

Inequalities among young people using the Internet in Aguascalientes, Mexico: An analysis of statistically significant differences between socioeconomic levels

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Abstract: The study of inequalities among youth regarding access, equipment and use of the Internet is an infrequently discussed topic in Mexico. The perspectives that have prevailed distinguish them as the principal users or as through a dichotomous understanding between people with access and those who do not have it. This text presents the partial results of a survey conducted in the state of Aguascalientes, Mexico and gives a description in detail of statistically significant differences of youth between 18 and 29 years of age from four different socioeconomic levels. The findings show inequalities with respect to access and equipment, but mainly between academic, political and financial uses. This distance decreases in the case of social activities and entertainment. The analysis provides data to understand the gaps that begin during this age period and their possible consequences.

Key words:

Internet, youth, digital inclusion, digital divide, socioeconomic inequality

1. Introduction

The daily relationship of young people with the Internet is a modern topic which is recurrently addressed and discussed within an optimistic view about the potential of this tool in the hands of new generations, or by placing the emphasis on the risks that it poses. The study of this issue is central to the academic agenda, as well as input to inform public policies and projects aimed at youth developed by governments and national and international organizations.

The first Ibero-American Youth Survey (Encuesta Iberoamericana de Juventud) points to information and communication technologies as the core to understanding the diverse and contradictory situation of youth.¹

The contemporary condition of youth goes through the now famous series of contradictions that makes citizens of a globalized world through technology, knowledge and innovation, but at the same time is tied into the local by inequalities, discrimination and exclusion in our polarized societies. (OIJ, 2013, p. 20)

For its part, the Ibero-American Plan of Cooperation and Integration of Youth recognizes the importance of studying the situation of Latin American youth regarding information and communication technologies due to not only the role they have on the practices that emerge on the Internet, but also on overall problems (Pérez & Castro, 2009).

Reguillo (2012) argues that reading youth practices requires an understanding of the situational dimension as well as the contextual-relational dimension in order to avoid the extremes of a micro ethnographic perspective that ignores the broader forces at work or that reduces young people to mere statistics or a “macro-analysis which tends to confuse indicators with stakeholders” (p.74).

In Mexico, the most visible and prevalent information on youth and the Internet are the statistics by public and private institutions such as the National Institute of Statistics and Geography (INEGI) and the Mexican Internet Association (AMIPCI). However, it is necessary to review the growing body of information about this theme that emerges from the various disciplines of social sciences and humanities, both from researchers and

¹. This survey aimed to obtain the opinions and expectations of young Latin Americans. It was applied by telephone from January 17th to March 13th, 2013, and was coordinated by the Ibero-American Youth Organization (Organización Iberoamericana de Juventud, OIJ). One thousand young people in 20 countries were interviewed, except Brazil and Mexico where 1,200 were interviewed in each.

graduate students, as well as from undergraduates. These studies are found not to be systematized nor integrated.²

This study adds to the ongoing task of generating knowledge about the practices of young people and the Internet in the sense that empirical evidence that comes from quantitative and qualitative data is required. Both are complementary and the fundamental criterion of its relevance lies in the use of a methodology and solid categories of analysis.

The results that are presented here derive from two previous mutually complementary studies that aimed to analyze the political practices that young people carry out on the Internet. The first was qualitative and was based on the registration of online journals by university students, conducted in 2010 (Padilla, 2014) and the second was a statewide survey applied in 2012, among 18 to 29 year olds in the state of Aguascalientes, Mexico (Padilla, 2013). This paper does not show the overall results on the political practices nor would it be possible to account for all the variables in the study. Therefore, it only focuses on the intersection between the situation of young people regarding access, equipment, use of the Internet and the variable of socioeconomic status (SES) while retrieving statistically significant differences.

SES is one of the more traditional variables, but it is still relevant. In principle, as Livingstone (2004) explains, the study of any social practice, in this case mediated, requires a response to questions posed by demographics. In other words, how practices are distributed throughout the diversity of the population? In this case it would be how Internet practices are distributed among the various SES's of youth population. Moreover, although SES is defined based on quantitative indicators, it is not only about the economic capital one has, but what this enables in terms of capital or social skills, which involves a greater agency and scope for this population. In the sense of Bourdieu, owning a computer can be defined as an indicator of economic capital, and the ownership and use of ICT, according to

² . In Mexico, INEGI applies the Availability and Use of Information Technologies in Households Module, and the AMIPCI conducts studies of Internet habits, electronic commerce, new technologies, Internet banking, personal data protection and digital marketing and social media. In addition, the National Youth Survey includes a module on the availability and use of information technology. An example of an academic production site is located at the Documentation of Communication Sciences website, where the cross-referencing of the words "youth" and "Internet" gives 509 documents, while "youth" and "information and communication technologies" result in 4881 hits. <http://ccdoci.iteso.mx/cat.aspx?cmn=about>

its purpose, as a contemporary indicator of social capital (Bourdieu, 1986 quoted by Tondeur, Sinnaeve, van Houtte & van Braak, 2011).

The Youth, Internet and Political Practices Survey (Encuesta Jóvenes, Internet y Prácticas Políticas, EJIPP 2012) was applied to two different age groups among youth aged 18 to 23 and 24 to 29. Other variables used in the survey were: gender, occupation and whether the residence of the youth was rural or urban. These yielded interesting data, however it was the SES that showed the largest differences between young people in terms of digital inequality.

The statistics presented in this study show the different nuances that increase among youth compared to other age segments of the population. As previously mentioned, there are several surveys that address access and Internet use among the general population, however, this text provides information targeted to young people between 18 and 29 years old in a locality, which allows for a discussion of general trends and the categories of analysis used to study these practices.³ Its overall results with respect to the deficit among the highest and lowest SES's can be expected in the Mexican context, however, the data indicate the seriousness of this distance, that is, the magnitude of the digital divide. Moreover, data that are not fully apparent arise, such as exceptions for inclusion regarding Internet despite social exclusion. Behavior is not consistent between access and use, and the predominance of young people of high socioeconomic status in various online practices.

2. Digital divide and digital inclusion

The analysis of the differences between young people from different socioeconomic strata is inserted in discussions on the digital divide and digital inclusion. The concept of *digital divide* or digital gap had originally intended to distinguish between people with access to a computer or Internet and those that did not. It is a concept that has led public policies and strong investments, since it assumes the principle that under the new logic of the Internet society, access is key to participate in global development processes. Graham (2011) recognizes that equipment and access are prerequisites, but not decisive for participation and full development. He argues that the digital divide has been understood as

³ . This was identified as a pending task the comparison and analysis of the logic and categories in which the statistics on youth and the Internet in our country are used.

a metaphor that refers mainly to a space that separates two types of the population that are separated according to their access to technology or not. It is assumed that this can be overcome simplistically by building a bridge of technological equipment. Moreover, it is understood as a temporary barrier, conceived as a linear progression in which Internet is represented as access to the present and the future. However, the author points out that the inclusion to the new global logic on the Internet is mediated by a greater number of elements such as socio-demographic variables, culture and the various levels of skills for use and appropriation of the Internet. He argues that a broader and more complex framework is required to understand this problem not in a reduced, but rather plural and situated, manner.

Alva (2012) precisely explains that the concept of digital divide has been transformed as while greater awareness of its complexity has been being acquired:

If at first the term was associated almost uniquely with connectivity, later worries related to the development of abilities and capacities in the use of ITCs were introduced, as part of a progressive discovery of the multiple interstices of the phenomenon. (p. 24)

Alva (2012) points out that the digital divide is a widespread problem that results in a "new social inequality". Digital inclusion is a concept that has displaced the digital gap to refer to social inequalities associated with the use of information and communications technology -ICT for development- assuming that the digital divide is not just a matter of technological backwardness but a deeper expression of existing exclusion in society (Díaz & Jones, 2012). From this premise, the biggest challenge is to link digital inclusion with the broader aim of social inclusion. However, study of this digital inclusion / exclusion displaces from this binary perspective towards one that permits understanding of the nuances and gradations of the phenomenon, both qualitatively and quantitatively.

In England, Livingstone & Helsper (2007) argue for a non-dichotomous understanding in the sense of a gap, through a continuum of gradations of digital inclusion. Therefore, there is pointed out the need for studies that provide data to understand this nuanced reality. In this sense, there has been little attention given to the digital exclusion among young people and children. Inequality was analyzed by these authors, regarding access and use of the Internet of a population between 9 and 19,

according to their age, gender and socioeconomic status. They found that access at home decreases the differences between SES's, however, there is a direct relationship between young people who do not use the Internet and SES, who belong to the lowest socioeconomic levels –the working class- and who have less access and lower quality access in relation to the SES's of the middle class; access translates to higher levels of skills and digital inclusion.

The study of Tondeur, Sinnaeve, van Houtte & van Braak (2011), in Belgium, explored the relationship between SES⁴ and the profile of computer use among young secondary school students, which in this country is between 12 to 18 years of age. More specifically, the different patterns in terms of access, attitudes, skills and practices that could result in differences in social capital were analyzed. These authors agree with Livingstone & Helsper (2007) that there are missing data on inequality among children and youth, and the need to distinguish levels or degrees of digital inclusion. In this case, they showed that socioeconomic differences in the different profiles of computer use did not significantly impact the social capital of these young people. They explain that in Western Europe gaps regarding access and use of ICT between SES's have been significantly shortened in such a way that, as shown in this study, the profile of young people tends to be universal independently of their SES. They clarify that this is not the case in all countries of Europe, or in the United States, and as you will notice in this investigation done in an average city in Mexico, inequalities between young people are still very wide.

3. Internet everyday practices among youth

The theoretical and conceptual framework of this study stems from the concept of practices. The study of daily life practices involves political and conceptual implications of the analysis of social reality from "this location". It means recognizing that everyday practices considered naturalized, constitute practices that structure the social order. Anthony Giddens (2001) proposes that the key to understanding society is to investigate the process of social reproduction by its constituent actors. In other words, it is the connections between structure, processes performed by the work of active subjects, and structure of

⁴. In this study the socioeconomic status (SES) was classified according to the profession of the parents of the pupils who were studied.

abstract properties of the social order. "[...] all reproduction is necessarily production: the seed of change exists in every act that contributes to reproduction of any "orderly" form of social life" (p.127).

The theories of Bourdieu (1999), De Certeau (2000) and Martín Barbero (1990) were revised to integrate the notion of "media practices", which we understand as the multiform and fragmentary operations constituting the instructions for use of the media or we could say more accurately, past and recent technological media innovations (Padilla, 2012). Media practices are embedded in the logic of the economy and production, which shape their textual and material properties in a game between constraints and diverse and active possibilities in their use, appropriation and interpretation. Media practices are crossed by mediations and in turn constitute mediation by their ability to articulate with other social practices (Martín Barbero, 1990). The notion of "media practices" allows for their understanding in a comprehensive manner and beyond their relationship with a medium or genre. It also incorporates to the analysis of reception the possibilities of users and audiences to become, in turn, producers.⁵

Moreover, the study includes the warning of Margulis & Urresti (2008) who explain that even though gender and age have been the most common classifying base in various societies, the age category of "being young" is not completely objective because of the greater complexity involved in distinguishing the implicit diversity among young people and the need to open our minds and not pigeonhole and assume that all young people are living the same reality. "Youth is a significant complex that contains in its intimacy multiple modes that lead to socially process the condition of age [...]." (p.3) From an analysis of studies on youth consumption in Mexico, Gómez Vargas (2008) coincides with the above and defines youth as communicative and creative actors and identifies three spatial strata in the study of youth consumption: urban, media and corporal. This work is part of the media layer, which has been studied mainly by the perspective of the reception and consumption of media. In addition, this author identifies two key suggestions of previous studies of youth, a new agenda for studies that address both marginalized youth as integrated, distinguishing the significant differences between them and considering the

⁵ . The discussion on the growing duality of the concept of producer and consumer has not reached a consensus, mainly because it is not a common reality for the majority. There prevails a great diversity and inequality of situations among audiences and users of media and most recent technologies.

announced cultural and social revolution that introduced the so-called new media which should reflect according to different situations and plurality among new generations.

That is why, one might ask, what effect structural factors (such as socioeconomic factors) have in Internet access among youth in Aguascalientes, recognizing their plurality. It is necessary to consider that there are groups who are socially excluded but included digitally, or that this situation also occurs in the opposite sense.

4. Methodological framework of the study

In the context of the political campaigns of 2012, the EJIPP was applied on the 19th and 20th of May of this year to young people between 18 and 29 years of age in the state of Aguascalientes. The sample consisted of 800 cases, with 95% confidence and a margin of error $\pm 3.5\%$. Two age groups were determined, and 400 surveys for each group were applied. The sampling technique was a random probabilistic stratified subsample with the selection proportional by size according to age, group and gender; cases were distributed evenly among these variables.

The survey technique was at homes, face to face, ensuring the anonymity of the interviewee. An important factor in the distribution of the samples was to apply the surveys proportionally among the eleven municipalities of the state. Cases were assigned according to the percentage of the population. The distribution of the sample included 50 geographical areas of basic statistics (GABS) of which 41 (82%) were urban and 9 (18%) rural localities. The concentration of the population and most of its activities in the metropolitan area of the state is explained by the characteristic of Aguascalientes that and can be defined as a metropolitan regionalism (Padilla, 2007).

To ensure the quality of the values obtained, the database derived from the survey was validated based on the analysis of the internal consistency of the questionnaire, identification of outliers, values outside of range and missing values, as well as capture errors and inconsistencies within cases. Moreover, the trend was observed and the occurrence of instrumental faults and capture errors were located. The final database, with which the tabulations, crosses and statistical data analyzes were performed, was composed of 764 cases that accounted for 95.5% of the selected sample.

To analyze differences a Bonferroni test was applied. This test is for comparing the proportions of the t levels of a factor after rejecting the null hypothesis of equal proportions. The test is based on the creation of a common value, a threshold based on a Student's t-test. All differences between the proportions of the t levels were performed. It is based on the creation of a threshold, the BSD (Bonferroni Significant Difference). So the differences above these thresholds indicate a difference of significant proportions and differences that are below do not indicate a statistically significant difference (Bland & Altman, 1995). It is calculated as follows:

$$BDS = t_{N-t} \left(\frac{\alpha}{2M} \right) \circ \sqrt{S_E^2 \left(\frac{1}{n_i} + \frac{1}{n_j} \right)}$$

N = total number of observations

t = number of the factor level

n_i, n_j = sample size of the levels i and j

S_E² = Estimate of the error or residual variance

t_{N-t} $\left(\frac{\alpha}{2M} \right)$ = distribution of the Student's t with N-t degrees of freedom and $\frac{\alpha}{2M}$ with a significance level.

M = $\left(\frac{t}{2} \right)$ = Possible combinations of levels taken from 2 in 2.

A peculiarity of the Bonferroni test is that the significance level varies depending on the number of comparisons made. This eliminates the problem of making multiple comparisons, because any possible mistake is compensated for by making many comparisons 2 by 2 at the same time, with a predicted possibility of error α .

The AMAI Rule, 8x7, was used in the construction of the SES variable. According to the Mexican Association of Market and Opinion Intelligence Agencies (Asociación Mexicana de Inteligencia de Mercado y Opinión Pública, AMAI),⁶ the SES are a classification used to identify social, political behavior and the consumption of products and media behavior (López, 2011). The SES is a variable that represents the level of household welfare from the dimensions of: human capital, future planning, connectivity and entertainment, practical infrastructure, basic health infrastructure and space infrastructure. This allows the classification of people based on the meeting of their economic and social needs. The AMAI Rule 8x7 classifies households in 7 levels (AB, C +, C, C-, D +, D and E) in accordance with 8 indicators: the number of rooms in the house, the

⁶ . <http://nse.amai.org/nseamai2/>

type of floor, the number of bathrooms, whether or not it has a shower or gas stove, the number of lightbulbs, the number of cars and the level of education of the person who contributes most income to the household. For the EJIPP 2012, these levels were grouped into 4 (high, medium high, medium low and low) in order to have a less dispersed management of cases.⁷ The way in which the youth population is distributed in the country, according to these levels, is essential to interpret the results presented in the figure below.

According to the AMAI estimation of 2011, 79% of young people in the country are in the lowest two levels and only 21% are at the two highest. Meanwhile in Aguascalientes there is a slightly different situation. According to the EJIPP, 70.2% of young people are located in the lower levels and 29.8% in the highest. This socioeconomic distinction provides a differentiated perspective, mainly on inequality among young people with respect to the Internet and it does not allow the blurring of this issue in the discussion about the merits or risks that the Internet signifies to this sector of the population.

5. The differentiated and unequal relationship with Internet among youth

The results are presented with the following logic: first the axes of the survey that corresponded to Internet access are described; secondly the equipment is reviewed; and thirdly, the use of the Internet defined in categories called Internet youth practices. The results which are showed revealed a significant statistic difference according to the SES variable.

5.1 Internet access

In Mexico, as in most Latin American countries, the Internet is not a technology that people have access universally at home. According to the results of the Survey on Availability and Use of Information Technologies in Households (Encuesta Nacional sobre Disponibilidad y Uso de Tecnologías de la Información en los Hogares, ENDUTIH) in 2012,⁸ 26% of households have Internet in Mexico and in Latin America, only 18%,⁹ the

⁷ . It is important to consider how the population in Mexico is distributed according to these socioeconomic levels. The AMAI (2011) estimate based on IBOPE_NIELSON for locations with more than 50,000 inhabitants reported that at the highest level is 6.8% of the population, at a high level average 14.2%, the majority are in the low average with 52.6% and at a low level 26.4% (López, 2011).

⁸ . To compare the results of the EJIPP the ENDUTIH data base of 2012 which was recorded by the INEGI was used. Data of youth from 18 to 29 years of age in Mexico and Aguascalientes was selected.

SES variable is key to this situation. It is important to note that age is another predominant variable and the results of this analysis, at a local and global level indicate that the trends confirm that youth are the age group that mainly accesses the Internet (56.3% of all young people in Mexico).¹⁰

In the results of the EJIPP 2012, the total number of young people of the State of Aguascalientes, 77.6% have used the Internet (22.4% have never used the Internet).¹¹ Only 43.4% have Internet access in their homes, 12.4 % had it in the past but do not currently have it, and for 44.2% of young people this is not yet a possibility. Although this population sector has achieved greater skills in making use of this technology, there continues to be some obstacles that prevent its use. In the discourse on the digital divide, there prevails the signaling of younger generations as those who have increasing access to the Internet, but it is also appropriate to place emphasis and question the sector of young people for whom it is not the case.

Among those who have never had access to the Internet or who do not currently use it, 31.4% explained that it is because they do not know how to use it. The second reason was because they did not need it (25.7%), and thirdly a lack of resources was the case for a 23.6%. It is noteworthy that the economic factor was not the main reason for never having used this digital tool, but rather the lack of training to use it. The case of the answer “not needing the Internet” should be investigated further, as its meaning is not easily inferred. Of this population, 91.5% are located in the two lowest socioeconomic levels and only 8.5% at the highest levels. This would be the youth population gap that should be identified and specifically studied to generate relevant public policies for this sector.

On the issue of generational differences in access and use of Internet, local findings are consistent with national data;¹² of the overall results, 76.7% said their parents do not use the Internet, or less than a quarter (23.3%) of these adults uses it, leading to questions about

⁹ . Economic Commission for Latin America (Comisión Económica para América Latina-CEPALSTAT).

¹⁰ . The Ibero-American Youth Organization said that "we are facing a new generation of youth and teens that we can identify as the "Interactive Generation", that 95% are declared as Internet users in Latin America, without establishing significant differences between the countries" (Pérez & Castro, 2009, p. 32).

¹¹ . According to the calculations of ENDUTIH in 2012, in Aguascalientes 67.9% of young people used the Internet at home or abroad in the last 12 months, while 32.1% did not use it.

¹² . According to the authors own calculations using the ENDUTIH database, in 2012 in Aguascalientes 74.0% of parents did not use the Internet in the last 12 months in contrast with 26.0% who did.

differences in skills and practices among generations. If most parents are unable to teach their children to use the Internet, then where do they learn? Nearly half, (47.4%) said they learned from their teachers, followed by the point that they learned alone (20.4%) and 12.3% were taught by friends.

The significant difference between people with different SES seems obvious, but what the statistical data shows is a specific measurement on how much of a digital gap there is among the population. A necessary task would be to periodically review these data over time to become aware of the behavior of this phenomenon. Statistical tests indicate a significant difference between the first two SES and second in terms of Internet access in their homes. These results indicate that there is a significant link between social and digital exclusion. However, unexpected cases were identified that were exceptions to this trend. Helsper's study (2008) which analyzed social and digital exclusion in England,¹³ found that despite a low SES, youths, singles, those with high levels of education, those with children, those who are actively working, and those who are separated or widowed tended to be digitally included despite their social exclusion. By contrast, people in rural areas, the elderly, those unemployed and living in a home without children or youth in general tend to be digitally excluded despite having high levels of social inclusion.

Even though there was a decrease in the percentage of parents that used the Internet with lower SES, there are parents in the lowest economic level who are using the Internet. So therefore it is inferred failure to investigate more about how other variables such as age or having children play a key role in access to Internet and equipment despite the economic resources that are required. It is also necessary to explore the opposite spectrum in the senior population that has no access to Internet. In both cases there are exceptions, although those with a clearly higher SES digital inclusion tends to increase and conversely, there is a drastic lowering of inclusion at the lowest economic level as can be as shown in the following table.

¹³ Social and digital exclusion in this study was defined based on a set of indicators for each concept, taken from previous national data base information from which the force and nature of the links between them were explored (Helsper, 2008).

Table no. 1 Results differentiated according to socioeconomic Internet access and the parents who use it.

	HIGH	MIDDLE- HIGH	MIDDLE- LOW	LOW
Have Internet access in their home	90.8% **	74.8% **	44.2% **	14.5%
They have never had access to Internet	6.2%	16.1%	39.6% **	66.1% **
Their parents use the Internet	69.2% **	37.3% **	19.9%	14.3%

**Bilateral test with $p > 0.05$.

5.2 Equipment

Local results show lower figures regarding the ownership of computers, in contrast with Latin America. The Report on Youth, Innovation and Knowledge Society in Latin America indicates that nearly 65% of young people and adolescents in Latin America have their own computer. For this survey, young people aged 18 to 29 who reported having their own personal computer was 37.1% and their own laptop at 37.6%. It did not distinguish if they had both, so these figures are not completely accurate. In addition, it must be admitted that perhaps the question "do you have your own computer?" was not clear in the sense that "having your own" meant for exclusive use (which was the intention) and it could also be understood that one computer is shared with other family members.

The first three SES (high, medium high and medium low) showed a significant difference with respect to having a PC with a low level SES, which can be analyzed in Table no. 2. In the high level SES, 75.4% of the population has a computer of this type, while only 12.5% of a low level SES has one. Regarding the ownership of laptops, the first two levels were significant when compared with the second two (86.2% and 72.7% of high and middle high SES against 33.7% and 21.9% of medium-low and low levels of SES, respectively). Possession of a cell phone with inactivated Internet did not exhibit significant differences between these levels. However, in the case of cell phones with activated Internet there was a significant difference between the first two (40% and 31.4%) with respect to the second two (19.7% and 9.4%). This leads to the interpretation that, cell phones without Internet are what have penetrated among the population in general, and where there is a clear inequality is with cell phones connected to the Internet.

The middle-high level claimed to have the highest percentage of tablets with 11.8%. This device (the digital tablet), 92.2% reported not having one among the high level SES. In the case of low level SES, 95.3% do not have a tablet and for the middle level SES under 97% do not have tablets. Therefore, there was no clear link between higher socioeconomic status to having more equipment. These data raise questions about what the characteristics of the population are where technological innovation is first occurring, and on how new portable and less expensive technologies become equipment options. This gives reference to the exceptions and the complexity of digital inclusion in Helper's study (2008). In the case of other mobile devices, this situation did not appear- the logic of an increase or decrease according to socioeconomic status remained: The higher socioeconomic status, the more equipment. The first two levels were significant with respect to the two lowest figures in this type of equipment.

Table no. 2 Equipment owned according to socioeconomic status.

	HIGH	MIDDLE-HIGH	MIDDLE-LOW	LOW
Desktop	75.4% **	60.1% **	40.4% **	12.5%
Laptop	86.2% **	72.7% **	33.7%	21.9%
Cell phone with inactivated Internet	21.5%	18.2%	24.6%	14.1%
Cell phone with activated Internet	40.0% **	31.4% **	19.7%	9.4%
Tablet	7.8%	11.8% **	3.0%	4.7%
Other mobile devices	24.6% **	21.9% **	7.8%	1.6%

Bilateral test with $p > 0.05$.

5.3. Internet access sites

The analysis of the place where you have access to the Internet is relevant because it refers to the situation in which it occurs- in other words, if you have immediate access, if it is available regarding schedules and worktime, if it is in the comfort of home or involves moving to a public place with a payment that results in an extra cost to the family or youth's budget such as is the case when going to Internet cafes. It also describes whether there are other public places that are alternative points of access for disadvantaged young people promoted by the government sector.

Regarding Aguascalientes youth, differences arose between the place where the Internet was first used and where it was most often used. A little more than half accessed the Internet from home, 53.0%. However, school was the place where a higher percentage of young people said they first used the Internet, which points to the school as the predominant area of learning about the Internet, but not where it is most often used. Internet cafes are the second place where the Internet is used for the first time in 25.6% of cases and where 25.8% access it more frequently. It is striking that there is little access through public spaces, which is valuable information for the design of public policies that promote access.

Table no. 3. Sites of Internet access

Place	Location where the Internet was used for the first time	Location where the Internet is most often used	ENDUTIH 2012, Principal location where the Internet was used in the past 12 months
Home	19.7%	53.0%	66.1%
House of family and friends	4.6%	3.5%	This item was not considered in the ENDUTIH
School	46.0%	4.3%	3.7%
Job	2.5%	11.1%	15.5%
Internet cafes	25.6%	25.8%	12.8%
Restaurants, cafes	0.2%	0.4%	This item was not considered in the ENDUTIH
Public access spaces (plazas, shopping centers, etc.)	0.2%	0.8%	0.1%
Others	1.2%	1.2%	1.8%

In Aguascalientes the trend coincides with Latin America, where the home is the place where mostly young people and adolescents from upper and middle class first have access to the Internet. This proportion decreases according to resources and in these cases school is the space that primarily allows for Internet access. However, for young people who are no longer students, which coincides with the lowest SES, cafes occupy the predominant place (Pérez & Castro, 2009).

Among the SES, the significant difference occurred in the high and medium high SES where the home is the place of initiation of access to Internet, unlike other levels. In the lower levels were the Internet cafes, where we must stress that there was even a lower

rate than in the middle-low SES. These differences suggest that more research is needed on the implications and consequences of first time Internet access in these distinct locations.

Table no. 4 Place where Internet is first used according to socioeconomic status.

Place	HIGH	MEDIUM HIGH	MEDIUM LOW	LOW
Home	33.8% **	28.9% **	14.2%	12.5%
House of family and friends	3.1%	2.8%	5.5%	4.7%
School	47.7%	41.5%	48.5%	45.3%
Job	1.5%	21%	2.6%	1.6%
Internet cafes	12.3%	23.9%	28.2% **	31.3%
Restaurants, cafes	1.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Public access spaces (plaza, shopping centers, etc.)	0.0%	0.0%	0.3%	0.0%
Others	0.0%	0.7%	0.6%	** 4.7%

Bilateral test with $p > 0.05$.

5.4. Youth practices on the Internet

One of the problems that prevent the strengthening of the statistical work on the study of the practices on the Internet is the lack of homogeneity in the categories that are used to make it possible to compare them with greater efficiency. The task of analyzing and discussing the logic used in the construction of categories and items becomes very important to improve the quality and scope of the study of this subject. There is a body of statistics at various levels (local, national and international) that offer the possibility to compare results in order to map the diversity and complexity of these practices, and also identify the main trends and what remains constant throughout its variety. This is proposed as a future agenda, and in the case of this survey it is necessary to compare results as much as possible with other studies.

As was discussed in the methodology section, the categories that were applied in the EJIPP 2012 survey were built based on a previous qualitative study, where youth shared their everyday Internet experiences through online journals (Padilla, 2014). This was very relevant because practices or activities originally not been taken into account were brought up and used for research purposes.¹⁴

¹⁴ It is important to consider generational differences between the investigators and the study subjects. In this investigation, we had young people on the team who supported the interpretation of the practices that young people reported in their online diaries. However, given the tendency to start the use of information and

The categories of Internet practices that emerged from the journals and which were used in the survey were: sociable, entertainment, academic/educational, access to public information, information for personal use, politic, recreational and creative, commercial, work related, and administrative and citizen procedures.¹⁵ In the survey design, each of these categories were broken down into several items. What are presented below are not the overall results, but only those that expressed significant differences between SES in the juvenile population to which the survey was applied.

The people belonging to the high level SES were those who emphasized the use of the Internet more for various practices such as entertainment, academic and educational use, politics, using the Internet at work, buying online and those who operate banking transactions and pay taxes online. However, the middle high level SES was distinguished in several cases above the high SES in areas such as social practices, in some activities that correspond to information about politics, for reading news, searching for personal information, recreational and creative uses, research, and selling products and services over the Internet. In practices where the digital gap among young people is even further marked is on academic and educational practices, politics and finances, where those in the low SES hardly use the Internet for these purposes.

The population of the middle-high level was most active in **sociable practices** to communicate with friends, family, relatives, colleagues and former colleagues (96.3%) and to contact people (87.4%). These percentages were the highest among the other levels. The two highest levels predominated in actions oriented towards **entertainment practices** like watching movies, series and videos with the high level SES of 89.1% and 84.7% for the medium high level.

In the **academic and educational practices** the middle to high levels were distinguished in general. The people belonging to these two levels are those who perform to the greatest extent tasks and schoolwork on the Internet, seek information and work in

communication technologies at an increasingly early age, the spectrum of potential study subjects expands and becomes an indispensable criterion for researchers to question their perspective as adults and of belonging to other generations.

¹⁵ After reviewing the online journals with the perspective of grounded theory, ten categories of practices were presented in the order in which they predominated: sociable 28.75%, entertainment 23.55%, academic / educational 15.43%, access to public information 13.29%, information for personal use 7.62%, politics 4.84%, recreational and creative 2.41%, commercial 2.39%, work related 1.02%, administrative and citizen procedures 0.7%.

teams together online. The respective percentages of these levels were 59.4% and 54.3%, in contrast to 38% and 29.5% of the two lower levels, low-medium and low SES. The search for information also prevailed in the two highest levels with 70.2% and 64.3% respectively, compared with 49.4% of the middle-low and 39% of the low level. As far as support for online teamwork, the high level presented a 58.9% and 47.3% for the middle-high level, while the lowest levels were 36.8% and 20.5% respectively. Although people in the middle-low and low socioeconomic levels, informed that they perform these activities, the gap with respect to other levels in the use of the network for educational activities is wide.

In **access to public information practices**, in general people of the two highest levels are interested more in information on public affairs. Reading editorials and specialized magazines was noteworthy at the highest level SES with 55.7% and medium level with 53.4% , compared with 32% and 21.4% of medium-low and low level SES. The highest percentages of those seeking information about local, national and international events also aimed at the highest levels with 65.5% and 66.9%, in contrast to the middle-low levels (52.2%) and low (35.7%). In the search for topics of interest the percentage of high level SES was 84.1% and middle-high of 77.9%. Lower levels corresponded to 61.96% and 64.3%, respectively. Meanwhile, the middle-high SES level is the one which is more inclined to read and watch news with 79.5%.

Finding **information for personal use** was more prevalent among the two highest levels, such as maps to get directions in the city or on the road (60.9% of high level SES and middle-high of 63.8%) and to plan a trip (54% high level and 43.5% of middle-high level). The average population of middle-high SES marked a difference in seeing more fashion styles with 43.8%, finding recipes and home remedies with 39.9%, seeking health advice with 52.9% and how to make crafts with 37%.

The **political practices** on the Internet are more present in the two higher levels. First, with 54% of high level and middle-high of 38.5% are informed about political issues, campaigns and candidates online, in contrast to the 21.5% and 16.7% of middle-low and low levels. Furthermore, 21.9% and 14.2% of the higher levels participate in political parties and campaigns, in contrast to the 5.9% and 2.4% of the lowest levels.

The **recreational and creative practices** are accentuated among people who were identified in the medium high level, who report writing and / or publishing poetry and

narrative and participating in forums in higher percentages. Although the percentages obtained in both activities were low, they were distinguished in the middle-high level with 13.9% and 8.8% from the high level.

In **work practices**, the two groups of higher socioeconomic levels give classes, online consulting, design teaching materials for teaching support carry out common tasks at work and work from home via the Internet more frequently. The high level SES noted significant differences in staying updated on work issues (52.6%) and in being in communication with customers and suppliers (42.1%). The middle-high level was distinguished by conducting research online with 42.9%. This suggests questions about the level at which academics and researchers are predominately located.

Similarly, these two levels make greater **commercial practices** like buying products or services online. The high level has 40.6% and the middle-high 25.5% in this activity. It should be noted that the middle level is more apt to sell products and services online with 10.9%.

Finally, in the case of **administrative and citizen procedures** in general, the first two levels are predominantly those who perform these activities, specifically conducting bank transactions and tax payments. In banking, the percentage in the high level was 26.6% and the middle-high was 22.5%, while the middle-low was 10.7% and below 0%. Regarding taxes, higher levels showed 12.5% and 9.6% compared to 3.3% of the middle-low level and 0% for the lowest SES. The payment of services was marked with significant differences in the high level (25%) above the other SES.

6. In Closing

Analysis of the EJIPP 2012 which was applied in the state of Aguascalientes, Mexico through the crossing of the different variables was very enriching. However, this text is limited to one variable: socioeconomic status, which by itself was able of detonating questions. A series of questions remain to be investigated as to what changes and what prevails in the case of inequality with regard to technological innovation, coinciding with Livingstone (2004), who notes that this is not in any way a recent problem. The work that studies the relationship of young people and children with the Internet are intertwined as when the studies on the consequences and effects of television were conducted. It should be

remembered that it is from the studies of television it is understood that the processes of influence of the media are much more indirect and complex than is presumed understood among the general public, and that the relevant questions were and still are built from other logic. The emphasis was and continues to be centered on understanding the nature of diversity and inequality. That is, to understanding the place of Internet in a differentiated and uneven manner among youth, a constructed social category that attempts to integrate multiple life situations which are historically and contextually placed.

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