



SEXUAL RISK-TAKING, SOCIO-SEXUAL BIOGRAPHIES AND SEXUAL INTERACTION: ELEMENTS OF THE FRENCH NATIONAL SURVEY ON SEXUAL BEHAVIOUR

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Abstract. In contrast with the psychologically based individualistic models of health behaviour in which conduct adopted in response to AIDS risk is seen as an individual decision depending on the processing of information, we postulate that individuals construct their own definition of the risk of HIV transmission by drawing on their socio-sexual life-course and the type of sexual relationships in which they are engaged. Data were obtained from a random sample of 4836 people living in France interviewed by telephone between September 1991 and February 1992. This analysis was conducted on a subgroup of 1568 men and 1376 women in sexual relationships of less than five years. Multiple correspondence analysis and logistic regression were performed. Our findings show that the adoption of protective behaviour is far from depending exclusively on the awareness of risk. Individuals having a diversified sexual experience, who talked about sexuality during their childhood and have personal condoms more often reported having changed their sexual behaviour because of AIDS. Although less likely to select their partner in order to reduce the risk of AIDS, they more often adopt strategies directly linked to sexual interaction such as condom use. Individuals belonging to networks in which condom use is the norm are more likely to use them. Women, for whom stable relationships pre-empt to the development of emotional closeness carry a high social value, are more likely to rely on uniquely relational strategies in which the adaptation to the risk of infection involves a better knowledge of the partner. Our findings reveal that individuals attach a different degree of risk to their partners depending on whether they occupy a central or peripheral place in their network of sociability. Furthermore, we observed an incompatibility between the protective and the socio-affective rationales in which condom use is inversely related to the degree of intimacy, regardless of what is known about the partner's sociological status. Risk adaptation strategies are thus far from being irrational, but are related to individuals' socio-sexual biography, the logics of gender, social networks and milieus of sociability, and depend ultimately on the context of the relationship. As with other health-related behaviour, coping strategies appear to be the product of a complex interaction of biographical, social and cultural threads. Preventive campaigns based exclusively on the promotion of individual responsibility are thus likely to miss the mark. Copyright © 1997 Elsevier Science Ltd.

Key words: AIDS, socio-sexual biography.

INTRODUCTION

The emergence of the AIDS epidemic has highlighted the urgent need for data relating to the sexual activity of the population, an area of research previously neglected in the social sciences from both a theoretical and methodological standpoint [1-4].

At the start of the AIDS epidemic, the social sciences actually possessed no theoretical model with which to approach risk-taking in the field of sexual behaviours. Against this background of scientific knowledge, the first decade of social science research into AIDS was dominated by the use of psychologically based individualistic models of health behaviour [5], the most widely cited being the "Health Belief Model", the "Theory of Reasoned Action", and "Social Learning Theory". As Valdisseri has stressed, these models present the adoption of a preventive behaviour as resulting from perception of the risks and of the advantages

and disadvantages the individual may derive from a protective act [6]. The decision to protect oneself is seen here as an individual and voluntary act, possibly influenced by the socio-cultural milieu to which the individual belongs. Individualists are here viewed as transformers of information, with their pre-existing conceptions acting as filters through which information is interpreted and given significance. The conduct adopted in response to risk is thus seen as depending on the treatment of information. Implicit in this type of approach, moreover, is the hypothesis that protecting his or her own health is the overriding priority for any individual. These models in fact seek to explain the deviations from protective health behaviour, such as use of the condom, assuming, as it were, this behaviour to be a fore-most consideration. Although other behavioural motivations, such as the fear of being alone or the influence of peer group behaviour, are explored,

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Table of Contents Sexuality And The Social Sciences A French Survey On Sexual Behaviour

1. Understanding the eBook Sexuality And The Social Sciences A French Survey On Sexual Behaviour
 - The Rise of Digital Reading Sexuality And The Social Sciences A French Survey On Sexual Behaviour
 - Advantages of eBooks Over Traditional Books
2. Identifying Sexuality And The Social Sciences A French Survey On Sexual Behaviour
 - Exploring Different Genres
 - Considering Fiction vs. Non-Fiction
 - Determining Your Reading Goals
3. Choosing the Right eBook Platform
 - Popular eBook Platforms
 - Features to Look for in an Sexuality And The Social Sciences A French Survey On Sexual Behaviour
 - User-Friendly Interface
4. Exploring eBook Recommendations from Sexuality And The Social Sciences A French Survey On Sexual Behaviour
 - Personalized Recommendations
 - Sexuality And The Social Sciences A French Survey On Sexual Behaviour User Reviews and Ratings
 - Sexuality And The Social Sciences A French Survey On Sexual Behaviour and Bestseller Lists
5. Accessing Sexuality And The Social Sciences A French Survey On Sexual Behaviour Free and Paid eBooks
 - Sexuality And The Social Sciences A French Survey On Sexual Behaviour Public Domain eBooks
 - Sexuality And The Social Sciences A French Survey On Sexual Behaviour eBook Subscription Services
 - Sexuality And The Social Sciences A French Survey On Sexual Behaviour Budget-Friendly Options

6. Navigating Sexuality And The Social Sciences A French Survey On Sexual Behaviour eBook Formats
 - ePub, PDF, MOBI, and More
 - Sexuality And The Social Sciences A French Survey On Sexual Behaviour Compatibility with Devices
 - Sexuality And The Social Sciences A French Survey On Sexual Behaviour Enhanced eBook Features
7. Enhancing Your Reading Experience
 - Adjustable Fonts and Text Sizes of Sexuality And The Social Sciences A French Survey On Sexual Behaviour
 - Highlighting and Note-Taking Sexuality And The Social Sciences A French Survey On Sexual Behaviour
 - Interactive Elements Sexuality And The Social Sciences A French Survey On Sexual Behaviour
8. Staying Engaged with Sexuality And The Social Sciences A French Survey On Sexual Behaviour
 - Joining Online Reading Communities
 - Participating in Virtual Book Clubs
 - Following Authors and Publishers Sexuality And The Social Sciences A French Survey On Sexual Behaviour
9. Balancing eBooks and Physical Books Sexuality And The Social Sciences A French Survey On Sexual Behaviour
 - Benefits of a Digital Library
 - Creating a Diverse Reading Collection Sexuality And The Social Sciences A French Survey On Sexual Behaviour
10. Overcoming Reading Challenges
 - Dealing with Digital Eye Strain
 - Minimizing Distractions
 - Managing Screen Time
11. Cultivating a Reading Routine Sexuality And The Social Sciences A French Survey On Sexual Behaviour
 - Setting Reading Goals Sexuality And The Social Sciences A French Survey On Sexual Behaviour
 - Carving Out Dedicated Reading Time
12. Sourcing Reliable Information of Sexuality And The Social Sciences A French Survey On Sexual Behaviour
 - Fact-Checking eBook Content of Sexuality And The Social Sciences A French Survey On Sexual Behaviour
 - Distinguishing Credible Sources
13. Promoting Lifelong Learning
 - Utilizing eBooks for Skill Development
 - Exploring Educational eBooks
14. Embracing eBook Trends
 - Integration of Multimedia Elements

- Interactive and Gamified eBooks

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knowledge test mapping 95 appendix a2 overview of essential knowledge assessment materials 106 appendix b 113 appendix

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