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The Instruction of Eros: A Content Analysis of Sex Education Texts

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THE INSTRUCTION OF EROS: A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF SEX EDUCATION TEXTS

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
Agriculture and Mechanical College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

in

The School of Education

by

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Abstract

This study is a directed content analysis that employs a memetic framework done in order to determine what discourses are evident in, how diversity is represented in, and how intersectionality is represented in two sex education texts, and to compare the relevant frequencies. Theories from the dominant schools of thought concerning sex education and sexuality are enumerated, compared, and contrasted. A historiography of sex education in the United States is provided to establish context for the sampled texts. A explanation of the content analysis process in general and the methodology specifically used in this study is discussed followed by the results of the content analysis along with a discussions of the implications of the data is presented. The texts selected for this study were done so on the basis that they were representative of the conceptualization of the intuitions that created them and used them; specifically the San Francisco Unified School District and the Roman Catholic Magisterium. It is suggested in this study that the sampled texts have striking similarities and stark differences. All coding, categorical, and thematic definitions are provided in the text and in the appendix.

Chapter 1: Introduction

I first underwent training to teach sex education as part of a mandatory professional development meeting at my first public teaching position in 2007. This kind of information was what one would expect from any biology class on human reproduction. It was understood that the only teachers who would do the primary instruction were the Physical education teachers, but the Principal felt it was important for the entire staff to be able to teach it in case a substitute was needed. I gave no thought to the subject until my third teaching position two years later required me to teach sex education in the most unusual of settings.

With a quizzical look on my face and tone of bewilderment in my voice, “you want me to teach what?” was the question I posed to my department head at the all-female, predominantly white Catholic high school where I had recently been employed as a theology teacher. “Sexuality. Specifically dating and relationships.” She replied through a chuckle. To say I was nervous was an understatement. To say I was apprehensive requires an even greater understanding. At the time I was a 25 old Black male working at a Catholic school located in the most conservative part of the country. The department head not only wanted me to teach sexuality to the daughters of the local and state elite, but she mandated it.

The first day of class finally arrived. I stood at the front of the classroom and stared back into the sea of adolescent female faces staring back at me. I took a deep breath and said “Good morning, I’m Mr. Mitchell and I’ll be your teacher this year. Our first topic is...dating and relationships.” The room went silent and those adolescent faces were still staring at me but now they were as confused as I had been hired a mere two weeks earlier. This is how my first teaching experience with sex education started.

What I found most interesting was that the curriculum was not what I had anticipated. I had expected, at best, something similar to what I had undergone training for as a public teacher in the same state as my then parochial employer. At worst, I expected to sell abstinence to these adolescent girls. The curriculum that I was given, though, was conversation based on and rooted in the dating experience. Topics such as “self-worth” and “peer pressure” and “heart ache” were covered. Sex Education here was a part of a broader curriculum in which reproduction was covered in biology and STD’s was covered in health class. I taught this class to sophomores and juniors, although “dating” was also covered in the freshman classes and the senior classes. It occurred to me that despite the theological leanings embedded in the lessons, these parochial students were receiving a socially aware and biologically sound curriculum that far exceeded what the public schools allowed. Even with regard to a taboo subject like sex education, money still guaranteed access too good curriculum. My experience left me with a question that still occupies me today: Is sex education a privilege extended to those who are, in fact, privileged? This question has guided my broader research interests and has led me to this study.

Problem Statement

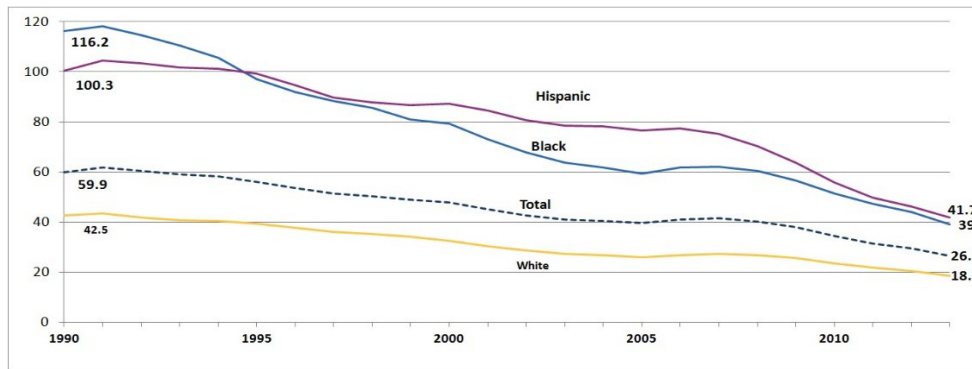
Few subjects in education are as widely known, widely debated, and controversial as sex education. In its current praxis form, there is no national sex education curriculum or mandates. Rather, the matter has been left to local municipalities. As such, sex education varies from state to state which has created a patch work of high and low information citizens; there is no model that can be used to assess what is successful and what is not. Sex education has always been attached to larger cultural forces, both conservative and progressive as well as feminist, chauvinist, social justice, and the overtly oppressive. From a theoretical perspective, sex education sits at the intersection of science, morality, education, and power. Hegemonic forms of

oppression usually have a sexual component to them. Sex education, as a curriculum, frames certain bodies in certain ways and is driven by various discourses. The discourses that shape sex education are, ultimately, discourses that shape sexuality in general. Much of the instruction that takes place within the traditional sex education class is a matter of hidden curriculum, where LGBTQ bodies, minority bodies, and female bodies are marginalized and heterosexual white males are normalized. It must be noted that sex education in private religious schools differs greatly from that which is taught in public schools. For example, the Catholic schools generally cover human reproduction in Biology class and sexually transmitted diseases in Physical education which leaves sex education as a topic for theology classes. In the public schools, sex education is typically taught within the broader context of a health class. Matters of race and ethnicity, likewise, differ greatly between the public and the private religious spheres where race and ethnicity may not be emphasized in light of a theological disposition towards humanness while the public schools may be compelled to discuss such topics by law.

The problem can be framed statistically as there are pertinent health concerns that are raised when examining the current framing of sex education. Statistics are often used to frame sexuality as in crisis and as a medical issue. It is better to view the following statistics as manifestations of broader inequalities and marginalization that occur in sex education classes rather than as a matter of epidemiology. According to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention *Youth Risk Behavior Surveillance, 2013*, the following was reported on students age 15 to 19 years of age: “Among youth aged 15–19 years, substantial morbidity and social problems also result from the estimated 329,772 births (2); 548,032 cases of chlamydia, gonorrhea, and syphilis (3); and 2,240 cases of human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) (4) reported annually (p. 2).” While teen pregnancy has declined significantly since 1990, it is

primarily an economic and social concern. Restated, babies are not a disease. STD rates have risen and fallen since 2009. The following chart shows the teenage birthrate from 1990-2013.

Table 1: Birth rates per 1,000 females ages 15-19, by race/ethnicity, 1990-2013 (retrieved from the Office of Adolescent health, U.S. Department of Health and Human services.)



With regard to forced sexual intercourse, the CDC reports that female students are more than two times as likely to be forced to have sexual intercourse as male students do. This also increases steadily as female students matriculate. The statistics also suggest that there is a LGBTQ component to this with respect to males who have been forced to have sexual intercourse. *Youth Risk Behavior Surveillance, 2013* states

Nationwide, 7.3% of students had ever been physically forced to have sexual intercourse when they did not want to (Table 19). The prevalence of having been forced to have sexual intercourse was higher among female (10.5%) than male (4.2%) students; higher among white female (9.1%), black female (11.5%), and Hispanic female (12.2%) than white male (3.1%), black male (5.2%), and Hispanic male (5.2%) students, respectively; and higher among 9th-grade female (8.3%), 10th-grade female (11.8%), 11th-grade female (10.5%), and 12th-grade female (11.2%) than 9th-grade male (3.8%), 10th-grade male (2.8%), 11th-grade male (4.7%), and 12th-grade male (5.5%) students, respectively. The prevalence of having been forced to have sexual intercourse was higher among black (8.4%) and Hispanic (8.7%) than white (6.1%) students and higher among black male (5.2%) and Hispanic male (5.2%) than white male (3.1%) students. (p. 10)

With regard to school instruction concerning HIV/AIDS, the CDC reports that access to curriculum that discusses HIV/AIDS is not universal. White students have higher rates of exposure to necessary curriculum while Blacks, who are identified by the CDC as being the

ethnic group most effected by HIV/AIDS, have lower numbers of exposure to adequate curriculum. The *Youth Risk Behavior Surveillance, 2013* report states:

Nationwide, 85.3% of students had ever been taught in school about AIDS or HIV infection (Table 75). The prevalence of having been taught in school about AIDS or HIV infection was higher among white (86.6%) than black (81.9%) students and higher among white male (86.3%) than black male (80.6%) students. The prevalence of having been taught in school about AIDS or HIV infection was higher among 10th-grade (85.3%), 11th-grade (87.4%), and 12th-grade (88.0%) than 9th-grade (81.3%) students; higher among 10th-grade female (86.2%), 11th-grade female (88.2%), and 12th-grade female (89.3%) than 9th-grade female (80.1%) students; and higher among 11th-grade male (86.7%) and 12th-grade male (86.6%) than 9th-grade male (82.4%) students. (p.29)

Teen pregnancy has been the focus of sex education for the last 40 years and the statistics show that education works. But the statistics concerning forced sexual intercourse and HIV/AIDS instruction reveals a possible gap in the curriculum. The racial and gender disparities across all of the statistics reveal a possible hegemonic slant in the curriculum that does not address minority groups or women and this raises questions concerning if topics that intersect with race and gender such as sexual violence, dating violence, and cultural factors are being addressed in sex education classes or is it primarily geared towards the biological? Sex education is simultaneously a public health and a social concern and it is paramount that the textbooks and curricula that are being utilized in both public and parochial sex education be examined to see how sexuality, as a health concern and as a social topic is being conceptualized and presented to adolescents.

Purpose of the study

Irvine (1995) writes

Our ideas about sexuality-what it is and where it comes from- are critically important to sexuality education. That is because how we think about sexuality shapes how we talk about it. Our ideas and theories guide us in our work, whether it is designing a curriculum, brochure, workshop, or research project. (p.1)

The purpose of this study is to determine what discourses are evident in the 2 selected sex education texts, how diversity is represented in both texts, how intersectionality is represented in both texts, and to compare the frequencies that those discourses occurred in the comprehensive sex education text against those found in the Catholic sex education text; the results are indicative of the San Francisco Unified School District's and the Magisterium's conceptualizations of sex education only. I have selected these texts because they were both created by the institutions, the San Francisco Unified School District and the Magisterium, that use them and, therefore, are representative of the conceptualizations that dominate those institutions. Specifically, *Be Real Be Ready* was selected because it was created by the San Francisco Unified School District for use in its high schools, California legally mandates that the sex education curriculum must be comprehensive, San Francisco's history with the HIV/AIDS epidemic, and its existence as multi-ethnic city. A Catholic text, *Spirituality: Connecting mind, body, and spirit*, was chosen because the Roman Catholic school system is the largest private education system in the United States, the Catholic Church's long history in public debates about sex education, the ethnic diversity of the Catholic Church globally and in the United States, and that for any sex education text to be used in a Catholic school it must be approved by the Magisterium as free from doctrinal error which makes them representative of its conceptualizations of sex education. A direct content analysis was done that examines structurally and semantically valid texts in order to determine which sex education discourses are represented, how diversity is represented, and how intersectionality is represented in the texts from the respective discourses (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005, p. 1281-1283). A literature review is provided in order to situate the study in the broader conversation around sex education and a

historiography of sex education in the United States is provided to place the study in historical context.

Research Questions

(RQ1) How is information in the public comprehensive curriculum and the Catholic curriculum organized? What discourses are represented?

- a) How much of the information is essentialist?
- b) How much of the information is intersectionality based?
- c) How much of the information is personhood based?
- d) How much of the information is social constructivist?

(RQ2) Do representations of diversity in the curriculum differ between the comprehensive curriculum and the Catholic curriculum? If they do, what intersections of difference (race, gender, ability, ethnicity, sexual orientation, etc.) are represented?

(RQ3) Do representations of intersectionality differ between the comprehensive curriculum and the Catholic curriculum?

Text, graphs, images, and diagrams will be coded. Codes will be organized in order to trace how much of the information presented is derived from biology and how much is from cultural studies. Finally inferences will be made from the manifest data to answer the research questions.

Significance of the study

The findings of this study will contribute to the development of a more inclusive sex education curriculum on both the k-12 level and on the university level which will in turn, hopefully, promote the general health of citizens in several ways. First, the findings of this content analysis can be used to aid the creation of a curriculum that addresses the current realities of youth culture today in regard to sexuality. Second, the findings of this study can contribute to the incorporation of pluralism into the broader intellectual frame work of curriculum designers.

If a curriculum is not sexually pluralistic, it serves only to reinforce hegemony. Third, the findings of this study can contribute to the broader conversation concerning the intersection of sexual violence and education. The study will also reveal similarities and differences among the different discourses of sex education represented in the texts.

Definitions of the major themes

The following themes were taken from the literature and utilized in this study were both a priori, meaning taken from sex education theory, and emergent, meaning taken from the analysis process itself. (Stemler, 2001).

Table 2: Definition of major themes and terms

Discourse	Conversations and debate that happen within a particular school of thought
Biology/essentialism	“There is an internal, probably biological sex drive or instinct. Sexuality is universally expressed throughout different historical times. Sexuality is universally expressed across different cultures” (Irvine, 1995, p. 3). Factual information in regard to sex education. Sexuality is conceptualized as an innate human drive and is universal and normative.
Social Construction/ Diversity	Sexuality is not universal either throughout history or across cultures. It is doubtful that there is an internal, essential sex drive or force. Biology plays a small role, if any, in determining our sexuality. Sexuality is deeply influenced and constructed by social, political, economic, and cultural factors (Irvine, 1995).
Intersectionality	Sexuality sits at the intersection of history, institutions, oppression, and liberation; these frame the lived experience of a person or group of people (Crenshaw, 1989). Concerning a systemic concept, Weber (2000) highlights that an intersectional approach takes into account the following five dimensions: (a) the historical and global

Intersectionality	context of groups; (b) how the meanings attached to social inequalities may have changed over time; (c) the existence of power and privilege differentials in interpersonal relationships; (d) the role of society and institutions in marginalizing groups; and (e) the effects of multiple social inequalities operating simultaneously in every situation, with some occupying the foreground and others being less visible (Seedall et al., 141).
Personhood/ subjectivity	Drawing from theories of female sexual development (Brooks-Gunn & Paikoff, 1993; Bukowski, Sippola, & Brender, 1993; Burch, 1998; Haffner, 1998; Holland, Ramazonoglu, Sharpe, & Thomson, 1992; Martin, 1996; Thompson, 1995; Tolman, 2002; Tolman, Striepe, & Harmon, 2003) and a series of empirical studies that developed and validated it's measurement (Horne & Zimmer-Gembeck, 2005; 2006), sexual subjectivity has been found to include five elements: sexual body-esteem, self-entitlement to sexual desire and pleasure, entitlement to sexual desire and pleasure from a partner, sexual self-efficacy and sexual self-reflection (Zimmer-Gembeck, 2011, p.55). How sexuality relates to the individual on a subjective level in terms of individual decisions, morality, and self-preservation. Sexuality is integral to the individual and their subjectivity.

Conclusion

This chapter introduces the purpose and significance of the study as well as the research questions and pertinent definitions. It is my hope that this content analysis will help in the conceptualization of a sex education curriculum that is both factual and contextually relevant to a rapidly diversifying country. It is also my hope to provide a replicable method that can be used to identify the various discourses that currently shape sex education as curriculum designers and

theorists continue their efforts to create an effective curriculum. It is my intention that this content analysis will contribute to an already necessary conversation concerning sex education, public health, and the dignity of the individual.

In the following chapters, I will provide further information on this content analysis. Chapter 2 provides a literature review pertinent to sex education including its dominant discourses and themes as well as the conceptual framework that steers this content analysis. Chapter 3 provides a historiography of sex education in the United States and highlight how the Catholic and secular sex education schools of thought developed alongside each other. Chapter 4 expands on the methodology of content analysis, the proposed sampling strategy, how the data will be analyzed, and the texts to be analyzed. Chapter 5 provides the results of the content analysis. Chapter 6 provides the discussion of the data relative to the research questions.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Introduction

In this chapter, I provide a review of literature relevant to sexual education. This review is framed as an unpacking of the theoretical framework that currently shapes sex education; I will refer to this framework as sex education curriculum theory. I situate sex education curriculum theory at the intersection of Pinar's (2012) definition of curriculum theory as "informed by theory in the humanities, arts, and interpretative social sciences, curriculum theory is the scholarly effort to understanding the curriculum, conceived here as complicated conversation" (p.1) and Carlson's (2011) conceptualization of sexuality education as "the domain of cultural studies and critical pedagogy" (p.3); sex education curriculum theory is the critical examination of sex education curricula through a lens that conceptualizes sexuality as intersectional. First, I review the literature that examines the two dominant schools of thought that examines sex education curriculum theory. Second, I examine conceptualizations of safety. Third, I examine how the body is frequently a site of ideology. Fourth, I address how sexuality is conceptualized. Fifth, I describe how sexuality is performed at the intersections of orientation, ethnicity, and race. Sixth, I examine how adolescence is conceptualized as a white privilege. Seventh, I unpack sex education as praxis, specifically what discourses influence the taught curriculum. Lastly, I discuss pertinent gaps in the literature with possibilities for future research.

In regard to my own frame work, I reject the theoretical binary between the essentialist and the social constructivist discourses presented by Irvine (1995) and Carlson (2011), as the current praxis such as comprehensive sex education bridges these two theories and abstinence only education is an offshoot of social constructivism while simultaneously rejecting the premises of both social constructivists and the essentialists; there is also a religious based but

heavily Catholic discourse that produces a significant amount of curriculum. I openly identify as a pluralist. I assert that not only is it necessary to understand the biological facts of human sexuality but our constructivist conception of sexuality must be pluralistic rather than purely emancipatory, which does not necessitate understanding how other cultures conceptualize sexuality in a moral sense aside from rejecting it. I situate myself as a theorist who draws from both the essentialists and social constructivists. I draw heavily here on the works of social constructivists like Garcia (2009), Fields (2008), Moles (2016), Thornton (2003), Goldfarb and Liebermann (2016), Frans (2016), Edge (2003), Crewe (2016), Dyson (2016), Hough, Warren and Crehan (2016), Apple (2004), Carlson (2011), Irvine (1995), Pinar (1995), and Schrempf (2001); social theorists McCune (2014), Butler (2002), and essentials like Kinsey (1948), Brooks-Gunn (1992), Kirkendall (1968), and Calderone (1968).

Essentialists social constructivists, and Roman Catholic theory

Within sex education literature, the two dominant theoretical lenses, are as Irvine has described them, of the essentialist and the social constructivist, with praxis approaches that comprise the spectrum between the two discourses (Irvine, 1995, p.1). Carlson (2011) describes the same binary albeit he uses the term “Sex education” to describe the essentialist view and “sexuality education” to describe the social construction view; he writes

There is sex, which is the domain of health and biology education, and which deals with the so called mechanics and plumbing of sex- the reproductive organs and their functions, and also sexual diseases and disorders. Then there is sexuality, which is expressed through the body and is related to our performance of gender, along with race, class, and sexual orientation. From this perspective, sexuality is cultural, it has emerged and evolved historically, and it is part of who were are historically. (p.3)

As the primary objective of this content analysis is to examine what discourses are evident, how diversity is represented, and how intersectionality is represented in the sex education texts

chosen for this study, it is necessary to understand the theoretical spectrum which produces sex education praxis and curricula.

Essentialism

The essentialist view holds, according to Irvine (1995), that there is a basic sex drive that is evident in humans due to fundamental biological factors such as testosterone and estrogen. According to this view, all humans have the basic desire to participate in sexual activities and later to procreate. In the common parlance, the result of the biological sex drive would be called “urges”, which to participate in sexual activity, and this is the most widely accepted aspect of the essentialist view in popular culture. Sexuality is seen as a deeply individual expression and sexuality is driven by biology.

The essentialist view also holds that sexuality is a universal human trait that has been expressed the same throughout different historical periods and cultures. This line of thinking is the result of the essentialist view being philosophically underpinned by positivism, which holds that anything that exists can be quantified, such as sex which is the natural method by which the human species propagates. Therefore, sex education from this point of view has been dominated by the medical field as and sex education usually occurs in physical education classes or biology classes and the instructors often have backgrounds in the hard sciences. This position was best articulated by Alfred Kinsey in his land mark studies *Sexuality in the Human Male* in 1948 and *Sexuality in the Human Female* in 1953.

The essentialist view further asserts that regardless of culture, language, or place all humans biologically reproduce in the same manner (Irvine, 1995, p.3). Females produce eggs and males produce sperm and the joining of these genitalia in the procreative act produces offspring is, according to the essentialists, common knowledge cross culturally. The essentialist

view also holds that there are firm biological difference between men and women. This view has even extended to popular discourse concerning homosexuality and transgender issues in regard to genetics and the existence of a gay gene which was postulated in the 1994 notable work *The Science of Desire: the gay gene and the science of desire* by Geneticist Dean Hammer and has become a common assertion among gay rights activists and encapsulated by the mantra “born this way.”

Social Constructivism

In regard to the social constructivist view, or the sexuality education discourse put forward by Carlson (2011), the discourse does not reject the essentialist view as scientific fact is the foundation of their perspective but they do seek to complicate and challenge the essentialist view. The social constructivists hold that sexuality is subject to the forces of culture in the same manner as anything biological is subject to culture (Irvine, 1995, p. 14). William Pinar (1995) writes, “Sex education is, obviously, an important curricular area where gender theory surfaces explicitly” (p. 401). Gender theory also draws on disability theory’s concept of interactionism, which holds, according to Schrempf (2001) that “everything is always ready social and material...Materiality always already impacts the social-that is, bodies are not pre-social nor are social practices divorced from materiality. Layered upon this premise, other elements of categories are also seen as interactive” (p. 68). Social constructionists do not seek to divorce the biological facts of human reproduction from their social construction as the two are symbiotic.

Those who hold the social construction view or are adherents to “sexuality education” assert that sexuality is not conceptualized in the same manner historically or cross culturally. Social Constructivists interrogate the very idea of human nature and assert that “human nature” is really acculturated behavior. They cite the sheer amount of different cultural practices and

views on what is considered acceptable in regard to sex acts and their discussion in public as evidence that sexuality and its subsequent pedagogy are subject to the cultural forces and are often created by them.

For example, Irvine (1995) points out that while kissing is considered an erotic activity in the contexts of sexuality, it is considered quite disgusting by Mehinaku of the Amazon basin as it is nothing more than an exchange of saliva. The conceptualization of what is desirable, erotic, proper, and forbidden are cultural constructs that are influenced by time, environment, and circumstance.

Pinar (1995), in describing the work of Taubman, refers to “what versions of sexuality, men, and women have been promulgated in schools” (p. 401). As “masculinity” and “femininity” are not objective, they are constructs that are taught to succeeding generations. The social constructivists assert that sexuality is heavily shaped by social, political, economic, and cultural factors. While sexuality may indeed be an expression of individual biology, that expression is formed, honed, and understood by many external factors. Once again, the social constructivists point to the variance of “sex norms” globally and historically to support their claim. For example, if we look at the social curriculum, for lack of a better term, concerning sexual relationships between Black men and white women in America in 2014 versus the same sexual relationships at the time Ida B Wells wrote *Southern Horrors* in 1892 we see a shift in norms. Simply stated, while a Black man or white woman may have to deal with some condemnatory looks or statements regarding their sexual relationship, it is unlikely that a lynching, in the classic mob scenes common in many photographs from that period, will occur as was common in Wells’ day. The point that the social constructivist put forward is that society shapes sexuality

and that what is shaped becomes curriculum, whether it is formal, informal, or if it occurs in class rooms, popular culture, or a church.

Roman Catholicism

A third school of thought on sex education theory exists. The religious responses to sex education and its connected topics are socially constructed as they do not defer to the purely biological understanding of sexuality that typifies essentialism. Their conceptualization of what is natural is informed by theology. Because of this concept, the theological school of thought is distinct.

Theologically based social constructivism is most pronounced in the Catholic theology. At the center of Catholic sex curriculum theory is the principle of chastity. Chastity is asserted, according to the Catechism of the Catholic Church, as

Chastity promotes the full integration of sexuality within persons, in accord with their state of life—married, single, professed religious, or consecrated celibate. Chastity promotes abstention from immoral sexual activity. Chastity includes an apprenticeship in self-mastery, which is a training in human freedom and which is the result of long and hard personal and interior work. Chastity flows from the moral virtue of temperance that helps us direct our sexuality and sexual desires toward authentic love and away from using persons as objects for sexual pleasure. Chastity is not a matter of repression of sexual feelings and temptations but is the successful integration of the gift of sexuality within the whole person. To integrate the gift of sexuality means to make it subordinate to love and respect through the practice of chastity. (*The Catechetical Formation in Chaste Living*, p. 7)

The concept of Chastity contradicts notions such as the sex drive and elevates sexuality above a purely physical act. It can be asserted that the Catholic Church promotes abstinence only education but this is not true. Sex education in a Catholic discourse is considered a moral issue separate from discussions of the human body and biology and as such, topics that would fall under a public health concern are addressed outside of theology classes.

Emergent Concepts

The three major discourses of sex education curriculum theory have produced substantial bodies of praxis that are concerned with emergent notions of personhood and intersectionality. Personhood can be conceptualized as a holistic approach to sex education that centers decision making in the best interest of both the subject and their chosen partner(s) as a part of a lifelong praxis (Frans, 2016). Whereas intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1989) is the interplay of conceptualizations of multiple modes identity with institutions, oppression, and lived experiences and has important implications for praxis. Crewe (2016) writes

Sexuality occupies a contradictory position in our society as simultaneously elusive and pervasive. What is acceptable (Burns, Futch, & Tolman, 2011) in terms of sexuality is often so narrowly conceived that many become cut off from “condoned access” to information, knowledge, and behavior. Narratives of sexuality are thus always layered—fraught with not only what is difficult to say, but also what is often not consciously known. (p. 119)

Intersection concerns of identity, oppression, and liberation are found in this layering.

To an extent, they all borrow from each other and inform each other. All embrace the necessity of sex education in the lives of young people. They do, however differ in they approaches to specific topics and how those topics should be taught.

Safety

Safety allows for sexual subjectivities develop free from coercion. In essentialist terms, a healthy functioning adult has a fully developed sexuality. Much of the violence done to the body is an expression of ideology. Sex education can either emancipate the learner or can repress them. This is true in sex education as the focus of its discourses, no matter that discourse, is the body.

Across all three discourses, safety is a central concern and normally appears in their subsequent praxis. Safety is a major theme in sex education literature and does not just apply to issues of sexual assault and molestation, but also includes gendered and LGBTQ bullying.

Meyer (2011) defines gendered harassment as

A term used to describe any behavior that acts to assert and police the boundaries of traditional gender norms: heterosexual masculinity and femininity. It is related to, but different from bullying. Bullying is defined as behaviors that repeatedly and over time intentionally inflicts injury on another individual, whereas harassment includes biased behaviors that have a negative impact in the target or the environment. (pp.101-102)

The difference is one of scope where harassment attempts to create a hostile climate and is often psychological.

Leonardi and Saenz (2014) write “Iris Marion Young (1990) named two social conditions that contribute to a robust understanding of what it means to be unsafe: domination and oppression. These conditions are especially important as they relate to school experiences and youth identity development” (p.205). A school can be a perpetrator of this through its use of hidden curriculum. If a school only acknowledges heteronormative behavior as normal, it has marginalized its LGBTQ students for whom the school is obligated to educate and protect. These rules may not be overt, especially in a public school setting, but are rather implied. Take prom for example. If a school only allows heterosexual couples to attend, it is teaching its LGBTQ students their orientation is so far outside of the norm that it warrants exclusion. This is an example of psychological harassment as it applies pressure to students to conform to an ideal that is antithetical to their own subjectivity which magnifies in regard to Transgender students, who may be forced by schools to perform a gender identity contrary to their own actual identity.

The role that the school as an institution promotes this behavior lies, according to Meyer (2011), lies in the toleration of such forms of harassment. This harassment is not only limited to

gay students but takes on a special air in regard to transgendered students. In regard to females, it can be argued that the prevalence of harassment in schools contributes to the widespread nature of rape culture. Enunciating a social constructivist perspective, Rahimi and Liston write

Young women and men need spaces to examine the contemporary struggles in their lives. As we acknowledge that young adolescents face a different context than the one in which we (and many teachers) developed, we must seek to meet them in their space. We must recognize the sexual terrorism (Sheffield, 2007) adolescent girls experience by not knowing which of their behaviors will lead to ostracism and/or sexual violence against them. (Rahimi and Liston, 2011, p. 313)

The three discourses agree that sexual harassment and violence have a negative impact upon the development of the self. The United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, in *Catechetical Formation in Chaste Living; guidelines for curriculum design and publication*, lists rape, incest, and sexual abuse as its most grave sexually based sins (p.9).

The body as an ideological site

The physical changes brought on by puberty and their negotiation is a central issue in sex education curriculum theory. Brooks- Gunn (1992) writes,

Puberty involves the most rapid physical growth that the human body experiences with the exception of prenatal and neonatal growth. A unique feature of puberty is that young adolescents are able to reflect upon, and in some cases, to affect these changes, to integrate them into their self-identity, and to incorporate others' responses to their changing body and role status into that self-identity (Brooks-Gunn 1987, Lerner and Foch 1987). (Brooks- Gunn, 1992, p. 97)

Puberty marks the beginning of an ontologically significant developmental phase, which informs the three sex education discourses.

The body as a site of ideology is a major theme in sex education literature. Functioning in a similar manner to Bentham's panopticon in Foucault's (1991) *Discipline and Punish*, a hegemonic, positivist, and normalized view of sexuality serves to police the physical action of the body through the privileging of certain bodies and behaviors and the marginalization of

others. While sexuality is an intersectional phenomenon, it is expressed primarily through the body. Foucault (1991) wrote

Racism took shape at this point (racism in it's modern, biologizing, statist form): it was then that a whole politics of settlement (peuplement), family, marriage, education, social hierarchization, and property, accompanied by a long series of permanent interventions at the level of the body, conduct, health, and everyday life, received their color and their justification from the mythical concern with protecting the purity of the blood and ensuring the triumph of the race. (p. 156)

Sexuality has always had economic, political, and nationalists implications and has such been integral in the formation of and perpetuation of hegemonic structures.

Irvine (1995) writes about the differences between the essentialist view and the social constructivist view of the body; "Unlike essentialists, who look to the body in order to uncover truths about sexuality, social constructivists think the body simply affords us the physical potential for sexual practices" (p.19). While the functions of the body remain in the realm of biology, sexual practices are only given significance by cultures. The Catholic discourse supports this sentiment, which will be discussed later.

In regard to sex education theory, the body occupies a special space. According to the essentialist perspective, the human body is immutable and sexuality should be understood as a natural process. From an essentialist perspective, Brooks-Gunn (1992) writes "Most teenagers do not consciously plan to become sexually active, and they often do not foresee their first sexual experience. As such, it frequently is not experienced as a decision, but rather as something that happened" (p. 109). From the essentialist point of view, early sexual activity is a result of urges which are a combination of hormonal increases and social emphasis that comes with puberty (Brooks-Gun, 1992).

Social constructivists disagree with essentialists concerning urges. Fields (2008) writes

“Sex education classes that obscure bodily experiences and pleasures by offering only disembodied or clinical descriptions of the physicality hinder students’ development of an argentic sexual subjectivity” (p. 110). Proverbs such as “boys will be boys” provide a level of approval for sexual assault especially in young men as “their hormones are raging” which distracts from the social constructed platform common in patriarchy that men have sexual rights to women which is a measure of power. Tolman (1994) asserts, “when their bodies take on women’s contours, girls begin to be seen as sexual, and sexuality becomes an aspect of adolescent girls’ lives; yet “nice” girls and “good” women are not supposed to be sexual outside of heteronormal, monogamous, marriage (Tolman 1991)” (p. 324). Social constructivists argue that “urges” conceptualized unequally along gendered lines.

With regard to Catholic world view, the Church holds to the hegemonic gender binary as it places procreation at the center of the sexual act. The Pontifical Council on the Family States

Man is called to love and to self-giving in the unity of body and spirit. Femininity and masculinity are complementary gifts, through which human sexuality is an integrating part of the concrete capacity for love which God has inscribed in man and woman. "Sexuality is a fundamental component of personality, one of its modes of being, of manifestation, of communicating with others, of feeling, of expressing and of living human love". This capacity for love as self-giving is thus "incarnated" in the nuptial meaning of the body, which bears the imprint of the person's masculinity and femininity. "The human body, with its sex, and its masculinity and femininity, seen in the very mystery of creation, is not only a source of fruitfulness and procreation, as in the whole natural order, but includes right from the beginning' the nuptial attribute, that is, the capacity of expressing love: that love precisely in which the man-person becomes a gift and by means of this gift fulfils the very meaning of his being and existence". Every form of love will always bear this masculine and feminine character. (*The Truth and Meaning of Human Sexuality*, 2010, p. 12)

This excludes LGBTQ persons and puts the Catholic theory at odds with the social constructivists in regard to how gender itself is constructed and placed upon the body. For the Catholic Church, boys and girls possess an innate gender.

Social constructivists reject the idea that the gender binary is innate. Rather it is taught and reinforced in texts; namely that male sexuality is aggressive and female sexuality is passive; Irvine (1995) writes,

This often translates into women being responsible for controlling the level of sexual behavior, since they are supposedly more able to stop. It is she who must be responsible for birth control, safer sex, and determining “how far to go.” Using outdated and often discredited information on hormones, the brain, and genes, these lessons reinforce essentialist ideas about sexuality,” sex drive”, and gender. (p. 91)

These responsibilities are assigned because of presumptions about the body.

How the body should be used is also a pertinent issue. Irvine (1995) writes,

Sexual meanings are constructed by cultures, and they also change over time. In the United States, there has been a shift in the dominant culture away from the notion- common from colonial times into the nineteenth century- that sexuality is almost exclusively connected with marriage and reproduction. (p.64)

The ideology of the body, in regard to sexuality, is intertwined with how sexuality is conceptualized.

Conceptualization

How sex education, and sexuality itself, are conceptualized is a major topic in the literature. Foucault (1991) argues that sexuality is not static and in the West, he questions the popular historical assertion that the past was more sexually repressive than the modern day in his three doubts of the repressive hypothesis (pp. 16-20). One flows from the other or, to be more specific, the conceptualization of sex education flows from the conceptualization of sexuality. It is easy to assume that sexuality has an easy and accessible definition but this is not the case. The essentialist view of sex education conceptualizes sexuality as sexual intercourse as subsequently is treated as a universal health issue. Because of this, sex education tends to be very broad. So, our pedagogy is written from the medically driven perspective, which had its merits and should

always be taken into account, but is rather limited in application. Social constructivists point out sexuality is not conceptualized the same way nor expressed the same way across ethnic groups.

The social constructivists and the practitioners of sexuality education note that matters of race, ethnicity, religion, education, and economic status cannot be dismissed in the broader discussion of sex education curriculum. Fields (2008) writes,

The taken for granted authority of science obscures these socializing implications of educators' representations of bodies and sexuality Science allows sex educators to defuse concern in their schools and communities about talking to young people about sex and their bodies, but this authority also often means that the hidden curriculum lessons about race, conformity, gender, and physical appearance that are entangled in the apparent facts of sex education go unchallenged. (p.115)

Race has a troubling intellectual history. While it is rooted in observable physical variance among populations, it has no bearing on the individual aside from what significance society has placed on it (Hall, 1996). It is not a historical constant and in a contemporary sense it is not stable. From an essentialist point of view, race and its myriad of intersections have no bearing on the human body and therefore can be either ignored or addressed as a peripheral concern. The Social constructivists recognize that race shapes how sexuality is perceived, debated, and has a profound influence of the crafting of curriculum and policy. For example, the murder of Emmett Till in 1955 was not rooted in the fact that he was male but rather because he was a Black male; an intersection that was conceptualized as an existential threat to white womanhood in Jim Crow American. Sexuality is raced and, conversely, race is sexualized.

Social constructivists assert that sexuality has larger implications outside of the purely sexual. The binary of being “civilized” versus being “uncivilized” are among the first evidence of supremacist discourses from which racism would develop. Notions like the “barbarian” and “the savage” are the intellectual ancestors of “nigger”, “chink” “spic”, “whop”, “paddy” and “wog.” It is often discussed how religious practices, dietary habits, and architectural ability

provided Europeans with their basis of racism; the sexual practices and laws of oppressed groups often provided the most basic justification of exploitation. For example, African dance was seen by Europeans as hypersexual and this is still evident in regard to African American communities and African nations contemporarily.

Social constructivists assert that sex education is not a neutral activity. It is inherently political and therefore is subject to the machinations of the intersecting privileges of power.

Fields (2008) writes that

Sex education's formal and hidden lessons help to construct a picture of sex and sexuality and heterosexual, procreative, white, able 'bodied, and conventionally gendered. And, because this construction happens under the rubric of "natural and factual", the hidden lessons maybe especially difficult to demystify; they are, after all natural. (p. 115)

By disregarding the sexuality of marginalized groups and imposing a hegemonic conceptualization of sexuality, sex education fails to address the needs of these marginalized communities while simultaneously exercising power over them.

The Catholic Church conceptualizes sexuality as an extension of spirituality. The Pontifical Council on the Family stated in *Truth and Meaning of Human Sexuality- Guidelines for Education Within the Family*

The meaning of sexuality itself is to be understood in the light of Christian Revelation: Sexuality characterizes man and woman not only on the physical level, but also on the psychological and spiritual, making its mark on each of their expressions. Such diversity, linked to the complementarity of the two sexes, allows thorough response to the design of God according to the vocation to which each one is called. (2010, p.14)

While it has a decidedly theological bend, it does not differ from the position asserted by social constructivists.

Each of the three discourses conceptualize sexuality differently. For the essentialists it is a biological aspect of the human species. For the social constructivists it is a cultured act. For the

Catholic theorist it is a spiritual act. Despite their disagreement, sexuality remains an important part of the human condition and is central to the function of gender.

Performance of identity

The literature suggests that sexuality is central to the intersectional performance of identity. This is especially true in regard to forming a healthy sense of gnosis as the sexual self is integral to the ontological self. Regardless of one's race, ethnicity, national origin, religion, sexual orientation, or economic status, sexuality permeates across all of these modes of identity.

Cultural and structural factors affect how sexuality is conceptualized and, more importantly, how it is displayed. One of the major points of emphasis put forward by the social constructionists borrows from feminism's notion of gender performance. Judith Butler (1990) writes in her discussion of gender performance in respect to drag queens

The performance of the drag plays upon the distinction between the anatomy of the performer and the gender that is being performed. But we are actually in the presence of three contingent dimensions of significant corporeality: anatomical sex, gender identity, and gender performance. If the anatomy of the performer is already distinct from the gender of the performer, and both of those are distinct from gender of the performance then the performance suggests a dissonance not only between sex and performance, but sex and gender, and gender and performance. (p. 244)

Who creates this script? That, too, is intersectional in the sense that Crenshaw (1989) coined the term. In addition to the school, popular culture acts as major influence of the performance of identity; so much, in fact, that they are often posed as dichotomous influences. Carlson (2011) writes,

It makes more sense, however, to see the schools and popular culture as co-producers (along with the family) of the adolescent body. The school culture and popular culture promote different messages, of course, and even oppositional messages in many cases. But between the school culture and the popular culture, the normal adolescent body is assembled. (p. 8)

Normalization inverts the reality of gender so rather than gender being something you perform it becomes something inherent and immutable, which marginalizes millions of people outside of the parameters of normalcy.

Boys are taught to act like boys and later men and women are schooled, either in the traditional academic setting or through social curriculum, to be men and women. Of course, this binary is wholly inadequate to provide an accurate representation of gender performances. But sexuality is one of the primary “roles” that are performed. Every culture has its own “script” so to speak and the lack of awareness or pluralistic understanding has created a sex education pedagogy that can be described as unintelligible to many communities of color. Garcia writes (2009), in relation to Cohen’s work, that

Heteronormativity does not evenly assign privilege and power to all individuals categorized as “heterosexual”; instead, a state sanctioned white middle class- and upper class heterosexuality is most rewarded and used as the reference point to determine how to distribute privilege and power. (pp. 522-523)

For example, it may be futile to create a curriculum that discusses homosexuality if it ignores cultural and social factors. The homosexual “performance” and especially the cultural factors that influence how it is that performance is imagined cannot be ignored. Bluntly stated, Black, Hispanic, and Middle Eastern conceptualizations of being gay are not the same. In white communities, being open with one’s homosexuality has gained a measure of mainstream, meaning white, acceptance but in the Black community this is not necessarily the case but to complicate matters further the notion of “acceptance” is not the same across the two communities as it relates to notions of masculinity. Garcia (2009) complicates the discourse on homosexuality and People of color; she writes that

LGBTQ scholars of color have challenged the notion that sexual subjectivity and racial subjectivity are mutually exclusive by underscoring how these subjectivities (race and

sexual orientation) develop interdependently. For example, some scholars have demonstrated that non-white LGBTQ individuals do not necessarily find coming out to be an effective strategy given their dependence of their families and communities as a resource against racism they encounter in larger society. (pp. 523-524)

If we look at the conceptualization of “who is gay” we see cultural differences. While the mainstream, meaning white, notion of being gay is defined as one who participates in sexual acts with men, this view is not the same across the cultures. In the Black community and in some Hispanic communities, the conceptualization of who is gay and who isn’t sometimes varies on ones function in the sex act itself. We see this with the Black notion of “down low brothers” which refers to men who assert that they are heterosexual and often participate in heterosexual relationships with women but also have casual sexual encounters with men. By mainstream definitions, participants in the “down low” culture and in the “machismo” culture are bisexual but within their own cultures, those lines are blurred. McCune, Jr (2014) quotes Phil Wilson, the director of the Black AIDS institute in the discussion of “Down Low” Black men which can be applied to complex notions of sexuality and performance; “People actually don’t live their lives in segments. People come to us as complex individuals...they bring their race stuff....they bring their male stuff...and their homosexual stuff into the room” (as cited in McCune, p. 71). These relationships are cast as deviant but only because they have been framed by heteronormative and hegemonic masculine frames which perpetuate in both Black and Hispanic culture’s conceptualization of sexuality.

In regard to Catholic curriculum, the topic of homosexuality is a complicated one. The official teaching of the Catholic Church on gay persons is as follows:

Although the existence of homosexual tendencies is not sinful, divine and natural law teaches that homosexual acts are gravely contrary to chastity, intrinsically disordered, contrary to the natural law, and closed to the gift of life; they do not proceed from a genuine affective and sexual complementarity and can never be approved. Nonetheless, in her pastoral care, the Church teaches that every person be treated with respect,

compassion, and sensitivity regardless of sexual orientation. (The *Catechetical Formation in Chaste Living*, 2008, p. 14)

Fundamentally, the Catholic Church does not condemn being gay unto itself but does condemn gay sex as it cannot produce children. This has been a matter of great controversy for the Catholic Church.

As Butler (1990) eloquently argued, we are who we perform. Sexuality education can be a high visible sight of interrupting and interrogating power as Sexuality is subject to gender power dynamics and racial power dynamics. In regard to minorities, it can be a site to interrupt practices that are not biologically inherent to different racial groups but rather historically, culturally, and structurally conceptualized, reinforced, and allowed to germinate. Carlson (2011) writes, “within this common project, hegemonic masculinities take on different styles and forms for different groups of men” (p, 13). In regard to class, clothes and money act as reinforcement of masculinity in much the same manner as athletic prowess (Carlson, 2011, p 16-17); these, of course, are primarily beneficial to white men. When race is considered, hegemonic masculinity is revealed to be one conceptualized as an extension of white privilege. Often, the scripts by which marginalized communities are judged are not their own creations but rather they are created by their oppressors to serve their purposes. Carlson (2011) writes

the hyper-aggressive sexuality of black masculinity is thus constructed in relation to racial domination, so that it is too simple (and part of the problem) to black men for their rage and the assertions of manhood, even if these assertions are often displaced. (p. 14)

If boys will indeed be boys, this statement does not apply to black boys.

For an example of hegemonic masculinity we can look at sexual assault. Irvine (1995) argues that what drives this are cultural traditions, institutions, and social structures that ultimately condone sexual assault through the perpetuation of a sex education, meaning a pedagogy that instructs how men and women behave and their functions in regard to society and

sex itself, behind a veneer of traditional society. Stereotypes allow for the perpetuation of hegemonic masculinity and other types of hegemonic oppression (Irvine, 1995) and is often reinforced with the implication of statistical reporting especially when disaggregated by race such as the image of the thug.

In regard to the disabled, just because someone has become incapacitated in a significantly limiting manner does not mean they have become asexual or has surrendered their agency. Schrempf (2001) asserts in her discussion of Stohl, a paraplegic woman who was photographed and appeared in Playboy in June 1987 that

What she clearly means is that her disability does not make a difference in who she is, in her ability to have sexual relations, and that society should not see her as less of a woman for having a disability. Her sudden demotion to a child-like status (as a result of acquiring a visible disability) meant that she was no longer viewed as a sexually viable and mature woman. (p. 56)

This marginalization has a potentially devastating effect on disabled women, men, and people of color in regard to sex education by virtue of simple neglect. Their agency and subjectivity are rendered mute and therefore irrelevant. We fail to recognize, as Schrempf (2011) argues, “disability is located in society and not in the individuals’ impairment” (p. 59).

Sex is a performed act. All three discourses agree that sexuality is a complicated matter and informs how we conceptualize other aspects of our identity. In the service of hegemonic oppression, sexuality is gendered, able-bodied, and disabled. Sexuality is also raced, ethnic, and often in sex education, classed. Conversely, sexuality can be a site of resistance against the various forms of hegemony.

Race, ethnicity, and adolescence

Another topic that emerges in the literature is the intersection of race, ethnicity, and the concept of adolescence. How these intersect form the subjectivity of the self. Fields (2008)

writes that “social inequalities compromise young people’s claims to subjectivities” (p. 19). Sexuality education is, ultimately, a political project. The manner in which young people’s claims to subjectivities are compromised is through the conceptualization of adolescence as a period of person deficiency necessitating full adult supervision. This, of course, far exceeds the role of the parent who is attentive to their children in these formative years.

From a social constructivist perspective, the adolescent insight is ignored. Carlson (2011) wrote, “thus the problem of adolescent sexuality- of unwanted pregnancies, sexually transmitted diseases, sexual delinquency, and impulsivity- has been used by professional educators, psychologists, and health officials to legitimate their role in the regulation of adolescent bodies and desires” (p.4). Students’ voices are being ignored during the creation of a curriculum that doesn’t address the realities of their lives but rather addresses the fears of adults and the curriculum creators, whose motives may not be rooted in the interests of creating subjectivities but are political and hegemonic in nature.

From a Catholic perspective, adolescence is a transitional period that is very important in developing the sexual self. *Truth and Meaning of Human Sexuality- Guidelines for education within the family* states that

We must also remember how adolescents in industrialized societies are preoccupied and at times disturbed not only by the problems of self-identity, discovering their plan in life and difficulties in successfully integrating sexuality in a mature and well oriented personality. They also have problems in accepting themselves and their bodies. In this regard, out-patient and specialized centers for adolescents have now sprung up, often characterized by purely hedonistic purposes. On the other hand, a healthy culture of the body leads to accepting oneself as a gift and as an incarnated spirit, called to be open to God and society. A healthy culture of the body should accompany formation in this very constructive period, which is also not without its risks. (2010, p. 63)

This is a very ingrained approach as it assumes that adolescences are neither children nor adults.

One of the highlights of the intersection of race, ethnicity, and sex education is adultism, which underwrites the concept of “age appropriate” curriculum. Fields (2008) defines adultism as “institutionalized beliefs and practices that cast young people as categorically unable, less intelligent, and less responsible than adults” (p. 19). It is argued adultism promotes infantilization of adolescents. Sexuality is cast as something that they are “too young to understand or control” which comes at the detriment of the agency of adolescents in their own subjectivity and independence. Abstinence-only education as a form of praxis is the primary intellectual product of this world view; it is a religiously guided social constructivist response to essentialism and is a direct intellectual heir of the chastity movement that infused earlier sex education discourses like Social Hygiene and life adjustment education. Irvine (2002) asserts that abstinence only education showed the power of the Christian right at the end of the 20th century. The hidden curriculum inherent to abstinence-only education is that adolescent sexuality is inherently dangerous to adolescents and society and serve to reinforce a sense of parental and social authority.

Adultism does not operate independent of racial hegemonies. Abstinence-only programs and their infantilization mentality does not apply across the board. White adolescents are given consideration of actually being adolescents. America tends of adultify, to borrow Fields term, Black and Brown children, which is attached to long held stereotypes about Black bodies and the threat that they pose to white, in particular female, bodies.

Stereotypes fill in the gap that is left by the absence of a pluralistic knowledge. In regard to African Americans, the stereotype goes back to slavery. First of all, Black culture is depicted as being an overtly sexualized culture in which promiscuity is the norm with the word

“promiscuity” being intentionally used as it invokes the language of morality. Ferguson (2001) writes,

As an endangered species, they are stuck in an obsolete stage of social evolution unable to adapt to the present. As criminals, they are a threat to themselves, to each other, as well as to society in general. As black children’s behavior is refracted through the lens of these two cultural images, it is adultified. By this I mean their transgressions are made to take on a sinister, intentional, fully conscious tone that is stripped of any element of childish naiveté. (p. 83)

Whereas white transgressions are written off as indiscretions of youth. The intersection of adultism and racism has been in the public eye recently in regard to the deaths of Jordan Davis, Michael Brown, and Trayvon Martin, all of whom were murdered by white men who perceived them as mortal threats. Adultism starts in elementary school as is evidenced by the disparity in suspensions between Black and white students for the same transgressions confirmed by a Department of Education Office for Civil Rights report released on March 21, 2014.

Ultimately, all of the various approaches to specific topics in sex education theory must be distilled into a praxis from which a curriculum can be developed. This exercise comes with significant responsibility as students will be taught what is in the curriculum. In other words, they will be taught a comprehensive ideology which may affect them for their entire lives.

Praxis as disruption and as Hegemonic reinforcement

The opposing praxis that challenges abstinence-only education and its variants and is often demonized by supporters of abstinence-only education is comprehensive sex education. Comprehensive sex education was first conceptualized by the Sex Information and Educational Council of the United States and later adopted as the framework for both safe and safer sex education during the HIV/AIDS crisis. Fields (2008) defines comprehensive sex education praxis as one “in which young people would receive, from kindergarten through high school, age appropriate information on a range of topics such as human reproduction, anatomy, physiology,

and sexually transmitted infections as well as issues including masturbation and homosexuality” (p. 7). Here, sex is seen as a healthy activity and frank conversation about sexual values, attitudes, and cultural nuances would occur in the classroom.

From a Catholic perspective, the actual teaching of sex education is a matter best put in the care of parents and those with theological training. Concerning the current praxis of sex education, the Church states in *Truth and Meaning of Human Sexuality- Guidelines for education within the family* that

The Problematic Situations Today:

1. In the greater part of society, both in developed and developing countries, the decline of traditional models has left children deprived of consistent and positive guidance, while parents find themselves unprepared to provide adequate answers.
2. This new context is made worse by what we observe: an eclipse of the truth about man which, among other things, exerts pressure to reduce sex to something commonplace.
3. In this area, society and the mass media most of the time provide depersonalized, recreational and often pessimistic information.
4. Moreover, this information does not take into account the different stages of formation and development of children and young people, and it is influenced by a distorted individualistic concept of freedom, in an ambience lacking the basic values of life, human love and the family.
5. Then the school, making itself available to carry out programs of sex education, has often done this by taking the place of the family and, most of the time, with the aim of only providing information. Sometimes this really leads to the deformation of consciences.
6. In many cases parents have given up their duty in this field or agreed to delegate it to others, because of the difficulty and their own lack of preparation. (2010. p. 5-6)

The Catholic Church teaches that proper praxis for the instruction of sex education occurs:

Under the direction of the pastor, Catholic schools, religious education programs, and youth ministry programs should provide assistance as catechetical partners with parents or guardians. Formation in chaste living is an integral part of the Church’s instruction in the moral life and becomes part of the overall catechetical curriculum. Teachers and catechists should be adequately formed in chaste living, so as to reinforce and support the teachings to be handled by parents/guardians. (*Catechetical Formation in Chaste Living*, 2010, p. 17)

The frame work for sex education in the Catholic Church is laid out in *the Catechetical Formation in Chaste Living*:

Catechetical formation in chaste living is best taught in stages according to each child's age and maturity. Education for chastity is more than a call to abstinence. It requires **a.** Understanding the need for a family environment of love, virtue, and respect for the gifts of God **b.** Learning the practice of decency, modesty, and self-control **c.** Guiding sexual instincts toward loving service of others **d.** Recognizing one's embodied existence as male or female as a gift from God **e.** Discerning one's vocation to marriage, to chaste single life, to celibate priesthood, or to consecrated virginity for the sake of the Kingdom of Heaven. (2010, p. 22)

The Catholic Church also mandates that diversity should be represented in the texts that will be used in instruction. *The Catechetical Formation in Chaste Living* states: "Preparation of catechetical materials should also be based on sound principles of catechetical methodology that reflect the diversity of age, maturity, culture, race, ethnicity, and ecclesial conditions of those who will use the materials" (2010, p. 24). This is emphasized in order to address the sheer diversity of the Roman Catholic Church,

Abstinence is a part of comprehensive sex education but contraception and abortion is as well. Intellectually, comprehensive sex education takes both the essentialist and the social constructivist frameworks and creates a new praxis that is pragmatic in its approach and goals; it holds that ignorance of and silence about sexuality leads to negative issues such as teen pregnancy, HIV/AIDS and other STD transmission, homophobia, and silence regarding sexual assault. Sharon Lamb writes "in redefining sexuality education as democratic education, theorists have emphasized certain qualities of citizenship" (Lamb, 2011, p. 30). Comprehensive sex education theorist have recast sex education is intrinsic to the survival of the republic and necessary to the full exercise of citizenship. Lamb (2010) later expounds on the central focus of

sexuality education which is the ideological underpinning of comprehensive sex education in schools:

The components, thus, of a democratic sexuality education, for Elia, McKay, and others, seem to be as follows: the education must be 1) nonrestrictive (which speaks to the democratic ideal of individual freedom); 2) non dogmatic(which speaks to the possibility that students are not inculcated but given a range of sexual information, hopefully accurate, to choose from in formulating their own individual perspectives; 3) inclusive(dedicated to tolerance with practice attempts to address inequalities and stereotypes and especially to include sexual minority groups); 4) dedicated to teaching deliberation and critique of ideas and practices; and 5) tied to a process that is akin to shared governance, free from domination(which is also an ideal of democracy and means that students must play a central role in what is taught). (pp. 30-31)

This is a dramatic shift from abstinence only education, whose roots are entirely dogmatic and whose underpinnings are hegemonic in a variety of ways.

In order for an abstinence-only program to receive federal funding they must meet the following criteria put forward by *the Social Security Act of 2006*.

The purpose of an allotment under subsection (a) to a State is to enable the State to provide abstinence education, and at the option of the State, where appropriate, mentoring, counseling, and adult supervision to promote abstinence from sexual activity, with a focus on those groups which are most likely to bear children out-of-wedlock. (2) For purposes of this section, the term “abstinence education” means an educational or motivational program which—(A) Has as its exclusive purpose, teaching the social, psychological, and health gains to be realized by abstaining from sexual activity; (B) teaches abstinence from sexual activity outside marriage as the expected standard for all school age children; (C) Teaches that abstinence from sexual activity is the only certain way to avoid out-of-wedlock pregnancy, sexually transmitted diseases, and other associated health problems; (D) teaches that a mutually faithful monogamous relationship in context of marriage is the expected standard of human sexual activity; (E) teaches that sexual activity outside of the context of marriage is likely to have harmful psychological and physical effects; (F) Teaches that bearing children out-of-wedlock is likely to have harmful consequences for the child, the child’s parents, and society; (G) Teaches young people how to reject sexual advances and how alcohol and drug use increases vulnerability to sexual advances; and (H) Teaches the importance of attaining self-sufficiency before engaging in sexual activity. (Section 510(b))

The federal government endorsed a specific ideology of sex education. It can be said that this definition enshrines white middle class Christian orthodoxy on sexuality. Essentially, federal

money was attached to an educational program, meaning it would be and has largely been taught across the board, whose hidden curriculum asserts that “heterosexual marriage was fundamental to a healthy society, any sexual activity outside of marriage undermined society” (Fields, 2008, p. 10). Homosexual, bisexual, lesbian, transgender, and polyandrous relationships are not only cast as unnatural but as destructive to the society as a whole.

Irvine (1995) writes
although all sexual identities are recent inventions, heterosexuality is, of course, the privileged social norm. Homophobia- the fear and hatred of lesbians and gay men- serves as a mechanism to regulate sexuality, to push people in the direction of heterosexual identification. (p. 84)

Social constructivism holds that abstinence only education programs push LGBTQ towards heterosexuality when they discuss homosexuality as deviant or, in the public setting, fail to address it at all which compounds when biological functions do not include the realities of their lives especially in regard to disease transmission. This marginalization denies LGBTQ youths access to critically important health information and emotional support. Anti-LGBTQ oppression was evident in the early days of the AIDS epidemic, when prevailing views of homosexuality as deviant hindered research into transmission of the virus and the dissemination of that critical knowledge.

Heterosexual hegemony effects minority groups as well. In regard to Latinx communities, abstinence education creates similar discord. Garcia (2009) writes that “research has also demonstrated that race/ethnicity shapes how school authorities respond to students’ embodiment of gender and sexuality, finding that Black and Latina/o students’ performance of heterosexuality is especially monitored and disciplined within schools” (p. 522). She continues, “I found that teachers and sex educators perceived Latinas to embody non-normative heterosexuality that was in need of correction and drew on a racialized good girl/bad girl

dichotomy to transmit gender and race/ethnicity specific lessons to Latinas. (Garcia, 2009, p. 528). Exoticism is one of the dangers that sex education and especially abstinence education poses to communities of color and queer communities; a curriculum being taught that does not address the needs of the communities but rather addresses and is informed by the external perceptions of these communities.

In much the same way that the politicization of Black bodies infuses sex education pedagogy and abstinence pedagogy, Latinas are marginalized within these curricula. Garcia points out that there are two different and intertwined conceptualizations, one which deals with heteronormative Eurocentric standards and one which is inherently political. She writes

Historically, racial-gender stereotypes about the reproductive decision making of Latinas in the United States depict them as wanting large families and refusing or being unable to use birth control. However, scholars (Chavez 2004, Gutierrez 2008, Inda 2002) have asserted that Latinas' sexuality and reproduction have recently received an intense scrutiny that is entrenched in a larger concern about immigrant "invasion". (Garcia, 2009, p. 532)

Ultimately, the issues faced by Black and brown communities are all outgrowths of nationalist and capitalist concerns about the balance of social, political and economic power if Black and Brown populations increase to a point where they could compete with whites.

Discussing one of her respondents, Garcia (2009) points out that

Minerva...expressed her criticism of how teachers and sex educators often connected Latina girls' risk for pregnancy to a "Latino" culture", where by Latinas were presumed to be sexually oriented just toward Latino men and gender relations among them were assumed to be shaped by a uniquely Latino machismo oppressive to women....experiences...illustrate how the heterosexual parameters of femininity are maintained through gender and race/ethnicity-specific sex education lessons; such lessons depict Latino boys as sexually manipulative and ignorant about condom use, while Latina girls are taught that their main task as unmarried young women is to develop the skills necessary to effectively fulfill their sexual gatekeeper role. (p. 531).

We see that these constructions exist across various minority groups. We see this same sort of discourse in regard to Muslim women and their depiction as being submissive to men. But

where do these notions come from and how are they culturally reinforced? Often, these pedagogical decisions are made by the interpretation, and misinterpretation, of statistics regarding STD's and pregnancy. These decisions become examples of intersectionality in the manner that Crenshaw (1989) described her court cases; as racism, sexism, and homophobia become the lens through which statistical data is interpreted and the subsequent framework for pedagogical decisions that are made.

Gaps in the literature

The most glaring gap in the literature, although it is a constant topic of debate, is the matter of what is sexuality? It should be pointed out that from a post-structuralist perspective, sexuality lacks a concise definition. Zeglin and Mitchell (2014) argue that “There currently exists no standard definition of sexuality. Even considering its apparent ubiquity, it is difficult to be sure that any two people using the word sexuality in conversation share a common understanding of its meaning” (p. 276). It may seem counter intuitive, but sex and sexuality differ from culture to culture and from person to person. This disagreement is central to understanding sex education curriculum theory and praxis. If there is no agreed upon definition, what is being taught?

Another gap in the literature is that of Transgender persons in regard to praxis. Green (2010) sums up the challenge posed by Transgender individuals:

An essential first step towards full trans inclusion is for us to examine our work and identify the ways in which we may be contributing to the marginalization of trans people in our current work. When we are minimally inclusive of trans people and related issues in our curricula, our work perpetuates systematic cisgender privilege, mirrors the overall marginalization of trans people in greater society, and ignores a powerful opportunity to advocate for a community that faces unnecessary and overtly cruel discrimination. (p.5)

Should a transgender student be instructed in the workings of the sexual organs they have or that they wish to have? If this instruction occurs in a middle school setting where it is common to

separate the sexes, to what class room does a transgender student go? This gap in the literature regarding praxis poses a significant obstacle to the social progress of transgender people.

Another gap in the literature is that of pluralism which poses a unique challenge to essentialism and social constructivism. With the rapid diversification of the American population with greater influx of Hispanic groups whose sexuality is a mixture of various ethnic, religious, geographic factors as well as Islamic groups, our own conceptualizations of sexuality are changing and their sexuality is being misinterpreted because of prevailing xenophobic sentiments. Corngold (2013) writes,

Deep and abiding disagreement about sexual morality is a fact of life in liberal pluralist societies. As some scholars suggest. This disagreement reflects an ongoing clash of two or more divergent sexual ideologies- unified systems of thought that structure people's sexual beliefs and behavior. (p. 461)

What one group calls oppressive, another group conceptualizes as liberating or proper.

How do we reconcile more restrictive discourses with more permissive ones? Is it even possible to reconcile these two things? Most importantly, in regard to praxis who's sexual ideology gets taught? Sexuality is often co-opted to marginalize and justify the oppression of other groups via intervention. There is a great deal of room to research, explore, and theorize on a sexual pluralism for multicultural societies.

The issues created by the current understanding of sex education are numerous and troubling. Sex education should not be viewed as something separate and distinct from the issues of inequality and representation that face all of education. We are faced with a rather sizable gap in our approach to education because we do not address one of the major pillars of human civilization; the conceptualization and performance of sexuality. Yet, there is a dynamic opportunity for meaningful and democratic change in society that comes with embracing sexuality education as it provides us a space to talk about issues such as body image,

heteronormativity, race, gender, femininity, masculinity, religion, violence, acceptance, medicine, and economics.

Conclusion

Sex education curriculum theory is divided into a biology driven sex education discourse and a culturally driven sexuality education tradition. In between this binary exists a variety of sex education curricula and theory that informs sex education texts that are used in various education settings. Different religious groups, such as the Evangelical Christian right and the Roman Catholic Church have their own sex education discourse which is informed by their own goals and positionality. What is central to the various discourse is the learner and the central question that permeates the discourses is “what is the appropriate age to begin sex education instruction?”

Sexuality is not neutral and it cannot be reduced to its purely biological components. The essentialists assert that sex is a natural mechanism. The social constructivists assert that sexuality intersects with culture in complex and profound ways. The various praxis of sex education bridge the essentialist and social constructivist discourses.

The literature concerning sex education curriculum theory has guided the development of the content analysis. The analysis of the subsequent text was done using the discourses that emerged from literature. The literature provided valuable insight into the intricacies of the respective discourses, highlighting both their closeness and their disagreements.

Chapter 3: Historiography of Sex Education in the United States

The purpose of this historiography is to illuminate the intellectual history of sex education curriculum theory. This historiography asserts that 1) since reconstruction, there have been large scale social movements that have steered the direction of sex education and 2) that the current theoretical and praxis oriented conceptualizations of sex education can be intellectually traced back to earlier ones. The current theoretical trend in sex education is that of the essentialist lens and the social constructivist lens. Essentialist sex education is a fact based approach that is medical in presentation. Issues of intersectionality, culture, economics, and power are not discussed as sex is asserted a discrete biological function that all human beings share and is independent of other social constructs. Social constructivists, on the other hand, view the focus on the biological as detrimental as it ignores that sexual behavior is a socially constructed occurrence. Sex education curriculum theory does not fall neatly within these two camps as there are competing and contradictory discourses which are praxis based that borrow from these schools of thought. For example, abstinence only education is a social constructivist response to essentialist sex education whereas comprehensive sex education bridges the gap between the essentialist and social constructivist schools of thought.

Cocks (2006) asserts that

If culture remains a costume resting lightly or tightly on a natural body, we can attack or praise particular sexual regimes for the supposed congruence with or alienation from some imagined natural drives, but we cannot perceive the fully historical and culturally specific character or the process by which people come to have sexuality even as they are constituted socially in other ways. (p. 96)

I assert and will show in this historiography that the sexual self is an intersection of person both ontologically and biologically, culture, technology, and environment and that this is the reality that sex educators and theorists have been struggling with both formally and informally. The

curriculum theory of sex education did not arrive here by happenstance but has undergone a great deal of change and upheaval alongside society. This historiography traces the intellectual shifts in sex education starting after Reconstruction in the 1880's through the First World War with the social hygiene movement through the Eugenics period of the interwar years through the upheavals of the 1950's, 1960's and 1970's with life adjustment education and value neutral sex education through the birth of safe sex with the HIV/AIDS crisis and concludes with rise of comprehensive sex education and abstinence only education in the 1990's and early 2000's. I have utilized the research of and situate this historiography in the same discourse as Irvine (2002), Carlson (2012), Melody and Peterson (1999), D'Emilio and Freedman (1988), Scales (1981), Carter (2001), Cocks (2006), Lord (2010), and Carrera (1971) to illustrate how sex education is entangled with the prevailing prejudices and sentiments of society and goes through periods of acceptance and rejection that contradict popular assumptions about the past.

Social Hygiene Movement

The popular conceptualization of sex education as a recent phenomenon is erroneous. The roots of modern sex education, both of the essentialist and social constructivist discourses and their offshoots and bridges, run deep and extend into the earliest days of the United States. It is incumbent to assert that sex education refers to a formal curriculum rather than a social curriculum. In the case of the latter, sex education as a social curriculum is present in every human society currently and in antiquity. Issues of sexual morality, orthodoxy, and orthopraxy were the simultaneous prelude of the home, the religious institutions, and the broader community. The formation of formal curriculum has been the result of the combined efforts of social constructivists and essentialists curriculum theorists. The social hygiene movement was a response to rapid urbanization, widespread prostitution, increasing rates of sexually transmitted

diseases (Luker, 1998). With this urbanization, there was a marked increase in sexually transmitted diseases. This also coincided with the expansion of medical knowledge.

The social hygiene movement also coincided with the creation of a new stage in human development: the adolescent. Moran (2000) writes “at the dawn of the twentieth century, a sixty year old man invented adolescence (p 1).” That man was G. Stanley Hall. About the intersection of adolescence and sex, Hall (1911) wrote

The dawn of adolescence is marked by a special consciousness of sex. Young people are psychologically in the condition of Adam and Eve when they first knew they were naked. There is a special kind of sex shame hitherto unknown. (p.97)

Hall’s conceptualization of adolescence has informed sex education for over a century now. Across all discourses and praxis, Adolescents become sexually aware but they have no conceptualization of what sex is, which makes them susceptible to disease and necessitated education.

The concept that individuals and institutions have not been engaging in critical analysis of human sexuality in order to promote the public health of the general population due to the conservatism of late Victorian and early industrial period is false. Sex was as omnipresent then as it is now. In the world before the mass availability of antibiotics, venereal disease was a common fact of life with syphilis being the most feared. Carter (2001) asserts that

At least since the Enlightenment, sex education has been a part of the process by which children are guided into adulthood; think, for instance, of the elaborate care with which Rousseau formed Emile’s developing passions. But it is only in the past hundred years that mandatory state-sponsored schooling and steadily increasing enrollments of students past the age of puberty have created the possibility for sexual pedagogy on a mass level. (p. 213)

Public schools would provide the vehicle by which this pedagogy would be disseminated on a mass level.

The early impetus for sex education, which would extend through the Eugenics period, was rooted in racial concerns: namely, that Anglo-Saxon birth rates were dropping while immigrant birthrates were increasing (Carter, 2001). So the Social Hygienist discourse's goals were 2 fold; promote the general health of the country through the reduction of the spread of venereal disease and to increase White Anglo Saxon Protestant birthrates in order to maintain social dominance. Running parallel to the social hygiene movement was the purity movement, which sought to promote White Anglo Saxon Protestant middle and upper class social mores especially chastity in regard to sexuality among the lower classes and immigrant populations (D'Emilio & Freedman, 1997).

Carrera (1971) asserts that the formalized conceptualization of sex education first emerges after reconstruction in the 1880's with the chastity oriented efforts of the YMCA, the YWCA, the Child Study Association, and the American Purity Alliance. The scope of the purity movement was a broad social movement which had a much larger counterpart in the United Kingdom and was aimed at reforming sex laws and promoting the general health and morality of the United States. All these groups would become parts of the larger social hygiene movement.

D'Emilio and Freedman (1997) point out that one of the earliest sex education programs was the American branch of the White Cross Crusade which aimed to teach men how to resist sexual temptation. The YMCA would follow this same approach. All of these programs were connected to the purity movement whose primary goal was to raise the statutory age in the United States; an effort which was largely successful and a manifestation of the belief that would later be coined as "boys will be boys" which in this case was the assumption that men would seduce young women and turn them into prostitutes.

It is out of the social hygiene movement and the early feminist movement that the first calls for sex education arise. D'Emilio and Friedman (1997) write

Both women and children needed moral education, Lucinda Chandler argued. For children, special education "to fit them for parenthood" would advance social purity, while women needed to be education to know that they had the right to control their own person. (p. 192)

Chandler would be considered a feminist theorist by today's standards; her critique is relevant for curriculum theorists of sex education today.

As a matter of social curricula, the values being taught were upper class conceptions of sex which was, construed as an expression of love between a married heterosexual couples, which stood in contrast with the popular stereotype of the promiscuous working class men who cheated on their wives with disease ridden prostitutes; this was, of course, hyperbole but consistent with interclass relations in the early industrial period. Men were cast as natural sexual aggressors and women were cast as naive and able to be corrupted; a binary which as survived with us to the present time. It should be pointed out; however, that all curricula dealing with sex were subject to restrictions placed upon them by obscenity laws, formally known as *the Comstock Act of 1873* (D'Emilio & Freedman, 1997) which banned the circulation of contraceptive information and devices through the mail service.

Attempts to discuss frankly and to educate people on matters of Human sexuality are not new and the 1889 work *Sexual health. A companion to "Modern domestic medicine" A plain and practical guide for the people in all matters concerning the organs of reproduction in both sexes and all ages*, by Doctor Henry Hanchett provides a telling look into American sex education curriculum before the turn of the 20th century. The preface states,

In conclusion, the author has no apology to make for the plain and outspoken manner in which he has treated the delicate subjects considered in the following pages. He is fully convinced that much of our disease, as well as of the vice in which it originates, is due to

the prevailing ignorance on sexual matters; that much of this ignorance, on the part of the young persons at least, is due to a shameful neglect of duty on the part of the parents, growing out of false ideals of delicacy, the willful blindness which nurses the flattering delusion that my child is safe; he is above such thoughts or acts or in some cases, perhaps, out of the ignorance of the parents themselves as to what is going on in the world and in the bodies of their children, and what they ought to teach. Advising parents to instruct their children on sexual matters is of very little use unless accompanied with information as to what instruction should be given. (Hanchett, 1889, p.4)

Despite a significant amount of the information in this book being, by modern standards, factually incorrect it still reveals that even in time periods as encumbered by very religious constraints of what was appropriate to discuss, critical engagement was occurring. Reflecting the positivism of the rapidly emerging field of medicine after the Civil War, Dr. Hanchett identifies ignorance as being a chief cause of the transmission of sexually transmitted diseases. This of discourse is applied throughout the history of sex education in the United State to this very day and captures the crux of the issue facing modern sex education; ignorance is deadly.

Dr. Hanchett first provides a list of medicines with the corresponding measurements for the reader to purchase which was consistent with the standard of treatment in diagnostic medicine before *the Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906*. The first chapter of the book examines the sexual health on the male and is not dissimilar from modern books on sexual education or what is found in biology books on human reproduction. What follows is a description of the function of the penis followed by a discussion on general wellbeing. The author points out that most sexual education does not occur from parents but rather from peers. Hanchett (1896) writes “but playmates are apt to be the principal teachers of the young boy, and they often teach what would better be unlearned” (p. 13). In regard to curriculum, he advises that boys should not be taught a significant amount about sexuality before the age of maturity but should be taught that masturbation is unhealthy.

The chapter concludes with a discussion of sexually transmitted diseases. One interesting passage in the chapter on males states

It is a very prevalent opinion that sexual desires indicate the necessity of sexual indulgence. It may safely be asserted that this opinion is an error. Sexual desires are among the strongest influences known to human nature... But their strength simply indicates the importance put by nature upon the preservation of the species, they assure permanent vitality to the institution of marriage and make it certain that men, as a class, will always provide themselves with wives-or worse. (Hanchett, 1896, p. 14)

This passage is a simultaneous rejection and endorsement of the idea that “boys will be boys”.

This work is both very progressive for its time period but very problematic by our own standards of hegemony.

In 1912, the National Education Association passed its first resolution relating to the training of sex educators which was expanded in 1914. It stated “The Association, therefore, recommends that institutions preparing teachers give attention to the subjects as would qualify for instruction in the general field of morals as well as in particular the field of sex hygiene” (Carrera, 1971, p. 99). Sex education would mostly be conceptualized as a matter of hygiene and public health, which was effective in avoiding obscenity laws as medicine was exempt from these laws. Dr. Prince Morrow and his organization, the American Society for Sanitary and Moral Prophylaxis, were among the earliest curriculum theorists of sex education that was geared to reducing the rates of venereal disease.

Moran (2000) asserts that “Morrow himself had begun a crusade against disease and sexual immorality in 1904- the same year in which G. Stanley Hall published *Adolescence*- with the publication of his own landmark study, *Social Disease and Marriage*” (p. 25). Morrow’s aims were clear and plainly stated. Morrow (1904) wrote in the introduction of his landmark study

it (the study of social diseases) is especially in the legitimate union between the sexes that the prophylaxis of these diseases become a social and sanitary duty of the highest interest and importance Their introduction into marriage involves consequences which affect the health of the contracting parties, the lives of their children, and the peace, honor, and happiness of the family. (p. iii)

Morrow is the source of another long standing principle common in sex education after it, especially later religious movements. Sexual immorality poses a threat not only to the family but to the society as a whole.

It would be Dr. Morrow's followers that would direct sex education towards ordinary teachers. *Sex-education: A Series of Lectures Concerning Knowledge of Sex in Its Relation to Human Life* by Maurice Alpheus Bigelow of Teachers College at Columbia University, which is dedicated to the Memory of Dr. Prince Marrow who died in 1913, states plainly that schools cannot accomplish the goals of sex education alone. He writes

It is well to make clear in this first lecture that no one proposes to limit sex-instruction to schools and colleges. We may safely leave mathematics and writing and even reading to schools, but sex education will fail unless the schools can get the cooperation of the homes, the churches, the Y.M.C.A., the Y.W.C.A., the W.T.C.U., the Boy Scouts, the Camp Fire Girls, and other organizations which aim to reach young people socially, religiously, and ethically. (Bigelow, 1916, p. 20)

It would not be until Benjamin Gruenberg's 1922 edited *Manual for Sex Education in High School* that k-12 schools would have a formal curriculum..

The social hygiene movement would reach its apex during the First World War with the US military openly disseminating information of STD's to soldiers stationed in Europe and in American cities such as Chicago and New Orleans and would achieve their greatest political victory with the closing of the Storyville vice district in New Orleans in 1917. Lord (2010) writes, "Government officials, as well as private citizens such as Prince Morrow who had long called for a nationwide sex education program, now seized the opportunity to transform these wartime programs into what would later become a comprehensive and more prolonged war on

sexual ignorance” (p. 32). Sex education was revealed to be a powerful force in the American curricular and pop culture landscape and as such, was not without its dangers. The social hygienists created the classic pedagogical method used in sex education of showing effects of disease through the use of, what was a new technology at the time, pictures with images of syphilitic babies in Irving Steinhardt’s *Ten Sex Talks to Girls* which was published in 1913 (Carter, 2001, p, 231). This period would also see the first production of sex educational films.

The social mores of the day put curriculum theorists of sex education in a difficult position where knowledge of sex was deemed as dangerous as a venereal disease among certain religious groups. Carter (2001) writes,

Caught between the desire to shape sexual activity and the fear of stimulating it, between the wish to enforce some forms of sexuality and the dread of accidentally fostering others, sex education occupied and uncomfortably ambivalent epistemological field. Early twentieth century sex educators responded to that ambivalence by trying to codify and control the production and dissemination of knowledge. (p. 217)

The social hygienists were forced to walk the same metaphorical line that all sex educators must walk; the fine line between eliminating the public health and social upheavals that come with ignorance of sexuality and respecting parent’s desires about when to introduce their children into very adult subject matters.

In the end, the social hygiene and purity movements merged with the Progressive movement. As concerns about immigrant populations and degeneracy gave way to concerns about genetic defect and scientific racism, sex education would emerge as one of the primary sites of the next major discourse in sex education; Eugenics.

The Eugenics Movement

The concept that would later be called Eugenics begins with the work of Gregor Mendel on the heredity of plants and Charles Darwin on evolution. To put Eugenics in the proper

context, by 1900 only 4 states in all of Asia, Africa, and Oceania were not under White control. This clear political, economic, and military domination influenced concepts of racial superiority which would in turn influence and contort scientific research. It was only a short logical jump to apply the same concepts used in the exploration of the natural world and apply them to humanity; social Darwinism was the intellectual bridge between evolution and the great power politics of the day (citation). The often misattributed quotes “survival of the fittest” was not first coined by Darwin but it was rather Herbert Spencer who would introduce the concept to the masses. He wrote in his 1864 *The Principles of Biology*

But this survival of the fittest, implies multiplication of the fittest. Out of the fittest thus multiplied, there will, as before, be an overthrowing of the moving equilibrium wherever it presents the least opposing force to the new incident force. By the continual destruction of the individuals that are least capable of maintaining their equilibria in the presence of this new incident force, there must eventually be arrived at an altered type completely in equilibrium with the altered conditions. (Spencer, 1896, p. 444)

The impetus for Eugenics would be to perfect the race in service of the survival of the fittest, which meant sexually. Race, in this context, meant those who were white, mentally competent, and able-bodied.

The term Eugenics itself was coined by Francis Galton (1883). He writes in *Inquires into Human Faculty and its development*

The most merciful form of what I ventured to call Eugenics would consist of watching for indications of superior strains or races, and in so favouring them that their progeny shall outnumber and gradually replace that of the old one. (p. 367)

Eugenics would clearly be applied to those who potentially carried genetic disorders, physical handicaps, or mental handicaps and would be extended to the high social concept of the age of imperialism; race. Eugenics marked the transition of racism into scientific racism

In the United States, the first prominent academic to popularize Eugenics was Biologist Charles Benedict Davenport. His landmark 1911 *Heredity in relations to Eugenics* would be

required reading in many universities and medical schools around the world. The book itself is a medical book which explores the complexity of the Eugenics discourse. In this view, the purpose of sex is to produce children rather than pleasure and that this conceptualization should be taught and normalized. Eugenacists like Davenport advocated for a curriculum that normalized the Eugenics so much that generic records would be kept and be accessible to anyone seeking to have children. Davenport (1911) writes,

The general program of the eugenicists is clear- it is to improve the race by inducing young people to make a more reasonable selection of marriage mates; to fall in love intelligently. It also includes the control by the state of the propagation of the mentally incompetent. (p. 4)

The social and formal curriculum would not deviate far from Spencer's "survival of the fittest"; of course, who was fit was a matter of race, class, and sexual orientation. The Eugenics movement would provide scientific clout to anti-immigration and racist policies, including sterilization. Birth control was controversial even within Eugenics as some supporters believed that it would most likely be used primarily among the educated classes rather than the poor and less desirable (i.e. minorities) to whom such programs were primarily geared towards while early feminists wanted birth control as a means to control their bodies (Lord, 2010), This is where Margaret Sanger enters as one of the more prominent curriculum theorists of sex education.

Eugenics would become a major pillar of the Progressive movement and the first wave Feminist movement before the Great Depression. Cocks (2006) asserts that for the Eugenics movement the real problem was not extra marital sex but the birth of inferior children. The language of inferiority was ripe with racism, xenophobia, and classicism. Margaret Sanger would emerge as one the most prominent and enduring proponents of access to sex education and birth control. Cocks (2006) writes about Sanger,

Margaret Sanger's evolution from sex radical to popular prophet of medically managed, eugenic sexual liberalism after the First World War epitomizes a shift that cannot easily be characterized as wholly oppressive or wholly liberating. The questions for whom and under what circumstances loom large. (p. 104)

Whether Sanger was a racist or not is a matter of heated historical debate but what is clear is that Eugenics had an explicit racist element to it. Racism turned into scientific racism within the Eugenics movement with such prominent figures as Madison Grant in his 1916 *Passing of the Great Race* leading the way. He wrote,

Whether we like to admit it or not, the result of the mixture of two races, in the long run gives as a race reverting to a more ancient, generalize lower type. The cross between white man and Indian is an Indian; the cross between a white man and a Negro is a Negro; the cross between a white man and a Hindu is a Hindu; and the cross between any of the three European races and a Jew is a Jew. (p. 16)

Eugenics would be used, as illustrated in Ann Winfield's (2007) landmark work *Eugenics and Education in American*, as a justification of the forced sterilization of many Black, Hispanic, Native American, and European immigrant women as well as anti-miscegenation laws in the United States through the use of IQ tests and the Supreme Court *Buck vs Bell* decision which allowed for the sterilization of those deemed unfit to reproduce on grounds of mental retardation. By 1935, 27 states had sterilization laws for the mentally handicapped, those with genetic defects, and those on welfare; by 1941, between 70,000 and 100,000 Americans had been forcefully sterilized (Washington, 2008, p. 203). It was only a matter of time before "unfit" became synonymous with "non-white" in policy.

Black, Hispanic, and Native American women would be specifically targeted for sterilization in many states. Davis (1983) writes

Within the American Birth Control league, the call for birth control among Black people acquired the same racist edge as the call for compulsory sterilization. In 1939 its successor, the Birth Control Federation of America, planned a Negro project. In the federations own words –the mass of negroes, particularly in the south, still breed carelessly and disastrously, with the result that the increase among Negroes, even more

than among whites, is from that proportion of the population least fit, and least able to rear children properly. (p. 221-223)

There is no definitive statistic that can affirm how many black women would be sterilized by local municipalities although a 1973 law suit filed by the Southern Poverty Law Center estimated the number to be between 100,000 and 150,000 at that time (Washington, 2008, p. 204). It is a document that noted civil rights leader Fannie Lou Hamer was one of the countless African American women who endured. Washington (2008) writes “In the south, rendering black women infertile without their knowledge during other surgery was so common that the procedure was called a Mississippi appendectomy” (p. 204).

With regard to Puerto Rican women Davis (1983) writes “the astonishing number of Puerto Rican women who have been sterilized reflects a special government policy that can be traced back to 1939” (p. 226-228). Davis asserts that the Roosevelt administration had deemed that root of Puerto Rico’s economic instability was its over population and a sterilization campaign was initiated to bring the birth rate on par with the death rate. The Catholic Church would oppose this vocally but by 1970 35 percent of Puerto Rican women of childbearing age had been sterilized (Davis, 1983, p. 225-228).

Native American women would be subject to sterilization programs well into the 1970s. Davis (1983) writes

Given the historical genocide inflicted on the native population of the United States, one would assume that the Native Americans would be exempted from the government’s sterilization campaign. But according to Dr. Connie Uri’s testimony in a Senate committee hearing, by 1976 some 24 percent of all Indian women of childbearing age had been sterilized. (p. 226)

The lasting impact of the racism inherent to Eugenics informs current conversations about access to abortion and contraception and government lead sex education as well.

Many of Sanger's arguments still echo today in current discourse about what effective birth control is and it can be argued that she is one of the intellectual forerunners of comprehensive sex education. The organization that she founded, Planned Parenthood, has spearheaded and provided sex education and services to many diverse communities throughout the rise and fall in popularity cycles that typify the public acceptance of sex education. It cannot also be denied that she was an avowed eugenicist. She writes in *The Pivot of Civilization* that

The emergency problem of segregation and sterilization must be faced immediately. Every feeble-minded girl or woman of the hereditary type, especially of the moron class, should be segregated during their reproductive period. Otherwise, she is almost certain to bear imbecilic children, who in turn are just as certain to breed other defectives. (Sanger, 1922, p. 101)

This would become state policy with the 1927 Supreme Court ruling in *Buck vs Bell*. Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes wrote:

It is better for all the world, if instead of waiting to execute degenerate offspring for crime, or to let them starve for their imbecility, society can prevent those who are manifestly unfit from continuing their kind. The principle that sustains compulsory vaccination is broad enough to cover cutting the Fallopian tubes. (*Buck vs Bell*, 1927)

Benjamin Gruenberg's 1922 edited *Manual for Sex Education in High School* stated that k-12 schools would have a formal curriculum in the United States which was approved by the United States government. The high school was selected as the proper site for formalized sex education because "the interests of the adolescent are such to make him particularly susceptible to every suggestion, every bit of information, every bit of guidance on sex (Gruenberg, 1922, p.3)." From a position of the hidden curriculum of the day, the logic of the manual was that adolescents wanted to know about sex in a society that wasn't comfortable speaking about it, so the school would provide that service and become the default arbiter of what is proper and normal.

The manual is thorough in its approach for the study sex education and is the precursor to how modern sex education texts are laid out today. The curriculum presented in the manual is the comprehensive sex education of its day and is a blend of the essentialist and constructivist world views of an earlier time. Among the topics covered in the manual is the general science course, which was required for all freshmen in high school. The manual states that “one or two periods towards the end are given to Eugenics, the cost of delinquent and defective children to the community, and the importance of conserving the superior human traits through inheritance” (Gruenberg, 1922 p. 38). The Eugenics movement would lose prominence in the 1930’s before being discarded as a field of study in the 1940’s due primarily to the resistance of the Catholic Church which opposed the sterilization measures that many eugenicists advocated, the criticism of members of the academy, and by the adoption and implementation of many of the Eugenics policies developed in the United States by the Nazi party in Germany. Following the end of the Second World War, sex education would be reconceptualized by the influence of the discursive research of Alfred Kinsey and the development of oral contraceptives.

The Religious Response

The most vociferous resistance to the Eugenics movement came from the Churches. Margaret Sanger constantly clashed with various religious leaders. Tobin (2001) describes one such incident,

As birth control activist Margaret Sanger was about to speak on the topic of “Birth Control: is it Moral?” to a crowd gathered at New York City’s town hall on November 13, 1921, she was arrested. Within days she pointed to Archbishop Patrick Hayes as the man behind the police action and intensified her condemnation of the Catholic Church’s opposition to the birth control movement. (p. 1)

If this was indeed true, it shows that in the Churches, the birth control movement and the Eugenics movement had a powerful enemy which acted as an impeding force upon the respective

movements. It is important to note that contraception and birth control had long been condemned by the various Christian denominations (Tobin, 2001). But the debate in the twentieth century was different. Tobin (2001) writes

In fact, that question had been examined and re-examined by religious figures and moralists for millennia. What made the twentieth century birth control debate unique were religious questions regarding society and the human race and the value American culture placed on science and engineering to improve the human condition. (p. 2)

This debate has endured into its current form and produced the well-known binary between religious sex education and secular sex education.

Davis asserts (2005) that

Social reform movements generally evolve or devolve, according to one's point of view-into organizations. The first United States birth control organization was founded in 1921 by Margaret Sanger. Called the American Birth Control league (ABCL), it was immediately challenged by religious opponents who sought to silence it. The conflict between birth control proponents and the Roman Catholic hierarchy was to go on over the next four decades. Consciousness, and ultimately acceptance, of birth control entered American society largely as a byproduct of this long battle. (p. 31)

This battle was over much more than access to contraception and sex education praxis. It was an intersectional debate that was shaped by matters of race, class, theology, and science.

Religion was not detached from the racial science of the Eugenics period which gave the Catholic response a distinction absent from other Protestant groups. Tobin (2001) writes

The Nordics and Anglos of Northern Europe were notably Protestant, while the Alpines of central and Eastern Europe, and the Mediterraneans of southern Europe were notably Catholic and often Jewish. The dividing lines between superior and inferior races would also serve as a dividing line between Protestant and non-Protestant. (p. 14)

In addition to its European composition, Roman Catholicism flourished in Latin America, the Caribbean, and the Philippines; all which had large mixed race populations.

Catholic opposition to Eugenics formed after the issuing of *Rerum Novarum* in 1891. The policies of Eugenics ran contrary to Catholic social teaching but some Eugenic principles were acceptable to Catholics. Tobin asserts that Catholics were often derided by Social Darwinists because they gave aid to the poor (Tobin, 2001, p. 62). The bulk of Eugenics was denounced by Catholics. John Lapp wrote in the Catholic Charities Review in 1929 “Is a person who is sick from overwork or contagion unfit to survive? Is that man whose morale has been broken by fruitless searches for work or for a living wage unfit for survival? Is he who has been crippled by an accident unfit? Is the individual who loses everything in the failure of a ban or business or a corporation thereby unfit to survive?” (Tobin, 2001, p. 62) Sterilization would be the measure around which Catholic opposition would begin to solidify.

It is imperative to note that Catholic opposition to Eugenics broadly and birth control specifically coalesced at a time when birth control had a very classist and racist connotation. Tobin (2005) writes “whereas old Protestant stock objected to contraception among their own kind, they could accept Eugenics as a means to limit not only the number of weak specimens among the race but the size of the entire lower class. On the other hand, Catholics opposed contraceptive use among any group” (p. 70). Not all Protestant groups supported Eugenics or birth control; notably Lutherans opposed it in the same manner that the Catholic Church did (Tobin, p.70). It would not be until 1921 that the Catholic Church, after the arrest of Margaret Sanger, would enter the public consciousness as the great opposition of birth control; a sentiment still in the popular discourse today. Around Sanger’s emergence, official church doctrines would be issued.

The Anglican Church would affirm its position at the 1920 Lambeth Conference affirmed on birth control in its 68th resolution:

The Conference, while declining to lay down rules which will meet the needs of every abnormal case, regard with grave concern the spread in modern society of theories and practices hostile to the family. We utter an emphatic warning against the use of unnatural means for the avoidance of conception, together with the grave dangers - physical, moral and religious - thereby incurred, and against the evils with which the extension of such use threatens the race. In opposition to the teaching which, under the name of science and religion, encourages married people in the deliberate cultivation of sexual union as an end in itself, we steadfastly uphold what must always be regarded as the governing considerations of Christian marriage. One is the primary purpose for which marriage exists, namely the continuation of the race through the gift and heritage of children; the other is the paramount importance in married life of deliberate and thoughtful self-control. We desire solemnly to commend what we have said to Christian people and to all who will hear. (68th Resolution, Lambeth Conference, 1920)

The Lambeth conference also affirmed its support of political pressure to ban contraception, which it categorized with other mediums that promoted vice and disease, in its 70th resolution:

The Conference urges the importance of enlisting the help of all high-principled men and women, whatever be their religious beliefs, in co-operation with or, if necessary, in bringing pressure to bear upon, authorities both national and local, for removing such incentives to vice as indecent literature, suggestive plays and films, the open or secret sale of contraceptives, and the continued existence of brothels. (70th Resolution, Lambeth Conference, 1920)

With regard to sexual education, the Lambeth conference placed impetus on parents and religious figures rather than Eugenics biased instructors in its 71st resolution:

With regard to the education of the young in matters of sex, the Conference presses upon parents that the duty of giving right teaching on these subjects rests primarily with them, and that it is the duty of all persons giving such instruction to prepare themselves for this responsible task. Boys and girls should be guarded against the danger of acquiring knowledge of sexual subjects from wrong persons and in wrong ways. (71st Resolution, Lambeth Conference, 1920)

The Catholic Church would issue its official position in *Casti Connubii*, issued by Pope Pius IX in 1930. The encyclical overtly condemns Eugenics and sterilization. Pope Pius IX wrote:

68. Finally, that pernicious practice must be condemned which closely touches upon the natural right of man to enter matrimony but affects also in a real way the welfare of the offspring. For there are some who over solicitous for the cause of Eugenics, not only give salutary counsel for more certainly procuring the strength and health of the future child -

which, indeed, is not contrary to right reason - but put Eugenics before aims of a higher order, and by public authority wish to prevent from marrying all those whom, even though naturally fit for marriage, they consider, according to the norms and conjectures of their investigations, would, through hereditary transmission, bring forth defective offspring. And more, they wish to legislate to deprive these of that natural faculty by medical action despite their unwillingness; and this they do not propose as an infliction of grave punishment under the authority of the state for a crime committed, not to prevent future crimes by guilty persons, but against every right and good they wish the civil authority to arrogate to itself a power over a faculty which it never had and can never legitimately possess.

69. Those who act in this way are at fault in losing sight of the fact that the family is more sacred than the State and that men are begotten not for the earth and for time, but for Heaven and eternity. Although often these individuals are to be dissuaded from entering into matrimony, certainly it is wrong to brand men with the stigma of crime because they contract marriage, on the ground that, despite the fact that they are in every respect capable of matrimony, they will give birth only to defective children, even though they use all care and diligence.

70. Public magistrates have no direct power over the bodies of their subjects; therefore, where no crime has taken place and there is no cause present for grave punishment, they can never directly harm, or tamper with the integrity of the body, either for the reasons of Eugenics or for any other reason. St. Thomas teaches this when inquiring whether human judges for the sake of preventing future evils can inflict punishment, he admits that the power indeed exists as regard certain other forms of evil, but justly and properly denies it as regard the maiming of the body. "No one who is guiltless may be punished by a human tribunal either by flogging to death, or mutilation, or by beating. (Para 68, 69, 70, *Casti Connubii*)

This religious unity would not hold; however. The 1930 Lambeth conference would mark the start of a religious shift towards contraception. The 15th Resolution of the conference marks the first time a major religious denomination approved of contraception in any form. The resolution states.

Where there is clearly felt moral obligation to limit or avoid parenthood, the method must be decided on Christian principles. The primary and obvious method is complete abstinence from intercourse (as far as may be necessary) in a life of discipline and self-control lived in the power of the Holy Spirit. Nevertheless in those cases where there is such a clearly felt moral obligation to limit or avoid parenthood, and where there is a morally sound reason for avoiding complete abstinence, the Conference agrees that other methods may be used, provided that this is done in the light of the same Christian principles. The Conference records its strong condemnation of the use of any methods of

conception control from motives of selfishness, luxury, or mere convenience (15th *Resolution*, Lambeth Conference, 1930)

This trend would spread, much to the Roman Catholic Church's dismay. Davis (2005) writes, "The step was taken by the Committee on Marriage and the Home of the Federal Council of Church of Christ in America, the large ecumenical organization of mainline Protestantism that was later to become the Nation Council of Churches" (p. 42). The Federal Council based their support of economic and medical grounds (Davis 2005, p. 42). In 1930, the Methodist church openly supported contraception followed by the Presbyterians in 1931, and the Lutherans in 1956 (Davis 2005, p. 42-43). The reasons for this are obscure, but it can be asserted that this was an expression of Eugenics upon the general population and the Roman Catholic population were most likely to be poor, ethnic or nonwhite, and therefore subject to sterilization by the state.

Post World War 2: Kinsey, the pill, and Rowe vs Wade

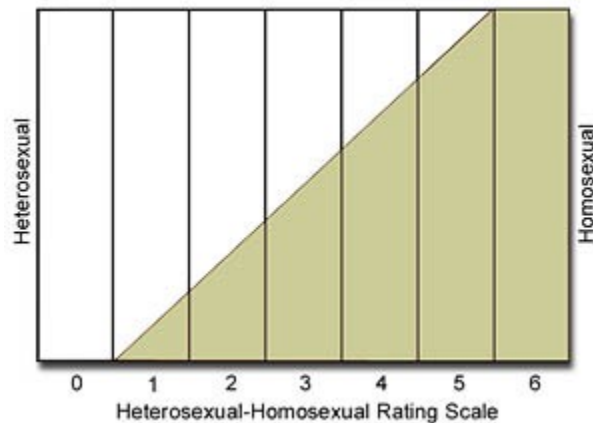
After the Second World War, the focus of sex education shifted from the "greater good" mentality that typified Eugenics to a focus on adolescence as a concept and a social category. This is in large part due to the baby boom that followed the GI's return to the United States. With the largest demographic in the United States being made up of children rapidly approaching puberty, sex educators focused their efforts on guiding them through the transition from adolescence to adulthood; a transition many of the World War II generation underwent on battle fields, in wartime factories, or during the Great Depression. Carlson asserts (2012) that this emphasis on sex education is in large part due to the youth culture of the 1950's with its emphasis on rebellion and less sexually repressed popular culture understanding. This was also the beginning of a dramatic upheaval in the United States that reached its apex in the 1960's counter culture and Civil Rights movement. In regard to the conceptualization of sex and sexual

education, the upheaval begins with Alfred Kinsey, reaches a pop cultural tipping point with the mass availability of oral contraceptives for women, and reaches its political consciousness with the legalization of abortion. After World War II, the very concept of normal was under fire.

Lord (2010) writes that Kinsey “upped the ante by providing graphic evidence that Americans sexual behavior did not reflect the principles most people endorsed” (p. 84). What is collectively known as the Kinsey reports consists of the land mark studies *The Sexual Habits of the Human Male* published in 1948 and *the Sexual Habits of the Human Female* published in 1953. These studies, which are empirical in nature and caused Americans of all social levels to conceptualize what they deemed normal in regard to sexuality as Kinsey and his work became a part of American popular culture. These works are so important because they managed to quantify the sexual habits of people. Rather than assert what was normal or abnormal, as the public hygienists and eugenicists did, Kinsey simply catalogued what was actually occurring; which was following in the footsteps of earlier theorists such as Morrow.

The most famous and controversial metric and finding in both of the reports is what has been dubbed the Kinsey scale which measures homosexuality and heterosexuality. The recreated scale is:

Table 3: Kinsey Heterosexual-Homosexual rating scale



- 1- Exclusively heterosexual with no homosexual
- 2- Predominantly heterosexual, only incidentally homosexual
- 3- Predominantly heterosexual, but more than incidentally homosexual
- 3- Equally heterosexual and homosexual
- 4- Predominantly homosexual, but more than incidentally heterosexual
- 5- Predominantly homosexual, only incidentally heterosexual
- 6- Exclusively homosexual (retrieved from the Kinsey Institute webpage)

In regard to men, Kinsey found that 37% of men had at least 1 homosexual experience and around 10% of the total male population scored on 5 or 6. With regard to women, 13% of women had at least 1 homosexual experience and between 2% and 6% of the total female population scored on a 5 or 6 (all statistics courtesy of the Kinsey Institute webpage). Kinsey did assert that these findings were not absolute due to the secretive nature of homosexuality at the time. Carlson (2012) asserts out that noted cultural anthropologist Clyde Kluckhohn praised the 1953 study but pointed out that because of its sampling it should be called “some aspects of sexual behavior in American Females (primarily educated, protestant, regionally localized,

adolescent through middle aged) “ (p.7). Despite its sampling short comings, Kinsey had taken on a very dangerous task that would haunt him and continues to haunt sex education in the post Eugenics era; hegemonic sexuality which is Christian in morality, white in ethnicity, procreative in purpose, male dominated in gender dynamic, and heterosexual in orientation. Sex education would become a public and political matter. Representative Louis Heller of Brooklyn would introduce a resolution seeking to ban Kinsey’s study on female sexuality. It should be noted that his earlier study on males received no such congressional attention.

After the Kinsey reports, sex education in the United States would undergo a massive upheaval to what Carlson (2012) calls “life adjustment education” (p. 10). This was not in response to Kinsey, although his findings were popular culture when the first life adjustment curricula was made available. Rather, life adjustment education was a response to the new conceptualization of adolescence and a critique of the facts only approaches.

Kirkdendall emerges after Eugenics as one of the most influential sex education practitioners. He would later help found the Sexuality Information and Education Council of the United States with Dr. Mary Calderone; both are early essentialists. As early as 1947, Kirkendall was calling for sex education to begin in early childhood years and that it should continue as a child moved through school. For Kirkendall, sexuality was a normal and healthy party of life and should continue as people develop through adolescence as it is a manifestation of their adjustment. Kirkendall marks a beginning of a bifurcation in sex education curriculum between what is today called the essentialist, health based instruction of sex education and the socially aware and attuned, therapy based social constructivism. However, Kirkendall was a product of his day so despite the shift away from the essentialist view, his proper notions of what should be taught are hegemonic unto themselves. Lord (2010) writes “But even as he preached a new

openness about sex education, Kirkendall's approach remained, at heart, deeply conservative" (p. 72).

In 1954, the Child Study Association published *What to tell you children about sex*. The aim of the book was to serve as a guide to help children develop into healthy normal adults. Where the purpose of sex education with the social hygienists was the public health and the purpose of sex education with the eugenicists was the improvement of the race, the purpose of sex education for the life adjustment theorists was to create healthy normal adults who would choose to marry. Despite its refusal to be reduced to the purely biological, this curriculum discourse promoted its own hegemony, leaving issues of race untouched and homosexuality relegated as a mental disorder.

Irvine (2002) writes "Public school sex education in the early sixties was, as historian Jeff Moran puts it, virtually moribund (p. 18)." Carrying over from the 50's, the emphasis sex educators put on the proper transition from being an adolescent to being an adult had stymied sex education. In 1960, the FDA approved the birth control pill which forever changed the nature of sex and sexual education in the United States. Birth control had long been the domain of the apothecary and home remedies but with the advent of "the pill" women had by virtue of medical science and empirical fact, a means of controlling when they reproduced. By the end of the decade, even the long standing prohibition on interracial marriage was thrown out by the Supreme Court with *Loving vs Virginia*. The sexual landscape had changed in a fundamental way in the US and sex educators were struggling to keep up with a curriculum that balanced the new realities versus the old fears of knowledge dissemination.

The 1960's saw the rise of what Carlson (2012) calls "value neutral" sex education; he writes "the facts of the new sex-education movement had to do with birth control, abortion,

STDs, and homosexuality. And they were to be ascertained through value-free scientific research involving quantitative analysis of data, not through interpretive and normative psychoanalytic method” (p. 21). Social Hygienists and Eugenics sex education was never value free. The advent of a value free sex education completed the bifurcation between the essentialists and the social constructivists began by Kirkendall. The shift away from explicit values in the curriculum was a social statement unto itself and a bold assertion; sex is a fact of life and how one conceptualizes these things doesn't matter. What only matters is what actually exists. It was also an expression of the counter culture values that spoke against life adjustment education.

The value free discourse are intellectual descendants of Kinsey and forms the intellectual core of the essentialist discourse. SIECUS would emerge from this discourse. Calderone would reframe sex education into a question about who the school serves- the students or the parents- with her clearly siding with the students as the backbone of her efforts to introduce a sex education that was robust factually and complex. SIECUS would later convince Kirkendall, the founder of life adjustment education, to support their discourse which reveals something that is important to note; most sex education curriculum theorists are not sole advocates of one discourse or the other but rather they blend them. SIECUS did not dismiss life adjustment education outright but rather emphasized the need for factual content free of the judgment ascribed to labels like normal and abnormal and Kirkendall's endorsement serves as an example of how many life adjustment educators agreed.

SIECUS would ultimately win this battle but it was not without its limitation. Irvine asserts that “Had SIECUS been founded in the nineteenth century, it would have been revolutionary. As it was, its birth in 1964 was simply another dimension of the sexual liberalism of the times” (Irvine, 2002, p.22). SIECUS was an extension of the zeitgeist of the broader

culture. Lord (2010) asserts that SIECUS and Planned Parenthood thrived in the odd public-private mosaic that made up the health care sector and that as private entities they did not have to contend with appeasing the public like the government did. What made SIECUS stand out among curriculum theorists of sex education was that they discussed sex as a means of pleasure. Aside from that they were a, as Irvine points out, a pretty moderate organization dedicated to the dissemination of sexual knowledge. Carlson (2012) writes “Another problem with the narrative of the success of sex education was that health educators developed a fact-based curriculum that almost completely ignored popular culture a youth culture” (p.33). SIECUS saw resistance to sexual knowledge as a result of ignorance rather than a cultured response. As we move towards the formation of the current bifurcation, it must be noted that this emphasis on popular culture and youth culture will become hallmarks of the social constructivists.

Catholic Theory coalesces

The 1960's did not pass without resistance and reconsideration from religious groups, most notably the Roman Catholic Church. In 1963, then Pope John XXIII created the Pontifical Commission on Birth Control to investigate the theological aspects of birth control. The Commission argued that contraception unto itself was not immoral, so long as it was used within the confines of marriage. Sex, as the Commission argued, is intended to produce children and any mentality that opposes this is immoral but that contraception allowed for planned pregnancy, which would lower infant mortality. The Commission wrote

This maturation has been prepared and has already begun. The magisterium itself is in evolution. Leo XIII spoke less explicitly in his encyclical *Arcanum* than did Pius XI in his wonderful doctrinal synthesis of *Casti Connubii* of 1930 which gave a fresh start to so many beginnings in a living conjugal spirituality. He proclaimed, using the very words of the Roman Catechism, the importance, in a true sense the primary importance, of true conjugal love for the community of matrimony. The notion of responsible parenthood which is implied in the notion of a prudent and generous regulation of conception, advanced in Vatican Council II, had already been prepared by Pius XII. The acceptance

of a lawful application of the calculated sterile periods of the woman—that the application is legitimate presupposes right motives—makes a separation between the sexual act which is explicitly intended and its reproductive effect which is intentionally excluded. The tradition has always rejected seeking this separation with a contraceptive intention for motives spoiled by egoism and hedonism, and such seeking can never be admitted. The true opposition is not to be sought between some material conformity to the physiological processes of nature and some artificial intervention. For it is natural to man to use his skill in order to put under human control what is given by physical nature. The opposition is really to be sought between one way of acting which is contraceptive and opposed to a prudent and generous fruitfulness, and another way which is, in an ordered relationship to responsible fruitfulness and which has a concern for education and all the essential, human and Christian values. (*Pontifical Commission on Birth Control*, 1963)

This was a major shift in Catholic doctrine. The Commission had sought and received expert advice on the science of birth control while reaffirming its condemnation of abortion and sterilization. However, the Commission's recommendations would be rejected. Davis (2005) asserts that many religious denominations had accepted birth control and up until 1968, birth control advocates including Planned Parenthood were optimistic that the Roman Catholic Church would follow suit. Davis (2005) writes,

The climate was improving so fast that in 1966 Dr. John T. Noonan, Jr., director of Notre Dame's Natural Law Forum and one of the world's leading Catholic scholars on contraception, said that the conflict of the past would yield to a recognition by Planned Parenthood of the Church's concern for life, dignity, and love and a reciprocal recognition by the church of Planned Parenthood's moral concern. Old Planned Parenthood hands must have thought they were seeing a vision. But the window of peaceful coexistence between two periods of intractable struggle passed too swiftly. Two developments brought it to an abrupt close, the 1968 papal encyclical *Humanae Vitae* and the emergence of the abortion issue. (p. 119)

In 1968, Pope Paul VI issued *Humane Vitae* which plainly stated the position of the Roman Catholic Church on matters of birth control. All artificial means of birth control were, and continue to be, deemed illicit and immoral. Pope Paul VI wrote:

Therefore We base Our words on the first principles of a human and Christian doctrine of marriage when We are obliged once more to declare that the direct interruption of the generative process already begun and, above all, all direct abortion, even for therapeutic reasons, are to be absolutely excluded as lawful means of regulating the number of

children. (14) Equally to be condemned, as the magisterium of the Church has affirmed on many occasions, is direct sterilization, whether of the man or of the woman, whether permanent or temporary. (15) Similarly excluded is any action which either before, at the moment of, or after sexual intercourse, is specifically intended to prevent procreation—whether as an end or as a means. (16) Neither is it valid to argue, as a justification for sexual intercourse which is deliberately contraceptive, that a lesser evil is to be preferred to a greater one, or that such intercourse would merge with procreative acts of past and future to form a single entity, and so be qualified by exactly the same moral goodness as these. Though it is true that sometimes it is lawful to tolerate a lesser moral evil in order to avoid a greater evil or in order to promote a greater good," it is never lawful, even for the gravest reasons, to do evil that good may come of it (18)—in other words, to intend directly something which of its very nature contradicts the moral order, and which must therefore be judged unworthy of man, even though the intention is to protect or promote the welfare of an individual, of a family or of society in general. Consequently, it is a serious error to think that a whole married life of otherwise normal relations can justify sexual intercourse which is deliberately contraceptive and so intrinsically wrong. (*Humane Vitae*, 1968)

There was a notable exception to condemnation of birth control which specifically applied to oral contraceptives. Oral contraceptives may be taken if they are used for medicinal purposes. Pope Paul VI wrote in *Humane Vitae*

On the other hand, the Church does not consider at all illicit the use of those therapeutic means necessary to cure bodily diseases, even if a foreseeable impediment to procreation should result there from—provided such impediment is not directly intended for any motive whatsoever. (*Humane Vitae*, 1968)

The only form of birth control approved by the Catholic Church is natural family planning, which relies on a woman's natural periods of sterility and fertility. At the center of the catholic position of sexuality and is at the core of its position on sexual education is self-discipline. Pope Paul VI wrote

The right and lawful ordering of birth demands, first of all, that spouses fully recognize and value the true blessings of family life and that they acquire complete mastery over themselves and their emotions. For if with the aid of reason and of free will they are to control their natural drives, there can be no doubt at all of the need for self-denial. Only then will the expression of love, essential to married life, conform to right order. This is especially clear in the practice of periodic continence. Self-discipline of this kind is a shining witness to the chastity of husband and wife and, far from being a hindrance to their love of one another, transforms it by giving it a more truly human character. And if this self-discipline does demand that they persevere in their purpose and efforts, it has at

the same time the salutary effect of enabling husband and wife to develop to their personalities and to be enriched with spiritual blessings. For it brings to family life abundant fruits of tranquility and peace. It helps in solving difficulties of other kinds. It fosters in husband and wife thoughtfulness and loving consideration for one another. It helps them to repel inordinate self-love, which is the opposite of charity. It arouses in them a consciousness of their responsibilities. And finally, it confers upon parents a deeper and more effective influence in the education of their children. As their children grow up, they develop a right sense of values and achieve a serene and harmonious use of their mental and physical powers. (*Humane Vitae*, 1968)

The encyclical was controversial both within and outside of Catholicism. It can be argued that of all the papal decrees, *Humanae Vitae* is the most ignored. Davis (2005) writes, “In the years since the encyclical was issued, the response of American Catholic women has been to ignore it and use contraceptives to the same extent as non-Catholic women” (p. 119). The disconnect between the magisterium and the lay population of the Church remains a palpable issue and bridging it is one of the main occupations of Catholic sex education courses, but this gap has only increased as newer contraceptives have become available on the market.

The 1970's

The 1970's saw a marked shift in sex education with the advent of abortion as a legal option of birth control and the rise of public awareness of teenage pregnancy which coincided with the beginning of the moral majority and the Christian right following *Roe vs Wade* and the racial tensions of the post-Civil Rights era. Scales (1981) asserts that

These feelings also were influenced by the impact of groups such as the John Birch Society and the Christian Crusades. These groups mounted opposition to sex education in which they used tactics still carried on such as: 1) name calling (sex educators were un-American or anti-Christian- today sex educators may be labeled anti-family) 2) guilt by association, specifically with Communism or Communist front groups (today; it is the humanists who are rallied against. 3) quotations taken out of context from the proponents articles or outright lying about the teaching methods of sex educators. The John Birch society, for example, asserted that typically, instruction on sexual methods is followed by encouragement to experiment and practice. (p.558)

This pushback on moral grounds was effective in some areas but would be rolled into the larger anti-counter culture movement of the 1960's. Irvine (2002) writes "the discursive practices of the emerging Christian Right, like those of all social movements, were intended to define the social world, create a volatile emotional climate, and mobilize people to action (p. 49)." While groups like SIECUS had facts and theory on their side, the emerging Christian right had emotional appeals that tapped into the long history of sex being used as a public cudgel to silence dissent and in the long run, those appeals were far more effective at shaping sex education curriculum than science and sex educators were afraid of being labeled as deviants.

Teen pregnancy and out of wedlock births would take on a pop culture significance with the publishing of *the Moynihan Report* in 1965 which highlighted the number of out of wedlock births among blacks as evidence of the disintegration of the black community and a potential burden on the welfare state. The report quotes Duncan Macintyre "

The Negro statistics are symptomatic [sic] of some old socioeconomic problems, not the least of which are under employment among Negro men and compensating higher labor force propensity among Negro women. Both operate to enlarge the mother's role, undercutting the status of the male and making many Negro families essentially matriarchal. The Negro man's uncertain employment prospects, matriarchy, and the high cost of divorces combine to encourage desertion (the poor man's divorce), increases the number of couples not married, and thereby also increases the Negro illegitimacy rate. In the meantime, higher Negro birth rates are increasing the nonwhite population, while migration into cities like Detroit, New York, Philadelphia, and Washington, D.C. is making the public assistance rolls in such cities heavily, even predominantly, Negro. (*The Negro Family: The Case For National Action Office of Policy Planning and Research, United States Department of Labor, section 4*)

Richard Nixon was a huge proponent of sex education. Scales (1981) asserts that the passage of the National family Planning Service and Population Research Act in 1970 that would provide married women with access to contraception and provide services and education for teenagers (p, 558). The lesser known 1972 *U.S. Commission on Population Growth and the American Future*, also known as the Rockefeller Commission, report was released and it would

attempt to and largely co-opt sex education for the purpose of reducing the poor population in the United States. Carlson (2012) writes “In public schools, the report called for the elimination of legal restrictions of young peoples’ access to contraceptives and prophylactic services, and also the adoption of affirmative laws permitting minors to receive sex education instruction without parental consent” (p.43). Nixon would reject this report but it did increase public awareness of teen pregnancy and the importance of sex education. Scales (1981) writes that “interest in sex education as a means of preventing unplanned teenage pregnancy increased during the late 1970’s with the appointment of the House Select Committee on Population and the passage of legislation that created the Office of Adolescent Pregnancy programs; both were initiatives of the Carter administration “ (p. 559). The federal government would enter into educational partnerships with groups such as the Boy Scouts and the 4-H clubs that were revivals of the older life adjustment curricula.

Carlson (2012) writes “The U.S. Supreme court’s Roe vs Wade decision in 1973 would, however, succeed in carrying out the core element of Nixon’s population control policy: unrestricted access to abortion and birth control for minors, without parental consent” (p. 47) and this would also coincide with the renewed concern in American life about unwed teenage mothers. The concern about teen age mothers was not without racial and class and moral implications. This lead to a push back from conservatives against governmental policies concerning contraception and sex education. Sex Education became a target for conservative anger over abortion and the teen pregnancy rate. Irvine (2002) asserts that “activists condensed opposition to a series of social issues, including abortion, the Equal Rights Amendment, pornography, sex education, and homosexuality under the “pro-family” rubric” (p. 66) and these activists would later evolve into the moral majority; teen pregnancy was used simultaneously as

a proof of what sex education without moral restraint could do and as evidence of the failure of sex education in general. It should be pointed out that the rate of teenage pregnancy was actually on the decline throughout the 1970's, according to the Centers for Disease Control, after peaking in the 1950s. What made the political right so effective was that while sex educators focused on the national picture, the right focused locally and slowly turned the social and political conversation about sex back to a primarily moral discussion one district at a time.

The rise in social acceptance towards LGBTQ communities has typically outpaced that of sex education curriculum theorists. Part of this is due to sex education typically being dominated by medical fields; the same medical fields that had labeled homosexual, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender orientations to be deviant or the result of diagnosable and treatable mental disorders. It would not be until 1973 that the American Psychiatric Association removed homosexuality from the list of mental disorders and not until 1975 that the American psychological association did the same but was not completely removed from *the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual for Mental Disorders* until 1986. The biggest hurdle that faced the incorporation of LGBTQ issues and acceptance into sex education curriculum was homophobia. Dennis Carlson (2012) writes

In a popular sex education text, *Sex Education in the Schools* (1970) by Frederick Kilander, the reader learns that even though sexuality is ideally and naturally linked to human reproduction and to marriage and family life, at one extreme sex is immediate, selfish, and irrational. There is no harmonious blending of the physical and the psychical, of the individual and the social. Selfish sex, according to the text is associated with masturbation, homosexuality, rape, promiscuity, illegitimacy, venereal disease, unhappy marriages, and divorce. (p. 63-64)

One of the first sex education texts that did not condemn homosexuality was *Education for Sexuality* by John Burt and Linda Bower and was also published in 1970. Rather, Carlson points out, the book left homosexuality as a matter to be discussed in class which while better than outright condemning it, did little to normalize it. Throughout the 1970's, homosexuality

would be a topic that was not covered in great detail in sex education classes. Socially, gay teachers would win a major legal victory with the defeat of the Briggs initiative which would have legalized the firing of teachers for being gay.

Sex education was, at this time, reductionist. The life adjustment education of the 1950's proved to be too narrow in its focus as it ignored the new popular cultural realities that germinated in the 1960's. After Kinsey, the birth control pills, and the wide availability of antibiotics the realities of sex in the 1970's were this: Condoms were readily available, oral contraceptives were effective, and there were no STD's that were incurable. This last popular culture assertion was false however. Genital Herpes would first openly be discussed in the late 1970s and the United States in general and especially sex education would be thrown into a crisis with the report of the first case of HIV to the centers of disease of control in 1980.

AIDS

The HIV/AIDS crisis forced the American public to come to terms with the importance of sex education. The scope of the disease was too great to be ignored albeit the Reagan administration attempted to until 1984. Intellectually, the HIV/AIDs crisis was a return to the urgency of the social hygiene movement as there was, and currently still is, no cure for HIV/AIDS which was the case with syphilis as well. Throughout the public debates on what to do about the crisis, the US would relive many of the previous debates on sex education.

The term AIDS, or Acquired Immense deficiency syndrome, was adopted by the CDC due to the pressure from gay rights groups. Before that, the syndrome was called GRID or Gay related immune deficiency syndrome. Sex education had long had its critics that argued that the dissemination of all the knowledge to the young would create a crisis where adolescents would have sex and spread disease. With the outbreak of the HIV/AIDS, their worst fears were realized

in their minds. Sex education debates in the 1980's were very similar to those that occurred some 100 years earlier where early theorists of sex education were asserting that ignorance of sex and disease transmission increased the spread of disease. It is often forgotten that both GRID and AIDS were diagnoses that predated HIV, so a great deal of the sex education of this time focused on educating the youth to the existence of deadly disease that had an unknown method of transmission.

The social gains made by the LGBTQ community were halted by the outbreak of AIDS. Irvine (2002) writes "Like anti-abortion initiatives, the AIDS epidemic provided a platform for the right wing to enact policies and influence attitudes about sexuality. AIDS also made more visible the contentious question about what sexual topics should be taught to young people" (p. 89). The public was afraid and wanted answers. Carlson (2012) points out that there was an interesting moment of hidden curriculum attached to called the disease initially GRID. Although, it was the result of simple observation that the one factor that the vast majority of early AIDS patients had in common were that they were gay men, attaching the disease to gay men automatically made it a gay problem in much the same way that teenage pregnancy was rendered a black and brown problem by *the Moynihan Report* which created an air of dismissal by the general public among heterosexuals and the institutions of power. LGBTQ communities are, after all, ghettoized and marginalized communities. Treating the disease was left up to the medical field. Treating the public panic, once it did hit in 1983 and partially fueled by the Christian right, was taken up by sex educators.

Gays would notably be scapegoated by the Reagan administration booklet *What you need to know about AIDS* in 1989 by coining the term "gay agenda." The booklet recommended quarantining the HIV positive population of the US in order to protect the blood supply. Irvine

points out that AIDS marked an intellectual break within the conservative movement between the old prohibitions against disseminating public knowledge and the new realities posed by a viral STD with no cure. Surgeon General C. Evert Koop would publish *Surgeon General's 1986 Report on AIDS*, in which he strongly asserted that until a cure was found, people had to protect themselves and that a strong education campaign geared towards both homosexual and heterosexual relationships was needed; it stated that abstinence was the only method guaranteed not to transmit HIV, but condoms greatly reduced the chances of transmitting the disease. Koop would become one of the most vocal and by far the most prominent sex education figure of the 1980s and he would recommend that sex education begin in elementary school and extend through high school. The Christian right would attack SEICUS and planned Parenthood throughout the 80's for trying to sway children to accept an immoral lifestyle as normal.

The modern shape of the sex education curriculum theorizing emerges from the AIDS crisis. Carlson (2012) writes, "AIDS/HIV education would be constructed as a response to both the medical and the social condition. It would blend health and social justice language together in a powerful new discourse, with broader implications for reframing sexuality education" (p. 80). The longest lasting concept to come out of this shift in sex education was that of safe sex. Safe sex is a synthesis of the essentialist and the social constructivist schools of thought and is rooted in the full knowledge of sexual reproduction and disease transmission and demands that the practitioner be responsible for their own health by understanding the risks posed in sexual activity. It harkens back to the life adjustment school of thought with its admonition of multiple sexual partners while not condemning sexual activity. Safe sex theorists looked at cultural trends, intersections of race, poverty, drug use, and sexual orientation to understand why people undergo risky behavior. This school of thought would go popular culture in the MTV generation with

music stars such as Madonna making safe sex promos, Salt-n-Peppa releasing “let’s talk about sex”, and Magic Johnson disclosing that he was HIV positive in 1991; out of this cultural moment, comprehensive sex education would emerge.

As the AIDS crisis spread into the general population, schools had to come to grips with the new reality of HIV/AIDS. Cases like those of Ryan White and efforts to bar him from attending school, spearheaded by his classmates’ parents, served as examples of how the disease has affected American culture. This fear was expected by educators like Koop as the mechanisms of spreading the disease weren’t fully understood. HIV/AIDS took on a particularly dark stigma in regard those it infected. Ryan White, who contracted HIV from a blood transfusion, was only allowed to attend school in Indiana after a federal judge upon the testimony of the state medical office ruled that he posed no threat to the student body. Due to cases like this, the AIDS curriculum as Carlson (2012) calls it focused on anti-stigma measures and anti-homophobia and was controversial because sex education had not branched out into a full condemnation of cultural positions. The AIDS crisis would provide the wedge that finally took sex education mainstream and into American schools; this was matter of great controversy during the 1990’s and into the new millennium with its hyper partisan political environment. Sex education was now a part of the culture war.

Abstinence only programs and the current make up

The current socio-political environment is a result of the social upheavals of the 1960’s that went into a lull in the 1970’s only to reemerge with the moral majority in the 1980’s and 1990’s and the neo-conservatism of the early millennium. Matters of sex, sexuality, orientation, race, poverty, education in general, and sex education specifically are all central fixtures in the public discourse which has rendered the current state of sex education in the U.S. a patch work

of conflicting curricula and praxes. In 1994, Surgeon General Jocelyn Elders was fired by President Bill Clinton after she made comments stating that masturbation was a common part of human sexuality. Lord (2010) asserts that Elders' dismissal was proof of how powerful the conservative hold on discussions about sex education was in the 1990's. The rise of Abstinence only programs in the United States followed the initial AIDS crisis. Whereas conservatives had traditionally rejected sex education in schools, after HIV that position was no longer tenable. So, as Irvine (2002) and Carlson (2012) both assert they decided to bring their own version of sex education into the class room. In 1996, abstinence only education programs would be given federal funding with the passage of the *Welfare Reform Act*; in order to sell this to the general public, abstinence only educators shifted the sex education conversation away from HIV/AIDS prevention to teen pregnancy. Initially backed by President Bill Clinton and SIECUS, the amendment to the 1996 *Welfare Reform Act* was originally proposed as a comprehensive sex education program designed to reduce teen pregnancy but it would be rewritten by congressional republicans into abstinence only programs and was modeled on early programs funded in 1981 by the Reagan Administration; specifically *the Adolescent Family Life Act*.

Abstinence-only education as a discourse infantilizes adolescence, so rather than conceptualize them as young adults in need of information about bodily changes they are currently undergoing, they are conceptualized as children not ready to know about sex or bear the burden of responsibility of their actions. Irvine (2002) asserts, however, that infantilization only applies to white adolescences as black and Latino(a) adolescents are treated as adults. Abstinence-only education is focused primarily on what Irvine called the two tragic figures, "two tragic figures in particular lurked in the national and the local arguments about sex education: the pregnant teenager and the suicidal gay youth" (p. 109). Of course, these were archetypes devoid

of any real intersectional substance and while abstinence only education did little to address these issues, comprehensive sex education which emerges after the AIDS epidemic does by focusing on not only the biological but the social and popular cultural issues that these youths face. Lord (2010) writes “There was no scientific evidence indicating that comprehensive sex education lead to early sexual activity. There was no scientific evidence that sexual orientation could be changed. There was no evidence that abstinence-only education prevented or delayed teens from having sex” (p.162). Ultimately, abstinence has been revealed to not work because, like earlier attempt at promoting chastity, it does not address popular culture. Popular culture is the teacher of the social curriculum more so than schools, although it doesn’t contain many facts about sexuality. Abstinence only programs did not go away, but have splintered into a spectrum of pedagogies that now comprise sex education in the United States.

The current composition of sex education in the United States can be, according to SEICUS, broken down into the following categories:

Table 4: SEICUS categories of sex education

Comprehensive Sexuality Education	Sexuality education programs that start in kindergarten and continue through 12th grade. These programs include age-appropriate, medically accurate information on a broad set of topics related to sexuality including human development, relationships, decision-making, abstinence, contraception, and disease prevention. They provide students with opportunities for developing skills as well as learning information.
Abstinence-based	Programs that emphasize the benefits of abstinence. These programs also include information about sexual behavior other than intercourse as well as contraception and disease-prevention methods. These programs are also referred to as abstinence-plus or abstinence-centered.

(Table 4 Continued)

Abstinence-only	Programs that emphasize abstinence from all sexual behaviors. These programs do not include information about contraception or disease-prevention methods.
Abstinence-only-until-marriage	Programs that emphasize abstinence from all sexual behaviors outside of marriage. If contraception or disease-prevention methods are discussed, these programs typically emphasize failure rates. In addition, they often present marriage as the only morally correct context for sexual activity.
Fear-based	Abstinence-only and abstinence-only-until-marriage programs that are designed to control young people's sexual behavior by instilling fear, shame, and guilt. These programs rely on negative messages about sexuality, distort information about condoms and STDs, and promote biases based on gender, sexual orientation, marriage, family structure, and pregnancy options.

Which schools and states use what discourse is a local legislative matter and there are no national mandates on sex education currently.

Conclusion

Because of the sensitive nature of sex and sexuality, people often seek to shape sex education according to the prevailing sentiments of the day. The Social Hygienists reflected high Victorian discomfort at disease and moral degeneracy from an upper class perspective that dominated the Gilded Age. The Eugenicists reflected the vulgar empiricism that inspired scientific classism and racism that dominated all aspects of American social, governmental, and academic life before the Second World War. The Life Adjustment Advocates reflected the discomfort that the Second World War generation felt at a rapidly changing social climate and scientific advancements in sex such as Kinsey and the birth control pill. SIECUS reflected the counter cultures zeal in rejecting the taboos of the previous age. The modern conceptualization of both the theoretical and praxis based approaches to sex education incorporate many different

concepts from the previous historically situated discourses of sex education to incorporating marginalized communities concerns that emerged in regard to race during the Eugenics period and LGBTQ rights during the 1970's and the HIV crisis.

What the history reveals is that sex education is an ongoing project. It is interconnected with all other aspects of human life. Ultimately, sex education curriculum theory will always, by necessity, straddle the past, present, and be prepared to adapt to the future.

Chapter 4: Methodology

Introduction

Methodologically, I use content analysis as a mechanism to determine how much of the information presented in the respective curricula qualifies as essentialist, socially constructed, personhood, or intersectionality, and to what extent diversity is represented in the curriculum, if at all. The following research questions were used to direct the content analysis followed by a discussion concerning content analysis methodology:

RQ1) How is information in the comprehensive curriculum and the Catholic curriculum organized? What discourses are represented?

- a) How much of the information is social constructivist?
- b) How much of the information is essentialist?
- c) How much of the information is intersectionality based?
- d) How much of the information is personhood based?

(RQ2) Do representations of diversity in the curriculum differ between the comprehensive curriculum and the Catholic curriculum? If they do what intersections of difference (race, gender, ability, ethnicity, sexual orientation, etc.) are represented?

(RQ3) Do representations of intersectionality differ between the comprehensive curriculum and the Catholic curriculum?

Research Design

I follow the methodology outlined by Berg (2012), Krippendorff (2012), Lindkvist (1981), Andren (1981), Bryder 1981), Anckar and Ramstedt-Silen (1981), and de Sola Pool (1959). I also draw on analytical perspective regarding the analysis of words and images and the

codes of content analyses in text books done by Temple (2005) in *People who are different from you: Heterosexism in Quebec high school textbooks*, Powell and Garcia (1985) in *The portrayal of minorities and women in selected elementary science series* concerning minorities and women in elementary science textbooks, Gay (1988) in *The incidence of photographs of racial minorities in introductory psychology texts*. concerning photographs of minorities in psychology texts, Collins and Hebert (2008) in *Race and gender images in psychology textbooks* concerning race and gender images in psychology textbooks, Zittleman and Sadker (2002) in *Gender bias in teacher education texts new (and old) lessons concerning gender bias*, and Macgillivray and Jennings (2008) in *A content analysis exploring lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender topics in foundations of education textbooks* concerning LGBTQ topics in foundations of education textbooks.

Berg (2012) asserts, Content Analysis is the analysis of any media that is created; he writes “Content Analysis is a -careful, detailed, systematic examination and interpretation of a particular body of material in an effort to identify patterns, themes, biases, and meanings” (p. 349). In content analysis, media has a broad meaning and includes words, images, music, and film through a variety of mediums and is a mixed method as it employs both qualitative and quantitative methods (Webber, 1990). Webber (1990) writes that

Content analysis can be used for many purposes....discloses international differences, in communication content, compare media or levels of communication, audit communication content against objectives, code open-ended surveys, identify the intentions and other characteristics of the communicator, determine the psychological state of persons or groups, detect the existence of propaganda, described the attitudinal and behavioral responses to communications, reflect cultural patterns of groups, institutions, or societies, reveal the focus of individual, group, institutional, or societal attentions and describe trends in communication context. (p.9)

Specifically, my content analysis attempts to determine how the San Francisco Unified School District and the Magisterium conceptualize sex education by: determining what discourses are

evident; how diversity is represented; how intersectionality is represented; and comparing the relevant frequencies found in the sampled texts they created.

According to Krippendorff (2012), content analysis has three main characteristics. First, it is empirically grounded and is explanatory in the process for coding for the manifest and latent analysis, and it cannot have a predictive or inferential intent, meaning it cannot predict trends or infer broad social motives but is rather confined to the institution or author of a text and moves beyond traditional notions of content, intent, and the understanding of symbols (Krippendorff, 2012, p.16-17). Second, the message can be a metaphorical container of content (Krippendorff, 2012, p. 17-19); for example, coded language such as “ghetto” are signifiers of racial and class implications.

Content analysis also examines the relational space between the sender and the receiver of the message (Krippendorff, 2012, p. 17-19); for example, the confederate flag, while being a static image in regard to a manifest analysis its interpretation, varies wildly depending on who views it and how they relate to it and could be used as a text in a content analysis of confederate imagery in American popular culture. Third, content analysis has its own methodology distinct from other forms of analysis (Krippendorff, 2012, p. 19- 20). Concerning the importance of analytical constructs, Krippendorff (2012) writes that “Analytical constructs operationalize what the content analysis knows about the context, specifically the network of correlations that are assumed to explain how the conditions under which these correlations could change” (p. 55).

There are three major approaches to qualitative data analysis highlighted by Berg (2012, pp. 349-386) and elaborated on by Krippendorff (2012, p.61, p. 84, p. 236,) and Lindkvist (1981, p. 25-34); interpretive approaches, social anthropological approaches, and collaborative social research approaches. Interpretive approaches, as Berg (2012) asserts, “allows researchers to treat

social action and human activity as text “(p. 350), and focuses on human behavior; specifically, dress, gestures, facial expressions, and other occurrences as data. Data gathered from observations and interviews, can then be transcribed into written format for easier analysis (Berg, 2012). The interpretive approach is especially useful when observing, for example, class room management and teacher techniques, which would have an impact on the effectiveness of any curriculum. Interpretation is not objective; Krippendorff (2012), writes that

texts have no objective- that is, no reader- independent qualities, Texts do not have single meanings, the meanings invoked by texts need not be shared, meanings (contents) speak to something other than the given texts, Texts have meanings relative to particular contexts, discourses, or purposes, and the nature of a text demands that the content analyst draw specific inferences from a body of texts to their chosen contexts. (p. 42-45)

The interpretation must be contextual to the environment in which it was written and the circumstances in which it was disseminated (Krippendorff, 2012). The interpretation is ultimately a product of the analysts’ own subjectivity which makes understanding the context of the creation of a text important. Content analysis has been commonly used in Anthropology and History as a method of textual analysis (Krippendorff, 2012, p.33). From an anthropological approach, texts are derived from an extensive period of immersion in a given locale because the analyst seeks to understand how texts are created and given meaning within a culture that allows him or her to code the texts in a way that allows a reader to follow his methodology and maintain fidelity to the culture that created the artifact (Berg, 2012).

According to Hsieh and Shannon, there are three primary approaches to Qualitative research in Content analysis: Conventional analysis, directed content analysis, and summative content analysis (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005); I will be utilizing a directed content analysis. Hsieh and Shannon (2005) write

Conventional analysis relies on emergent coding rather than a priori coding and is generally used with a study design whose aim is to describe a phenomenon...This type of

design is usually appropriate when existing theory or research literature on a phenomenon is limited. Researchers avoid using preconceived categories (Kondracki & Wellman, 2002), instead allowing the categories and names for categories to flow from the data. (p. 1279)

They assert that questions tend to be open-ended and interviews are commonly used. The manifest data is examined and codes are grouped into clusters based on relatedness numbering from 10-15, according to Hsieh and Shannon (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005), although this number is not set.

With regard to directed content analysis, Hsieh and Shannon (2005) write

The goal of a directed approach to content analysis is to validate or extend conceptually a theoretical framework or theory. Existing theory or research can help focus the research question. It can provide predictions about the variables of interest or about the relationships among variables, thus helping to determine the initial coding scheme or relationships between codes. (p. 1281)

The codes will be a priori, meaning preexisting, while others will be emergent, meaning taken from the data itself.

Methodology

The selected texts each contain separate lessons or exercises. Each lesson plan was examined as an individual unit and was coded according to both the manifest and latent codes. An individual lesson plan can contain multiple codes. The lesson plans are divided by what curriculum they are found and are kept in order of appearance. Each text underwent a manifest analysis. The number of occurrences in each lesson plan was calculated and the sum noted for each completed text, which was integral in conclusions drawn from the later latent analysis.

In order to perform the manifest coding, word processing software was utilized. Samples from *Be Real, Be Ready* existed in PDF format and was converted to Word in order to better facilitate the coding process. Samples from *Sexuality: connecting mind, body and spirit* had to be

first be scanned into a PDF and then converted from being an image to a text document.

Unfortunately, converting these PDFs to Word proved to render the document unreadable, so all coding was done using both a paper copy and PDF software in order to track coding. In order to keep track of manifest coding totals, each code was assigned a high light color in addition to its definition and examples. The initial manifest coding only included categories 1 through 15 to include all emergent and a priori discourses. In order to control for participant fatigue, only one sample was coded and recorded every other day with, three days a week. Counting was done using a combination of word search functions specifically (example: Word search for “risk”) and manual counting. Each coding unit was counted, totals correlated, and percentages calculated.

The categories (bolded) and codes (italicized), which are not subject to intercoder agreement and are both a priori:

Table 5: Categories and codes

Race/ culture/ ethnicity/class/ documentation status	<i>Text and image: Skin Color, Brown, White, Black, Red, Yellow, Textual: African American, Native American, Hispanic, Asian and Pacific Islander, Bi-Racial, nation(specific or general), poor, rich, social economic class references, legal, illegal, documented, undocumented, ethnicity, ethnic references</i>
Gender	<i>Text and images: male, female, transsexual, transgender, cisgender, androgynous, he, she. Gender queer</i>
Sexual Orientation	<i>Text: straight, heterosexual, homosexual, Lesbian, Gay, bisexual, asexual, pansexual, other orientation references. Images: male and female. Female and female, male and male</i>
Ability	<i>Text: Able bodied, disabled, physically handicapped, mentally handicapped, Images: wheel chair, walker, running, standing, sitting, down syndrome appearance</i>

(Table 5 Continued)

Safety and Violence	<i>Text: Rules, Rape, molestation, sexual violence, blacked out, abuse, sexual assault, unwanted touching, danger, healthy and unhealthy(in regards to personal safety), safe, location references, public, safety tips, comfortable, drugs, alcohol, under the influence, expectations, limits. Images: graphs or crime statistics, drug abuse statistics</i>
The Body	<i>Text: sexual terms, contraception, Body parts terms, diseases, statistics biological functions, healthy(medical sense), unhealthy(medical sense), treatments, kissing, virgin, any sex act references(medical terminology or popular nomenclature), HIV test and status, physical appearance. Images: diagrams, gestation charts, sketches</i>
Prevention	<i>abortion, testing adoption, safe sex, abstinences, forms of contraception, prevention, effective, treatments, high risk, low risk, no risk, effective. Image: contraception mechanisms</i>
Institutions	<i>Text: schools, institutional questions, home, church, environment, , jobs, vocation, power, force, impact, ability(non-physical), teaching, ideas, college, The faith, argument, debate, point of view, belief, messages, prayer, media, prostitution, porn</i>
Oppression	<i>Text: Threats, slurs, bullying, discrimination, harassment, teased, abuse, rejection, anti-, homophobia fear, violence, oppression, ally, rights, privilege, equality, benefits</i>
Lived Experiences	<i>Text: adulthood, childhood, year-old, teen, adolescence, teen, adulthood, personal experiences, people think, different people, all people, lived experiences, myths, stereotypes, combined identities, everyone, roleplay anyone, effect(broad use), guest speakers impact, guest speakers inform</i>
The Self	<i>Text: The sexual self, oneness, reflect, the right to one's one body, responsibility, decision making, control, boundaries, person, actualization, the mind, choice, consent, personal pronouns, someone, yes, no, maybe, control, selves, desire, individual experience in a spiritual sense, thoughts, soul, motives</i>

(Table 5 Continued)

Morality	<i>Text: people in a general sense, morality, innocent, needs, concerns, statements of personal value, judgement statements, love, interpret, spiritual, define, esoteric notions (pleasure, pain, joy, sorrow, satisfaction, etc) mentality, chastity, faith, focus, pain, painful, feeling, emotion, cheating</i>
Technology	<i>Text and images: Computers, cell phones, email, camera phones, web cameras</i>
Courtship	<i>Text: Interpersonal communication, intimacy, relationship roles, casual sex, monogamy, polyamory, hook up, marriage, couple, partner, dating, how one conceptualizes an act or action, single, friends, married, in a relationship, relationship, date, communication, speak, intentions, get to know, like, ask out, express in a romantic sense, express in a spoken sense</i>
Society	<i>Text: sexuality, dimensions, contextual references, virginity, life, attractive, lives, responsibilities, behavior, act, property, clothes, taught, social norms, attitudes, Christian, “dealing with..” Jewish, Atheist, Muslim, Catholic, denominational terms, sect terms, religion, homosocial, information, misinformation issues, influence expression in a cultural sense.</i>

Following the manifest analysis, a latent analysis was done on samples from each text. The latent themes are a priori and emergent. Whereas the manifest analysis records every instance that a code appears in a text, latent codes do not necessarily do this. With this study, latent codes were recorded as “evidence of the presence of” rather than the number of occurrences in the text. Evidence was determined using a dichotomous coding instrument where “yes” consisting of a mark or “no” consisting of a blank space. Multiple categories can be present in a sample. Latent categories can only be marked once per sample or left blank per sample. Two interraters were used to calculate a Cohen’s Kappa score, which measures agreement between two judges, in the pilot study, one male and one female. One female

interrater was used to calculate Kappa and simple agreement for the main study. Each was provided a coding instrument, a code book, and copies of the samples. They were given as much time as they needed with the texts to perform the coding process including taking the materials and samples home with them. This was done to limit the effects of testing fatigue. All interraters were instructed to mark the samples however they saw fit in order to better facilitate their coding and to make any notes on the code book for the analyst's consideration in revising the code book definitions. Upon completion of their coding, the respective coding instruments, code books, and samples were returned to the analyst and Kappas and simple agreement were calculated. The interraters coded for the composite manifest and latent categories rather than the themes.

The themes and their composite categories are as follows:

Table 6: Themes and categories

Theme	Category
Biology/essentialism	the body, prevention
Social Construction/ Diversity	Race/ culture/ ethnicity/class/ documentation status, gender, sexual orientation, ability, technology, courtship, society.
Intersectionality	institutions, oppression, lived experience
Personhood/ subjectivity	The self, morality, safety and violence

Two intercoders were used in the pilot study. One male and one female, who were both doctoral students in higher education, were used in order to establish validity and were measured using Cohen's Kappa. Each was trained in the code book and coding process. Specifically, I as the primary analyst will explain each latent code to the intercoder and how to record the scores on the coding spread sheet which is arranged according to sample number and code with blank boxes for the recording of agreements and disagreements. Before the full study was conducted, a pilot test was done using the full code book and a sample consisting of four lessons total taken

from the two primary texts. For the final study, due to one intercoder graduating and the other intercoder beginning their own dissertation study a new intercoder was selected. She, a doctoral student in theater, was trained in the code book and coding process. She was given a sample consisting of 8 texts purposely selected on the grounds that they contained both evident agreements and absent agreements.

Berg (2012) asserts that the three approaches described by Hsieh and Shannon (2005) are very similar and defines the analytical perspective as

- a) Data are collected and made into text or otherwise organized to be “read” (e.g. field notes, transcripts, image sequences)
- b) Codes are analytically developed and/or inductively identified in the data and affixed to a set of notes or transcript pages.
- C) Codes are transformed into categorical labels or themes.
- D) Materials are sorted by these categories, identifying similar phrases, patterns, relationships, and commonalities or disparities.
- E) Sorted materials are examined to isolate meaningful patterns and processes.
- F) Identified patterns are consolidated in light of previous research and theories, and a small set of generalizations is established. (p. 352)

A text is examined on a manifest and latent level. According to Krippendorff (2012) the manifest can be described as a quantitative endeavor while the latent is qualitative endeavor.

Krippendorff (2012) defines manifest content as “texts that are easy to read, generally understood, and unambiguous and therefore yield high agreement, even among untrained coders” (p.399). Latent content is an interpretation of the symbolic meaning revealed by the manifest content (Berg, 2012, p. 242). Category codes must be narrow and specific to avoid any overlap between codes and as such cannot share units; they must be exclusive. A process of coding must be systematic and replicable for anyone who wishes to use the codes and methodology because reliability is measured by interrater agreement (Krippendorff 2012, Andren 1981, Webber 1990). The most common units are words, images, paragraphs, and charts; depending on the text being

used. If one was doing a content analysis of a television show or a movie, the unit may be a character, sound, lighting, concepts, or even a sequence.

Berg (2012), Krippendorff (2012), Lindkvist (1981), Andren (1981), Bryder(1981), Anckar and Romstedt-Silen (1981), and de Sola Pool(1959) all agree that the manifest analysis must be done before the latent analysis in order to provide quantitative data and justification for the later qualitative analysis . The systematic process of doing a content analysis, as illustrated by Berg (2012), is as follows:

Table 7: Berg's (2012) content analysis process

1) Identify research question
2) Determine analytic categories (sociological constructs.
3) Read through data and establish grounded categories (open and axial coding)
4) Determine Systematic (objective) criteria of selection for sorting data chunks into analytic and grounded categories.
5) Begin sorting data into various categories (revise categories or selection criteria, if necessary, after several cases have been completed.
6) Count the number of entries in each category for descriptive statistics and to allow for the demonstration of magnitude.
7) Review textual materials as sorted into various categories seeking patterns.
8) Consider the patterns in light of relevant literature and/or theory (show possible links to theory or other research). Offer an explanation (analysis) for your findings. Relate your analysis to the extant literature of the subject. (p. 373)

Understanding a text on its own terms is important and is the dominant ethical concern in content analysis; meaning a text cannot be taken out of the context in which it was created and content analysts, consequently, must be wary of making broad generalizations about society from a text (Krippendorff 2012). Content analysis can be applied to institutions as institutions are the most common creator of texts. This does not mean that societal phenomenon such as racism, sexism, classism, heterosexism, or ableism should be ignored and it is of great ethical concern to understand what an institution is. Krippendorff (2012) writes

Moreover, playing down human participation, without which intuitions cannot exist, we tend to transfer agency to intuitions, as when we say ‘science says...’, ‘The media show...’ or ‘the military discriminates against...’ We consider intuitions to be capable of preserving themselves, as we speak of the ‘interests of government.’ Institutions do not really control deviance from intuitional patterns, nor do they assign powers to the roles people play in them. Individual participants do these things to each other. Talk that prevents people from realizing the roles they play in maintaining intuitional practices is one target of content analyses of intuitions. (p. 88).

Institutions create certain categories by, as Berger and Luckmann (1966) assert (in Krippendorff, 2012), which people interact with each other; this interaction is called habituation. Krippendorff provides Berger and Luckmann’s definition of habituation

Any action that is repeated frequently becomes cast into a pattern, which can then be reproduced with an economy of effort and which, ipso facto, is apprehended by its performer as that pattern. Habituation further implies that the action in question may be performed again...with the same (or reduced) economical effort...Habituation carries with it the important psychological gain that choices are narrowed. (p. 87)

Bias

Kolbe and Burnett (1991) point out that one of the weaknesses and ethical concerns of content analysis is the potential for bias; they write

This method is quite susceptible to the effects of researcher biases, which in turn can affect decisions made in the collection, analysis, and interpretation of data. Given that researchers wish to draw inferential conclusions from data, the existence of these biases can affect a study’s contribution to knowledge. (p. 244)

Codes must be specific and non-overlapping; Krippendorff (2012) writes that

The well-intended practice of adding categories such as “undecidable,” “ambiguous,” or “applicable to two or more categories to sets of categories” with overlapping meanings does not alter the categories’ fundamental indistinctiveness; it invites indecision on the part of coders and rarely renders a variable sufficiently reliable. When content analysts use such categories, they reveal more about their own unclear conceptions than about the properties of the texts, and they bias their research results in the direction of easily describable phenomena. (p. 148)

In these cases, a priori codes should be used, meaning taxonomic definitions; such definitions may not always be possible if the analyst is coding a culture that he or she is unfamiliar with or a subculture.

Another major ethical concern in content analysis pertains to misrepresentation from code creation stemming from linguistic issues. Roberts (1989) raises a major ethical concerns in regard to manifest and latent analysis in regard to linguistics which is a common subject for content analysis in *Other than counting words: A linguistic approach to content analysis*; specifically that computers are an easy way to perform word counts but they are not reliable in regard to latent analyses. Roberts (1989) writes

Computers currently afford quantitative content analysts the ability to obtain perfect inter-coder (actually inter-computer) agreement on frequencies of manifest content (i.e., of specific words or phrases) in texts. However when computer-aided content analyses focus solely on words' manifest expressions, meanings inherent in words' contexts may be lost. (pp. 147-148)

The ambiguity of language is an ethical issue. Roberts (1989) writes “the inherent ambiguity of language makes the application of the coding technique nontrivial. In particular, the selection of the appropriate clause type requires considerable verstehen (cultural understanding) from coders” (p. 164). Roberts echoes the sentiments expressed by Kracauer (1952) in *The challenge of qualitative content analysis*; he writes “Frequency counts will reveal the amount of different modes of praise or blame, but since any mode may spring from various psychological sources, the counts are unlikely to yield information about the characteristic ‘respect’ itself” (p. 639). It is not enough to count words or even to have translations to perform a content analysis. The coder must understand how these codes exist in the cultures that create them and be able to translate this information into a code that can be presented in a system that can garner a high inter-relator reliability.

My ethical concerns doing this project are few but important. As sex education is a prominent social topic, I must be wary not to make damning proclamations about the respective school systems in my study if there is a lack of diversity in their texts. I cannot let my biases towards representation and diversity cloud the fact that the local school systems follow mandates

from the state and as there are no federal standards on sex education, the national health education standards are not mandatory. Context is of the utmost importance here and I must maintain fidelity in which the texts are created. With regard to San Francisco, the schools must follow the *California Comprehensive Sexual Health and HIV/AIDS Prevention Education Act*, which legally mandates that all sex education taught in California public schools be comprehensive in orientation, meaning topics of race, gender, sexual orientation, and violence are legally required to be discussed, and provide instruction on contraception and HIV prevention. Whereas the public schools must operate under state mandates regarding sex education, the Catholic schools are required to operate under similar mandates from the Roman Catholic Church in order to be considered within official church teaching; as such Catholic stances of LGBTQ issues, abortion, sex values, chastity, and God are required topics that offer littler room for deviation in instruction. In regard to diversity, the Catholic Church conceptualizes itself as universal, which implies both a pluralistic awareness of diversity and a notion membership to the Church and adherence to its orthodoxy and orthopraxy supersedes culturally situated understandings of sexuality.

Reliability and Validity

With regard to validity, Krippendorff (2012) asserts that there are three kinds of validating evidence: face validity, social validity, and empirical validity. Face value is what is obviously true, sensible, or plausible. Krippendorff (2012) writes “it makes sense to measure the quality of political deliberations by the number of alternatives brought into a discussion” (p. 329). The relationship research question and hypothesis and the content analysis have to make sense. For example, if an analyst wanted to measure sexism in popular music, it would make sense to perform a content analysis of the top 40 popular songs on the radio and in music

downloads. He notes that face validity does not equal expectations but rather for the analyst, face validity is an assumption.

Krippendorff (2012) defines social validity as “that quality of research findings that leads us to accept them on account of their contributions to the public discussion of important social concerns” (p. 330). Essentially, a socially valid content analysis has to have appeal beyond the academic world. For example, a content analysis of school discipline policies may be assumed to have no outside interests but if the research question is crafted in a way to broaden its appeal, such a content analysis would have social validity. Advocates for certain issues such as racism and health care are typically eager to attach their own aims to any research that will boost their causes. This raises an ethical concern about biases and tailoring a content analysis to a specific political group.

Ultimately, the most important form of validity in content analysis is empirical validity which is

the degree to which available evidence and established theory support various stages of a research process, the degrees to which specific inferences withstand the challenges of additional data, of the findings of other research efforts, of evidence encountered in the domain of the researcher’s research question, or of criticism based on observations, experiments, or measurements as opposed to logic or process. (Krippendorff, 2012, p. 331)

In order to achieve empirical validity, there are other types of validity that evidence must meet: content, internal structure, and relations to other variables.

According to Krippendorff’s (2012) “Typology of Validation Efforts in Content Analysis” (p. 334) content breaks down into sampling validity of members which is how well a sample accurately represents a population and sampling validity of representatives which is how well a sample accurately represents a population of phenomena. Content (Krippendorff, 2012, p.

334) also includes semantic validity which is how well analytical categories accurately frame meanings and uses in the specific context. Internal structure (Krippendorff, 2012, p. 334) breaks down into structural validity which is how well the analytical construct illustrates the network of relations in a particular context and functional validity which is how well the analytical construct in use is vindicated. Relations to other variables breaks down into predictive validity (Krippendorff, 2012, p. 334) which is the degree to which anticipated observations occur over time. This is followed by correlative validity (Krippendorff, 2012, p. 334) which breaks down into convergent validity and is the extent to which results correlate with variables known to measure the same phenomena and are considered valid. Discriminant validity (Krippendorff, 2012, p. 334) is the extent to which correlations are absent between results and variables known to be valid but measuring phenomena that are distinctly different. All of this is established by use of intercoder agreement as it is all reflected in the instruments and procedures in the code book.

Krippendorff (2012) writes

To stand on indisputable ground, content analysis must be confident that their data (a) have been generated with all conceivable precautions in place against known pollutants, distortions, ad biases, intentional or accidental and (b) mean that same thing for everyone who uses them. Reliability grounds this confidence empirically. (p. 267)

There are various measures that can be used to establish reliability. Krippendorff (2012) points out in his discussion of reliability designs that there are three designs used to point out reliability: stability, replicability, and accuracy; he writes “these are distinguished not by how agreement is measured but by the way the reliability data are observed” (p. 270). The methods vary widely in their application and their strength.

Stability is the most time consuming of the three methods as it involves coding a text and recoding the same text using the same code book later. There is a greater chance for error than in the other two designs. Krippendorff (2012) writes

Under test-retest conditions, unreliability is manifest in variations in the performance of an observer or measuring device p. 271).” He points out that these variations may be due to simple human error such as “insecurity, carelessness, openness to distractions, difficulties in comprehending written instructions, or the tendency to relax performance standards when tired. (p. 271)

For my content analysis, I will not be using a stability design as it relates to reliability.

The second reliability design is replicability. Krippendorff (2012) defines this design as “as measure of degree to which a process can be reproduced by different analysis working under varying conditions, at different locations or using different but functionally equivalent measuring instruments” (p. 271). Whereas stability is a test- retest design, replicability is a test-test design that relies on a group of outsider testers. Reliability is then measured based on their inter-coder agreement. Error in this design is due to error such as non-mutually exclusive categories used for coding, which prompts the analyst to rework their categories and coding system before resubmitting. Krippendorff (2012) points out in his discussion of reliability designs that reliability is medium strength.

The third and strongest reliability method that Krippendorff (2012) discusses is accuracy; he defines it as “the degree to which a process conforms to its specifications and yields what it is designed to yield” (p. 271). Whereas stability is a test-retest model and replicability is a test-test model, accuracy is a test-standard model. This means, that the coding results must be compared to another coding result assumed to be the correct standard. Krippendorff (2012) states that error in this design is due to “intraobserver inconsistencies, interobserver inconsistencies, and deviations from a given standard” (p. 271). Essentially, the intercoder agreement must be run with the standard, which would yield a strong intercoder agreement.

For my content analysis, I used a reliability design through which all data was entered in a basic reliability matrix and the interrater agreement will be established using Cohen’s Kappa. I

would use an accuracy design if it were possible but there are no standards for the representations of discourse, diversity, and intersectionality in sex education. A reliability design with its emphasis on intercoder agreement also assists in establishing validity, especially in regard to semantics. If the categories, codes, and coding units are unintelligible, my intercoder agreement will reveal it, which will prompt me to refine my methods and code book and code the texts again and resubmit to the coding group.

Sample

Relevance sampling, as described by Krippendorff (2012, pp. 134-136), was utilized for this content analysis. Krippendorff (2012) writes that “when using relevance sampling, analysts proceed by actually examining the texts to be analyzed, even if only superficially, often in a multistage process” (p. 134). For this study, the criterion for selection was that the texts had to be reflective of the institution that created them, rather than a private text book company. *Be Real*, *Be ready* was created by the San Francisco Unified School District and *Sexuality-- concerning mind, body, and spirit* is in full alignment with the teaching of the Roman Catholic Church. A total of 39 lessons were analyzed for the latent analysis. Eleven lessons were taken from *Be Read*, *Be Ready* and 28 were taken from *Sexuality: Connecting Mind, Body, and Spirit*. The samples were chosen according to the specific topic matter of the particular lesson in order that they appear in the respective texts to achieve semantic validity. In particular, the sampling strategy was to select lessons from each text that topically aligned with each other. Because of how the lessons are separated in the Catholic text, single topics are sometimes spread out over multiple lessons and are short whereas the comprehensive text is uniform in its organization. In order to achieve semantic validity, in the cases where a topic was broken up into multiple lessons all lessons relevant to the topic were included in the sampling and only the chapter titles and the

body of the text were coded. In regard to the Catholic schools, the text had to be one that satisfied the Magisterium's requirements as described in *The Truth and Meaning of Human Sexuality: Guidelines for Education Within the Family* (2010) and *The Catechism of the Roman Catholic Church*.

The texts chosen for this study are:

Be Real. Be Ready- Smart Sexuality Education- This curriculum was designed by San Francisco Unified School District along with the Adolescent Health Working Group (AHWG) and the Adolescent Health Education Collaborative (AHEC). It contains 24 lessons with a suggested curriculum for 15 lessons. This text was created specifically by the San Francisco Unified School District for that specific school district and is representative of their conceptualizations of sex education. According to *The Facts at a Glance*, SFUSD has 15,821 high school students who are the target audience for this curriculum. White students account for 13% of the total number of students enrolled in the system, which means that SFUSD is a majority minority school system.

Sexuality: connecting mind, body and spirit (2008)- “ The purpose of Sexuality Connecting Mind, Body, and Spirit is to present in an honest and open manner insights from science, studies, research, Scripture, and Church teachings so that you can grow in your knowledge of the nature of people and the nature of love (*Sexuality*, 2008, p. viii).” The Text contains 80 exercises split into six sections: Rooting human sexuality in faith, sexual awakening and life's changes, moral thinking and sexual ethics, moral reasoning and controversial issues, developing health Christian relationships, and sexuality and spirituality. The text was not written by the Magisterium but in order to receive the office *Nihil Obstat* and *Imprimatur*, the text had to be in complete accordance with Roman Catholic teaching; meaning it is representative of the Magisterium's conceptualization of sex education. Originally published in 1992, this text was updated in 2003

and reprinted in 2009. It's intended audience is for High School students. According to the National Catholic Education Association, in the United States, for the 2014-2015 school year 579,605 students were enrolled in Catholic High Schools; of that total 119,999 are students of color.

Unit of Analysis

For this study, the text and images found in individual lessons and exercises were the units of analysis; this was done in order to measure the frequencies for the respective categories. This allows for a deeper analysis of explicit and implied meanings found in the texts that may not be evident if images were the sole unit of analysis. The individual lesson plans and exercises are self-contained lessons. Multiple codes may be present in a given lesson plan or exercise, which contributes to the total number of codes represented for a text.

Coding Instrument

The codes are both a priori, meaning taken from sex education theory, and emergent, meaning taken from the analysis process itself (Stemler, 2001). Demographic representations will be a priori in order to avoid confusion and overlap. In regard to discourse representations, those definitions will also be a priori, as they are taken from the prevailing literature on sex education. Intersectionality, personhood, and their respective categories will be a blend of a priori coding and emergent coding from the texts themselves. A code book based on a priori definitions along with the coding instrument can be found in appendix A.

Data Analysis

The data is analyzed according to what was revealed by the numbers and the trends that emerged. The manifest analysis provides the data upon which the latent analysis and subsequent

inferences are made. All demographic data is recorded in raw numbers as percentages relative to the other demographic categories. In regard to the ideological representations in the texts, the data is recorded in raw numbers and percentages relative to the composition of the entire text. The texts are then compared to each other based on the raw numbers and relative percentages.

Context is important in this study as two texts from two entirely different school systems are being compared. It should be noted that in the public context sex education mandates that certain information must be included in the curriculum. Private schools, especially religious ones, are not bound by that law. It should also be noted that Catholic curriculum is frequently college preparatory in orientation and as such, biology is typically mandatory in which human reproduction is covered whereas sexually transmitted diseases are typically covered in health and physical education classes. Therefore, sex education in Catholic Schools is treated as a topic for theological instruction which gives the text a clear social constructivist bias.

Conclusion

This content analysis utilized a memetic frame work (Krippendorff, 2012) in order to identify what discourses are evident in the sample texts. A directed approach (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005) is also utilized in order to determine how the San Francisco Unified School District and the Magisterium utilized different discourses of sex education in the creation of their sex education texts and to determine how diversity and intersectionality were represented in those texts. Individual lessons and exercise were taken from the respective texts for coding, categorization, and the measurement of frequencies. Codes, categories, and themes were a priori and emergent. A code book containing a proper instrument, definitions, and examples was created and given to interraters used in the pilot study and the final study. It was determined that reliability would be established by using both simple agreement and Cohen's Kappa. The results

of the content analysis and a discussion of their implications are provided in chapters 5 and 6, respectively.

Chapter 5: Results and Findings

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to present the report the manifest and latent results of the content analysis. The purpose of this study has been to determine what discourses are evident in the 2 selected sex education texts, how diversity is represented in both texts, how intersectionality is represented in both texts, and to compare the frequencies that those discourses occurred in the comprehensive sex education text against those found in the Catholic sex education text. In order to perform this study a memetic approach (Krippendorff, 2013, p 254-255) was utilized and a directed content analysis strategy as described by Hsieh and Shannon (2005) was adopted. The manifest tables show the occurrence of codes while the latent analysis shows the interrater agreement in regard to the presence or absence of categories described by Johnson and Holmes (2009) calculated using a Cohen's Kappa established by Landis and Koch (1977) which states

<i>Kappa Statistic</i>	<i>Strength of agreement</i>
<0.000	poor
0.00-0.20	Slight
0.21-0.40	Fair
0.41-0.60	Moderate
0.61-0.80	Substantial
0.81-1.00	Almost perfect (p.165)

Themes, categories and their codes

The relationship between the themes, categories and codes used for this study, which were both a priori (existing) and emergent (those that arose through the analysis), are as follows:

Table 8: Themes and categories

Theme	Category
Biology/essentialism	the body, prevention

(Table 8 Continued)

Social Construction/ Diversity	Race/ culture/ ethnicity/class/ documentation status, gender, sexual orientation, ability, technology, courtship, society.
Intersectionality	institutions, oppression, lived experience
Personhood/ subjectivity	The self, morality, safety and violence

Discourses evident in Sex Education Texts

The research questions for this study were:

RQ1) how is information in the comprehensive curriculum and the Catholic curriculum

organized? What traditions or approaches are represented?

- a) How much of the information is essentialist?
- b) How much of the information is intersectionality based?
- c) How much of the information is personhood based?
- d) How much of the information is social constructivist?

(RQ2) Do representations of diversity in the curriculum differ between the comprehensive curriculum and the Catholic curriculum? If they do what intersections of difference (race, gender, ability, ethnicity, sexual orientation, etc.) are represented?

(RQ3) Do representations of intersectionality differ between the comprehensive curriculum and the Catholic curriculum?

For Research Question 1 and its four sub questions the result of the manifest analysis are as follows:

Table 9: Manifest Table

Sample #	Race/ culture/ ethnicity/class/ documentation	Gender	Sexual Orientation	Ability	Safety and Violence	The Body	Prevention	Institutions	Oppression	Lived experiences	The self	Universality and morality	Technology	Courtship	Society
Lesson 2	1	2	1	0	41	5	1	19	0	21	129	1	10	115	10
Lesson 3	6	18	16	0	6	73	3	92	0	10	141	29	0	88	21
Lesson 4	10	232	109	0	0	113	0	42	28	35	141	49	2	3	68
Lesson 6	46	163	77	0	3	13	0	25	29	42	199	17	0	12	8
Lesson 7	20	78	89	5	7	21	0	106	146	36	123	40	1	10	28
Lesson 11	0	46	8	0	20	0	0	50	0	37	33	20	0	100	0
Lesson 14	5	44	2	4	7	948	95	80	2	40	82	22	5	7	53
Lesson 15	0	6	0	0	17	136	151	95	8	71	191	1	0	5	6
Lesson 16	0	61	2	0	14	394	501	32	0	59	179	15	0	10	22
Lesson 18	0	2	0	0	14	774	190	21	0	54	50	0	2	49	8
Lesson 20	3	17	12	0	3	904	111	10	0	128	97	2	2	8	17
Exercise 15	2	37	3	0	0	17	3	21	0	7	36	9	0	8	22
Exercise 17	1	29	0	0	2	2	0	2	0	4	4	3	0	0	3

(Table 9 Continued)

Sample #	Race/ culture/ ethnicity/class/ documentation	Gender	Sexual Orientation	Ability	Safety and Violence	The Body	Prevention	Institutions	Oppression	Lived experiences	The self	Universality and morality	Technology	Courtship	Society
Exercise 23	0	5	0	0	3	16	0	0	1	8	18	14	0	11	2
Exercise 24	0	15	2	0	3	42	0	17	0	4	53	50	0	4	33
Exercise 25	5	41	0	0	0	21	0	10	2	2	14	10	0	5	11
Exercise 26	1	23	1	0	1	6	0	3	0	2	10	6	0	1	12
Exercise 27	0	29	0	0	0	1	0	10	2	1	2	8	0	13	2
Exercise 34	2	4	0	0	0	39	52	25	0	2	2	2	0	20	4
Exercise 35	2	31	0	1	4	166	84	18	1	12	5	6	0	2	6
Exercise 36	0	34	0	0	0	107	58	19	0	7	6	8	0	7	7
Exercise 37	2	10	0	0	2	23	0	23	0	21	8	3	0	4	7
Exercise 38	2	5	0	0	0	54	24	24	3	23	11	38	0	0	27
Exercise 39	3	7	33	0	3	29	0	19	2	10	34	10	0	8	9
Exercise 40	0	2	28	0	0	9	1	28	9	2	11	17	0	10	24
Exercise 41	4	13	1	0	2	75	10	21	0	26	7	26	0	13	6
Exercise 43	13	15	0	0	10	9	0	28	24	12	12	7	1	2	8
Exercise 44	6	38	0	0	32	20	0	25	12	2	3	11	0	8	3
Exercise 45	0	34	0	0	19	12	1	4	2	2	7	3	0	10	1
Exercise 46	0	11	1	1	33	29	1	15	25	11	31	54	0	5	18
Exercise 47	0	3	7	0	0	0	0	12	0	6	7	4	0	28	1
Exercise 48	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	1	9	7	0	23	0
Exercise 56	0	0	0	0	5	7	2	25	0	0	22	22	0	7	18
Exercise 57	1	11	0	0	10	25	0	9	0	1	13	14	0	7	23
Exercise 61	0	7	0	0	0	1	0	3	0	0	9	2	0	7	0
Exercise 63	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10	0
Exercise 69	0	2	0	0	0	8	0	10	0	3	30	41	0	2	39
Exercise 71	2	4	0	0	4	17	3	20	1	10	23	37	0	10	34
Exercise 74	6	22	0	0	0	11	9	38	22	6	23	19	0	2	13
Sum	143	1101	392	11	269	4127	1300	1001	319	718	1775	627	23	634	574
Percent of total coding units (n=13014)	1.098	8.460	3.012	.084	2.067	31.712	9.989	7.691	2.451	5.517	13.639	4.817	.176	4.871	4.410

As is seen in table 9, of 13,014 coding units (words) found in the 39 samples, 143 were coded as race accounting for 1.098% of the total, 1101 were coded as gender accounting for 8.460% of the total, 392 were coded as sexual orientation accounting for 3.012% of the total, 11 were coded as ability accounting for .084% of the total, 269 were coded as safety and violence accounting for 2.067% of the total, 4127 were coded as the body accounting for 31.712% of the total, 1300 were coded as prevention accounting for 9.989% of the total, 1001 were coded as institutions accounting for 7.691% of the total, 319 were coded as oppression accounting for 2.451% of the total, 718 were coded as lived experience accounting for 5.517% of the total, 1775

were coded as the self accounting for 13.639% of the total, 627 were coded as morality accounting for 4.817% of the total, 23 were coded as technology accounting for .176% of the total, 634 were coded as courtship accounting for 4.871% of the total, and 574 were coded as society accounting for 4.410% of the total.

Table 10: Be Real Be Ready

Sample #	Race/ culture/ ethnicity/class/ documentation status	Gender	Sexual Orientation	Ability	Safety and	The Body	Prevention	Institutions	Oppression	Lived experiences	The self	Universality and morality	Technology	Courtship	Society
Lesson 2	1	2	1	0	41	5	1	19	0	21	129	1	10	115	10
Lesson 3	6	18	16	0	6	73	3	92	0	10	141	29	0	88	21
Lesson 4	10	232	109	0	0	113	0	42	28	35	141	49	2	3	68
Lesson 6	46	163	77	0	3	13	0	25	29	42	199	17	0	12	8
Lesson 7	20	78	89	5	7	21	0	106	146	36	123	40	1	10	28
Lesson 11	0	46	8	0	20	0	0	50	0	37	33	20	0	100	0
Lesson 14	5	44	2	4	7	948	95	80	2	40	82	22	5	7	53
Lesson 15	0	6	0	0	17	136	151	95	8	71	191	1	0	5	6
Lesson 16	0	61	2	0	14	394	501	32	0	59	179	15	0	10	22
Lesson 18	0	2	0	0	14	774	190	21	0	54	50	0	2	49	8
Lesson 20	3	17	12	0	3	904	111	10	0	128	97	2	2	8	17
sum	91	669	316	9	132	3381	1052	572	213	533	1365	196	22	407	241
Percent of total units (9199)	.989	7.272	3.435	.097	1.434	36.753	11.436	6.218	2.315	5.794	14.838	2.130	.239	4.424	2.619

As is seen in table 10, of 9199 coding units (words) found in the 11 samples, 91 were coded as race accounting for .989% of the total, 669 were coded as gender accounting for 7.272% of the total, 316 were coded as sexual orientation accounting for 3.435% of the total, 9 were coded as ability accounting for .097% of the total, 132 were coded as safety and violence accounting for 1.434% of the total, 3381 were coded as the body accounting for 36.753% of the total, 1052 were coded as prevention accounting for 11.436% of the total, 572 were coded as institutions accounting for 6.218% of the total, 213 were coded as oppression accounting for 2.315% of the total, 533 were coded as lived experience accounting for 5.794% of the total, 1365

were coded as the self accounting for 14.838% of the total, 196 were coded as morality accounting for 2.130% of the total, 22 were coded as technology accounting for .239% of the total, 407 were coded as courtship accounting for 4.424% of the total, and 241 were coded as society accounting for 2.619% of the total.

Table 11: Sexuality: connecting mind, body, and spirit

Sample #	Race/culture/ethnicity/class/documentation	Gender	Sexual Orientation	Ability	Safety and Violence	The Body	Prevention	Institutions	Oppression	Lived experiences	The self	Universality and morality	Technology	Courtship	Society
Exercise 15	2	37	3	0	0	17	3	21	0	7	36	9	0	8	22
Exercise 17	1	29	0	0	2	2	0	2	0	4	4	3	0	0	3
Exercise 23	0	5	0	0	3	16	0	0	1	8	18	14	0	11	2
Exercise 24	0	15	2	0	3	42	0	17	0	4	53	50	0	4	33
Exercise 25	5	41	0	0	0	21	0	10	2	2	14	10	0	5	11
Exercise 26	1	23	1	0	1	6	0	3	0	2	10	6	0	1	12
Exercise 27	0	29	0	0	0	1	0	10	2	1	2	8	0	13	2
Exercise 34	2	4	0	0	0	39	52	25	0	2	2	2	0	20	4
Exercise 35	2	31	0	1	4	166	84	18	1	12	5	6	0	2	6
Exercise 36	0	34	0	0	0	107	58	19	0	7	6	8	0	7	7
Exercise 37	2	10	0	0	2	23	0	23	0	21	8	3	0	4	7
Exercise 38	2	5	0	0	0	54	24	24	3	23	11	38	0	0	27
Exercise 39	3	7	33	0	3	29	0	19	2	10	34	10	0	8	9
Exercise 40	0	2	28	0	0	9	1	28	9	2	11	17	0	10	24
Exercise 41	4	13	1	0	2	75	10	21	0	26	7	26	0	13	6
Exercise 43	13	15	0	0	10	9	0	28	24	12	12	7	1	2	8
Exercise 44	6	38	0	0	32	20	0	25	12	2	3	11	0	8	3
Exercise 45	0	34	0	0	19	12	1	4	2	2	7	3	0	10	1
Exercise 46	0	11	1	1	33	29	1	15	25	11	31	54	0	5	18
Exercise 47	0	3	7	0	0	0	0	12	0	6	7	4	0	28	1
Exercise 48	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	1	9	7	0	23	0
Exercise 56	0	0	0	0	5	7	2	25	0	0	22	22	0	7	18
Exercise 57	1	11	0	0	10	25	0	9	0	1	13	14	0	7	23
Exercise 61	0	7	0	0	0	1	0	3	0	0	9	2	0	7	0
Exercise 63	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10	0
Exercise 69	0	2	0	0	0	8	0	10	0	3	30	41	0	2	39
Exercise 71	2	4	0	0	4	17	3	20	1	10	23	37	0	10	34
Exercise 74	6	22	0	0	0	11	9	38	22	6	23	19	0	2	13
sum	52	432	76	2	137	746	248	429	106	185	410	431	1	227	333

(Table 11 Continued)

Sample #	Race/ culture/ ethnicity/class/ documentation	Gender	Sexual Orientation	Ability	Safety and Violence	The Body	Prevention	Institutions	Oppression	Lived experiences	The self	Universality and morality	Technology	Courtship	Society
Percent of total coding units (3815)	1.363	11.323	1.992	.052	3.591	19.554	6.500	11.245	2.778	4.849	10.747	11.297	.026	5.950	8.728

As is seen in table 11, of 3815 coding units (words) found in the 28 samples, 52 were coded as race accounting for 1.363% of the total, 432 were coded as gender accounting for 11.323% of the total, 76 were coded as sexual orientation accounting for 1.992% of the total, 2 were coded as ability accounting for .052% of the total, 137 were coded as safety and violence accounting for 3.591% of the total, 746 were coded as the body accounting for 19.554% of the total, 248 were coded as prevention accounting for 6.500% of the total, 429 were coded as institutions accounting for 11.245% of the total, 106 were coded as oppression accounting for 2.778% of the total, 185 were coded as lived experience accounting for 4.849% of the total, 410 were coded as the self accounting for 10.747% of the total, 431 were coded as morality accounting for 11.297% of the total, 1 was coded as technology accounting for .026% of the total, 227 were coded as courtship accounting for 5.950% of the total, and 333 were coded as society accounting for 8.728% of the total.

Table 12: Text by category- Be Real Be Ready

Lesson	Biology	Intersectionality	Person	Social construction and
Lesson 2	6	40	171	139
Lesson 3	76	102	176	149
Lesson 4	113	105	190	424
Lesson 6	13	96	219	306
Lesson 7	21	288	170	231

(Table 12 Continued)

Lesson	Biology	Intersectionality	Personhood	Social construction and
Lesson 11	0	87	73	154
Lesson 14	1043	122	111	120
Lesson 15	287	174	209	17
Lesson 16	895	91	208	95
Lesson 18	964	75	64	61
Lesson 20	1015	138	102	59
Totals	4433	1318	1693	1755
Percentage of total coding units (n=9199)	48.190	14.327	18.404	19.078

Table 13: Text by category- Sexuality: connecting mind, body, and spirit

Lesson	Biology	Intersectionality	Personhood	Social construction and
Exercise 15	20	28	45	72
Exercise 17	2	6	9	33
Exercise 23	16	9	35	18
Exercise 24	42	21	106	54
Exercise 25	21	14	24	62
Exercise 26	6	5	17	38
Exercise 27	1	13	10	44
Exercise 34	91	27	4	30
Exercise 35	250	31	15	42
Exercise 36	165	26	14	48
Exercise 37	23	44	13	23
Exercise 38	78	50	49	34
Exercise 39	29	31	47	60
Exercise 40	10	39	28	64
Exercise 41	85	47	35	37
Exercise 43	9	64	29	39
Exercise 44	20	39	46	55
Exercise 45	13	8	29	45

(Table 13 Continued)

Lesson	Biology	Intersectional it	Personhood	Social construction and
Exercise 46	30	51	118	36
Exercise 47	0	18	11	39
Exercise 48	0	1	19	23
Exercise 56	9	25	49	25
Exercise 57	25	10	37	42
Exercise 61	1	3	11	14
Exercise 63	0	0	1	10
Exercise 69	8	13	71	43
Exercise 71	20	31	64	50
Exercise 74	20	66	42	43
sum	994	720	978	1123
Percent of total coding units(3815)	26.055	18.872	25.635	29.436

Table 12 shows the results for research question 1: *Be Real, Be Ready*. With regard to sub question A, 48.190% of the observed coding units were classified as Biology/essentialist. With regard to sub question B, 14.327% of the observed coding units were classified as Intersectionality. With regard to sub question C, 18.404% of the observed coding units were classified as Personhood. With regard to sub question D, 19.078% of the observed coding units were classified as Social Constructivist. The total amount of coding units classified was 9199.

Table 13 shows that for research question 1 for *Sexuality: connecting mind, body, and spirit*, With regard to sub question A, 26.055% of the observed coding units were classified as Biology/essentialist. With regard to sub question B, 18.872% of the observed coding units were classified as Intersectionality. With regard to sub question C, 25.635% of the observed coding units were classified as Personhood. With regard to sub question C, 29.436% of the observed

coding units were classified as Social Constructivist. The total amount of coding units classified was 3815.

For research question 1 sub question A tables 14 and 15 show how biology/essentialism is represented in the comprehensive and Catholic text.

Table 14: Biology/essentialism
Be Real, Be Ready

Lesson	<i>The body</i>	<i>prevention</i>
Lesson 2	5	1
Lesson 3	73	3
Lesson 4	113	0
Lesson 6	13	0
Lesson 7	21	0
Lesson 11	0	0
Lesson 14	948	95
Lesson 15	136	151
Lesson 16	394	501
Lesson 18	774	190
Lesson 20	904	111
Totals	3381	1052
Percentage of total coding units(n=4433)	76.268	23.731

Table 15: Biology/essentialism- Sexuality: connecting mind, body, and spirit

Lesson	<i>The body</i>	<i>prevention</i>
Exercise 15	17	3
Exercise 17	2	0
Exercise 23	16	0
Exercise 24	42	0
Exercise 25	21	0
Exercise 26	6	0

(Table 15 Continued)

Lesson	<i>The body</i>	<i>prevention</i>
Exercise 27	1	0
Exercise 34	39	52
Exercise 35	166	84
Exercise 36	107	58
Exercise 37	23	0
Exercise 38	54	24
Exercise 39	29	0
Exercise 40	9	1
Exercise 41	75	10
Exercise 43	9	0
Exercise 44	20	0
Exercise 45	12	1
Exercise 46	29	1
Exercise 47	0	0
Exercise 48	0	0
Exercise 56	7	2
Exercise 57	25	0
Exercise 61	1	0
Exercise 63	0	0
Exercise 69	8	0
Exercise 71	17	3
Exercise 74	11	9
sum	746	248
Percent of total coding units(994)	75.050	24.949

As table 14 shows, in the case of *Be Real, Be Ready*, of 4433 coding units that were coded under this category, 3381 or 76.268% were coded as the body while 1052 or 23.731% were coded as prevention. In the case of *Sexuality: connecting mind, body and spirit*, table 15

shows that of 994 coding units that were coded under this category, 746 or 75.050% were coded as the body while 24 or 24.949% were coded as prevention.

Research question sub question B, tables 16 and 17 shows how intersectionality is represented in the comprehensive and Catholic text:

Table 16: Intersectionality
Be Real, Be Ready

<i>Lesson</i>	<i>Institutions</i>	<i>Oppression</i>	<i>Lived Experience</i>
Lesson 2	19	0	21
Lesson 3	92	0	10
Lesson 4	42	28	35
Lesson 6	25	29	42
Lesson 7	106	146	36
Lesson 11	50	0	37
Lesson 14	80	2	40
Lesson 15	95	8	71
Lesson 16	32	0	59
Lesson 18	21	0	54
Lesson 20	10	0	128
Totals	572	213	533
Percentage of total coding units (1318)	43.399	16.160	40.440

Table 17: Intersectionality- Sexuality: connecting mind, body, and spirit

<i>Lesson</i>	<i>Institutions</i>	<i>Oppression</i>	<i>Lived Experience</i>
Exercise 15	21	0	7
Exercise 17	2	0	4
Exercise 23	0	1	8
Exercise 24	17	0	4
Exercise 25	10	2	2
Exercise 26	3	0	2

(Table 17 Continued)

Lesson	Institutions	Oppression	Lived Experience
Exercise 27	10	2	1
Exercise 34	25	0	2
Exercise 35	18	1	12
Exercise 36	19	0	7
Exercise 37	23	0	21
Exercise 38	24	3	23
Exercise 39	19	2	10
Exercise 40	28	9	2
Exercise 41	21	0	26
Exercise 43	28	24	12
Exercise 44	25	12	2
Exercise 45	4	2	2
Exercise 46	15	25	11
Exercise 47	12	0	6
Exercise 48	0	0	1
Exercise 56	25	0	0
Exercise 57	9	0	1
Exercise 61	3	0	0
Exercise 63	0	0	0
Exercise 69	10	0	3
Exercise 71	20	1	10
Exercise 74	38	22	6
sum	429	106	185
Percent of total coding units(n=720)	59.583	14.722	25.694

As table 16 shows, in the case of *Be Real, Be Ready*, of 1318 coding units 572 or 43.399% were coded as institutions, 213 or 16.160% were coded as oppression, and 533 or 40.440% were coded as lived experience. In the case of *Sexuality: connecting mind, body and*

spirit, table 17 shows that of 720 coding units 429 or 59.583% were coded as institutions, 106 or 14.722% were coded as oppression, and 185 or 25.694% were coded as lived experience.

Research question sub question C, table 18 and 19 shows how personhood is represented in the comprehensive and Catholic text:

Table 18: Personhood
Be Real, Be Ready

Lesson	<i>The self</i>	<i>Safety and Violence</i>	<i>morality</i>
Lesson 2	129	41	1
Lesson 3	141	6	29
Lesson 4	141	0	49
Lesson 6	199	3	17
Lesson 7	123	7	40
Lesson 11	33	20	20
Lesson 14	82	7	22
Lesson 15	191	17	1
Lesson 16	179	14	15
Lesson 18	50	14	0
Lesson 20	97	3	2
Totals	1365	132	196
Percentage of total coding units (n=1693)	80.626	7.796	11.577

Table 19: Personhood- Sexuality: connecting mind, body, and spirit

Lesson	<i>The self</i>	<i>Safety and Violence</i>	<i>morality</i>
Exercise 15	36	0	9
Exercise 17	4	2	3
Exercise 23	18	3	14
Exercise 24	53	3	50
Exercise 25	14	0	10
Exercise 26	10	1	6
Exercise 27	2	0	8
Exercise 34	2	0	2

(Table 19 Continued)

Lesson	<i>The self</i>	<i>Safety and Violence</i>	<i>morality</i>
Exercise 35	5	4	6
Exercise 36	6	0	8
Exercise 37	8	2	3
Exercise 38	11	0	38
Exercise 39	34	3	10
Exercise 40	11	0	17
Exercise 41	7	2	26
Exercise 43	12	10	7
Exercise 44	3	32	11
Exercise 45	7	19	3
Exercise 46	31	33	54
Exercise 47	7	0	4
Exercise 48	9	3	7
Exercise 56	22	5	22
Exercise 57	13	10	14
Exercise 61	9	0	2
Exercise 63	0	1	0
Exercise 69	30	0	41
Exercise 71	23	4	37
Exercise 74	23	0	19
sum	410	137	431
Percent of total coding units(n=978)	41.922	14.008	44.069

As table 18 shows, in the case of *Be Real, Be Ready*, of 1693 coding units 1365 or 80.626% were coded as the self , 132 or 7.796% were coded as safety and violence, and 196 or 11.577% were coded as morality. In the case of *Sexuality: connecting mind, body, and spirit*, table 19 shows that of 978 coding units 410 or 41.922% were coded as the self. 137 or 14.008% were coded as safety and violence, and 431 or 44.069% were coded as morality.

Research question sub question D, tables 20 and 21 show how social construction is represented in the comprehensive and Catholic text.

Table 20: Social construction
Be Real, Be Ready

Lesson	Race	Gender	Sexual Orientation	Ability	Technology	Courtship	Society
Lesson 2	1	2	1	0	10	115	10
Lesson 3	6	18	16	0	0	88	21
Lesson 4	10	232	109	0	2	3	68
Lesson 6	46	163	77	0	0	12	8
Lesson 7	20	78	89	5	1	10	28
Lesson 11	0	46	8	0	0	100	0
Lesson 14	5	44	2	4	5	7	53
Lesson 15	0	6	0	0	0	5	6
Lesson 16	0	61	2	0	0	10	22
Lesson 18	0	2	0	0	2	49	8
Lesson 20	3	17	12	0	2	8	17
Totals	91	669	316	9	22	407	241
Percentage of total coding units (n=1755)	5.185	38.119	18.005	.512	1.253	23.190	13.732

Table 21: Social construction- Sexuality: connecting mind, body, and spirit

Lesson	Race	Gender	Sexual Orientation	Ability	Technology	Courtship	Society
Exercise 15	2	37	3	0	0	8	22
Exercise 17	1	29	0	0	0	0	3
Exercise 23	0	5	0	0	0	11	2
Exercise 24	0	15	2	0	0	4	33
Exercise 25	5	41	0	0	0	5	11
Exercise 26	1	23	1	0	0	1	12
Exercise 27	0	29	0	0	0	13	2
Exercise 34	2	4	0	0	0	20	4
Exercise 35	2	31	0	1	0	2	6
Exercise 36	0	34	0	0	0	7	7
Exercise 37	2	10	0	0	0	4	7
Exercise 38	2	5	0	0	0	0	27

(Table 21 Continued)

Lesson	Race	Gender	Sexual Orientation	Ability	Technology	Courtship	Society
Exercise 39	3	7	33	0	0	8	9
Exercise 40	0	2	28	0	0	10	24
Exercise 41	4	13	1	0	0	13	6
Exercise 43	13	15	0	0	1	2	8
Exercise 44	6	38	0	0	0	8	3
Exercise 45	0	34	0	0	0	10	1
Exercise 46	0	11	1	1	0	5	18
Exercise 47	0	3	7	0	0	28	1
Exercise 48	0	0	0	0	0	23	0
Exercise 56	0	0	0	0	0	7	18
Exercise 57	1	11	0	0	0	7	23
Exercise 61	0	7	0	0	0	7	0
Exercise 63	0	0	0	0	0	10	0
Exercise 69	0	2	0	0	0	2	39
Exercise 71	2	4	0	0	0	10	34
Exercise 74	6	22	0	0	0	2	13
sum	52	432	76	2	1	227	333
Percent of total coding units(1123)	4.630	38.468	6.767	.178	.089	20.213	29.652

Table 20 shows, in the case of *Be Real, Be Ready*, of 1755 coding units that were coded under this category 91 or 5.185% were coded as race, 669 or 38.119% were coded as gender, 316 or 18.005% were coded as sexual orientation, 9 or .512% were coded as ability, 22 or 1.253% were coded as technology, 407 or 23.190% were coded as courtship, and 241 or 13.732% were coded as society. In the case of *Sexuality: connecting mind, body, and spirit: connecting mind, body and spirit*, table 21 shows that of 1123 coding units that were coded under this category, 52 or 4.918% were coded as race, 432 or 38.468% were coded as gender, 76 or 6.767% were coded

as sexual orientation, 2 or .178% were coded as ability, 1 or 0.089% were coded as technology, 227 or 20.213% were coded as courtship, and 333 or 29.652% were coded as society.

Research Question 2

Research question 2 states: Do representations of diversity in the curriculum differ between the comprehensive curriculum and the Catholic curriculum? If they do what intersections of difference (race, gender, ability, ethnicity, sexual orientation, etc.) are represented?

The extrapolated counts from the manifest analysis are as follows:

Comprehensive text- .989% for race, 7.272% for gender, 3.435% for sexual orientation, .097% were coded as ability, .239% for technology,

Catholic text-. 1.363% for race, 11.323% for gender, 1.992% for sexual orientation, .052% were coded as ability, .026% for technology

Research Question 3

Research question 3 states: Do representations of intersectionality differ between the comprehensive curriculum and the Catholic curriculum?

In order to provide a measure for intersectional representations, the categories of institutions, oppression, and lived experiences were created. For the comprehensive text *Be Real, Be Ready*, 43.399% were coded as institutions, 16.160% were coded as oppression, and 5.795% were coded as Lived Experience of the total number (n= 1318) of coding units. For the Catholic Text *Sexuality: connect mind, body, and spirit*, of 720 coding units 59.583% were coded as institutions, 14.722% were coded as oppression, and 25.694% were coded as lived experience of the total number (n=720) of coding units.

Interrater Agreement

In order to establish reliability, a replicability design (Krippendorff, 2012) was used. One interrater was trained in the code book, recording instrument, and coding technique. The interrater was then given samples from both texts accounting for 20% of the total number of lessons sampled for this content analysis. Coding was dichotomous, meaning that it recorded evidence or absence (Johnson & Holmes, 2009). Interrater reliability was recorded using simple agreement and Cohen's Kappa (Powell & Garcia, 1985) and judged using Landis and Koch's scale (1977). The simple agreement was 94.1% and the kappa score was .873 which rates at almost perfect.

Conclusion

This chapter provided the results of the manifest analysis and the interrater agreement from the two fellow coders in order to establish validity. *Be Real, Be Ready* and *Sexuality: connecting mind, body, and spirit* were chosen because they are representative of the how sexuality is conceptualized by the institutions, specifically the San Francisco Unified School District and the Magisterium, that created them; these institutions are teaching their conceptualizations to thousands of students. This content analysis has identified that in the Comprehensive text *Be Real, Be Ready* the dominant discourse is Biology/ Essentialism whereas in the Catholic text *Sexuality: connecting mind, body, and spirit* the dominant discourse was Personhood. For both texts, the least evident discourse was intersectionality. Among the subcodes, the least common subcodes in both the Comprehensive text and the Catholic text was ability and technology while the most common was "the body." The implications discerned from this study are discussed in detail in the next chapter along with discussions for future research and limitations.

Chapter 6: Discussion and Conclusion

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the findings, implications for practice and future research, and limitations of this content analysis. The goal of this study has been to determine what discourses are evident in institutionally created sex education texts and compare the frequencies that those discourses, representations of diversity, and representations of intersectionality that occurred in the comprehensive sex education text against those found in the Catholic sex education text. A memetic approach (Krippendorff, 2013) and a directed content analysis strategy as described by Hsieh and Shannon (2005) were utilized in the analysis of 39 samples taken from the two respective texts. This content analysis was guided by three research questions:

(RQ1) how is information in the comprehensive curriculum and the Catholic curriculum organized? What traditions or approaches are represented?

- a) How much of the information is essentialist?
- b) How much of the information is intersectionality based?
- c) How much of the information is personhood based?
- d) How much of the information is social constructivist?

(RQ2) Do representations of diversity in the curriculum differ between the comprehensive curriculum and the Catholic curriculum? If they do what intersections of difference (race, gender, ability, ethnicity, sexual orientation, etc.) are represented?

(RQ3) Do representations of intersectionality differ between the comprehensive curriculum and the Catholic curriculum?

In the discussion, each research question will be addressed in order.

Discussion of Findings and Results

Krippendorff (2012) defines institutions as “habitual social practices that are enacted within a community and serve normative functions for how members organize themselves and constructs the realities they live by. Content analysts may infer how the exchange of textual matter encourages, constructs, or undermines particular institutional practices” (p.384).

Institutions are perpetrators of social curriculum; therefore, the content they produce are reflective of the memes that dominate the institutions themselves. Conclusions can only be drawn about the institutions rather than the societies that created them, although the society may wholly endorse the dispositions of these institutions. This study only draws conclusions concerning the intuitions that created the respective texts.

(RQ1) how is information in the comprehensive curriculum and the Catholic curriculum organized? What traditions or approaches are represented?

As was stated in Chapter 5, in regard to *Be Real, Be Ready* of the 9199 coding units found in the 11 samples, Biology/essentialist made up 48.190% of the observed coding units; Intersectionality made up 14.327% of the observed coding units; personhood made up 18.404% of the observed coding units; and social constructivist made up 19.078% of the observed coding units. It is evident that biology/essentialism which was comprised of “the body” and “prevention” codes dominated the samples taken from *Be Real, Be Ready*.

According to the data presented in this study, it can be asserted that the comprehensive text and by extension the Unified San Francisco School District have a clear leaning towards sexuality as a public health discourse when it comes to the construction of their curriculum. This is not surprising being that many of the contributing organizations for *Be Real, Be Ready* are medical service organizations. *Be Real, Be Ready* states on the title page that

The content of this curriculum was modified for use and/or created by the Adolescent Health Working Group (AHWG) Adolescent Health Education Collaborative (AHEC) AHEC Partner Agencies Include: Expect Respect SF, Family Service Agency of San Francisco, Health Initiatives For Youth, Huckleberry Youth Programs, Mission Neighborhood Health Center, New Generation Health Center, Planned Parenthood Northern California, San Francisco Department of Public Health, San Francisco Unified School District, and Youth+Tech+Health Funding for AHEC and this curriculum was provided by: The Metta Fund The California Wellness Foundation Title X and The Federal Office of Population Affairs San Francisco Unified School District San Francisco Department of Public Health. (p. 1)

As a practice, sex education in the United States is not uniform and in many states it can be described as cursory. Comprehensive sex education is designed to guarantee that the students who are exposed to it are receiving the most factual and up to date information on the functionality of the human body, disease transmission, pregnancy, and prevention across all sexual orientations that can be provided. The SFUSD takes the positions put forward by Lamb (2011), “advocates of comprehensive sexuality education have long been arguing on behalf of the evidence (Kirby, 2007) as well as for the democratic goal of giving citizens the right to have enough education to make their own choices with regard to health and sexual behavior” (pp. 31-32). *Be Real, Be Ready* strives to be a democratic text.

Is *Be Real, Be Ready* a comprehensive sex education text? I assert that *Be Real, Be Ready* satisfies the intellectual underpinnings described by Fields (2008) Lamb (2011). *Be real, Be Ready* is a health education class text. In lesson 1, the suggested script states “Since we are starting a new unit of Health class we would like to know how much you already know about this subject and what you think about this subject –we will measure this through something called a pre-test. Please keep in mind, this assessment will not be graded and all of your answers are confidential” (p.3). While it is true that 48.190% of the coding units are derived from a discourse that views sexuality as a public health concern, the remaining coding units are divided between categories derived from social construction, personhood, and intersectional discourses which all situate sexuality as a living discourse that is always in flux. But it should be noted that the effect of essentialist oriented curriculum is easier to measure (Lamb, 2011).

In regard to *Sexuality: connecting mind, body, and spirit*, of the 3815 coding units found in the 28 samples, Biology/essentialism made up 26.055% of the observed coding units; intersectionality made up 18.872% of the observed coding units; personhood made up 25.635%

of the observed coding units; and social constructivist made up 29.436% of the observed coding units.

Not all religious sex education curricula are abstinence only programs despite popular assumption. Moles (2016) writes,

This approach breaks with the dominant Christian sexual ethic by focusing on the quality of relationships, as opposed to specific sexual acts, and holds that there are various ways to form loving families, including same-sex ones. It also views sexuality and sexual pleasure to be positive human capacities. Sacred texts and teachings are interpreted in light of historical context and scientific research. Building on this definition, the value system emphasizes that general guiding principles, such as mutuality and consent, are crucial to ethical sexual decision-making. (p.221)

The Catholic text is a theological text that attempts to bridge the gap with comprehensive sex education. The factual information is correct but what differentiates the Catholic text from the comprehensive text is that the intent of the curriculum is the promotion of a value system rather than the dissemination of information.

In the Catholic curriculum theory conceptualized in *Catechetical Formation in Chaste Living; guidelines for curriculum design and publication* (2008), sex education is typically placed in theology curriculum. The copy right pages of *Sexuality: connecting mind, body, and spirit*, the *Imprimatur*, given by Bishop Anthony M. Philla, states

The *Nihil Obstat* and *Imprimatur* are official declarations that the book or pamphlet is free of doctrinal or moral error. No implication is contained therein that those who have granted the *Nihil Obstat* and *Imprimatur* agree with the contents, opinions, or statements expressed. (p. ii)

The *Nihil Obstat* and *Imprimatur* mean that the Catholic theology and definitions is completely accurate but that the text itself was written by another person. In this case, the Catholic theology in question are the social teachings of sexuality and the body described in *Humanae Vitae* (1968), *Casti connubii* (1930), *Familiaris consortio* (1981), *Veritatis Splendo* (1993), the

Theology of the Body lectures of Pope John Paul II (1979-1984), and the Catechism of the Roman Catholic Church.

The Catholic text and the Roman Catholic Church draw from multiple discourses to construct their curriculum. It should be noted that Catholic high schools are typically college preparatory institutions and as such, much of the biology concerning human reproduction is taught in the life sciences curricula. Even in the Catholic curriculum, biology/essentialism is a prevalent discourse represented which is due to the Catholic emphasis on the body in its theology. The *Theology of the Body* states that

The sacrament, as a visible sign, is constituted with man, as a body, by means of his visible masculinity and femininity. The body, and it alone, is capable of making visible what is invisible: the spiritual and the divine. It was created to transfer into the visible reality of the world the mystery hidden since time immemorial in God, and thus be a sign of it. (*Man Enters the World as a Subject of Truth and Love*, para 4)

Biology, in the Catholic sense, cannot be divorced from its theological significance.

Social construction is the most prevalent discourse. This is not surprising because Catholic sex education theory and Catholic sexual teaching is centered on the notion of “chastity” and is posited relative to broader society. Chastity is defined in the Catholic text as

Chastity is not the same thing as abstinence or celibacy. Chastity is not even a sexual term in its basic meaning...Chastity means to experience life and sexuality in a way that neither violates other people or ourselves...Because our sexual energy is sometimes wild, it needs to be contained and controlled by a conscious decision and lifestyle that goes far beyond out mood or emotion of the moment. (*Sexuality*, pp. 162-163)

This rewording does not contradict the definition of chastity from the Catechism of the Roman Catholic Church discussed in chapter 2.

Catholic teaching actively opposes any discourse that seeks to reduce sexuality to its biological function. Yet, while the comprehensive text does not seek to define what sexuality is in terms of right, wrong, or natural, the Catholic text does define sex in moral terms. The

conceptualization and the act are seen as contingent upon each other as expressions of orthodoxy and orthopraxy.

Sub-question A) How much of the information is essentialist?

As Chapter 5 shows, in the case of *Be Real, Be Ready*, of the 4433 coding units that were used in this category, the body comprised 76.268% of the coding units while prevention comprised 23.731% of the coding units. In the case of *Sexuality: connecting mind, body and spirit*, of the 994 coding units that were used in this category, the body comprised 75.050% of the coding units while prevention comprised 24.949% of the coding units.

The biological plays a central role in the conceptualization of sexuality. Goldfarb and Liebermann (2016) write,

The physical changes that occur during adolescent development are often the most noticeable and these changes affect every aspect of young peoples' lives. Their physical transformation may lead to changes in teens' peer groups, in the way they are perceived by others, as well as how they perceive themselves. (p. 263)

Be Real, Be Ready provides its own biology curriculum complete with diagrams, definitions, and taxonomy. These concepts extend to lessons on contraception, diseases, cures, treatments, and prevention; this is done to ensure that students are exposed to the information in the state of California and particularly San Francisco as the SFUSD conceptualizes that students have a right to this information (Lamb, 2011). Comprehensive sex education reflects its origin as a subject covered in health class. It should be noted that orientation plays a specific role in the depiction of information; in particular homosexual sex. In Lesson 20 which discusses HIV/AIDS, it is noted that

Some people think HIV only affects people who are gay. This is incorrect – HIV affects all people – no matter their sex, gender, or sexual orientation. Some people think that HIV only affects gay people because HIV was first identified in the US primarily in gay communities in LA, SF, and NYC. (*Be Real, Be Ready*, p.15)

In *Be Real, Be Ready* special attention is paid to methods of transmission that address how gay male sex has a higher chance of transmission of HIV/AIDS in Lesson 20 and other STD's in lesson 18 because of the functionality of the organs involved.

Sexuality: connecting mind, body, and spirit discuss the body but not from a biology curriculum point of view. Rather, the body is situated in a theological context. It should be noted that while all of the biological information presented in the Catholic text is factual, the way it is presented is in a decidedly negative light. For example Exercise 41 discusses the impact of AIDS and STDs and states

A federal Centers for Disease Control study revealed that about half of high schools students have never had a sexual experience. The study also found that a large percentage of the students who had sex wished that they had remained virgins and expressed a desire to learn skills that would lead to abstinence. Making love is a gift that two married people give to each other. It is too precious to be tarnished by lies and dishonesty that reduce its value. (p.103)

The Catholic text is a theological text, which is the lens through which all essentialist information is filtered. .

Sub-question B) How much of the information is intersectionality based?

As chapter 5 shows, in the case of *Be Real, Be Ready*, of the 1318 coding units, institutions comprised 43.399% of the coding units; oppression comprised 16.160% of the coding units; and lived experience comprised 40.440% of the coding units. In the case of *Sexuality: connecting mind, body and spirit* of the 720 coding units, institutions comprised 59.583% of the coding units; oppression comprised 14.722% of the coding units; and lived experience comprised 25.694% of the coding units. It should be noted that as a category, intersectionality was the least evident discourse in both the comprehensive and Catholic texts. How intersectionality was represented will be discussed in greater detail later in research question 3. Intersectionality includes how institutions, laws, social structures, and social curricula which shape

conceptualizations of sex, sex education, sexuality, and even how we see the body and its functions..

Sub-question C) How much of the information is personhood based?

As chapter 5 shows, in the case of *Be Real, Be Ready* of the 1693 coding units, the self comprised 80.626% of the coding units; safety and violence comprised 7.796% of the coding units; and morality comprised 11.577% of the coding units. In the case of *Sexuality: connecting mind, body, and spirit* of the 978 coding units the self comprised 41.922% of the coding units; safety and violence comprised 14.008% of the coding units; and morality comprised 44.069% of the coding units.

Personhood is a very important discourse. Frans (2016) writes,

Sexual knowledge must be relevant to the reality of the young people themselves. Education about sexuality and relationships must therefore be based on the level of experience of the young people and ought to have the ambition to address the whole person in this process. Indeed, many of the objectives are in the realm of attitudes and skills. (p.82)

The expressed purpose of both the comprehensive and Catholic sex education curricula is to create responsible and knowledgeable people who can make healthy decisions regarding their sexualities. Both texts have a heavy emphasis the self as a code. I assert that both texts seek to situate the reader at the center of the discourse. While biology/essentialist and social constructivism discourses provide valuable information and insight, they are external to sexual subjectivity.

A key difference in how the comprehensive text and the Catholic text differ in their representations of personhood can be seen with the morality code. Goldfarb and Liebermann (2016) write,

The development of a sense of right and wrong, integrity, and respect for standards of correct behavior is thought to be the basis for morality. In early adolescence, young

people test the rules, enhance the role of a conscience, and begin to think more abstractly. These developments result in greater interest in and capacity for moral reasoning among older teens. Such moral reasoning helps older teens generate, implement, and evaluate ethical choices in a given situation, which is a key component of effective decision-making. (p. 271)

Morality is an important topic for sex educators and must be addressed. Goldfarb and Liebermann (2016) continue

Sexuality education should consider such moral development stages in presenting problems that encourage young people to look outside themselves and their own needs, and to explore the basis of the sexual values, rules, and norms that are prevalent in the media, and in their families, communities, and cultures. (p. 273)

Morality is intrinsic to personhood as a developed morality is central to subjectivity.

Morality is far more evident in the Catholic text than in the comprehensive text. The reasons for this can be found in the comprehensive texts inclination to be inclusive of marginalized sexualities; specifically, LGBTQ persons. The comprehensive text makes no moral condemnation about these populations nor does it posit any form of contraception to be immoral. In Lesson 7, the SFUSD enumerates a list of LGBTQ student rights. Among them are

Right to be treated equally and to be free from bullying, harassment and discrimination, regardless of sexual orientation, gender identity or gender expression (SFUSD Board Policy 5162; California Education Code Section 200-220).

Right to be respected and to dress and act in ways that do not conform to stereotypes associated with their gender, with respect to the student dress code. (SFUSD Board Regulation R5163a; California Education Code Section 221.5)

Right to LGBTQ-inclusive social studies, history and comprehensive sexual health education (California Education Code Section 51204.5, and 51930-51939)

Right to be referred to by the gender pronoun and name that fits your gender identity (SFUSD Board Regulation R5163a; California Education Code Section 221.5)

Right to be involved in school activities, and access spaces such as locker rooms and restrooms, that fit with your gender identity (SFUSD Board Regulation R5163a; California Education Code Section 221.5). (*Be Real, Be Ready*, p. 10)

The Catholic text specifically condemns LGBTQ sexual acts, not the orientation, to be sinful. It states in Exercise 40

Homosexuals share, with every other person on earth, membership in the human family, the presence of a soul, and a reflection of the image of God...The Church teaches that genital experiences are only permitted within the bonds of matrimony. The same restrictions that apply to premarital or extramarital intercourse apply to homosexual genital behavior. While homosexual persons can be healthy, homogeneity is not considered healthy and does not promote growth in love. (*Sexuality*, p.100)

This difference provides valuable insight into the conceptual differences of personhood and morality in the SFUSD and the Magisterium.

The Catholic text also specifically condemns abortion and other contraception as running contrary to the dignity of sex, which keeps with Roman Catholic teachings on chastity. Exercise 38 states that

The Church has correctly condemned abortion and the misguided arguments that abortion proponents use. A Catholic who disagrees with this teaching, which is supported by all the leaders and teachers of the faith, is in conflict with the most basic and important ideas upon which our faith is founded. Human life is the highest form of life on earth, and it is our responsibility to generate, protect, and civilize other human lives. (*Sexuality*, p. 94)

Abortion is discussed in Lesson 16 along with other forms of birth control, but it is also discussed in Lesson 15 which lists youth health rights under California law. Because abortion is listed as an affirmed right, it can be asserted that the SFUSD and the Magisterium differ on the morality of abortion.

It should be noted that the category safety and violence is well represented in both texts. The topic is a dire one. Thornton (2003) writes, “the issues of adolescent dating violence must be included with any school’s anti-violence policies and prevention strategies” (p. 102). Safety is a major concern across the board and adolescents are especially vulnerable. The comprehensive curriculum situates personal safety and sexual safety alongside each other around dating; rape is not explicitly mentioned but it is implied. For example, the highest concentration of this code is found in Lesson 2 which covers communication and dating. A typical statement concerning safety is

What are some strategies for staying safe on a first date?

Know where you are going and make sure a trusted adult knows where you are going.

Have contact information with you for friends/family in case of an emergency.

Have money with you for transportation home (enough for a cab) or make sure to set up a Lyft/Uber account in case cabs or public transportation is not available.

Know your boundaries before the date. Clearly communicate your boundaries to your date.

Avoid drugs and alcohol before and during the date. (*Be Real, Be Ready*, p. 8)

The Catechism of the Catholic Church defines rape as

Rape is the forcible violation of the sexual intimacy of another person. It does injury to justice and charity. Rape deeply wounds the respect, freedom, and physical and moral integrity to which every person has a right. It causes grave damage that can mark the victim for life. It is always an intrinsically evil act. (Para 2356)

As such, the Catholic text never defines rape but deals explicitly with the topics of rape, abuse, and date rape. Exercise 40 discusses the roots of sexual violence and states

Many boys are taught at an early age that fighting is an acceptable way to solve a problem. Men batter women because they have been trained to by the culture in which they grew up: a culture of violent encouragement and very few sanctions against brutality. Society has taught boys to accept violence but offers very little training in negotiating intimate relationships. The resulting mentality is that some men think that it is their right to control women and children and to expect certain behavior from them...it is truly up to men to help other men put an end to this destructive poisoning of their minds. (*Sexuality*, p. 108-109)

This statement is a surprising acknowledgement and condemnation of hegemonic masculinity.

Exercise 44 which discusses rape and date rape states

The news media barely mentioned the Senate Judiciary Committee's report about the failure of the criminal justice system to recognize and prosecute rape...the reality is that danger exists and that women need to be aware of risks. People have a right to safety, and fighting against date rape also means fighting for women's rights and protection. (*Sexuality*, p. 111)

This conceptualization can be described as a feminist perspective and can be seen as evidence of memes showing up in discourses that are typically seen as antagonistic.

Sub-question D) How much of the information is social constructivist?

As chapter 5 shows in the case of *Be Real, Be Ready* of the 1755 coding units, race comprised 5.185% of the coding units; gender comprised 38.119% of the coding units; sexual orientation comprised 18.005% of the coding units; ability comprised .512% of the coding units; technology comprised 1.253% of the coding units; courtship comprised 23.190% of the coding units; and society comprised 13.732% of the coding units. In the Case of *Sexuality: connecting mind, body, and spirit: connecting mind, body and spirit* of the 1123 coding units, race comprised 4.918% of the coding units; gender comprised 38.468% of the coding units; sexual orientation comprised 6.767% of the coding units; ability comprised .178% of the coding units; technology comprised 0.089% of the coding units; courtship comprised 20.213% of the coding units; and society comprised 29.522% of the coding units.

It should be noted that social construction was the most prevalent theme in the Catholic text and the second most common theme in the comprehensive text. Social construction poses a special challenge to sex education curriculum theorist. Irvine (1995) writes “while many educators now agree that programs must address cultural differences, there has been little discussion about what “culture” actually is, how it works, and how to develop effective multicultural sexuality education” (p. 23). I will go further into how differences in diversity were represented in research question 2.

Courtship comprised 4.425% of coding units in *Be Real, Be Ready* and 5.950% of coding units in *Sexuality: connecting mind, body, and spirit*; this is a key representation because it addresses relevancy and acknowledges diversity of conceptualizations surrounding dating, relationships, and marriage or long term coupling. Dating was a specific topic covered in both texts with subtopics including asking someone out, dealing with rejection, breaking up with

people, being broken up with, and dating safety. Broadly speaking, dating is a part of how people conceptualize their own sexuality. Goldfarb and Liebermann (2016) write, “most social interactions remain overtly non-sexual but some young people may begin to experiment with dating or “going out,” (p.275). Discussions of courtship disrupts the narratives of infantilization and adultification of youth which intersects with gender, race, sexual orientation, technology, and ability to create a curricula that attempts to be relevant. But in the case of both of these texts, being they are not multicultural, the discussion while relevant is problematic. Irvine (1995) asserts that courtship is a cultured activity and “in this country, degree of assimilation may affect the sexual beliefs, attitudes, and practices of an individual member of an ethnic group” (p. 29). If courtship is not presented in a multicultural light, then it can be described as a hegemonic expression of whiteness.

A key finding in this study is that technology is rarely discussed in either text. In *Be Real, Be Ready* technology accounts for .288% of coding units while in *Sexuality: connecting mind, body, and spirit* it accounts for .026% of coding units; this is a significant gap in both curricula. It ignores the current realities that students live with; namely, that they are experiencing their sexual development in a hyper technological world. Crewe (2016) writes “young people, living in a sexualized world with social media, are gaining a great deal of their sexual educations and their understandings of sexuality from the Internet, from Facebook, Twitter, and other forms of social media” (p. 124). The ubiquity of camera phones and the accessibility of the internet poses new challenges to sex curriculum theorists on how to protect privacy and prevent abuses of both the technology and the students. The lack of open and frank discussions about technology undermines the current relevance of the texts.

(RQ2) Do representations of diversity in the curriculum differ between the comprehensive curriculum and the Catholic curriculum? If they do what intersections of difference (race, gender, ability, ethnicity, sexual orientation, etc.) are represented?

As stated earlier in chapter 5, the data concerning diversity taken from the overall total was:

Comprehensive text- .978% for race; 7.274% for gender; 3.436% for sexual orientation; .097 were coded as ability.228% for technology

Catholic text-. 1.363% for race; 11.323% for gender; 1.992% for sexual orientation; .052% were coded as ability; .026% for technology

As the data shows, the representation of diversity in both the curricula was consistent and small. This data is problematic as it limits in the impact of the texts in a multicultural sense. Edge (2003) writes

The classroom is not one homogeneity. Yet, our legal system and broader society often think that we are all the same. The reality is that we may be created equal, but we are all somewhat different. In fact, we are becoming increasingly different. (p.134)

A lack of diversity means that the texts are not keeping up with the changes in society. The United States is becoming increasingly nonwhite and this fact will be reflected in our classrooms. Race is a pertinent factor in education as a whole and ignoring racial diversity poses a hindrance to sex education (Edge, 2003).

Diversity is not a simple nor static matter. Crewe (2016) writes

Race, class, culture, and religion, along with gender, are contextually rooted in history and geography—they are socially constructed and are not fixed traits of individuals. The socially constructed nature of these dimensions and their representations of power dynamics mean that the experiences of young people will vary by their age and race, as well as by their gender, class, and sexual orientation (Weber, 1998). (p.128)

Cultures and societies as a whole are always in flux, which necessitates that sex education has to maintain itself relative to changes in society. Neither text does this. The only intersections evident in both texts were those of gender and sexual orientation.

Of all the diversity measures, gender was largest for both texts. Gender is one of the main lenses that sex education is viewed through and was the largest of the diversity measures in both texts. It should be noted here that for the purposes of this study that sex and gender were included in the same code as gender. Dyson (2016) writes, “Gender is another factor that is implicated in sexuality; gender is about the socially constructed roles, responsibilities, identities, and expectations assigned to men and women. It contrasts with the females, which are known as secondary sex characteristics” (p.169). The prevailing conceptualizations of gender do not reflect the actual complexities. The comprehensive text situated gender and sex along a spectrum that included transgender and intersex as concepts and that all people have a gender identity, gender expression, biological sex, and sexual orientation. I assert that this conceptualization is profound and represents a key intersection that makes this curriculum unique.

The Catholic text does essentialize gender identity and biological sex as a single function. Moles (2016) writes about the roots of the Catholic gender conceptualization In terms of gender roles, “he (Augustine of Hippo) believed that women were inferior to men and created to serve husbands and to bear children” (p. 220). Intersex and transgender subjectivities are notably absent from this text because the Catholic Church has no official teaching on either subject. It should be noted that the Catholic text does use their situating of masculinity and femininity as biologically reinforced identities to assert a surprisingly Catholic interpretation feminist discourse concerning the oppression of women and the corrosive effects of hegemonic masculinity on both boys and girls and implicitly condemns women seeking to be competitive

with men over power as giving into patriarchal concerns. The Catechism of the Roman Catholic Church states that

Man and woman have been created, which is to say, willed by God: on the one hand, in perfect equality as human persons; on the other, in their respective beings as man and woman. “Being man” or “being woman” is a reality which is good and willed by God: man and woman possess an inalienable dignity which comes to them immediately from God their Creator. Man and woman are both with one and the same dignity “in the image of God.” In their “being-man” and “being-woman,” they reflect the Creator’s wisdom and goodness. (Para 369)

Still, the conceptualization of gender is a binary in the Catholic text.

A key finding is the lack of disability representation in the texts. The representations are so miniscule, that I assert that both texts are ableist in their discourse. Schrempf (2001) asserts that society asexualizes the disabled. Both texts do this through their negligence of disabled bodies. The variety of disabilities does; however, make planning an inclusive curriculum complex but the asexualizing of disabled bodies is the most obvious hurdle in the way of disabled inclusion. Hough, Warren and Crehan (2016) write

Essentially, many parents or clinicians may not consider that their child would need or want access to information regarding sexuality, and thus the topic is never broached. Especially for children with social impairments, sexual expression may not be something that occurs to a caretaker. This limits the information that a child gets, obviously, but also may send the message that a child with a disability should not need or want this information. (p.318)

It is imperative that alongside discourses about race, gender, and sexual orientation that the disabled and their own sexual subjectivity be acknowledged, theorized circularly, and taught in standard sex education classes. I acknowledge that sex education for those with mental disabilities is a topic that is explored within special education discourses but in the case *Be Real, Be Ready* and *Sexuality: connecting mind, body, and spirit* the lived experiences and positionalities of those who are physically disabled are, for all intents and purposes, ignored.

Issues of race, ethnicity, nationality, class, and documentation status are also barely addressed aside from sparse statistical references in both texts. It should be noted that *Be Real, Be Ready* is available in a few languages including Cantonese and Spanish which adds to its cross racial appeal. However, the gap remains and these reasons may be rooted in a desire to be universal with the curriculum and to avoid making any assertions about the sexual habits or mores of certain groups. While this reason is understandable, it is also exclusionary by default and tacitly promotes a white hegemonic sexuality. Crewe (2016) writes

In the broad modernist Western tradition, hierarchical social values would construct the most prized sexual being as the white, adult, heterosexual male, and Steyn and van Zyl suggest the most prized sexual liaison would be a monogamous, same-race, heterosexual union between two able bodied adults. The sexualities of those differently positioned are all subjected to constructions of “othering” in some form or another. (p.128)

Sexual mores vary by race, ethnic, nationality, class, and documentary status. Omission and sparsity reinforce hegemony.

(RQ3) Do representations of intersectionality differ between the comprehensive curriculum and the Catholic curriculum?

For the comprehensive text *Be Real, Be Ready*, 43.399% were coded as institutions, 16.160% were coded as oppression, and 5.795% were coded as Lived Experience of the total number (n= 9196) of coding units. For the Catholic Text *Sexuality: connect mind, body, and spirit*, of 720 coding units 59.583% were coded as institutions, 14.722% were coded as oppression, and 25.694% were coded as lived experience of the total number (n=3815) of coding units.

Intersectionality was the least evident discourse in both texts, which is problematic. For this study, intersectionality and its subsequent codes were limited to broader conceptualizations of institutions, oppression, and lived experience. Intersectionality is both difficult to implement in a school setting and is necessary to maximize relevance. Crew (2016) writes, “Steyn and van

Zyl (2009) write that a study of sexuality must recognize how socio-political and cultural processes of creating “races,” genders, sexualities, and disabilities are expressed through and upon our bodies” (p.128). Discussions of lived experiences provides a means of intersectionality on an individual level. Lived experience was more prevalent in the Catholic text rather than in the comprehensive text. The comprehensive text, however, was more directed with its lived experience. *Be Real, Be Ready* incorporated videos and guest speakers on matters such as HIV, so what it lacks in text I assert it makes up for in its supplementary materials not included in this content analysis. The Catholic text used lived experience in a manner to reinforce the morality of a situation, especially in regards to STD’s, teen pregnancy, rape, and birth control but not in the same directed manner as was found in the comprehensive text. This emphasizes a fundamental difference between *Be Real, Be Ready* and *Sexuality: connecting mind, body, and spirit*; *Be Real, Be Ready* seeks to be a real world document while *Sexuality: connecting mind, body, and spirit* is a moral text. In an intersectional sense, the comprehensive text strives to be an intersectional curriculum and the Catholic text strives to be a theological curriculum yet both seek to affect orthopraxy and orthodoxy concerning sexuality.

Both text’s highlighted institutions especially the family and the school. While it is true that society, the government, economic bodies, and religious bodies do perpetuate systems of oppression, it is the family and the school that form people’s first encounters with discriminatory systems and resistance to them. Meyer (2010) writes “Schools play a key role in teaching and reinforcing the dominant values of culture and this holds especially true in areas of gender and sexuality” (p.3). The same can be argued about families, which are the first intuitions people encounter.

The comprehensive and the Catholic text diverge on the topic of rights. The

comprehensive curriculum is explicit in its study of intersectionality, which is both spread throughout the texts sampled and focused on in Lesson 7: Privilege, Oppression, and Being an Ally. Students are required to know the definitions of the various forms of oppression and it should be noted that ableism is one of the definitions covered in that lesson.

The Catholic text does not focus on intersectionality in any firm fashion. Rather, the focus of oppression and rights is filtered through a pro-life stand point. It should be noted that it is official Roman Catholic social teaching to oppose abortion, but it is also social teaching to be anti-racist and anti-sexist. It is noticeable that while social justice is openly discussed in the text under Sexuality and Social Justice, the forms of privilege and oppression are noticeably absent; I assert that this reflects the Catholic Church's position that matters of sexuality are universal which allows for sexuality to be covered in a manner that is detached from its broader intersectional realities.

Implications for future study

The implications of the study can be divided into curriculum theory and praxis effects, which are interrelated. From a theoretical perspective, the binary which often frames sex education as being essentialist or social constructivist is proven to be false. The respective texts do not fit on either extreme but rather on a spectrum of discourse between those two poles; this is evident because of the variety of discourses evident in the comprehensive and in the Catholic texts. The study confirms that the curricula presented in the respective text is neither essentialist nor social constructivist. Each curriculum includes both.

A key issue that this study raises is how essentialist, social constructivist, intersectional, and personhood discourses had been utilized to radically different ends. The Unified San Francisco School District created a text which is very much rooted in a desire to disseminate

critical information to populations who can be denied access to this information in school settings despite the clear need for such instruction; the youth. The Magisterium and the U.S. Conference of Bishops created a text which is very much rooted in a desire to promote a theological position which is dedicated to the same ends as the Unified San Francisco School District. Both of these texts are examples of sexuality education but from disparate socio-political positionalities. From a historical perspective, the texts are a continuance of a much older argument over what to teach the youth about sex.

From a praxis standpoint, both texts have a lot to offer curriculum theorists and designers. Foremost are the gaps in the texts. Race, technology, and disability must be addressed in sex education curricula. With regard to race, the creation of a sex education curricula that is oriented toward a specific racial group is an undertaking that is wrought with the risk of stereotyping but it is a necessary endeavor. Sex practices, mores, and conceptualization vary by racial group and when race is ignored, the social curriculum which provides a framework in which these students may frame their realities are not addressed. This is a task that should be undertaken with community support and input.

Technology has changed the way that people interact with and understand the world. The current generation of secondary school students has grown up in a completely technologically infused world; this has clear implications for sex education in the realms of bullying and personal safety. If students are not receiving accurate information in classrooms, they will seek it out wherever they can and this information will most likely be found on the internet. While there is a preponderance of websites that provide accurate information freely there is also a preponderance of website that disseminates misleading and outright false information. This study shows the variety of ways that information can be presented depending on the standpoint of the

author. With regard to bullying and personal safety, sexual orientation is one of the leading types of bullying and the internet provides no respite from such personal attacks. Also, dating is rapidly being intertwined with technology and students are having their first dating experiences in circumstances for which their privacy can be violated with blinding speed. It is incumbent that these realities be considered in the creation of any sex education text, which the study shows is lacking.

As discussed earlier, mental disability is a topic for special education and these texts are not special education texts. But with physical disability, the lack of discourse regarding disabled bodies serves to marginalize them. This study shows that this marginalization is a concern. Society often desexualizes those who are disabled, despite that not being a biological certainty.

Limitations and Future research

Although I do assert that the findings of this study are relevant as they provide new insight into what discourses are evident in disparate sex education curricula, this study does have limitations. Foremost, this content analysis' categories and codes were based on my understanding of these discourses. I did not interview students to ascertain if these discourses would be evident to them, and my interraters for both the pilot and the final study were fellow Doctoral candidates. In the pilot study one rater was male and one was female, which had provided me with insight into how the code book conceptualizations intersect with the gender and sex of the interraters but both are Black. For the final study, the interrater was a white female. Using multiple interraters of various backgrounds would have possibly provided intersectional insights and feedback with code creation and code book construction. These findings cannot be asserted to be objective and are only contained to the texts examined.

Another limitation of this study lies with the sampling. Because of the structural differences between *Be Real*, *Be Ready* and *Sexuality: connecting mind, body and spirit*, purposeful sampling created a disparity in the amount of texts examined. While the study maintains structural and semantic validity, the number of samples is skewed heavily in favor of the Catholic text although the comprehensive text had higher word count which is reflected in the difference of coding units between the texts. The Catholic text separated a single topic into multiple chapters, so in order to achieve structural and semantic validity, all relevant chapters under a topic were sampled whereas the comprehensive text was divided by broad topics.

A notable limitation is that in this study I can only speak how the evident discourses reflect the conceptualizations of the Unified San Francisco School District and the Magisterium because those are the sources of the texts examined in this study. I did not include text which would be used in schools in states which have more restrictive sex education laws and guidelines. This is a limitation I intend to remedy in further research.

Lastly, I must also situate myself within my own study and acknowledge that my conceptualizations are informed by my own experience as a black male and the product of Roman Catholic schools from pre-kindergarten until the end of high school. My own sex education classes were administered by lay and religious people and the education I received was not dissimilar to either text utilized in this study. I had my first sex education lesson in the mid 1990's, during the later days of the HIV/AIDS epidemic and at the height of the pop cultural safe sex campaigns. As such, my conceptualizations represent my own experience as a Black, heterosexual, middle class, able bodied, male. I also taught religion and sex education in a Catholic school.

With regard to future research, I would like to re-conduct this study focusing solely on intersectionality with the creation of more codes and the inclusion of sex education texts that are used in public schools located in the American South, Southwest, Northeast, West Coast, and Pacific Northwest. I also intend to do a study examining only sex education from public schools which serve African Americans, Latinix, Asian, and First Nations communities. I intend to synthesize my interests on new materialism and apply them to the study of sexuality and the social curriculum that surrounds it.

Conclusion

Eleven lessons from *Be Real, Be Ready* and 28 exercises from *Sexuality: Connecting Mind, Body, Spirit* were examined in a manifest and latent content analysis to determine what discourses were evident in these respective texts. A code book, coding procedure, and recording instrument were developed to facilitate this study. A pilot study was performed using two fellow interaters and a final study was conducted using one fellow interrater that had not participated in the previous pilot study. Textual and image references were coded into 15 distinct categories/memes: The Body, Prevention, Courtship, Race/ culture/ ethnicity/class/ documentation status, gender, Sexual Orientation, Ability, Technology, Institutions, Oppression, Lived Experiences, The Self, Universality and Morality, Safety and Violence. Interrater agreement was used to establish the existence of these categories/memes and recorded using both simple agreement and Cohen's Kappa. The categories/memes were coalesced according to themes:

Table 22: Themes and categories

Theme	Category
Biology/essentialism	the body, prevention

(Table 22 Continued)

Social Construction/ Diversity	Race/ culture/ ethnicity/class/ documentation status, gender, sexual orientation, ability, technology, courtship, society.
Intersectionality	institutions, oppression, lived experience
Personhood/ subjectivity	The self, morality, safety and violence

The results show that the respective texts have a multiple categories/memes and themes evident in them but they both have a leaning towards a specific theme. *Be Real, Be Ready* clearly leans toward Biology/Essentialism while *Sexuality: Connecting Mind, Body, and Spirit* has a more even distribution but leans toward Social Construction. Biology/Essentialism had significant representation in both texts with most of the coding units being categorized as the body. Intersectionality had the smallest representation as a theme with institutions being the most prevalent category in both texts. Both Personhood, Social Construction, and their corresponding categories had significant representation. Representations of diversity were miniscule in both texts when compared to the other categories. Intersectionality had similar rates between both texts. This study concludes that the San Francisco Unified School District and the Magisterium conceptualizes sexuality and sex education in a complex manner and draw on multiple discourses to create their sex education texts; these conceptualizations reflect a long historically situated discourse on the subject that has been a prominent intersection of public, political, educational, and religious life from the late 19th into the 21st century.

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Appendix

Coding Instrument

society					
Courtship					
Technology					
Universality and morality					
The self					
Lived experiences					
Oppression					
Institutions					
Prevention					
The Body					
Safety and Violence					
Ability					
Sexual Orientation					
Gender					
Race/ culture/ ethnicity/class/ documentation					
Sample #					
Lesson 2					
Lesson 7					
Ex. 17					
Ex. 40					
Ex. 41					

Ex 48															
Ex 61															
Ex 63															

Code Book

1) Text, Images

2) Lesson plan, Exercises

Content- Be Real, Be Ready were provided by the Student, Family, and Community Support Department of the San Francisco Unified School District.

Be Real. Be Ready- Smart Sexuality Education- This curriculum was designed by San Francisco Unified School District along with the Adolescent Health Working Group (AHWG) and the Adolescent Health Education Collaborative (AHEC). It contains 24 lessons with an suggested curriculum for 15 lessons.

3) Coding units

Images- each image is to be examined as an individual unit and will be coded along according to both the manifest and latent codes. An individual image can contain multiple codes. The images are divided into by what curriculum they are found and are kept in order of appearance.

Text- Each lesson plan is to be examined as an individual unit and will be coded according to both the manifest and latent codes. An individual lesson plan can contain multiple codes. The lesson plans are divided by what curriculum they are found and are kept in order of appearance.

Manifest coding is as follows: 250 codes not including sub codes.

1) *Race/ culture/ ethnicity/class/ documentation status*- Skin Color, Brown, White, Black,

Red, Yellow, Textual: African American, Native American, Hispanic, Asian and Pacific

Islander, Bi-Racial, nation(specific or general) *Race/ culture/ ethnicity/class/ documentation status*

2) *Gender*-Text: male, female, transsexual, transgender, cisgender, androgynous, he, she, expected in relation to gendered behavior.

3) *Sexual Orientation*- Text: straight, heterosexual, homosexual, Lesbian, Gay, Images male and female. Female and female, male and male

4) *Ability*- Text: Able bodied, disabled, physically handicapped, mentally handicapped,

Images: wheel chair, walker, running, standing, sitting, down syndrome appearance.

5) *safety* - Rules, Rape, molestation, sexual violence, blacked out, abuse, sexual assault,

unwanted touching, danger Images: graphs, healthy and unhealthy(in regards to personal safety), safe, location references, public, safety tips, comfortable, drugs, alcohol, under the influence, expectations, limits

6) *The Body*- sexual terms, contraception, Body parts terms, diseases, statistics biological functions, Images: diagrams, gestation charts, sketches, healthy(medical sense), unhealthy(medical sense), treatments, kissing, virgin, any sex act references(medical terminology or popular nomenclature), HIV test and status, physical appearance

7) Prevention- abortion, testing adoption, safe sex, abstinences, forms of contraception, prevention, effective, treatments, high risk, low risk, no risk, effective, physical, activity

8) *Institutions*: schools, institutional questions, home, church, environment, , jobs, vocation, power, force, impact, ability(non-physical), teaching, ideas, college, The faith, argument, debate, point of view, belief, messages, prayer, media, prostitution, porn, clinic, services, television, movies

9) *Oppression*- Threats, slurs, bullying, discrimination, harassment, teased, abuse, rejection, anti-, homophobia fear, violence towards a group of people, oppression, ally, rights, privilege, equality, benefits, prejudice

10) *Lived experiences*- interpersonal communication, adulthood, childhood, year-old, teen, adolescence, teen, adulthood, personal experiences, people think, different people, all people, lived experiences, myths, stereotypes, combined identities, everyone, roleplay anyone, effect(broad use), guest speakers impact, guest speakers inform, real life

11) *the self*- The sexual self, oneness, reflect, the right to one's one body, responsibility, decision making, control, boundaries, person, actualization, the mind, choice, consent,

personal pronouns, someone, yes, no, maybe, control, selves, desire, individual experience in a spiritual sense, thoughts, soul, motives, confidence, think critically, you

12) *Morality*- people in a general sense, morality, innocent, needs, concerns, statements of personal value, judgement statements, interpret, spiritual, define, esoteric notions (pleasure, pain, joy, sorrow, satisfaction, etc) mentality, chastity, faith, focus, pain, painful, feeling, emotion, cheating

13) *Technology*- textual Computers, cell phones, email, camera phones, web cameras. .

14) *Courtship*- intimacy, relationship roles, casual sex, monogamy, polyamory, hook up, marriage, couple, partner, dating, how one conceptualizes an act or action, single, friends, married, in a relationship, relationship, date, communication, speak, intentions, get to know, like, ask out, express in a romantic sense, express in a spoken sense, love

15) *Society*- sexuality, dimensions, contextual references, virginity, life, attractive, lives, responsibilities, behavior, act, property, clothes, taught, social norms, attitudes, Christian, “dealing with..” Jewish, Atheist, Muslim, Catholic, denominational terms, sect terms, religion, homosocial, information, misinformation issues, influence expression in a cultural sense.

1) **Biology/essentialism**- “There is an internal, probably biological sex drive or instinct. Sexuality is universally expressed throughout different historical times. Sexuality is universally expressed across different cultures” (Irvine, 1995, p. 3). Factual information in regard to sex education. Sexuality is conceptualized as an innate human drive and is universal and normative.

Phrases such as	Text: sexual terms, contraception, Body parts terms, diseases, statistics biological functions, Images: diagrams, gestation charts, sketches, healthy(medical sense), unhealthy(medical sense), treatments, kissing, virgin, any sex act references(medical terminology or popular nomenclature), HIV test and status, physical appearance, abortion, testing adoption, safe sex, abstinences, forms of contraception, prevention, effective, treatments, high risk, low risk, no risk, effective
sexual terms/ activity	intercourse, sex, anal sex, vaginal-penis sex, oral sex, masturbation, dry humping, colloquialisms, kissing, hugging
contraception-	IUD, condom, birth control pill, coitus interruption, withdrawal, abstinence, natural family planning, rhythm method, internal condom, female condom, prevention
sexually transmitted diseases	HIV, AIDS, Chlamydia, Gonorrhea, HPV, Herpes, PID, parasites, etc.
statistics	Charts and percentage
Body parts terms	Penis, anus, vaginal, scrotum, testicles, ovaries, labia, clitoris, cervix, sperm, ovaries, egg, conception, fertilization
biological functions	Erection, lubricate, ejaculation, orgasm, insertion, menstruation, period, emission
Images	diagrams, gestation charts, sketches,
risk	high risk, low risk, no risk, chances of an event occurring
transmission	passing of a bacteria, pathogen, or virus from one person to another

Physical	Touching, encompassing the body or natural functions or disposition
Baby	infant, child, zygote, pregnancy
unprotected	sex without condoms, refers to chances of pregnancy or transmission of STI
protected	Sex with condom, refers to chances of pregnancy or transmission of STI, safe sex, safer sex
Medical procedures and definitions	abortion, sterilization, invitro fertilization, hysterectomy,

2) **Social Construction/ Diversity** - Sexuality is not universal either throughout history or across cultures. It is doubtful that there is an internal, essential sex drive or force. Biology plays a small role, if any, in determining our sexuality. Sexuality is deeply influenced and constructed by social, political, economic, and cultural factors (Irvine, 1995).

Phrases such as	intimacy, relationship roles, casual sex, monogamy, polyamory, hook up, marriage, couple, partner, dating, how one conceptualizes an act or action, single, friends, married, in a relationship, relationship, date, communication, speak, intentions, get to know, like, ask out,
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	express in a romantic sense, express in a spoken sense, sexuality, dimensions, contextual references, virginity, life, attractive, lives, responsibilities, behavior, act, property, clothes, taught, social norms, attitudes, Christian, “dealing with..” Jewish, Atheist, Muslim, Catholic, denominational terms, sect terms, religion, homosocial, information, misinformation issues, influence expression in a cultural sense.
Standards of living	quality of life, economics, poverty, wealth
racial terms	Black, white, Hispanic, Latino, Asian, pacific islander, native American, national origin, geographic reference, country names
sexual orientation	Straight, heterosexual, LGBT, Bi sexual, asexual,
language	any linguistic or dialect reference.
Gender	Male, female, intersex, gender queer
culture/ ethnicity/ SES/ immigration status	African American, American, Chicano, Cherokee, etc, social norms, class, SES,

	immigration status, Race/ culture/ ethnicity/class/ documentation status
religion	Broad reference, Christian, Jewish, Atheist, Muslim, Catholic, denominational terms, sect terms, religion.
attitudes	how one conceptualizes an act or action.
media	television, movies, radio, internet
Deity	God, Jesus, Yahweh, Allah, Mohammad
courtship	intimacy, relationship roles, casual sex, monogamy, polyamory, hook up, marriage, couple, partner, dating, how one conceptualizes an act or action, single, friends, married, in a relationship, relationship, date, communication, speak, intentions, get to know, like, ask out, express in a romantic sense, express in a spoken sense,
society	sexuality, dimensions, contextual references, virginity, life, attractive, lives, responsibilities, behavior, act, property, clothes, taught, social norms, attitudes,

	Christian, “dealing with..” Jewish, Atheist, Muslim, Catholic, denominational terms, sect terms, religion, homosocial, information, misinformation issues, influence expression in a cultural sense
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3) **Intersectionality**- Sexuality sits at the intersection of history, institutions, oppression, and liberation; these frame the lived experience of a person or group of people (Crenshaw, 1989). Concerning a systemic concept, Weber (2000) highlights that an intersectional approach takes into account the following five dimensions: (a) the historical and global context of groups; (b) how the meanings attached to social inequalities may have changed over time; (c) the existence of power and privilege differentials in interpersonal relationships; (d) the role of society and institutions in marginalizing groups; and (e) the effects of multiple social inequalities operating simultaneously in every situation, with some occupying the foreground and others being less visible (Seedall et al., 141).

terms such as	schools, institutional questions, home, church, environment, , jobs, vocation, power, force, impact, ability(non-physical), teaching, ideas, college, The faith, argument, debate, point of view, belief, messages, prayer, media, prostitution, porn,
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	<p>Threats, slurs, bullying, discrimination, harassment, teased, abuse, rejection, anti-, homophobia fear, violence, oppression, ally, rights, privilege, equality, benefits, interpersonal communication, adulthood, childhood, year-old, teen, adolescence, teen, adulthood, personal experiences, people think, different people, all people, types of people (ex people who are gay or gay people) lived experiences, myths, stereotypes, combined identities, everyone, roleplay anyone, effect(broad use), guest speakers impact, guest speakers inform, Students are asked to discuss the effects of modern society or a culture on X</p>
laws	legal codes, court cases
Institutions	<p>government, school, church, home, environment, the class, family, parents, caregivers</p>
myths, assumptions, and stereotypes	<p>depictions in the popular culture concerning a group or groups, can be negative or</p>

	positive
lived experiences	a type of scenario where one discusses their experience with a subject
privilege	benefits and immunities granted to one group that is denied to other groups- racial, linguistic, gender, sex, ability, and orientation based
combined identities	where one discusses how being x affects being y. example, a black gay person. Technology references, body image

4) **Personhood/ subjectivity**- Drawing from theories of female sexual development (Brooks-Gunn & Paikoff, 1993; Bukowski, Sippola, & Brender, 1993; Burch, 1998; Haffner, 1998; Holland, Ramazonoglu, Sharpe, & Thomson, 1992; Martin, 1996; Thompson, 1995; Tolman, 2002; Tolman, Striepe, & Harmon, 2003) and a series of empirical studies that developed and validated it's measurement (Horne & Zimmer-Gembeck, 2005; 2006), sexual subjectivity has been found to include five elements: sexual body-esteem, self-entitlement to sexual desire and pleasure, entitlement to sexual desire and pleasure from a partner, sexual self-efficacy and sexual self-reflection (Zimmer-Gembeck, 2011, p.55). How sexuality relates to the

individual on a subjective level in terms of individual decisions, morality, and self-preservation. Sexuality is integral to the individual and their subjectivity.

terms like	<p>The sexual self, oneness, reflect, the right to one's one body, responsibility, decision making, control, boundaries, person, actualization, the mind, choice, consent, personal pronouns, someone, yes, no, maybe, control, selves, desire, individual experience in a spiritual sense, thoughts, soul, motives, people in a general sense, morality, innocent, needs, concerns, statements of personal value, judgement statements, love, interpret, spiritual, define, esoteric notions (pleasure, pain, joy, sorrow, satisfaction, etc) mentality, chastity, faith, focus, pain, painful, feeling, emotion, cheating, Rules, Rape, molestation, sexual violence, blacked out, abuse, sexual assault, unwanted touching, danger Images: graphs, healthy and unhealthy(in regards to personal safety), safe, location references, public, safety tips, comfortable, drugs, alcohol, under the influence, expectations,</p>
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	limits, Personal pronouns are used, students are asked to theorize and explain an act or event.
Safety and violence	Rape, molestation, sexual violence, blacked out, abuse, sexual assault, unwanted touching, danger Images: graphs, healthy and unhealthy(in regards to personal safety), safe, location references, public, safety tips, comfortable, drugs, alcohol, under the influence, expectations, limits
Morality	people in a general sense, morality, innocent, needs, concerns, statements of personal value, judgement statements, love, interpret, spiritual, define, esoteric notions (pleasure, pain, joy, sorrow, satisfaction, etc) mentality, chastity, faith, focus, feeling, emotion. gold

Vita

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