sentías?

Resp: Mh pues... tranquila no?, no sentí que hice algo malo, ni me sentía sucia ni mucho menos, me sentía bien porque era un paso más, yo estaba muy enamorada y sentía pues... obviamente que estaba... 100% correspondida.

#63 (Int 85, 19 year old woman, not Gente Joven, more family support)

Resp: Las relaciones... bien, fijate que no fui como que las hijas del remordimiento he, como le falle a mi mama, no, no porque yo lo quería hacer no, por que yo amaba ese hombre, osea yo anduve 2 años, fueron 2 años muy padres, y no fue nada más por sexo no, pues por que había otra cosa más padre, entonces por eso, como que yo tenia muchisimas ganas. yo lo amaba. Así yo hubiera dicho: bueno una atracción y punto, no lo hago.

#64 (Int 121, 22 year old woman, not Gente Joven, little family support)

Resp: Porque me gustaba, porque lo quería mucho, porque antes de esto bueno él insistía mucho, pero yo le decía no, es que como crees yo no siento nada por ti, pero bueno ya después si, porque si lo quise mucho, muchísimo

Int: Entonces fue el motivo por lo que tu tuviste una relación con él?

Resp: Aja, y dice que él, bueno él también, yo se que él también me quería mucho

#65 (Int 141, 22 year old woman, quite Gente Joven, little family support, at least completed *prepa*)

Int: ¿Y cual crees que fue el motivo por lo que tuvieron relaciones sexuales en ese momento?

Resp: Eh... de mi parte tal vez porque yo lo que, em... lo, lo quiero mucho y lo quería también en ese momento, siento que fue por, por esa razón, y... no sé, no sé él, tal vez por, por tener sexo, pero (se ríe) la verdad nunca le he preguntado.

#66 (Int 115, 22 year old woman, not Gente Joven, less family support, educated at least to end of *prepa*)

Int: Tú qué piensas de tu habilidad para controlar tu vida sexual?

Resp: [...] yo siento que la he controlado mucho en el aspecto de que es muy común que cuando uno ya tuvo relaciones pues ya es muy fácil que te acuestes con

cualquier persona... ya conoces un chavo si te hablo bonito, si te gusto te acostaste con él ¿no? yo siento que no es mi caso. yo siempre busqué personas especiales que para mi... eh tenían ese no se que, que... que me gustaba, que me daba toda la confianza para poder tener... este intimidad ¿no? con ellos...

#67 (Int 116, 22 year old woman, not Gente Joven, less family support)

Int: Cómo te sentiste de tu 1ª experiencia sexual?

Resp: Te digo que un poquito sacado de onda porque te digo, como tenía tantas cosas en la cabeza. Decía que ya no me iba a querer, porque ya me había adelantado al momento adecuado

#68 (Int 89, 19 year old woman, not Gente Joven, little family support)

Resp: ... yo pensaba que él tenía que decir ¿qué onda? que ya tuviste contactos con otras, pero te vienen muchas cosas a la mente a la vez, así como que te sientes insegura ¿no? que triste porque así como así como que, mm, mm, (afirma) te sientes insegura, porque piensas que tu vales a esta persona, que va a sentir defraudada, y sobre todo que como se te da, en este tiempo, todo el tiempo "mal nombre", mm (afirma) sí, entonces ya este, la penetración se sintió muy rico pero [...] ¡ay este, y yo le dije, ¡ay! este, me duele, me duele, me duele, porque siempre, ya sabes las amigas dicen ¿ay, te dolió? ¡Ay! sí me dolió mucho (cambia el tono de su voz) y si como que dices: me duele y más así, además como que jamás has utilizado el músculo, y entra algo y empiezas a sentir como rara ¿no? Y pues ya fui... con... ya le dije que me dolía y entonces sé que, tanto ya me estaba yo molestando, con respecto de eso... de tanto insistir él de que era la primera persona, (ríe molesta) por tanto negarlo pienso que lo estaba afirmando, y ya después ya nos fuimos, pues a, a ya empezamos así, todos los días, casi (se ríe).

#69 (Int 143, 19 year old woman, quite Gente Joven, more family support)

[...] se portó muy tierno conmigo. Y a pesar de que él sabía que no era mi primera vez... tampoco era su primera vez de él, pero, ahora sí siento que eso nos unió mucho, y de hecho vamos a cumplir un año.

#70 (Int 116, 22 year old woman, not Gente Joven, less family support)

[...] cuando uno tiene relaciones sexuales, después se le hace uno más fácil tenerlas, la cosa es brincar ese tabú, brincar al otro lado

#71 (Int 116, 22 year old woman, not Gente Joven, less family support)

Int: Describe y explica los cambios ocurridos en tu vida sexual a través de los años de forma general?

Resp: Qué una va conociendo más, se va haciendo uno más definido y va desechando las telarañas que tiene uno en la cabeza

Int: Cómo que telarañas?

Resp: Como eso de que el sexo es malo, es pecado. El sexo es solamente para cochinos o para tener hijos

#72 (Int 141, 22 year old woman, quite Gente Joven, little family support, at least completed *prepa*)

[...] todas las últimas veces que ha sido ya es muy, como muy placentero para mí, osea, lo disfruto todo al, al máximo, ya sin ninguna presión de que, de que, antes, hace mucho tiempo que se me venía a la cabeza mi mamá, mi papá, mis hermanos yo me creaba ese sentimiento de culpa de estar teniendo relaciones a escondidas y ahorita ya no, ya nada más pienso en él, en lo que estamos haciendo y ya...

#73 (Int 115, 22 year old woman, not Gente Joven, less family support, educated at least to end of *prepa*)

Resp: ...me enamoré de el, ...sentí muchas cosas. yo tuve muchos novios pero con ninguno sentí tanta confianza o ninguno de demostró... me hizo sentir tan, tan bien como él... él me gustaba mucho... muchos también me gustaban pero con el tenía mucha confianza.

#74 (Int 147, 20 year old woman, quite Gente Joven, little family support)

Resp: yo me senti bien con el osea, siempre me he sentido bien con el, osea fué muy distinto con el, me senti como protegida me sentía, me sentía bien hasta, muchas veces tuve ganas de tener relaciones con otras personas o eso y no me sentia bien no lo hacia hasta con el que me senti bastante bien.

#75 (Int 38, 20 year old woman, not Gente Joven, less family support)

Int: ¿Cómo te sentiste después de tu relación sexual?

Resp: Pues, no muy bien porque te digo que yo esperaba otras condiciones, pero lo que pasa es que después, o sea, a mí lo que me interesaba al fin y al cabo es el comportamiento de él después de esa relación y como su comportamiento fue bueno, pues entonces yo me sentí bien, o sea las condiciones no me gustaron, pero no me sentí denigrada, o nada más usada como objeto sexual, o sea no.

#76 (Int 97, 22+ year old woman, very Gente Joven, little family support, completed university)

[yo] tenía ganas pues por todo lo que habíamos hablado, los acercamientos (ríe) y pues tenía ganas y pues bueno si lo hago y manda al diablo – yo iba con esa mentalidad no – si me utiliza como dicen que utilizan los hombres a las mujeres, ay ya no me importa yo tenía ganas y yo me iba ya preparada defendiendome psicológicamente. Pero no – fue muy padre. O sea la relación mejoró mucho y me hizo sentir muy segura.

#77 (Int 108, 21 year old woman, not Gente Joven, little family support)

Int ¿Tu habilidad para controlar tu vida sexual, has tomado un papel activo para crear tu vida sexual?

Resp: yo creo que sí porque el hecho de permitir o no permitir, es que tú tienes el control como debe de ser no, porque a fin de cuentas así debe de ser, si tu quieres lo haces y si no, no lo haces.

#78 (Int 11, 18 year old woman, not Gente Joven, little family support)

Int: ¿Qué tanto tratas de influenciar en la forma en que las cosas pasan en términos de placer o protección?

Resp: Pues no, no aceptando nada, si el te besa, si tu no, si no quisieras nada o sea simplemente dices que no, pero influyes mucho en aceptar su beso, su caricia, su abrazo, o sea en la forma que te trata, en que te mimas, y pues ya es bastante

Int: ¿Qué tipo de influencia tú utilizas?

Resp: Pues mas que nada aceptándolo ¿no?. Aceptándolo

#79 (Int 142, 22 year old woman, quite Gente Joven, less family support)

Int ¿Qué tanto tratas de influenciar la forma en que las cosas pasen en términos de placer o protección?

[...]

Resp: No mucho. Sí lo... sí influ yo, pero... pues no. Pues la última decisión siempre la tomo yo ¿no?, trato de hacerlo pero... no resulta, y termino cediendo a lo que... a lo que él prefiere ¿no?.

#80 (Int 158, 17 year old woman, very Gente Joven, little family support)

Int: ¿Entonces tu si sentiste que ibas a estar con el para toda la vida?

Resp: Si, pero después su comportamiento no, no me pareció, pensaba que como ya estaba comiendo y todo, este, que ya el me podía gritar y que me podía decir y no no me gustaba discutir, le verdad estalle y dije no hasta aquí [...]

[...] desde la primera fue eso, de que ya era de su propiedad, y el me podía mandar y ordenar lo que quisiera [...] yo le dije es que tu me quieres tratar como si fuera de tu propiedad

#81 (Int 158, 17 year old woman, very Gente Joven, little family support)

Int: ya te había dicho muchas veces que quería tener relaciones?

Resp: Aja

Int: ¿Y tu que le decías?

Resp: Que no que luego, que me esperara, que yo no estaba preparada

Int: ¿Y qué decía el?

Resp: Como que se molestaba y decía mañana vengo

Int: ¿Siempre pasó así?

Resp: Si, siempre se molestó, y luego yo lo veía por otros lados y le hablaba y me decía que quieres al rato hablamos, y le decía estas enojado y me decía no

[...]

Int: Entonces, ¿para ti la primera vez fue, porque dijiste que si finalmente, después de toda su presión?

Resp: yo creo que fue mas que nada la presión, que si no quieres, se enojaba y luego no iba, y luego mis papás me preguntaban que porque no iba que si estábamos enojados, y o sea les inventaba cualquier cosa.

#82 (Int 115, 22 year old woman, not Gente Joven, less family support, educated at least to end of *prepa*)

[...] el me lo proponía mucho tiempo pero... aveces me daba mucho coraje por... como que nos inculcan los padres de si te quiere te tiene que respetar y esas cosas que uno lo agarra como reglas.

#83 (Int 100, 19 year old man, not Gente Joven, less family support)

Resp: Pues realmente soy el que siempre está: órale, que mira, que agarra la onda, no te va a doler, pero ir a... x cosas no, el chiste es de este convencerlas...

[...]

Resp: No digamos este... presionado no, vamos a decir este... un poco de insistencia nada más no, que serán de quince minutos no, que si, que no que...

Int: Qué es lo que hiciste?

Resp: No pus estarle diciendo mira entiende que no te va a doler al contrario, mira si yo te amo en serio.

#84 (Int 72, 18 year old man, quite Gente Joven, more family support)

Int Cuantas novias has tenido hasta actualmente?

Resp: Novias, es que no, bueno, esta muchacha es mi novia pero las demás bueno una si.

Int: Dos?

R. La primera y ella, porque las demás no las he querido, nada mas amigas cariñosas no? si les digo si eres mi novia pero no reunes los requisitos...

#85 (Int 121, 22 year old woman, not Gente Joven, little family support)

Int: Muy bien, tu trataste de influir en la forma en que se sucedieron las cosas?

Resp: Como

Int: Aja, que si tu trataste de influir, me refiero que eh?

Resp: También que si lo seduje o

Int: Si?

Resp: No fue al revés, o sea él fue el que empezó todo y termino todo (se ríe)

[...]

Resp: Ay fue algo muy bonito, algo muy padre, este me acuerdo cuando estaba penetrando yo le decía no, no (se ríe), yo muy inocente no, o sea me desnudo y le digo pero no me vas a penetrar verdad y él no, no pues obviamente si lo iba a hacer, y cuando comenzó como sentí mucho dolor realmente, claro a la vez sentí placer y o sea no pero si (se ríe) y o sea fue algo muy bonito y cuando todo termino pues este, no creas que nada más termino así y hay nos vemos no, si no que obviamente hubo besos, caricias, y abrazos y salí muy contenta la verdad (se ríe).

#86 (Int 135, 21 year old woman, not Gente Joven, little family support)

[...] siento que [...] he tenido mucho poder en cuanto al manejo de los hombres no se si pueda decir poder, pero casi siempre es como yo quiero.

Int: La primera vez que con tuviste penetración con él, trataste de influir el evento de alguna manera?

Resp: Que yo lo empujé, pues bueno es que esa primera vez no sé si llamarlo la primera vez porque nada mas me penetró y se salió, no bueno si me salí y me paré y me fui pero este tal vez si porque eso de ir sola a su departamento pues ya desde el principio como que es algo de inducir.

#87 (Int 94, 20 year old man, not Gente Joven, less family support)

[...] después empezamos no sé... a ir mas allá me refiero... bueno, hubo un intento de penetración al cual ella como que le sorprendió mas que a mi entonces como que no hubo oportunidad de completarlo totalmente, ahora si que se diría como la puntita nomás no, porque no sé si no le agradaba lo que estaba haciendo que yo creo que si porque lo que ella siguió después pero digamos que ese fue el primer intento de relación sexual, bueno en si la relación la hubo, hubo besos, hubo sexo oral, hubo vamos exploración total. Penetración, pues se quedó en intento ya no quise forzar la situación [...]

#88 (Int 158, 17 year old woman, very Gente Joven, little family support)

[despues de la primera vez fue] planeado y eso porque me insistía, me insistía, me insistía y es por eso que yo cedía, y yo decía bueno ya perdí con el ya que.

#89 (Int 39, 22 year old woman, not Gente Joven, little family support)

[...] empezó y empezó, y él quería que tuviéramos relaciones, pero yo de dije, o sea para mi no es eso, no es el hecho de que yo bese a una persona, y ya por el hecho de besarla, o por el hecho de que si andamos, bueno te digo que no sé si andamos o no y quiere que me acueste con él, para mí es algo muy diferente, y le explique, es que para mí esto es otra cosa, debes estar en el mismo canal con la otra persona, debes tener una relación, conocerla más a fondo, pero no es así y ya, entonces el me preguntó ¿eres virgen?, (Se ríe) y le dije, no, pues le dije la verdad, no, no lo soy, pero no por el hecho de que no lo sea quiere decir que me voy a acostar con cualquiera, y le expliqué, y nada más seguía, o sea seguía incitándome y me puse a llorar, o sea no aguanto me pongo a llorar, y me puse a llorar, hasta eso no fue tan sátiro conmigo y ya agarro y me dijo ya vamos a dormirnos. Estuvimos platicando, me dijo que debería de pensar las cosas, que no tenía nada de malo, que no porque lo fuera a hacer con él o no lo fuera a hacer con él, sino nada más que pensara, que, que tal si me iba mal en mi matrimonio, que me iba a arrepentir, muchas cosas, pero

pues no, no, pero quien sabe, a veces pienso que así son todos los hombres, o al menos eso dice él.

#90 (Int 46, 22+ year old woman, very Gente Joven, more family support)

Int: Me puedes describir los cambios ocurridos en tu vida sexual a través de los años en forma general?

R.: Pues que antes era muy tímida cerrada con respecto a ese tema, ahora soy muy abierta, antes no disfrutaba, ahora lo disfruto plenamente que antes, que antes no respetaban mi cuerpo y ahora lo respeto y que aprendí a decir no cuando no quería algo

#91 (Int 118, 19 year old woman, not Gente Joven, less family support, completed two years of vocational training)

[...] Me dice: ¿nos vamos a la Villa? Le digo pues vamos. Pero en vez de la Villa me llevó a un hotel y fue cuando sucedió eso. -risas-

Int: ¿Y tú cómo dirías lo que pasó?

Resp: Pues mira, yo no quería ¿eh? Te voy a contar una historia chistosa. yo no quería. Me dice: ¿me meto a bañar? Le digo sí; o sea, y después de eso me metí abajo de la cama, porque yo ya sabía a lo que iba ¿no? Me metí abajo de la cama. Y me estaba buscando, me dice: ¿pues qué haces abajo de la cama? Le digo: ay, es que se me cayó un peso. Me dice: métete a bañar, le digo: si y me metí a bañar y se metió a bañar él conmigo, otra vez. Le digo: no, no ¿tú qué haces aquí? ¡Imagínate! Me pongo la toalla aquí toda mojándose. Él me dice: me gusta estar contigo, vengo a admirarte. No, le digo, sácate de aquí. Me dice: no, es que compréndeme, o sea, a pesar de que nos vimos la primera vez yo te quiero, tú me gustas, ya te había visto varias veces, pero nunca me acerqué a ti. Bueno, le digo, y ya empezó la lección y terminamos en eso. Pero ¡imagínate qué chistoso, meterme abajo de la cama.

Int: ¿Qué edad tenía?

Resp: ¿Él? Él tenía 28.

Int: ¿Y tú?

Resp: Adivina.

Int: ¿Me dijiste 15, no?

#92 (Int 151, 17 woman, very Gente Joven, little family support, completed *prepa*)

Resp: si fue más voluntaria creo que más a voluntad que a fuerza [...] yo creo que fue todo eso no supe decir no a tiempo [...] por un lado me decían que tenía que cuidar pero no me decían como, y por otro lado me decían que no me tenía que dejar tocar pero me tocaban, entonces cuando llegó el momento que tenía que decidir si, sí o si no, y no supe decir sí o no [...] la verdad es que no sabía ni como era tener una relación sexual, [...] incluso yo le decía no, no quiero, no quiero y él ya no quería soltarme

#93 (Int 99, 19 year old man, quite Gente Joven, less family support)

Int: ¿Platicas con tus amigos sobre aspectos relacionados con el sexo o actividad sexual ahora?

Resp: Sí

Int: ¿Y?, Otra vez, ¿qué tipo de cosas platicas?

[...]

Resp: Platicamos con, de que he hecho ¿no? De cómo, cómo empezó todo, que si ella quiso por su voluntad o la obligó.

#94 (Int 141, 22 year old woman, quite Gente Joven, little family support, at least completed *prepa*)

Resp: [...] fue una vez que mi mamá no estuvo en la casa, se fue a, a cuidar a mi abuelita a su casa y mi papá la alcanzaba allá, le llevaba la comida, y mi hermano, mis hermanos no estaban se habían ido todos a trabajar [...] ya que empezábamos a tener la relación, yo me sentía muy nerviosa, como con miedo de que fueran a llegar mis hermanos o... O mi papá, ¿qué será? yo creo que fue como... como unos veinte minutos los que estuvimos ahí, desde, desde que él llegó hasta que yo le dije, sabes que, mejor vámonos porque me da miedo

#95 (Int 117, 22 year old woman, not Gente Joven, more family support, education level unknown)

[...] la primera fue pero no muy bien, osea como que nos cacha... bueno no nos cacharon, pero iba a entrar alguien... entonces ya no terminamos (se rie)... bien pues (se rie y tartamudea). Esa fue la primerita (habla entre dientes)... si hubo penetración, coíto mas bien...

#96 (Int 148, 19 year old woman, very Gente Joven, more family support, incomplete *prepa* because of university strikes)

Resp:[...] acababan de terminar de comer nos habíamos parado a lavar todos los trastes y nos habíamos parado a platicar todas las mujeres digamos en la cocina y todos los hombres y la hermana menor de el estaba en la sala viendo la tele, entonces ese día íbamos a ver la película de Ghost la sombra del amor y su hermana la mas chica e dijo ay ya va a comenzar vamos a verla y como ellos estaban viendo el fútbol nos subimos y el también se subió y se subió su otro hermano el soltero y de repente llegan por su hermano y se va, le hablan por teléfono a su hermana y se va, entonces nos quedamos solos y a mi eso me da una satisfacción muy grande por que realmente nunca lo planeamos salió así espontáneamente y realmente cuando ya me di cuenta ya había pasado todo y el me dijo que si estaba dispuesta a seguir o a comenzar realmente y bueno ya después de eso estuvimos viendo la película y de hecho cuando llegó su hermana nos dijo ay es que me colgué del teléfono estaba bueno el chisme (ríe) y ya hasta después ya bajamos a la sala y estaban todos y nadie se dio cuenta y hay veces que con mis amigas me dicen imagínate si hubieran subido no y yo tal vez eso también fue lo emocionante la adrenalina que yo sentía y dije si llegan y nos cachan aquí...

#97 (Int 110, 22 year old woman, not Gente Joven, more family support)

Resp: Sí, habíamos hablado, habíamos hablado ya del tema de... de hecho con meses de anterioridad este... ¿Si era le momento?, de... ¿De por qué?, y de si no, ¿Por qué? E... de hecho se fue hablando desde tiempo atrás... o sea, ¿cuándo debía ser el momento?, ¿De qué forma... ? y todo eso, y ambos quedamos en que, bueno, el momento era este... cuando ambos sintiéramos si era el momento... porque había veces que, bueno, yo me sentía como que no, todavía no... o a lo mejor él todavía no, entonces, fue cuando este... ambos sentimos que era el momento, y... y lo llevamos - te digo -, así como quedamos en que lo íbamos a llevar como... como lo sentíamos ¿no? [...] quedar bien ¿no?, por así decirlo.

#98 (Int 86, 15 year old woman, not Gente Joven, less family support)

Resp: Sí. Fue en mi casa después de una fiesta, con este chavo y estaba en el cuarto de mi mamá; yo pensaba que estaba dormido ya. Bajé y estaban los sillones ocupados y el otro cuarto estaba ocupado también. Entonces yo me subí a acostar ahí al lado de él, ¿no?, pero yo nunca me imaginé que fuera a pasar algo, y, este, me acosté al lado de él y nos empezamos a besar y fue entraron al fin las cosas; me quedé tiesa: ¡qué estoy haciendo! ¿lo haré? Y como ya una vez antes habíamos

estado así y él me dijo que quería conmigo todo, y yo le dije que no, o sea, que mejor esperara; entonces ese día pues yo le dije que sí. Después de tener relaciones ya nos quedamos dormidos.

Int: ¿Qué edad tenías tú?

Resp: ¿Quién yo? 15. Fue hace dos meses.

#99 (Int 150, 17 year old woman, quite Gente Joven, more family support)

Resp: yo quede de vistarlo despues de la escuela. Siempre estaba su hermana pero ese día por casualidad no estaba y nos quedamos pensando y decidimos que si lo íbamos a hacer

Int: Hablaron antes

Resp: si de hecho desde antes habíamos platicado de sexualidad lo que sentiamos el uno por el otro que si era probete que si no.

#100 (Int 109, 17 year old woman, not Gente Joven, little family support)

Int Y ¿por qué, como se dieron las cosas?

Resp: No había nadie en mi casa, nunca habíamos sentido eso ninguno de los dos, nunca había pasado entre nosotros y yo creo que fue el momento

Int: ¿Ya lo habían platicado?

Resp: Pues sí pero nunca en extenso, habíamos hablado, de que me había dicho que nunca había tenido ninguna experiencia, ni yo tampoco, asi que de los dos fue nuestra primera vez

#101 (Int 110, 22 year old woman, not Gente Joven, more family support)

[...] sobre todo que ha sido con mucho menos temor ¿no?, menos nerviosismo, o sea... de hecho ahorita ya no hay temor, yo creo... considero que una de las cosas muy padres, muy bellas que tenemos de la relación es que podemos... platicar, preguntar ampliamente que pasa con esto ¿no?, porque esto... entonces si ha sido una maduración muy buena.

#102 (Int 11, 18 year old woman, not Gente Joven, little family support)

Resp: Me trataba cariñosamente, me daba mi lugar, o sea platicábamos de los preservativos, o sea, antes de tenerla asi como que platicamos, como que fuimos limpiando el terreno

#103 (Int 151, 22+ year old woman, very Gente Joven, little family support, completed *prepa*)

[...] fue bien bonito el primer beso, también esa experiencia, fue muy despacito, muy cariñoso, [...] muy suavcito, o sea, muy tranquilo, si yo me resistía, no me obligaba, nada más seguía besándome [...] y hablaba conmigo, te gusta esto [...] o sea para él siempre era, hablar, hablar, hablar, hablar, y era algo muy raro para mí, no como una bestia [el otro], que nada más llega come y sácate... entonces pues fue algo muy padre [...] me dijo, utilizo preservativo, él utilizaba preservativo, dejamos claro desde el principio lo que queríamos y lo que esperábamos de cada uno de los dos... y me dijo bueno, con compromiso o sin compromiso, y le dije, sin compromiso, y me dice pues vamos a utilizar preservativo, estás de acuerdo, no pues que si [...] y además yo también tenía claro que no quería llegar a formalizar nada con él, o sea nada más era una experiencia, y no estaba interesada en formalizar nada, entonces yo hable con él y le dije, pues vamos a ver que pasa pero nada más, no hay compromisos ni de tu parte ni de la mía.

#104 (Int 135, 21 year old woman, not Gente Joven, little family support)

Resp: Porque a mí me gustaba mucho fajarme, caldearme como se le pueda decir, besos abrazos pero así penetración, hay siento que fui de la generación de que conseguías mas información y te esperas mas o sea ya no era tanto de lo que te decían de casarte de blanco sino porque hay escoger la persona, el lugar bueno el lugar no lo escogí siento que lo hice, había un chavo que me atraía muchísimo entonces el siempre fui muchas veces al hotel con él, pero nunca pasó nada y con otros chavos también fui al hotel pero nunca pasó penetración, entonces dije ya quería dejar al chavo que me atraía pero si sentía algo por él pero sus ideas no convenían con las mías entonces dije lo voy a dejar pero yo quiero que si alguien va a ser que sea él, entonces yo me acuerdo que nos fuimos a la disco tomamos mas o menos él tenía carro y en el carro o sea es que el se quedó sorprendido porque yo no le dije que quería hacerlo sino fue por mi decisión de que yo dije yo quiero entonces ya se bajó el cierre y yo arriba de él y como que se quedó y entonces hay es que yo hice todo hay que mala soy o sea yo no quería sentirme ni usada ni utilizada porque había muchísimas ocasiones dijo que si que él también era su primera vez que me dijo que él quería pues él quería y yo le dije hay no como cres me fui un fin de semana con él y no pasó nada entonces yo digo a la mejor en esa ocasión que estuve un fin de semana completo con él y no pasó nada y entonces yo digo a la mejor en esa ocasión que estuve un fin de semana completo con él hubiera sucedido pero no pasó nada sino ya te digo cuando me di cuenta ya de que sus ideas no eran como las mías entonces digo ya me subía arriba de él y ya o sea yo hice todo no.

#105 (Int 115, 22 year old woman, not Gente Joven, less family support, educated at least to end of *prepa*)

Int: Y cómo te sentiste después de esa experiencia?

Resp: Pues... me sentí decepcionada no? como que eso tan mágico que todo mundo lo pinta como que... los maestros decían que el sexo era lo más hermoso, yo decía pues dónde le encuentra lo hermoso? Para mi había mucho dolor... eh físico.

#106 (Int 121, 22 year old woman, not Gente Joven, little family support)

[...] con el 1º que las tuve [las relaciones] fue por amor y este con el 2º pues si igual fue por lujuria no, porque bueno pues era más chavo que yo y él no había tenido relaciones, y este bueno vamos a enseñarle (se ríen), y además que me gustaba mucho el chavito

#107 (Int 116, 22 year old woman, not Gente Joven, less family support)

Int: Qué, que sentiste bueno o sea que sentiste la 1ª vez tuvistes relaciones con tu pareja actual?

Resp: Que sentí emoción pero nada más o sea, ni quede satisfecha, ni tuve mi orgasmo, ni nada de eso

Int: Y cómo te sientes ahora o, después de?

Resp: Casi o sea igual, o sea tanta emoción pero sin llegar a una plena satisfacción, porque siendo que él no piensa en lo que yo quiero sentir

Int: Y tu has hablado con él o has tratado de?

Resp: Si pero como que no escucha [...] o sea entiendo a otros niveles con él, es como que mi mejor amiga, pero no mi mejor amante

#108 (Int 38, 20 year old woman, not Gente Joven, less family support)

Int: ¿Qué tanto tratas de influenciar, la forma en que las cosas pasan, en términos de placer o protección?

Resp: eh, pues trato de gozar yo, porque por ejemplo, con la pareja de los 15 años, me preocupaba más por el otro, y no por mí, y por eso muchas veces, él era el que se satisfacía y entonces yo ya no contaba en eso, entonces ahora trato de que yo me preocupe por mi placer, o sea, preocuparme también por el del otro, pero también por el mío

Int: ¿Platican ambos?

Resp: Si

#109 (Int 102, 19 year old woman, very Gente Joven, less family support)

Resp: Fue en el bosque, y fue así nada más de que quítate los pantalones y horale, y fue muy mala, o sea el chico era eyaculador precoz, había tenido dos años de no tener pareja, y solo lo había hecho con una chica, y yo cuando le dije no sabes que las mujeres somos multiorgasmicas, y me dijo que es eso, entonces yo me quede así, o sea si fue una desilusión total.

#110 (Int 126, 22 year old woman, very Gente Joven, little family support)

Int: Imagina que se hubiera negado a usar un preservativo.

Resp: ¿Si él se hubiera negado? Pues yo creo que lo hubiera convencido.

Int: ¿Lo hubieras convencido?

Resp: Sí, hubiera hecho todo lo posible por convencerlo, porque la primera vez, estabas esperando a que tuvieras tu menstruación y como que es un pavor estar esperando en ese momento. Entonces realmente yo ya no quería pasar por el mismo dolor. Te aseguro que cuando tienes tu menstruación tienes todo en la vida y dices no vuelvo a hacerlo sin preservativo. Ya no volvió a pasar.

#111 (Int 11, 18 year old woman, not Gente Joven, little family support)

[...] ahorita a mí me, me cohíbe tener relaciones con las demás personas ¿no? o sea no quiero volver a vivir lo que pasé con el primero

#112 (Int 115, 22 year old woman, not Gente Joven, less family support, educated at least to end of *prepa*)

[...] después de tener relaciones una vez y tener a mi hijo... como que ya me cuide más fui más selectiva, como que las personas que han estado conmigo sexualmente ha sido para mi algo especial he encontrado en ellas algo especial que me hace querer tener relaciones con ellas.

#113 (Int 158, 18 year old woman, very Gente Joven, little family support)

Int: Aja, este... a ti te gustaría tener relaciones [con el novio actual...]

Resp: No todavía no [...] como que... no este... no quisiera empezar con problemas no se como que tengo miedo que vuelva a suceder lo mismo que yo no esté... como que satisfecha.

#114 (Int 61, 17 year old man, quite Gente Joven, little family support, completed two years of *prepa*)

[...] me sentía feliz, porque ya sabía que hongo, con decir que hasta les fui a contar a mis amigos, y este, o sea me sentía feliz, me sentía no se como emocionado, se puede decir, como con ganas de volverlo a hacer [...]

#115 (Int 122, 22 year old man, not Gente Joven, less family support)

Int: cómo te sentiste después de esa experiencia?

Resp: Anímicamente no me paso nada, físicamente tampoco obviamente pero anímicamente solo no, ni siquiera fue algo como para fanfarronear tampoco, fue poco trascendente en ese momento

#116 (Int 95, 20 year old man, quite Gente Joven, little family support, completed vocational training)

[...] fijate ese día no hubo un porque, si no que se dio...

#117 (Int 104, 17 year old man, not Gente Joven, more family support)

[...] no sé que pasó, nos pusimos a dar un beso y se dio.

#118 (Int 122, 22 year old man, not Gente Joven, less family support)

[...] todo se presto, porque estábamos solos [...] yo creo que nos dejamos llevar por el momento creo, fue el momento

#119 (Int 119, 22 year old man, not Gente Joven, less family support)

Ella quería experimentar eh... y pus a mi no me desagradaba la idea.

#120 (Int 99, 19 year old man, not Gente Joven, less family support)

[...] fue porque me empezó a decir que quería todo conmigo

#121 (Int 92, 21 year old man, not Gente Joven, little family support)

Int: ¿Cómo te sentiste después de esa experiencia sexual?

Resp: Pues muy bien, porque fue la primera que tuve. ¡Fue toda una experiencia! Porque es algo que se supone que esperas desde hace mucho tiempo ¿no? desde que empiezas a darte cuenta de que existe el sexo, y de las relaciones sexuales y todo esto, es algo que uno está esperando ¿si?

#122 (Int 99, 19 year old man, not Gente Joven, less family support)

Int: ¿Cómo te sentiste después de, de esa experiencia?

Resp: ¿Cómo me sentí? Pues... así como que, yo se lo quería contar a todo el mundo ¿no? Así como que yo ya era, no sé, todo un hombre ¿no?

#123 (Int 37, 20 year old man, very Gente Joven, less family support)

Int: Sientes que tu comportamiento sexual estaba controlado por ti o por otras personas?

Resp: No, tal vez un poco por el ambiente en el que se vivía del... de que la mayoría de mis compañeros ya habían tenido relaciones o... si no la mayoría ya habían tenido relaciones sexuales siento que influyó un poco pero no en definitiva.

Int: Un poco me decías que influyó en que... ese poco en que tal vez te podría influir?

Resp: En el sentido de que ya vi que en mis compañeras hablaban de que punto... que padre es el sexo que... padre es eyacular dentro de la mujer... dije bueno pero yo nunca lo he hecho, será tan padre será cierto lo que dicen ellos, básicamente es esto.

#124 (Int 56, 19 year old man, not Gente Joven, less family support)

Int ...Me la podrías detallar que pasó, como pasó, en dónde pasó, en qué circunstancias pasó?

Resp: Pues en una circunstancia de presión ¿no?

Int: ¿Qué te decían tus amigos?

No que no eres hombre que no sé que, clásico ¿no? lo que te dicen los chavos, si no lo haces eres un mariquita etc., etc., ¿no? pues total [...] ella había hecho una fiesta, porque sus papás se habían ido de vacaciones viernes, sábado y domingo, el viernes en la noche fuimos a su casa y se hizo una fiesta, cada quien agarró y tomó una habitación, su pareja y ya sabrás ¿no? pues yo me quedé ahí con la chava en la sala, después bajó uno de mis compañeros, y ella había ido a la cocina y me dijo todavía no y pues yo le dije que no y empezaron, que eres mariquita, porque ya habían terminado la mayoría y empezaron a bajar, me dicen que eres mariquita que no sé qué, que no sé que tanto, total subí con esta chava a una alcoba, y tuvimos relaciones [...]

Int: ¿Cómo te sentiste después de esta experiencia?

Resp: Pues mas que nada un poquito asqueado ¿no? porque había sido en una este, en una tensión ¿no? por la presión de mis compañeros, a esta chava la verdad la sentí un poquito igual ¿no? por parte de sus amigas, porque luego, luego que

bajamos nos dividimos cada quien a su grupo de mujeres, ella de mujeres y yo de hombres, o sea como, como que ya estaba todo planeado ¿no? y pues mas que nada me sentí un poquito asqueado

#125 (Int 22, 16 year old man, quite Gente Joven, more family support)

Int: ¿Cuántas parejas has tenido? o novias has tenido

R : He tenido como siete u ocho

Int: ¿Y dos con penetración?

R : Si

Int: ¿Porqué las demás no?

R : Porque, ahora si que porque no se dejaron (y se ríen los dos) no, no es cierto, porqué, pss, porque ellas no lo quisieron así, y pss, uno tiene que respetar las, sus pensamientos.

#126 (Int 29, 19 year old man, quite Gente Joven, more family support)

Int: ¿Me podrías hacer una comparación de tu primer experiencia sexual con esta, en que ha cambiado?

Resp: Tal vez la emoción no, la primera vez te sientes como, que hay pues ya la sabes no, ya al menos no soy virgen no, y ahora ya lo veo como algo normal ya, en mi vida ya es algo normal.

#127 (Int 124, 22 year old man, not Gente Joven, less family support)

Resp: ¿La primera? Pues [fue por] deseo sexual primero y curiosidad porque no sabía yo. Todo el mundo me platicaba. No sabía qué era.

#128 (Int 48, 19 year old man, quite Gente Joven, less family support)

[...] yo sabía que, o nos iba a unir más o nos iba a separar [...] yo tenía más seguridad que nos iba a unir más, y porque ya lo necesitábamos los dos, los dos [...] Más que nada porque... mira, al desearlo ella, y al desearlo yo, lo hicimos por amor. Entonces el amor mueve al mundo, la verdad el amor mueve al mundo. ¿Tú por qué haces las cosas?. Por amor, a tu pareja, a tus hijos, a ti, entonces... o a quien sea, pero el amor mueve al mundo. [...] Entonces nuestra motivación más que nada fue el satisfacernos el uno al otro, y a nosotros mismos, lógicamente.

#129 (Int 8, 18 year old man, very Gente Joven, little family support)

Int: ¿Y los motivos por el cual tuvieron sexo?

Resp: No sé, la calentura

Int: ¿Algo más?

Resp: Pus no, o sea, porque nos queremos tal vez.

#130 (Int 101, 18 year old man, quite Gente Joven, more family support)

Int Y entonces, has tenido después de tu primera relación has tenido pero con...

Resp: Con prostitutas

Int: ¿Por que ese cambio,?

Resp: Pues no se, solamente por satisfacción, osea este pues hasta el momento ahorita, he respetado a a las últimas tres novias que he tenido, no y no me hubiese gustado tener relaciones sexuales con ellas, osea no, por que, por que las respeto mucho, sus padres me dieron toda la confianza del mundo y defraudarlos de una manera tan, bueno tan ilógica, si no por un rato de placer, como que dices que onda.

#131 (Int 107, 22 year old man, very Gente Joven, less family support)

...a lo mejor puedo convencer a una amiga, pero que no está segura ni de lo que está haciendo... pues mejor le paro ¿no?... para evitarme problemas yo, futuros... problemas futuros de... de algo ¿no?, equis, no se... de que tu... tu me hiciste tener relación contigo y te quedas conmigo ahora y que no se... equis ¿no?. No todos somos iguales, no todos pensamos igual. Entonces por ese... que... ese lado, le evitabamos cortarle ¿no?

[...]

Principalmente yo siempre... yo le había dicho; si no quieres tener relaciones conmigo no las tengas, no por que sea mi novia las vas a tener a fuerzas, si no quieres, no [...] entonces yo nunca la presioné de tener relaciones [...] y yo creo que fue la base para que ella aceptara ¿no?, el tener algo bien.

#132 (Int 155, 22 year old man, quite Gente Joven, more family support, completed two years of secondary school)

[...] como te dire es que me da pena, yo nunca lo había sentido es la primera chava la ultima esa, esté se hinco y así como estaba mi pene erecto lo empezo a besar no? entonces yo empecé a sentir bonito [...] le dije esperate, esperate. Me daba pena que ella me lo hiciera siendo mi novia, entonces ella me dice molesta, no esperate tu entonces ya no le dije nada. Deje que continuara...

#133 (Int 64, 20 year old man, very Gente Joven, less family support)

[...] quede yo bien, satisfactoriamente, pero tuve miedo, mas bien hubiera pensado mas las cosas antes, bueno antes de empezar, yo me deje llevar por la emoción, lo pense, se lo dije, que sin condón no hay nada, no pues aquí estamos. Entonces, que tal si, que tal – eso fue la pregunta – que tal si no hubiera usado condón, de hecho el temor era de una enfermedad, o que quedara embarazada no, era mi pavor que quedara embarazada, por que te traumas de todo, no, de todo no puedes hacer muchas actividades.

#134 (Int 100, 19 year old man, not Gente Joven, less family support)

Resp: La primera vez fue [...] en un cerro, [...] en la secundaria, fuimos varios chavos y todo y pus yo veía que todos se fueron y me dejaron con una chavilla en una cuevilla de ahí no?, y ya no ahí empezamos, no sabía besar muy bien no y según me enseñó ella, y ya empezamos se bajó todo, me bajó y yo temblando realmente nunca me habían visto mi cuerpo y que onda, y me dijo no mira vamos a hacer esto y esto, pero es que yo no se, no pero tienes que meter tu pene aquí y acá y así, luego nomás lo metí como cuatro veces y jale y me subí el pantalón y dije no me da miedo, en ese momento ya sabía que las personas se podían embarazar por ese motivo, mi miedo era dije no se vaya a embarazar y no mejor no, todavía no sabía mucho del SIDA, del condón y eso, esa fue la primera vez

[...] Cómo te sentiste después de que ocurrió eso?

Resp: Normal, no con mucho... dije hay que pendejo soy no no se esto lo debo de saber, pero no en si no no fue que digamos una de estarlo pensando hay no ha pasado no, fue eso

Int: Cómo valoras esa primera experiencia?

Resp: Una tontería

Int: Mjm... cómo te sentías emocional y físicamente?

Resp: Normal, simplemente te digo nomás era la posición de que dije hay fui un pendejo porqué no, si en las películas pasan tan fácil y sencillo y no lo pude hacer

#135 (Int 124, 22 year old man, not Gente Joven, less family support)

Int: ¿Cómo te sentiste después?

Resp: Muy raro, más bien no sabía qué. Muy frustrado, la verdad.

Int: ¿Por qué?

Resp: Porque no completé y porque pensé que yo había quedado así, como que muy inexperto, muy novato.

#136 (Int 41, 21 year old man, not Gente Joven, little family support)

[...] en cuanto a mi primer experiencia yo diría que me dieron mucha confianza. Sé que lo hice bien por que ella me decía que ella ya había tenido una experiencia, unas buenas experiencias porque para ella ya era muy común tener relaciones me decía: no te vayas a sentir mal - me acuerdo de sus palabras - no te sientas mal: me llenas. Pero yo a esa edad no sabía a lo que se refería, lo que quería era salir de eso, de ser inexperto y si lo hago o no lo hago yo que voy a saber, y lo voy hacer por que quiero y necesito hacerlo y fue muy productivo me sentí muy capaz de hacerlo y lo poco o nada que sabía en esos momentos, pues allí lo aprendí o lo acabé de la teoría pasé a la practica y eso fue, ya con el paso del tiempo, una... una pauta para poder hacerlo mejor.

#137 (Int 71, 22 year old man, not Gente Joven, little family support, completed two years of vocational training)

Int Alguien te ha presionado a ti para que tengas [relaciones sexuales]?

R. Si, la chava esa que te digo me presionó y pues uno es débil y la carne está puesta y pues, ni modo de que la desprecie no. (ríen ambos)

Int: Como considerarías que fue la presión?

Resp: Pues es que ella me llegó así de sorpresa yo estaba ahí te digo con mi hermana y con mi prima bailando ya después se acabó la música y me llamó me dijo ven y yo ya fui no es que me gustas y no se que como que me empezó a presionar diciendo ora aprovecha, estos no pasa todos los día órale y ya después este empezó así como a insinuarme no, a insinuarseme no, como que me abrazaba como que me quería dar de besos yo me hacía a un lado diciéndole que no que se esperara, ese tipo de presiones y luego me dijo te espero allá afuera no, te digo que le dije a mi hermana y a mi prima ahorita regreso, no pues acompáñame a mi casa, pues aprovechando de que no había nadie pasó, lo que tenía que pasar.

#138 (Int 105, 16 year old man, not Gente Joven, little family support)

Resp: [...] al poco rato ella empezó y me dijo, no ps... hasta a proposito [...] agarra y na'mas se dió la media vuelta y pasó casi rozando por lo que eran mis piernas... me dice, ay canijo que grande lo tienes (riendose)... y yo hijo, callate callate... ya callate ¿no?... me dice, no ps apoco si tienes miedo... no ps la neta si... me dice no ps de qué... del embarazo... - ps ahí no'mas así unos talloncitos -... y yo, oh ps qué pasó...

y dice, ps orale y que agarra y me dice, no ps... fijate nada mas... y que se empieza a quitar la blusa... ay, yo no quería ver... yo no (balbucea)... le digo, no, vete para allá ¿no?... le digo, si te vas a encuerar vete para allá... me dice, ps qué eres puñal o qué... le digo, no... le digo no ps qué pasó... dice, ¿entonces?... y yo, no no no (balbucea)... no, mejor te traigo tus posters y ya vete ¿no?... dice, no (en tonadita burlona) si eres puña-al, si eres puña-al... y yo, uy!, ya callate... dice, a ver trata de... a ver, si no eres puñal a ver hazme algo... y yo acá, ah quieres ver?... ya ps ya dije no ps esta cuata ya quiere, ps ni modo que negarselo ¿no?... ps ahora si que el que hambre tiene ps pan pide...

#139 (Int 134, 18 year old man, not Gente Joven, more family support)

[...] no me gustaban las insinuaciones sexuales que me hacía, no me gustaban para nada, sentía que lo único que quería conmigo era una relación sexual [...ella] tenía 22 cuando [yo] tenía 16, era 6 años más grande que yo y precisamente por eso me daba, precisamente por eso no funcionaban las cosas porque ella, en el momento que yo le dije que no quería tener relaciones sexuales con ella, tres días después corto conmigo se enojo muchísimo conmigo, me dejó de hablar y aparte anduvo divulgando por ahí que yo era un inmaduro [...] Me causaba miedo el hecho de que era lo único que ella buscaba y que en el momento en que yo, o sea que yo me iba a comprometer sentimentalmente con ella y en el momento en que yo no llenara sus expectativas sexuales o sentimentales pues me iba a botar, entonces tenía miedo de yo sentirme mal después conmigo mismo por haber aceptado algo que no me convenía y que yo sabía que no me iba a convenir [...]

#140 (Int 104, 17 year old man, not Gente Joven, more family support)

[...] tuvimos mucha plática y ella fue la que me preguntó, ¿tu has tenido relaciones? Y le digo no y sí me dio un poquito de pena porque... porque se me quedó viendo así, entonces yo le dije pues es que no, no tengo experiencia, y le dije que tu ¿sí? Y me dijo no ¿Seguro? Sí no he tenido experiencia sexual, ahora sí que nos sentíamos a gusto porque ninguno de los dos...

#141 (Int 35, 20 year old man, not Gente Joven, more family support)

Int: Me podrías detallar cómo se dió tu primer relación sexual, cómo pasó?

Resp: ...se dieron las circunstancias con una compañera estábamos en su casa íbamos a hacer un trabajo, bueno éramos tres chavas y yo, pero mandamos a las otras chavas por el material, pero pues ni ella ni yo éramos pareja, estábamos

bailando, me invitó una copa, y no se fue el momento, igual sin que yo estuviera consiente de lo que estaba haciendo.

#142 (Int 64, 20 year old man, very Gente Joven, less family support)

yo le dije que teníamos que pensarlo muy bien, y actuar muy bien no, no actuar también hacia a lo, por que bueno yo lo había visto, que ella tiene otras dos hermanas que, igual un noviazgo muy corto y salieron embarazadas no, y este, se hablo muy bien claro, perdón, fue como surgió esto.

#143 (Int 95, 20 year old man, quite Gente Joven, little family support, completed vocational training)

[...] teníamos mucho miedo, temor a cada ratito se paraba, decía oye esperate, y así a cada ratito

#144 (Int 23, 20 year old man, quite Gente Joven, little family support)

Int: ¿Cómo fue que decidiste no usar protección? o porque

R : Mmm, pues en el momento, mm pss, no se me ocurrió y además para ese entonces pues, yo todavía no tenía mucha información sobre que era el condón vaya, este y no pues, no lo sé, a parte de que no sabía ni qué honda, como se ponía ni bla, bla, bla, y en el momento ni me acordé y no tenía ni siquiera uno a la mano, vaya

#145 (Int 35, 20 year old man, not Gente Joven, more family support)

Int: En ese momento utilizaste algún tipo de protección?

Resp: No, en aquel momento yo pensaba que la protección era mínima y a parte de eso no tenia el por que llevar un condón y jamas me pasó por la cabeza de que debería de llevarlo por que ella solo era mi amiga.

#146 (Int 35, 20 year old man, not Gente Joven, more family support)

Int: Si hubieras tenido protección en ese momento la hubieras utilizado?

Resp: En aquel entonces igual y no, porque pensaba que usar el condón no era lo mismo, me lo habían dicho mis amigos que estaban peor informados.

Int: Si ella te lo hubiera pedido tu hubieras aceptado?

Resp: No te puedo responder por que como te digo fue tan rápido, igual y lo hubiera aceptado o se hubiera acabado la emoción.

#147 (Int 105, 16 year old man, not Gente Joven, little family support)

Int Por qué no usaste protección?

Resp: Pus por que no tenía tiempo... ni modo que ir a comprarlo luego luego (se rie)... y luego que tal si se le quitaban las ganas?... No ps vámonos ya...

#148 (Int 41, 21 year old man, not Gente Joven, little family support)

Int: En ese momento que tanto pensaste en los riesgos que te involucraban al tener una relación?

Resp: Para mí era más importante tener esa experiencia que protegerme

#149 (Int 28, 18 year old woman, not Gente Joven, little family support, completed secondary school)

En: ¿Y que usabas, me refiero a que?

Resp: No, a él no le gustaba eso, no le gustaba que me pusiera nada.

En: ¿Ni condones?

Resp: No, nada.

En: Entonces ¿cómo hacían para cuidarse?

Resp: Antes de que él se viniera, lo sacaba y ya.

En: Entonces ¿nunca tuviste una insatisfacción, me refiero a que decías chispas este, estoy pensando que por quedar embarazada?

Resp: Sí, así pensaba.

En: Entonces ¿a él nunca le gusto usar el condón?

Resp: No, ni a mí me gusto usar este.

En: Ósea nada, nada al natural

Resp: Al natural sí.

#150 (Int 126, 22 year old woman, very Gente Joven, little family support)

[...] no estaba planeado nada, de hecho tenía miedo, tenía un miedo terrible. Comenzamos a desvestirnos, pero estaba la luz prendida. Entonces yo le dije: apaga esa luz; porque yo sentía pena en ese momento, mucha, mucha pena; total, apagó la luz, la volvió a prender y yo decía que no que la apagara. Estuvimos acariciándonos, jugando, y yo con el miedo. No teníamos nada, ni un preservativo ni nada y él me decía: no, no te preocupes. Siempre estuvo con esa frase: no te

preocupes, yo te voy a cuidar ¿no? Pero yo con un miedo tremendo, con un sentimiento de culpa tremendo porque yo sabía que, bueno, yo sentía que no debía de hacerlo, yo pensaba en mis papás, pensaba en mi, pensaba en él, ¿qué iba a pensar de mi, no? Entonces, no fue una relación muy placentera la que teníamos, porque yo tenía un sentimiento de culpa en ese momento, de que no debía hacerlo, de que ¿qué me iba a pasar si quedaba embarazada? No teníamos ni un preservativo, ni un método, no llevábamos nada, solamente que él me decía: no, no te preocupes, yo te voy a cuidar. Entonces, no fue muy placentera que digamos, por el sentimiento de culpa, por el miedo, por muchas cosas.

#151 (Int 116, 22 year old woman, not Gente Joven, less family support)

Int: Más o menos, muy bien bueno otra pregunta, con él, con tu 1ª pareja no, en las otras ocasiones que tuvieron relaciones sexuales con penetración, utilizaron (se ríe) algún método anticonceptivo? [...]

Resp: No, ninguno

Int: En todas las veces que lo hicieron, nunca se protegieron?

Resp: No

Int: Con ningún método?

Resp: No

Int: Ninguno?

Resp: Ninguno

Int: Porqué?

Resp: Porque no, por eso, quizás en el fondo estaba buscando que me embarazara, para que estuviéramos juntos por siempre.

#152 (Int 32, 19 year old woman, very Gente Joven, less family support)

Int: Sabías un poco acerca de la historia sexual del chico, habían platicado sobre sus experiencias sexuales de él o de las tuyas?

Resp: Pues en ese momento no [...] yo le preguntaba cosas indirectas pero para saber, bueno tu que hiciste y yo me acuerdo que yo le decía lo que había leído en los libros no y si yo ya había tenido antes algún fajín con otro chico [...] Además que directamente nunca me preguntó y yo a él si, si como que tenía mas sexual... digamos que demasiado amplio a comparación del mío, pero en total como por ejemplo yo le preguntaba si había usado condón o si había usado con otras mujeres

con las que había estado no, ya nunca le pedí prueba como que confiaba en lo que me decía a la lejos era por el enamoramiento que me atontaba [...] lo que si me acuerdo es que yo observaba su miembro para ver si no tenía algo sospechoso o algo así, era lo único que decía o también decía no si le pregunto va a decir porque me tratas así que piensas, porque al menos si a mi me preguntaran yo diría pues que me viste la cara de sexoservidora o que te pasa no, eso me detenía de preguntarle.

#153 (Int 86, 15 year old woman, not Gente Joven, less family support)

[...] a la segunda vez ya fue planeada y le dije ahora sí no va a haber riesgos, y me dijo no, sí, ahora sí [...]

#154 (Int 107, 22 year old man, very Gente Joven, less family support)

[...] ya estábamos desnudos ¿no?, de todo, y le digo ps que onda, lo hacemos? y... todavía le pregunté (riendo) ¿no?... y me dice, no ps si, ah pus bueno... yo ya por si ya casi estaba ya ahí encima de ella ¿no?, ya casi adentro de ella... y este... y agarré y me dijo le dije, ay esperame tantito ¿no? entonces ps ya tenía mis condoncitos aquí en mi cajón... a ver 'perame... te vas a poner condón?, no si... ah bueno... no quieras ¿no?... entonces bueno ya... empezamos a tener relación y... fue una relación... fue una penetración cor... rápida ¿no?, no fue tan... tan larga ps era mi primera vez ¿no?... no le pasó ni de... creo que de cinco minutos yo creo ¿no?... y este... entonces yo cuando sentí que iba a eyacular... eh, lo saco, y aparte de que tenía mi condón, eyaculo fuera de ella.

#155 (Int 102, 19 year old woman, very Gente Joven, less family support)

Int ¿Con esta persona utilizaste algún tipo de protección?

Resp: Sí, preservativo.

Int: ¿Qué hubieras hecho si el se hubiera rehusado a usar preservativo.

Resp: Pues adiós cariño.

Int: ¿Por qué?

Resp: ¿Cómo por que?, el SIDA, las enfermedades de transmisión sexual, y luego embarazada yo no inventes, no o sea tengo 19 años nada más.

#156 (Int 50, 22+ year old woman, very Gente Joven, little family support)

Int ¿Como es que deci... como es que se decidió utilizar ese tipo de anticonceptivo?

Resp: Cómo decidí pues creo que preocuparme por mi, y por la otra persona no... creo que si te amas, te cuidas creo que eso es un.. al menos eso es un principio básico para mi no..si no te cuidas tú nadie te va a cuidar, y si tu no exiges pues nadie va a exigir por ti.

#157 (Int 133, 17 year old man, not Gente Joven, little family support)

Int Mm ¿Tu al utilizar condón, cómo fue tu experiencia?

Resp: Al fin ni sabía como utilizarlo ¿no? (se ríe) La chava me dijo, ella me lo puso de hecho. Y... nada más me dijo como ponerlo eh... y ya

#158 (Int 108, 21 year old woman, not Gente Joven, little family support)

Int [¿Qué tanto tratas de influenciar la forma en la que las cosa pasan] en términos de protección?

Resp: mm pues yo creo que mucho porque si no hubiera sido así, yo no hubiera hecho nada

Int: Si no hubiera sido así, ¿cómo?

Resp: O sea así, seguro, con confianza, seguridad

Int: Seguridad ¿de que?

Resp: Pues sobre todo de que no quedaría embarazada

Int: Pero ¿por qué tú estás tan segura de que no quedarías embarazada?

Resp: Porque él no eyacularía en mi

#159 (Int 158, 17 year old woman, very Gente Joven, little family support)

Int: ¿El eyaculo dentro de tí?

Resp: Si

Int: ¿Entonces no hicieron nada para prevenir un embarazo?

Resp: O sea si quedamos que se iba a salir antes, pero a la mera hora (ríe).

#160 (Int 92, 21 year old man, not Gente Joven, little family support)

Int: ¿Cómo supiste que ella no estaba fértil? ¿O cómo supieron?

Resp: Porque creo que algo pasó, pero creo que acababa de menstruar pocos días antes o algo así.

#161 (Int 29, 19 year old man, quite Gente Joven, more family support)

Int: ¿En esta última relación que tipo de preservativo usaste?

Resp: No, no lo utilice.

Int: No lo utilizaste, ¿por qué consideras que no lo utilizaste?

Resp: Que ella si podía este, o sea ella acababa de menstruar y **no había ningún riesgo** no, no se como se le llama a ese período pero ella, sí podíamos.

Int: ¿Imagina que hubiese sido en ese período hubiera utilizado algún condón?

Resp: Sí hubiera conseguido algún, enfrente de mi casa hay una farmacia.

#162 (Int 154, 18 year old man, quite Gente Joven, little family support)

[...] luego ellas me decían ya me tome las pastillas, yo les decía, si, pero no ahorita no, o sea eran las chavas, o a lo mejor te lo decían para que cayeras, ya ves que hay unos que: ya tomó pastillas, ya no pasa nada, yo no soy muy confiado para eso, todavía por eso

#163 (Int 55, 19 year old man, quite Gente Joven, little family support)

Resp: O sea, mira lo que pasa es que yo anduve con una chava ¿no? estuve 2 años, un año siete meses con ella ¿no? este, no va a salir mi nombre, ni nada. La chava tuvo un aborto y mío, o sea ahí si la cagamos, este, y estoy consciente que no debió haber sido así ¿no? yo, yo me siento culpable en ese aspecto, esta persona no tenía que haber pasado esto ni yo o sea, fue un trauma para los dos, el haber hecho esto ¿no? pero si afectaba en sobremanera nuestras vidas [...] Lo que pasa es que tuvimos relaciones sexuales y este, pus si la cagamos, porque yo le decía que se controlara ¿no? o sea inclusive hasta yo investigué ¿no? y le dije, mira me dijeron que estas inyecciones y esto y el otro, y pues fui al doctor y así y asado y este, no se la chava me quiso amarrar y tuvo su chavo, o sea se embarazó y este, y le dije que no al morro, me entiendes, y como a los dos meses pus, decidí abortarlo, y bueno ya después de ahí, eso nadie lo sabe ¿no? es la primera vez que lo estoy hablando contigo, me entiendes.

[...]

Inclusive la chava esta te digo que me quiso demandar porque no quiere que la deje, ella me había dicho que todavía estaba embarazada, le digo pus que era ilógico, que no hiciera pedos, y que me trajera el papel, ¿no? que al final de cuentas si salía o no era su pedo, porque yo le dije que se cuidara, es que la neta hermano, pus si tú eres una chava, ya tienes 19, 20 pinche años, ya piensas, ya captas, ya razones, y si le está diciendo cuidate para que no haya pedo, pus es tu responsabilidad, pero tu tampoco vas a estar inyectándola ni le, o sea, tu le estás diciendo cuidate, y es

responsabilidad tuya, mía y de lo que pase, pero también agarra conciencia, malo fuera que te dijera no por mí cuídate o no es tu pedo ¿no? pero yo le dije siempre cuídate, cuídate, cuídate, cuídate, ya ves que la cagamos, yo le había dicho que se cuidara, y no la reprimí ni nada, simplemente acordamos el aborto y ya, y ahorita este, si me saliera con una pendejada ya sería ilógico, o sea yo le diría a su mamá, yo siempre le dije a su hija que se cuidara jefa, yo le di inyecciones, le di esto, no quizo, pus fue pedo de ella, la neta

#164 (Int 36, 22+ year old man, not Gente Joven, less family support)

Int: Y para las enfermedades no utilizabas condón?

Resp: No, porque de hecho este fue su primera vez de ella

#165 (Int 99, 19 year old man, quite Gente Joven, less family support)

Int: ¿Y qué tipo de protección usaste o, o usas?

Resp: El condón

Int: ¿Siempre lo usas?

Resp: No siempre

Int: No siempre lo usas. ¿Y... ¿Con quién, con quienes has usado condón?

Resp: ¿Con quienes?

Int: Osea me refiero, ¿con tus novias has usado condón o, o cuando usas condón?
Ajá

Resp: Con las que no han sido [...] Pues con las que no han sido y con mis novias ¿no?

Int: Y por ejemplo, ¿con las que no han sido tus novias también hay veces que no te cuidas y hay veces que sí?

Resp: No, con las que no han sido mis novias, pues, sí me cuido

Int: And with the third partner you had, you said that you used protection?

Resp: Yes, because [...] I didn't know him very well, and there was no commitment. [...] He was my friend, the one with rights⁵⁴. [...] With him, yes we used a condom.

#166 (Int 116, 22 year old woman, not Gente Joven, less family support)

Int: ...y con la tercer pareja que tuviste [...] tu me indicas que si utilizaste protección?

Resp: Si porque [...] no lo conocía muy bien y no había un compromiso, [...] era mi amigo, el cariñoso, [...] con él si utilizamos condón

#167 (Int 43, 22+ year old woman, quite Gente Joven, little family support)

...Por ejemplo ahorita, ahorita mi pareja tiene otras parejas ¿no?, entonces este, yo no sé en que, yo sé que no le gusta usar condón. Es que conmigo, lo, lo utiliza así casi obligadamente ¿no? pero el (piensa), pero e, pero este, pues no sé con cuantas personas se acueste y esas personas con quienes más etcétera, entonces sí, sí creo que estoy en riesgo.

#168 (Int 100, 19 year old man, not Gente Joven, less family support)

Int Porqué con las otras no utilizaste [...] condón?

Resp: Digo... con la otra chava no se porque duramos dos años y realmente sabía que era virgen no, en la forma de sus acciones, como era y todo ese tipo de cosas pero con la otra chava si tengo la duda de que si era una cualquiera, con ella si use condón.

#169 (Int 101, 18 year old man, quite Gente Joven, more family support)

[...] me cuidaba bastante, porque decía: que onda, no sé cuantos han pasado por aquí y yo sin preservativo. Como que decías, la pensabas no, me voy a enfermar de algo o de alguna infección y que onda.

#170 (Int 156, 22 year old man, not Gente Joven, little family support, completed two years vocational training)

Int: Con las parejas que has tenido relaciones sexuales has usado siempre protección?

Resp: Tengo 22 años y el condón, preservativos, pastillas he utilizado inyecciones desde los 19 años anteriormente a veces lo hacia natural, tal vez por no perder la oportunidad de hacerlo y a veces tenía la oportunidad de ponerme el preservativo aunque a veces no me agradaba. Decía no, es muy incomodo y tal vez hay personas que llegas a querer mucho y no me gusta meterme al usar condon, hacerlo natural y ya y con otras mejor protegerte, tal vez personas que conocí en labores de trabajo que nunca supe de donde pertenecian, ni de donde venían no sabía ni de donde vivían. Me acostumbraba luego a conocerlas de un momento a otro y meterme con ellas, ¿no? y me decian que si que era bueno, muchas veces me

⁵⁴ She says "el cariñoso"

cuidaba mucho con ellas ¿no? sentía que si lo hacían muy rapido no sé, a la primera vez que les dicen pues siento que en su vida siempre se han relacionado con el sexo ¿no?

Quotations from Chapter 8

#171 (Int 158, 17 year old woman, very Gente Joven, little family support)

Resp: Antes yo nunca me preocupaba por una enfermedad, ni cerciorarme de cuantas parejas tuvo antes...Y ...este... y ahora ya sé que primero mas que nada informarse y sin pena ¿no? Ni juzgarlo. Quiero saber quien sabe cuantas parejas mas haya tenido. Y sin juzgar a la persona...Que igual y no me gusta que me juzgaran así (ríe)

#172 (Int 51, 18 year old woman, quite Gente Joven, little family support)

...[A member of Gente Joven staff] me dijo es más recomendable la inyección, porque así no te tienes que estar controlando o con las estas pastillas [anticonceptivas de emergencia] dice, pero las estas son muy fuertes, puedes correr el riesgo de quedar estéril no, porque dicen son unas dosis muy fuertes, las que uno te puede dar, le digo no pues eso si entonces ya, y ahí aprendí mas cosas...

#173 (Int 33, 22+ year old man, very Gente Joven, little family support)

...como ya tenemos la información ya no lo vemos como algo sucio, ya lo vemos como lo que es, algo natural, algo hermoso, y para que seguir con los tapujos.

#174 (Int 68, 20 year old woman, quite Gente Joven, more family support)

...anteriormente yo tendría no siempre tendría a hacer comentarios a juzgar un poco a la gente ¿no? y si eres homosexual el común...la común vulgaridad que uno decía. Entonces ahora aprendí a respetarlos un poco mas porque esa es la forma que ellos quieren llevar pues respetarlos.

[...]

Int: El programa te hizo cambiar en alguna forma tu forma de ver hacia los demás... con los homosexuales... ha salido algún otro cambio?

Resp: Pues te digo que mas que nada ya no señalar por señalar o comentar por pues porque tienes boca entonces si me ha cambiado mucho mi criterio hasta sentirme orgullosa de ser mujer tener mi preferencia sexual definida y respetar a los demás por su preferencia.

#175 (Int 154, 18 year old man, quite Gente Joven, little family support)

Int: ¿Crees que tu comportamiento ha cambiado debido al programa?

Resp: Si

Int: Eras... ¿cómo? ¿agresivo?

Resp: Sí, mucho, o sea fijate que no soy agresivo, sino que te provocan y ahora ya trato de controlarme, pero de repente no puedo y ahora con esto de los jóvenes pues sí ha cambiado porque pues debemos de respetarnos...

#176 (Int 73, 15 year old woman, virgin, quite Gente Joven, more family support)

Int ¿Crees que tu comportamiento ha cambiado debido al programa?

Resp: mm, sí, has de cuenta cuando hablan de esos temas, ya no me voy a dejar que me hagan tantas tarugadas. Ya sé que puedo decir mi opinión.

#177 (Int 158, 17 year old woman, very Gente Joven, little family support)

Resp: ...me gustó el programa... y me hizo ver muchas cosas.

Int: ¿Como cuáles?

Resp: Por ejemplo este... que la pareja debe de estar de acuerdo ¿no?...Y debe sentir placer o sea no... los dos deben de sentir... Y este las protecciones y él nunca quiso usar una protección...Y este... yo nunca sentí placer.

#178 (Int 46, 22+ year old woman, very Gente Joven, more family support)

Int: Ha influenciado el programa en tu vida sexual?

Resp: Si mucho [...] En aprender a disfrutar de tu sexualidad y que no nada más a la penetración si no disfrutar de todo tu cuerpo

Int: Han cambiado tus opiniones acerca del sexo o sexualidad?

Resp: Si de que debes de ser libre y responsable

[...]

Int: ¿Tus opiniones sobre otras cosas que hayan cambiado en tu vida?

Resp: Pues que soy más sabia para expresar estos temas que antes me daban pavor hablar en público ¿no?

#179 (Int 50, 22+ year old woman, very Gente Joven, little family support)

Int ¿Que es lo que hacias antes [del programa] y que es lo que haces ahora?

Resp: ¿Que hacia?, hacia antes lo que todos los demás me decían que hiciera aunque yo no quisiera y aunque yo no estuviera a gusto con eso, pero actualmente pienso mas en mi, pienso mas en lo que quiero y pues si he tenido conflictos e incluso los voy a tener.

#180 (Int 74, 15 year old woman, quite Gente Joven, more family support)

...cuando yo estaba más chica, eh pues los comentarios que te digo que siempre escuchaba era el de mi mamá, el de mi tía, el de mis tías no, el de mis primos y la ma yoría, el de mi mejor amiga no, que siempre hasta que me case entonces si, entonces este era cuando pues tu que no puedes decir la verdad, si tienen razón hasta que me case, ahora que estuvimos en el curso que dijeron no que el sexo no es un pecado si lo haces antes de, de que te cases y todo ese tipo de cosas, pues la verdad es que ya lo vi diferente pues también no es necesario llegar al, al a la como se llama a la boda o al, si a tu boda virgen no es como muy necesario y además tampoco el himen quiere decir que eres virgen no, y tampoco vas a ser más mujer o menos mujer.

#181 (Int 139, 19 year old woman, quite Gente Joven, more family support)

Int Tus opiniones sobre otras cosas han cambiado?

Resp: Si, si

Int: Cómo cual?

Resp: Como las del matrimonio, este... tener relaciones este... como te diré... a temprana edad

Int: En cuanto al matrimonio como ha cambiado?

Resp: Respecto de que o sea de que ya no es tan necesario llegar virgen no me voy a alojar pero ya no sientes tu que es pecado mortal.

#182 (Int 50, 22+ year old woman, very Gente Joven, little family support)

...Creo que veo [la sexualidad] con mas naturalidad y mas abiertamente. Y algunas cosas todavía me causan ruido por ahí pero creo que las estoy descubriendo. Estoy trabajando con esas cosas que si pus han cambiado muchos aspectos, muchos temas.

Int: ¿Cosas como que son las que te causan eso?

Resp: Hay cosas como... las cuestiones de genero, todavía tengo pues aprendizajes de mi niñez y que me ha costado mucha, mucho trabajo cambiar. [...] y en darme

cuenta, creo que es un gran avance. Creo que la confusión es también un avance muy bueno y creo que lo importante es saber y cuando es necesario un cambio y cuando es necesario dejar las cosas como están.

#183 (Int 47, 22+ year old man, very Gente Joven, more family support)

...antes [en la familia] no nos dábamos la oportunidad de... de mostrarnos un abrazo este... no sé, el... el demostrar que realmente estábamos ahí, los afectos, las emociones y hoy respecto... respecto a esta vida sexual... Mm... bueno, ya me doy más oportunidad de demostrar más mis emociones, mis sentimientos, sin tantos complejos, sin tanto este... sin tantos temores ni a... ni a rechazarme, ni a ser rechazado este... yo creo que es algo que me ha ayudado mucho.

#184 (Int 98, 18 year old man, very Gente Joven, little family support, completed two years of *prepa*)

...Porque todavía no puedo aprender a decir como son mis sentimientos hacia otra persona. Sé que los siento, pero no puedo... no puedo decirlo así abiertamente, eso me pasó mucho con mi pareja, de que ella me preguntaba, me quieres, sí, pero siempre ella me abandonó a mí sabiendo que yo sí la quería bastante, pero yo no sé porque no, no podría decírselo...

#185 (Int 49, 22+ year old man, very Gente Joven, little family support)

...[mis opiniones] han cambiado en la forma como se relacionó con las mujeres ya mi perspectiva cambió. Anteriormente se me influenciaba mucho para ver a la mujer como un objeto para obtener un placer, y ahora cambia mi perspectiva. Ya vas tratando a las personas como son seres humanos. Las tratas de otra forma...

#186 (Int 98, 18 year old man, very Gente Joven, little family support, completed two years of *prepa*)

Resp: ...siempre se acercaban más las mujeres para contarme cosas

Int: ¿Desde qué edad?

Resp: Toda la secundaria

Int: ¿Por el programa?

Resp: Sí, por el programa

Int: Y ¿ellas sabían que...?

Resp: Que yo estaba ahí

Int: Y ¿cómo sabían?

Resp: yo les hacía comentarios

Int: ¿Cómo cuales?

Resp: Al principio eran, eran preguntas capciosas, capciosas para ellas, porque yo les preguntaba: ¡oye! ¿que opinas de la virginidad? o sea, cosas así, y ya yo les empezaba a comentar que la virginidad es en sí un pedacito de tela no, o supongamos algo así, y pues no tiene mayor importancia, nada más es eso, o ¿sabías que el herpes lo tienes en la boca también? es un fuego. O algo así, y ellas, ay, herpes ay. (se ríen), y así, en la fábrica ahora hago esos mismos comentarios, pero yo les digo sabes que, si te interesa algo investigalo, o preguntas que tengas házmelas, si yo no lo sé yo tengo con quien investigar y yo darte la respuesta

#187 (Int 126, 22 year old woman, very Gente Joven, little family support)

...hay algunas [promotoras] que les digo: sshhh, porque vamos en el micro y están platicando de todas las relaciones que tienen con sus novios ¿no? Entonces la gente voltea y se les queda viendo feo. Y les digo: ¿dejamos la plática para cuando lleguemos a la oficina? Me dicen: no ¿por qué? Es algo muy natural. Son chicas muchísimo más abiertas que yo ¿no? Entonces se ponen a platicar conmigo en pleno micro, en pleno metro y así como que, ya no les digo que no porque sé que no van a entenderme y van a seguir platicando. Entonces las escucho platicar. Con los chavos también. A veces estamos todos juntos y los chavos se apenan y no quieren platicar con nosotras de lo qué es el sexo, o cómo lo toman ellos, o cómo lo tomamos nosotras. Porque es que les haces preguntas a los chicos y les pides su opinión, pero los chicos no contestan. No es lo mismo platicar puras chavas que platicar los chavos con nosotras.

#188 (Int 140, 22 year old woman, quite Gente Joven, less family support)

Int: ¿Ha influenciado el Programa en tu vida sexual?

Resp: M... pues fíjate que en cierto momento sí ¿no?, había algo que yo no tenía con mi pareja que era la comunicación ¿no? Sí, a mí a lo mejor el quedar mal, el quedar insatisfecha me molestaba ¿no? y bueno, una vez platicando, bueno ¿por qué no se lo comentas? ¿no? y desde ahí, yo, yo siento que sí ha cambiado

Int: Mm, ¿De esa forma básicamente en comunicación?

Resp: En comunicación

Int: Okey, ¿Han cambiado tus opiniones a cerca del sexo?

Resp: Pues, puede ser que sí, porque bueno, traes una idea muy, muy fija ¿no?, osea, traes una base muy fuerte que dices, bueno el sexo es de esta manera ¿no?, que tu piensas que es, y, y platicando con ellos te dicen realmente no como piensas que es sino como es, entonces pues realmente yo creo que sí

Int: Mm ¿Tu, tu novio participa en el Programa?

Resp: No, ha escuchado osea, comentarios míos, osea, mira, paso esto y esto o mira escuche no sé... cómo funciona esto, que puede pasar si hacemos esto, pero no, activamente así no, honestamente no

Int: Okey ¿Tus opiniones sobre otras cosas que hayan cambiado con respecto al Programa?

Resp: Más que nada eso ¿no?, que realmente ya te for, te forman una base concreta ¿no?, ya no estas a lo que, a las suposiciones sino realmente te confirman muchas cosas, osea, no sé te digo a lo mejor que tu pensabas que era amarillo y es azul ¿no?

#189 (Int 148, 19 year old woman, very Gente Joven, more family support, incomplete *prepa* because of university strikes)

Int: Ha influenciado el programa en tu vida sexual?

Resp: Si

Int: Cómo

Resp: la ha influenciado en tener mas cuidado bueno con las personas que yo llegue a tener relaciones que sé que no nada mas ellos pueden usar el condón sino que yo también puedo contribuir a un embarazo ya sería doble protección es mejor.

#190 (Int 61, 17 year old man, quite Gente Joven, little family support, completed two years of *prepa*)

...tal vez se tardan, se tardan en el curso, porque muchas veces se llegaron a quedar más tiempo pero te explican bien, muchas veces, una vez acabaron temprano su tema, y nos dijeron, si quieren hablar más de esto pues quédense, y ya nos seguían platicando y como que se te queda todo grabado...

#191 (Int 138, 19 year old woman, quite Gente Joven, more family support)

Resp: ...dudas, inquietudes que tu tengas, platicamos. No hay inhibición o pena por hablar de esas cosas.

#192 (Int 74, 15 year old woman, quite Gente Joven, more family support)

... me sorprendieron muchas cosas [del curso] digo los chavos estos porque pues están super, super bien preparados no, para saber que es lo que van hablar no, no vayan a llegar y, y contarte sus propias experiencias porque entonces a lo mejor es una persona que ni sabe y ya te amoló no, eh pero yo creo que este, que es gente que realmente vino preparada no sabia que iba a decir y venia fundamentado no, todo lo que iba a decir entonces fue lo que me encantó.

#193 (Int 32, 19 year old woman, very Gente Joven, less family support)

...bueno el proyecto se llama Gente Joven porque es un Programa... bueno de eso se trata de que haya cierta afinidad entre la gente a la que se le va a dar la información y la gente a la que ya me comentaba cuantos años tiene la gente que va a dar la información sobre sexualidad si yo tengo diecisiete y llega una de cuarenta pues a la mejor digo bueno a la mejor ésta ya ni puede, ni quiere o es viuda que me va a venir a dar clase de sexualidad no, que haya gente gente joven así no, es un factor muy importante, mas que nada porque no te queda tan lejos eso de ¿que hay? pues yo alguna vez al menos es el argumento que veo en mi caso y yo así como que digo uuuh alguna vez haya en tu época (ríen) entonces pues yo creo que ese es un argumento que tenemos todos los que estamos así mas chicos no, pues ¡ay no! ya me va a venir, y no pues ya me va a venir a chorear pero pues bueno estaba chava o algo así (ríen)...

#194 Alicia:

...cuando les hablo es porque lo estoy pensando, les hablo porque lo pienso y porque asi lo siento, y eso yo no soy capaz de jugarles chueco y yo creo que esa es una de las cosa por las cuales me tienen confianza porque yo no soy capaz de jugarles chueco, yo les digo saben que vamos a hacer esto, y yo siempre les digo la verdad, lo que pasó y lo que no pasó, lo que se hizo o no se hizo, siempre les he dicho exactamente lo mismo...

#195 (Int 150, 17 year old woman, quite Gente Joven, more family support)

Resp: Lo mejor [del programa], la forma de hablar, porque la información te la dan todos pero, pero no es lo mismo que te esten dictando, que te esten hablando con tecnicismos, que tu no entiendes nada a que te este hablando una persona que si no es de tu misma edad, te va a hablar a tu nivel, mira ya lo que pasa es esto y esto y esto se llama así por esto y por esto y yo pienso que fue lo que más me dejó, más

de la información porque la información ahí esta, no es lo mismo recibirla de un libro que recibir de una persona que esta a tu nivel, que se pone a platicar.

#196 (Int 140, 22 year old woman, quite Gente Joven, less family support)

Int: ¿Qué piensas de los Promotores?

Resp: Te digo, les admiro su, su, y su paciencia ¿no? Porque no es nada más de llegar y explico y ya, sino de que oye, es que yo no le entendía a esto ¿no?, y te vuelven a explicar y, y no hay ningún problema

#197 (Int 155, 22 year old man, quite Gente Joven, more family support, completed two years of secondary school)

Int Por que decidiste entrar al progrma?

Resp: Porque yo siento que a la vez me hacia falta y a la ves les hace falta a los muchachos, algunos más chicos que yo, entonces a través de estar platicando con ellos a la vez me desahogo algo no, porque así ya no cargo con el peso de que yo si algo me haga sentir mal, ya al menos llego con ellos esto y esto es así, ya lo dije me siento bien con mi persona y a lo mejor a ellos les sirve porque si no lo han pasado al menos se los dije

#198 (Int 49, 22+ year old man, very Gente Joven, little family support)

...convivo con promotores. Con el programa se da un dialogo. yo lo he notado un tanto diferente a como lo puedes platicar de sexualidad con otra persona u otro profesionista como estamos inversos en la misma temática, podemos platicar hasta en alguna forma muy diferente no tan usual, yo lo diría porque podemos platicar tan abiertamente que no nos sentimos incómodos a pesar de los temas que estamos tocando y eso es también una sensación muy agradable que tengo al convivir con los promotores

#199 (Int 49, 22+ year old man, very Gente Joven, little family support)

...generalmente estamos compartiendo, este intercambiando conocimientos. A veces una persona leyó una revista vio una articulo en el periódico vio algún comentario en la televisión llegamos y los comentamos aquí y van saliendo cosas y generalmente pues si es el tema base de conversación.

#200 (Int 64, 20 year old man, very Gente Joven, less family support)

Int: Crees que tu comportamiento a cambiado debido al programa?

Resp: Si, yo era una de las personas muy calladas, y ahora soy mas abierto.

Int: Por qué piensas esto, o por qué este cambio?

Resp: yo creo que me hicieron sentir mas familiar, entre amigos llegue a decir, es que yo soy el doctor y tu el promotor, no?, aquí somos todos iguales, y todos somos una generación, es mejor uno de 30, de 20, unos de 17, y 15 anos, pero somos iguales, así como te sentían ser igual, te informaban igual, todo eso influye bastante.

#201 (Int 66, 22+ year old woman, quite Gente Joven, little family support)

Resp: antes del curso pues estabamos muy cerrados todos no? la verdad todos por que llegamos y lo primero que nos preguntaron: a ver cuenten algo de su sexualidad? Y casi todo mundo se fue por tener relaciones sexuales o por... este... algo con pareja no? entonces y le daba penas, pena ó algunas decían: no que yo no, es que yo no he tenido relaciones o es que a todo mundo no? estaba cohibido después del curso ya que cuando termino nos hicieron la misma pregunta, a ver ahora si alguien pueden platicar algo de su sexualidad y ya todo mundo quería hablar no?

#202 (Int 67, 18 year old woman, quite Gente Joven, more family support)

Int: Crees que cambio en alguna forma, tu forma de pensar en cuánto a la sexualidad después de este curso?

Resp: Que cambio mi forma de pensar... Abría más mis expectativas

Int: En qué forma?

Resp: Pues no se en cuanto a todo, el estar más informada y el sentir más confianza

Int: Más confianza?

Resp: Todo, si para hablar, para...

[...]

Int: Umju, en qué forma pudo haber influido en tu forma de relacionarte digamos efectivamente con tu... con tu familia, con tus amigos, crees que influ yo en alguna forma el curso?

Resp: Um tanto así como para relacionarme pues, me hizo más abierta.

#203 Alicia:

...a lo mejor esos mismos temas te los han dado en otras escuelas o en otros lugares, posiblemente los han bombardeado tanto, pero volvemos otra vez al mismo rollo, educación sexual es anatomía, que no es anatomía, educación sexual es que te hablan del cuerpo y de los embarazos, pero por otro lado te dicen no lo hagas

porque es malo, por un lado te dicen eres libre y puedes hacer lo que quieras pero por otro lado todo te lo prohíben, y por un lado te dicen bueno tienes derecho a saber todo esto, pero no tienes derecho a ejercerlo, tienes derecho a conocerlo, pero no tienes derecho a que me preguntes si lo puedes hacer o no lo puedes hacer, y casi, casi, primera como primer error es tu tienes que escuchar porque yo te estoy diciendo porque tú eres un chavo y tú no sabes nada y es uno de los principales errores, nosotros no les decimos tú no sabes nada, ni nada, eso es lo que yo creo también hace que los jóvenes se queden porque no les prohibimos, en primera no les prohibimos, en segunda es voluntario y en tercera es algo que le sucede a cualquier persona y que ellos tienen toda la libertad de irse o de quedarse y de decidir que es lo que quieren hacer con su vida y como todo, como no les decimos es bueno, es malo, es dependiendo de lo que piense, entonces ah, aquí no me acosan, aquí no me prohíben, aquí no me dicen que yo tengo la culpa, o que no lo puedo hacer entonces por curiosidad es que empiezan a hacer las costumbres más constructivas y dicen si me sirve o no me sirve, y es eso lo que hace que se queden, el hecho de querer saber más, o el hecho de estar pasando por situaciones y querer saber lo que está pasando, o algo muy importante que por lo menos en mi trabajo se ha notado el hecho de entender que esto también llega a ser una responsabilidad de nosotros los jóvenes, para poder trabajar con otros jóvenes y poder darles la oportunidad que nosotros no tenemos en este momento, los conocimientos que tenemos y dárselos a otros chavos, es como ese compromiso, o sea ya sabes tú, ya tuviste el compromiso, ahora mi compromiso es dárselo a otro que no lo tiene, eso es.

#204 (Int 145, 22+ year old woman, very Gente Joven, more family support)

Int: ¿Crées que haya influido en alguna forma para elaborar lo que te pasó en el pasado el programa?

Resp: Pues si, si ver el caso de muchas chicas han pasado por eso ¿no? Y bueno, no he sido ni la primera, ni va a ser la última vez que le suceda a alguien ¿no?

#205 Alicia:

...desgraciadamente tenemos una carencia de afecto, una carencia en cuanto a cubrir esas pequeñas necesidades como es el afecto que a veces indirectamente buscas, tanto la información, pero también piensas pues por lo menos vale la pena estar con alguien que me está poniendo atención es algo muy importante, por lo menos con los chicos que yo he tenido contacto y dejo de ver, uno, dos, tres, cuatro o cinco años por ejemplo, cuando me ven, me ven con un cariño y una ternura que

digo ¡hijoles! ¿por qué? Pues porque eso es lo que yo les doy, entonces a veces es cinco minutos de atención, siempre he dicho, cinco minutos de atención y de comprensión, y ya con eso tienes ganado, esa es una de las partes más importantes porque hay unos huecos en esa área en la que generalmente como adulto dices, tú estás mal, tú necesitas esto, yo sé lo que tu necesitas...

#206 (Int 154, 18 year old man, quite Gente Joven, little family support)

Int: ¿Qué piensan tus padres del programa?

Resp: Que está chafa, no es que dicen que, que nos dan, luego mi mamá se enoja, pues que hacen allí, pues vaya a verlo, no ande nada más de critica para que vea lo que nos da, nos dan platicas y van jóvenes, gente que nada más le gusta hostigar a la gente, ese día me puse hasta a llorar de coraje, cuando uno se porta mal ni siquiera se dan cuenta.

#207 Alicia:

...a veces llegan solos, la misma necesidad hace que lleguen solos, no todos, otros hay que buscarlos, y otros hay que estar detrás de ellos, porque hay chicos que están tan dolidos, que no quieren acercarse, entonces hay que estarlos buscando generalmente uno de los lugares en los que puedo conseguirlos es este, lo he hecho cuando organizo platicas, lo he hecho cuando estoy en una esquina platicando con algún chavo, y a veces voy muy lento, tú te has dado cuenta que por ejemplo con los grafiteros voy muy lenta porque no los quiero aburrir pero a [nombre de un grafitero] ya lo llevé al médico y ya sé que es lo que le está pasando y que problemas tiene, y así voy, poco a poco, dependiendo... y voy creándoles esa necesidad y ese compromiso poco a poco, a veces es platicando en la calle, platicando, o a veces al revés resulta que los interesados se van y resulta que los que no estaban interesados se quedan.

#208 (Int 31, 20 year old man, very Gente Joven, little family support)

Int: Hay algo en especial del programa que te gusta?

R : La relación con los chavos

Int: ¿Cómo es?

R : Es que... es de amistad, no es de (piensa), no es de, tienes un rato y te vas y ya, no... Es de amistad

Int: Hay seguimiento

R : Si, simplemente hay amistad y sigues ¿no?, porque es tu amigo y sigues con el... Y no lo dejas morir sólo.

#209 (Int 64, 20 year old man, very Gente Joven, less family support)

Int: Había algo en especial que te gustaba del programa?

Resp: Algo en especial, no, casi todo era muy especial para mi, una, aparte que me sentía entre amigos entre familia...

#210 Alicia:

...creo que es esa necesidad de ver que tú [como promotor] eres útil para algo... yo jamás les doy nada [de regalos], yo les doy mi atención, les doy mi afecto, les doy mi... la confianza que necesitan, pero nada más, y les comento eso, eso justamente se los comento a ellos, y yo siempre he dicho... a mi me decía [nombre] que nosotros, que nosotros, que los chicos, y volvemos a lo mismo, nosotros no podemos exigirles a los chicos, igual son chicos que no, no tienen compromisos y se van y no regresan nunca, y yo le decía, discúlpame pero no es cierto, cuando tú sabes que los chicos que tienes, están ahí porque quieren hacerlo, por el compromiso que tienen, o que estás haciendo, porque están comprometidos contigo, les puedes exigir todo lo que quieras porque lo van a hacer, porque no se los estás diciendo como si fueras su mamá.

#211 (Int 151, 22+ year old woman, very Gente Joven, little family support, completed *prepa*)

...cuando empecé a tener contacto con Mexfam es cuando empecé a abrirme de ojos, o sea estaba yo como una piedra, era yo una piedra, yo no entiendo como es posible que los papas en esta sociedad te, a ti como mujer te cierran los ojos totalmente, te cierran los ojos [...] cuando yo tuve contacto con Mexfam, fue un alivio por una parte pero también una profunda y tremenda frustración porque me dio mucho coraje decir tantos tiempo, tantos años de dolor, de sacrificio, de llanto, de guardarte todo aquí, de pensar que no eres nadie y que no sirves para nada [...] A mi me ayudó muchísimo estar en contacto con Mexfam porque pude aclarar mis ideas, pude reforzar lo que yo creía y sabía que lo que estaba haciendo lo estaba haciendo bien.

#212 (Int 158, 17 year old woman, very Gente Joven, little family support)

...Como por ejemplo... no sé... este... como que me han abierto mas los ojos y soy mas madura y ahora como que... este ahorita ya ya me siento mas como que aliviada...

#213 (Int 63, 20 year old woman, virgin, very Gente Joven, little family support)

...Este curso me ayudó a darme cuenta que había... que había más puertas que... pues... o sea, más libros, más información y todo ¿no?, te puedes informar y no puedes estar cerrado a una sola cosa.

#214 (Int 47, 22+ year old man, very Gente Joven, more family support)

... yo creo que he aprendido a ser este... tolerante respecto a opiniones de otras personas, respecto a ideas y costumbres de otras personas, he aprendido a respetar este... opiniones en aspectos sociales, emocionales, sexuales, de toda índole... yo creo que sí es algo que... que el conocimiento del programa... e... no sé, me ha... me ha hecho percibirlo ¿no?, tal vez, el a... el estar en ésta atmósfera de respeto, de tolerancia, de... de compren... tal vez, comprensión hacia este... hacia las percepciones de otras personas.

#215 (Int 44, 22+ year old woman, very Gente Joven, little family support)

Int: ¿Ha influenciado el programa tu vida sexual?

Resp: Mira, este, yo creo que me ha dado conocimientos, me ha dado conocimientos, de uso de ciertos métodos anticonceptivos, pero nada mas, lo que mas me han ayudado son los cursos en general lo que ha influenciado mas en mi vida sexual han sido los cursos, no tanto el manual, como que el manual lo conocí posteriormente, primero conocí los cursos, ya cuando conocí el manual yo ya tenía información sobre el contenido, entonces como que no hubo una gran influencia hacia mi

Int: ¿De que manera te ha ayudado, que, las pláticas?

Resp: A en las pláticas, de mucho, de mi relación en pareja, siento que he tomado conciencia, yo antes si tomaba conciencia pero en prevención de enfermedades de transmisión sexual yo jamás me imaginé como era hasta que, yo no tenía idea de como era, y así como que te entra y dices no se ve critico, no para pasar por eso, no mejor me prevengo, creo que he tomado conciencia mas que nada

Int: ¿Has cambiado tus opiniones acerca del sexo?

Resp: Si

Int: ¿Cómo?

Resp: yo siento que si han cambiado porque antes yo solo pensaba que tener relaciones sexuales era la penetración y ya hasta allí, y ahí se acababa no, y que relaciones, y que el sexo solamente había este relaciones, y te das cuenta de que no

de que el sexo es una cosa, las relaciones sexuales son otras, y ya como que vas cambiando tu forma de pensar y me ha abierto mas las puertas porque he conocido otras opciones entonces si me ayudó mucho

[...]

Int: ¿Qué es lo mejor del programa para ti, qué crees que sea lo mejor del programa?

Resp: yo creo que lo mejor es que abarca la comunicación familiar y la comunicación en pareja, yo creo que es lo mejor que tiene el programa porque trata de que tu veas que debe de existir un equilibrio para que halla una buena comunicación en pareja debe de existir una buena, un equilibrio entre tu pareja, debe existir comunicación, diálogo y todo esto lo abarca el programa, es comunicación entonces yo siento que lo mejor es la comunicación porque sin la comunicación no podríamos dar pasos a métodos anticonceptivos sin la comunicación no podríamos dar paso a enfermedades de transmisión sexual.

#216 (Int 49, 22+ year old man, very Gente Joven, little family support)

Int: ¿Porque te decidiste a entrar al grupo?

Resp: porque... la sexualidad es un tema que todos conocemos, pero del cual casi nadie quiere hablar, es un tema que influye de manera crucial en tu vida y en la vida de todos los seres humanos, me llama la atención... entrar y quedarme porque es una oportunidad para mi para conocer mas acerca de, también de mi propia sexualidad ...en aclarar dudas que tengo y también esa oportunidad de transmitirlo, transmitirlo algo que yo me quede con ese deseo, de que se me diera la información cuando yo la necesite, y que en este momento que ya la estoy obteniendo puedo darla también, es una gran satisfacción que tengo el poder compartir lo que voy aprendiendo

#217 (Int 46, 22+ year old woman, very Gente Joven, more family support)

yo creo que como a nosotros nos sirvió tanto la información, yo creo que es la manera, no sé... si – de devolver el favor a quien alguna vez no apoyaron.

#218 (Int 50, 22+ year old woman, very Gente Joven, little family support)

Int ¿Por qué decidiste entrar al programa?

Resp: Porque me fascino el curso, me enamore del curso y de las cosas que podría descubrir, entonces me fascino, y dije aquí hay mucho material, mucha gente igual que yo o peor que yo, que necesita información, que necesita eh.. un alguien que

guíe no.. Alguien que les abra los ojos, pues alguien que se preocupen por ellos, por la demás gente.

#219 (Int 47, 22+ year old man, very Gente Joven, more family support)

Int: ¿Por qué decidiste entrar en el programa?

Resp: Bueno, uno porque, me gusta este... me gusta este... los temas de la sexualidad, pero una de las cosas por las que entré aquí - te digo -, es por... porque yo e... durante la... durante la adolescencia sufrí un poco ¿no?, esto de es... de sexualidad, entonces lo que yo quería... bueno es... transmitir la información a otros chavos a los jóvenes e... tirar un poco estos mitos, que nos este... que nos han ido marcando, que nos limitan y bueno, además, bueno quiero conocer un... un poco más de mi sexualidad ¿no?, cosa que me ayuda mucho a crecer.

#220 (Int 49, 22+ year old man, very Gente Joven, little family support)

...que me da mucho gusto de proporcionarla [información], me he metido muy a fondo en los libros en los talleres que he asistido para aprender mas y entonces así poder orientar a los jóvenes, como quisiera yo que me hubieran orientado.

#221 (Int 140, 22 year old woman, quite Gente Joven, less family support)

Int: ¿Crees que tu comportamiento ha cambiado debido al problema?

Resp: Mm

Int: ¿Por qué o cómo?

Resp: Porque bueno, hay muchas cosas que, que yo sé que a lo mejor no son muy difíciles ¿no? pero que muchas, muchos de mis compañeros o de, o de la escuela no lo saben y pues acuden a mí

#222 (Int 141, 22 year old woman, quite Gente Joven, little family support, at least completed *prepa*)

Int: ¿Porqué decidiste entrar en el Programa?

Resp: Porque, porque puedo tener el, no el conocimiento exacto, pero sí puedo tener alguna base para poderlo comentar con algunos amigos, que no, que no se atreven a preguntarlo tanto en casa como en ir a alguna consulta a, a, a comentar sus dudas.

#223 (Int 97, 22+ year old woman, very Gente Joven, little family support, completed university)

Int Y que piensan tus amigos del Programa?

Resp: Pues también sacan sus ventajas de mi (rie) con toda la información que me sacan gratis (ríen ambas)

#224 (Int 98, 18 year old man, very Gente Joven, little family support, completed two years of *prepa*)

Int: ¿han cambiado tus opiniones sobre otras cosas en tu vida personal?

Resp: Pues si mucho más cosas de personas de mi edad, ahora ya trato a mis sobrinos de otra forma, si oigo que le dicen al pene de otra palabra, les digo no, es pene (se ríen) o que huevos, no, son testículos

Int. ¿Cómo responden?

Resp: Pues se ríen, ahora con mis cuates platico ya con señores ya grandes que tienen hijos en la primaria, en la secundaria o en el bachillerato y les digo oye, y tú platicas con tu hijo, no que si, y has platicado con ellos con respecto al sexo, no, porque, pues es que no preguntan, pues no esperes a que pregunten y así siempre los voy motivando, ya que no están los chavos pues por lo menos con los jefes y si he cambiado mucho, antes no hablaría, ahora si porque sé que es necesario.

#225 (Int 74, 15 year old woman, quite Gente Joven, more family support)

Resp: ...le estaba platicando, le digo: es que como estos chavos nos dieron algún folleto no que, que viniera así como dieron ellos el curso, que es algo que te va a quedar gravado digo por mucho tiempo y digo que para siempre ¿no? entonces este cambió mucho incluso hasta con mis primos ¿no? mis primos así como que se me quedaron viendo porque llegué le platiqué a mi primo: ¿que crees? - le digo - conocí a un chavo que es homosexual, porque es buenísima onda es como no te puedes imaginar, un maricón si. Tu, en tu... quien sabe... en tu profesión debe de haber un chingo de maricones ¿no? entonces este... él lo ve de una manera muy diferente un maricón ¡guacala! ¡que asco! ¡quítenlo de aquí! y yo te digo lo empecé a ver de otra manera, entonces mis primos así como que: ¡ay! ¡está loca! ya vieron así como que: ¡hijole! está... ¡está bien loca! Está... ¡está delirando! Todos mis primos. Mis tías, este... pues lo oían como lo más normal. Mi mamá me decía ¡oye! ¡que experta eres ya! ¿no? así como que ¡ay! y luego hasta mi novio ¿no? me preguntaba: ¡oye! ¿y que dijo el chavo del curso de esto? ¡ah! si esto. ¡Oye! cuando lo veas pregúntale de esto ¿no? también él sacaba sus dudas: y pregúntale de esto. Pues ya llegaba, y yo le preguntaba al chavo ¡oye! Me dijo que: esto y lo otro, ¡órale! ¡que buena onda! Si, si cambió. Por muchos días mi platica fue el curso ¿no? A lo mejor vas a deci

Resp: ¡que cochina! ¡nada más se la pasaba hablando del sexo! Pero no. Más bien, de lo que todo me había impresionado lo del curso, todo lo que había aprendido

#226 (Int 148, 19 year old woman, very Gente Joven, more family support, incomplete *prepa* because of university strikes)

Resp: últimamente se habló mucho de sexualidad lo que antes no hacía. Sobre todo con mis amigas que supieron que estaba trabajando en MEXFAM. Les dije que era y obviamente como que son mis pequeñas promotoras yo les di un pequeño curso y ya ellas lo dicen y si tienen duda van y me preguntan y yo ahorita lo hablo mas abiertamente no tanto porque antes no lo hablara sino porque cerrado ni abierto porque no me interesaba sino ahora por mi trabajo tienes que abrir y sobre todo de repente encontrarte con gente cerrada de repente te encuentras por ahí y bueno respetando los lineamientos que cada uno tiene.

[...]

Resp: Desde que entré a MEXFAM, me empezaron a hacer burla, y ya de ahí se empezó a desarrollar la de: fijate que hay... como se enteraron de que yo vendía condones: ¡oyes! ¿tienes condones? – Si, ¿cuantos vas a querer? – no, pues tantos y yo ¡híjole! ¡de veras se pasan! y ya. No sé... realmente se abrió... no sé... que la platica y fijate que ayer y yo pues está bien no realmente yo se los estoy proporcionando espero que se cuiden y si algún día llegan a tener una señal de alarma pues ya no y me acuerdo que a una de ellos le dije no me acuerdo como empezó la plática y le hablé de ETS y me dijo que es eso? enfermedades de transmisión sexual. ¿El sida? no nada mas el sida el SIDA ya no se cura, pero las demás por ejemplo clamida y se me queda viendo como: ¿de que me estás hablando? y es mas le hice burla teniendo tu vida sexual activa y que no sepas. ¡Ay! Dice, bueno no todo se sabe y ya platicame. Y ya mas o menos le di una asesoría o sea mas o menos le hablé y ahorita si ya mas o menos. Sobre todo cuando van por los condones.

#227 (Int 31, 20 year old man, very Gente Joven, little family support)

R : [Platico con mis hermanas] de que si no desean tener un embarazo a temprana edad o a, o a alta edad, simplemente se cuiden y siempre les he dicho y fuerte, al menos yo te digo siempre les he dicho fuerte y siempre les digo : Cabronas ahí está el pinche condón, si es que no, si es que no este, si es que les da vergüenza ahí está el pinche condón ahí pueden utilizarlo para que no queden embarazadas, y yo ahora si, yo siempre les digo, sería el pinche colmo de que estoy aquí dentro del

pinche programa y que ustedes no se sepan ni cuidar, ahí están los pinches libros pueden agarrarlos.

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