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"Eat, Sleep, Hydrate, Masturbate!" Sexuality Education, Digital Media and Creator Identity Implications

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“Eat, Sleep, Hydrate, Masturbate!”

Sexuality Education, Digital Media and Creator Identity Implications



Honors Thesis

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Department: Sociology

Advisor: Jamie Small, Ph.D.

April 2018

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Abstract

The introduction of sexuality information to young people has been a point of tension in our society for decades as adults argue over how, when, or if young people should learn such information. However, with the rise of digital technology, the ability of adults to regulate young people's access to information about sexuality has minimized significantly. Yet the curriculum in sexuality education classrooms continues to be debated while little research has been done examining the easily-accessible information that lives on the Internet. This thesis analyzes two popular sexuality education channels on YouTube, sexplanations and lacigreen, with subscriber counts ranging from nearly half a million to over 1.5 million. Data were collected through content analysis of approximately 27.5 hours of video. Findings indicate that sexuality education on YouTube takes a comprehensive, "sex positive" approach, covering a range of topics including anatomy, sexual orientation, consent, contraception, and sexual instruction. Video creators' values and identities, as well as the structure of YouTube itself, impact the information that is presented. This analysis is significant as it indicates that formally regulated sexuality education programs may no longer be relevant and user-generated digital education is introducing new perspectives on sex and sexuality to young people.

Acknowledgements

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“Sleep, eat, hydrate, masturbate!”: Sexuality education, digital media, and creator identity implications

In March 2016, Time Magazine released its list of “The 30 Most Influential People on the Internet.” Members of this list, such as Kanye West, J.K. Rowling, Donald Trump, and Narendra Modi, were selected based upon their “global impact on social media and their overall ability to drive news.” In the middle of this list of influential pop culture superstars, politicians, and authors was Laci Green, a YouTube star whose videos teach sexuality education to her viewers. This is not the first time that a YouTube star has appeared on the list (see Joy Cho, Grace Helbig, Tyler Oakley, etc.), due to the platform's growing popularity. However, it is the first time that someone who is so explicitly tied to sex education has been included (TIME Staff, 2016). The article labels Green as a “millennial Dr. Ruth,” referencing not only Ruth Westheimer's passion for sexuality education but also her role in entertainment media. As YouTube creators continue to reach high levels of celebrity, amassing millions of young fans and “subscribers,” what does it mean that one of the rising stars, recognized for her global impact, is a sex educator?

Sexuality education is a controversial topic that has been debated and researched for years. Scholars look for correlations between teen pregnancy or sexually transmitted infection (STI) rates and different sexuality education programs. Passionate parents petition for content to be added or removed from their children's sexuality education classrooms. Conservative clergy members demand that abstinence-only sexuality education is taught, while Planned Parenthood advocates for comprehensive sexuality education. Opposing sides of the debate are unable to see eye-to-eye, and little

compromise seems to be possible. However, with the onset of the digital revolution, the debate over sexuality education may be outdated.

At least 73% of teenagers in the United States own smartphones and have continuous access to the internet (“73% of teens,” 2015). Sexuality education can no longer be regulated by concerned politicians, educators, and parents. Young people have more freedom than ever regarding what information they can access and yet sexuality education in the digital space has received very little academic attention. Scholars are still dissecting what is happening in the classroom, while teens have moved on. They have access to websites, blogs, and videos that they can turn to for information about sexuality. Does it matter what information is left out of the high school curriculum if it's all available, free, and accessible on the internet? Who is providing this sexuality information online? Are they credible? What are the underlying values promoted in this digital sexuality education? How will this new source of education impact the values, beliefs, and behaviors of today's youth? If a complete understanding of sexuality education and its impacts is desired, then the sexuality education that exists online must be analyzed.

History of Sexuality Education

Sexuality education has been a controversial topic in the United States since the early 20th century. When it first began as a formalized aspect of children's education in the early 1900s, sexuality education was a response to a perceived moral decline in the nation. As the birth rate dropped, people blamed this drop on the spread of venereal diseases, identifying these as a major threat to family life (Carter, 2001). Thus, sexuality education was first implemented to educate the public about the risks of venereal diseases

and discourage premarital sex. This education was criticized even then as people feared that discussing sexual topics would encourage promiscuity (Carter, 2001). Later, in the 1960s, in the aftermath of the “free love” movement, the introduction of the birth control pill, and the legalization of abortion, premarital sex had lost much of its stigmatization. As a result, there was a spike in teen pregnancy rates. In 1966, to address this problem, the U.S. Office of Education funded 645 agencies to help develop sexuality education programs, many of which emphasized birth control (Huber & Firmin, 2014).

By the mid to late 1960s, two conflicting forms of sexuality education had emerged: abstinence-only sexuality education and comprehensive sexuality education. Abstinence-only sexuality education solely teaches students to abstain from sexual behaviors before marriage, while comprehensive sexuality education teaches a wide variety of sexuality information and encourages “students to decide for themselves when to engage in sex, whether to seek an abortion, and how to obtain easy access to contraception,” among other things (Huber & Firmin, 2014, p. 37). In 1989, 68% of public schools described their sexuality education as comprehensive, rather than abstinence-only (Huber & Firman, 2014). However, this dropped steadily as President Clinton introduced the Welfare Reform Act in 1996. Embedded in this bill was a new state block grant. Any state that took this grant, 49 in total, was required to focus their sexuality education courses around the benefits of abstinence until marriage and the numerous risks surrounding teenage premarital sex. In 2002, under President Bush, Congress passed the Community Based Abstinence Education program, which allotted millions of dollars in funding to abstinence-only sexuality education programs (Huber & Firman, 2014). While funding for abstinence-based curriculum was rising, this didn’t

erase comprehensive programs. In fact, many people continued to advocate for comprehensive sexuality education, especially as awareness of the HIV/AIDS viruses grew.

As various opinions have been developed and expressed over time, researchers have continued to examine various forms of sexuality education and policies have been created and changed (Allen, 2001; González-Ortega, Vicario-Molina, Martínez, & Orgaz, 2015; Gowen & Wings-Yanez, 2014; Jones & Biddlecom, 2011; Prybutok, 2013; Somers & Gleason, 2001). Currently, 24 states and the District of Columbia require sexuality education in public schools. Only 20 states require that sexuality education, if provided, be “medically, factually, or technically accurate” (“State Policies on Sex Education,” 2016) and even the definitions of “accurate” vary. Because there is no universal mandate for sexuality education or a universal curriculum, there are many discrepancies in the sexuality-based information that youth in various schools are receiving.

Literature Review

Gaps in In-School Sexuality Education Programs

Current research on sexuality education within schools points to two main faults of these programs: failure to address specific information and a lack of influence on behavior and attitudes. At a very basic level, research has suggested that the number of adolescents who are receiving comprehensive information about contraception at school has decreased in the past few decades (Santelli et al., 2006). Additionally, it has been shown that sexuality education programs often leave out information about lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ+) sexualities, which often leaves LGBTQ+

youth less likely to receive comprehensive sexuality education than heterosexual students (Kann, et al., 2011). Sexuality education programs in Canada have also been shown to depict race and ethnicity in a problematic way, ultimately ignoring the unique experiences of students of color and normalizing the underlying white supremacy that exists in much of education (DeHaan, Kuper, Magee, Bigelow, & Mustansi, 2013; Whitten & Sethna, 2014). Extensive studies found that school sexuality education programs often misunderstand teenagers' needs, focusing on biological topics rather than socio-sexual and desire/pleasure-based topics or more practical knowledge that students feel are more relevant to themselves and which describe their actual experiences (Somers & Gleason, 2001; Allen, 2001). This runs the risk of alienating young people from the messages of sexuality education. If this is the case, then it is not surprising that sexuality education programs, while having a generally positive impact on teens' sexual knowledge, have little impact on teens' sexual attitudes or behaviors (Finkel & Finkel, 1985; West, Wight, & Macintyre, 1993).

When asked about sexuality education in focus groups, young people provided many examples of topics that they would have liked to have seen included in their own sexuality education. These topics range from LGBTQ+ issues, access to resources, STI prevention, healthy communication between partners, gender identity, and anatomy (Gowen & Winges-Yanez, 2014). Additionally, Allen (2001) found that young people were more interested in and excited about participating in discussions of sexual erotics, suggesting that this is a topic that students wish to learn more about. Allen (2001, p. 114) defines erotics as, "a more personal discourse of emotional and bodily feelings concerning desire and attraction and how these were acted upon, as well as what sexual

activity was like and how it was engaged in.” Allen (2001) and Tompkins (2014) propose that discourse of erotics be added to sexuality education programs in an effort to make students more interested and feel that the programs actually relate to their lives.

Benefits of the Internet to Education

Around the globe, researchers are beginning to look into the role of technology, and more specifically, the internet in education systems. The generations that are currently enrolled in primary and secondary school are what American media researcher Marc Prensky calls “digital natives” (Kędzierska & Wnęk-Gozdek, 2015). These young people in developed countries grew up with the internet as an established part of their culture. It is intertwined in every aspect of their lives and in many ways transforms the way they think and see the world (Valcanis, 2011). Young people today are not only used to seeking out information for themselves but also are often involved in the conversation surrounding said information through the creation and publication of online material. Thus, today’s students are accustomed to playing an active role in their own learning and development. If educators fail to adjust to this change in cognitive activity and learning styles, they risk current education simply being ineffective (Kędzierska & Wnęk-Gozdek, 2015). For this reason, many educators are attempting to incorporate technology into their classrooms.

However, it is also important to consider the role that the internet can play in education outside of the established institution. Kellner and Kim (2010) argue that educational content online, especially on social sharing sites such as YouTube, can democratize knowledge in a way that the current education system is unable to do. Through modern communication technology, ordinary people can educate. Because

anyone with a connection can access the internet, people of all backgrounds, not just those that hold traditional power, can have a voice in the development of knowledge and thus the construction of culture. Notably, however, not everyone has an internet connection; those most likely not to have this access include racial minorities, people living in poverty, and those with lower educational attainment (Ryan & Lewis, 2017). With this in mind, Kellner and Kim (2010) warn of potential limitations of education through the internet. Despite its democratizing potential, the internet is still in many ways a part of dominant social and political structures, and thus people should be on guard for the ways in which the internet can simply reproduce and support messages of the dominant view.

Online Learning

The introduction of television and computers has already changed how education functions within the classroom; one can only imagine how it will impact education now that education can be removed from the classroom completely. However, while there are expressed differences between education that lives online versus that that occurs in the classroom, Green, Hamarman, and McKee (2015) believe that online education, especially online sexuality education, will be most successful when teachers prioritize maintaining a connection with their students. Sexuality educators and students find this connection to be a critical element of successful sexuality education (Green et al., 2015).

Notably, Green and colleagues (2015), as well as many scholars who study online education, are discussing online education that is formalized, graded, and run by an institution, rather than the informal education provided by YouTube creators. Yet, some of the tactics that scholars find to be successful in these online courses may also be

relevant in informal digital spaces. For example, Green and colleagues (2015) note that a critical part of sexuality pedagogy, online or off, is creating a balance between instructor-led teaching and student-directed learning. Student direction is necessary in order for the instructor to be aware of and correct the misinformation about sexuality that students already have. While formal online courses can easily motivate student direction through discussion groups and forums, content creators may be able to do the same through comments sections and by encouraging feedback through social media.

The biggest difference between formal online courses and informal digital education is that institutionalized sources are generally held to a higher standard of accuracy. In fact, studies on people seeking out health information online have shown that while this experience has the potential to empower people, increase their confidence, and promote self-management, this value is often lost as around half of people seeking online medical information have difficulty evaluating the credibility of a source (Kumar, Pandey, Venkatraman, & Garg, 2014).

Sexuality Education Material Online

While much research has been done regarding sexuality education in the classroom, researchers have also begun to consider sexuality education material online. Studies have found that close to half of young people use the internet to receive information about sexuality or sexual health (González-Ortega et al., 2015). LGBTQ+ youth, and especially those of color, are at least five times more likely to search for health information online than their non-LGBTQ+ peers (Craig, McInroy, McCready, Cesare, & Pettaway, 2015). There are many ways in which young people can access sexuality information online. These include entertainment sources, such as pornography;

institutionalized educational sources, such as SIECUS (Sexuality Information and Education Council of the United States) and Planned Parenthood; company-run websites such as Amaze.org and Seventeen Magazine's "sex health" page; and user-generated resources, such as Tumblr blogs and YouTube channels. According to Jones and Biddlecom (2011, p. 119), some of these teen-friendly websites "get tens of thousands of unique visitors per day and are connected to popular social networking Web sites." Additionally, studies have found that adolescents tend to seek out sex-related topics online, especially regarding sexual anatomy/physiology, sexual behaviors/human sexual response, and sexuality in society (González-Ortega et al., 2015).

Risks of Sexuality Education Online

While there is evidence that adolescents use the internet for sexuality education information, studies have found that this is not the first source that adolescents go to, especially for information about contraception and abstinence. Teenagers are often wary of sexuality information online. When asked about sexuality education online, students interviewed in various studies didn't trust websites that weren't reputable or known and they were wary about receiving information from those who weren't experts, fearing incorrect information (Jones & Biddlecom, 2011). In 2011, Jones and Biddlecom found that teenagers ages 16-19 in the U.S. are more likely to trust family members, school, medical professionals, and friends than sexual health information found online. In 2015, González-Ortega and colleagues found this to be consistent for Spanish females ages 12-17. However, Spanish males, ages 12-17, claimed the internet to be the second most useful source of sexuality information, only after friends.

Prybutok (2013) found that in general, young adults preferred sources of sexuality education online to be presented by a medical professional, to have a serious and professional tone yet be engaging, and to include diagrams or other visual tools to enhance understanding. Notably, there are very few ways to verify someone's status online. One who claims to be a medical professional may not be. When it comes to health-related information online, research has found that other factors, such as a person's race and the quality of a video, impact the perceived credibility of a source (Juhasz, 2009; Spence, Lachlan, Westerman, & Spates, 2013). This suggests that the criteria used to determine what is credible information may be quite arbitrary, and could lead to the spread of incorrect health information.

With all sexuality education, but especially that which lives on the internet, the rhetoric used to talk about various topics is important and impactful. According to Tompkins (2014, p. 773), “the emergence of digital sources of information, and the reliance on the information by large numbers of young people in particular presents concerns for what happens with this normalized rhetoric in offline spaces.” When sexuality-based topics are talked about in a derogatory, power-driven, or otherwise negative way, it has the ability to dismiss others’ identities and prevent conversations about safer sex practices and healthy sexual relationships (Tompkins, 2014). Others worry that increased exposure to sexual topics in the media can lead to increased adolescent sexual behavior, a worry also expressed by those opposed to sexuality education in schools (González-Ortega et al., 2015).

Benefits of Sexuality Education Online

Studies show that using the internet as a source of sexuality information can be very beneficial to young people in a number of ways. The internet's availability, ease of use, and perceived anonymity regarding sensitive topics makes it an attractive option for adolescents. The internet allows them to quickly find answers to questions without having embarrassing conversations, learn about the sexual experiences of their peers, and avoid the stigma that is associated with some sexual identities (González-Ortega et al., 2015). Additionally, Gomillion and Giuliano (2011) found that online groups offer their members, especially those with marginalized identities, a sense of community and belonging that is difficult to find in the real world.

Providing online resources about sexual health allows students with marginalized identities to ask sensitive questions outside of a public setting, which could increase the safety in classrooms. Additionally, providing a place of inclusive sexuality education, through the internet, can create a program that is more relevant to LGBTQ+ youth and others who often feel ostracized, thus engaging them more, hopefully resulting in safer sex practices (Gowen & Wings-Yanez, 2014).

When Prybutok (2013) used pre-tests and post-tests to examine the viability of YouTube as a form of sexuality education, she found that it impacted sexual knowledge and attitudes in a positive way, making YouTube a worthwhile health education informing channel for young adults. However, many scholars agree that while the internet has the potential to be a substantive source of sexuality education, it is currently only supplementing traditional sources of this information (Jones & Biddlecom, 2011; González-Ortega et al., 2015).

YouTube as an Educational Tool

In response to the gaps in sexuality education, many different solutions have been proposed to improve or replace current methods. These include introducing more material in traditional programs about LGBTQ+ identities, where to access resources, healthy communication between partners, anatomy, and erotics, as well as implementing peer-led programs, sexuality education training for parents, programs that travel to youth in foster care or juvenile detention centers, and various online resources that allow students to access information anonymously (Auteri, 2017).

While sexuality education online has been studied, the research focuses mainly on online groups, web pages, and professional health education sites. YouTube is an interesting platform for sexuality education that requires more research. YouTube has a number of content creators, YouTubers, who maintain channels focused solely on sexuality-related topics, many of which have millions of viewers. Unlike other online formats, YouTube provides a teacher-student atmosphere, on a personal level. YouTubers act as teachers – authority figures – providing information to their audiences, or students. At the same time, the YouTuber is attempting to be relatable, friendly, and accessible, in an effort to increase their subscriber count, and oftentimes, increase their income. The audience is able to give feedback and ask questions through the comments section, but the actual content of the channel is the sole decision of the YouTuber. There is no fact-checker except for the audience itself.

Based on current research regarding sexuality education content online, YouTube has the potential to be a useful tool that may be able to fill in the gaps in traditional sexuality education, make young adults more comfortable with sexuality-related

information, and improve the acceptance and personal well-being of those with marginalized sexual identities (Prybutok, 2013). Johnston (2017) suggests that the ability of YouTubers to reach stardom on the platform can enhance the learning opportunities that sexuality education channels offer and ultimately build interest in sexuality education beyond the classroom. However, YouTube also has the potential to spread negative and inaccurate information, encourage dangerous behavior, or generally be disregarded as a credible source by the audience it attempts to reach (González-Ortega et al., 2015).

While more recent research begins to discuss the role that the internet may play in the sexuality education process, this research often fails to look at specific aspects of the internet and how its unique features may come into play. With a societal movement towards an increasingly digital age, more research must be conducted regarding how the internet, and more specifically YouTube, can be used as a tool for sexuality education. Therefore, I conducted an analysis of current sexuality education content on YouTube with the following exploratory research questions:

RQ1: What sexuality information is being shared through sexuality education channels on YouTube?

RQ2: What cultural messages about sexuality are being sent in this digital arena?

RQ3: What methods or tools are sexuality education content creators using to interact with their digital audiences?

Research Design

For this study, I conducted a content analysis of two of the most popular sexuality education channels on YouTube. Because very little research has been done on this form of sexuality education, an examination of the content being shared is needed before future

studies can begin to analyze the impact of these channels on viewers. Therefore, a content analysis is currently the most appropriate method to understand this form of education.

Two YouTube channels, sexplanations by Lindsey Doe and lacigreen by Laci Green, were selected for analysis in this study. YouTube does not sort its content into specific categories, so there is no way to obtain an accurate and complete list of all channels on YouTube that cover sexuality-related topics. Therefore, a purposive sampling method was used to obtain the sample. A sampling frame of 37 sexuality education-based YouTube channels was created based on internet searches and the two channels with the highest subscriber count were selected.

My specific unit of analysis for this content analysis is each video on the selected YouTube channels that was posted from the channel's inception to the end of 2016. This includes videos on these channels that are not specifically focused on sexuality-related topics, such as question and answer videos (Q&As) that many of these YouTubers make. Though these videos do not add to the analysis on what sexuality information is being taught, they are significant because they are used by YouTubers as a relationship-enhancing method in an effort to connect with their audience and maintain audience engagement.

Both of the selected channels take a more liberal approach to sexuality; in the context of the current sexuality education debate, the education featured on these channels would be considered comprehensive rather than abstinence-only. This is representative of sexuality education videos on YouTube; no channels were found that presented a conservative or abstinence-only approach to sexuality education.

All videos that were analyzed in this study can be found for free on YouTube, an internet video-sharing platform. All videos are posted publically and can be viewed by anyone with an internet connection unless the YouTuber chooses to remove a video. Any removed videos were not available for analysis.

A total of 368 videos between the two channels were coded using NVivo software: 206 from sexplanations (see Appendix A) and 162 videos from lacigreen (see Appendix B). The videos will be referenced in the text by their posting date. Each video was coded for the topics that it covered. Quantitative data was collected through this method by coding any segment of the video in which the YouTuber discussed a topic related to sexuality. A small list of categories for coding based upon background research regarding what sexuality education currently covers and what students want it to cover was created initially, however, this analysis took a grounded approach (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). Categories were created based on what is seen in the content. Ultimately, 24 coding categories were used to code for the topics covered.

The number of views a video had, the date in which each video was posted, and the video description provided by the YouTuber for each video were collected. Transcripts were obtained for each video from YouTube. Transcripts were either made by viewers who choose to do so, or, if such a transcript wasn't available, from YouTube's automatically generated transcript. After each video was coded, a brief summary of the video was written. Additionally, memos were written throughout the coding process to track themes.

Background

YouTube is a unique platform with distinct features and implications that impact the experience of creating and consuming content through it. Audience members of educational channels are consuming this education in a very different context than if they were watching an educational video in a classroom. YouTube has a number of unique aspects, such as the role of money, competition for views, and censorship.

Online informal education provided through websites like YouTube or Wikipedia is free to users. However, these websites are run by companies that must turn a profit. In most cases, a profit is made by selling advertising to companies who want to reach their users. However, in order for this to be a successful model, the website must not only maintain a large number of users but must also be continually growing in the content it provides. Oftentimes, these companies assume that by offering free content to users, users will, in return, contribute valuable content themselves without expectation of compensation. The declining number of contributors to Wikipedia shows that this is not generally the case, and suggests that such a model may not be sustainable (Cusumano, 2013). Additionally, offering information for free may send the message that what one is offering is worth little. If companies later decide to charge for information they previously gave away for free, they risk losing a lot of their consumer base (Cusumano, 2013). Thus, free information on the internet can be a difficult business venture. In order for providers of this information to survive, users are often faced with countless advertisements.

Yet, the companies that run these content-sharing websites are not the only ones who must struggle to make money and maintain their audiences; individual creators

struggle with this as well. Uploading a video to YouTube is easy; getting people to watch it is not. Over 300 hours of video are uploaded to YouTube every minute (YouTube Jobs, n.d.). With that much competition, videos must stand out in order to be successful. More importantly, a YouTuber must make video titles and thumbnails that are enticing to viewers if they want to have any chance of people watching their videos. Therefore, YouTubers have a lot more to consider than simply the content of their videos. If they want their information to be dispersed, they must jump through the hoops necessary to attract potential audience members. Their ability to jump through these hoops often determines their success on the platform. For example, numerically lacigreen is a much more successful channel than sexplanations with almost five times the number of subscribers and nearly three times as many views while having significantly fewer videos. Notably, it is significant that lacigreen is nearly four years older than sexplanations and thus has had more time to accumulate an audience. However, the success of Green's channel may also be attributed to her ability to create videos that people want to click on.

Green's video titles are often intriguing or controversial and nearly all of them are in capital letters. Additionally, her thumbnails feature a young, conventionally-attractive female (herself). This makes her videos more likely to be successful in a social media culture where people are likely to scroll past anything that doesn't instantly catch their eye. While Doe does produce thoughtful thumbnails with large text, likely in an attempt to catch the attention of mindless scrollers, Green does it better. A quick glance at each of their video pages (below) shows that Green's videos are more colorful and eye-catching than are Doe's.

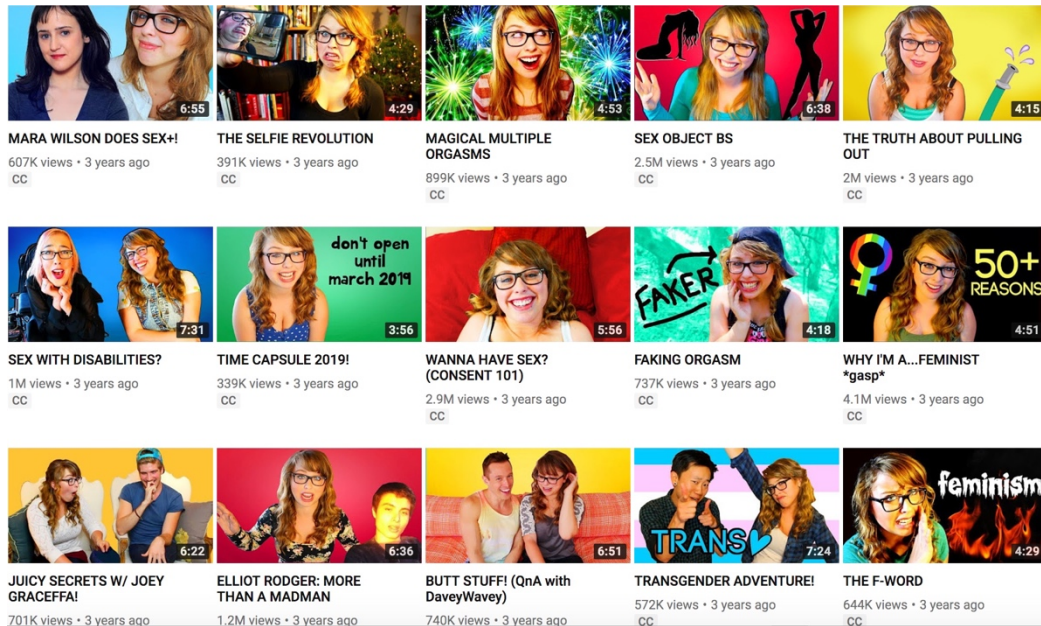


Figure 1. Lacigreen video page

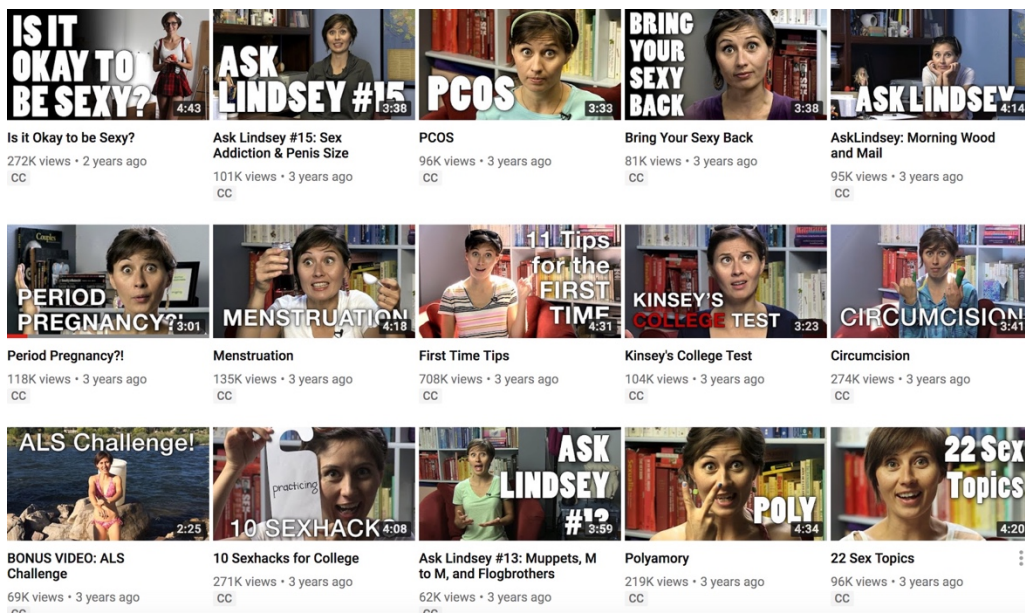


Figure 2. Sexplanations video page

However, success on YouTube is not only defined by how many viewers one can attract. Creators on this platform can also earn money, and for those that produce regular content, this financial reciprocation may be necessary for the continuation of their channel. Producing the videos that Doe and Green make takes a significant amount of time and labor. They must choose a topic, research the relevant literature, write a script,

fact-check their script, film the video, edit the video, upload the video, and then respond to comments. Doe estimates that it takes her about 29 hours of labor to produce one approximately 4-minute-long video (Doe, November 12, 2013). Given that she uploads one video a week, YouTube is the equivalent of nearly a full-time job for Doe. If these creators are not financially compensated, they likely won't be able to afford the time it takes to create their content. For this reason, both YouTubers obtain sponsors for a few of their videos.

Sponsorships are quite common on YouTube. Companies often work with YouTubers, giving them free products or a sum of money in exchange for the YouTuber to promote the company and their products. The amount of money that YouTubers make from sponsorships depends on how many viewers their videos receive. Grapevine, a company that connects brands to digital influencers, suggests that YouTubers charge \$20-\$30 per every 1,000 views that their videos receive on average ("How much to charge," 2016).

Both Doe and Green are sponsored by Audible, a digital audiobook company, and Adam and Eve, a sex toy company, at various points. Green is also sponsored by Trojan condoms for a few videos. Between the two channels, only 23 videos contained advertisements for sponsors, so it is by no means a constant feature throughout the channels. As many YouTubers do, Doe and Green incorporate sponsors into their content. For example, when Audible is a sponsor, Green or Doe will generally recommend an audible book about sexuality, or something that was used as a source in their video. Additionally, when Adam and Eve is sponsoring a video, the content is generally about sex toys, masturbation, or pleasure.

Another common way that YouTubers make money is through Patreon.

YouTubers create a Patreon page that often has special bonus content. Only those who donate money have access to the page. Based on how much they donate, donors can earn perks. For example, on Doe's page, some donors receive special access to extra videos that aren't posted on Doe's main channel. Other donors receive t-shirts in the mail or are able to video chat with Doe. This is often a very efficient way for YouTubers to earn money and connect with their audience.

Another common revenue source for YouTubers is AdSense. If YouTubers decide to monetize their channel, YouTube will run advertisements from various companies that play before the YouTuber's video. Then the YouTuber will get a percentage of the money made by YouTube for running that advertisement, based on how many views the video, and thus the advertisement, receives ("YouTube partner earnings," n.d.). Interestingly, neither lacigreen nor sexplanations have advertisements run on any videos. This may be because Doe and Green choose not to enable this feature. However, perhaps more likely is that YouTube won't allow them to do so. YouTube has the ability to suspend monetization on YouTubers' channels, and sexuality education is frequently deemed to be material "not suitable for advertisers" by the company.

In addition to demonetizing channels, YouTube is able to censor the content available on their platform in other ways as well. As a company, they have guidelines as to what can and cannot be posted on their website. However, even if content meets their standards, YouTube can still limit viewership for certain videos. YouTube has a "Restricted Mode" feature that viewers can enable if they wish to avoid "inappropriate content." Most sexuality education and LGBTQ+ information is deemed "inappropriate"

by YouTube. When “Restricted Mode” is enabled, all of Doe's videos disappear, and Green's channel is limited to only 16 videos.

For these reasons, YouTube doesn't appear to be the friendliest platform for sexuality education. While it allows these YouTubers to reach mass audiences with ease, it makes it very difficult for creators of these types of channels to sustain themselves financially. Given the amount of time put into their channels, most YouTubers need money to stay afloat. Because YouTube is not an organization that pays its creators simply for creating, this money comes, either directly or indirectly, from their viewers. Therefore, YouTubers must often spend as much or more time focusing on attracting viewers and making money than they spend on the actual content of their videos. As the content of these channels is analyzed, it is important to do so within this context.

Findings

Data collection for this study included coding of 368 videos between two YouTube channels, sexplanations and lacigreen. The videos were coded for the topics that were discussed in each video. The following graphs indicate the total time spent on discussion of the following topics. The content coded into the “other” category is not included in these graphs.

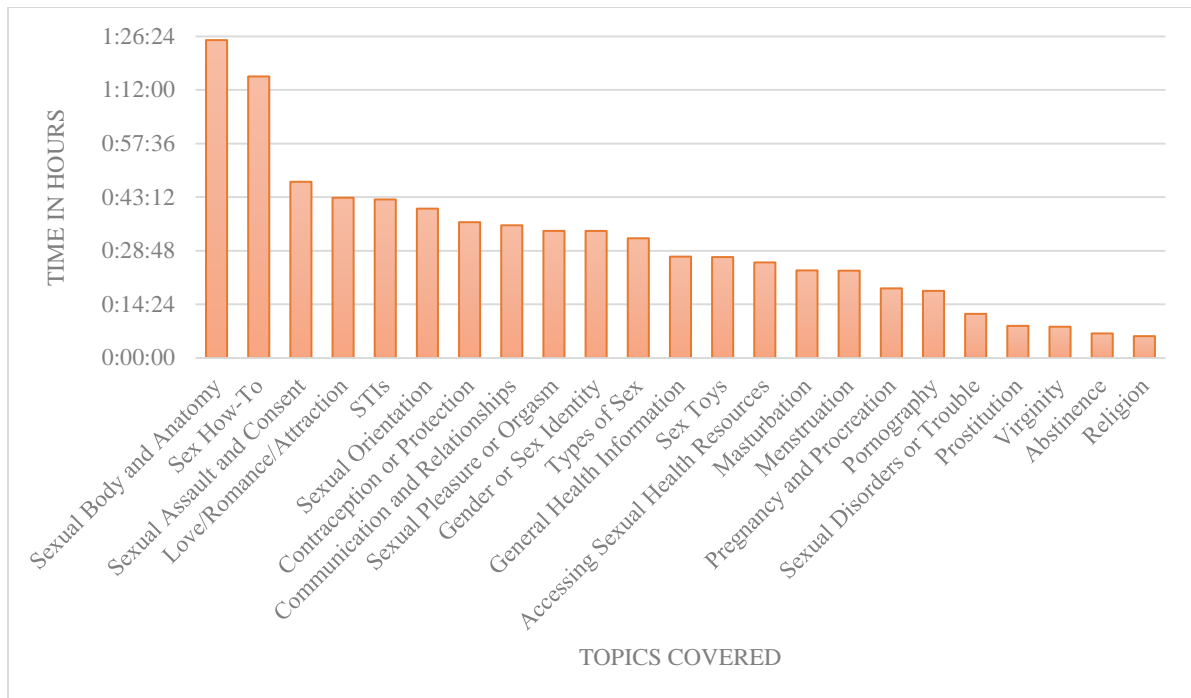


Figure 3. Total time spent on each topic on lacigreen and sexplanations channels combined. This figure illustrates how much time in hours was spent discussing each topic.

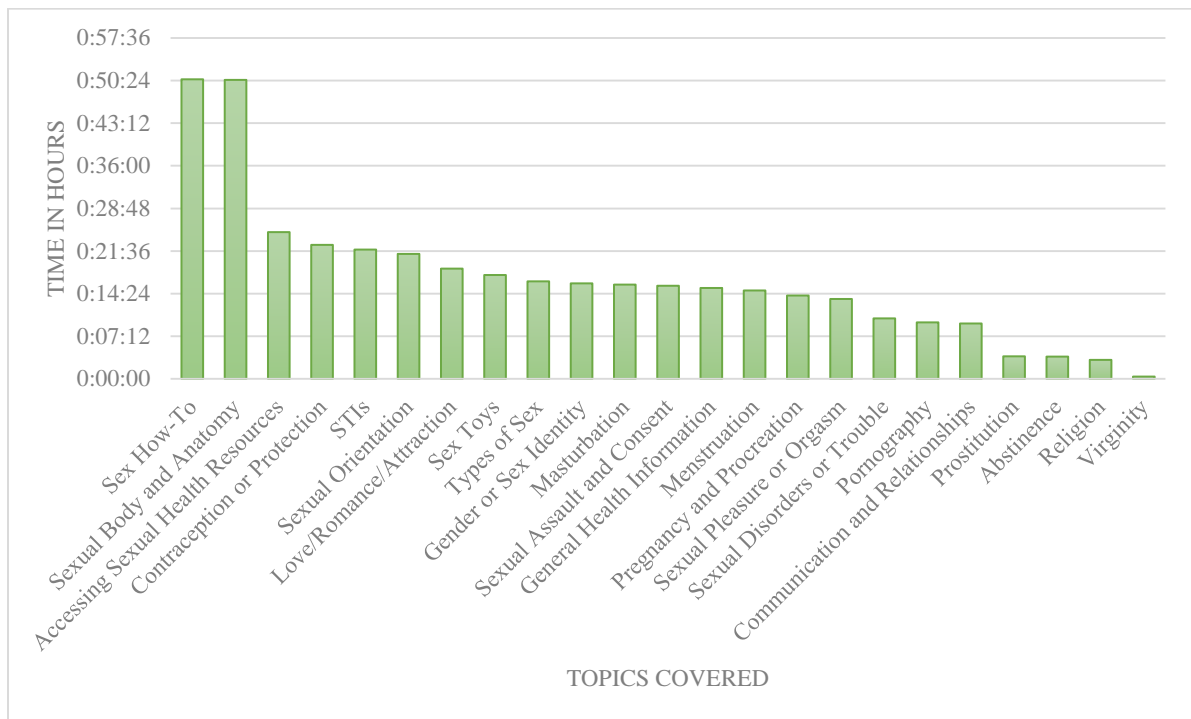


Figure 4. Total time spent on each topic on sexplanations channel. This figure illustrates how much time in hours was spent discussing each topic.

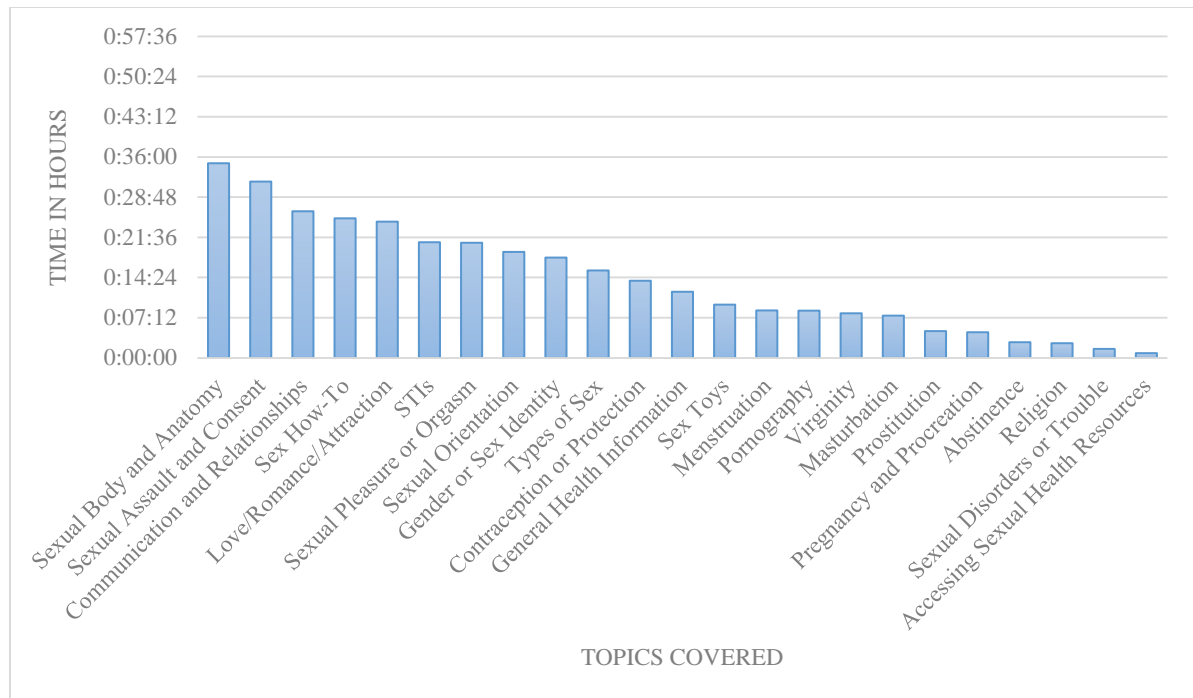


Figure 5. Total time spent on each topic on lacigreen channel. This figure illustrates how much time in hours was spent discussing each topic.

Results

The Face behind the Screen

Before beginning to understand the relevance of the content of these YouTube videos, an understanding of the creators behind the camera is necessary. Doe and Green are both young, conventionally-attractive, feminine-presenting, white-presenting women who were interested in sex at a young age and continue to research and discuss the topic in their adulthood. The term “white-presenting” is used because while Doe is European Asian and Green is part Iranian, both women would be visually interpreted as white and neither woman discusses their ethnicity as a major part of their values, worldview, or experiences.

Doe and Green are ultimately quite representative of the population of YouTube sexuality educators. The majority of all YouTubers who produce content related to

sexuality education are white and female. Out of the 37 sexuality education-related channels discovered during the initial search of the platform, only three YouTubers are non-white and only seven are male. There are no males of color. Of the seven that are male, three identify as gay or bisexual, and four identify as transgender (female-to-male). Additionally, none of the three cisgender males run channels that are completely focused on sexuality education; it is just a small element of their channel.

Doe is a 30+-year-old clinical sexologist with her Ph.D. in Human Sexuality. She has studied sexuality in the highest academic environment and continues to work with these topics in a practical way as she counsels people dealing with sex-related issues. Green is in her 20s. She started her channel while she was still in college and had a job teaching sexuality education to high school students. Therefore, both of these YouTubers have some sort of formal background knowledge of sexuality topics, and thus some sort of academic credibility. In a time and place in which just about anyone can upload videos of themselves online, it is notable that the two sexuality education channels with the most viewers are not run by just anybody, but by people with at least some credibility on the topic.

The majority of Green's audience falls into the 18-24 age range (Social Book, 2017). Based on her own demographics and experiences, this is unsurprising; she can most relate to this age range. For example, Green often answers questions by referring to her experiences in high school or college, using examples with which young people can likely identify. On the other hand, Doe began her channel in her early 30s and the majority of her YouTube audience falls in the 25-34 age range (Social Book, 2017). The age demographics of these creators' audiences are also likely impacted by the internet

usage of various generations; those above the age of 44 are less likely to have internet access than those below (Ryan & Lewis, 2017). Additionally, current YouTube statistics are unable to account for viewers under the age of 18.

After Doe and Green's personal identities are understood, the influence of their identities on the education they provide is quite clear. One of the most obvious impacts is the way in which their gender impacts their teaching. While both Doe and Green clearly attempt to teach sexuality information that is relevant and important to all people, their gender plays a role in what information is covered on their channels. Doe and Green each spend much time discussing consent, the use of dental dams, female masturbation, and body positivity, topics that while applicable to everyone, are especially relevant to females and not often discussed in traditional sexuality education programs. Additionally, Doe and Green spend more time discussing female genital anatomy than male genital anatomy, though both are covered length.

While the topics that both YouTubers discuss are impacted by their gender, gender plays an even bigger role on Green's channel. Green's gender identity is quite relevant to how she views herself as a sex educator and therefore impacts the entire framework of her channel. She often discusses her personal experience with sexuality from the female perspective, specifically regarding her shame and confusion surrounding masturbation, her own body image struggles, and her experiences using different types of birth control. Though her channel is not entirely focused on the female perspective, it is the prominent perspective in many of the videos that she makes. A number of videos are specifically about feminism, toxic masculinity, or are self-proclaimed feminist critics of various social issues.

Another significant impact of Doe and Green's identities is the absence of discussion of race, ethnicity, and class on their channels. Interestingly, Doe and Green do discuss diverse identities, including those that they do not claim, but only certain ones (sexual orientation, disability, and age, for example). While Doe and Green are never outwardly insensitive towards those of marginalized races, ethnicities, or classes, they fail to provide information or encourage discussion about the intersections of race, ethnicity, and class with sexuality.

Race, ethnicity, and class have clear places in the sexuality conversation. Everyone who experiences sex and sexuality has a race, ethnicity, and class which impacts the way they view and experience every aspect of life, including sex and sexuality. We know that black femininity is experienced and treated much differently than white femininity. We know that those in lower classes have less access to birth control and contraceptive measures while having higher rates of STIs. With their range of sexuality knowledge and research, one would assume that Doe and Green be aware of these intersections. For example, in a video Doe made about sexuality education in the United States, she says, "Only these eight states prohibit biased sex education meaning only these states must be culturally sensitive and appropriate with regards to students' race, sex, and ethnicities. Yay them. But come on! Eight states?" (Doe, April 24, 2015). Despite this acknowledgment, she chooses not to talk about most of these cultural issues even when there is a clear place to do so.

In another of Doe's videos, she discusses not only the beauty standards women are held to but also beauty expectations for men and the struggles that transgender people may have with their body image (Doe, July 21, 2016). Doe is willing to discuss the

unique struggles of the transgender community, but another diverse identity that is uniquely related to body image, race, is almost entirely absent from this conversation. Doe doesn't discuss how race is an aspect of our beauty standards, aside from a brief mention that "if Barbie Doll and GI Joe physiques are what you're used to, spend more time admiring other looks: people of different ages, ethnic backgrounds, and expressions." She does note at the end of the video that she needs to do more research, such as "why women of color are less hung-up on beauty standards than white women," a statement that she doesn't support with evidence and which reinforces that idea that race is not a factor in body image, or, if it is, that body image is primarily a white issue.

This Week We'll be Talking About...

The topics that Doe and Green choose to include and exclude as well as the way in which they frame these topics is also critical insight into the information and messages, and ultimately the perception of sexuality that their audience will be receiving. Both Doe and Green describe their channels as being "sex positive." Doe defines this term as the belief "that people deserve the right to make healthy, educated choices about their sexuality" and emphasizes that one does not need to enjoy, appreciate or want sex to be sex positive (Doe, February 18, 2014). Green lists behaviors such as letting go of guilt towards one's body, embracing one's sexuality, practicing safe sex, and getting tested for STIs as behaviors that are sex positive (Green, January 1, 2015). On the contrary, behaviors such as believing that all women are "sluts" for having sex, seeing porn as morally wrong, objectifying women, using the word "gay" as an insult, and believing that one must wait until marriage to have sex are deemed to be inconsistent with the sex positive message that these YouTubers support.

Ultimately, both YouTubers work within a pedagogy that emphasizes the importance of knowledge and the elimination of ignorance, while condemning any form of judgment towards people for their sexual desires or actions (assuming that they are not harmful). This takes the form of a more liberal, progressive take on sex and sexuality that covers topics that some find inappropriate or advanced for youth, promotes sexual experimentation, and does not use fear or shame to encourage abstinence.

The channels include a wide variety of traditional yet still controversial topics from contraception to abortion to STIs while also including topics that are often treated as taboo or uncomfortable in other contexts. For example, BDSM (bondage, discipline, dominance, submissions, sadism, and masochism), homosexuality, polyamory, sex toys, anal sex, orgasm, pornography, one-night stands, paraphilias, and masturbation are all covered regularly on these channels. Many of these are topics that are rarely if ever mentioned in school classrooms, yet provoke a lot of curiosity for young people. The factual, non-judgmental conversation of these topics is prevalent within both channels and represents the “sex positive” messaging that both YouTubers hope to represent.

For example, when talking about BDSM, the YouTubers explore what these types of sexual acts are, how they work, and why one would participate in them. They emphasize the importance of consent in these videos and attempt to dispel stereotypes about BDSM as a dangerous and scary behavior. Doe even demonstrates how to perform bondage in one video and visits and experiences a BDSM dungeon in another video (Doe, September 2, 2015; Doe, November 3, 2016). While Green offers some criticism by discussing feminist critiques of BDSM and its relation to sexual violence, she draws a

distinct line between the two by emphasizing the role of consent in BDSM and ultimately showing support for those who safely participate in BDSM.

While bringing up stigmatized topics is important, the way in which these YouTubers discuss these topics is what makes the most significant contribution to normalizing taboos. Green maintains a playful demeanor. When talking about taboo topics, she uses sultry language, winks, giggles, and plays into the uncomfortableness yet curiosity that her audience may feel towards the topic. For example, she introduces her informational BDSM video by saying, “Oh hi babes! I will be your dom this evening. With your consent, of course,” all while wearing a leather suit and a dog collar and holding a flog that she whips occasionally (Green, February 20, 2015). While she’s teasing, she is still discussing BDSM in an educated way; she is presenting it in a way that may be more accessible or relatable to young people, as she is, perhaps “speaking their language.”

Doe is fully clothed and maintains a professional yet enthusiastic demeanor in both of her BDSM videos. She presents an almost technical dissection of these topics. For example, in her video entitled “Bondage 101,” she begins by stating, “You may have heard the initialism BDSM. It stands for bondage, discipline, dominance, submission, sadism, and masochism. One by one I’d like to teach you about these forms of sexual expression” (Doe, September 2, 2015). In both her verbal and nonverbal behavior, she frames sexuality information as similar to any other health information. However, the information is not presented dryly. Doe giggles, smirks, and laughs when she realizes unintentional innuendos in her speech. By acknowledging the emotions, assumptions, and other societal “baggage” that come along with discussing sex, Doe and Green are being

honest with their viewers and limiting the fear or embarrassment that the audience may feel initially, allowing them to listen to the information without shame or judgment.

An even bigger example of education about stigmatized groups and behaviors is the inclusion of LGBTQ+ sexuality and sexual experiences. This was not only a prominent topic on Doe and Green's channels, markedly more discussed than menstruation, contraception, pregnancy, and other big topics in traditional sexuality education, but it was also quite prevalent on YouTube in general. Perhaps this is not surprising as current research about sexuality education in schools shows that one of the biggest gaps that students find in their curriculum is an absence of information about LGBTQ+ identities (Gowen and Winges-Yanez, 2014). In fact, the sheer number of LGBTQ+-focused sexuality education channels on YouTube (nearly half of all sexuality education channels that were identified) implies either a strong demand for LGBTQ+-centered information or an overwhelming sentiment that such information needs to be shared. Either way, the abundant inclusion of information about sexual orientation is significant, especially in relation to the lack of this information in formalized programs.

Doe and Green ultimately share similar messages with their audiences about sexual orientation. They emphasize that an individual gets to decide their own identity and what label, if any, they feel best describes them. They imply that one's sexual orientation ultimately doesn't affect their ability to engage in sexual activities, and while they acknowledge the differences between identities and the challenges that some may face by being a part of the LGBTQ+ community, they do not classify any sexuality as more valid or relevant than any others. For example, in Doe's video about the various prefixes used in identities and what they mean, the prefix "hetero" is included, thus

making the video about all identities, and not separating LGBTQ+ identities out as if they are more difficult to understand than heterosexuality (Doe, January 29, 2015).

Additionally, they both are aware of the language they use to discuss any sexuality topic, carefully using inclusive language rather than assuming heterosexuality and cisgender identities. For example, when discussing a man having sex, Doe and Green generally refer to his “partner” rather than his girlfriend. These YouTubers also bring in individuals that identify as LGBTQ+ to talk about their identities. For example, Green has a gay man talk briefly about homosexuality, while Doe has a transgender man and someone who is intersex come in to talk about their experiences. This allows the audience to hear about an identity from someone who claims it and who they may be able to relate to, rather than simply discussing the marginalized identity in the abstract or through the filter of a dominant group member.

Other prominent topics on these YouTube channels are topics that are more commonly found in formal sexuality education classrooms. However, Doe and Green discuss them in different ways than they are generally portrayed in the classroom. For example, one of the most prevalent topics between these two channels is sexual violence. If sexual violence is discussed in sexuality education classrooms, it is often talked about vaguely and briefly, alluding to danger and harm. However, on these popular YouTube channels, sexual violence is situated in the context of a misogynistic, sexist society. For example, after sharing a story of a man who laughed at her after she yelled at him for harassing her, Green explains the following:

I’m not a person to this guy. I’m not a human being who’s giving a clear back off signal... These guys think it’s okay because they objectify and disrespect women, trying to put me in my place, deciding where I will and won’t feel safe and

comfortable. And guess what dude bros? That's called misogyny (Green, September 11, 2013).

Sexual violence is not implied to be a small issue that happens rarely or only to specific people. Rather, sexual violence is described as a common, systematic societal issue that must be addressed more comprehensively than simply by treating individuals; it is not a few bad apples, it is rotten roots. This message is not expressed in an effort to scare people but in an effort to make the issue real to people so that it will be taken seriously. Additionally, sexual violence is never discussed as something women should be protecting themselves from. Rather than changing the behavior of victims, Doe and Green demand a change in behavior in predators and those that protect them. Green pleads that “we need to talk about how widespread myths and disbelief protect abusers and allow them to keep on abusing others” (Green, April 16, 2016).

Victims are encouraged to take care of themselves, reach out for help, and know that they are not at fault for what happened to them, despite having to carry most of the burden of the experience. In a video in which she describes the steps she took after being sexually assaulted, Doe has this to say to other victims: “What happened to you is not okay. You’re going to be okay” (Doe, September 30, 2015). The emotional harm caused by sexual violence, the power dynamics at play, and the ways in which society supports these behaviors are all made to be a relevant piece of the conversation. This offers an alternative to the standard understanding of sexual violence, extending the conversation beyond the simplified idea of “bad men attacking vulnerable women” to include the complex and significant factors that are often omitted from discussions of sexual violence.

As opposed to common ways of discussing sexual violence, Doe and Green infuse the conversation with anger and sympathy, rather than fear. In an angry response to the 2014 Isla Vista massacre perpetrated by Elliot Rodgers, Green vents that

Men who act this way feel entitled to women's bodies and to their time. They're so entitled, in fact, that many of them believe that this is a sign that we put women on a pedestal. Uhhh... It's so wonderful not being seen as a full human being. And no, it's not all men who act this way. But you know what? It's way too (bleep) many (Green, May 26, 2014).

Green's anger in this video is obvious and is a common sentiment among all videos that discuss sexual violence on these channels. Doe and Green show sympathy towards victims, anger at perpetrators, and frustration with the system that they believe perpetuates and supports sexual violence. Rather than scare their viewers away from ever engaging in sex, dressing provocatively, or walking alone, they give them the tools to understand what they deserve, how to care for themselves if violence does occur, and how to fight back against the systematic support of sexual violence.

While the issue of sexual violence and the necessity of awareness of it is clearly stressed on these channels, Doe and Green spend even more time talking about a related concept: consent. Consent was overwhelmingly defined by these educators as an "informed, enthusiastic, verbal yes." This clarifies that participants in sex must be aware of what they are consenting to and that the consent must be unmistakable. Doe and Green not only explain consent; they show it. For example, Green films her video about consent while lying in a bed with the camera positioned above her, so the audience views her in a position they may see a sex partner. At this angle, she demonstrates how to ask for consent, what consent looks like, how to say no, how to revoke consent, and what it looks like when consent is not given (Green, March 26, 2014). While these roleplay-like

moments in the videos may seem silly, they provide the audience with clear examples of how to ask and give (or not give) consent. Since consent is often talked about in ambiguous ways, these clear examples may be useful to people who are struggling to understand the concept.

Doe and Green were also clear about when consent cannot be given, including when a partner is drunk or unconscious. They advise their viewers to be aware of the consent laws in their area. Neither YouTuber explicitly expresses support for consent laws – they instead acknowledge both their pros and cons. For example, Doe warns younger viewers of having sex below the age of consent because, “part of the reason age of consent laws exist is because most adolescents develop armpit hair faster than cognitive competence” (Doe, September 1, 2016). However, she also notes that such laws often increase risk in sexual scenarios, noting that “it's harder to access education, protection, and sexual healthcare when the law says that due to one's age they shouldn't need condoms” (Doe, September 1, 2016). Regardless, both YouTubers heavily stress the legal consequences of statutory rape charges and warn people of such consequences.

The strongest message surrounding consent on both channels was that any sexual act without consent is assault. This was always stated directly, clearly, and strongly. Doe and Green would make direct eye contact with the camera, slow down their pace of speech, and emphasize that if consent has not occurred, rape or assault is occurring. For example, with the camera close up on her face, Doe states, “because something so ravenous, sweaty, sweet, passionate, loud, and sexy, without consent, is rape. I want to delineate between sex and rape” (October 2, 2013). In a similar fashion, Green explains that “consent isn't just hot, it's also mandatory. Sexual contact without consent is assault

or rape” (Green, March 26, 2014). By accentuating this point, Doe and Green are portraying consent not as a helpful addition to the sexual experience, but a necessary and defining component. Ultimately, consent was defined as a mandatory step in the sexual experience, just as critical as removing one’s clothes or making physical contact. Consent is framed as the most important aspect of sex because a lack of consent alters the entire context of an interaction into an act of assault, making one a perpetrator rather than a participant in sex.

Information about healthy communication and relationships is also a prominent topic, both within formalized sexuality education and on these YouTube channels. Information about relationships in sexual health classes in high schools often is about communication and respect. While Doe and Green certainly cover these aspects, they do not act as if sex is not a part of a relationship dynamic. For example, while healthy communication was heavily discussed, it was often in the context of sex. In fact, communication was deemed the most important part of having successful sexual experiences. Green even explains at one point that “good communication is a type of foreplay” (Green, May 26, 2016). These YouTubers reinforce, throughout their videos, that one should communicate with their partner about what their fantasies are, what feels good, what they’re comfortable with, what they’re uncomfortable with, and what they expect. In multiple cases, Doe and Green provide examples of how to communicate about certain topics, such as how to ask for consent, how to suggest getting tested for STIs, and how to ask that a male partner wears a condom. They are providing their viewers with practical examples that could be replicated in their viewers’ own lives.

Doe and Green clearly believe that sex is an important part of relationships. They don't uphold that every relationship should contain sex, but that what one wants or doesn't want sexually is an important need that a relationship should be able to fulfill. Therefore, they both talk about sexual compatibility. They give their viewers permission to end a relationship (without feeling guilty) if they simply aren't sexually compatible with their partners. For example, in a video about "period sex," Green suggests that if your partner is unwilling to perform a sexual act and "it's something that's really really important to you, and believe me, you're not alone...you might deem it appropriate to find somebody that you're more sexually compatible with" (Green, September 25, 2010).

Doe and Green both also recognize diversity in relationships. They both make a point to say "partner or partners" in order to be inclusive of polyamorous relationships that may involve more than two people. In general, Doe and Green do not subscribe to the traditional definition of a relationship that refers to a loving emotional and sexual heterosexual relationship between two people. In fact, at various points, they contest every piece of this norm: that love must be present, that sex must be present, that heterosexuality must be present, and that it is limited to two people. With this broader definition of a relationship, people that may have previously been left without any guidance on how to maintain healthy communication in a non-traditionally accepted relationship now have a resource that they can turn to.

One of the most core and universal segments of all sexuality education is the description of anatomy and STIs. Thus, it is unsurprising to find them to be prevalent on these YouTube channels. Doe and Green acknowledge that a lot of misinformation exists surrounding these two topics, some of it even taught in schools. They both address

misconceptions about these topics, including incorrect or harmful stigmas, in hopes to reverse the damage done by previous inaccurate education.

Despite their otherwise extensive and comprehensive “curriculum,” these YouTube channels did fail to truly educate about two topics that some find extremely important: religion and abstinence. While religion is mentioned occasionally, Green’s discussion of religion is generally a quick mention to give historical context for a topic she’s talking about. For example, when discussing the background of circumcision and anti-masturbation movements, Green explains that Protestantism played a big role in this. She then says, “Protestantism is like the great-grandmother of evangelical Christianity. You know, these guys...” followed by a television clip of an Evangelical minister yelling “Finish it Lord!” at a screaming woman. Green is clearly making fun of this religious sect (Green, August 11, 2016). The few times that Doe mentions religion, it is to mention the difficulty that people have reconciling sex and religion. The resounding message from these two channels is that religion has a negative impact on sex, and for someone to have a healthy sexuality, they must reconcile their faith and their sexuality by sacrificing or “getting over” some of their religious values. The other option of, instead, avoiding sexual experiences because of one’s faith, is not considered. This lack of inclusion of religion is significant. For many people, their entire understanding of sexuality comes from their religious context (Luker, 2007). For them, to discuss sexuality without the acknowledgment of religious beliefs and values is to leave out the most important question of sexuality: the “why.” The absence of this concept shows that to Doe and Green, sexual behaviors are not sacred or spiritual; they are natural, physical, and personal.

Similarly, the concept of abstinence is often missing from their lessons. Green never mentions the concept of abstaining outside of the context of the dangers of abstinence-only education. Doe mentions once that abstinence is the only completely safe option, but then quickly proceeds to discuss all the ways to reduce harm when having sex. Although the choice to not have sex is acknowledged briefly, it is never explored in an in-depth manner. In fact, asexuality, feeling no sexual attraction, is the prevailing context used to discuss one who chooses not to have sex, despite asexuality being an orientation and not a behavioral choice. Outside of the context of asexuality, when celibacy is mentioned, it is framed as a frustrating state, with an assumption that those who are not having sex wish to but are held back by fear, shame, or ignorance. Abstinence as a healthy and normal choice is missing from the narratives of these YouTube channels.

These channels are not only comprehensive, but they are sex positive. The topics covered on these channels and the angles in which such topics are approached show that these YouTubers are of the mindset that if provided with all the information (minus abstinence and religion), young people will make safe and healthy decisions regarding sexuality. They incorporate topics that are often considered taboo, take progressive approaches to topics such as sexual assault, sexual orientation, and romantic relationships, and treat sex not only as inevitable but as a positive and healthy part of one's life – a sentiment that would likely shock and infuriate abstinence-only advocates if this curriculum ever made its way into classrooms. However, these videos are not in classrooms – and that's a critical aspect of their function.

Oh Hi, Babes!

YouTube is a social media platform, and therefore the social interactions that occur on the site are an important part of its function. Not only are users able to interact with one another, but through the visual nature of videos and the comments section on each video, YouTubers are also able to interact with users. This may be beneficial to creators of educational videos, as they have the opportunity to form a relationship with their viewers.

It is clear that Doe and Green make a conscious effort to interact with their audiences. A common relationship-building strategy that both YouTubers employ is self-disclosure. Both Doe and Green discuss their own opinions and experiences frequently. These range from simple pieces of information such as their favorite TV show, to more serious information such as when Green posts an entire video discussing her own experience with depression (Green, July 16, 2015). Though the depth of disclosure varies by YouTuber and by topic, viewers definitely learn about the YouTubers' experiences and values by watching their channels.

In addition to revealing their own humanity and personality, Doe and Green each regularly recognize the personhood of their audience. Rather than speaking to a camera, they speak to the people on the other end of the camera: the viewers. Both Doe and Green speak directly to their audiences at some point in every single video. This includes statements that highlight their desire for each individual viewer to learn, such as when Doe gestures toward the camera and says, "regardless of age, orientation, or degree in interest in pregnancy you deserve to know anything you want to about sex" (Doe, November 4, 2015). Green and Doe also ask the audience to answer questions in the

comment sections, thank viewers for watching, and give simple greetings and goodbyes in each video. For example, Green starts nearly every video by saying “Oh hi, babes!” and ends most videos with “I’ll see you next time!” followed by her blowing a kiss. Along with verbal language, Doe and Green’s body language is also significant. They each make strong eye contact with the camera and often gesture towards the audience as if they are in a room sitting across from them. Despite the barriers presented by digital communication, Doe and Green make a lot of effort to engage their audience.

This is further enhanced by the way in which Doe and Green place themselves in the relationship with their viewers. For example, Doe doesn’t use the term “Dr. Doe” except when she initially introduces herself. After that, she refers to herself as “Lindsey.” The audience is on a first name basis with her. The information she gives, the technical terms she uses, and the credentials she lays out in some of her first videos show her authority and expertise, but the rest of her language and tone reduces intimidation. She asks about her audience’s interests and for their advice, implying that they are collaborators in the project that is her channel. She doesn’t treat the audience as dumb or ignorant or lesser than herself, and by using her first name she puts herself on an equal level with her viewers.

Doe and Green do not only charade as though they have a relationship with their audience; they actually interact with them. Though they have far too many viewers to have individual conversations with each of them, they do occasionally respond to comments posted on their videos, and more frequently, respond to viewers’ questions via email or in their videos.

Doe posts regular videos entitled “Ask Lindsey” in which she answers questions that viewers ask her through the YouTube comments, email, or other social media platforms. Doe answers them all kindly, concisely, and without judgment. In her first video, Doe verbally opens the door up for questions. She states, “you can ask me about anything, and my service to you will be to put that in the context of human sexuality or sexuality as a whole” (Doe, June 10, 2013). She then goes on to list what people can ask her about: her personal life, sexual enhancement, disease, lubrication, physiology and biology, semen, orientation, gender, and body image. She states,

I will not use my powers for evil. Feel free to ask. I have boundaries. I will set them. If I’m not comfortable answering or I don’t have the answer, then I’ll put the resources in my skirt [referencing the video description]! ... I’ll do my best to accommodate your interest and help you feel safe. Ask me a question! (Doe, June 10, 2013)

Through this initial statement, Doe encourages the audience to ask questions and explains that all questions are fair game. Through the wide variety of examples she lists, she demonstrates her lack of judgment towards whatever topics the audience is curious about, and that, while she has personal boundaries, she is not unwilling to address the topics that are important to the audience.

Discussion

The primary purpose of the present research was to gain an understanding of sexuality education channels on YouTube by identifying the material that is taught in these videos, the cultural messages that are sent through this medium, and the role that the YouTubers play in this educational process. This was done by performing a content analysis on the two most popular sexuality education channels on YouTube.

These findings demonstrate that sexuality education on YouTube may be filling an important gap. These channels include the discussion of LGBTQ+ issues, access to resources, STI prevention, healthy communication between partners, gender identity, anatomy, and how to engage in sexual activity – all of which are topics that young people desire to be included in their sexuality education (Gowen & Wings-Yanez, 2014; Allen 2001). The rhetoric surrounding these topics is positive – it is generally inclusive and aims to encourage dialogue, not shame. Thus, these channels relieve Tompkins' (2014) concern that derogatory and power-driven discussion of sexuality topics online can dismiss people and prevent conversations about safer sex. These channels also provide viewers with practical advice that could be applied to their own sexual experiences, such as how to ask for consent, how to bring up difficult conversations with a partner, and how to perform various sexual behaviors. According to Allen (2001) and Tompkins (2014), providing practical and relevant advice and including information on social and identity-based topics, rather than solely biological topics, may make students more interested in sexuality education. These channels also spend a significant amount of time discussing sexual anatomy, sexual behaviors, and sexuality in society, which González-Ortega et al. (2015) found to be the topics that adolescent most seek out online. Thus, these channels seem to be filling in an information gap for adolescents, likely making these videos even more attractive to young people.

The non-judgmental and inclusive tone present in these videos, as informed by their sex positive framework, also provides a potential solution to an identified problem in formal sexuality education. Doe and Green not only discuss LGBTQ+ identities on their channels but do so in a way that normalizes these identities and provides resources

for learning more about them. This can provide a safe place online for LGBTQ+ youth to learn sexuality information that is relevant to them in an environment in which they are not ostracized and thus are more likely to remain engaged and learn (Gowen & Wings-Yanez, 2014).

However, simultaneously, other marginalized groups are being left out of this sexuality education. Doe and Green fail to discuss the intersections of race, ethnicity, and class with sexuality, which is a trend across sexuality education in general (DeHaan, Kuper, Magee, Bigelow, & Mustanski, 2013; Whitten & Sethna, 2014). As self-proclaimed inclusive educators, Doe and Green are sending the message that sexuality without the discussion of race, ethnicity, or class is inclusive sexuality. They are normalizing the white, middle-class sexuality experience and silencing others. This mirrors Kellner and Kim's (2010) warning that digital education has the potential to reproduce and support messages of the dominant view.

It is troubling that this seems to be the case on all sexuality education channels on YouTube. None of the sexuality education YouTubers that were identified, white or non-white, discuss race frequently or in-depth. When race is not explicitly discussed, the information is being taught through a white lens, as white people have to think the least about race in our society. If one of the most easily accessible forms of sexuality education is completely leaving out any discussion of race, then the important experiences of people of color are being erased from the narrative. Additionally, the lack of any heterosexual, cisgender male sexuality educators on this platform means that a prominent perspective is left untold. People who get their sexuality education from YouTube channels are

receiving a limited, unique viewpoint about sexuality due to the creators of these channels.

These findings also indicate the reach that this sexuality education could have. Doe and Green are using relationship-building tactics that will engage a young audience and increase the likelihood of their videos being trusted. This coincides with Green and colleagues' (2015) claim that a personal connection between sexuality educators and students is a critical element of successful sexuality education. Doe and Green build this connection by self-disclosing to their viewers, speaking directly to them, and interacting with them by answering their questions.

Sharing personal information may help the YouTubers build a relationship with their viewers. By self-disclosing, Doe and Green are reducing the uncertainty that viewers may feel towards them, which, as stated in the Uncertainty Reduction Theory, is a relationship-building tactic that increases one's liking of another person (Berger and Calabrese, 1975; Neuliep and Grohshopf, 2000).

Speaking directly to the audience despite that fact that the audience is not viewing live footage is a common communication technique used by YouTubers. This is often done in an effort to build a relationship. By greeting the audience as if they are friends, YouTubers are creating a false sense of intimacy with their viewers. The viewers become personally invested in the YouTuber, while the YouTuber likely doesn't feel any personal connection to individual viewers. This type of relationship is called a parasocial relationship. When these exist, a viewer or fan feels emotionally connected with the media personality, as if they know them personally. Cultivating this relationship can be

beneficial for YouTubers. When viewers feel more connected to a YouTuber, they are more likely to watch, share, and comment on their videos (Ferchaud et al., 2018).

In addition to benefitting the YouTuber by making their videos more likely to be viewed, speaking directly to the audience can make a YouTuber a better teacher. When these YouTubers use words like “you,” “we,” and “us,” their content feels more personalized and brings their viewers into the discourse as participants (Hood and Lander, 2016). Rather than being lectured, this language makes viewers feel as if the YouTubers are having a conversation with them and helps establish the feeling of a connection with the YouTuber.

The direct interaction between viewers and YouTubers through the question-and-answer format provides a lot of benefit to the educational success of these channels. As Green and colleagues (2015) emphasize, the incorporation of student-directed learning is necessary for successful sexuality education. By encouraging viewers to ask questions and then formatting videos to answer these questions, YouTubers are giving viewers a say in the curriculum that they are being presented with. Thus, these viewers are able to play an active role in their own learning and development – something that today’s youth are accustomed to and may be a requirement of effective education (Kędzierska & Wnęk-Gozdek, 2015). This question-and-answer experience also demonstrates one of the features that González-Ortega and colleagues (2015) found makes digital learning attractive to young people: the ability to anonymously ask questions and learn about the sexual experiences of others.

All of these tactics allow Doe and Green to form positive relationships with their audience. A positive teacher-student relationship in the classroom has been shown to

positively influence the confidence that a student has in a teacher, thereby positively influencing learning outcomes (Goodboy and Myers, 2007; Mazer, Murphy, and Simonds, 2009). While there is little research to turn to understand the importance and impact of the relationship between online educational content creators and their audience, research suggests that relationship-building tactics do impact the credibility that a creator has with their audience (St. Jean et al., 2011; Ferchaud et al., 2018).

Thus, the video platform on YouTube allows these viewers to feel as though they have a unique, personal relationship with these sexuality educators, despite the lack of physical proximity. This relationship, in addition to these YouTubers' honesty about topics that young people are frequently curious about but are not taught in school, allow these YouTubers to establish a high degree of credibility, trust, and respect with their viewers. This may help YouTube educators clear a major hurdle that other formats of digital sexuality education face. Jones and Biddlecom (2011) found that many young people distrust the sexuality information that they find online. Therefore, if Doe and Green are able to establish trust and credibility with their audiences, they may be able to reach this population and effectively spread sexuality information in a way that has not yet been demonstrated online.

However, these viewers who trust Doe, Green, and others so deeply are thereby absorbing and trusting a view of sexuality that demonstrates only the white, middle-class, sex-positive, female perspective. A generation of young people with a sex positive mindset may seem like a dream come true for many people (a moral nightmare to others), but if this same generation fails to see the experience of people of color, the intersections

that race has with sexuality, and the values of sexual conservatives, further discrimination may ensue. The implications of this are yet to be seen and up for debate.

The current study has several strengths. This is a new and under-researched topic, and this analysis provides valuable information regarding the content of this form of sexuality information. Additionally, while only two sexuality education channels were chosen for this sample, the number of videos that were used in this content analysis, 368, allowed for a deep and full understanding of sexplanations and lacigreen.

Although this research contributes to preliminary research into digital sexuality education, it is not without limitations. Only one researcher performed this analysis, and thus the content analysis lacks intercoder reliability. Additionally, only two channels were examined in-depth. While these were the channels with the largest audiences, they may not be representative of all sexuality education YouTube channels. Finally, much of the literature about sex education considers the needs, opinions, and responses of teenagers, while current information on YouTube viewers for the two analyzed channels only counts viewers of age 18 and older. Thus, this analysis is unable to claim whether or not these channels are reaching a teenage audience or meeting the needs expressed in the literature.

Conclusion

Sexuality education on YouTube takes a sex positive, comprehensive approach to sexuality. It offers far more information on more topics than does traditional formal sexuality education. However, due to the identities of the people creating the content and the structural constraints of YouTube, there are limitations to the content that is produced that may impact the experiences of sexuality that are included and excluded from the

dominant narrative. Due to the relationship-building tactics utilized by digital influences to connect with their audience, viewers are receiving this inclusive yet incomplete view of sexuality from a trusted source, which will likely influence their own opinions and values. In today's digitalized society, awareness and knowledge of easily accessible, user-generated digital sexuality education is a critical part of the sexuality education conversation.

While we do not yet know the impacts of this form of sexuality education, understanding this content has important implications. As people around the country debate how liberal, conservative, accurate, or present sexuality education programs should be in schools, the majority of young people have free access to a progressive curriculum of sexuality at all times. It may be time to stop arguing over what should be taught in the classroom and start considering the meaning and implications of unregulated, comprehensive sexuality information that is being taught online. Future research should study the experiences of viewers. Audience and reception studies should be performed to determine who is consuming this content and for what reasons, how Doe and Green and other content creators are viewed by audiences, and what effects, if any, these channels have on sexual attitudes and behaviors.

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Appendix A

Sexplanations Videos (by Lindsey Doe) in Chronological Order

Video Title	Date Posted
Meet Lindsey Doe! - Welcome to Sexplanations -1	6/10/13
SexShields – 2	6/12/13
Ask Lindsey #1 - Rejection, Double Bagging, and Things – 3	6/17/13
The Vulva - The Vagina's Neighborhood – 4	6/19/13
Urinary Tract Infections – 5	6/24/13
The Ellis Standard - 6	6/26/13
Interthoughts: Interview with Eden Atwood, Part 1	7/1/13
More Interthoughts: Interview with Eden Atwood, Part 2	7/3/13
Rapid Delivery: Penis Drawing, Firefly Sex, and Prostitution – 10	7/10/13
How to Be a Sexologist – 11	7/15/13
Sexplanations: Gag Reel – 12	7/17/13
Sex Is Not Black & White – 13	7/22/13
How to Get the Sex You Want – 14	7/25/13
How to Know Your Body is Aroused – 15	8/7/13
How a Nerd Describes Orgasms – 16	8/9/13
A to Z: Sexual Terms – 17	8/12/13
A Story of Sexual Terms: By Dr. Doe – 18	8/14/13
Ask Lindsey: Lesbian sex & more – 19	8/19/13
Dry Humping Saves Lives! – 20	8/21/13
Heterosexuals: The First Perverts – 21	8/27/13
How to Read a Sex Scale – 22	8/28/13
How to Deal with Sexual Injustices – 23	9/4/13
Ask Lindsey: Circumcision, Inverted Uterus, and Not Liking Masturbation – 24	9/10/13
What Does Lindsey Read? – 25	9/11/13
A Few of Lindsey's Favorite Things – 26	9/16/13
5 Asexuality Experiences – 27	9/18/13
Ask Lindsey #5: The Future of Sex, Books, and Other Types of Dry Humping – 28	9/23/13
Ask Lindsey #6: Transvestites, Drag Queens, and Male Sex Toys – 29	9/30/13
What is Consent? – 30	10/2/13
CatalystCon West 2013: Part 1 – 31	10/7/13
On Body Image with Queerie Bradshaw – 32	10/14/13
Building a Vibrator – 33	10/16/13
Sexgeekdom: An Interview with Kate McCombs	10/21/13
Benefits of Sex	10/23/13
What is Herpes?	10/28/13
Protecting Against Herpes	10/30/13
Does Pulling Out Work?	11/6/13

Sexplanations and Subbable	11/12/13
Ask Lindsey #7: What is love, Dan Savage, and complaints!	11/13/13
HIV: Why Get Tested	11/21/13
Lindsey takes an HIV test -- no needles	11/25/13
An HIV FAQ	11/27/13
Sexual Terms: From Z to A...	12/3/13
What is your style of love?	12/6/13
I Am Mania	12/10/13
The PLISSIT Model	12/12/13
An Appointment With Doctor Doe	12/17/13
Paraphilias	12/20/13
Lindsey and Nick answer your Sexplanations questions	12/22/13
AskLindsey #8: Getting Schooled	1/2/14
Masturbation	1/7/13
Masturbation Questions	1/9/13
Nick on Identity	1/16/13
Iceland and the Phallogical Museum	1/22/13
The Penis	1/29/14
More on Condoms	2/3/14
Confiscating Your Valentines: Anthony Comstock	2/12/14
Ask Lindsey #9: Humor, First Times, and Spitting	2/18/14
Figuring Things Out: Heuristics	2/25/14
The Bystander Effect	3/4/14
Ask Lindsey #10: Career Questions	3/11/14
Attraction	3/19/14
Flirting	3/25/14
Ask Lindsey #11: On Attraction and Flirting	4/2/14
Cognitive Dissonance	4/9/14
Anal Sex Prep	4/22/14
Anal Sex	4/30/14
69: The Sexiest Number	5/7/14
Ask Lindsey #12: Oral Sex Questions	5/15/14
Are you sex lucky?	5/21/14
Examine	5/29/14
Less Harmful Language	6/4/14
One Year and 16 Questions	6/11/14
What is My Sex?	6/19/14
Hello From VidCon 2014	6/30/14
The Gender Map	7/8/14
Regaining a Healthy Sex Life	7/17/14
Sexplanations Quiz Show: Animals, Erections, and Pubic Hair	7/24/14
22 Sex Topics	8/1/14
Polyamory	8/7/14
Ask Lindsey #13: Muppets, M to M, and Flogbrothers	8/15/14
10 Sexhacks for College	8/21/14
BONUS VIDEO: ALS Challenge	8/29/14

Circumcision	8/29/14
Kinsey's College Test	9/6/14
First Time Tips	9/11/14
Menstruation	9/19/14
Period Pregnancy?!	9/24/14
AskLindsey: Morning Wood and Mail	10/3/14
Bring Your Sexy Back	10/9/14
PCOS	10/18/14
Ask Lindsey #15: Sex Addiction & Penis Size	10/23/14
Is it Okay to be Sexy?	10/31/14
Sex Analogy FAILS	11/6/14
How to Talk To Kids About Sex	11/14/14
Trans Awareness	11/20/14
Blowjobs in the Dungeon	11/27/14
Bad Sex Ed	12/4/14
2014 Outtakes	12/12/14
Monsters & Masturbation	12/19/14
2014 Chat Wrap!	12/24/14
Quick Update: DoeEyes	1/9/15
Pregnancy Prevention	1/13/15
Choice - a short biography of Margaret Sanger	1/19/15
Female Ejaculation	1/23/15
Sexual Identities : Prefixes	1/29/15
PrEP	2/3/15
Kissing	2/12/15
Kissing Questions	2/20/15
Mamalode Sex Questions	2/27/15
Kegels	3/6/15
Vaginal Orgasms???	3/12/15
Sex Ed Funding	3/16/15
Eff Ya Tea Time!	3/26/15
Stay Curious!	4/3/15
Gratitude	4/10/15
Sex Smells	4/17/15
Sex Ed Maps	4/24/15
Nick's Goodbye	5/1/15
Cunnilingus	5/8/15
Dr. Doe on Porn	5/15/15
Sex Shower Thoughts	5/22/15
Male Ejaculation	5/29/15
Rapid Ejaculation	6/3/15
Ask Lindsey: Happy 2 Years!	6/10/15
History of Pride	6/18/15
Ask Lindsey #17: Orgasms, Virginity, & Bidets	6/24/15
Effects of Porn	7/2/15
Dr. Doe's Pelvic Exam	7/8/15

Dr. Blake: Q & A	7/15/15
How To Choose A Professional	7/23/15
Dr. Doe's Favorite Sex Sites	7/30/15
Sex Drive	8/5/15
Ask Lindsey #18 - Ejaculate Volume & Vagina Nail Polish	8/12/15
Sex For Sale	8/19/15
Sexual Interpretation	8/26/15
Bondage 101	9/2/15
Ask Lindsey: #19	9/9/15
The Most Sexually Repressed Culture in the World	9/16/15
The Most Sexually Liberated Culture In The World	9/23/15
Was It Assault?	9/30/15
Happy, Healthy, Horny	10/7/15
Cock Rings	10/14/15
An Interview With Jamison Green	10/22/15
Where Do Babies Come From?	10/29/15
10 Conception Misconceptions	11/4/15
Testicles	11/11/15
Mismatched Sex Drives	11/19/15
Are You a Douchebag?	11/25/15
Sex Toys 101	12/3/15
Sex Toy Q&A	12/10/15
Unrequited Love	12/16/15
The Christmas Sex Story	12/23/15
2015 End of Year Chat	12/30/15
The Ultimate Blowjob - Part 1	1/7/16
The Ultimate Blowjob - Part 2	1/13/16
The Clitoris	1/20/16
Hank Green on Monogamy	1/28/16
Crushes	2/3/16
Romantic Fortune Telling	2/10/16
Over 150 Sex Acts	2/25/16
Ask Lindsey: #20	3/2/16
Self-Induced Abortions	3/10/16
Pubes & Friends	3/16/16
10 Things You Should Know About Fantasies	3/23/16
Sex & Alcohol	3/30/16
Ask Lindsey: #21	4/6/16
Period Products	4/14/16
Sex & Drugs	4/20/16
Why Do We Moan and What Are the Benefits?	4/27/16
What should you say to kids about their genitals?	5/4/16
How can we go to the bathroom? (An investigation of potty politics)	5/12/16
Ask Lindsey: #22	5/18/16
Being Your Own Sexologist	5/26/16
Dr. Doe Goes To Mexico	6/2/16

7 Sex Superheroes	6/8/16
Love Triangles	6/16/16
How to Have a One-Night Stand	6/22/16
Talk a Trois (ft. Hannah Witton & Shan Boody)	6/29/16
Sex at 79	7/6/16
Honeypotting	7/13/16
The Beauty Bias: Why we treat each other and ourselves unfairly	7/21/16
Is Sex Safe?	7/28/16
Signs of Sexual Abuse - trigger warning	8/3/16
Ask Lindsey #23	8/11/16
Butthole Maintenance	8/17/16
Vagina Mysteries Solved	8/25/16
Age of Consent	9/1/16
How to Make Toy Vaginas	9/8/16
Dealing with Sexual Side Effects	9/15/16
Trans Sex	9/21/16
How to Use a Tampon	9/28/16
First Day of Sex School	10/5/16
Boner Stories with Mike Falzone	10/12/16
Condoms in Porn?!	10/20/16
Sex & Poop Fun Facts	10/26/16
BDSM Dungeon Tour	11/3/16
What Turns Us On? (Ft. Connor Manning)	11/9/16
Disney Princess Sex (Ft. Jon Cozart)	11/16/16
50 Ways to Hold a Vibrator	11/23/16
4 Word Sex Questions	11/30/16
Handling Sex Negative Therapists	12/7/16
Working in Porn	12/14/16
Vulva Confidence (feat. Stevie Boebi)	12/22/16
2016 End of Year Chat	12/28/16

Appendix B

Lacigreen Videos (by Laci Green) in Chronological Order

Video Titles	Date Posted
Birth Control: NuvaRing Review	11/17/08
My 10 year old brother—"They start having a love scene."	2/16/09
YouTube Time Capsule!	3/6/09
The Legendary Orgasm (Prank Call)	3/22/09
24 Hour Marathon w/ Laci Green 4 UNICEF♥	6/24/09
where do babies come from?	9/7/09
The Escape	10/29/09
The C-Word	1/30/10
Does Size Matter?	2/6/10
24 HOUR SEXING??!	4/4/10
THE BONDAGE CLUB!	4/10/10
MoonCup Review!	5/29/10
PUBIC HAIR!!!1!	6/20/10
HOW TO: GET OVER A BREAK-UP	6/27/10
Sexuality WITHOUT Sex	7/17/10
2-Minute Sex?!	7/31/10
THE PREGNANCY SCARE!	8/7/10
LUBE FAIL	8/11/10
she's such a SLUT	8/15/10
CUT or UNCUT?	8/28/10
Hickey Fix!?	9/1/10
She's UGLY	9/4/10
ONLINE DATING!!	9/11/10
PERIOD SEX??	9/25/10
When Love Gets Violent	10/2/10
TOUGH GUYS	10/9/10
SEXTING!	10/23/10
SEX BEFORE MARRIAGE?	10/30/10
WRAP YOUR JUNK BEFORE YOU BUMP!	11/6/10
10 DATING BLUNDERS!!	11/27/10
Sex: Positive	12/4/10
hai! hugs! sex+!	12/25/10
HOMO•SEXUAL	1/1/11
THE L-WORD	1/8/11
RIGHT AGE TO HAVE SEX??	1/12/11
FOREVER ALONE?!	3/5/11
"OMG" - 12 Year Olds Aren't SEXY	4/9/11
comments about my *BODY*	4/16/11
ABORT	5/21/11
ADOPT	5/21/11
BE A MOM	5/21/11
REALITY TV BULL\$#!^	5/28/11
How To: Talk to your CRUSH	6/4/11
BISEXUALITY ♥	6/18/11
BAN CIRCUMCISION??!	6/25/11
SAME SEX MARRIAGE - NEW YORK	7/2/11

DOES SEX MAKE YOU LOOSE?	7/9/11
23 YEAR OLD VIRGIN?...	7/16/11
RULE 1: Get Naked	7/23/11
VAG!NA TRUTH (in 90 seconds)	7/30/11
WHAT COUNTS AS SEX?	8/6/11
CRYING AFTER SEX?!	9/24/11
NO SEX?! - ASEXUALITY	10/29/11
FREE THE PUBES!	11/2/11
THE NAKED LIFE! - NUDISM	11/12/11
FINDING SEXUAL CONFIDENCE	11/19/11
DANGEROUS ROLE MODELS: TWILIGHT	11/26/11
2 BOYFRIENDS!? - POLYAMORY	12/10/11
FEMALE SEX FANTASIES!	12/17/11
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Love you.	2/11/12
THE STICKY ON SEMEN!	2/25/12
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BOYS CAN HAVE A VAG!!	3/24/12
MESSAGES IN THE HUNGER GAMES	4/5/12
BOOB POWER!!1	4/7/12
JEALOUS RELATIONSHIPS	4/14/12
You Can't POP Your Cherry! (HYMEN 101)	4/26/12
MEN & FEMININITY	5/10/12
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Laci's Guide to BUTT SEX	6/21/12
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RE: JENAMARBLES' "SLUT EDITION"...	12/13/12
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MARA WILSON DOES SEX+!	11/14/13
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