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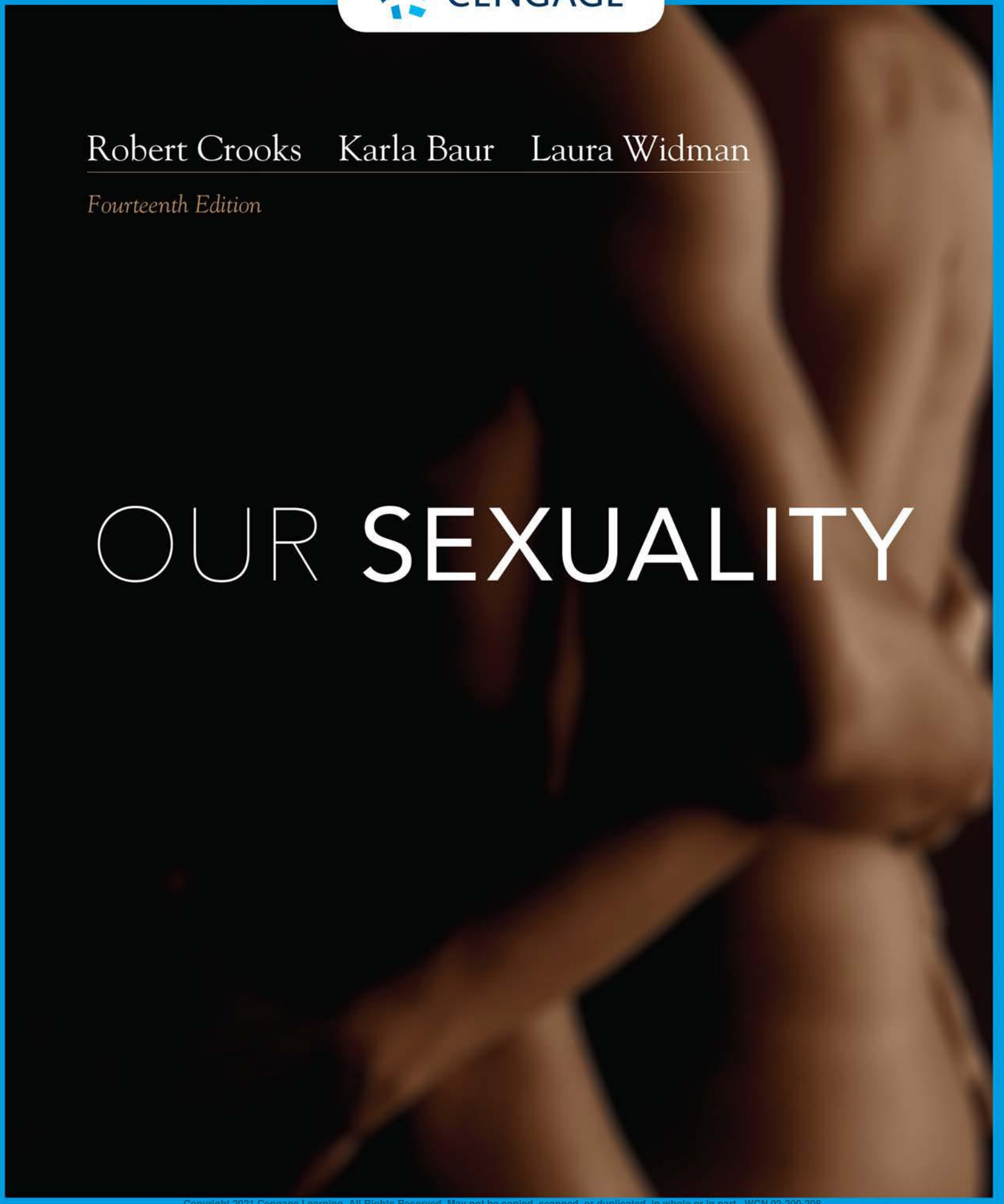

Robert Crooks Karla Baur Laura Widman

Fourteenth Edition

OUR SEXUALITY

Fourteenth Edition

Our Sexuality

Robert Crooks
Karla Baur
Laura Widman

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***Our Sexuality,* Fourteenth Edition**

Robert Crooks, Karla Baur, and Laura Widman

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With sadness we dedicate this 14th edition to
Robert Crooks,
who passed away at the end of the last revision.
Our Sexuality was his brilliant inspiration,
and thousands of students have benefited
from his commitment to this text.

About the Authors

The integration of psychological, social, and biological components of human sexuality in this textbook is facilitated by the blending of the authors' academic and professional backgrounds.

Robert Crooks had a Ph.D. in psychology. His graduate training stressed clinical and physiological psychology. Sociology served as his minor throughout his graduate training. His involvement with teaching human sexuality classes at university, college, and medical school spanned over two decades. In addition, Bob and his wife, Sami Tucker, developed and implemented training programs in order for Kenyans to provide HIV/AIDS peer educator interventions in their communities.

Karla Baur has retired as co-author after 13 editions. During her professional life she earned a master's degree in clinical social work and had a private practice, specializing in couples and sex therapy. She taught human sexuality and female sexuality courses at Portland Community College, Portland State University, and Clark College. At Oregon Health Sciences University she taught human sexuality courses and coached medical students in taking sexual histories with patients. She has been certified as a sex educator, therapist, and sex therapy supervisor by the American Association of Sex Educators, Counselors, and Therapists. Karla also trained HIV/AIDS prevention peer educators in Bob's program in Kenya.

Laura Widman has a Ph.D. in Clinical Psychology and postdoctoral training in HIV/STD prevention. She is currently an Associate Professor of Psychology at North Carolina State University. She has an active program of research focused on adolescent sexuality, with a particular interest in developing and testing technology-based programs to reduce HIV/STDs and improve the sexual health of youth. Laura has authored more than 50 manuscripts and book chapters, and she has presented her work to national and international audiences. She has taught undergraduate courses in human sexuality using the *Our Sexuality* textbook for over 10 years. She is delighted to be joining the authorship team to contribute to the 14th edition of this book.

Laura was invited to join *Our Sexuality* as author subsequent to Bob Crooks' death. Cengage is extremely fortunate to find Laura. She is skillfully and enthusiastically carrying the spirit of *Our Sexuality* forward while further improving it with new expertise and perspective.

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Preface

Our Sexuality, now in its 14th edition, provides students with an engaging, personally relevant, politically astute, and academically sound introduction to human sexuality. The textbook's comprehensive integration of biological, psychological, behavioral, cultural, and political aspects of sexuality has been consistently well received in each previous edition.

New in This Edition

ACROSS CHAPTERS:

- We have added over 900 new references to the 14th edition. These highlight the most cutting-edge science and the latest developments in politics and pop culture related to human sexuality.
- Every chapter includes updated terminology, examples, and photos. We paid special attention to using language that is inclusive and adding more images that represent people of diverse race/ethnicities, genders, and sexual orientations.
- We have streamlined some of the material to make the text as digestible as possible.
- New Critical Thinking Questions and Authors' File quotes have been added throughout.

CHAPTER 1: PERSPECTIVES ON SEXUALITY

- New section addressing terminology related to gender and sexual diversity
- Expanded research on LGBTQ issues
- Updated information on sex in the media, including the role of new media in sexual expression
- Several new figures

CHAPTER 2: SEX RESEARCH: METHODS AND CHALLENGES

- Reorganized flow of information
- New study examples for each research method
- New section on qualitative research
- New information about social desirability bias in sex research
- Updates to Internet-based research methods

CHAPTER 3: FEMALE SEXUAL ANATOMY AND PHYSIOLOGY

- Updated discussion on the role of pornography in women's views of their labia
- New data on pubic hair grooming
- Updated data and screening recommendations for breast, ovarian, and cervical cancer
- Expanded data on hormone replacement therapy

CHAPTER 4: MALE SEXUAL ANATOMY AND PHYSIOLOGY

- New information on penis size
- Updated statistics and current medical recommendations on circumcision
- Updated data and screening recommendations for penile and prostate cancer

CHAPTER 5: GENDER ISSUES

- Significant updates to flow of information and terminology used throughout the chapter
- Expanded discussion of gender diversity and terms that expand beyond the gender binary
- Updated information on sex differentiation of the brain
- Clarification of transitioning and gender confirmation surgery
- Heavily revised section on gender role formation
- New information on how the media, including social media and access to the Internet, impact gender roles

CHAPTER 6: SEXUAL AROUSAL AND RESPONSE

- Updated information on the links between sexual arousal and the use of alcohol, tobacco (including through vaping), prescription drugs, and birth control
- Extensive update about the role of hormones in sexual behavior
- New studies comparing the experience of orgasm between men and women

CHAPTER 7: LOVE AND COMMUNICATION IN INTIMATE RELATIONSHIPS

- New section on the pop-culture book, *Five Love Languages* by Dr. Gary Chapman
- Extensive updates to the sections on interracial marriage and same-sex marriage
- New discussion of the research bias toward cisgender heterosexual couples in the literature on love and communication
- New section describing how the Internet has changed who we fall in love with
- Updated research on casual sex and "hook-ups"
- New information on strategies for sustaining long-term relationships
- Updated "Let's Talk About It: Consent for Everyone!" box

CHAPTER 8: SEXUAL BEHAVIORS

- Expanded information about sexual fantasy
- Greater attention to sexual behaviors among sexual minority people
- Updated statistics on masturbation
- Updated statistics on the prevalence and frequency of partnered sexual activity
- Revised section on Kink behaviors

CHAPTER 9: SEXUAL ORIENTATIONS

- New vocab terms: mostly straight, mostly gay/lesbian, LGBTQ, internalized homophobia, and heteronormative
- Updated discussion on the complexity and ambiguity of defining sexual orientation based on sexual behavior, sexual/romantic attraction, and choice of identity labels
- Expanded information about bisexuality
- Extensive updates based on the Supreme Court ruling on same-sex marriage in 2015
- Greater emphasis on sexual identity development in youth
- Revamped "Let's TALK about it: Guidelines for Coming Out" box
- New figures

CHAPTER 10: CONTRACEPTION

- Updated information on the effectiveness of birth control and rates of unplanned pregnancy
- Expanded section on access to contraception in the United States
- Updated information about currently available contraceptives
- Updated data about global use of contraception
- Revised section on fertility awareness methods with inclusion of new terms: two day method and symptothermal method
- New section about the way technology is impacting accessibility and decision making around contraceptives

CHAPTER 11: CONCEIVING CHILDREN: PROCESS AND CHOICE

- Childfree added as a new vocab word with discussion around the growing number of people who chose not to have children
- Updated statistics on infertility
- New information on the fertility treatments: current options, cost, and ethical/legal issues to consider
- Extensive updates on rates of abortion and state abortion restrictions
- Updated statistics on maternal and infant mortality

CHAPTER 12: SEXUALITY DURING CHILDHOOD AND ADOLESCENCE

- Updated research on childhood sexuality
- New statistics on pubertal timing in adolescence
- Revised discussion on the sexual double-standard as it relates to sexual behavior among youth
- Updated information about sexting
- New section on the unique challenges that LGBT youth face regarding sexual development
- New section discussing the way the Internet is changing adolescent relationships
- Updated information on adolescent pregnancy
- Updated information on the role of parents and schools as potential sex educators

CHAPTER 13: SEXUALITY AND THE ADULT YEARS

- New Census data on single, cohabitating, and married adults
- New figure on changes in the median age of first marriage over time in the United States
- New sections on same-sex marriage and interracial marriage
- Updated section on consensual nonmonogamy and open relationships
- Updated statistics on divorce
- Revised section on same-sex relationships among older adults

CHAPTER 14: SEXUAL DIFFICULTIES AND SOLUTIONS

- Revised terminology and statistics based on DSM-5 criteria for sexual disorder diagnosis
- New discussion of the research bias towards cisgender heterosexual individuals in the literature on sexual difficulties and solutions
- Revised section on desire discrepancy in couples
- Updated information on faking orgasms
- New section on sexual addiction
- Updated information on the origins of sexual difficulties and the known effectiveness of sexual treatments
- New section on sensate focus for gay and lesbian couples

CHAPTER 15: SEXUALLY TRANSMITTED INFECTIONS

- Less emphasis on specific medical treatments for each STI
- Greater emphasis on STI testing, with added information on where students can get tested
- Updated statistics on the incidence or prevalence of each STI
- Updated information on HPV vaccine recommendations, especially for boys
- Heavily updated section on HIV/AIDS, with new information about current prevention approaches
- New figure on the HIV testing and cascade of care
- New focus on the problem of HIV and STI stigma. This is incorporated throughout the chapter and also added as a new section entitled "Be Mindful of Stigma"
- New "Let's TALK about it: Telling a Partner" box

CHAPTER 16: ATYPICAL SEXUAL BEHAVIOR

- Heavily revised chapter with new terminology and statistics based on DSM-5 categorization of paraphilic behavior
- Updated information on sexual sadism and sexual masochism
- New tips for responding to unwanted sexual exposure
- New section on pedophilia
- Updated information on the causes of atypical sexual behavior
- New vocab words: pedophilia and telephone scatologia
- New table summarizing the eight most common paraphilias identified in the DSM-5

CHAPTER 17: SEXUAL COERCION

- Reorganized and heavily updated content
- New section on sexual consent
- New section on the #MeToo movement
- Updated statistics on the prevalence of sexual assault, sexual harassment, and child sexual abuse
- Greater attention to male victims of sexual assault
- New information on the Catholic Church sexual abuse scandal
- New "Your sexual health: Preventing and coping with sexual assault" box

CHAPTER 18: SEX FOR SALE

- New information on how pornography has evolved with developments in online technologies
- Updated information on feminist pornography
- Updated statistics on pornography consumption
- New section on child pornography
- Updated research on the potential benefits and harms of pornography, with new information on how pornography may impact adolescent sexual development
- Revised information on the laws surrounding sex work around the world
- New "Sex and Politics: FOSTA-SESTA: The Politics of Sex Work" box
- Heavily updated section on sex trafficking

Other Continuing Features

- **A personal approach.** Users of the textbook have responded favorably to our attempts to make the subject human and personal, and in this fourteenth edition we have retained and strengthened the elements that

contributed to this approach and expanded coverage of the impact that political decisions and policies have on individuals and groups.

- **Authors' files.** One of the most popular features of *Our Sexuality* has been the incorporation of voices of real people through the use of authors' files. These quotations—taken from the experiences and observations of students, clients, and colleagues—are woven into the text but set apart in conversation bubbles. Each chapter opens with an authors' file quotation illustrating an important concept pertinent to that chapter.
- **Nonjudgmental perspective.** Consistent with our personal focus, we have avoided a prescriptive stance on most issues introduced in the textbook. We have attempted to provide information in a sensitive, nonsexist, inclusive, nonjudgmental manner that assumes the reader is best qualified to determine what is most valid and applicable in their own life.
- **Psychosocial orientation.** We focus on the roles of psychological and social factors in human expression, reflecting our belief that human sexuality is governed more by psychological factors than by biological determinants. At the same time, we provide the reader with a solid basis in the anatomy and physiology of human sexuality and explore new research pertaining to the interplay of biology, psychology, and social learning.
- **Critical Thinking Questions,** many of which are new to this edition, appear in the margin. These questions are designed to help students apply their knowledge and experience while developing their own outlook. Each question encourages students to stop and think about what they are reading, in an attempt to facilitate higher-order processing of information and learning.
- **Sexuality and Diversity discussions,** integrated throughout the textbook, deal with topics such as ethnic variations in gender roles, female genital cutting, cultural variations in sexual arousal, ethnic variations in intimate communication, cross-cultural issues in preselecting a baby's sex, the clash between sex therapy practices and cultural values, AIDS in Africa, and cultural values that punish women who have been raped. Many of these Sexuality and Diversity discussions have been revised, expanded, and updated for the fourteenth edition.
- **At a Glance tables** designed to present important information in summary form. Examples of this feature include tables that summarize sex research methods, factors involved in typical and atypical prenatal differentiation, major physiological changes during the sexual response cycle, information to consider when choosing a birth control method, and features of common sexually transmitted infections.
- **Pedagogy.** Individuals learn in different ways. We therefore provide a variety of pedagogical aids to be used as the student chooses. Each chapter opens with an outline of the major topic headings, complete with **chapter opening questions** that focus attention on important topics. **Key words** are boldfaced within the text, and a pronunciation guide follows selected key words. A **running glossary** in the text margin provides a helpful learning tool. Each chapter concludes with a **Summary** in outline form for student reference. A complete **Glossary** as well as a complete **Bibliography** are provided at the end of the textbook.

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Supplements for *Our Sexuality*

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This detailed manual provides course guidelines, in-class exercises, video clips, and chapter objectives to assist instructors in teaching the course. The Instructor's Manual for *Our Sexuality* has been thoroughly updated for the new edition.

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Helping you make your lectures more engaging while effectively reaching your visually oriented students, these handy Microsoft PowerPoint® slides outline the chapters of the main textbook in a classroom-ready presentation. The PowerPoint® slides are updated to reflect the content and organization of the new edition of *Our Sexuality*.

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Acknowledgments

Upon completion of the fourteenth edition of *Our Sexuality*, we reflect on the enormous contributions of others to the quality and success of this textbook. We are indebted to the enthusiasm, dedication, and skills of the professionals and reviewers who have had a hand in this edition. We also remain indebted to our students who inspired our first edition.

During this revision, we strongly experienced the inspiration of a team approach. Of all the members of the highly professional, competent, and supportive staff of Cengage who contributed to this fourteenth edition, Tangelique Williams-Grayer, Content Manager, provided exceptional leadership, organizational talents, and positive energy and support to us and the arduous revision process. She skillfully juggled many plates throughout the process—coordinating the entire package—correcting essential details and content, managing the development of the excellent print and digital supplements and test banks while making the medial products meaningful assets to students and professors. We especially appreciate her consistent, clear and timely communications with us throughout the project. Product Manager, Josh Parrott, supported us in our efforts while coordinating input and review with learning consultants and sexuality instructors. Star Burruto and later Laura Ross, Product Directors, provided vision to increase student engagement and recruited specialty reviewers to add depth to certain areas of the revision. The entire team, including Natasha Allen, Learning Designer, collaborated to create innovative MindTap for the fourteenth edition.

Bethany Bourgeois, Art Director, led the design process. Deanna Ettinger and Nick Barrows, as well as Lumina's Dhanalakshmi Ramani, and Sujatha Selvakumar contributed new and excellent photo and text research. Product Assistants, Rose Shannon and Kat Wallace, managed indispensable administrative tasks. Karen Hunt, Manufacturing Planner, provided excellence in overseeing that the beautifully composed pages make it into book format.

Beth Asselin and Ann Borman Project Managers with SPi Global, efficiently managed the complicated, detailed, and hectic production schedule, offering the authors help whenever they could. **Kristen Shaw and Susan Gall** provided absolutely the highest quality of copyediting and proofreading.

We also appreciate the outstanding marketing team at Cengage that developed creative and effective promotional material for this edition. We offer special thanks to Tricia Salata, our Marketing Manager.

Our Sexuality benefited greatly from the superb discernments of our dear friend and developmental editor of past editions, Jim Strandberg, Freelance Developmental Editor. Specialty reviewer **Sophia Choukas-Bradley**, Ph.D. at the University of Pittsburgh provided essential insights in the ever-fluid understanding of sexualities, particularly as they relate to gender and sexual orientation. Exceptional help reviewing the textbook, conducting literature reviews, and integrating the latest research findings was provided by an amazing team of graduate and post-doctoral students: **Dr. Kristyn Kamke, J. Stewart, Reina Evans, and Hannah Javidi**.

We would like to extend our thanks to the many reviewers listed on the following pages who provided guidance, support, and insight for revising previous editions:

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Prologue

Throughout this textbook we discuss sexual attitudes, ideals, and behaviors of the past and present. We highlight similarities and differences in the Western world and beyond and emphasize the controversies inherent in sexual issues.

Finding one's way through the complex and conflicting perspectives related to human sexuality is both a personal and a societal challenge. We would like to open *Our Sexuality* with the Declaration of Sexual Rights, adopted by the World Association of Sexology,* as possible unifying guidelines:

Sexuality is an integral part of the personality of every human being. Its full development depends upon the satisfaction of basic human needs such as the desire for contact, intimacy, emotional expression, pleasure, tenderness, and love.

Sexuality is constructed through the interaction between the individual and social structures. Full development of sexuality is essential for individual, interpersonal, and societal well-being.

Sexual rights are universal human rights based on the inherent freedom, dignity, and equality of all human beings. Since health is a fundamental human right, so must sexual health be a basic human right. In order to assure that human beings and societies develop healthy sexuality, the following sexual rights must be recognized, promoted, respected, and defended by all societies through all means.

Sexual health is the result of an environment that recognizes, respects, and exercises these sexual rights:

1. **The right to sexual freedom.** Sexual freedom encompasses the possibility for individuals to express their full sexual potential. However, this excludes all forms of sexual coercion, exploitation, and abuse at any time and in any situation in life.
2. **The right to sexual autonomy, sexual integrity, and safety of the sexual body.** This right involves the ability to make autonomous decisions about one's sexual life within a context of one's own personal and social ethics. It also encompasses control and enjoyment of our own bodies free from torture, mutilation, and violence of any sort.
3. **The right to sexual privacy.** This involves the right for individual decisions and behaviors about intimacy as long as they do not intrude on the sexual rights of others.
4. **The right to sexual equity.** This refers to freedom from all forms of discrimination regardless of sex, gender, sexual orientation, age, race, social class, religion, or physical and emotional disability.
5. **The right to sexual pleasure.** Sexual pleasure, including autoeroticism, is a source of physical, psychological, intellectual, and spiritual well-being.
6. **The right to emotional sexual expression.** Sexual expression is more than erotic pleasure or sexual acts. Individuals have a right to express their sexuality through communication, touch, emotional expression, and love.
7. **The right to sexually associate freely.** This means the possibility to marry or not, to divorce, and to establish other types of responsible sexual associations.
8. **The right to make free and responsible reproductive choices.** This encompasses the right to decide whether or not to have children, the number and spacing of children, and the right to full access to the means of fertility regulation.
9. **The right to sexual information based upon scientific inquiry.** This right implies that sexual information should be generated through the process of unencumbered and yet scientifically ethical inquiry, and disseminated in appropriate ways at all societal levels.
10. **The right to comprehensive sexuality education.** This is a lifelong process from birth throughout the life cycle and should involve all social institutions.
11. **The right to sexual health care.** Sexual health care should be available for prevention and treatment of all sexual concerns, problems, and disorders.

*Originally declared at the 13th World Congress of Sexology, 1997, Valencia, Spain. Revised and approved by the General Assembly of the World Association for Sexology (WAS) on August 26, 1999, during the 14th World Congress of Sexology, Hong Kong, and People's Republic of China. Reprinted with permission.

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CHAPTER 1

Perspectives on Sexuality

Sexual Intelligence
What are the components of sexual intelligence?

A Psychosocial Orientation
What does it mean to take a psychosocial approach to the study of human sexuality?

Diversity in Human Sexuality
Why is it important to be inclusive when accounting for human sexuality?

What factors contribute to diversity and similarity of sexual attitudes and behaviors within the United States?

How have conversations around gender and sexual diversity changed over time?

Our Cultural Legacy: Sex for Procreation and Rigid Gender Roles
What importance do the historical themes of sex for procreation and male/female gender roles have today?

Sexuality in the Western World: A Historical Perspective
How did the legacies of sex for procreation and rigid gender roles develop through Western history?

What major scientific development has helped separate sexual pleasure from reproduction?

The Media and Sexuality
How has the media reflected and influenced sexual norms?

Compared with other mass media, what elements are unique to sexuality on the Internet?

Sexuality: Where the Personal Is Political
How can something as personal as sexuality be "political"?

> I wish I'd had this course and read this book when I was younger. It's not always easy to sort out what to do or not do sexually, who to do it with, why and when to have sex. Sometimes, even what is sex? (Authors' files)

Sexual Intelligence

sexual intelligence
Self-understanding, interpersonal sexual skills, scientific knowledge, and consideration of the cultural context of sexuality.

Sexuality has multiple dimensions that affect us throughout our lives. A main goal of this textbook is to help you increase your personal understanding of those dimensions by increasing your **sexual intelligence**. Sexual intelligence has four components: self-understanding about sexuality, interpersonal sexual skills, accurate scientific knowledge, and consideration of the cultural and political contexts surrounding sex. The first component, *self-understanding about sexuality*, means learning more about yourself as a sexual being. What are your personal attitudes, beliefs, behaviors, and values when it comes to sexuality and sexual relationships? Where did these attitudes and values come from? We hope this textbook will help you answer these questions.

The second component of sexual intelligence is having *interpersonal sexual skills*. You do not need to be sexually active to have strong interpersonal skills when it comes to sexuality. These skills include the ability to talk openly about sexuality and sexual health, to be assertive about your personal sexual limits and desires, and to be responsive to the sexual limits and desires of any sexual partners that you may have. These skills and abilities can help you make responsible and satisfying decisions about sexual behavior based on your personal values.

The third component of sexual intelligence is having an *accurate scientific knowledge* about sexuality. Sexual science is a relatively young field. However, great leaps in research-based knowledge over the last century allow us to know facts such as what happens to our bodies during sexual arousal and how to enhance pleasure, how to best protect ourselves from sexually transmitted infections, and what factors help create satisfying long-term relationships. Despite significant gains in the scientific understanding of sexuality, many people still maintain myths and inaccuracies about sex.

The fourth component of sexual intelligence is the critical *consideration of the cultural and political contexts* surrounding sexual issues. Cultural norms—including norms within our friend groups, families, communities, and broader society—influence our desires, shape our sexual attitudes, and impact our sexual behavior. There are also political and economic factors that determine some of the choices we may or may not be allowed to make regarding sexuality. When it comes to sexuality, the phrase "the personal is political" is very fitting. For example, the content of school-based sex education can vary widely based on the laws of each state (discussed in Chapter 12). Politics and economics also play a big role in access to contraception (discussed in Chapter 10), access to abortion (discussed in Chapter 11; see Figure 1.1), and the regulation of sex work (discussed in Chapter 18).

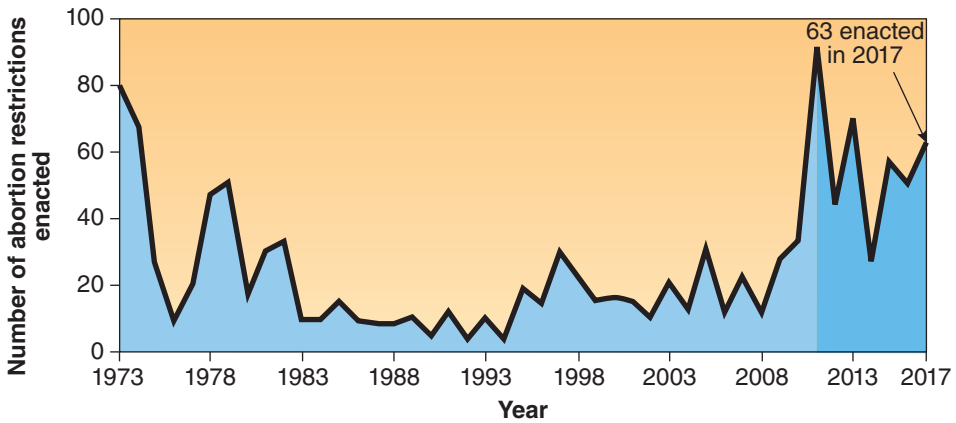


Figure 1.1 Between 1973 (when *Roe v. Wade* was passed) and 2017, nearly 1,200 abortion restrictions were enacted. One-third of those were enacted between 2010-2017. Since 2017 the number of restrictions has continued to grow rapidly.
SOURCE: Guttmacher (2017).

Throughout this textbook, we strive to provide opportunities for you to explore and develop the four aspects of sexual intelligence. At the end of the day, the final expert on your sexuality is you. We welcome you to this textbook and to your human sexuality class!

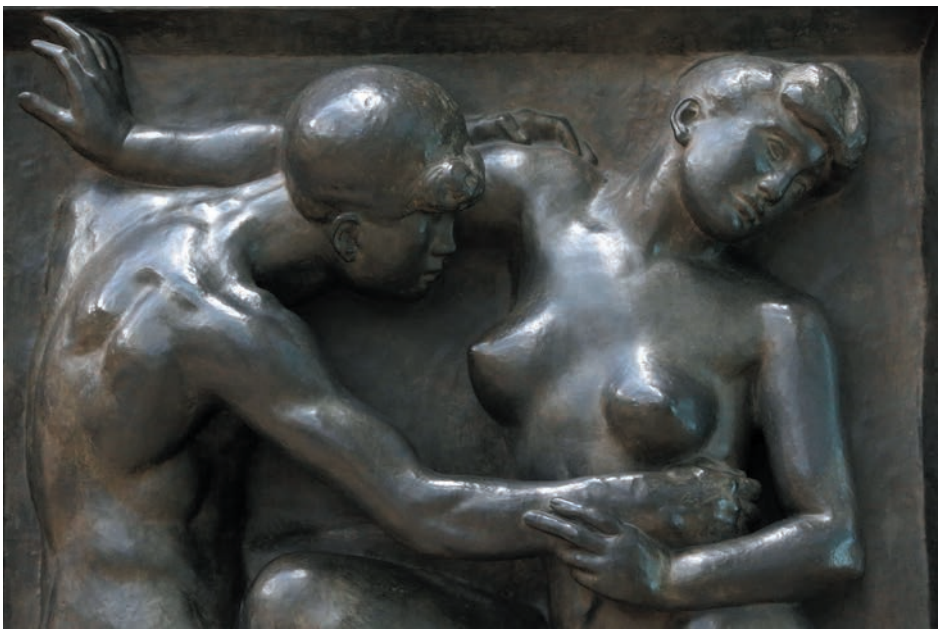
A Psychosocial Orientation

To assist you on your journey to greater sexual intelligence, this textbook takes a **psychosocial** approach, reflecting our view that psychological factors (emotions, attitudes, motivations) and social conditioning (the process by which we learn our social groups' expectations and norms) have a crucial impact on sexual attitudes, values, and behaviors. *Our Sexuality* also covers the crucial biological foundations of human sexuality, including the roles of hormones and the nervous system, the biological components of sexual orientation, theories about the role of genetic selection through thousands of years of human evolution, and the impact of specific genetic variables on an individual. The term *biopsychosocial* describes the integration of these three dimensions (biological, psychological, and social).

psychosocial
A combination of psychological and social factors.

We may not always be aware of the extent to which our sexual attitudes and behaviors are shaped by society in general and by the particular social and cultural groups to which we belong (Twenge et al., 2015). The subtle ways we learn society's expectations regarding sexuality often lead us to assume that our behaviors or feelings are biologically innate, or natural. However, an examination of sexuality in other periods of Western history or in other societies (or even in different ethnic, socioeconomic, and age groups within our own society) reveals a broad range of acceptable behavior. What we regard as natural is clearly relative. "Aspects of sexuality that are influenced by culture include values, such as decisions regarding appropriate sexual behaviors, suitable partner or partners, appropriate age of consent, as well as who is to decide what is appropriate. Sociocultural beliefs across the globe influence the answers to each of these questions and in many cases these characteristics are seen as integral to culture" (Heinemann et al., 2016, p. 144).

While there is a great diversity of sexual expression throughout the world, all societies have rules regulating the conduct of sexual behavior. "Every society shapes, structures, and constrains the development and expression of sexuality in all of its members" (Beach, 1978, p. 116). Knowledge about the impact of culture and individual experience can make it easier to understand and make decisions about sexuality. Therefore, the major emphasis in *Our Sexuality* will be on the psychosocial aspects of human sexuality. We hope this approach serves as an asset to you not only in this course, but also during the rest of your life.



Godong/Universal Images Group/Getty Images

This lead sculpture entitled "Desire"by Aristide Maillol is on display at the Orsay museum in Paris, France. Displays of human sexuality are common in artwork across the centuries.

Diversity in Human Sexuality

Few topics generate as much attention and evoke as much pleasure and distress as the expression and control of human sexuality. In a sexuality class, students represent a diversity of ages, racial and ethnic backgrounds, religious traditions, gender expressions, sexual orientations, sexual interests, and liberal and conservative attitudes. Students' sexual experiences also vary; some students have had no sexual partners, while others have had many partners. Some have had only brief relationships, and some have had long-term partnerships and marriages. Students' sexual choices and experiences also vary greatly in the degree of pleasure or distress that accompanies each situation. With this in mind, we have attempted to bring an inclusive philosophy to our textbook. This textbook is meant to serve as an opportunity for learning and self-exploration for *all* students, regardless of prior sexual experiences, sexual orientation, gender expression, religious or political views, or current relationship status.

Our Sexuality also explores the sexual attitudes and behaviors of people in many places around the globe, though much of the focus is on individuals within the United States. Individuals of many ethnic and religious groups have made their homes in the United States, resulting in a wide range of sexual values and behaviors here. An ethnic group typically shares a common historical ancestry, religion, and language, yet there is always variance within the ethnic groups. Educational level and socioeconomic status are also crucial in influencing sexual attitudes and behaviors.

It should be stressed that differences between groups are generalities, not universal truths; even within groups, great diversity exists (Greenwood et al., 2016). For example, Asian Americans include individuals from China, Hong Kong, Japan, Vietnam, the Pacific islands, and many other places (Brotto et al., 2005). Similarly, Muslims in the United States originate from more than 60 countries, and Hispanic Americans come from 22 different countries. Many of these subgroups consider themselves culturally distinct from one another. In spite of the within-group differences, when research looks at patterns, some between-group differences emerge. For example, Hispanic culture, on the whole, often endorses sexual exploration for men but places a high value on chastity before marriage for women (Deardorff et al., 2010). However, for nearly every sexual attitude, belief, and behavior we will discuss throughout this textbook, there are more differences *within* groups than differences *between* groups. For instance, while Hispanic culture as a whole might place a high value on chastity before marriage for women, the attitudes of individual Hispanic people vary dramatically on this issue. See Figure 1.2.

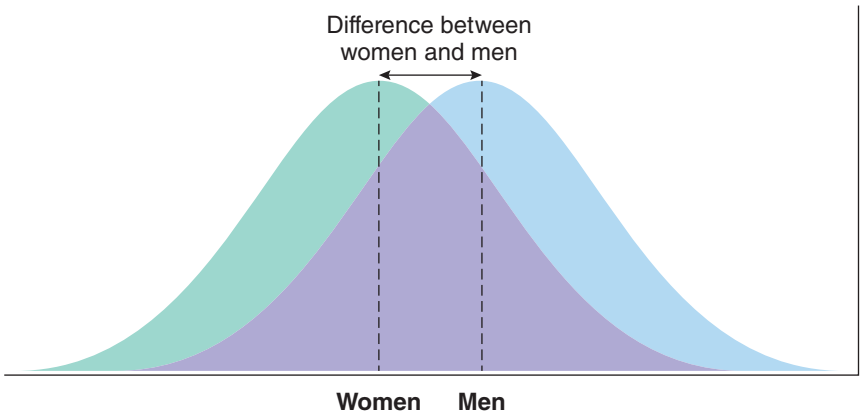


Figure 1.2 When we consider differences between groups, it is important to remember there is usually more variation *within* a group than between any two groups. For example, in this graph, the dotted lines represent differences in the average frequency of masturbation for women and men. On average, there is a gender difference that shows women tend to masturbate less than men (average effect size difference d = .53, Peterson & Hyde, 2011). However, the curved lines around each dotted line represent a normal distribution of scores for women and men. Some women masturbate a lot whereas others rarely or never masturbate. Similarly, there is wide variation in the frequency with which different men masturbate. So by looking at any given person, even if you know their gender, you would not be able to tell very much about their personal experience with masturbation.

The degree of *acculturation*—that is, replacing traditional beliefs and behavior patterns with those of the dominant culture—also creates differences within subcultures. Recent immigrants to the United States tend to be close to the traditional values of their places of origin, but most individuals whose families have lived in North America for several generations are well assimilated.

Let's TALK about It

A Child–Parent Sex Talk

To expand your understanding of your attitudes and experiences related to sexuality, you might consider interviewing your parents about their experiences and beliefs if you have not already had this type of conversation.

"WHAT?!? Talk to my parents about sex?!?"

The following ideas and suggestions may make this endeavor seem less daunting.

"But my parents would never answer any questions about sex."

You might be quite surprised by how open your parents are to your interest. The tell-the-children-when-they-ask parenting approach is common. Plus, you can test the waters first: Start with a low-key question, and if they respond with a direct or an indirect "I don't want to talk about it," stop the interview and change the subject.

The first step is to pick your interviewee. You may feel most comfortable beginning with a grandparent or another relative instead of a parent. Find a time when you will not be rushed and a place that will be private. (Alternatively, you can use e-mail, a phone call, or texts to get the conversation started; you might also find that several shorter conversations work best for you.) A possible way to begin is, "I'm taking a human sexuality class, and it made me wonder if you had any sex education in school."

Getty Images/Hulton Archive/Getty Images

The father–son "sex talk" scenes in the film *American Pie* depict the awkwardness that parents and children often experience when they discuss sexuality.

Now you have broken the ice, and if you have had a good reception, you can ask specifics about your interviewee's sexual education. Be sure to encourage elaboration after each question, and don't rush to the next one: "What types of things did you learn about sex in school? What did you learn outside of school—from friends, your parents, books? What did your religion teach you? What sorts of bad information did you get about sex? What do you wish someone had told you?"

If things are rolling along, you might ask more personal questions: "How did you feel about your body changing from a child to a teenager? How quickly did you mature compared with your classmates? Did you know about menstruation/ejaculation before you experienced it? Who was your first crush? What do you wish you had known as a child or young adult that you know now? What do you think was easier, and what was more difficult, about sexuality for your generation than for mine?"

If your interview has come this far, you probably have a greater understanding and appreciation for the important aspects of your interviewee's life and, hopefully, of your own. So, who's next?

A factor that blurs differences between racial/ethnic groups is that a significant, and ever-increasing, proportion of the U.S. population is multiracial; that is, some people have descended from two or more racial/ethnic groups. Race and ethnicity are rarely simple, nonoverlapping classifications. "People all over the world have engaged in various degrees of mixing, particularly in the United States. . . . There is no way to look at every person and determine their exact racial background" (Wyatt, 1997, p. xv). The merging of ethnicity will likely increase over time in the United States because attitudes in each younger generation have become more accepting of interracial dating (Allen, 2017). For example, in 2017, 39% of Americans reported that interracial marriage was a good thing for society, up from 24% in 2010 (Pew Research Center, 2017).

Further, the sexual attitudes, behaviors, and beliefs about sexuality and gender often vary widely within the same religious groups. For example, although the

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Model Paige Butcher and Actor Eddie Murphy have been together since 2012. Interracial relationships have become more common in the United States over the last 40 years.

traditional Roman Catholic view condemns sexual activity that does not potentially lead to procreation (the bearing of children), the attitudes and behaviors of American Catholics vary greatly on issues such as contraception, abortion, and homosexuality, often disagreeing with the long-standing tenets of the Church. One illustration of this conflict is that 98% of sexually experienced Catholic women have used contraception (Jones & Dreweke, 2011). Further, fundamentalist Christians, who claim to interpret the Bible literally, differ greatly in their views about sexuality from Christians who do not ascribe to literal biblical interpretation. For example, fundamentalist Christianity typically holds that sexual intercourse before marriage is sinful, and people who belong to this group may oppose the use of birth control, whereas liberal Christianity emphasizes caring in a relationship and appreciates how contraception can help to facilitate sexual intimacy. Similarly, Orthodox Jews have much more conservative views regarding sexuality and gender roles than do Reform Jews. For example, Orthodox Judaism forbids sexual intercourse during menstruation, whereas Reform Judaism allows for individual preferences.

Fundamentalists—whether Christian, Muslim, Jewish, or other religious groups—are far more restrictive of sexual behavior and roles for men and women than are their more-liberal counterparts. Over the last two decades, extreme fundamentalism in these religions has increased and fundamentalists have engaged in political activism in conflicts over sexual and gender-role issues, often following cultural traditions rather than religious teachings (Artyk, 2008; Correa et al., 2008). These aspects of diversity in sexual beliefs, values, and behaviors are part of the psychosocial orientation of this textbook.

A Note about Inclusive Terminology

One way we strive to accurately represent the diversity of human sexuality is by being mindful of the terms and examples we use to describe differing gender identities and sexual orientations throughout this textbook. We strive to do this in a way that is sensitive and inclusive. Research on gender identity and sexual orientation has exploded in recent years (e.g., Mueller et al., 2017; Reisner et al., 2016; van Anders, 2015) alongside a rapidly changing sociopolitical landscape. We have entire chapters devoted to in-depth discussions of gender (Chapter 5), sexual behavior (Chapter 6), and sexual orientation (Chapter 7), but these important aspects of sexuality are also woven throughout each chapter of this textbook. We have attempted to use language that reflects our current understanding of these aspects of human sexuality. For instance, when writing about components of sexuality that are largely biological in nature (i.e., anatomy), we intentionally use biological terms (i.e., male and female) in an effort to distinguish between biological sex and gender (e.g., man, woman, transgender, genderfluid). Yet it is also difficult, if not impossible, to fully disentangle aspects of biological sex from gender, which has resulted in some scholars preferring the term "gender/sex" instead of using these as separate words (Hyde et al., 2019). We have not found a perfect solution for our choice of words throughout the textbook. In many places we continue to refer to "men" and "women" in binary terms, in part because this most accurately reflects the methodology of the research

we are referencing. We acknowledge that at times this language may be exclusionary, limited, or otherwise problematic. Discourses in this area are quickly evolving and, thus, the language used throughout this textbook may become outdated. We hope these issues spark thoughtful critique and discussion.

Ifc Films/Album/Newscom

As seen in *My Big Fat Greek Wedding,* intergenerational conflicts can arise as the younger generation in immigrant families becomes more "Americanized."

Our Cultural Legacy: Sex for Procreation and Rigid Gender Roles

We now turn to a discussion of the past to better understand current sexual attitudes, values, and practices in modern times. In the Western world, there are two broad themes that have significantly shaped societal expectations surrounding the purpose of sexual behavior and expectations for male and female sexuality: the belief that procreation is the only legitimate reason for sexual expression and the value of rigid distinctions between traditional male and female gender roles. We review these themes in the following two sections.

Sex for Procreation

Historically in North America the idea that procreation was the only legitimate reason for sexual activity was prevalent. Contemporary Roman Catholic doctrine and some pro-life organizations continue to hold the belief that the only moral sexual expression occurs within marriage primarily for purposes of procreation while also strengthening the marriage bond. For example, the American Life League, a Catholic pro-life education organization, maintains that people should not use contraception because "birth control leads to a state of mind that treats sexual activity as if it has nothing to do with procreation. Sexual activity becomes a recreational activity, birth control becomes a recreational drug and babies become 'accidents' or burdens to be eliminated" (American Life League, 2011a, p. 1). In this view, when a couple has sexual intercourse, they have committed themselves to any resultant pregnancy.

Sexual behaviors that provide pleasure without the possibility of procreation—such as masturbation, oral sex, anal intercourse, and sex between same-sex partners—have been viewed at various times as immoral, sinful, perverted, or illegal. In fact, oral sex and anal sex remained illegal in 10 states until 2003, when the Supreme Court overturned the laws forbidding those behaviors. The Court determined that the constitutional right to privacy protects private sexual contact between consenting adults.

Today, most North Americans do not believe that sexual activity is primarily for procreation, and people vary widely in their beliefs about which sexual activities constitute "having sex" (Sewell & Strassberg, 2015). While many people think having sex exclusively

Critical **THINKING** Question

If you overheard someone say, "I had sex last night," what *specific behaviors* would you think had happened?

VCG/Visual China Group/Getty Images

Many Chinese people have embraced Western customs such as the celebration of love on Valentine's Day. These couples are in a Valentine's Day kissing competition in Taiyuan, China.

refers to penile–vaginal intercourse, others include oral sex, manual stimulation, and/or masturbation in their definition, and some believe that orgasm has to occur for an activity to be considered sex. Further, the ways in which people define sex are known to differ based on the gender(s) of their sexual partners (Schick et al., 2016). Penile–vaginal intercourse can be a fulfilling part of sexual expression for many people, but excessive emphasis on it can delegitimize the experiences of sexual and gender minority individuals. Additionally, this view can result in the devaluing of behaviors that are often most pleasurable to females, such as clitoral stimulation. Instead, non-intercourse sexual activities are often relegated to the secondary status of *foreplay* (usually considered any activity before intercourse), implying that such activity is not important in and of itself and is to be followed by the "real sex" of intercourse. This excessive focus on intercourse can have negative consequences on sexual expectations, as the following situation that brought a young couple to sex therapy illustrates:

> I think our sex life was better before we started having sex. In the beginning, we could kiss and touch each other for hours. We loved exploring each other's bodies with all sorts of anticipation. But after we started having sex, we kind of stopped all that build up. Now our sex is pretty routine and even boring sometimes. (Authors' files)

Male and Female Gender Roles in Sexuality

The second theme and legacy of great significance is a rigid cultural adherence to gender roles. The gender-role legacy is based on far more than the physiological differences between males and females. Although physiological differences between males and females create general physical characteristics and inclinations in each sex, gender socialization limits, shapes, and exaggerates our biological tendencies. Moreover, many people do not fit neatly into a male or female gender experience; for those gender nonconforming individuals, strict and binary gender socialization can be especially oppressive. Rigid gender-role conditioning can limit any person's potential and can harm their sexuality (Petersen & Hyde, 2011). For example, gender-role expectations of "appropriate" behavior for men and women might contribute to the notion that the man must always initiate sexual activity while the woman must either set limits or comply. These patterns can place tremendous pressure on boys and men and severely restrict girls' and women's sexual expression and fulfillment (Kreager et al., 2016; Maas et al., 2015).

Across most cultures, women face more restrictions on, and experience greater sanctions against, their sexuality than do men. In the United States, for example, women are judged more harshly than men for engaging in casual sex or having multiple partners (Vrangalova, 2014). Female college students typically report feeling more guilt than men about their first intercourse experience (Lipman & Moore, 2016; Sprecher, 2014). Further, research shows that female college students feel more pressure than male college

students to not appear promiscuous. This study divided students into three situations that varied in privacy and accountability for truthfulness: Group 1 answered questions with an open door and were told someone may look at their answers. Group 2 answered questions behind a closed door and were promised anonymity. Group 3 answered questions while connected to a polygraph machine they believed was working. Men's answers were quite consistent across groups: Men in the first two groups reported 3.7 sexual partners and those in the polygraph group reported 4 sexual partners. In contrast, women's answers varied significantly depending on the differences in privacy and accountability. Women in the open room reported 2.6 sexual partners, those in the closed room claimed 3.4 sexual partners, and those in the polygraph group reported 4.4 partners (Alexander & Fisher, 2003) (see Figure 1.3).

Moreover, **slut shaming**—or humiliating, intimidating, or degrading a person for their sexual behavior—is a common threat experienced by many women throughout the physical world as well as in online spaces (Tanenbaum, 2015; Tate, 2016). Although some have sought to reclaim the word *slut* as a marker of sexual empowerment (McCluskey, 2017), it predominantly remains an indictment, typically of girls and women. Men and women alike are the perpetrators of slut shaming, and women tend to do so to express contempt for another woman, or they may do so to attempt to exempt themselves from being targeted. However, being labelled a slut is only one such threat to avoid; one study indicated the double-bind teen girls are in about sexuality. Teens did not judge boys negatively when they sexted (sent sexually explicit images or messages via cell phones or social media apps). However, girls were commonly described as "sluts" when they sexted. At the same time, girls experienced more pressure from boys to send sexual images than boys did from girls. If girls did not sext, they were considered "prudes" (Lippman & Campbell, 2014). Additionally, it is important to note that slut shaming is not exclusively experienced by girls and women; for example, many gay men feel pressure to escape the prevalent stigma and shame surrounding casual sex in some gay communities (Jaspal, 2017).

slut shaming
Humiliating, intimidating, or degrading a person (typically a woman) because of their sexual behavior.

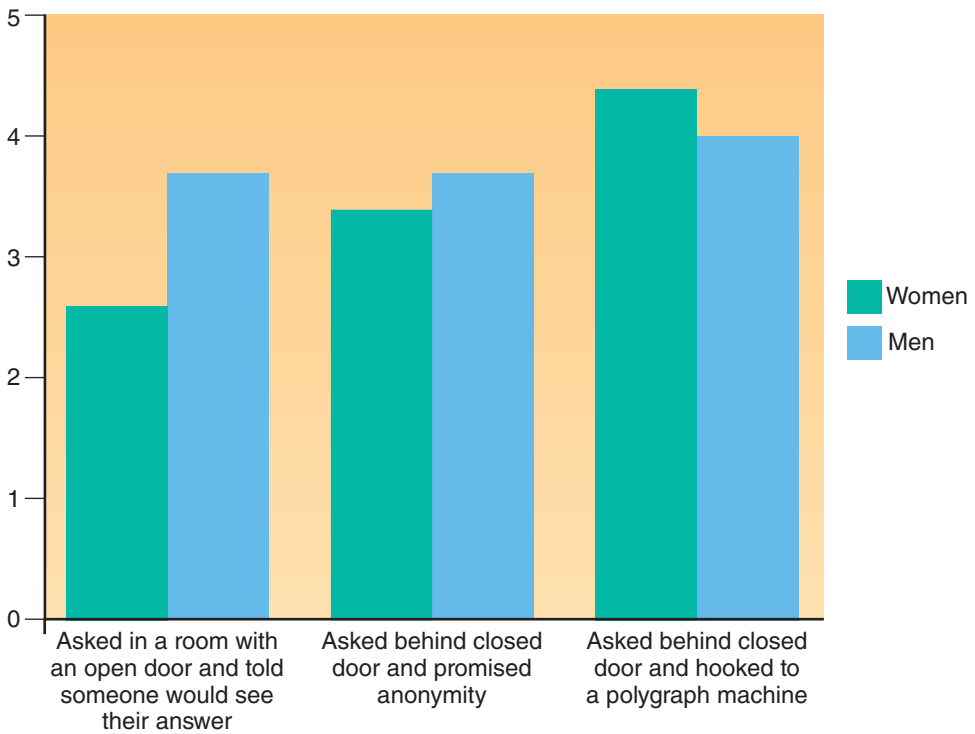

Figure 1.3 Number of sexual partners reported by college women and men. The answers differed more for women based on perceived privacy and accountability.
SOURCE: Alexander & Fischer (2003).

Zuma Wire Service/Alamy Stock Photo

The first "SlutWalk" in 2011 in Toronto, Canada, was a protest against a police officer's comment that women should avoid dressing like sluts to avoid rape. It became a movement of rallies around the world.

It appears that when overall gender equality is greater, individuals of both sexes perceive male and female sexuality more similarly. An analysis of research on sexual attitudes and behaviors found that in countries with greater gender equality, men's and women's sexual attitudes and behaviors were more similar than in societies with less gender equality (Petersen & Hyde, 2011).

To better understand the influence of contemporary social beliefs on sexuality in the United States and much of the Western world, we must examine their historical roots, particularly those that pertain to the legacies of sex for procreation and rigid gender roles. Where did these ideas come from, and how relevant are they to us today?

Sexuality in the Western World: A Historical Perspective

Judaic and Christian Traditions

By the time Hebraic culture was established, gender roles were highly specialized. The book of Proverbs, in the Hebrew Bible, lists the duties of a good wife: She must instruct servants, care for her family, keep household accounts, and obey her husband. Procreation (especially the bearing of sons) was essential; the Hebrews' history of being subjugated, persecuted, and enslaved made them determined to preserve their people—to "be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth" (Genesis 1:28).

Yet sex within marriage was believed to be more than a reproductive necessity. To "know" a partner sexually, within marriage, was recognized in the Old Testament of the Bible and in tradition as a blessing of profound physical and emotional experience (Kunst, 2011; Wolf, 2013). The Song of Songs in the Bible (also known as the Song of Solomon) contains sensuous love poetry. In this small excerpt, the groom speaks:

> *How fair is thy love, . . . my bride!*
> *How much better is thy love than wine!*
> *And the smell of thine ointments than all manner of spices!*
> *Thy lips, oh my bride, drop honey—honey and milk are under thy tongue.*
> (Song of Songs 4:10–11)

And the bride:

> *I am my beloved's and his desire is toward me.*
> *Come, my beloved, let us go forth into the field; Let us lodge in the villages. . . .*
> *There will I give thee my love.*
> (Song of Songs 7:10–12)

The joyful appreciation of sexuality displayed in these lines is part of the Judaic tradition. This view was overshadowed, however, by teachings of Christianity. To understand why this happened, we have to remember that Christianity developed during the later years of the Roman Empire, a period of social instability. Many exotic cults had been imported from Greece, Persia, and other parts of the empire to provide sexual entertainment and amusement. Early Christians separated themselves from these practices by associating sex with sin.

We know little about Jesus's specific views on sexuality, but the principles of love and tolerance were the foundation of his teachings. However, Paul of Tarsus, a follower of Christianity, had a crucial influence on the early church. He died in 66 CE, and many of his writings were incorporated into the Christian Bible, in the New Testament. Paul believed that all things of the flesh were bad, and only things of the spirit were good—or "godly" (Walker, 2008). He emphasized the importance of overcoming "desires of the flesh"—including anger, selfishness, hatred, and nonmarital sex—in order to inherit the Kingdom of God. He associated spirituality with sexual abstinence and saw **celibacy** (SEH-luh-buh-see), the state of being unmarried and therefore abstaining from sexual intercourse, as superior to marriage. Hence, sex, which is essential for reproduction, was a necessary but religiously denigrated act.

DEA / V. PIROZZI/De Agostini/Getty Images

The teachings of Jesus Christ emphasized love, compassion, and forgiveness. Death by stoning was the prescribed punishment for a woman who committed adultery, but Jesus admonished the men who had brought her to him for judgment: "He that is without sin among you, let him first cast a stone at her" (John 8:7). After all the men left without throwing any stones, Jesus told the woman, "Neither do I condemn thee: go, and sin no more" (John 8:11).

Critical THINKING Question

How do your religious views influence your decision making with regard to sexuality?

celibacy
Historically defined as the state of being unmarried; currently defined as abstention from sexual behavior.

Sex as Sinful

Later church fathers expanded on the theme of sex as sin. The bishop Augustine (354–430) declared that lust was the original sin of Adam and Eve; his writings formalized the notion that intercourse could rightly take place only within marriage, for the purpose of procreation (Bullough, 2001). Augustine also believed that female subordination was intrinsic to God's creation, which led to the idea that any intercourse position other than the one with the man on top was "unnatural" (Wiesner-Hanks, 2000).

During the Middle Ages (the period of European history from the fall of the Western Roman Empire in 476 to the beginning of the Renaissance in about 1400), attitudes toward sex varied from era to era and place to place, but the belief that sex was sinful persisted throughout. Theologian Thomas Aquinas (1224–1274) further refined this idea. Aquinas maintained that human sexual organs were designed for procreation and that any other use—as in same-sex acts, oral–sex, or anal sex—was against God's will, heretical, and a "crime against nature." Local priests relied on handbooks called Penitentials (catalogs of sins with corresponding penances) to guide them in responding to

Fine Art/Corbis Historical/Getty Images

Interpretations of Adam and Eve's transgressions in the Garden of Eden have influenced values about sexuality.

confessions. Using withdrawal (pulling the penis out of the vagina just before ejaculation) to avoid pregnancy was the most serious sin and could require a penance of fasting on bread and water for years. "Unnatural acts" of oral or anal sex were also viewed as gravely sinful and drew more severe penances than murder (Fox, 1995). Of course, same-sex relations precluded the possibility of reproduction and consisted of many "unnatural acts" that were condemned by Aquinas.

Eve Versus Mary

During the Middle Ages two contradictory images of women crystallized, and each image had its own impact on society's view of female sexuality and on women's place in society. The first image is the Virgin Mary; the second image is Eve as an evil temptress.

Initially, Mary was a figure of secondary importance in the Western church. Her status was elevated and she became more prominent when the Crusaders returned from Constantinople, the seat of the Eastern church. They brought to the West a view of Mary as a gracious, compassionate protector and an exalted focus of religious devotion.

The medieval image of Eve as the temptress in the Garden of Eden provided a counterpoint to the unattainable, compassionate Virgin Mary. This image, promoted by the church, reflected an increasing emphasis on Eve's sin and ultimately resulted in heightened antagonism toward women. This antagonism reached its climax in the witch hunts led by the Catholic Church in continental Europe and the British Isles. The witch hunts began in the late 15th century—after the Renaissance was well under way—and lasted for close to 200 years. Witchcraft was blamed on carnal lust, and most "witches" were accused of engaging in sexual orgies with the devil (Wiesner-Hanks, 2000). Ironically, while Queen Elizabeth I (1533–1603) brought England to new heights, an estimated 100,000 women were executed as witches in Europe between the 15th and 18th centuries (Pinker, 2011).

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Antagonism toward women reached a climax during the witch hunts of the 15th century.

A Sex-Positive Shift

The prevailing view of nonreproductive sex as sinful was modified by Protestant reformers of the 16th century. Both Martin Luther (1483–1546) and John Calvin (1509–1564) recognized the value of sex in marriage (Berman & Berman, 2005). According to Calvin, marital sex was permissible if it stemmed "from a desire for children, or to avoid fornication, or to lighten and ease the cares and sadnesses of household affairs, or to endear each other" (Taylor, 1971, p. 62). The Puritans, often criticized for having rigid views about sex, also shared an appreciation of sexual expression within marriage (Wiesner-Hanks, 2000).

The 18th-century Enlightenment was partly an outgrowth of the new scientific rationalism: Ideas reflected facts that could be objectively observed, rather than subjective beliefs and superstition. Women also gained increased respect, at least for a short time. Some women, such as Mary Wollstonecraft of England, were acknowledged for their intelligence, wit, and vivacity. Wollstonecraft's book *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792) attacked the limited gender roles for females, such as the prevailing practice of giving young girls dolls rather than schoolbooks. Wollstonecraft also asserted that sexual satisfaction was as important to women as to men and that premarital and extramarital sex was not sinful.

The Victorian Era

These progressive views did not prevail for long. The Victorian era, named after British Queen Victoria who ruled from 1837–1901, brought a sharp turnaround. The sexes had highly defined roles. Women's sexuality was polarized between the images of Madonna and Eve (the "Madonna–whore" dichotomy). Upper- and middle-class Victorian women in Europe and the United States were valued for their delicacy and ladylike manners—and consequently were constrained by such restrictive devices as corsets, hoops, and bustles. The idealization of their presumed fragility put them on a pedestal that limited women's roles both at home and in the outside world (Glick & Fiske, 2001; Ramos et al., 2018). Women's duties centered on fulfilling their families' spiritual needs and providing a comfortable home for their husbands to retreat to after working all day. The world of women was clearly separated from that of men. Consequently, intensely passionate friendships sometimes developed between women, providing the support and comfort that were often absent in marriage.

In general, Victorians encouraged self-restraint in all aspects of their lives, including their sexual lives, and Victorian men were expected to conform to the strict propriety of the age. However, it is worth noting the irony that prostitution flourished during this period because Victorian men often set morality aside in the pursuit of sexual companionship. The gender-role separation between the worlds of husbands and wives created a sexual and emotional distance in many Victorian marriages. Victorian men could smoke, drink, joke, and find sexual companionship with the women who had turned to prostitution out of economic necessity, whereas their wives were constrained by expectations of modesty and sexual repression.

Bettmann/Contributor/Getty Images

In the Victorian era, a "marriageable woman" possessed morals that were as tightly laced as her corset. Ironically, prostitution flourished at this time.

In the 19th century, U.S. culture was full of sexual contradictions. Women's sexuality was polarized between the opposing images of Madonna and whore, and men were trapped between the ideal of purity and the pleasures of sexual expression. During this time, gender-role beliefs about sexuality were taken to even greater extremes in the cases of African American men and women under slavery. Further, the oppressive myths about African American men and women were used to justify slavery, as examined in the following Sexuality and Diversity discussion. Unfortunately, versions of these myths have persisted and play a role in contemporary racial tensions.

Critical THINKING Question

How does the Madonna–whore dichotomy affect your sexuality today?

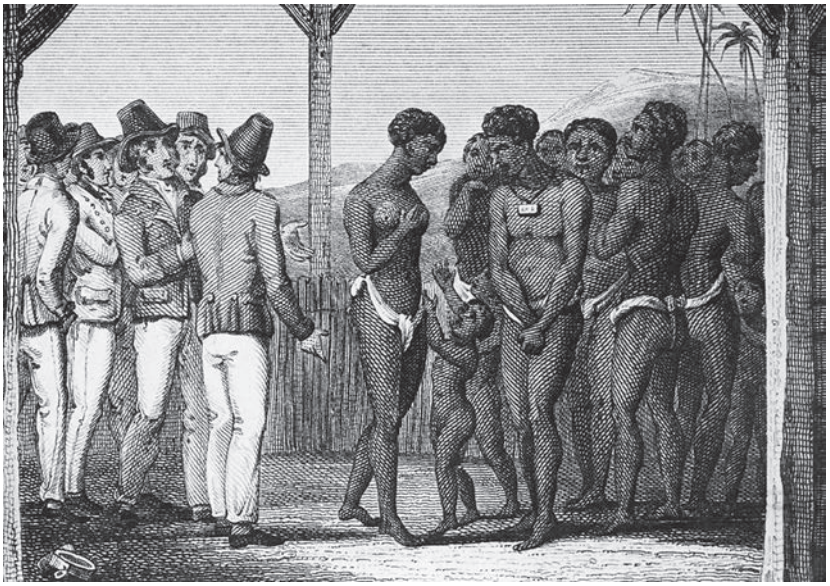
Sexuality & DIVERSITY

Slavery's Assault on Sexuality and Gender Roles

An extreme manifestation of gender roles and sexuality was imposed on Black slaves in the United States; stereotypes of Black sexuality provided a justification for the institution of slavery and White power. Europeans' ethnocentric reactions in their first encounters with Black Africans set the stage for the denigration of Black sexuality during slavery. Europeans reacted to African customs with fear and even disgust. Dehumanizing Blacks

as animalistic, oversexed "heathens" gave many White slave owners a rationale for exploitation and domination (Moran, 2001).

The Madonna–whore dichotomy was drastically exaggerated in the case of female slaves. The dominant image of Black womanhood was the Jezebel—a seductress with an insatiable sexual appetite. White men (including some Union soldiers who raped enslaved women as they plundered towns and plantations) used these prejudices to exempt their sexual abuse and exploitation of Black women from questions of their own immorality (Guy-Sheftall, 2003). Enslaved women lacked clothing to cover their bodies "properly," and their work in the fields and the house often required them to raise their dresses above their knees—nothing a "decent" woman would do. Slaves had no rights to their own bodies (Block, 2006). During slave sales they were stripped naked so that prospective buyers could closely examine their bodies, including their genitals, as if they were cattle. The irrational logic that no self-respecting woman would allow herself to be put on such display was used by Whites to confirm Black women's unrestrained nature. Slave owners publicly discussed female slaves' reproductive capacity and managed their "breeding" (often by the slave owner and his sons), forcing sex on them (Solinger, 2005). The economic benefit of rapid births of slave children was clearly expressed by Thomas Jefferson: "I consider a woman who brings a child every two years as more profitable than the best man on the farm; what she produces is an addition to capital" (Davis, 2002, p. 109).



Bettmann/Contributor/Getty Images

Slaves had no rights to physical privacy, protection from bodily harm, or reproductive autonomy.

The stereotype of "Mammy" provided slave owners with a counterbalance to the Jezebel and represented the slave owners' successful civilizing of Black women, including their sexuality. Mammy was supposed to be loyal, obedient, and asexual. She cooked, cleaned, and cared for White children, often even nursing infants. Her labors enabled many White women to maintain their delicate, ladylike images.

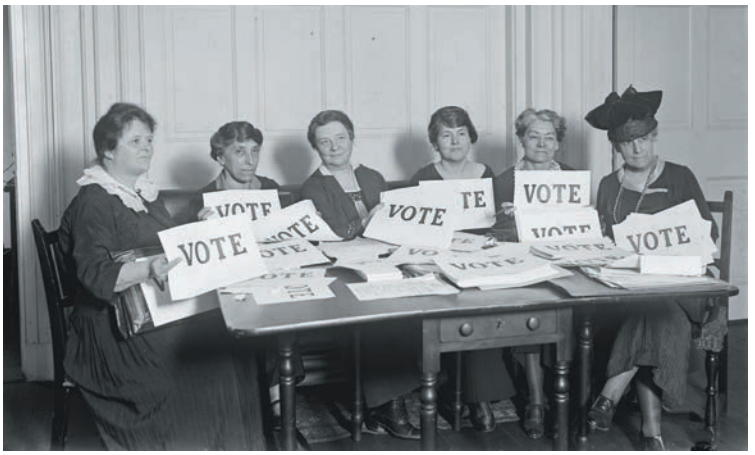
The male complement to the Jezebel was the stereotype of the highly sexual, potentially violent Black man. Whites exploited Black men's ability to work and to produce offspring, often suggesting Black men had a highly fertile, larger-than-White-sized penis. Slave owners depended economically on Black men's physical strength and sexual virility, but they also feared those same qualities. The fabricated threat of sexual seduction of White women and racist logic sanctioned the tools necessary to control Black men and to lessen the slave owners' insecurities that their own stereotypes created. During the slavery era, Black men were beaten, whipped, castrated, and lynched with impunity. After emancipation, people freed from slavery had greater opportunities to shape their own lives, but the lynching of Black men and raping of Black women continued as a means of maintaining social control over those who challenged the norms of White supremacy (Douglas, 1999; Wyatt, 1997).

The historical events and their surrounding controversies discussed in the previous sections show that the sex-for-procreation and gender-role issues are legacies of the Hebrew and Christian Bibles, of Augustine and Thomas Aquinas, of the Victorian era,

and of slavery. These legacies are with us still, found in the complex conflicts between the values of personal pleasure, practicality, and tradition in 20th-century Western life (Jakobsen & Pellegrini, 2003).

The Beginning of the 20th Century

Sigmund Freud led in changing perspectives about sexuality in the 20th century with the first of several books, *The Interpretation of Dreams* (1900). Freud's belief that sexuality was innate in women as well as in men helped expand Victorian concepts about sexuality. The physician Havelock Ellis, in his book *On Life and Sex* (1920), emphasized "the love-rights of women," and his seven-volume *Studies in the Psychology of Sex* regarded any sexual practice—including masturbation and homosexuality, previously considered "perversions"—as healthy so long as no one was harmed.



PhotoQuest/Archive Photos/Getty Images

Many women in the early 1900s broke out of traditional "at home" roles and fought for more equality and greater independence. In 1920, women won the right to vote in the United States with the passage of the 19th amendment.

While ideas about the "proper" role of female sexuality were changing, the women's suffrage movement began in the late 19th century. Its goal of giving women the right to vote grew out of several related developments, such as the abolition of slavery and the demand that women be permitted to attend universities and hold property. The passage in 1920 of the 19th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution guaranteed women the right to vote but did not usher in a new era of equality.

However, subsequent historical events and technology brought new sexual perspectives and possibilities. U.S. involvement in World War I created an environment for increased equality and flexibility of gender roles, as thousands of women left the traditional homemaker role and took paying jobs for the first time. American men serving as soldiers in Europe were introduced to the more open sexuality there. Soon after the soldiers returned home from the war, Henry Ford's mass-produced automobiles of the 1920s provided increased independence and privacy for young people's sexual explorations. The advent of movies presented romance and sex symbols for public entertainment. The "flappers"—young, urban, single, middle-class women—rejected the ideals of Victorian restraint for short, slinky dresses and the exuberant, close-contact dancing of the Roaring Twenties. The changes in sexual behavior consisted mainly of the increased prevalence of kissing and sexual activity short of intercourse among young unmarried people that went beyond acceptable Victorian standards, but women usually avoided premarital intercourse to prevent pregnancy and jeopardizing their reputations.

A return to more restrained behavior came with the Great Depression in the 1930s. Conversely, the hardships of the time also led to new laws mandating the right of women to have access to contraceptive information and devices. Before the development of penicillin in the 1940s, no effective treatment existed for life-threatening sexually transmitted infections. Once penicillin became available, another feared consequence

John Florea/The LIFE Picture Collection/Getty Images

Women waiting in line to receive their admission tag to a dance with G.I. soldiers during World War II.

of sex became less harmful. During World War II, housewives once again filled the gaps in the workplace left by men who were fighting overseas and encountering more open European sexuality.

After World War II

After World War II, living in the suburbs became the ideal and goal of middle-class families, typically financed by the father as breadwinner. Women returned the workplace to men and devoted themselves to their homes, children, and husbands. Popular media portrayed the postwar housewives as happy and content (Coontz, 2011). Psychology of the era claimed that women who worked outside the home were neurotic and suffered from "penis envy." The fashion industry "refeminized" women with clothing that emphasized the bustline and small waist and featured full skirts.

During the postwar retreat into traditional gender roles, Alfred Kinsey and associates' *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* (1948) and *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female* (1953) were best sellers in spite of (or possibly because of) denunciations of their work by medical professionals, clergy, politicians, and the press (Brown & Fee, 2003). Kinsey's data pertaining to the prevalence of women's sexual interest and response were particularly shocking to both professionals and the public. The surprising statistics on same-sex behavior, masturbation, and novel acts in the bedroom contributed to the growing acceptance of a variety of sexual behaviors.

In the 1950s, television, which emphasized suburban social conformity and featured sitcoms portraying married couples in separate beds, entered American homes at the same time as the first issue of *Playboy*, which emphasized sex as recreation. Together, these media represented a dichotomy that played out through the 1950s.

It was not until the 1960s—after the flurry of post–World War II marriages, the baby boom, and widespread disappointment in the resulting domesticity of women—that a new movement for gender-role equality began. In *The Feminine Mystique* (1963), author Betty Friedan's descriptions of feelings of depression, guilt, and a lack of meaning resonated with many women whose lives were limited to the housewife role. Throughout the next decades, feminism and the "sexual revolution" confronted the norms of previous decades. The oral contraceptive pill, introduced in the 1960s, and later the intrauterine device (IUD), morning-after pills, and spermicides gave women newfound security in pursuing sexual pleasure with greatly reduced fear of pregnancy (Angier, 2013; Ofman, 2000).

Bettmann/Getty Images

Women fought hard for greater equality during the women's liberation movement of the 1970s.

By 1965 the Supreme Court had made contraceptive use by married couples legal, and by 1972 contraceptive use by unmarried individuals was legal. The widespread acceptance of contraceptives and the subsequent availability of legal abortion by the Supreme Court mandate in 1973 permitted sexuality to be separated from procreation as never before in Western cultures. The world had changed, too, so that many people were concerned with the ecological and economic costs of bearing children—costs that were not as relevant in the preindustrial world.

In the increasingly tolerant atmosphere of the late 1960s and the 1970s, attitudes began to change toward a long-standing taboo, homosexuality. Lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) people began to openly declare their identities and to argue that such a personal matter should not affect their rights and responsibilities as citizens. In 1973 the American Psychiatric Association removed homosexuality from its diagnostic categories of mental disorders. Then, the early 1980s brought the first AIDS diagnosis. The so-called "gay plague" dramatically increased the visibility of LGBT individuals and amplified both negative and positive public sentiments toward homosexuality.

Mainly as a result of LGBT activism, by the mid-1990s television began to incorporate some LGBT characters into programming. Gay and lesbian characters appeared on shows such as *ER*, *Sex and the City*, and *Friends*. Of particular significance, Ellen DeGeneres's coming-out show on *Ellen* was an event of the 1997 season. In recent years, LGBTQ+ (an acronym now commonly used to be more inclusive of Queer, Questioning, and other sexual and gender minority individuals) characters have become much more common on television, including on shows such as *Modern Family*, *Glee*, *How to Get Away with Murder*, *Project Runway*, *Queer Eye*, *RuPaul's Drag Race*, *Transparent*, *Pose*, *Nanette*, and *Orange Is the New Black*. While the existence of these shows point to increased LGBTQ+ visibility, many shows have been critiqued for employing heterosexual, cisgender actors to tell the stories of LGBTQ+ people (Signorile, 2017). Additionally, the (still relatively small) LGBTQ+ representation on TV predominately relies on portrayals of White, gay men and the need for more diverse characters remains (GLAAD, 2017).

Among the more significant cultural moments in our history of sexuality was the landmark U.S. Supreme Court *Obergefell v. Hodges* case, which ruled in favor of marriage equality in 2015. The legalization of same-sex marriage was a hard-fought battle and remains extremely controversial today. However, the 2016 presidential election of Republican Donald Trump gave way to the nomination of two new Supreme Court justices that may shift the Court to the political right to the extent that this landmark marriage equality case as well as *Roe v. Wade* (i.e., the 1973 case declaring women's constitutional right to abortion) are vulnerable to being overturned (Gerstein & Haberkorn, 2018). Although Americans' views on sexual morality have increasingly liberalized in the past two decades (Lehmiller, 2018), these recent political examples demonstrate how major controversy over sexual issues persist in our contemporary culture.

Changes in the media's portrayal of LGBTQ+ issues illustrate how the media simultaneously reflects and influences sexual information, attitudes, and behaviors. What does the media say to us about sexuality? The following sections explore that very question.


Helga Esteb/Shutterstock.com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Well-known individuals who have made their homosexuality public have affected public attitudes, including Wanda Sykes, American actress; Tim Cook, CEO of Apple; Ellen Degeneres, host of her daily news show; and Jason Collins, retired professional basketball player.

The Media And Sexuality

The phenomenon that we know as mass media began less than 600 years ago. The invention of typesetting in 1450 meant that books, instead of being laboriously handwritten, could be mechanically printed, which made them available to the common person. Black-and-white silent movies first played for a paying audience in 1895, and in 1896, *The Kiss*, the first film in cinematic history of a couple kissing, was criticized as scandalous and brought demands for censorship (Dirks, 2006). The first black-and-white television sets arrived in the 1940s; they were initially so fascinating that families would sit in the living room watching test patterns on the screen. By 1972 the number of color television sets in U.S. homes finally exceeded the number of black-and-white TVs. In the 1980s, home computers arrived and commercial Internet first became available. The explosion of media technology since then has flooded us with exposure to sexual words and images. Increased amounts and explicitness of sexual content have accompanied the huge technological advances. We will now briefly discuss two forms of media: traditional media (e.g., television, music videos, advertising) and new media (e.g., the Internet and social media).

Traditional Media

TELEVISION

Television likely has a significant effect on sexual attitudes and behaviors, given the amount of time people spend watching it. By the time we are 18 years old, each of us has watched TV for an average of 20,000 hours—certainly enough time for it to have had some influence on our perspectives about sexuality (Media Project, 2008; Rousseau et al., 2019). American households consume an average of more than 7 hours and 50 minutes of television per day (Madrigal, 2018; Nielson, 2017). Internet use via computers, phones, and tablets, as well as the use of video games, e-mail, and social media does not displace time spent with television—it simply adds to the total time spent using media. In fact, despite the widespread use of these other newer forms of media, Americans' time spent specifically watching TV has only decreased about an hour per day (Madrigal, 2018).

The number of sexual scenes on standard network programs nearly doubled between 1998 and 2006 (Kaiser Family Foundation, 2006). The level of sexual explicitness in language, jokes, and behavior has increased greatly since then (Goldberg, 2014). More recent analyses of television content indicate that sexual content appears in approximately 82% of all television programs (Ward et al., 2016).

The Federal Communications Commission imposes standards on public network television, but not on cable stations. Cable TV programs contain far more sexual explicitness than do network programs. One of the first to push sexual boundaries was *Sex and the City*, in which four New York City women talk with one another about faking orgasm, disappointment with penis size, rapid ejaculation, "funky spunk" (bad-tasting ejaculate), and an uncircumcised penis. *The L Word* and *Queer as Folk* were the first cable programs portraying the lives—and highlighting the sex lives—of lesbian and gay individuals. Reality TV programs—*Big Brother*, *The Bachelor*, *The Bachelorette*, and the like—are fueled by sexual intrigue and expression. HBO's *Girls* shocked many with its provocative depictions of casual sex norms among Millennials, and sex is associated with intense violence in shows like *Game of Thrones* and *West World*.

Critics are concerned that such material presents a far too cavalier approach to sex, encouraging youth to be sexually active too early; However most studies on the subject

have been inconclusive (Escobar-Chaves et al., 2005). One study established a sexual media diet (SMD) by measuring the amount of sexual content in the TV shows, movies, music, and magazines teens consumed regularly, along with the amount of time teens spent using these four forms of media. The study found that White teens whose SMD was in the top 20% were 2.2 times more likely to have had intercourse by age 16 than were those whose SMD was in the lowest 20% (Brown & L'Engle, 2008). However, as with most research, these findings indicate a correlation, not causation; it may be that teens who are more sexually experienced seek out more sexual content in media. However, many depictions of sexuality in the media may trivialize the complexity of sexuality and create unrealistic expectations regarding sexual experiences.

At times, the ways sexual issues are presented on television have beneficial effects—promoting greater knowledge, tolerance, and positive social change. For example, network and cable programs on child abuse, rape, and transgender issues have helped to increase knowledge and to reduce the stigma associated with such topics (American Academy of Pediatrics, 2001). Various studies have found that shows that portray negative consequences of sexual activity lead to more negative attitudes toward intercourse before marriage, and portrayals of safe sex on television programs increase positive attitudes about condom use (Eyal & Kunkel, 2008). However, among the primetime television shows most watched by youth, sexual violence and abuse, casual sex among adults, lack of contraceptive use, or no portrayal of consequences of risky behaviors are common (Kinsler et al., 2019). Still, some evidence suggests that information about the potentially harmful physical and emotional consequences of sex has increased in programming over the years. For example, the reality show *16 and Pregnant* depicts how demanding life with a baby is and may motivate viewers toward contraceptive use: Google searches on "how to get birth control" increase on the day of each show (Kristof, 2014). However, other analyses of this show suggest that some teens may be enticed by the glamorized accounts of teen parenthood and may be more likely to take sexual risks after watching it (Wright, Randall, & Arroyo, 2013).

One study found a significant increase in viewers' knowledge about mother-to-child HIV transmission after viewing a *Grey's Anatomy* episode on the topic. Figure 1.4 shows the increase in the viewers' knowledge about an HIV-positive woman's chance of having a healthy baby (Rideout, 2008). Television programs that model communication about sex may help facilitate healthy sexual communication for some viewers and their sexual partners. For example, researchers showed three groups of students' different edited versions of *Sex and the City* episodes. In one, the characters discussed sexually transmitted infections (STIs) with friends, doctors, and sexual partners. The second version included content about STIs, but none of the characters discussed this topic with one another. The third episode had no reference to STIs. Two weeks later, the study participants completed a questionnaire asking whether they had talked to anyone about STIs. Forty-six percent of college students who watched the episode in which characters discussed STIs said they had discussed sexual health issues with their partners since viewing the show. Twenty-one percent of those who saw the second version and 15% of those who watched the third version reported discussing the topic with their sexual partners (Moyer-Guse et al., 2011).

Outside of the United States, the media can also play a significant role in countries where sexual information has been taboo. For example, in the past 20 years Egypt and China have allowed sex education programs to be presented via public media. In China, the *Tonight's Whisperings* radio program began in 1998 to address the gap between the sexual ignorance created by the repression of sexual information during the Cultural

AF archive/Alamy Stock Photo

Grey's Anatomy viewers were asked the following question before, one week after, and six weeks after viewing an episode about mother-to-child HIV transmission:

"If a woman who is HIV positive becomes pregnant and receives the proper treatment, what is the chance that she will give birth to a healthy baby—that is, a baby who is NOT infected with HIV?"

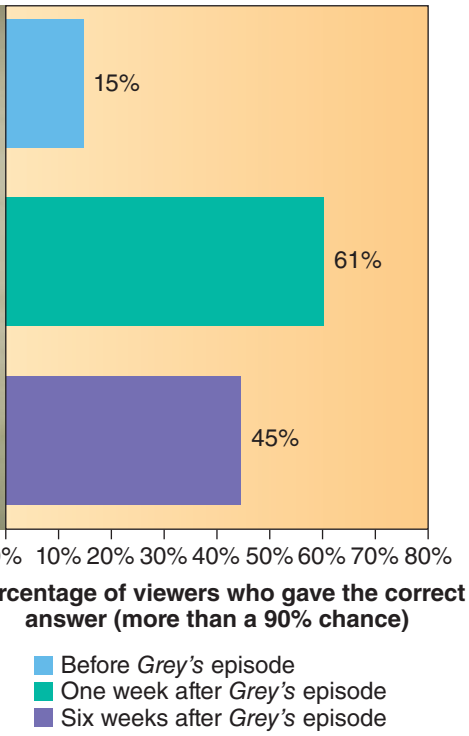

Figure 1.4 Health knowledge gain and retention from a Grey's Anatomy episode.
SOURCE: Rideout (2008).

Revolution and the increase in teen sexual behavior. The show's hosts respond to questions viewers send via e-mail and text message, many of which reveal a lack of knowledge of basic sexual facts (Fan, 2006). Similarly, two Iranian sexuality educators have made use of various media platforms to increase clinically accurate knowledge among Farsi speakers about important sexual health concerns. Through messaging on their website *CTRL+S* and popular Instagram account, educators Yassi Ashki and Narges Dorratoltaj are able to boost awareness about critical, yet highly taboo topics in Iranian culture (Jaafari, 2018).

MUSIC VIDEOS

Since 1981, televised music video programs have bridged television and the music industry. Most music videos (depending on the type of music) have some type of sexual content that has become more overt and explicit over time (O'Keefe, 2014). They usually portray men as dominant and aggressive and women as sexual objects. Exposure to more sexually explicit music videos is associated with stronger endorsement of the sexual double standard (Zhang et al., 2008). Further studies found that adolescents who listened to music with degrading sexual lyrics were twice as likely to have had sexual intercourse and engaged in a greater variety of sexual activities compared with adolescents who had the least exposure to songs with degrading lyrics (Martino et al., 2006; Primack et al., 2009).

ADVERTISING

Advertising either is present in most forms of media or stands alone, as on billboards or bus ads. Sexual images, often blatant but sometimes subtle, are designed to help attract attention and sell products. An ad that has high sexual appeal can be a powerful

marketing tool. For example, jeans sales doubled following the 1980s ad in which a young Brooke Shields promised that nothing came between her and her Calvin Klein jeans (Kuriansky, 1996). Advertising relies on the false promises that love or sex or both will come with the acquisition of a certain beauty product, brand of liquor, brand of clothing, sound system, or car. Most sexual content in advertising trivializes sex and reinforces the idea that only young, hard male and female bodies merit attraction.

Richard Corkery/New York Daily News Archive/Getty Images

Advertisers increasingly use group sex scenes to market their products.

SOURCE: www.internetworldstats.com. Copyright © Miniwatts Marketing Group. Reprinted by permission.

MAGAZINES

Popular magazines contain a range of sexually related articles—from excellent information about self-help and relationship skills to articles that promote stereotypical gender roles, body-image insecurity, superficiality, and manipulation in relationships. On the positive side, some research has shown that more frequent reading of mainstream magazines among college students is associated with more consistent use of contraceptives and with greater sexual health knowledge and safe-sex behaviors (Walsh & Ward, 2010). Further, articles about sexual interaction may provide positive support for sexual exploration and assertiveness; such an article in *Cosmopolitan* encouraged its readers to stimulate their clitoris during intercourse to enhance arousal and help them experience orgasm.

Conversely, articles like "Do You Make Men M-E-L-T?" may reinforce gender-role stereotypes and performance pressure and overemphasize techniques (Menard & Kleinplatz, 2008). Ubiquitous information telling readers how to make themselves prettier, skinnier, and sexier ("Boy Magnet Beauty" and "Untamed Va-jay-jays") may contribute to body-image insecurity (Moore, 2010). Magazines designed for young men often emphasize two themes: information about "what women want" and how to promote "kinky" sexual variety with partners (Taylor, 2005). Exposure to sexualized material in magazines among adolescent boys is related to higher gender-stereotypical beliefs and objectification of women (Ward et al., 2015).

Critical THINKING Question

Can you think of an advertisement that helped reshape sexual stereotypes? How did the advertisement achieve that result?

New Media and Sexuality

How many hours a day do you spend plugged in to new media technologies that have been made possible by the rise of the Internet, such as smartphone apps, texting, social media, Internet browsing, and virtual reality games? By 2017 there were almost 3.5 billion Internet users worldwide, nearly 41% of the world population. China has more than 772 million Internet users—more than any other country in the world. India is second with 462 million users, and the United States is third with almost 312 million people using the Internet—approximately 75% of the U.S. population (Statista, 2018a). See ● Figure 1.5 for more statistics about Internet use around the globe. On average, Americans now spend almost half of each day looking at a screen (Howard, 2016; Nielsen, 2017) and over 43 million people spend over 20 hours a week on the Internet—a figure that nearly doubled between 2008–2015 (American Psychiatric Association, 2016). With the proliferation of tablets and smartphones, many people—especially teens—are rarely disconnected from the Internet (Pew Research Center, 2018).

The impact of this communication revolution on sexual attitudes and behaviors is potentially epic. Now people in disparate social groups—different age groups, races,