

**Migration and Sexuality:
A Comparison of Mexicans in Sending and Receiving Communities***

Emilio A. Parrado
Duke University
Department of Sociology

Chenoa A. Flippen
Duke University
Center for Demographic Studies

**PRELIMINARY DRAFT
DO NOT CITE**

* This research was funded by a grant from NINR/NIH, #NR 08052-03. Direct all correspondence to Emilio A. Parrado, Department of Sociology, Duke University, Box 90088, Durham, NC 27708. eparrado@soc.duke.edu. We would like to thank Chris McQuiston, René Zenteno, Leonardo Uribe, Amanda Phillips Martinez, El Centro Hispano, and the Durham Latino community for their contribution to this work.

Migration and Sexuality: A Comparison of Mexicans in Sending and Receiving Communities

Abstract

Despite its significance for health and well-being, there is little quantitative information measuring the changes in sexual behavior accompanying migration. Drawing from original data collected in Durham, NC and four sending communities in Mexico, this paper compares sexual practices and attitudes across migrants and non-migrants in order to disentangle the sexual practices prevalent in communities of origin from those that arise in conjunction with migration. Findings illustrate profound changes in sexuality accompanying migration with marked differences by gender and marital status. For men, certain sexual practices, such as the use of commercial sex workers and secondary partnerships, increase significantly with migration. Among single women, migration facilitates the formation of short term relationships. The impact of migration on sexuality is also reflected in attitudinal changes regarding gender roles and condom use. We discuss the implications of these findings for Latino health in both the U.S. and abroad.

Once thought to be biologically and naturally determined, over time there has been increasing recognition that sexuality is socially constructed. The very nature of sexuality, including prescriptions regarding when, with whom, and how people engage in sexual activity, is socially defined and varies over time and across space. Factors such as religion, class, gender, and culture are central determinants of patterns of premarital, marital, and extramarital sex, and give meaning to those acts. Moreover, structural contextual forces, such as different morality environments or gender compositions, also influence sexual behavior.

As such, sexuality is a realm of social behavior that is likely to be profoundly influenced by migration. For Latino/a immigrants to the U.S., migration engenders a dramatic change in cultural environment, exposing migrants to different rules and meanings regarding sexuality. International migration is also a disruptive event that often entails family separation, weakened social networks, and social isolation. The accompanied sense of anonymity and less stringent social control can lead to significant changes in sexual behaviors (Organista & Organista, 1997). At the structural level, migration is often associated with a highly uneven sex ratio that can have a dramatic effect on the dating market in both sending and receiving communities (Hirsch, 2003; Parrado, Flippen, & McQuiston, 2004).

Understanding the changes in sexual behavior accompanying migration is particularly relevant in the context of AIDS. Recent studies have documented a link between international migration and the spread of sexually transmitted infections (STIs) (Herdt, 1997; Decosa & Kane, 1995; Ronny & Varda, 2000). Studies among Latinos show that migration encourages the adoption of sexual risk behaviors heightening migrants' exposure to STIs, including AIDS (Chaves, 1998; Magana & Carrier, 1991; Organista & Organista, 1997; Magis-Rodriguez et al., 2004; Parrado, Flippen & McQuiston, 2004; Organista et al., 2000; Bronfman & Minello, 1995). Moreover, widespread cyclical and return migration implies that these risks also affect migrants' communities of origin. With the number of Latinos in the U.S. infected with HIV continuing to rise (CDC 2001, 2003, 2004), and with the epidemic spreading to rural areas throughout Mexico and Central America (Magis-Rodriguez et al., 2004; Power & Byrd, 1998; Bronfman, 1998; UNAIDS, 2000), these issues are all the more timely and important.

Despite its significance, however, there is little quantitative information measuring the changes in sexual behavior accompanying migration. While numerous studies address the social

and structural context shaping migrants' sexual behavior, research that systematically compares the practices and attitudes of migrants with those of their peers in their communities of origin remains rare. Lack of comparable data from sending and receiving societies clouds our understanding of the impact of migration on sexuality because changes in behavior must be inferred from retrospective accounts or alternative data sources that are not always comparable. There is a particular dearth of information on the sexuality of Mexican men because until recently research on sexuality in the less developed context focused on fertility, which is almost exclusively studied from the female perspective.

Accordingly, this paper contributes to the literature connecting migration and sexuality by comparing sexual practices and attitudes among Mexican men and women in Mexico and the U.S. Drawing from original data collected in Durham, NC, a rapidly growing immigrant receiving city in the Southeastern U.S., and four sending communities in Mexico (Parrado, McQuiston, & Flippen, in press), we are able to disentangle those sexual practices prevalent in communities of origin from those that arise in conjunction with migration. We concentrate on two dimensions of sexual behavior, sexual initiation and current sexual partners. In addition, we examine attitudinal changes towards sexuality connected with the migration experience.

Overall, findings illustrate profound changes in sexuality accompanying migration with marked differences by gender and marital status. For men, results show that certain sexual practices, such as use of commercial sex workers (CSWs) and secondary partnerships, significantly increase with migration. Among single women, migration facilitates the proliferation of short term relations. The impact of migration on sexuality is also reflected in attitudinal changes regarding gender roles and condom use.

Theoretical background and literature review

Throughout much of human history, sexuality has been portrayed as driven by natural and biological forces. However, social scientists have long recognized the importance of socio-cultural factors that have a profound impact on what we perceive to be sexual. Rather than resulting from brute urges, sexual conduct is socially constructed and the meanings attached to particular behaviors are as varied as with any other social activity. Sexuality is continuously shaped and defined as just one part of the larger system of acculturation, a process that lasts from birth to death and allows for at least some modicum of individual adaptation to particular needs.

Sexuality can be thought of as arising from “sexual scripts,” locally prescribed norms regarding with whom, when, where, and how individuals can engage in sexual activity (Gagnon, 1990; Laumann et al., 1994). Individual behavior is structured by the sexual culture in which they operate, a consensual model of cultural ideals, norms, values, beliefs, and meanings regarding the nature and purpose of sexual encounters. These models establish boundaries between “good” and “bad,” legitimate and illicit sexualities, and classify certain desires, acts and identities as normal, healthy, and moral while casting others as abnormal, unhealthy, and sinful (Seidman, 2003; Gagnon, 1990).

Sexual scripts however, are not uniform and vary according to individual and relationship characteristics. Sociological approaches to sexuality have relied on the notion of *master statuses* to assess group differences in sexual scripts. Master statuses possess three central features. They constitute basic components of the self-identity of the individuals who possess them, serve to organize patterns of social relationships, and directly affect people’s understanding of the social world around them (Laumann et al., 1994). These three features imply that master statuses constitute central dimensions of an individual’s personality and social position likely to be associated with sexual scripts and behaviors. In order to assess the extent to which sexual scripts are modified with migration our approach is to compare patterns of sexual behavior across three distinct master statuses: gender, marital status, and migration status.¹ It is important to note, however, that these master statuses interact, and it is likely to be at the intersection of different master statuses that the association between sexuality and migration is most visible.

Gender is a central organizing dimension of sexual scripting, particularly among the Mexican population. Established gender roles and expectations affect the definitions of what is masculine and feminine and translate in different notions of “appropriate” sexual behaviors for men and women. In Mexico, concepts of *machismo* and *marianismo* are assumed to dictate behavior. *Machismo* is often portrayed as the gender role socialization emphasizing family responsibility and honor for men, but also domination over women. *Marianismo* refers to women’s traditional role of care-giving, innocence, and virginity, but also submissiveness and obedience to men (Gutmann, 1996). Recent studies have questioned stereotypical representations

¹ Of course, other statuses are also likely to correlate with sexuality. Obvious candidates include age and class. However, preliminary analyses of our data found little variation across these additional dimensions. Our sample represents a relatively young segment of the Mexican population and even though migrants tend to be slightly less educated than non-migrants, their patterns of behavior are not explained by socioeconomic position (Parrado, Flippen, and McQuiston; 2004).

of this ideology among the Mexican population and identified considerable variation in gender expectations by ethnicity, social class, and age (Gutmann, 1996; Hirsch, 2003; Oropesa, 1997). Nevertheless, sexuality is still highly organized around gender lines.

Marital status is another master status that is integral to self-identity and directly structures sexual life. Marital status organizes our understanding of the sexual world and affects sexual choices. While dating is generally expected and accepted among single persons, being married carries expectations of commitment and fidelity leading to the removal of the person from the dating market. However, these expectations vary considerably for men and women. In the case of Mexico, men are expected to exhibit a high degree of sexual activity, including infidelity, while women are expected to confine their sexuality to the sphere of marital fertility and reproduction. Aspects of this gender regime are common to all male dominated societies; however, it appears to be particularly strong in Mexico. Under this regime, sexual experimentation is tolerated and encouraged among single men, who tend to experience their first sexual encounter at a relatively early age. Single women, on the other hand, are expected to control their sexual desires and arrive virgin to marriage.

For married people this double standard translates into different expectations and tolerance of infidelity. Men are commonly described as having sex outside of marriage, both with casual partners and secondary stable relationships, referred to as “casas chicas.” Wives are expected to tolerate these “indiscretions” as part of men’s nature. Sex outside of marriage for women, on the other hand, is outside the boundaries of acceptable behavior, and a serious violation of social norms (Hirsch et al., 2002).

And finally, because sexual scripts and norms are transmitted and absorbed by local culture and social networks, they could vary by migration status. Especially in the less to more developed context, migration often entails a “culture clash” where the norms and traditions from place of origin are confronted by new patterns of expectations and behaviors. The net effect of change in cultural environment remains unclear, however. On the one hand, the clash between the more “traditional” cultures and the more “liberal” sexual ethos in the U.S. could result in more liberal notions about sexual behaviors. This could be especially so for women if migration is associated with greater autonomy and interpersonal power (Boserup, 1970; Grasmuck & Pessar, 1991; Guendelman & Perez-Itriaga, 1987; Lamphere, 1987; Foner, 2002; Hirsch, 1999). On the other hand, other byproducts of migration may operate in favor of traditionality. The

marginal position occupied by many migrants can be an alienating experience, encouraging migrants to turn inward and reinforce some aspects of their home cultures in an effort to maintain stability and protect their identity from negative perceptions in the host society (Espin, 1999; Parrado and Flippen, 2005; Parrado, Flippen, and McQuiston, 2005). In this environment, cultural traits such as traditional gender roles, particularly those pertaining to sexuality, could be reinforced as women's bodies become the site for struggle over disorienting cultural change (Espin, 1999).

Migration is also a significantly disruptive event that relocates individuals across borders in an unfamiliar environment, dislocating social networks and structures of support (Menjivar, 2000). First and foremost, migration often results in the physical separation of marital partners. Thus both marital status and living arrangements must be considered simultaneously for migrant populations, as married men living with their partners differ in fundamental ways from their counterparts whose wives remain in their countries of origin, with obvious implications for sexual expression.

Migration also removes individuals from the watchful eye of extended family and community members and weakens social control accordingly. The accompanying sense of anonymity together with the perceived temporary nature of the migration status may encourage migrants to engage in activity they might otherwise avoid (Organista & Organista, 1997).

Migration status also affects sexuality via aggregate level structural factors, particularly with respect to the sex ratio. Temporary labor migration from Mexico to the United States has historically been male-centered. While the development of transnational communities and fortification of migrant networks encourages the migration of women, both married and unmarried, the dangers and expense associated with border crossing often perpetuate an uneven gender composition. In new areas of destination such as Durham, the sex ratio is often highly uneven (Suro and Singer, 2002). The implications for sexuality are obvious and multi-faceted, as finding opposite sex partners becomes very difficult for men but relatively easy for women. At the same time, migration also has an impact on sexuality in sending communities, where the sex ratio is often equally unbalanced in favor of women (Hirsch, 2003).

Once again, the impact of this aspect of migration varies tremendously by gender and marital status. The uneven sex ratio, for instance, has obvious differential impact on men and women, as it complicates finding sexual partners for the former and facilitates it for the latter.

Likewise, the prevalence of spousal separation in migration implies that husbands and wives residing without their partners acquire a particular marital status and their sexual behavior is likely to change in ways that are less relevant to single migrants. Long-term separations heighten the potential for infidelity by both parties and could alter expectations about marriage and commitments more generally.

Previous Studies of Migration and Sexuality

Research into the sexual behavior of Mexican and Latino populations has a long tradition. However, the focus has tended to center on dimensions directly connected with risk behaviors, rather than with the broader range of sexual expression. For instance, the majority of studies tend to focus on condom use (Organista et al., 1997; Marin, Gomez, & Hearst, 1993; Marin, Gomez, & Tschann, 1993; Marin et al., 1997). Among women, these studies largely concentrate on the ability to negotiate safer sex and investigate the extent to which traditional, patriarchal elements of Mexican society undermine women's power, rendering them subject to the sexual preferences of their partners, particularly husbands (Gomez & Marin, 1996; Salgado de Snyder et al., 2000; Salgado de Snyder, Diaz-Perez, & Maldonado, 1996; Salgado de Snyder, 1993).

Studies on Latino men's sexuality likewise tend to focus on condom use and the use of CSWs. These studies are largely confined to migrant farm workers and those in border regions (Organista & Organista, 1997; Organista et al., 2000; Mishra, Conner, & Magana, 1995), although there is a nascent literature on migrants in other areas (Parrado, Flippen, & McQuiston, 2004; Viadro & Earp, 2000).

Information on the broader range of sexual activities available to Latinos in the U.S. is very limited. The most recent nationally representative quantitative study on sexuality did not include Spanish speaking respondents in their sample (Lauman et al., 1994). A city bound study of Chicago specifically targeted Latino neighborhoods although the information connecting migration dynamics and sexual practices is limited (Laumann, et al. 2004).

Arguably the richest descriptions of migrant sexuality come from in-depth ethnographic studies in both Mexico and the U.S. These studies provide a wealth of information on issues such as infidelity, sexual attitudes, alternative partners, and the contextual forces affecting migrants' sexual experiences. Overall, these studies question stereotypical representations of the Mexican sexuality and highlight the diversity of sexual expressions and attitudes among men and women.

Gutmann (1996), for instance, has shown tremendous variation in the meanings associated with *machismo* in the Mexican context. His study shows that stereotypical expectations surrounding Mexican male behaviors, such as use of CSWs, multiple partners, “*casas chicas*,” or even traditional gender expectations are grossly exaggerated. In a similar vein but different context, Gonzalez-Lopez (2005) has shown the complexities surrounding the sexuality of Mexican men and women residing in the U.S. Expectations about virginity, sexual initiation, and marriage vary considerably across groups in close connection with the sexual regimes prevalent in migrants’ regions of origin.

The fact that these studies tend to rely on small convenience samples, however, render them vulnerable to selection bias and limit their capacity to generate population estimates (Sangi-Haghpeykar et al., 2003). Moreover, and especially important for our case, lack of comparable information on both sides of the border limits the capacity to understand the connection between migration and sexuality. In most cases, cultural values and traditions are inferred from recollection or generalizations drawn by subjects, without actually assessing their presence in the country of origin. However, comparable information for migrants and non-migrants is a prerequisite to separate the sexual practices that migrants bring with them from their communities of origin from those that arise in connection with migration.

Our design addresses some of these limitations. We take a bi-national approach that draws on data collected in both sending and receiving migrant communities. We focus on sexuality more broadly defined rather than condom use and compare sexual behaviors by gender, marital status, and migration status.

Data and Methods

The analysis draws from data collected in 464 face-to-face interviews with randomly selected Mexican migrants in Durham, NC (312 men and 152 women) conducted between March 2002 and July 2003, and 800 surveys (400 men and 400 women) conducted in four migrant-sending communities in Mexico between December 2002 and April 2003.

Durham, NC

Durham, NC is a particularly interesting setting to examine migration and sexuality. Latino migration to Durham is situated within a larger trend of increasing diversity in migrant destinations that has taken hold in recent decades, particularly to metropolitan and rural areas

throughout the American Southeast (Kandell & Parrado, 2005). In the case of Durham, migrant farm workers have a long established presence in North Carolina as part of the cyclical Eastern migration stream. Anecdotal evidence suggests that some of the earliest migrants to Durham were drawn from agriculture to other service fields by the demand for low-skill labor generated by rapid population growth in the nearby Research Triangle area. The influx of professional workers to the area generated demand for construction workers, painters, gardeners, and other semi-skilled laborers, as well as domestic workers, restaurant and retail services, and childcare.² Once an initial pool of migrants had been attracted to the area from local agricultural employment, or from more traditional immigrant destinations in the Southwest (Johnson-Webb, 2003), their settlement facilitated more direct migration from Mexico to Durham.

The result of these forces was a dramatic growth in the local Latino population. Between 1990 and 2000, the Latino population grew from a mere 2,054 to 17,039, or 8 percent of the total population of Durham. According to data from the 2000 Census, almost 75 percent of the Latino population (primarily of Mexican and Central American origins) is foreign born and of recent arrival, with upwards of 85 percent migrating to the U.S. between 1990 and 2000. While a large share (44 percent) of migrants came to Durham via another U.S. location, the majority moved to Durham directly from their countries of origin.

Like most areas of new migrant destination, the gender composition of the Latino population is highly uneven. In fact, the Raleigh-Durham area had the most highly unbalanced sex ratio among foreign born Latinos of any metropolitan area in the U.S. in 2000 (Suro & Singer, 2002), with 2.3 men aged 20 to 29 for every like-aged woman.

The recent emergence of the Durham Latino community has important implications for recreational opportunities, which in turn structure social interactions important to sexual behavior. Latino advocacy organizations are present, but still relatively small compared to their counterparts in more established immigrant communities. A number of local churches cater to their growing Latino congregations, and the size of the migrant population is clearly evident in the proliferation of small *tiendas*, *taquerías*, and *mercados* throughout the area. A number of

² The importance of low-skill labor demand for Latino migration is clearly evident in migrants' occupational distribution. According to data from the 2000 Census, the vast majority of men are employed in either construction (52 percent) or food services (14 percent). Migrant women in turn, are predominantly working in just two areas: service occupations (primarily cleaners, janitors, and cooks) and manual operatives (primarily laundry and meat cutting and a large number of unspecified kindred operatives). The overwhelming majority of both migrant men and women are undocumented and lack legal authorization to work (Parrado, McQuiston, and Flippen, in press).

soccer leagues have been formed by migrant groups, often centered around particular communities of origin, and there are a number of bars and clubs that cater mostly to migrant clientele. In spite of the presence of these organizations and avenues for recreation, Durham migrants frequently complain of a lack of recreational activities, particularly those that offer a safe, non-threatening environment for meeting members of the opposite sex.

Another important aspect of the local Latino community is the common presence of CSWs. An extensive literature describes the social environment of migrant farm workers, where CSWs actively solicit at labor camps, bars, and other locations where male migrants congregate, often in accordance with paydays (Ayala, Carrier, & Magana, 1996; Magana & Carrier, 1991; Bronfman & Minello, 1995). CSWs are similarly common in areas of Latino concentration in Durham. Street-walking CSWs solicit in areas where migrants congregate, and a number of brothels (or “*casas de cita*”) operate in and around apartment complexes with large numbers of single male migrants. In addition, groups of women also frequent the apartment complexes, soliciting men gathered in common areas or going door to door in search of clients.

The structural context of Latino migration in Durham thus includes both an uneven sex ratio and the ready availability of CSWs. The implications of these patterns for sexuality are profound, and their importance to public health is underscored by the rapid increase in Latino representation in HIV cases in the area (NC Department of Health and Human Services, 2002).

Surveying the nascent Durham Latino communities raised several methodological challenges, particularly in obtaining a representative sample and gaining entrée into the community. Building rapport and trust in the community was especially necessary to gather information on sensitive issues such as sexual behavior and immigration status (DaVanzo et al., 1994; Stepick & Stepick, 1990). The study has relied heavily on Community-Based Participatory Research (CBPR) to achieve these ends. Specifically, we worked extensively with 14 members of the migrant Latino community, who have been directly involved in every stage of the research, including formulating and revising the questionnaire, identifying survey locales, and developing strategies to guarantee the collection of meaningful information (Parrado, McQuiston, & Flippen, in press).

While growing rapidly, the Durham Latino community remains a small fraction of the total population of Durham, rendering a simple random sample prohibitively expensive. Given the lack of an alternative sampling frame, we employed targeted random sampling (Watters &

Biernacki, 1989) of areas of Latino concentration. In collaboration with the CBPR group, we identified 13 apartment complexes and blocks that house large numbers of migrant Latinos. We then conducted a census of all of the apartment units in these buildings and blocks, and drew a simple random sample of men based on the more than 2,100 housing units in these complexes.

In addition, the CBPR group was trained as interviewers and collected all surveys in Durham.³ The group has been especially instrumental in allowing us to reach the fledgling Durham Latino community, facilitating the collection of sensitive information, and helping us achieve a response rate of 89 and 93 percent for men and women, respectively. These figures compare favorably to those reported in other random surveys conducted with recent migrants (DaVanzo et al., 1994; Stepick & Stepick, 1990). The group continues to provide culturally grounded commentary that guides the interpretation of our analyses.

Comparison of our data with information from the 2000 Census indicates that our sampling strategy offers a good representation of Latinos residing in areas of high Latino concentration, which includes the vast majority (75%) of Durham's Latinos. While, more established migrants may be under-represented in the study, this approach is better suited to obtain population estimates than alternative approaches, such as convenience or snowball sampling, prevalent in research on small populations.⁴

Mexico

Information from Mexico was obtained from four communities representing different areas of out-migration of the Mexican population of Durham, and includes two towns in the state of Michoacán and one each in the states of Guerrero and Veracruz. The communities were purposively selected to represent different population sizes and economic conditions.⁵

³ CBPR members also functioned as ethnographers, recording their observations as field notes at the end of each survey. Observations included local conditions, respondents' attitudes, and any other interesting material that was not registered in the questionnaire. This exercise provided invaluable information about the context of the various apartment complexes, including the atmosphere of public drinking, police presence, and institutional aspects of the commercial sex industry. In certain buildings interviewers were commonly approached by commercial sex workers while visiting apartments for interviews, and they occasionally stumbled upon "casas de citas," or apartments used as brothels. Through these interactions and unstructured discussions with interviewees, CBPR participants were able to glean significant information about how the sex industry is advertised, promoted, and accessed by local residents.

⁴ A more detailed description of the data collection procedure and analysis of representativeness is available at Parrado, Flippen, and McQuiston (2004) and Parrado, McQuiston, and Flippen (in press).

⁵ Two of the communities, one in the State of Michoacán and the other in Veracruz, maintain a stronger agricultural base with 30 percent of the male population employed in agricultural activities. These two communities are more isolated and not directly connected to urban centers. The other two communities,

In Mexico, respondents in each community were selected using simple random sampling techniques based on information from the 2000 Mexican Census. To evaluate the representativeness of the data collected in the 4 communities, we compared socio-demographic characteristics in our sample with those obtained from the Mexican Migration Project (MMP), a large sample of 93 migrant sending communities throughout Mexico.⁶ Results show that the residents of our 4 communities do not differ substantially from those in the much larger, more representative sample of the MMP (Parrado, McQuiston, & Flippen, in press).

Respondents were administered a semi-structured questionnaire that collected detailed information on demographic, social, and economic characteristics, as well as data on migration experience and family arrangements, including partners' characteristics and place of residence. In addition, extensive information on sexual practices was collected, including use of CSWs in Durham and Mexico. For the purpose of this analysis we focus our attention on the connection between migration, sexual initiation, current sexual partner, and gender attitudes, and how these vary by gender and marital status.

Master Statuses: Descriptive Statistics

In order to evaluate the connection between migration and sexuality, we first present descriptive statistics organized along the three master statuses outlined above. Table 1 reports differences in marital status by gender and current migration status. Mexican migration to the U.S. has long been male-centered and the connection between migration and marital status varies considerably by gender. The representation of single men (including never married, divorced, and widowed) is higher among migrants than among their counterparts in Mexico, 39 relative to

one in Michoacán and the other in Guerrero, display more commercial activities and are located on main roads that directly connect them to urban centers in Mexico. Commercial and professional activities are the main sources of male employment. The four communities differ also in patterns of female employment. The rate of female labor force participation is 33 and 49 percent in the agricultural communities but close to 57 percent in the other two communities. In all cases, the main source of female employment is commercial activities, followed by teaching and nursing. The prevalence of migration is particularly high in the rural community in Michoacán with 40 and 10 percent of men and women ever migrating to the U.S. In the other communities, the prevalence of migration ranges from 14 to 23 percent among men and from 5 to 6 percent among women.

⁶ The Mexican Migration Project is a binational effort directed by Jorge Durand and Douglas S. Massey aimed at collecting representative and reliable information about international migration in Mexico. The data from the MMP is publicly available at <http://mmp.opr.princeton.edu> which also contains more detailed information about the project design.

31 percent. The opposite applies to women. Only 9 percent of Mexican women residing in Durham are single compared to 36 percent in Mexico.

TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE

There are also important differences across settings in the type of union formed. For both men and women, migrants are more likely than their peers in Mexico to be in a consensual union as opposed to formal marriage. As studies have found in other historical contexts (Tilly & Scott, 1987), lack of familiarity with the legal system and, in our case, lack of documentation are among the main barriers to formal union formation among Durham migrants. Consensual unions have a number of implications for sexuality, as they are generally associated with lower women's power (and thus relative inability to negotiate safer sexual practices) and greater domestic violence (Oropesa, 1997; Parrado, Flippen, & McQuiston, 2004).

Sexual Initiation

Sexual initiation is a formative experience that is a central aspect of the transition to adulthood in most cultures. Moreover, at least since Kinsey's landmark study of sexuality it has been widely appreciated that the system of sexual socialization under which one grows up and attains maturity is of great importance to understanding the structure of their sexuality throughout the life course (Laumann et al., 1994). The conditions surrounding entry into adult sexuality can have a long lasting impact on socio-emotional functioning and may structure intimate relationships throughout the life course (Udry and Campbell, 1994).

In Table 2 we therefore present data on sexual initiation by migrant status and gender. In spite of their younger average age, both male and female migrants are more likely to report ever having had sex than their peers in Mexico. More importantly, a sizeable proportion, 15 and nearly 18 percent for men and women, respectively, report being sexually initiated in the U.S. These figures are noteworthy because place of initiation could be associated with a number of other important aspects of sexual initiation, particularly in light of the highly unbalanced sex ratio among Durham Latinos.

TABLE 2 ABOUT HERE

To investigate these issues, Table 3 presents differences in age, type of partner, and contraception at first sex by whether initiation occurred in the U.S. or Mexico. While migration makes having sex more likely, it is associated with an older average age at initiation, most likely

because it disrupts social networks and removes migrants from their local dating pools. Migration is also associated with having an older partner at initiation, and with a larger age difference between partners for men and a smaller age difference for women. As we will see below this difference mostly stems from the large share of migrant men who are sexually initiated with a CSW. When we restrict the sample to men not initiated with a CSW the age difference is less pronounced.

TABLE 3 ABOUT HERE

More importantly, migration has a significant impact on the type of partner at initiation for both men and women, with important implications for subsequent relationships. Specifically, among men, migration is associated with a lower proportion of men initiated with a wife or girlfriend and a higher proportion through a casual partner. The most dramatic figure for men, however, is the strong association between migration and sexual initiation with a CSW. While only 7.6 percent of men sexually initiated in Mexico report that their first partner was a CSW, this figure is a staggering 21.6 among migrant men initiated in the U.S. The health implications of this initiation pathway are numerous, especially since the efficiency of condom use tends to be compromised at first sexual encounters and if early CSW use could establish a “taste” for the practice that endures beyond union formation, presenting an ongoing risk to migrants and their future partners.

Among women, the opposite pattern is found, again reflecting the importance of the unbalanced sex ratio to migrants’ sexuality. Almost three-quarters of Mexican women report being sexually initiated with their husbands and this holds for those initiated in Mexico and in the U.S. However, a smaller share of those initiated in the U.S. report doing so with a boyfriend. At the same time, female migrants are more than twice as likely to be initiated with a casual partner as their peers in Mexico, although the overall proportion remains low. Thus, for women migrating single, migration can have a powerful impact on sexuality. For these women the less constraining social control and favorable sex balance in Durham combine to dramatically increase opportunities for casual partnering. The difference in context is especially stark if you consider that many migrant-sending communities have the opposite unbalanced sex ratio, with more prime aged women than men, further undermining the possibility of encountering casual partners there (Hirsch, 2003).

Place of initiation also has a significant impact on contraceptive use, presumably though its association with partner type. Among both men and women, those initiated in the U.S. are substantially more likely to use contraception at first sex. And, among those using contraception, condoms are far more common among those initiated in the U.S. It is important to note, however, that contraceptive use at sexual initiation remains low overall, particularly among women among whom nearly 65 percent did not use protection.

Current Partner

We next consider the impact of migration on current sexual partner, which has numerous implications for union formation, fertility, union dissolution, and public health. The impact of migration on men's current relationship is stark, as seen in Table 4. Single men residing in the U.S. are markedly less likely to have a girlfriend and are also less likely to have a casual sexual partner than are single men in Mexico. Instead, they are more than ten times more likely to visit a CSW than their counterparts residing in Mexico. Once again, the unbalanced sex ratio of the community is an obvious source of these differentials.

TABLE 4 ABOUT HERE

Married men residing with their wives in Durham are less likely than their counterparts in Mexico to have a non-commercial extramarital relationship. The maintenance of a second stable relationship outside of marriage/unions, referred to colloquially as a "*casa chica*," is a practice that is not common but that has a long tradition in Mexico. Only 2.3 and 3.5 percent of men in a union or marriage, respectively, reported maintaining a *casa a chica*. The very low percentage contradicts the popular image which expects virtually all married men to be in this situation.

The phenomenon is virtually nonexistent among married men with their spouses in Durham, however. It is similarly prevalent among men in consensual unions. However, the practice becomes much more common among men with their wives in Mexico, 7 percent. Many women in Mexico fear the possibility of their husbands forming a secondary household in the U.S. While this pattern is not universal, our results show that migration does encourage the formation of alternative households justifying women's concerns.

Having casual sexual partners outside of marriage/consensual unions is less common in Durham than in Mexico. CSW use, on the other hand, is more common among married men living with their wives in the U.S. than in Mexico, suggesting that either migrant men have

established a “taste” for commercial sex during their time alone in the U.S., or that the greater availability of CSWs in the Durham setting encourages their use.

Unaccompanied married migrant men (i.e., those whose wives continue to reside in their communities of origin) exhibit considerable extra-marital sexual activity, also in other respects. Over 13 percent report having had a casual sexual partner in the U.S. in the previous year, and an astounding 44.2 percent reporting visiting a CSW in the previous year. The implications of these figures for marital stability and the potential for STD transmission to communities of origin are ominous.

Among Mexican women similarly diverse patterns of current partners are evident by migrant status, though the direction of effects is the opposite of that for men. As seen in Table 5, single women are much more likely to have a sexual partner in the U.S. than in Mexico, exhibiting dramatically higher rates of both steady and casual sexual relationships. Sex outside of marriage when husbands are co-resident is virtually nonexistent in our sample. However, a small share (just under 3 percent) of married women in Mexico whose husbands are currently migrating report a casual extramarital partner. In another powerful illustration of the impact of the imbalanced sex ratio in Durham, just over 9 percent of women in consensual unions report having a second, casual partner.

TABLE 5 ABOUT HERE

Attitudes towards sex and sexuality

The importance of migration to sexuality is also pronounced when it comes to attitudes and beliefs, as seen in Table 6. According to the common portrayal of Mexican culture, sexual experience prior to marriage is viewed favorably or at least neutrally for men but is seriously frowned upon for women. Indeed, respondents in both Mexico and the U.S. are roughly twice as likely to report that it is a good idea for men to have a lot of sexual experience before marriage as they are to report the same for women. However, U.S. migrants are significantly more tolerant of premarital sexual experience than their peers in Mexico. Specifically, both men and women in Durham are significantly more likely to believe that men should have premarital sexual experience. Migrant women, but not migrant men, are also more likely than their peers in Mexico to believe that premarital sexual experience is good for women.

TABLE 6 ABOUT HERE

Similar evidence of change is evident in questions pertaining to whether or not it is women's sole responsibility to prevent pregnancy and STIs. First, Mexican men are *less* traditional in this respect than Mexican women, with the latter more likely to believe it is a woman's responsibility to prevent pregnancy and STIs in both locations. However, migration has the opposite effect for men and women, rendering men more traditional and women less so with respect to pregnancy and STI prevention.

Migration, which often entails extended periods of family separation, is also strongly associated with attitudes towards marital infidelity. The reality of forced separation leads both men and women to become more tolerant of husband's extramarital affairs in the U.S. setting. This is not surprising given the portrayal of Mexican culture as permissive of male infidelity in general. However, results show that both men and women are also more tolerant of *wives'* infidelity in the context of migration. Mexican men in Durham, for example, are nearly 5 times more likely than their counterparts in Mexico to report that if a woman has an extramarital affair her husband should just accept it. Comparable figures for Mexican women are similarly dramatic. Thus Mexicans recognize that the reality of forced separation entails certain sacrifices with respect to fidelity for both male migrants and their wives in Mexico.

This finding is reinforced by the next item, which reports attitudes towards whether women need to have sex as much as men do. Likely in response to the reality of infidelity on the part of male migrants, both men and women are more likely to believe in biological explanations of sexual need in the U.S. as they are in Mexico.

Attitudes towards condoms also undergo a radical transformation in the U.S. setting, again in ways that are suggestive of the issues highlighted above. The proportion of respondents who indicate that if they asked to use a condom their partner would suspect they had an STI rose substantially among both men and women in the U.S. setting, reflecting the high incidence of infidelity and CSW use among migrants. Likewise, the proportion of men who report that condoms are only for sex with prostitutes falls substantially in the U.S., where they are likely to receive AIDS prevention information and where non-commercial extramarital relations are also more common.

Interestingly, commitment to use condoms (i.e., I would not have sex if a condom were not available) is higher among men in the U.S., but lower among women in the U.S. This

suggests growing awareness of the importance of condoms among men, but the more traditional pressures women feel in sexual relations in the U.S.

The effect of migration on condom access is mixed, with men and women in the U.S. more likely than their Mexican peers to report that it is difficult to buy condoms, but fewer reporting that condoms are expensive or embarrassing to buy. Perhaps reflecting their greater experience with condoms in the U.S. than in Mexico, migrants are more likely to report that using condoms results in less pleasure and that they are tight and uncomfortable.

Conclusions (Preliminary)

We are not born sexual, but rather we become sexual beings. Sexuality is not hardwired or fixed by adolescence but is fluid and profoundly affected by change in cultural environment and, perhaps more importantly in the case of migrants, by structural conditions. This paper contributes to the literature connecting migration and sexuality by comparing sexual practices and attitudes among Mexican men and women in Mexico and the U.S. Drawing from original data collected in Durham, NC, a rapidly growing immigrant receiving city in the Southeastern U.S., and four sending communities in Mexico, we disentangle those sexual practices prevalent in communities of origin from those that arise in conjunction with migration.

The analysis concentrated on two dimensions of sexual behavior, sexual initiation and current sexual partners. In addition, we examined attitudinal changes towards sexuality connected with the migration experience. Overall, findings illustrate profound changes in sexuality accompanying migration with marked differences by gender and marital status. For men, results show that certain sexual practices, such as use of commercial sex workers (CSWs) and secondary partnerships, significantly increase with migration. Among single women, migration facilitates the proliferation of short term relations.

The connection between migration and sexuality is also reflected in attitudinal changes regarding gender roles and condom use. The effects however are not uniform. On the one hand, migration makes both men and women more tolerant of certain sexual behaviors such as pre-marital sexual experiences and in the case of women in reducing the percent agreeing with statements such as “it is a woman’s responsibility to prevent pregnancy.” In other realms, though, migration reinforces more traditional attitudes, especially in making men and women

more tolerant of infidelity and in explaining gender differences in sexuality as emanating from biological urges.

Results portend general implications for understanding both the migration experience and the health risks that migrant families face. The limited dating opportunities in Durham significantly encourage the use of sex workers among men. To the extent that healthy sexual practices and being in control of one's sexual behaviors is a central dimension of well-being, the change in the sexual market arising from migration is another dimension of the migrant experience negatively affected by the U.S. context both at sexual initiation and in later life. Moreover, in those cases involving marital separation, the increase in infidelity resulting from migration is likely to directly affect marital dissolution and well-being. The health consequences are also pronounced. Especially in the context of AIDS, the dramatic increase in risk practices in the U.S. context not only puts migrant men at risk of sexually transmitted diseases, but also their partners left behind.

References

- Amaro, H. 1995. Love, Sex, and Power: Considering Women's Realities in HIV Prevention. *American Psychologist* 50, 437-447.
- Amaro, H. & Raj, A. 2000. On the margin: Power and women's HIV risk reduction strategies. *Sex Roles* (42), 723-749.
- Ayala, A., Carrier, J., and Magana, J. 1996. The underground world of Latina sex workers in cantinas. In Mishra, S., Conner, R., and Magana, R. (Eds.) *AIDS Crossing Borders: The Spread of HIV among Migrant Hispanics*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Blanc, A. 2001. The Effect of Power in Sexual Relationship on Sexual and Reproductive Health. *Studies in Family Planning* 32: 189-213.
- Boserup, E. 1970. *Women's role in economic development*. London: George Allen and Unwin.
- Bronfman, M. 1998. Mexico and Central America. *International Migration*, 36(4): 609-642.
- Bronfman, M. and Minello, N. 1995. Habitos sexuales de los migrantes temporales Mexicanos a Los Estados Unidos de America: Practicas de riesgo para la infeccion por VIH. In Bronfman, M et al. (Eds.) *Sida en Mexico: migración, Adolescencia, y Genero*. Mexico: Información Profesional Especializada.
- Center for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC). 2001. *HIV/AIDS Surveillance Report*. 13(2). Atlanta, GA.
- Center for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC). 2003. *HIV/AIDS Surveillance Report*. Vol. 15. Atlanta, GA.
- Center for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC). 2004. *HIV/AIDS among Hispanics. Report*. Atlanta, GA.
- Chavez, L. 1998. *Shadowed Lives. Undocumented Migrants in American Society*. Fort Worth, TX: Harcourt Brace College Publishers.
- Collins, W. A., & Sroufe, L. A. 1999. Capacity for intimate relationships: A developmental construction. In W. Furman, C. Feiring, & B. B. Brown (Eds.), *Contemporary Perspectives on Adolescent Romantic Relationships* (pp. 123-147). New York: Cambridge University Press.
- DaVanzo, J., J. Hawes-Dawson, R. Burciaga Valdez, & G. Vernez. 1994. *Surveying Immigrant Communities: Policy Imperatives and Technical Challenges*. Center for Research on Immigration Policy. RAND Press.

- Decosas, J., & F. Kane. 1995. Migration and AIDS. *Lancet*, 346(8978):826-828.
- Espin, O. 1999. *Women Crossing Boundaries: A Psychology of Immigration and Transformations of Sexuality*. New York: Routledge.
- Foner, N. 2002. Immigrant women and work in New York City, then and now. In P. G. Min (Ed.), *Mass Migration to the United States: Classical and Contemporary Trends* (pp. 231-252). Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira Press.
- Gomez, C. & B. Marin. 1996. Gender, culture and power: Barriers to HIV prevention strategies for women. *Journal of Sex Research* (33), 355-362.
- Gonzalez-Lopez, G. 2005. *Erotic Journeys: Mexican Immigrants and Their Sex Lives* Berkeley: The University of California Press.
- Grasmuck, S. & Pressar, P. 1991. *Between two islands: Dominican international migration*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Guendelman, S. & Perez-Itriaga, A. 1987. Double lives: The changing role of women in seasonal migration. *Women's Studies* 13: 249-271.
- Gutmann, M. 1996. *The Meanings of Macho: Being a Man in Mexico City*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Herd, G. (ed.) 1997. *Sexual Cultures and Migration in the Era of AIDS: Anthropological and Demographic Perspectives*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Hirsch, J. S., J. Higgins, M.E. Bentley & C.A. Nathanson. 2002. The social constructions of Sexuality: Marital infidelity and sexually transmitted disease – HIV Risk in a Mexican Migrant Community. *American Journal of Public Health*, 92(8): 1227-1237.
- Hirsch, J.A. 1999. En el Norte la mujer manda. Gender, generation, and geography in a Mexican transnational community. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 42(9): 1332-1349.
- Hirsch, J.A. 2003. *A Courtship after Marriage: Sexuality and Love in Mexican Transnational Families*. Berkeley, CA : University of California Press
- Lamphere, L. 1987. *From working daughters to working mothers: Immigrant women in a New England community*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Lauman, E., Gagnon, J., Michael, R., and Michaels, S. 1994. *The Social Organization of Sexuality: Sexual Practices in the United States*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Laumann, Edward O., Stephen Ellingson, Jenna Mahay, and Anthony Paik, editors. 2004. *The Sexual Organization of the City*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- Loue, S. M. Cooper, F. Traore, & J. Fiedler. 2004. Locus of control and HIV risk among a sample of Mexican and Puerto Rican women. *Journal of Immigrant Health*, 6(4):155-161.
- Magana, J. and Carrier, J. 1991. Mexican and Mexican American male sexual behavior and the spread of AIDS in California. *Journal of Sex Research* 21(3): 425-441.
- Magaña, J.R. & J.M. Carrier. 1991. Mexican and Mexican American male sexual behavior and the spread of AIDS in California. *Journal of Sex Research* 28(3)425-441.
- Magis-Rodriguez, C., C. Gayet, M. Negroni, R. Leyva, E. Bravo-Garcia, P. Uribe, & M. Bronfman. 2004. Migration and AIDS in Mexico: An Overview Based on Recent Evidence. *Journal of Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndromes* 37 (Supplement 4):215-226.
- Marin, B. V. & Gomez, C. A. 1997. Latino culture and sex: Implications for HIV prevention. In Garcia, J. G. & Zea, M. C. (eds). *Psychological Interventions and Research with Latino Populations*. Needham Heights, MA: Allyn & Bacon, Inc, pp. 73-93.
- Marin, B., Gomez, C. & Hearst, N. 1993. Multiple heterosexual partners and condom use among Hispanics and non-Hispanic whites. *Family Planning Perspectives* (25), 170-174.
- Marin, B., Gómez, C., and Tschann, J. 1993. Condom Use among Hispanics with Secondary Female Sexual Partners. *Public Health Reports* 108:(6): 742-750.
- Marin, B., Gómez, C., Tschann, J. & Gregorich, S. 1997. Condom use in unmarried Latino men: A test of cultural constructs. *Health Psychology* (16), 458-467.
- Mishra, S., R. Conner, & J. Magana (Eds). 1996. *AIDS Crossing Borders: The Spread of HIV among Migrant Latinos*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Mishra, S., R. Conner, & J. Magana (Eds). 1996. *AIDS Crossing Borders: The Spread of HIV among Migrant Latinos*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Organista et al, 2000;
- Organista, K. 1998. Culturally competent HIV prevention with Mexican/Chicano farmworkers. *Occasional Paper No.47*, University of California, Berkeley, 1-19.
- Organista, K. C., & P.B. Organista, P. B. 1997. Migrant Laborers and AIDS in the United States: A Review of the Literature. *AIDS Education and Prevention*, 9(1): 83-93.
- Organista, K.C, H. Carrillo, & G. Ayala. 2004. HIV Prevention With Mexican Migrants: Review, Critique, and Recommendations. *Journal of Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndromes*. 37 (Supplement 4), 227-239.

- Organista, K.C. 1998. Cultural competent HIV prevention with Mexican/Chicano farmworkers. *Occasional Papers No. 47*. Julian Samora Research Institute.
- Organista, K.C., P.B. Organista, J. Garcia de Alba, M. Moran, & L. Carrillo. 1997. Survey of condom-related beliefs, behaviors, and perceived social norms in Mexican migrant laborers. *Journal of Community Health, 22*(3), 185-198.
- Oropesa, R. 1997. Development and marital power in Mexico. *Social Forces 75*: 1291-1317.
- Parrado, E. A., Flippen, C. A., and McQuiston, C. 2004. Use of commercial sex workers among Hispanic migrants in North Carolina: Implications for the spread of HIV. *Perspectives on Sexual and Reproductive Health, 36*(4): 325-347.
- Parrado, Emilio A. and Chenoa Flippen. 2005. "Migration and Gender among Mexican women" *American Sociological Review, 70*(4): 606-632.
- Parrado, Emilio A., Chenoa Flippen, and Chris McQuiston. 2005. "Migration and Relationship Power among Mexican Women." *Demography, 42*(2): 347-372.
- Parrado, Emilio A., Chris McQuiston, and Chenoa Flippen. In Press. "Participatory Survey Research: Integrating Community Collaboration and Quantitative Methods for the Study of Gender and HIV Risks among Hispanic Migrants." *Sociological Methods and Research*.
- Ronny S. & S. Varda. 2000. *Migrant Populations and HIV/AIDS - The Development and Implementation of Programmes: Theory, Methodology and Practice*. Unesco/Unaids: Paris.
- Salgado de Snyder, N. V., de Jesus Diaz Perez, M., & Maldonado, M. 1996. AIDS: Risk Behaviors Among Rural Mexican Women Married to Migrant Workers in the United States. *AIDS Education and Prevention 8*(2):134-142.
- Salgado de Snyder, V. 1993. Family life across the boarder: Mexican wives left behind. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences 15*: 391- 401.
- Salgado de Snyder, V., Acevedo, A., Diaz-Paerez. M. & Saldivar-Garduno. 2000. Understanding the sexuality of Mexican-born women and their risk for HIV/AIDS. *Psychology of Women Quarterly 24*: 100-109.
- Sangi-Haghpeykar, H., A.N. Poindexter, A. Young, J.E. Levesque, & F. Horth. 2003. "Extra-relational sex among Hispanic women and their condom related behaviours and attitudes." *AIDS Care 15*(4):505-511.

- Seidman, Steven. 2003. *The Social Construction of Sexuality*. New York: W. W. Norton and Company.
- Stepick, A. and C. Stepick. 1990. People in the Shadows: Survey Research among Haitians in Miami. *Human Organization* 49, 64-77.
- Suro, R. and Singer, A. 2002. *Latino growth in metropolitan America: Changing patterns and new location*. Report. Center on Urban and Metropolitan Policy and the Pew Hispanic Center.
- Udry, J. Richard and Benjamin C. Campbell. 1994. "Getting started on sexual behavior." Pp. 187-208 in Alice S. Rossi (ed.) *Sexuality across the life course*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- UNAIDS. 2000. *HIV and AIDS in the Americas, an epidemic with many faces*. UNAIDS/WHO/PAHO.
- Viadro, C. I. and Earp, J. A. 2000. The sexual behavior of married Mexican immigrant men in North Carolina. *Social Science and Medicine* 50: 723-735.

Table 1: Descriptive Tabulations of Master Statuses: Gender, Marital Status, and Current Migration

	Men		Women	
	Mexico	Durham	Mexico	Durham
Marital Status				
Single/Divorced/ Widowed	30.5	38.7 **	36.1	9.2 **
Legally married residing w/ spouse	54.9	17.1 **	45.0	46.9
Consensual union residing w/ partner	14.1	18.9 *	9.92	36.9 **
Married not residing w/ spouse	0.5	25.2 **	8.9	0.6 **
N	400	333	400	152

Table 2: Differences in sexual initiation by migrant status

	Men		Women	
	Non-migrant	Ever Migrant	Non-migrant	Ever Migrant
Proportion ever having sex	83.7	97.0	79.5	96.2
Proportion sexually initiated in the U.S. ^a		15.7		18.5
N	307	426	376	176

^a Among those ever having sex

Table 3: Differences in sexual initiation by place of first sex

	Men		Women	
	In Mexico	in U.S.	In Mexico	in U.S.
Age at first sex	18.2 (3.0)	19.3 (2.7)	19.6 (3.6)	20.5 (4.4)
Age of first partner	18.6 (3.8)	21.0 (4.5)	22.6 (4.3)	23.3 (6.3)
Difference between men/women	-0.4 (3.8)	-1.6 (4.6)	-3.0 (3.7)	-2.8 (5.3)
Type of first partner				
Wife/Husband	31.5	23.5	75.8	75.8
Girl/Boyfriend	43.7	33.9	21.9	18.1
Casual partner	17.3	21.0	2.3	6.1
Prostitute	7.6	21.6 **		
Percent using contraception				
Using condom	34.4	56.9 **	13.5	33.3 **
	88.0	100.0	62.9	83.3 **
N	605	65	435	33

Table 4: Current sexual relations by gender and place of residence

	Mexico				In U.S.			
	Marital Status				Marital Status			
	Single/ Sep/Div	Married	in Union	Partner in U.S.	Single/ Sep/Div	Married	in Union	Partner in Mexico
Men								
<i>Sexual relationship type</i>								
Girlfriend	31.5	---	---		8.5 **	---		
Casual Partner	22.6	5.9	8.8		17.8	1.8	4.8	13.1 **
Stable Relationship /Casa Chica		2.3	3.5		---	---	4.8	7.1 **
Prostitute	4.8	7.3	1.8		52.7 **	12.3	6.4	42.9 **
N	124	219	57		129	57	63	84
Women								
<i>Sexual relationship type</i>								
Boyfriend	13.4	---	---	---	34.8 **	---	---	
Casual Partner	5.4	---	---	2.9	30.4 **	---	9.3	
N	149	177	39	35	23	43	86	

Table 6: Attitudes toward sexual behavior and condom use in Mexico and the U.S.

Percent agree:	Men		Women	
	Mexico	U.S.	Mexico	U.S.
<i>Gender attitudes</i>				
It's a good idea for men to have a lot of sexual experience before they get married.	45.3	60.4 **	29.8	47.2 **
It's a good idea for women to have a lot of sexual experience before they get married.	24.0	24.6	11.8	32.3 **
It is the woman's responsibility to prevent pregnancy.	21.5	29.7 **	42.5	33.5 **
It is a woman's responsibility to prevent sexually transmitted diseases.	18.8	30.0 **	42.5	43.5
If a man has an extramarital affair, his wife should just keep quiet and accept it.	17.0	20.1	3.3	10.6 **
If a woman has an extramarital affair, her husband should just keep quiet and accept it.	2.3	12.6 **	2.0	9.3 **
Women don't need to have sex as much as men do.	24.5	37.8 **	20.8	42.9 **
<i>Condom use</i>				
If a condom is not handy, I would have sex anyway	51.5	37.8 **	61.0	80.8 **
If I asked my partner to use a condom, she would think I had a disease	43.3	55.3 **	28.5	38.5 **
Condoms are only for sex with prostitutes	44.3	29.7 **		
It is difficult to buy condoms where I live	9.0	14.1 **	12.8	34.2 **
It is embarrassing to buy condoms	43.5	21.6 **	54.5	45.3 **
Condoms are expensive	30.5	20.1 **	37.5	48.5 **
You feel less pleasure when you use a condom	60.5	70.0 **	66.3	79.5 **
Condoms are tight and uncomfortable	57.3	69.1 **		
If a woman carries condoms I would think she is loose sexually	58.8	54.7	71.2	72.7
N	400	333	400	152