

The Rise of Sexual Choking/Strangulation:

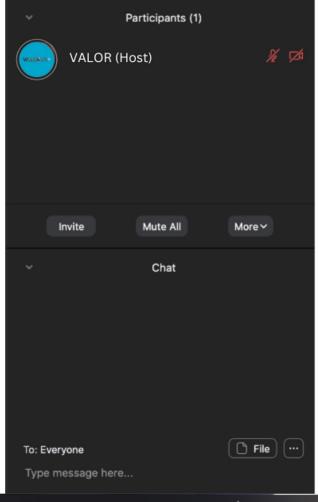
What You Must Know About Prevalence, Consent, Communication, and Safety

> July 2, 2024 10-11:30 am PDT



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Meet Your Hosts



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The Rise of Sexual Choking/Strangulation:

What You Must Know About Prevalence, Consent, Communication, and Safety

> July 2, 2024 10-11:30 am PDT



Dr. Debby Herbenick Provost Professor, Department of Applied Health Science Director, Center for Sexual Health Promotion Indiana University School of Public Health



Meet Your Presenter



Debby Herbenick, PhD, MPH (she/her)

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Learning Objectives

Identify how young adults' conceptualizations of rough Identify sex have changed over the past decade. Describe the prevalence of sexual choking/strangulation Describe among young US adults and college students. List three health consequences of sexual List choking/strangulation



Acknowledgements



Colleagues & Students:

Jane Fu, Jonathon Beckmeyer, Heather Eastman-Mueller, Dennis Fortenberry, Lucia Guerra-Reyes, Supriya Ingle, Rachel Kump, Megan Maas, Angel Muro, Annayelli Pacheco, Kim Nelson, Emily Rothman, Callie Patterson, Bryant Paul, Molly Rosenberg, Yael Rosenstock Gonzalez, Stephanie Sanders, Evan Theis, Sally Thomas, Eva Voorheis, Caroline Wagner, Maddi Whitcomb, Jodi Wilson, Paul Wright, Nelson Zounlome, Anna Randall, Richard Sprott, Kody Brandenburg, Mary Balle, Dasha Carver

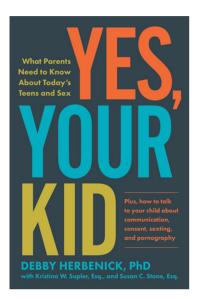
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- IU School of Public Health Bloomington
- Eunice Kennedy Shriver National Institute of Child Health & Human Development of the National Institutes of Health under Award Number R01HD102535 (MPIs Herbenick and Fu).
- Illustrations by Erin Tobey



About Me

- Provost Professor at Indiana University
- Career-long focus on sexuality research
 & education, including sexual pleasure as
 well as consent and assault
- Have taught college sexuality courses since 2003
- AASECT-certified sexuality educator since 2009









Our team's research is grounded in a desire to understand what kinds of sex people have, how they feel about it and what shapes their experiences.

In the case of rough sex and sexual choking/strangulation, we've been working to build an evidence base to support people being able to make more informed choices about their sexual lives.



Historical Background on Rough Sex



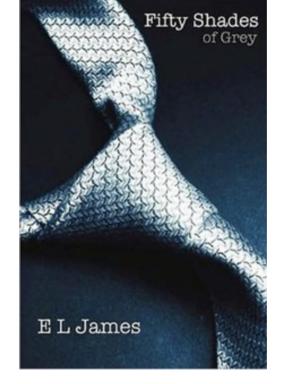
Historical Accounts of Erotic Asphyxiation

- Various historical accounts of erotic asphyxiation
- Often due to accidental deaths, alone or in the company of a sex worker
- Most of the literature on auto-erotic asphyxiation has involved reports about people who have died, many of which are stigmatizing
 - Relatively little known from community samples



MODERN PROPENSITIES.





10:35

Advancing Equity. Ending Sexual Violence.®

Recently: Rough Sex Has Become Mainstream

- Over the past 15 years, rough sex has become mainstream, often with little to no connection to kink and BDSM communities
 - Away from norms/values related to safety, consent, education, consent, negotiation of boundaries and limits, and harm reduction
 - Reasons of sexual exploration/adventure, belief that it's the "norm"
 - Media influences
 - Concerns about being "vanilla shamed" or viewed as boring
 - For most people, the intent is about novelty and exploration rather than harm
 - However, some people are harmed



College Campuses & Sexual Exploration

- In recent decades, many colleges have also included events on kink, BDSM, and/or diverse sexual practices
- Sometimes met with controversy, creating challenges to getting college students the information they are asking for related to the kinds of sex they are interested in



The Collegiate Commons

https://thecollegiatecommons.com > editorial-our-cover...

Editorial: Our coverage led to IUPUI cancelling their BDSM ...

Feb 9, 2024 — We broke the story that IUPUI planned to invite a "local expert" with disturbing online activity to promote **bondage** to **students**.



Campus Reform

https://www.campusreform.org > article > presbyterian-...

Presbyterian college cancels 'BDSM 101' event led by pro- ...

Dec 18, 2023 — On Nov. 10, Rhodes **College canceled** a "**BDSM** 101" workshop **event** that its chaplain planned for **students** to attend on **campus** the following ...



New York Post

https://nypost.com > 2024/02/08 > news > indiana-colle...

Indiana college cancels bondage class after parental ...

Feb 8, 2024 — A public Indiana **college** was forced to axe a **student** class on **bondage** techniques after astonished parents objected to the sexually-explicit ...



FIRE | Foundation for Individual Rights and Expression

https://www.thefire.org > cases > indiana-university-blo...

SexFest Event Canceled After Video Causes Controversy

FIRE wrote to IUB on February 13, 2020, explaining that if the **university** cut short SexFest as an effectuation of a heckler's veto or because others found ...



How We've Studied Rough Sex & Sexual Choking

- Survey Research
 - Four U.S. nationally representative surveys
 - Four campus-representative student surveys
- Interviews with 45 young adults who had experienced consensual and/or non-consensual choking/strangulation (and 27 CNC)
- Content analysis of social media memes
- Content analysis of media articles about choking
- **Neurological research** involving women who have and have not been choked, led by Dr. Kei Kawata





What is Rough Sex and How Common Is It?



Ideas About Rough Sex Have Changed

- What young adults think of as "rough sex" has changed
 - Sexual behaviors that college students used to think of as more aggressive/violent (and different from rough sex) are now commonly considered "rough sex"
 - Ideas of "rough sex" are continuing to change

Light spanking
Hair pulling
Biting
Vigorous sex
Pinning a partner down



All of that PLUS
Choking/strangulation
Slapping face/torso/genitals
Consensual non-consent
(CNC)
Punching

Source: Herbenick, D., Fu, T., Svetina Valdivia, D., Patterson, C., Rosenstock Gonzalez, Y., Guerra-Reyes, L., Eastman-Mueller, H., Beckmeyer, J., & Rosenberg, M. (2021). What is rough sex, who does it, and who likes it? Findings from a probability survey of U.S. undergraduate students. *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, 50(3), 1183-1195.



Why Does this Sexual Shift Matter?

- It's not just that sex has changed
- But that the mainstreaming of rough sex often means that these sexual practices have been taken out of the context of kink and BDSM communities that have tended to value:
 - Community
 - Care (including aftercare)
 - Explicit consent and negotiation of desired stimulation, limits, and boundaries
 - Awareness of risks
 - Practices that are high risk and should be avoided
 - For others, harm reduction approaches



Rough Sex (an imperfect umbrella term)

- Hair pulling
- Biting
- Light spanking
- Hard spanking (hard enough to leave a mark)
- Choking
- Smothering
- Slapping of the face, torso
- Genital slapping (1 in 4 young adult women)
- Consensual non-consent (CNC) (10% of college students)



Choking/Strangulation





Choking Girls in Public

Choking: What Is It?

- Usually described as consensual
- Using hands, limb, or a ligature (tie, cord, belt) to press or squeeze the neck
 - External pressure to the neck that may close off air passages and blood vessels is strangulation whereas internal blockages of the airway is choking.
 - However, people tend to associate the term "strangulation" with aggression, crime, or hard/harmful pressure rather than with sexual pleasure or intimacy
- May intend to restrict blood flow or air flow, but 1/3 are unsure what they're doing
- May choke multiple times per sexual encounter
- Various intensities are reported, from light pressing/holding to very intense/aggressive
- People tend to call strangulation "choking."
 - Pornography, Cosmo, Men's Health, Women's Health, TV shows, celebrities **V**∧LORUS ≥ 3

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Prevalence of Sexual Choking/Strangulation

2 LGBTQ+ Events in NYC

• 5% of LB women & 8% of GB had ever engaged in any form of "asphyxiation/breath play"

2011-2012

2003-2004

Online Convenience Survey (1606 heterosexual adults, mostly college students)

• 13% of women and 9% of men had been choked (with hands) by a partner

Sources: Grov et al. (2010). Tomassilli et al. (2009 Bridges, et al. (2016).



Choking/Strangulation is Now Mainstream & Prevalent Among College Students



- Campus-representative surveys of thousands of college students:
- <u>In 2020:</u> Of those w/<u>any</u> partnered sexual experience, 64% of women, 29% of men, & 56% of trans* & nonbinary students (TGNB) had been choked (usually consensually)
- In 2023: 64% women, 29% men, 63% TGNB undergraduate & graduate students with any partnered experience had ever been choked with consent.
- 18% women, 7% men, 11% TGNB students had been choked without consent.
- ANY choking: 67% of women, 31% men, 65% TGNB



Correlates of Choking

- In both US nationally representative surveys and college-representative studies, choking is more prevalent among:
 - Young adults
 - Sexual and gender minorities
 - Bi women, bi men, and gay men are significantly more likely that heterosexual people and lesbians to report engaging in choking
- In sex between women and men, women are overwhelmingly the ones choked
- More often co-occurs with vaginal or anal intercourse but increasingly co-occurs even with kissing and making out.

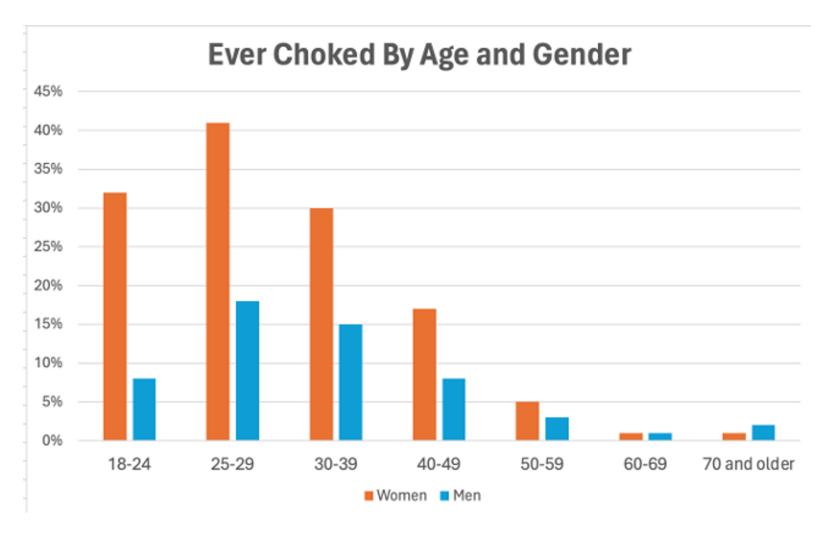


US Nationally Representative Data: Choking at Most Recent Consensual Sexual Event

	Women	
Age Group	Were Choked*	Had Choked Partner*
18-24	35%	5%
25-29	11%	9%
30-39	11%	3%
40-49	3%	1%
50-59	1%	<1%
60+	<1%	<0%

Herbenick, D., Fu, T. C., & Patterson, C. (2023). Sexual repertoire, duration of partnered sex, sexual pleasure, and orgasm: Findings from a US nationally representative survey of adults. *Journal of Sex & Marital Therapy*, 49(4), 369-390.





Source: 2022 NSSHB Preliminary data – please do not share or reproduce



Sexual Choking Is Not Just An "American Thing"

ITALY

(Pavanello Decaro et al., 2024)

 39% bi women, 17% lesbian women had tried choking



AUSTRALIA (Sharman et al., 2024)

 64% women, 46% men, 67% of nonbinary undergraduate students had ever been choked/strangled during sex



ICELAND

(Vihljalmsdottir & Forberg, 2023)

- 70% of those ages 18-24 had engaged in choking
- 62% of those ages 25-34
- 11% of those ages 45-54
- None of those age 55 and over





Choking/Strangulation is Frequent

College Students:

- <u>In 2020:</u> 37% women, 7% men, 33% trans/nonbinary students who had ever been choked had been choked > 5 times
- <u>In 2023</u>: 75% of women, 61% of men, 79% trans/nonbinary students who had ever been choked had been choked > 5 times;
 - 22% had been choked ≥25 times.

Sexual choking is prevalent among people of reproductive age, including pregnant people.



Sexual Choking and Adolescents



Choking/Strangulation Often Begins in Adolescence

In 2020, 1 in 4 students who had ever been choked were first choked between ages 12 and 17; 56% by age 18.

2023

2020

In 2023, 36% were first choked by age 17; 62% by age 18



Where do people learn about choking/strangulation?

Friends

Partners

Pornography

Magazines & their websites (Cosmo, Women's Health)

Fanfiction

Mainstream TV shows

Mainstream movies

Social media – TikTok videos, memes

Stand Up

"I don't want to die... But I also don't want to be sure I'm going to live".

Comedian Ali Wong



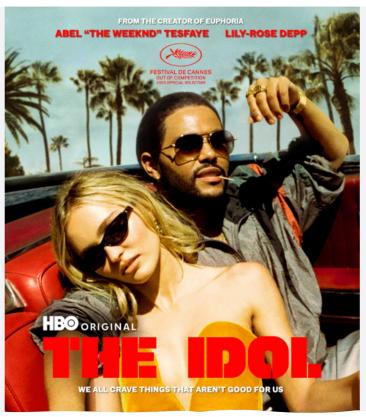


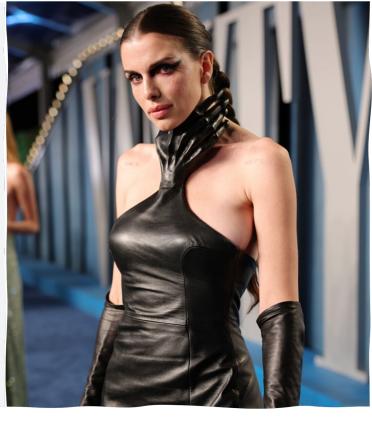






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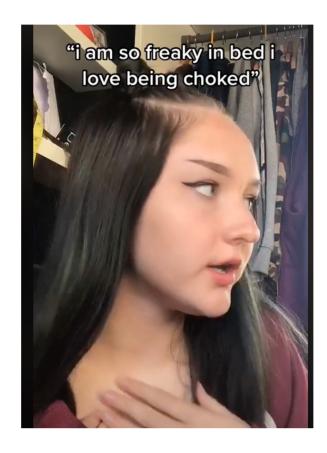


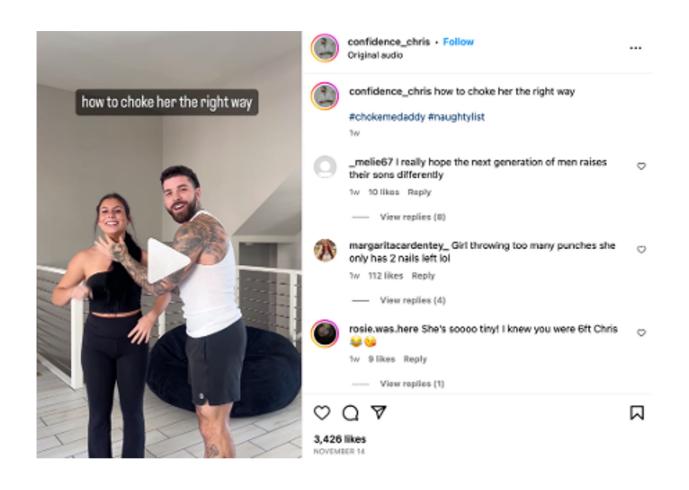
Choking Porn Videos
Showing 1-32 of 10944

Julia Fox photo credit: Rich Fury/VF22/Getty Images

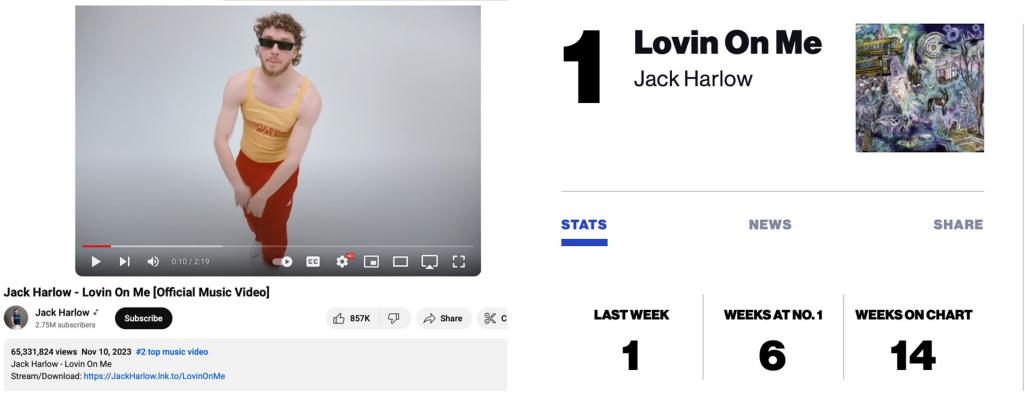


TikTok Videos





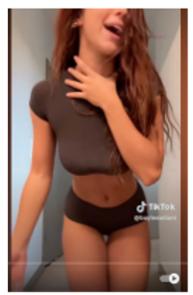


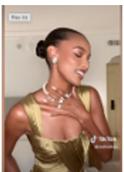


65 million views in 2 months

"I'm vanilla, baby. I'll choke you but I ain't no killer, baby."





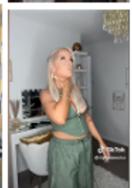


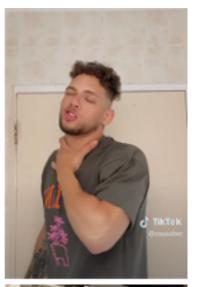














Lovin On Me on TikTok



Learning About Sexual Choking/Strangulation

Memes

TikTok
Videos

Online
Media
Articles



Social Media Memes: Gray Areas, Aggression, Harm, and Assault

When you made him angry earlier just so he can choke you with both hands during sex

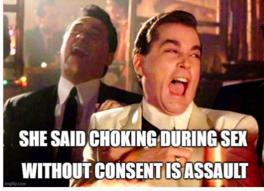


girls who like to be choked, tied up, and slapped during sex are also the ones who cry when you yell at them



When the choking went a bit too far but you're happy she opened her eyes again





Herbenick, D., Guerra-Reyes, L., Patterson, C., Wilson, J., Rosenstock Gonzalez, Y. R., Voorheis, E., Whitcomb, M., Kump, R., Theis, E., Rothman E. F., Nelson, K. M., & Maas, M. K. (In press). #ChokeMeDaddy: A content analysis of memes related to choking/strangulation during sex. *Archives of Sexual Behavior*.



date night 💗



When he asks if you're sure you want him to choke you harder b/c he's worried that you might die



Α.

В



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Why Some People Are Turned on by Choking During Sex—and How to Do It Safely, According to Experts

Let our experts teach you the proper technique.

GONE NECKIN': THE PROPER WAY TO CHOKE SOMEONE IN BED

Sexual choking can be incredibly hot and sensual when done correctly, but there are a few things you need to know before you get there

HOW TO CHOKE YOUR PARTNER IN BED WITHOUT KILLING THEM, EVEN IF THEY REALLY WANT TO DIE

November 8, 2017 / Dustin Mark



Online Media Articles: Misinformation

- Analysis of 27 online media articles
 - Healthline, Slate, Chicago Tribune, WebMD, Women's Health, AskMen, Men's Health
- None of the articles indicated that "choking" is a form of strangulation
- Most described it in positive terms (hot, sexy, pleasurable, adventurous)
- Although ~70% acknowledged possibility of death, fewer addressed brain injury (30%) or other non-fatal injuries or that health outcomes can be delayed by days
- Most suggested there was a "safe" or "proper" way to choke
- Also, people told to "communicate" or "get consent", usually without detail

Source: Herbenick, D., Patterson, C., Khan, S., Voorheis, E., Sullivan, A., Wright, P., & Keene, S. (In press). "Don't just randomly grab someone's neck during intercourse!" An analysis of internet articles about choking/strangulation during sex. *Journal of Sex & Marital Therapy*.



Learning Through Personal Experience

"I was hooking up with someone and they, like, kind of did it and like asked if I liked it or something. And like, that's like the first time that I had like done it. And then after that I just kind of was into it."

- Participant 11, white/Caucasian, age 19, heterosexual

Source:

Herbenick, D., Guerra-Reyes, L., Patterson, C., Rosenstock Gonzalez, Y.R., Wagner, C., and Zounlome, N. (2022). "It was scary, but then it was kind of exciting": Young women's experiences with choking during sex. Archives of Sexual Behavior, 51(2),1103-1123.





"The first one, she would actively encourage [me to choke her]. Like, she would get immense pleasure out of that. So that's when I kind of got hooked onto it, maybe. And then the next one, luckily, doesn't really mind."

- White cisgender man, age 19, heterosexual/straight



Why Do People Engage in Choking?

- It's not always a choice:
 - 21% of those who had been choked had never been asked for consent or if it was okay;
 - Another 32% had sometimes been asked for consent or if it was okay prior to being choked
- In a campus-representative survey of 4998 students, students said they engaged in choking because it:
 - Seemed exciting (74%)
 - Seemed kinky or adventurous (62%)
 - I thought it would arouse the person (30%)
 - I thought it would make it easier for me to have an orgasm (22%)
 - I'd seen it in porn and wanted to try it (13%)
 - A friend had told me they liked to be choked and I wanted to try it too (13%)
- In our interviews, very few had any connection to BDSM or kink communities or events



Health Risks of Being Choked/Strangled During Sex*

*The vast majority of these experiences were described as consensual

Table 4 Lifetime experiences of physical responses from being choked by gender

Responses	Total % (n)	Men % (n)	Women % (n)	Trans* and gender expansive % (n)	p value
Watery eyes/eyes teared up	37.2 (535)	27.1 (115)	41.0 (398)	78.2 (22)	< .001
Could not speak	37.6 (540)	27.0 (114)	41.9 (406)	44.2 (20)	<.001
Felt like I couldn't breathe	43.0 (617)	32.9 (139)	46.7 (452)	58.0 (26)	< .001
Gasped for air	33.4 (478)	19.3 (81)	38.5 (373)	52.8 (24)	< .001
Neck hurt/neck pain	18.5 (266)	14.0 (59)	19.8 (192)	32.4 (15)	.004
Coughed	25.7 (369)	21.8 (92)	27.0 (262)	33.9 (15)	.068
Neck swelled up during or shortly after being choked	3.6 (52)	3.6 (15)	3.5 (34)	7.9(4)	.331
Bruises on neck	14.8 (211)	10.4 (43)	16.5 (160)	18.6 (8)	.015
Peed/urine leaked out, without meaning to	1.4 (20)	1.6 (7)	1.3(12)	2.0(1)	.831
Felt a head rush	43.8 (626)	38.1 (161)	45.6 (440)	56.9 (26)	.011
Other responses*	1.8 (20)	2.8 (9)	1.4 (10)	2.9(1)	.256
Alterations in consciousness (AIC)					
Vision got blurry	11.9 (171)	6.8 (28)	13.6 (131)	24.9(11)	<.001
Lost vision/couldn't see	4.0 (58)	2.7 (11)	4.4 (42)	9.1 (4)	.078
Felt dizzy or lightheaded, like I might pass out	15.2 (217)	11.6 (49)	16.1 (156)	26.9 (12)	.012
Lost consciousness/pass out	2.6 (38)	1.5 (6)	3.1 (30)	3.3(1)	.216
Any AIC	18.8 (268)	13.7 (57)	20.3 (196)	33.4 (15)	.001
Total number of physical responses, mean (SD)	3.3 (3.4)	2.5 (2.7)	3.6 (3.6)	4.7 (4.2)	<.001



Examples of Body Responses:

Couldn't breathe (43%)

Couldn't speak (38%)

Neck pain (19%)

Involuntary loss of urine (2%)

Euphoria or other pleasurable sensations (80%)



Alterations in consciousness:

Blurred vision (12%)

Immediate Responses:

Vision loss (4%)

Dizzy or lightheaded, like I might pass out (15%)

Lost consciousness/passed out (3%)

Any of these: 19% (20% women, 33% trans* + nonbinary, 14% men)



Neck hurt (18%)

Neck bruising (15%)

Sore throat (12%)

Responses Noticed in the Hours or Days After Being Choked

Voice sounded different, like hoarse or raspy (11%)

Ringing in the ears (9%)

Headache (8%)

Memory loss related to the event (5%)

Neck swelling (4%)



Being Choked and Mental Health

- We've also found that young adults who have been choked during sex are significantly more likely to report feeling depressed, sad, lonely and (for women) "overwhelming anxiety"
 - Association is stronger for those choked more often
 - Directionality is unclear
 - However, the relationship is in the expected direction

Herbenick, D., Fu, T. C., Kawata, K., Eastman-Mueller, H., Guerra-Reyes, L., Rosenberg, M., & Valdivia, D. S. (2022). Non-fatal strangulation/choking during sex and its associations with mental health: Findings from an undergraduate probability survey. *Journal of Sex & Marital Therapy*, 48(3), 238-250.



Sexual Choking/Strangulation and Brain Health

- Collaborative research led by Dr. Keisuke Kawata at the IU School of Public Health
- Pilot study with 41 women (20 choked recently/frequently,
 21 never choked)
- Using blood biomarkers & fMRI, differences were observed between these two groups in terms of:
 - Patterns of connectivity
 - Verbal and visual working memory tasks during fMRI
 - Cortical thickness across multiple regions of the brain
 - Elevation of S100B

ORIGINAL ARTICLE

Association of Frequent Sexual Choking/Strangulation With Neurophysiological Responses: A Pilot Resting-State fMRI Study

Frequent and Recent Non-fatal Strangulation/Choking During Sex and Its Association With fMRI Activation During Working Memory Tasks

Megan E. Huibregtse¹, Isabella L. Alexander¹, Lillian M. Klemsz¹, Tsung-chieh Fu^{2,3}, J. Dennis Fortenberry⁴, Debby Herbenick^{2,3} and Keisuke Kawata^{1,5*}

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CESS



Received: 28 February 2023 Revised: 1 July 2023 Accepted: 6 July 20

DOI: 10.1002/brb3.3160

ORIGINAL ARTICLE

Brain and Behavior WILEY

. .

Structural brain morphology in young adult women who have been choked/strangled during sex: A whole-brain surface morphometry study

Contrary to media assertions that choking is "safe," we observed <u>a broad</u> range of physical responses to having been choked/strangled during sex, including those associated with poorer mental health and cognitive function and others considered to be life-threatening

Also, difficulty breathing/speaking has implications for consent and withdrawal of consent



Healthcare Seeking (& Not Seeking)

- In college samples, we've found that just 1% of women, 7% of men, and 0 transgender/nonbinary students who reported choking-related symptoms said they had discussed these with a doctor or nurse
- Most common reasons for not seeking care were that they:
 - Felt better quickly
 - No big deal
 - They wanted it to happen e.g., seeking a certain headspace
 - Women and TGNB students worried about being judged by their provider
 - TGNB students were more likely to say they could not afford care



Choking/Strangulation, Consent, and Assault

- Because choking/strangulation has become mainstream, people often assume interest in it
 - Although choking/strangulation is often described as consensual, <u>people don't</u> often discuss it first in practice
 - Often, they describe deciding to choke a partner based on the "vibe" or "energy"
 - Similar to consent to other kinds of sex
- Some accept it without wanting or enjoying it
 - People with sexual victimization histories appear to be more likely to engage in sexual choking/strangulation, even when they don't enjoy it (Melnick et al., 2023)





Don't Choke Me, Daddy

June 12, 2019 at 7:11 am by Eloise Scott



"Back in the guy's room, I dismissed the terror I felt, justifying it by telling myself that it was fine because choking has become such a common kink, and he had been respectful during the lead up to that act.

Eventually I opened up to my friends about the several times that I have experienced this, and, unfortunately, they echoed my sentiment, saying that they had also experienced people choking them during first-time casual hookups...it struck me how truly messed up it is that we've had virtual strangers perform such a violent act without any consent."

20% of women and 6% of men whose most recent sexual partner was someone they had just met that day (e.g., at a party, bar, or through an app) were choked/strangled by that person during their sexual encounter/hook-up

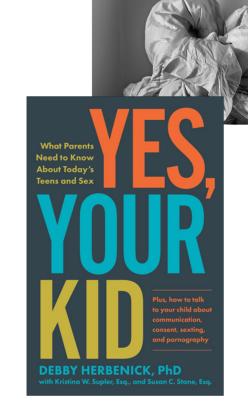
Source: Herbenick, D., Fu, et al. (2023). Prevalence and characteristics of choking/strangulation during sex: Findings from a probability survey of undergraduate students. *Journal of American College Health*, 71(4), 1059-1073.



The Troubling Trend in Teenage Sex

Implication #1: Campus & **Community Sexuality Education**

- Support students in learning about diverse sexual practices, but make sure that the presenters are reputable and providing medically accurate information
 - Be skeptical of workshops claiming to teach "safe" choking
 - Pressing on "just the sides" is NOT a "safe" form of choking/strangulation even though many people believe this to be the case
- Consider adding information to your health center's website or other places you share information with students
- Pay attention to language most young people will not connect with words like "strangulation" or "strangle" which they associate with crime, aggression, violence, or a hard/harmful "choke"
 - Most use the word "choke" but connect with your community to learn more





Implication #2: Sexual Violence Prevention

- Sexual consent education and sexual violence efforts need to address emerging sexual practices
 - Incorporate into existing programs
 - Could be an example related to consent, or communication
- Discuss how to have detailed conversations in which they and their partner(s) discuss limits, boundaries, preferred intensities, safe words, and safe gestures
 - But even safe words/safe gestures may not always work with choking/strangulation
- Offer scripts for telling partners up front that they don't want to be choked or that they don't feel comfortable choking their partner



Implication #3: Revisit Lethality Assessments

- We don't know how sexual choking/strangulation in its current, contemporary version factors into lethality assessments. More research is needed.
- Some people make mistakes, influenced by how mainstream choking has become
 - If given education, they may change their approach to choking
- However, some people may use the popularity of choking as a way to gain access to someone and then harm them (or use it in coercive or violent ways)
- Consider: What does the rest of the context tell you?
 - Was the sexual event largely consensual?
 - Did the person use one hand or two hands? A ligature or forearm?
 - What kinds of conversation or consent process happened?
 - Did the person stop choking/strangling when asked?
 - Did they choke/strangle in a way that seemed aggressive or scary?
 - Were they called degrading names in the process?
 - Were threats made?



Implication #4: Policy

- Some colleges and communities are considering addressing even consensual sexual choking/strangulation in policy or legislation
 - Due to risk of injury and (rarely) death
 - Need to be examined for how/for whom they are used
 - If these are adopted, substantial campus/community education is needed given how widespread choking/strangulation has become



Implication #5: Clinical Care

- Pediatricians, college health professionals might consider anticipatory guidance
- Intake
 - In addition to assessing assault, intake forms for mental health care might ask:
 - "Has anyone ever done something "rough" to you during sex (e.g., choked, slapped, smothered, etc.) that you either did not consent to or that you consented to but was rougher than you expected?"
- Consider screening for TBI more generally
 - Many symptoms may have neurological symptoms but not connect them to a history of being choked/strangled



Summary

- Sexual choking has become mainstream and normative among college students
- Widely depicted in pornography, social media, TV shows, and discussed between friends and partners
- Sexual choking is a form of strangulation and is never zero-risk
 - There is always a risk of injury or death, including "silent" and delayed health consequences
 - Cumulative health risks
 - Messages about "safe ways" to choke need to be critically examined
 - Discuss the health consequences
- There are unique aspects of choking/strangulation that complicate communication, consent, and campus policy



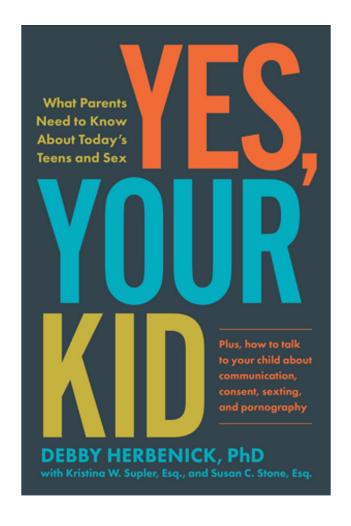
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