



"They never talked about sex":

Women's sexual roles, sexual relations, and sexual practices in Celje (Slovenia)

In the 21st century, the ever-growing struggle for gender equality is associated with historical struggles for the rights of minorities or socially "weaker". As a teenager, always interested in taboo topics, I heard a lot of good and bad stories about sex. From them, I deduced a lack of both biological and cultural knowledge about sexual intercourse. That was the reason for my decision to explore the most intimate parts of our lives. With my research, I wanted to find out about the sexual experiences of and attitudes toward sexuality among women from different generations living in Celje, Slovenia, and its surroundings. In this article, I present part of that

research, namely the sexual life of heterosexual women, in which I focus on female sexual roles and female perception of one's sexuality in heterosexual relationships. I have divided the analysis into three topic areas: first menstruation and first sexual experience; women and sexual intercourse; and masturbation and sex toys.

I researched the sexuality of my interlocutors using an oral biography, a method that encourages spontaneity from participants and allows them to say what they think is important in their lives. I supplemented the method with unstructured and semi-structured conversations. The research took place

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in Celje, Slovenia, and its surroundings, where, as a local, I made contacts faster and easier. I recruited younger women with the snowball method, while I talked to older ones in a retirement home Dom ob Savinji Celje. I did not know most of my interlocutors before we spoke.

I divided participants into three groups according to age: women born before 1970, women born between 1970 and 1990, and women born after 1990. Between December 2017 and May 2018, I spoke with 17 women born between 1929 and 1995, who were between 22 and 89 years old at the time of the study. The dynamic of the conversations and the quantity of sexual information varied depending on the age of the participants. The younger the interlocutors were, the more openly they talked and revealed more personal information about their sexuality.

Interlocutors born before 1970 were more reserved and spoke more about their childhood and parents' relationship and less about their sexuality. When speaking about sexuality they were noticeably more reticent, and they used indirect words when referring to sexual terms. Women born between 1970 and 1990 spoke more

openly; in addition to talking a lot about their childhood and their parent's relationship, they also shared more about their sexuality. Most of them used "domestic" terms for sexuality (sex, fuck, blow...). The youngest generation (born after 1990) was the most open regarding their own experiences. They talked more about their sexuality than about their childhood and their parents' relationship. All of them used "domestic" terms for sexuality (sex, fuck, blow...).

Changing attitudes towards sexuality in the 20th century

In the early 20th century, sexologists believed that professionals had to start writing in understandable language if they wanted to spread new knowledge about sexuality among the population; a new era of sex education and writing began. The writers were people with prior knowledge of psychology or psychoanalysis. Psychoanalysis and anthropology contributed to the general movement in the 1920s, which sparked debates about sexuality. In 1930, Dr. Helena Wright published a sex guide emphasizing the importance of the clitoris in female arousal and orgasm, while



anthropologist Margaret Mead published a study of sexuality and character in three different societies in Papua New Guinea, studying the cultural specificity of sexual differences.

In Slovenia, sex education became a major topic of discussion in the 1930s, not out of concern for the education of young people, but because of the consequences of the economic crisis, which caused



chaos in society. It was believed that the country's economic and moral strength had been weakened by growing prostitution and sexually transmitted diseases, reduced male and female fertility, and increases in illegitimate births, abortions, and contraception. That is, economic, political, and demographic-nationalist reasons were behind the concern. Following diverse perspectives, several intellectuals began to emphasize the importance of sex education to limit these phenomena. Two camps were established - the camp of the Catholics and the camp of the liberal intellectuals. For both camps, the ultimate goal of sex education was to suppress the sex drive of young people and dissuade them from premarital sex.

Decades later, the central goal of the 1968 sexual revolution, demanding complete personal freedom and a rejection of the physical and erotic oppression of women, was an attack on pre-determined sexual roles. The most important social role of a woman, however, has always remained motherhood. Supporters of the second wave of feminism argued that to "save" a woman from these roles fertility must be separated from sexuality, and the

latter must be made a space of entertainment that does not affect personal development or life plans. Contraception played the biggest role in this. In Slovenia, birth control was available and legislation allowing induced abortion was adopted in 1977. At the same time, theories of female genetic inferiority that grew out of the economic crisis of the early 1970s and women's movements between 1960 and 1970 were developed. Liberation continued both in anthropological research and among the general population.

Toward the end of the century, new wind was blowing among anthropologists. In the emerging feminist anthropology of the 1970s and 1980s, the subject of study was women. Gradually, "men" and "masculinity" also became the central topic of research. Many also studied adolescents. In West Germany, sexologists and medical psychologists published two studies on the sexual behavior of adolescents - the first in 1970 and the second in 1990. They found that adolescents in 1990 associated sexuality more with love and relationships than they had in 1970, and girls were taking more initiative sexually than two decades prior. In sexual research, the

perception of menstruation also emerged as a topic. Sociologist Janet Lee surveyed the body and first menstruation in 1994 among about 40 women of different nationalities and religions, aged 18 to 80 years. The women claimed to have had mixed feelings about their bodies because of menstruation, and menstruation was labeled negatively, often as a curse. Most women hid traces of menstruation on their underwear or clothing.

The first menstruation and the first sexual experience

According to my data, only girls that were born from 1970 on received information regarding menstruation. After talking to them, I have a feeling that their parent's generation was at least roughly aware that they needed to talk about it in more detail, even though some parents did not find the most skillful way to do it. The parents usually explained to the women that they would menstruate every month and that they had to wash; they also provided them with menstrual pads or other goods.

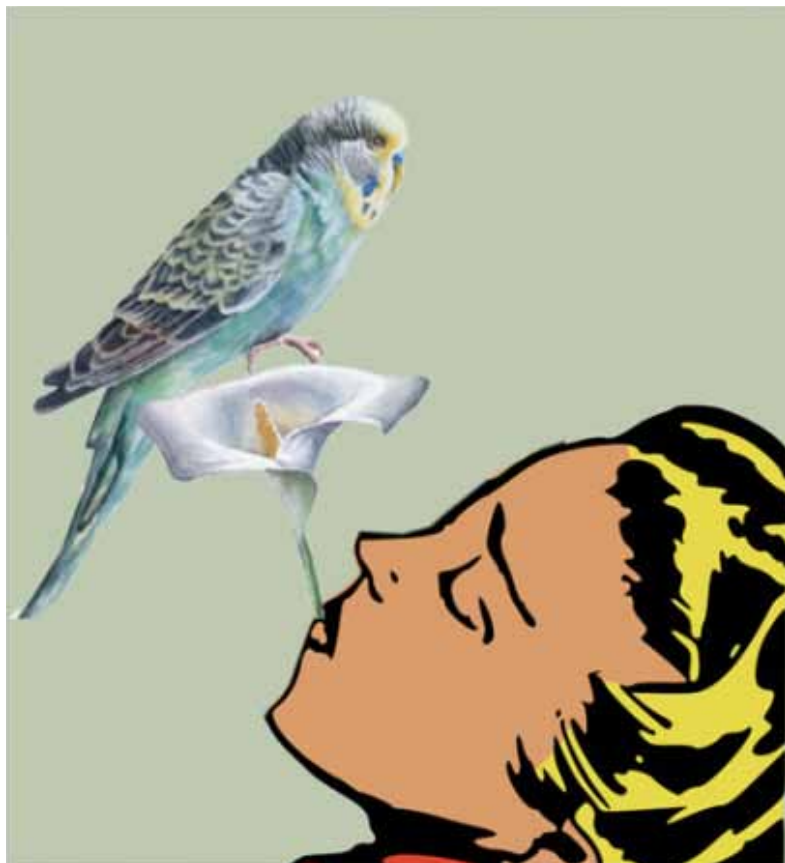
Thus, throughout generations born before 1970, there was still no good information about menstruation and girls were

often left in ignorance. Certainly, religious, and political factors played a key role while elaborating justifications. Sexual norms in socialist Slovenia were also remnants of Christian social control over sexuality and values that emphasized female passivity, idealized purity, and obedience to men. According to some Christian principles, menstruation is understood as something negative, impure, and contagious, and a punishment for original (i.e. female) sin. The Christian religion separated women from their reproductive power, silenced matriarchal traditions, and portrayed female bodies as demonic. After talking to the younger interlocutors, I believe that this generation of parents was at least approximately aware that they needed to talk about this in more detail.

The experience of discussing sexual intercourse was in many ways like that of first addressing menstruation. All the participants emphasized that they did not talk much about sexuality at home and that they never discussed the details of sexual intercourse. While older people mentioned that they used to resort to books or conversations with friends, younger generations have learned through online



resources. For the younger generations, the talk about sexuality focused on when to become sexually active and how to use protection. In this sense, comparing the stories of the interlocutors, it seems that there have been (minor) changes in the conversations about sexuality among women born after 1990, namely that parents have started addressing certain chapters from sex education, such as protection during sexual intercourse. In general, however, no radical changes have taken place. Women born between 1970 and 1985 also pointed out that they spoke more openly about sexuality with their



children. According to them, they have already had at least one open conversation with their children about sexuality. They believe that more attention is paid to sexuality in modern times simply because women talk more about it. Precisely because of the lack of information about sexuality that they experienced them-

selves, they want to give their children as much of it as possible. At the same time, it is essential that due to the development of technology and especially the Internet, the younger generation can be educated earlier about sexuality.

Regarding the experience of first intercourse, the partners had a similar experience. In almost all participants, the first sexual intercourse was conducted by a man, regardless of who took the initiative (both or a woman or a man). They were usually in a relationship and the man was older. According to them, the first sexual intercourse was nothing special; some experienced pain while others did not, and all agreed that it was awkward and uncomfortable. Sexual intercourse involved little to no foreplay by a man to a woman, and no woman experienced an orgasm. Participants were between 14 and 21 years old at the time of their first sexual intercourse. Women who lost their virginity between the ages of 14 and 17 are mostly members of the younger generation born after 1970, while older women were 17 to 21 years old during their first sexual intercourse. They also say they did not know what exactly they had to do, so

they left it to a man who was supposed to be gentle and attentive. None were forced into their first sexual intercourse.

Since I had expected that the younger generations of participants would be more familiar with how a first experience of sexual intercourse would play out, it was interesting to me that none of them knew what they had to do and trusted the man, even though he (in most cases) did not know. Women had somehow perceived that men have more information about sexuality and are more informed because they are older, so they let them take the lead.

Women during sexual intercourse

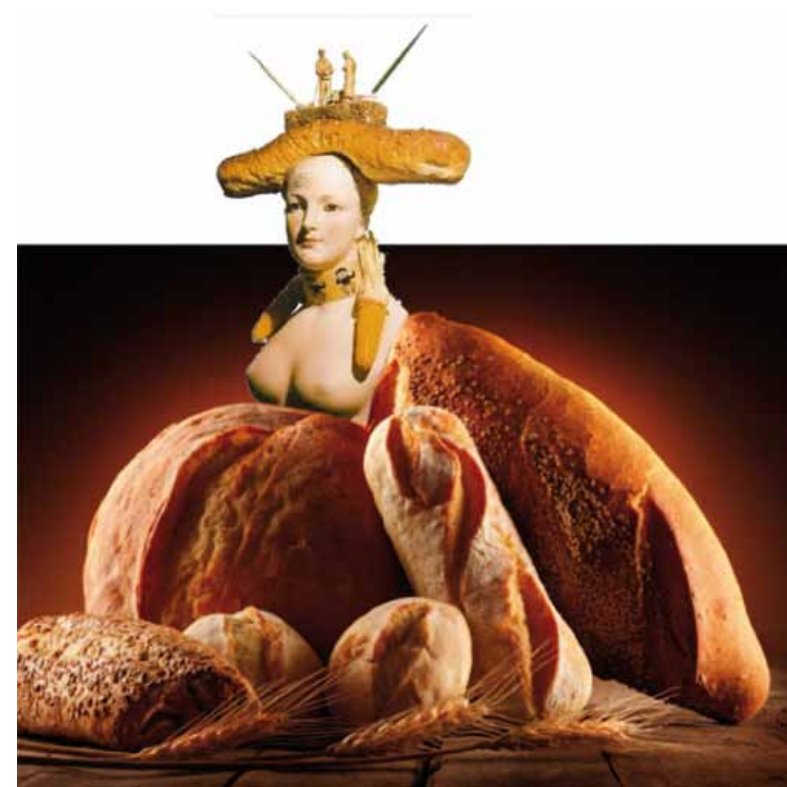
Regarding sexual intercourse itself, women born after 1990 took a leading or partially leading role (one that took turns) very early on, after only a few encounters or in less than a year. Women born after 1970 began to take the lead in sexuality after the birth of children or after their 30th birthday. They stated that they started to feel more comfortable with their bodies and started exploring their own pleasure. Consequently, they became the initiators of sexual intercourse, they participated

more equally, said what they liked, and suggested changes. They say they started experiencing sexuality in middle age, and that it can't be compared to sexual intercourse when they were 20 years old. According to the interlocutors, men have greater sexual needs and were therefore seldom rejected by women. Some women did not reject sexual intercourse because they had a violent partner and felt they had no choice. Others did it out of love and because they wanted to please him, while some wanted to avoid the pressure. Older women born before 1970 argued that men played a leading role in sexuality, always took the initiative for sexual intercourse, and that they were always available for it.

In all these cases, the agency of women in deciding when to have intercourse diminished. This has been influenced by many factors, from cultural, social, spatial, and temporal to political and religious. We must not neglect the influence of the Catholic Church on this topic. Christianity glorifies "traditional" female qualities such as the good and sacrificial mother, as opposed to a woman as a sexual being, comfortable in her body.

In the former socialist Yugoslavia, despite the adoption of several laws regarding the equality of women in economic and socio-political life, the patriarchal system was preserved. Socialism, which dismantled the economic dependence of women on men, was based on a systemic one and substantively enhanced the emancipation of women. In real life, however, there were many women, including my participants, who still accepted a subordinate sexual role. They either did not know how to take the initiative, or they neither wanted nor hoped for it. In essence, they adopted practices that they observed in their own parents, who had made it clear that the superior role belongs to the man.

The lack of sexual education also contributed to the subordinate role of women, which was closely related to the taboo of sexuality. Slovene Christians and liberal intellectuals in the 1930s started to teach about sex, but this education was all closely connected to the taboo of sexuality. Catholic intellectuals were against public sex education. To remain silent about sexuality in public, they advocated sex education for individual children when they could no longer control their sexual



instincts. Liberal intellectuals, on the other hand, were against concealment and advocated for preventive sex education in school, including for addressing more intimate issues individually. Liberals also drew attention to the consequences of disrespecting the female sex, and considered that young people should be taught to respect genitalia and the opposite sex.

Catholic intellectuals still supported the idea that men were more reasonable, more aggressive, etc., and women more sensitive, gentle, etc. and that girls should be brought up to fulfill their profession – motherhood.

Masturbation and sexual toys

Interlocutors of the older generation, born before 1970, denied ever masturbating or the use of sex toys and accessories. They also denied ever engaging in anal sex, or they did not talk about it.

Most women born after 1970 began to masturbate when they began to enjoy sex more - both were related. During masturbation, they got to know their body better and figured out what suited them. They all started using sex toys and gadgets in their middle years. They also practiced anal sex, mostly because of their partner's interests or desires. They all experimented in bed as well. They listed the following sex toys: artificial penis, various vibrators, butterflies, vaginal balls, vibrating eggs, and rings. They also used handcuffs or rope, fruit, ice, a silk handkerchief, and blindfolds, and some also watched pornographic movies with or without a partner.

Those who rejected pornography claimed that the sexual intercourse in them seemed too artificial.

All women born after 1990 have been masturbating since they were teenagers. They enrich both masturbation and sexual intercourse with women's sex toys, accessories, or both. Like participants born after 1970, the youngest participants have already practiced anal sex, out of self-interest and/or their partner's desire.

To better summarize the experiences of the women I talked with, I have gathered the information in the table below. We can see the changes in exploring one's sexuality more openly over the years and

the shift from being closed-off from engaging in different types of sexual experiences to being open about it.

Conclusion

This last section summarizes some general facts drawn from the research I have conducted. During conversations with older interlocutors, I encountered many taboos. They did not talk to their parents about menstruation or sex, and they denied masturbation, anal intercourse, and the use of sex toys. Their general response to these themes was discomfort and they also pointed out that they are not used to having conversations about

Interlocutors born before 1970	Interlocutors born 1970-1990	Interlocutors born after 1990
They deny masturbation, with 2 exceptions (the youngest, started after 40).	They started masturbating after the age of 30.	Masturbation began in adolescence.
They deny the use of sex toys and accessories.	Simultaneously began with the use of sex toys and accessories.	Sex toys are mostly not used, but accessories are.
They deny anal intercourse.	Practicing anal sex.	Practicing anal sex.
Rarely experienced orgasms.	Experiencing orgasms after a few years of sexual activity.	Experiencing orgasms after a few years of sexual activity.

sexual life since this is not something that is discussed publicly. All of these responses could be defined as taboos of impurity.

Although women never got explicit instructions not to talk about sexuality because of the (dangerous) consequences, pieces of information about sexual topics were withheld from them or they were only given indirectly. Usually, the information was presented with shame or discomfort, and the result was fear of the consequences if they present themselves as impure. Younger women are also convinced of the existence of taboos. They still believe that a woman shouldn't have many sexual partners, although they also say they would like to abandon this position, which they find nonsensical.

From the collected narratives of the women, it is evident that major changes in the sexuality of women born after 1970 began upon entering middle age. However, they were even greater in the generation born after 1990. The main changes were related to a greater interest in one's sexuality, to conversations about sexuality, and to exploring one's own and one's partner's body. Sex toys and accessories are no strangers to more open interlo-

tors. At the same time, they often take on the more dominant sexual role themselves. The generation of women born after 1990 has similar views and experiences as women now aged between the ages of 35 and 55. They are even more open to sexuality, they find it easier to talk about it with their partner and friends, and they experiment more for their pleasure, using sex toys and accessories. They also often take the dominant role in sexual intercourse, or they alternate with the man and occasionally submit to his wishes.

The reasons for the differences in the perception of female sexuality are absolutely related to the separation of sexuality from a strictly reproductive function to the perception of sexuality as romantic and intended for pleasure. The consequences of the sexual revolution in the late 1960s and the general equalization of men's and women's rights led to women beginning to find a purpose outside of the roles of housewife and mother. The change was not rapid, but it increased with every generation. Financial independence was also crucial for women's sexual liberation. Women now aged between 35 and 55 emphasized that in the first years of



being sexually active, they did not give much meaning to what it means to have good sexual intercourse. But, because of lack of sexual pleasure and the possibility to either separate from their partner (since they were not financially dependent on them) or in an attempt to express their wishes, they started to explore, read and learn about the infinite pleasures that



sexual intercourse offers. With the development of the internet, a faster spread of information and thus a wider variety of (sexual) practices began, which gave women a new impetus to explore their own sexuality. The generation of women born after 1990 is the generation that grew up with the internet and thus got an insight into examples of good and bad sexual practices and a greater possibility

of deciding what suits them and what does not more easily and quickly. Most women born before 1970 left the protagonist role in bed to men, and they did not experiment with sex, nor were they supposed to masturbate. Talking about sexuality is still taboo for them, and they often mentioned that they knew what their "job" was, and even though they did not like sexual intercourse, they never refused. There are many factors why this happened, of course. The most obvious in my opinion is the very strong family hierarchy that was based on a patriarchal system. Women were used to the fact that the man is the head of the family and that he will take care of them the way he took care of the family. They didn't know how to take the initiative, or perhaps they did not want to or dare to because they were influenced by routines from their parents' past.

Another factor could be a lack of sex education and the opinion that sexuality is taboo, so they did not know their bodies well enough to explore the possibilities of vaginal orgasm or a sexuality of the woman's choosing. In Slovenia, sex education became a topic of discussion around the 1930s, but not because the system cared

about the education of young people. Rather, it was due to the economic crisis which in turn led to a sexual crisis. As a result of an increase in venereal diseases, prostitution, illegitimate births and abortions, and at the same time due to the pressures of contradictory movements for women's rights (for example, the right to an abortion), the Church and the state decided to increase the pressure on the people through popular texts on sex education and the issue of abortion and contraception. The goal of sexual education was to suppress the sexual instinct of young people and to discourage them from having sex before marriage.

Although women seem to have taken a big step towards greater equality in sexuality in recent years, sexual autonomy and sexual decision-making still favor men. From the collected material, I can conclude that men related to this cohort still have the last word in sexuality. For more in-depth information, the number of women in the sample should be increased and the population of the whole of Slovenia should be scrutinized. In this way, the data featured in this report can serve as an introduction to further research. It



would be interesting to explore the re-patriarchization of society, the impact of religion, the political system, and cultural patterns on sexuality, the role of women (both general and sexual), and the (in)effectiveness of sex education, all supported by research on male sexuality. This is the only way to get a broader idea of women's sexuality in Slovenia.

I do believe that the information included here can be used as a start, to educate younger generations and as a stimulus for more work on this topic. Because exploring sexuality is about more than just (de)legitimizing myths, it is also about constructing a model of sexuality which is truly objective and scientific, instead of mainly reflecting and promoting the interests of men in a sexually divided society.

It is important that women are educated about their bodies not only biologically but sexually, and encouraged to discover for themselves what suits them in a sexual relationship. At the same time, they should learn to communicate more with their partner about what they want from sexual intercourse. Men need to be educated about the same things and need to know that talking about sexuality is not taboo; in fact, it can bring them and their partners the greatest pleasure. I truly believe that with every new generation of women, there will be greater steps taken to achieve even more sexual autonomy, sexual liberation, and a lot more sexual pleasure - and I'm looking forward to it.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

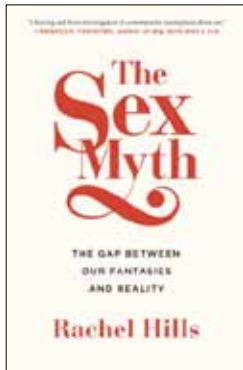
Sara Krajnc

Graduated as an ethnologist and cultural anthropologist in 2018 researching women's sexuality and sex roles in recent decades in Slovenia. For this article, she conducted conversations with Slovenian women between 22 and 89 years old, talking about their sexuality and themes connected with it.

Sara is currently working toward a master's degree on male sexuality, sex roles and masculinity. She will use a similar framework as she did in her last research, while also focusing on correlations between women and men, and how men see masculinity.

In her years as a undergraduate, Sara worked on several projects in the field of anthropology, such as projects *Družabnice* in the Ethnographic Museum of Slovenia (2016/2017) and *Zaupnice* (2018/2019) in Celje, Slovenia. The projects were mainly focused on representing taboo themes to the non-anthropological public and helping them share their own story and viewpoints. She also published an article concerning a similar subject to her undergraduate thesis, which was published in *Gazette of the Slovene Ethnological Society* (2021). Sara was part of a global team that researched the impact of Covid-19 on vulnerable groups (2021), and she is currently working on an article concerning dance as a decolonization practice in Africa.

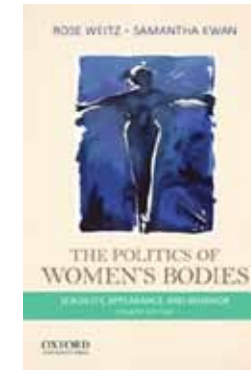
FURTHER READING



Hills, R. (2015)
The Sex Myth: The Gap between our Fantasies and Reality
 New York: Simon and Schuster



Jackson, M. (1987)
Facts of Life or the Eroticization of Women's Oppression?: Sexology and the Social Construction of Heterosexuality
 In P. Caplan, *The Cultural Construction of Sexuality*
 Routledge



Lee, J. (1998)
Menarche and the (Hetero) sexualization of Female Body
 En R. Weitz, *The Politics of Women's Bodies: Sexuality, Appearance and Behavior*
 Oxford University Press

Fifty years after the sexual revolution, we are told that we live in a time of unprecedented sexual freedom. But beneath the veneer of glossy hedonism, millennial journalist Rachel Hills argues that we are controlled by a new brand of sexual convention: one which influences all of us—woman or man, straight or gay, liberal or conservative. At the root of this silent code lies the Sex Myth—the defining significance we invest in sexuality that once meant we were dirty if we did have sex, and now means we are defective if we don't do it enough. Equal parts social commentary, pop culture, and powerful personal anecdotes from people across the English-speaking world, *The Sex Myth* exposes the invisible norms and unspoken assumptions that shape the way we think about sex today.

"I was a member of a group which was interested in analysing male sexuality and its function in the social control of women, and I took on the task of investigating the role of sexologists in legitimizing prevalent myths about male sexuality, for example the myth that men rape women because they are overcome by uncontrollable sexual urges. As I ploughed through the sexological literature of the early and late twentieth century it became clear to me that sexology was about much more than legitimizing myths; it was also about constructing a model of sexuality which purported to be objective and scientific but in fact reflected and promoted the interests of men in a sexually divided society (...). I was surprised at the degree of anti-feminism contained in the sexologists' writings" (Jackson, 1987).

Menarche—or a woman's first menstrual period—is a central aspect of body politics. Through explorations of oral and written narratives, I suggest that girls' subjective sense of themselves as maturing women at menarche develops simultaneously with a process of sexualization whereby young women experience themselves as sexualized, and their bodies are produced as sexual objects. While women internalize negative scripts associated with the bleeding female body, they also respond with consciousness and resistance.

FURTHER VIEWING



Jacobsen, J. S. (2011)
Turn Me On, Dammit!
Norway, 73 min



Haneke, M. (2001)
La Pianiste
France, 130 min



Buñuel, L. (1967)
Belle de jour
France, 101 min

In the small town of Skoddeheimen, Norway, Alma is a 15-year-old girl experiencing her sexual awakening. Unbeknownst to her mother, she regularly calls hotlines for phone sex, and masturbates while fantasizing about Artur, a boy from school. One night, Alma attends a party with her friends. While outside, Artur approaches her, exposes his erect penis, and pokes her with it. Thrilled, she retreats to a room to masturbate, and then rejoins her friends to tell them about the episode.

Erika Kohut is a piano professor in her late 30s at a Vienna music conservatory who resides in an apartment with her domineering elderly mother. Her late father had been a longstanding resident in a psychiatric asylum. Despite Erika's aloof and assured façade, she is a woman whose sexual repression and loneliness is manifested in her paraphilia, including voyeurism, sadomasochistic fetishes, and self-mutilation.

This film is about a young woman who spends her midweek afternoons as a high-class prostitute, while her husband is at work. Séverine Serizy, a young and beautiful housewife, is unable to share physical intimacy with her husband, Dr. Pierre Serizy, despite their love for each other. Her sexual life is restricted to elaborate fantasies involving domination, sadomasochism, and bondage. Although frustrated by his wife's frigidity toward him, he respects her wishes.

The relationship between climate change and reproductive processes

AFIN is pleased to have obtained funding to develop the project “Viure l’embaràs a Barcelona: dones i persones gestants davant l’emergència climàtica”, whose Principal Investigator is Dr. Anna Molas (Juan de la Cier-va postdoctoral researcher).



The project focuses on the consequences of climate change and environmental pollution on reproductive processes and seeks to understand the experiences of pregnant women in a context of climate crisis, in which there is growing evidence of the relationship between its effects and health problems such as pre-eclampsia and premature births. This project was submitted in February 2023 to the Subvencions per al desenvolupament de projectes en el marc del Pla d’Acció per l’Emergència Climàtica de la ciutat de Barcelona and obtained all the funding requested. Thus, from January 2024 we will launch a mixed methodology research, as well as scientific dissemination activities and transfer of results, from a citizen science and sustainability approach. The study will have an intersectional perspective and will contribute to give visibility to the experiences of pregnant women in this context and to propose lines of action, protocols and interventions together with health institutions, community organisations and the local administration. The Hospital de la Santa Creu i Sant Pau and the Hospital Sant Joan de Déu collaborate with AFIN in this project.

Giulia Colavolpe in the media

On Thursday 2 February, our colleague Giulia Colavolpe Severi was invited to talk about the alleged post-abortion syndrome with Silvia Taragona, on the programme “De Boca a Orella” on Radio Nacional de España, in which she reviewed its use by anti-rights groups. She also underlined that there is no evidence that termination of pregnancy constitutes a risk factor for mental health.

On 14 April, in the programme “Fet A Mida” on Xarxa TV Local, a debate on co-parenting took place. The speakers were: Carme Balaguer, founder of the website Co-parenting; Ricard de la Rosa, president of the Commission for Equal Rights of New Family Models of the Barcelona Bar Association, and Giulia Colavolpe Severi, from the AFIN group. Giulia explained how the history of kinship and family can help us to understand and contextualise the practices and strategies used in co-parenting relationships.

SexAFIN: homework for the summer

This year, 1636 children from P3 to 6th grade of primary school from eleven schools located in different Catalan counties -Penedès, Vallès, Barcelonès, Maresme and La Garrotxa- have participated in the research, where research and training work has also been carried out with teachers, as well as fourteen talks with families.

The SexAFIN team would like to thank the children for their enthusiasm for the project, and the families and teachers for opening the doors of their educational communities to us.

Finally, we have some homework for the holidays: talk to the children and teenagers at home about your memories of learning about sexuality at their ages.

We’ll be back in September!

@sexafin (Instagram)