

Inhalant use in the sociality practices of two groups of students at public middle schools

Leticia Vega,¹ Rafael Gutiérrez,¹ Eva Ma. Rodríguez,¹ Patricia Fuentes de Iturbe¹

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ABSTRACT

Introduction

Inhalant use among various populations in Mexico occurs within the context of its legality, inadequate health regulation and supervision of its production and sales; high availability and low cost, combined with the pleasurable effects of inhaling, which vary according to the context and users.

Objective

This paper describes the social practices involved in the co-construction of inhalant use contexts of two groups of Mexican middle school students and their reported effects.

Method

Photo elicitation methodology was used, with two videotapes produced by students on school sociality practices where inhalants are used being analyzed in discussion groups.

Results

The theoretical categorization of the data was performed using Atlas.ti software. It was found that although the students inhaled toluene, only one of the students experienced dizziness and headaches, while another classmate felt sleepy. The other video was different; students got high, experiencing euphoria, emotional disinhibition and hallucinations. Dizziness, pain and drowsiness seem largely determined by toluene and alcohol use, whereas the different effects appear to be caused by the sociality of the contexts of inhalant use, students' subjectivity and their length of consumption.

Discussion and conclusion

It is argued that students enjoy inhalant use because getting high reinforces their sociality. The article concludes that inhalant use should be discouraged by incorporating the agency and subjectivity of youth, without neglecting the macro-social factors involved in the production, marketing and regulation of inhalants.

Key words: Sociality, inhalants, hallucinations, teenage students.

RESUMEN

Introducción

La extensión del consumo de inhalables hacia distintas poblaciones de México ocurre en el macrocontexto de la legalidad y la deficiente regulación sanitaria y policial de dichas sustancias, así como su gran disponibilidad y bajo costo, en combinación con los efectos placenteros de su inhalación, los cuales varían según el contexto y los usuarios.

Objetivo

Aquí se describen las prácticas de coconstrucción de los contextos de consumo de inhalables. También, los efectos de éstos en dos grupos de estudiantes mexicanos de educación secundaria.

Método

Se utilizó la metodología de la *photo elicitation*, analizando, en grupos de discusión, dos videograbaciones producidas por los mismos estudiantes, en las que consumen inhalables.

Resultados

Se realizó la categorización teórica de los datos con el *software* Atlas.ti. Se encontró que, a pesar de que los estudiantes inhalan tolueno, sólo una de las estudiantes experimentó mareo y dolor de cabeza, en tanto que otra compañera se sintió somnolienta. Sin embargo, el segundo video muestra que los estudiantes experimentaron *la prendidez* (euforia, desinhibición afectiva) y alucinaciones. El mareo, el dolor y la somnolencia parecen determinados mayormente por el consumo de tolueno y alcohol, pero los efectos disímiles, por la socialidad de los contextos de consumo del inhalable, la subjetivación de los estudiantes y su veteranía en el consumo.

Discusión y conclusión

Se discute que los estudiantes prefieren el consumo de inhalables porque la "prendidez" fortalece su socialidad. Se concluye que conviene desalentar el consumo de inhalables incorporando la agencia y la subjetivación juvenil, sin desatender los factores macrosociales de la producción, comercialización y regulación de los inhalables.

Palabras clave: Socialidad, inhalables, alucinaciones, adolescentes, estudiantes.

¹ Department of Epidemiological and Psychosocial Research, Ramón de la Fuente Muñiz National Institute of Psychiatry.

Correspondence: Mtro. Rafael Gutiérrez. Dirección de Investigaciones Epidemiológicas y Psicosociales, INPRFM. Calz. México-Xochimilco 101, San Lorenzo Huipulco, Tlalpan, 14370, México, DF. Tel: (55) 4160 - 5149. E-mail: gutzbej@imp.edu.mx

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INTRODUCTION

Inhalants are the substances which are used earliest and most prevalently within the population 15 years-of-age or younger in Mexico.¹ Until the 1970's, inhalants use seemed to be circumscribed to certain marginal communities within urban environments. However, in the following decades such use is reported on middle and high school students of every social status in the country.^{2,3} Currently, the phenomenon appears on some adults and seniors, working in the formal and informal economies, as well as on some members of rural and indigenous groups.⁴

Inhalants use is extended due to the legality macrocontext regarding production and merchandising of toxic substances of household and industrial use, their widespread availability and low cost, the negligence of retailers as well as to deficiencies in sanitary regulation and law enforcement regarding its distribution and sale. On the microsocial level, this phenomenon is influenced by the pleasant effects of inhalation,⁵⁻⁸ which vary according to the substance used, usage context, users' characteristics and force correlation of these three elements.⁵ As an example, table 1 shows those effects reported by an adult male who is a social sciences researcher and those experienced by the young people from marginalized areas who were interviewed by the aforementioned researcher. It is noted that both kinds of users experience similar effects regardless of the school level or the site for the inhalation; it seems that these experiences are determined rather by the characteristics of the substance used. It can be seen as well that the researcher and the subjects interviewed go through different experiences in spite of having used the same substance, which may result from an influence of the users' traits and the usage context.

Hereby, usage contexts and user traits are conceived according to Shwader's concept proposal,⁹ where contexts are momentary social co-constructions which, on being created

within the social relationship of the individuals, also have an influence upon their creators. From this standpoint, users of inhalants *create the environment*, which then has an influence, among other things, on their mood, on the amounts and ways of usage, on the hallucinations they experience, etc. Such a concept of co-construction implies the assumption that agency and subjectivation processes are characterize users. Agency¹⁰ is referred to as the ability of users to create and transform usage contexts, i.e., to appropriate available substances, discourse and inhalation practices, conferring them certain personal and collective meanings. On the other side, subjectivation refers to the process of psychological and sociocultural individuation allowing users to be detached from rules and values, to develop their own tastes, interests and abilities, to engage on reflection and decision-making regarding the use of substances in relation to appropriate or interiorized moral guidelines which may encourage, limit or prevent such usage.¹¹

METHOD

To report on a research whose goal is to describe social practices of co-construction of contexts of inhalant usage within two groups of Mexican students of middle school, as well as the effects of the substances used in both cases. Maffesoli's,¹² notion of sociality was useful at selecting the generative practices of usage contexts; such concept is a synthesis of the nietzschean notion of Dionysian festive excess along with the predominance of esthetics over ethics and Simmel's¹³ notion of sociability, which refers to social relationships based on the pleasure of joining others and on the ludic aspect of being together. Some Mexican research on Education^{14,15} and youth,^{16,17} has described socialities in groups of middle school students, in cheer-leading groups for professional soccer teams and in student committees or-

Table 1. Differences and similarities between the effects of inhalant use on two kinds of users

Users	Characteristics	Pleasant effects	
		Different	Similar
Adolescents	Extreme poverty situation. No schooling.	Collective hallucinations. Hallucinations about supernatural or fantastic characters, persons, animals and things – All inserted within one plot.	
	Experts on collective and individual use.	Interaction with hallucinations.	Pleasant flavor. Euphoria.
	Use on marginal environments.	Impressionable. Vivid memories of hallucinations.	Emotional disinhibition. Hallucinate with or without consciousness.
Young adult	Social sciences researcher. Professional.	Individual hallucinations. Hallucinations with shapes and lights which are transformed into familiar figures.	
	First time user.	Observing hallucinated images.	
	Use in medical laboratory.	Not impressionable.	

Source: Prepared by the authors based on axial categorization reported on De la Garza et al.⁸

ganizing newbie parties and carnival-like parades; anyway, these young people share tastes, a sense of esthetics and collectively experience pleasurable sensations, including excessive alcohol intake.¹⁴⁻¹⁷

Based on the notion of sociality, a description analysis unit was defined as every collective practice in middle school students occurring while school authorities are absent, where social interaction is affective, ludic, and where substances are used. Based on this definition, a group of seven sociality practices videotaped by some second grade students was selected; students talked about such videos while in discussion groups, led by the authors of this paper, for a research project on youth use of new technologies.¹⁸ In such videos some students are seen using tobacco and at times also alcohol; two videos of students using inhalants were also identified and these also include scenes of playing truant (not attending or leaving school in order to go places and have fun with others) among which a party is shown where some inhale toluene and use alcohol (length: 7 minutes, 49 seconds); the other is a video of students taking the paint off their school desks, having fun and inhaling toluene. Both videos show seven male and five female students with an average age of 13 years and 7 months old.

Participants

One year after having discussed the seven videos with the students, the participants were invited to discussion groups. Table 2 lists the main features of the 12 students participating in those groups.

The three male and two female students in the *playing-truant* video are shown under the pseudonyms of Javier, Alicia, Zoyla, Mario and Arturo. They live in collective housing units in Naucalpan (State of Mexico); their parents are factory workers, chauffeurs and/or street vendors who have little schooling, some of them not having finished elementary school. Participants of the *paint-off* video, (taking off the paint of the school desks with solvents), three female and four male students, are shown under the pseudonyms Roberto, Juan, Andrés, Beto, Celia, Ana and Susana; they live in collective housing units in the district of Ecatepec (State of Mexico) and their parents are also factory workers or street vendors, some of which have not finished their elementary school.

Technics

To analyze the videos, *photo elicitation*¹⁹⁻²² visual methodology was used, since it has been recommended for the study of the use of different substances²³⁻²⁶ in adults and young people, since it elicits dialogue and provokes emotional reactions, feelings or memories which are hardly ever produced during a traditional interview,^{20,21} along with encouraging involvement and reflection in the subjects interviewed. This method suggests the use of drawn, photographic, film or videotape

images to be interpreted by their creators, actors, witnesses or by others that may be of interest for the research, on in-depth interviews and/or in discussion groups attempting to explore the meanings of the images, what is going on within them as well as that which is not shown in them.¹⁹

Four discussion groups were made with the students in the playing-truant video and four others with the participant of the paint-off video, according to what is suggested by Krueger;²⁷ that is, as conversations planned to obtain information on sociality and the effects of inhalants in a permissive environment that is not directive, but organized and led by a moderator that facilitates a mutual influence among the participants, making them respond to the ideas and comments that come about during the discussion.

Procedure

The same procedure was followed in every video discussion group. First, authorization was required from the school authorities to invite the students in the videos to participate in the discussion groups to talk about their experience with substances, guaranteeing their confidentiality and anonymity. Students had already been sanctioned; their stay at both schools was conditioned upon their attendance to toxicology treatment. Once the request had been authorized, students were personally invited by the authors, whom they had already met in previous discussion groups; perhaps they accepted on account of those experiences. Later, the students occupied a classroom located away from the school authorities' offices and from other classrooms.

Participants were explained the rules for the discussion (not insulting others, referring to the participants using pronouns and waiting for their turn to speak) and were informed of the fact that the reunion would be monitored

Table 2. Main characteristics of the students participating in discussion groups

Participant	Age (years, months)	Middle school grade	District
"Playing truant"			
Male	14.6	3rd	Naucalpan
Male	14.7	3rd	
Male	14.8	3rd	
Female	14.5	3rd	
Female	14.4	3rd	
"Paint-off"			
Male	14.8	3rd	Ecatepec
Male	14.7	3rd	
Male	14.9	3rd	
Male	14.9	3rd	
Female	14.8	3rd	
Female	14.7	3rd	
Female	14.5	3rd	

Source: Prepared by the authors based on data obtained in this research.

by a researcher who would lead the discussion posing questions and improvising queries upon what is said by the participants and encouraging verbal interaction among them; they were also asked permission to record the audio of the session and the fact that the session could stop whenever they wanted was underscored. Finally, it was pointed out that the meeting would last between 60 and 90 minutes and that they would be allowed to leave whenever they wanted. Later, they were asked to see the video in which they had taken part (this was shown on a 39 in. screen); they were later asked to give their opinion and comment on the question: "what do you think about what is shown on the video?". After they finished talking they were asked whether they agreed or not, which encouraged dialogue and a rich group discussion where participants expressed their experiences, perspectives, emotions and beliefs, about the events and images on the video; sometimes participants agreed and others they disagreed. During the following focal groups queries were made specifically about their sociality practices, the effects they had experienced and their opinions about the researchers' interpretations.

Ethical considerations

A letter of voluntary consent was given to each and every student as well as to their parents, guaranteeing confiden-

tiality and anonymity at participating in each of the discussion groups. The objectives were explained to them, as well as what the discussion groups were about, where they would take place and how long they would last. All of them were offered pedagogical and psychological support at the State of Mexico DIF (National System for the Integral Development of the Family) facilities. All letters were signed both by the students and by their parents, authorizing their voluntary participation.

At the data collection, only the researchers and the students were present, not calling each other by their real names. Transcripts of the audio recordings were made by persons not related to this research and were checked by the researcher responsible for the project. Transcripts, along with the video and audio recordings were stored in a computer file and were assigned code numbers unrelated to schools or names; the researcher in charge of the project was the only one having access to the password of the aforementioned computer.

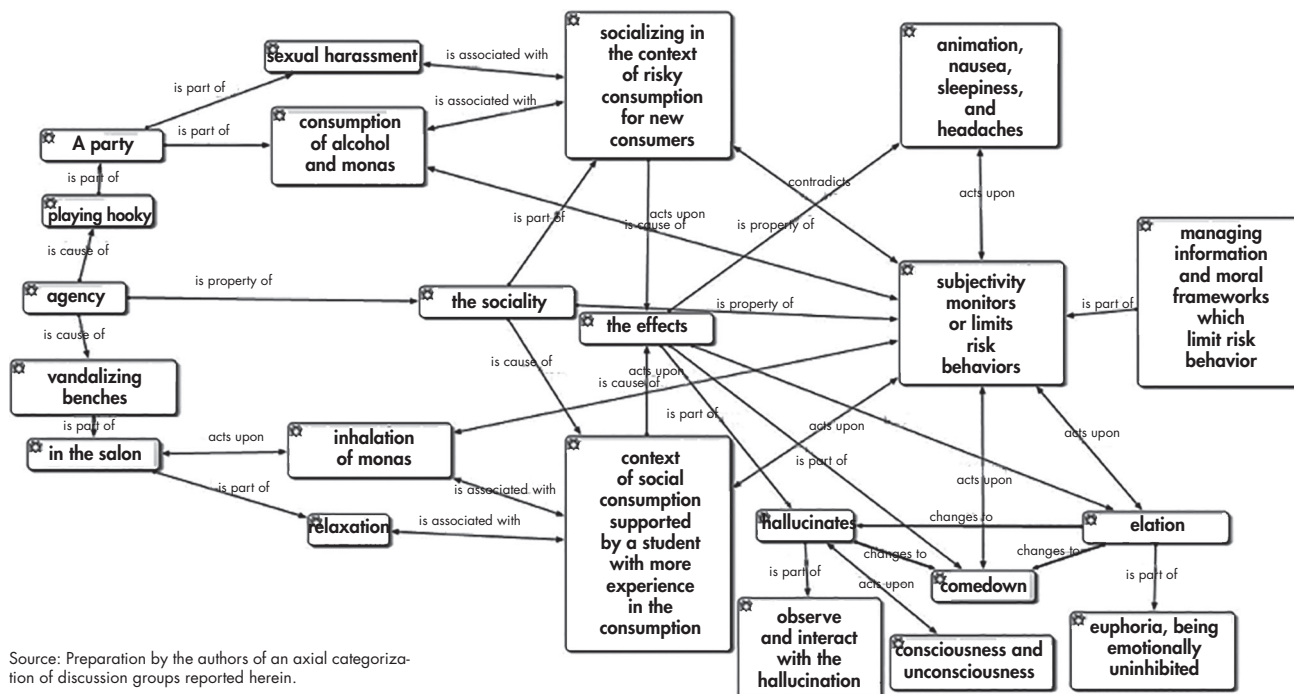
RESULTS

All gathered information was digitized and assembled as primary documents in a single hermeneutic unit of Atlas.ti V 7 software, which comprised: both videos of inhalant use, audio recordings and transcripts of discussion groups, field

Table 3. Sample definitions of inductive and deductive categories used in the categorization process

Kind of categories	Codes	Definitions	Quotation examples from the transcripts of discussion groups associated to codes
Deductive	Agency	Ability of users to create, appropriate of and transform usage contexts.	"Well, we organize parties or go here and there, we are the ones who, excuse the language, are a <i>fucking mess</i> (jokers, playful) and are the ones who make the mood".
	Sociality	Amusing and affective social interaction among peers where substances are used; they are enjoyed by the participants by the mere fact of being and feeling together.	"Besides I began inhaling since I was in sixth grade as a way to celebrate; it was so for some years in middle school, it was like this that me and my friends shared, it made me feel happy and I forgot some personal and family issues".
	Sexual harassment	Sexual behavior exercised by one or more persons against one or others making them feel offended, humiliated and/or intimidated.	"One of those old men (who were at the party) was disrespectful to us, women. I was sitting next to my friends with him and her (pointing out some of her classmates present) and that old man was just staring at me, ludicrously, and he was telling me: Am I going to eat all that?, looking at my body. Then he said me some other things like that and I said some bad words to him and sat by the other side with my friend and he stopped bothering me".
Inductive	Truancy	Suspension of school activities by the students to go wandering, having fun with friends and using substances.	"We walked all the way to the park and he took out some cigarettes, he said he was going to teach us how to smoke and that he who <i>backed out</i> (did not participate) would be a talebearer".
	Getting high	State of euphoria and disinhibited display of affection towards the persons around, which is present after the first inhalations.	"It was a funny, disinhibited experience, we got to talk, to dance happily, you feel like more sure of yourself, all enthusiastic, it's feeling like superman; we even weren't afraid of the teachers, we had even forgotten to take the paint off. We danced and made a mess, we were laughing at everything. It is very much like when you drink alcohol and get jolly".
	Huffing	Inhale by the nose or mouth a paper impregnated with solvent.	"So in the beginning, like three or four sniffs by the nose and we pass it around" (two other participants nod in acquiescence).

Source: Prepared by the authors based on data obtained in this research.



Source: Preparation by the authors of an axial categorization of discussion groups reported herein.

Figure 1. Example of meanings of school socializing and effects of solvent consumption in different contexts.

notes as well as the researchers' interpretations. While Atlas ti is designed to create knowledge inductively, according to *Grounded Theory*,²⁸ it was partially followed, since the categorization was both inductive and deductive (table 3), in charge of two researchers, who first separately and then jointly, categorized primary documents. Both categorized in a deductive manner, assigning the selected quotes from the transcripts to concepts from other theories; nonetheless, they also categorized inductively, doing the open coding, axial coding and selective coding, webs of significance and memo construction, in accordance with the constant comparative method.²⁸

In open coding, the main themes were identified and were assigned labels or codes to group the themes (in this case, quotes or text fragments) referring to the same phenomenon or sharing some properties. In table 3 some of the codes used are displayed, grouped into two categories, inductive and deductive. The first (agency or sociality) were used to group the corresponding selected quotations. Inductive codes, like truant or *mona*,* were derived from the meanings of quotations selected from primary documents.

In axial coding, relations were identified between the same codes (for example, code A causes code B; code A contradicts code B, etc.); besides, selective coding procedure was followed, writing memos (notes) and making diagrams or webs of significance until obtaining several central categories.

Once all primary documents had been categorized, it was found that some of the categories, v. gr. *getting high*

(euphoria, emotional disinhibition caused by inhalation), required to be fragmented into new subcategories, and that other categories had not been developed fully (for instance, playing truant and paint-off) while others that were anticipated (hallucinations) had not emerged. Thence three more discussion groups were made with the same students at each school: one to describe in detail sociality practices, another to go more deeply into the effects of inhalants and a third one to know the students' point of view regarding the significance scheme of the authors of this paper regarding what had been said in discussion groups (figure 1). The information obtained was relevant for fragmenting and determining categories as well as for adjusting some of the relationships between them.

In order to determine the saturation of the categories obtained,²⁹ another researcher applied the categorization system to two sources: a) three interviews made for another project,³⁰ to young people engaged in sexual labor, who had use inhalants while they were students, and b) quotations of testimonies by young users published on three reports on the effects of inhalants.^{5,7,8} In both of these sources, analysis did not produce new categories (different meanings), while several quotations of users easily fit in the category scheme obtained.

Playing truant

A widespread practice among middle school students is playing truant; i.e. not attending or abandoning the school facilities to go for a walk and have fun with other class-

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* The "mona" is a tow soaked with inhalable.

mates in different public or private spaces. Some students said they agreed on walking on parks, shopping malls or going to the house of a classmate whose parents were absent; some of them even claimed to have their parents' consent. According to them, while playing truant, they talked, danced, smoked, had fun and sometimes they ingested alcoholic beverages.

On the aforementioned video there are two girls and one boy, though there are two other classmates who are not shown; all of them were playing truant and they recorded on video all they did, including their going to a party. In the video one can see the participants climbing the school wall; walking on a nearby park with sports courts and a fountain; playing together and making fun of teachers; walking embraced and getting wet in the fountain.

In the discussion group students commented that they had stopped recording when they met an older female acquaintance who invited them to a party; later on the video, students appear walking on the street, while music is heard, apparently coming from a house with some canvas covering the front yard. In the video one can see other young people, dressed in their middle school uniforms, on the street; at the end there are some scenes with the students at a party.

Participants said there were other students from their own schools and from other schools standing in line, waiting to go inside for the party with the approval of five young adults who were staying at the entrance; they also said that when they arrived at the party they noticed it was some kind of soiree (an early evening party). The main comments of the three students that appear on the video coincided on their feeling thrilled at going to their first party, without their parents or teachers, with boys and girls from their middle school and other schools in the neighborhood; they mentioned that upon entering they were handed some *crazy drinks* (mixture of different kinds of alcohol and sweetened substances, among other things), they also said there were dozens of students inside the house. On the video one can see the inner part of the house where couples of women are dancing erotically while other participants talk to each other's ear. According to the discussion group, those participants who ingested the *crazy drinks* got cheerful and actively participated in the party, beginning to dance with each other; they also comment that in between the songs they were dancing, each of them drank between four and five cups of crazy drinks.

In the discussion group, five of the participants underscore how surprising and new was this party; they said it was the first time they had been at the same place with many students of their own age or older, some even from more advanced grades in middle school and high school. They also said the air smelled like *weed* (marijuana) and *huffs* (cloth or paper impregnated with toluene); one of the boys who does not appear on the video says it seemed to him there was also powdered cocaine. On the video one can only see the boys having crazy drinks while others smoke or inhale

a huff shared by several young people while moving to the rhythm of music passing the huff to the participants; they also said it was the first time they used inhalants, though they had tried to do so on different occasions. On the video one can see some young people accepting the huffs, applying them to their noses and quickly passing it to the others. In the discussion group, they say:

Javier, 14 years old: "*Yeah, the three of us put it under our nose, so we sniffed a couple of times and passed it on*" (while Zoyla and Alicia nodded).

Interviewer: "*For how long did you use the huff?, ¿always by the nose?*"

Alicia, 14 years old: "*So in the beginning, like three or four sniffs by the nose and we pass it around*". (while Javier and Zoyla nod in acquiescence)

Interviewer: "*Was it the first time you used the huff?*"

Alicia, 14 years old: "*...yeah, the first, well, before we had done it, but, just the same, it was hiding at school, someone brought some and we soaked some toilet paper and some of us did it on the stairs and because it was in the night nobody saw us, but we did it quick because we were risking to be discovered and to be suspended again (temporary school expulsion)*".

Of the three informants on the video, Alicia is the one holding the huff for a longer period of time, later one can see her friend Javier taking the huff from her; he said he thought she was going to be left unconscious and that she seemed sleepy, he also pointed out that while she was huffing, a stranger said something to her and kissed her. On the video one can also see Zoyla approaching Alicia and later she leaves; when Zoyla was questioned she answered that she had warned her to be alert, that someone else was kissing her; Alicia only said to the group that all that time she was feeling dizzy and had a headache.

Javier and his friends take for granted that they tried the inhalant during the party, that it was the first time they experienced the effects. When questioned about why they had not inhaled for a longer period, they commented that the party was weird and that there was sexual harassment and thus they wanted to leave since they feared someone would want to take liberties with the girls. They also expressed they had been afraid to use inhalants because they knew they "damage your brain".

Javier, 14 years old: "*It's just that PVC (toluene) fucks your brain, you end up like an idiot. I've seen dudes like that, miles away, they don't know what they do or what they say*". Mario and Arturo agreed with all he said, nodding.

Informants also made some moral reflections that prevented them from fully experiencing the effects of inhalant use. All three mentioned that they would be regarded as "unreliable" and "irresponsible" at school; that instead of being at school, they were, "cheating on their families, hanging out with strangers to use drugs", "to get stoned" (badly drugged), to lose their conscience and good sense "doing crazy and more", to probably "end up going to bed with anyone".

All three participants in the video agreed as far as their beliefs are concerned regarding the different substances they tried, the moral consequences implied by their use and the "weird" atmosphere of the party. The other two friends who went with them (Mario and Arturo) also agreed upon the party having a heavy (dangerous) atmosphere, where someone could play clever with the younger or with the girls.

Paint-off of the school desks

On the second video there are two scene sequences; in the first there are some students removing the paint from the school desks using *thinner* (toluene) inside a classroom, among them, the seven participants of the discussion group, while a teacher gives directions as to what the students must do; then the video is stopped and after that there is a scene of two girls peeking out the classroom door. In the video, one can hear shouting, laughs and some of them asking: "is he gone?" The video stops and then one can see images of students playing and girls chatting; finally, there is a group of shots of some of the participants inhaling, hugging each other tenderly, dancing and laughing.

At the discussion group, the participants said they took advantage of the absence of the teacher. One of the informants says that a few days before they had been told they had to take off the paint from the desks and that the paint-off day, another one had taken a can of PVC or *solvent* (toluene) from the workers that were at the school's bathrooms that day. In this regard, the following discussion took place in the group:

Andrés, 14 years old: "That day Juan brought a can of solvent hidden and began huffing (inhaling from a ball made of cloth or paper impregnated in an inhalant substance) from the time we began to remove the paint (this is not on the video); because they had left the thinner there, then the teachers thought it smelled like that because of the thinner".

Roberto, 14 years old: "Later the teachers left with the second graders and the rest began huffing with Juan. I hadn't done it before, others did have, we got all frisky (joking, playful), we got all crazy (unrestrained joy), after that I never did it again at school because I got suspended".

The three girl participants, Ana, Celia and Susana, agreed on reporting that on such occasion, they wanted to try the huff that their friends were inviting them just for the sake of being with them. In the group, Celia and Susana agreed that after they made sure there were no teachers nearby, they closed the classroom door and began playing and chatting (talking); later they took the huff dampened in solvent that Beto, who according to them was a boy with greater experience in using it, was friendly offering them. After being inhaling through the mouth, as Beto was recommending, began what most of them called "getting high", whereas Ana called it "getting cool" (glad), "like in a different state".

During the first stage of "getting high", they agree on having liked what they began to feel. Roberto, another of

the participants, says he was not inhaling, but only recording on his cell phone, later he says he also inhaled with the rest and danced to the rhythm of *cumbiaton* and *reggaeton*. Participants agreed on having experienced happiness, disinhibition, security and euphoria. On the video one can see the participants huffing, chatting, laughing, hugging each other and dancing; in that regard they mentioned knowing what was happening to them, what topics were being discussed, where they were, what music they were listening to, etc.

On the video one can see Juan, Beto, Andrés, Ana, and Susana, inhaling for a period of time longer than the others in order to experience the *trip* (hallucinations) and it can be seen that all five of them isolate from the rest. This was said in the group:

Andrés, 14 years old: "...you dig in (go deeper) in your trip, it is more personal, you no longer pay attention to what the others are doing".

Juan and Beto agreed on pointing out they were no longer conscious of what the others were doing and did not think either about their school responsibilities:

Ana, 14 years old: "If you really hit it (inhale a lot) it gets you out of reality because you get to see things which don't actually exist; you only hallucinate them on your mind or they change quite crazy (surprisingly), the things you stare at, I was fixed upon watching a white curtain there was in the classroom where we were supposedly taking the paint off the desks and I was so digged in that all of a sudden the curtain already was like a white plush teddy bear, I touched it and it was soft. Everything changes: the space, the size of the things you see and you manipulate them all during your trip".

According to Anna, this "trip" ended on a more or less surreptitious way, leaving her in the mood to get on with it. She uses the expression low and getting low to refer to that sensation right after the trip, where there was a stage very similar to awakening- According to her, she attempted to repeat the pleasant experience, but at the same time she continued to gain awareness of the situation.

On the video one can see that the informants who had drifted away go back to approach the others. According to the informants, at that moment they had become conscious of everyday reality. They said they began to notice what was happening around them, that their huff was dried and it was time to dampen it again with solvent. Andrés and Juan also said that they began to wonder whether they had made a fool of themselves, whether the teachers had come back or whether they had been discovered by any authority of the school; at the same time, all participants agreed on having experienced feelings of overall wellbeing, of full happiness, reporting even a feeling of naïveté. On that regard, one of the boys says:

Juan, 14 years old: "At those moments I felt a lot of pleasure, I felt happy, I inhaled with a friend, and at those moments we played pretending to be boyfriend and girlfriend. We liked each other, it was like a Platonic love, we got to inhale like to play that, we hugged each other and talked to the other tenderly, no sex... I felt like a little boy, naïve, a good person".

According to them, "after every low", they made "their huff" again, facing the chance of feeling the same anew:

Beto, 14 years old: "Every trip is a different adventure, you get all excited and anxious to see what is on hold on the next trip. It is cool, I got so much that I felt like floating, I could fly and discover new, surprising things on the road that I go through, during the trip. That is what's cool (nice) about the solvent, that you know that each trip has something new waiting for you, something unknown, and that allures you...it is a very cool and thrilling way to amuse yourself, to pass the time, later on you just want to use it to hallucinate. I got so excited when we shared the can, because you know you are going to hallucinate, my heart jumped and I got chills".

The group participants agree on underscoring that they also felt worried about being caught by the authorities and about their families finding out. They mentioned that it was a preoccupation that kept them alert, which did not let them enjoy fully and which made them doubt about repeating the inhalation.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Despite having inhaled the same substances, only one of the students on the video about playing truant experienced sleepiness, dizziness and headache, while those related to taking off the paint of the school desks experienced "getting high" (euphoria, emotional disinhibition) and hallucinations. In this case, sleepiness, dizziness and headache seem to be determined on a greater degree by the combination of inhaled toluene and alcohol intake; nonetheless, diverse effects seem to have been rather influenced by the characteristics of usage contexts (sociality) and of the students (there was a more experienced user who organized the consumption).

While playing truant, students participated in a sociality where they felt insecure and a subjectivation process which refrained the deep inhalation of toluene; whereas the context for taking the paint off the desks was totally co-constructed from youth sociality. By interacting among peers and in the absence of the teacher, they built *the mood*, which had an influence on the organization of the consumption, with the most experienced student being in charge; this allowed for a deeper and repetitive inhalation of toluene, as well as experiencing hallucinations and above all, getting high, which intensified the pleasure of being together and having fun, that is, sociality. This is always accompanied by subjectivation, which may at times be suspended while hallucinating very deeply and for longer periods (getting away from the wakefulness world), though while at the low always reappears as reflection and fear about what people would say, thus pointing out the limits to the consumers.

Such results are relevant since they identify "getting high" as one of the pleasant effects that encourage repetition of the inhalation in experimental consumers, since it strengthens their sociality. It also reveals that mere youth

sociality does not produce on itself the contexts for the pleasurable use of inhalants; to such effect, sociality practices must be organized and conducted by the most experienced user. Finally, it states that subjectivation processes go along sociality, since students enjoy being and having fun together, but they also reflect, consider the information or moral discourse which help them limit their behavior.

Such results might prove useful to develop community interventions⁵ which include subjectivation processes, agency and youth sociality of students, thus creating appropriate contexts which allow for the assimilation and transmission of information that contributes at discouraging the use of substances among students. These efforts should receive financing and be supported by the inhalant industry (producers, exporters, and distributors). For instance, the chemical industry might attempt to substitute toluene with other substances which do not provoke psychotropic effects; meanwhile, schools should have safety protocols for the use of such substances on their facilities. All this should be accompanied by improvements on the application of sanitary regulations and of legal surveillance on the sale of such substances at commercial venues as well as its distribution at youth events.

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