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## Zooming In On The Money Shot: An Exploratory Quantitative Analysis of Pornographic Film Actors

Erin O'Neal

University of Central Florida, [enoneal@knights.ucf.edu](mailto:enoneal@knights.ucf.edu)



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**ZOOMING IN ON THE MONEY SHOT: AN EXPLORATORY  
QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS OF PORNOGRAPHIC FILM ACTORS**

by

ERIN N. O'NEAL

B.A. Loyola University New Orleans, 2006

M.P.A. University of Central Florida, 2010

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy  
in the Department of Sociology  
in the College of Sciences  
at the University of Central Florida  
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Major Professor: Lin Huff-Corzine

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## **ABSTRACT**

Sex work is one of the rare elements of our society that is both accepted and stigmatized. Ironically enough, it is stigmatized without being studied in depth. The truth is we know very little about sex work and even less about pornography—the most legal of genres. While researchers have spent a great deal of time determining the effects that pornography has on viewers, particularly juvenile viewers, little research has been done on the men and women who make pornography. A 43 question survey was created and disseminated to those in the pornographic film industry, both amateur and professional, resulting in 210 respondents from all walks of life. The results of the inquiry show that social scientists know relatively little about working in pornography, having a profound impact on the current discussion and future research. Additionally, this investigation presents a new and creative method for surveying hard to reach, hidden, or sensitive subject populations that will aid in aspects of future research on sex work and other stigmatized behaviors.

**Keywords:** pornography, sex work, stigma, hard to reach populations, pornographic film actor

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## CHAPTER 1: AN INTRODUCTION

“I’ve never had an education, never a legitimate job, I’ve never even been a mother. So help me God, if I manage to live through this, I will change my life.”

(Tannen, 2004: 751).

As a researcher in sexual violence, I have spent a great deal of time looking at various aspects of not only the sex work industry, but at any aspect of sex that has the potential to merge with sexual violence. Over the course of my studies, I found that various forms of sex work were often intertwined (Chateauvert, 2013; Wagoner, 2012; Escoffier, 2007; Cornish, 2006; Tannen, 2004; Grussendorf & Leighton, 2002; Farley & Lloyd, n.d.). That is, those who sold sex for money also had histories with pornography, stripping, and other forms of sex work. These individuals often dabbled in more than one arena. In realizing this, I wondered why society generally views prostitution in a negative light, but in many cases has accepted pornography. Why are prostitutes in most cases shamed and porn stars in many cases celebrated? This led me to a review of the literature on pornography and eventually the project that is before us today.

Pornography has been produced and reproduced through a variety of mediums. However, the conversation surrounding the effects of pornography is a conversation that has been predominately abandoned as acceptance of what was once socially taboo is now fairly mainstream. That being said, pornography was the topic of heated debate for the decades preceding this relative acceptance. Since pornography’s inception, society has spent time and money determining everything from whether or not it is obscene to the effects that it has on viewers (Andrews, 2012; Heineman, 2011; Held, 2010; Bach, 2010; Carroll et al., 2008; Cowan & Dunn, 1994; Bruce, 1987). Unfortunately, many of these inquiries focus solely on viewers or are female centric. But,

what happens to those who make pornography? Who are they? Why do they decide to work in adult media? Is there an element of coercion or force involved? How do making these films and pictures impact their lives? Understanding these individuals is becoming more important as the U.S. experiences a continued sexual counterrevolution (Stossel, 1997) in conjunction with an employment crisis, making sex work take center stage.

Another increasingly large gap is that some of these studies have almost no mention of what is arguably the world's most pivotal medium of pornography dissemination—the internet—although more and more researchers are beginning to tackle this issue (Stack et al., 2004). It is important to note that the internet has influenced pornography in both the types of pornography displayed and the way it is disseminated, especially in terms of new technologies allowing for “amateur pornography.” The internet and other technologies, such as camera phones, means that anyone, anytime, and anywhere can create pornography and widely distribute it (Barron & Kimmel, 2010). To date, there has been no attempt to figure out who is involved in creating sexually-explicit user-generated content (SEUGC) or why they do it (Sirianni et al., 2012). Although the internet has been around for two decades, the technology itself changes allowing for pornography to change.

This particular study draws from two different respondent samples of pornographic film actors and actresses: professional and amateur. It includes individuals within those two groups that make a variety of adult media and agreed to answer the survey. The survey itself gathers information regarding the respondents' sexual experiences both on and off camera, alcohol/ drug use and misuse, as well as demographic questions and questions regarding childhood experiences. By examining respondents' experiences, this research will address whether there are underlying

factors that bring these individuals to adult filmmaking (be they money, attention, sex, power, drugs, fame, acting experience, etc.) and if there are demographic consistencies across the group (i.e. child abuse in their past, unstable home environments, drug abuse, etc.).

### *Primary Research Questions*

Since this aspect of pornography is relatively under-researched, there are a plethora of questions that can be asked and answered. Given this, the research completed here is largely exploratory in nature. However, there are some specific questions that will be reviewed, based on gaps in the literature. Throughout this project, the focus will primarily be to answer the following four questions:

1. In what types of adult media do the actors participate?
2. What are the primary motivations for participating in adult media (both initially and continually from their point of view)?
3. How has participation in adult media affected the participant (again, from their point of view)?
4. Are there any differences between “amateur” behavior and “professional” behavior?

What follows in this section is a brief look at the research questions that will be addressed by the project, as well as why these questions were chosen and how the project design addresses them.

#### *In what types of adult media do the actors/ models participate in?*

Throughout this project, predominate foci are on SEUGC, more commonly called amateur pornography, and professional pornography. However, the assumption is that because there are multiple mediums that can be used to disseminate pornography, such as pictures or print media, internet films, webcam shows, sex chatting, sexting, amateur camera videos, and professional

videos; there is a likelihood that individuals will participate in more than one type of media. It is because of this, the largely exploratory question of the types of media in which the individual has acted or modeled was included. The inclusion of this issue will help determine if there are differences between those who are amateurs and those who are professionals and whether or not each type of media participation relates to the other factors being considered.

*What is the primary motivation of adult film participants (both initially and continually)?*

One of the most important questions that can be addressed through this project revolves around the individuals' perceived motivations for participating in making adult media. The goal is to not only learn the primary motivations for entering the field, but to learn why the participants continue to make adult media after their initial exposure. Additionally, the research is designed to answer two questions: does sexual violence victimization play a role in self-selection into pornography and what, if any, is the link between childhood experiences (e.g. child sexual abuse, home instability, etc.) and participation in sexually explicit media. By design, the goal of this project is to gain further insight into the population that makes up both amateur and professional actors.

*How has participation in adult media affected the participant?*

The effects that pornography has on participants, most specifically actors in pornographic media, is an area relatively overlooked by researchers. It is likely that there are both positive and negative effects to the individuals involved, but prior researchers have generally avoided the question (Griffith et al., 2012; Griffith et al., 2013a, Griffith et al., 2013b, Griffith et al., 2013c,



Barron & Kimmel, 2010; Monk-Turner & Purcell, 1999; Russell, 1995). Since the current research addresses these questions, some of the more detailed information collected includes:

1. Does the participant take risks or participate in vice-related behavior off/on camera? If yes, what types of behavior are most prevalent?
2. Does the participant feel shamed (or ashamed) about their participation, are they proud of their work, or do they feel something in between?
3. Are they worried about what friends and family think?

*Are there any differences between “amateur” behavior and professional behavior?*

One of the important aspects of this research design is that those who are identified as amateurs and those who are identified as professionals are included as respondents. This will allow for statistical comparisons between the two groups on a variety of topics, including motivations, types of media produced, the effects participation has on them, etc. The ability to include members from both groups in the sample is imperative because the potential repercussions, stigma, or shame associated with the participation in the different types of media are heretofore unknown and likely to be different. Additionally, there may be other differences between the two groups, including the types of acts participated in on film, the number of sexual partners, or the income level attained.

The focus of the literature review is to gain a broad understanding of the research that has been done regarding pornography. Subsequent chapters will include a brief examination of the history of pornography, including some of the legal history surrounding the medium. This will be followed by a glimpse into what researchers currently know about the effects pornography has on viewers and a discussion on the damaged goods hypothesis presented by Griffith et al. (2013b) and feminist pornography. Next, a discussion on the ways pornography can be created and disseminated, including what we currently know about professional and amateur behavior in pornography. The project will continue with a discussion on the proposed relationship between

pornography and sexual violence, including the projected link between other types of sex work and sexual violence. This will be followed by a discussion of sex work, a proposed theoretical framework and a note on how to sample hard to reach, hidden, or sensitive subject populations. Finally, there will be an exploration of the methods, data, and analysis findings for the investigation. The project will end with a discussion, policy recommendations, and directions for future research.

## CHAPTER 2: HISTORY OF PORNOGRAPHY: FROM SEX TO THE COURTS

“That’s the thing with the internet; nobody’s a freak no mo’. See it used to be all these weirdos sitting alone in they houses jerking it to bugs, fallin in love with they toasters feeling all creepy and sad now all they got to do is log on and find the same minded toaster loving people”

–Black Cindy, *Orange Is the New Black*  
(Kohan, 2013).

The history of pornography is not often something that gets discussed during research endeavors. Generally speaking, unless one is specifically seeking to write about the topic, there is not enough space. In a typical research write-up, reviewing the research is a must, but reviewing the historical foundations is optional. Luckily, longer treatises have the space and expectations to merit a look into pornography’s historical background. This includes a brief look into the defining of sex work and pornography and how the two are intertwined; a look at the definitional concerns between pornography, erotica, and obscenities; the role of the sexual revolution and development of pornography and erotica; Supreme Court cases and government appointed commissions; the backlash against all things sex; and lastly where society is today.

### *Defining “Sex Work”*

To fully comprehend what is being examined, definitional issues must be addressed. Many of the definitions that are used for pornography were defined over the years through court inquiries, commissions, and scientific studies. Additionally, the effective merging of all aspects of public sexual life for financial or other gain into the phrase “sex work” can be traced back to both the intertwining of industries and the Meese Commission on Pornography (1986), which will be

discussed later. In essence, distinguishing the differences among prostitution, pornography, stripping, and the like is extremely problematic because in many cases, individuals who participate in one aspect of the sex industry participate in others. For example, Farley & Lloyd (n.d.) report that “49 percent of 854 prostituted persons reported pornography was made of them while they were prostituting” (p. 64). It is because of this, generally speaking, when discussing issues related to prostitution, pornography, stripping, and the like, we often use the over-arching term “sex work.”

Throughout the research on sexual violence, it was noticed that many of these boundaries are distorted (Chateauvert, 2013; Wagoner, 2012; Ray, 2007; Escoffier, 2007; Cornish, 2006; Tannen, 2004; Grussendorf & Leighton, 2002; Farley & Lloyd, n.d). It was also noticed that society talked about various modes of sex work in different lights; it is more critical of prostitution than pornography, for example. Given this, the researcher decided to turn to the over-arching label of “sex work” as a way to explain a broader phenomenon, but still maintain pornography’s uniqueness as a genre. Throughout this journey to learn more about sex work, it was well established that many other researchers believe that these industries merge on a certain level. According to Chateauvert (2013), for example, “[s]ex’ work includes escorts, brothel workers, professional dominants, telephone sex operators, strippers, exotic dancers, sensual massage workers, web cam entertainers, porn models, adult film performers, and specialists of all types, genders, colors, shapes, sexualities, and fetishes” (p. 122). Essentially, any instance where an individual performs, discusses, or participates in activities of a sexual nature so that one or more of the parties involved can experience sexual gratification is defined as sex work.

*Is that pornography? Erotica, Pornography, and Obscenity*

In order to understand pornography better, it is important to get an understanding of the operationalization of commonly misused and interchanged words. Generally speaking, if the “average” American were asked to explain the difference between erotica, pornography, and obscenity, they would be hard pressed to find the words (Andrews, 2012). Even so, many people come up with different answers, suggestions, and foci even when composing a definition today. As these definitions are addressed, it is important to realize that not all potential definitions will be used and that the final definitions will be a merge of the best ones found.

Pornography is possibly the term for explicit materials that is most recognized by individuals. Even if they cannot readily define pornography, they will likely begin to describe what they believe to be pornography: videos where sexual acts are portrayed, pictures of naked people, etc. The term pornography comes from the merging of two Greek words *porne*, meaning prostitute, and *graphos*, which directly translates into “to write” (Popovic, 2011: 450). When the two words are merged, they mean “to write or portray whores.” Most definitions of pornography try to keep it simple by merely saying that pornography is media “whose sole function [is] arousal” (Heinman, 2011: 12). The majority of the definitions that tried to have a more inclusive view of pornography often have a more negative view. For example, Russell (1998) says “I define pornography as material that combines sex and/ or the exposure of genitals with abuse or degradation in a manner that appears to endorse, condone, or encourage such behavior” (p. 58). Jackson (1995) suggests that “intention to exploit” may be a key ingredient. Lastly, Held (2010) defines pornography as “the graphic sexually explicit subordination of women whether in pictures or in words that also includes one or more of the following:

1. Women presented as sexual objects who enjoy pain or humiliation
2. Women are presented as sexual objects who experience sexual pleasure by being raped
3. Women are presented as sexual objects tied up or mutilated or bruised or physically hurt or as dismembered or truncated or fragmented or severed into body parts
4. Women as presented as being penetrated by objects or animals
5. Women are presented as scenarios of degradation, injury, abasement, torture, shown as filthy or inferior, bleeding, bruised, or hurt in a context that makes these conditions sexual.
6. Women are presented as sexual objects from domination, conquest, violation, exploitation, possession, or use, or through postures or positions of servility or submission or display (p. 126).

As seen with Russell and Held's definitions, some of the definitions of pornography reserve the term for aspects of adult media that include some of the most degrading acts. However, it is not necessarily true that individuals will believe in those definitions, as they may include non-degrading media where sex acts are being performed as pornography. Also, it should be noted that there is no understanding of where these researchers are standing in terms of operationalizing degradation, exploitation, etc. For the purposes of the literature review portion of this project, pornography will be defined as sexually explicit media created for the purpose of arousal of participants or consumers that may or may not include degrading acts, does include nudity or partial nudity, and may include sexual acts being performed.

Erotica is probably one of the most pervasive types of explicit material and many people mislabel various types of erotica as pornography. Heinman (2011) defines erotica as "any object whose function was to enhance the consumer's sex life: arousing images and texts, instructional materials, sex aids, virility formulas, lingerie, contraceptives, and more" (p.12). Heinman (2011) goes on to say that "[e]rotica differed from pornography, which referred only to representations of sex" (p.12). Although we often use pornography as a "catch-all" phrase when it comes to sexually

explicit materials, based on this definition, erotica is a more appropriate term. Additionally, it should be noted that a variety of materials that are related to sex, but are not deemed inappropriate by today's standards are included in the definition of erotica, including sex toys, condoms, and the like. However, this is not the only definition of erotica that exists, even though it is the most inclusive.

Those who take a more critical stance on pornography often define erotica as what they perceive to be pornography's antithesis. For example, Russell (1998) explains "erotica as sexually suggestive or arousing material that is free of sexism, racism, and homophobia, and respectful of all the human beings and animals portrayed" (p. 58). If pornography is viewed as other materials that erotica is not, then this definition suggests that pornography and erotica are basically the same, except pornography includes negative elements, such as degradation. Others take a more inclusive approach, including other aspects of sex and sexuality in their definition. Returning to Heinman's (2011) definition mentioned earlier, the difference is that pornography only includes images of sex acts being performed, whereas erotica also includes all these other elements of sex.

While there are a number of definitions that can be used and have been used for similar research, for the purposes of the literature review portion of this project, erotica will be defined as materials that assist creators and users in any part of the process of sex and sexuality. This may include tools such as sex toys, lingerie, and contraceptives; sexually suggestive photos where no sexual acts are performed; and any other tools that may be used in the participants' understanding or completion of sex acts. Pornography, for the purposes of all other aspects of this inquiry, excluding the literature review, is defined throughout this project how the individual respondent defines it. This dichotomy exists because there is a need to understand how pornography can be

viewed in both the technical sense and in eye of the participant. It is because of this, participants are asked through the questionnaire about the sex acts that they perform on film or through technology. Although no technical definition has been adopted for the more analytical portion of this inquiry, the exploration of various viewpoints on what pornography is may be important to place the narrative in a larger context.

### *The Role of the Sexual Revolution*

When discussing sex work, and more specifically pornography, it is imperative that the sexual revolution be discussed. This characteristic is crucial to understanding pornography because there are various aspects of the history of pornography and the broader sexual revolution that influence the ways that Americans, in particular, view sex and sexuality, as well as the men and women who make pornography. The sexual revolution is a period of time in America where individuals began to discuss, understand, and experiment with a wide variety of topics surrounding sex (Heinman, 2011). This included both the commercialization of sex and sexual experimentation on a personal level. In fact, from the middle 20<sup>th</sup> century on, articles and objects purchased for the sole purpose of optimizing sexual health or pleasure were a typical part of everyday life for people in America. By the 1960s, Americans were visiting sex stores and using mail services to order sex at unprecedented rates. However, the sexual revolution did not end with the “free love” of the 1960s. With various technological advances, such as birth control being widely available, society has also seen a variety of advances in the sex industry. However, few mediums would have transformed the sexual revolution more than the creation of the internet. As the internet became a household staple in the 1990s, society saw a shift from the video store to accessing pornography in the bedroom (Ray, 2007). This was followed by the rise in both the use and technological



advances of webcams. These improvements, including the new access to easy uploading and downloading, cheaper and more accessible computers, and easy internet access have truly changed the face of pornography.

The sexual revolution has allowed for the adjusting of indecency just enough to be able to keep the most provocative and even harmful sexual proclivities at bay. Some suggest that Americans keep pornography legal because they believe they are keeping sexual deviance from penetrating society (Chateauvert, 2013). This notion has allowed society to determine the level of approval of different types of sex, which would have a massive impact on the level of acceptance society has on each. In fact, our acceptance of various forms of sex and sexuality has followed what was coined “the erotic pyramid”; where married, reproducing heterosexuals are at the top, followed by monogamous heterosexuals, followed by promiscuous heterosexuals, followed by monogamous homosexuals, and finally promiscuous homosexuals are at the bottom of the pyramid” (Brickell, 2009: 59). In this instance, sex acts performed by and directed with the top of the pyramid in mind are deemed most acceptable by society.

The greatest reason the sexual revolution had a massive impact on sex work is because the sexual revolution became a focusing event for society (Heinman, 2011). The government was extremely concerned with not only access to pornography, including juvenile access, but with what type of pornography and erotica was being made and how it was disseminated (Chateauvert, 2013; Heinman, 2011; Held, 2010; Heins, 1999). While the federal government had been concerned with sexually explicit materials as early as the 1870s, the majority of the conversation regarding whether or not pornography can have a negative effect on viewers did not begin until the 1950s and 1960s. For the first time, U.S. sex scientists were employed to determine the effects that pornography

were having on society, if any. It is because of these mediums, in which our understanding of pornography developed, that much of the history of pornography can be processed through the history of pornography in the courts.

*Porn v. the U.S.*

Generally speaking, whenever a new question about pornography, i.e. its legality, obscenity, impact on viewers, etc., comes into play, the courts are often the ones who decide what to do with it. This may be because many proponents of pornography say that limiting or restricting pornography is constraining the right to free speech. The courts, of course, are tasked with determining whether or not a law against pornography is a law restricting the First Amendment. Additionally, there have been a number of court cases that have to do with individual privacy and free speech that have had a major impact on pornography. The focus of this particular section is to look at the major court cases and legislation that have had a major impact on the pornographic film industry.

As mentioned earlier, the regulation of pornographic images has been conducted by the federal government since the 1870s. Congress used the age old “interstate commerce” clause of the Constitution to prove that it had jurisdiction over the sale and distribution of pornography. In 1873, Congress passed the first legislation to limit pornography through the Comstock Act (17 STAT 598), which “restricted the trade, possession, manufacture, and distribution of ‘obscene’ materials and materials of an ‘immoral nature,’ including info on contraception and abortion” (Held, 2010: 120). The act, however, left a number of aspects up to interpretation, including the definition of obscenity, which would be used to determine whether or not a particular item violated the law if shipped. The result of this vagueness has been that the Supreme Court would spend the

next several decades determining which materials would actually be prohibited under the Comstock Act. Additionally, the Supreme Court has been assigned the task of determining the boundaries of free speech and whether or not speech, including media such as pornography, would be protected under all circumstances.

The first Supreme Court case that is important to our understanding of the role the courts had in shaping pornography is *Butler v. Michigan* (1957), where the court found that “the First Amendment forbids government from censoring speech in the interest of protecting minors if the result is to ‘reduce the adult population...to reading only what is fit for children’” (Heins, 1999: 94). This particular case is crucial for two reasons. The first is that it was the first mention of pornography as being detrimental to children if they are exposed and whether or not this potentially dangerous outcome is enough to limit the First Amendment. The second is the notion that “your rights end at my nose,” meaning you have rights as long as they do not infringe upon the rights of others and vice versa. In the larger scheme of acceptance of pornographic material, this was a huge blow. This decision was followed by the *Roth v. U.S.* (1957) decision, where the court decided that a law designed to punish anyone who mailed obscene materials was constitutional because the First Amendments’ “purpose [was the] ‘unfettered interchange of ideas for bringing about political and social changes desired by the people’” not limitless free speech (Held, 2010: 120; Bruce, 1987). However, the Supreme Court put the brakes on this idea in the *Stanley v. Georgia* (1969) case, where the court decided that mere possession of pornography was not enough to constitute an obscenity violation, but that the pornography itself needed to be deemed obscene (*also seen in* DeKeseredy & Corsianos, 2016). Once the Supreme Court determined that it could limit obscene materials, the problem then became what constitutes obscene.

The question of whether or not pornography is obscene is a query that is as old as the industry itself. In the U.S. Supreme Court case *Jacobellis v. Ohio* (1964), the American legal system has questioned whether or not pornography is too lewd for protection under the First Amendment's freedom of speech clause (Andrews, 2012). In that case, the court decided that the film in question did not qualify as obscene and in one of the most famous concurring opinions, Supreme Court Justice Potter Stewart concluded that when it comes to obscenities "[he] would know it when [he] see[s] it" (Andrews, 2012: 457). Since this visual examination was not a valid test that could be mainstreamed, the question would inevitably be revisited in a number of other cases. One such case, *Miller v. California* (1973), gave us the current three pronged test to determine obscenities:

1. Whether the average person, applying contemporary adult community standards, finds that the matter, taken as a whole, appeals to prurient interests (i.e. and erotic, lascivious, abnormal, unhealthy, degrading, shameful, or morbid interest in nudity, sex, or excretion);
2. Whether the average person, applying contemporary adult community standards, finds that the matter depicts or describes sexual conduct in a patently offensive way (i.e. ultimate sexual acts, normal, or perverted, actual or simulated, masturbation, excretory functions, lewd exhibition of the genitals, or sado-masochistic sexual abuse);
3. Whether a reasonable person finds that the matter, taken as a whole, lacks serious literary, artistic, political, or scientific value (Department of Justice, 2013; Winick & Evans: 1994).

The last attempt to define obscenities and the changing nature of pornography occurred with the *Pope v. Illinois* (1987) decision, where the court followed the Miller precedent. This definition gave a more concrete idea of the definition of obscene materials including pornography, but it still left it up to interpretation, which suggested that the question would be re-reviewed at a later date, acknowledging that societal views toward pornography can change over time, as adult

community standards change. Inevitably, the industry has changed since last reviewed. Even though our society has moved toward greater open access to pornographic material and unfiltered amateur pornography, the courts (i.e. one of society's legal bodies that can intervene preventing its production) have relatively ignored these changes.

There were other important cases addressed by the Supreme Court that would have an impact on pornography, but these cases were not explicitly addressing pornography. Instead, they addressed right to privacy. The Court, in *Griswold v. Connecticut* (1965) stated that married couples had the right to privacy in their home (Hall, Wiecek, & Finkelman, 1996). They then extended the privilege to unmarried couples in the *Eisenstadt v. Baird* (1972) decision. Together, these two decisions were the cornerstone to the *Roe v. Wade* (1973) decision in which the right to privacy was extended to women's health issues. With these decisions, the courts were clear that what individuals do in their own home or their domicile was none of the concern of the courts or the legislature. This would include the making of pornography for private use. However, the courts also remained clear that once these rights trickled over into the public realm they were no longer protected by the free speech clause of the First Amendment. This would have a specific impact for pornography, but first, legislators and the courts would have to figure out if pornography impacted the public realm.

### *Commissions on Pornography*

One of the ways to determine whether or not pornography is impacting society in the eyes of the government is to appoint commissions and solicit reports. Two major commissions and their reports would be crucial to the shaping of the way that pornography is legally viewed: the Meese Commission on Pornography (1986) and the Fraser Report (1985). The Fraser Report (1985) was

a Canadian study commissioned by the Canadian Justice Minister to “study all questions related to pornography and prostitution” (Kanter, 1985: 172). The committee “recommended the decriminalization of prostitution and prohibition only of pornography which depicts physical harm or abuse” (Kanter, 1985: 172). While this commission was Canadian, it had a major impact on the impending commission in the U.S.

The Meese Commission on Pornography (1986) would be possibly one of the most criticized commissions on pornography. The commission consisted of public hearings in six major U.S. cities between 1985 and 1986, resulting in a 2000-page report that found pornography to be a public menace that harmed people who viewed it, even casually (Vance, 1990). The Meese Commission divided pornography into three classes: Class I (degrading and violent); Class II (degrading, but non-violent); Class III (not degrading and not violent)—the first two were deemed problematic with no evidence, and the third, they could not decide (West, 1987:702-707). The criticisms of the commission were massive. The most important criticism was that many believed the commission was biased, having constructed the panels to contain mostly conservative members, seven (out of eleven) of which were publicly against pornography and selecting specific witnesses to testify against pornography. The problem is that a great deal of our understanding of pornography and merging of “sex work” into an overarching field comes directly from the outcome of the Meese Commission. For example, the Meese Commission decided to use terms related to sex work interchangeably, often using prostitution and prostitute to describe those who participated in pornography (Chateauvert, 2013). It is because of the Meese Commission that pundits often merge prostitution, pornography, stripping, etc. into the all-encompassing phrase “sex work.” Additionally, the commission’s findings would cause a backlash against all things related to sex.

### *Backlash against Sex*

The backlash against sex, or at the least public displays of sex and sexuality, began in the 1970s, gained momentum in the 1980s and continued until the 1990s. The ultimate goal for many politicians and pundits was to clean up the cities and towns and to return to a more conservative way of life. Much of this backlash was spurred along what was called by many an anti-sexual revolution, where the AIDS epidemic and the perceived over-sexualization of America became public debate resulting in the unlikelyst of allies—feminists and conservatives (Ahmed, 2011; Stossel, 1997). Together, the two groups united and mounted a campaign against sex and sex work in major cities and towns throughout the U.S.

No city can be used as greater proof of the backlash against sex than the city of New York. By the 1980s, New York City, specifically Times Square, “turned into XXX-rated Walmarts, selling adult novelties and pornographic videos and magazines, in addition to their private video booths and live, nude sex shows” (Chateauvert, 2013: 119). Essentially, sex was sold on every corner. With it, the city saw an increase in crime and other social problems, causing the city to react (Chateauvert, 2013). In the 1990s, to combat the sex plaguing the city, New York City passed ordinances known as XXX zoning laws that were designed specifically to “keep adult entertainment businesses away from schools, churches, and residential neighborhoods” (Kuo, 2012:1). Eventually, all of the sex related businesses were drawn from the area, creating a more “wholesome” environment (Kuo, 2012). Other cities would use this model, even getting rid of previously ignored “red light” districts where the sale of sex was once allowed.

### *Feminism, Conservatism, and Pornography*

One of the key targets of the sexual counterrevolution was sex work, particularly prostitution and pornography. As evidence of this alliance against sex work, West (1987) determined that the Meese Commission's report "blends traditional and women-centered conceptions of pornography, and blends feminist anti-pornography rhetoric with conservative ideology" (p. 685). How the two notions are blended, however, is where some believe they get into trouble. The two camps have very different reasons for opposing pornography. According to West, feminists believe that "pornography endangers women's physical safety, security and freedom" whereas conservatives believe that "pornography also endangers the family, marriage, monogamy, and virtue" and that because of this, a "*women's physical security, safety, and freedom must depend on the stability of family, marriage, and sexual virtue*" (1987: 699). This belief was mirrored by radical feminists who supported the idea that "pornography serves to further the subordination of women by training its users, males and females alike, to view women as little more than sex objects over whom men should have complete control" (Kohut, Baer, & Watts, 2016: 1<sup>1</sup>).

With these beliefs in hand and a divisive approach to the solution, a split in feminist camps occurred with prominent feminists such as Catherine MacKinnon and Andrea Dworkin proposing an abolition on pornography while others were divergent to legal restrictions, such as Ellen Willis and Carol Vance (Chancer, 2000). Throughout the 70s, 80s, and 90s, the abolitionist camp would find their way into the discussion and dominate how the U.S. Government would handle

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<sup>1</sup> Pornography is defined by the respondent in this case. Researchers here used the GSS. Respondents were asked if they had seen an X-rated movie in the past year.



pornography, serving as advisors to the Meese Commission. While most of the feminists and conservatives who represent ideologies supporting an abolition would not consider themselves to be anti-sex or members of the sexual counterrevolution, their actions have impacted the face of pornography and indeed sex work (Chancer, 1996). Most of this impact is due to the dominance of the conservative feminist alliance.

One of the main concerns with the conservative feminist approach is that it seems to combine all pornography into the same classification, even though the Meese Commission recognized three fairly distinct categories and viewers would likely recognize a difference between various types of pornography. Additionally, it is important to take the individual into consideration as what one viewer will find “victimizing, threatening and oppressive” another may find “liberating and transformative” (West, 1987: 686). The truth is that pornography is often a catch-all term used for a wide variety of mediums with a wide variety of implications. In reality, pornography can be viewed as liberating because of its portrayal of “historically taboo sex,” repressive for its “sexual- subordination...male dominated” sex, or something in between (Chancer, 2000: 81-82). However, the differences between them may be too subjective for equitable measurement.

In summation, having an understanding of pornography and its history, as well as the sexual history that happens in conjunction with pornography is important to this project. Commissions, reports, Supreme Court Cases, and movements against pornography have an immense impact on pornography’s participants. Some of the aspects of impact that will be tested with study are stigma, shame, empowerment, and identity management, which may have a direct

correlation with society's acceptance of pornography as a cultural norm, or its labeling of it as deviant behavior.

## CHAPTER 3: THE EFFECTS OF PORNOGRAPHY: FROM VIEWERSHIP TO VIOLENCE

“For the next few minutes all the bullshit fades away and the only thing in the world is those tits... dat ass... the blowjob... the cowboy, the doggie, the money shot and that's it, I don't gotta say anything, I don't gotta do anything. I just fucking lose myself.”

~Jon Martello, *Don Jon*  
(Bergman & Gordon-Levitt, 2013)

### *Why Pornography?*

One of the reasons that scientists and social scientists study pornography is to discuss the effects: the biological effects, emotional effects, the effects on the creators, the effects on viewers, etc. What happens to people who view pornography physically? Is there a type of pornography that does not impact viewers in the same way as other types of pornography? The truth is that we cannot understand whether or not pornography is a *private right or a public menace* unless we look into all aspects of pornography. This particular chapter is designed to look into these questions and more, focusing on the known effects that pornography has on viewers and the new face of pornography—feminist porn. While not directly related to pornographic film actors, the inclusion of this material is important because it is directly related to the vast majority of research about pornography.

### *Biological Responses to Pornography*

Much of the lure of pornography is wrapped up in the biological responses, that is, the physical reactions that viewers have to pornography. The truth about watching any type of television or movies is that the images evoke certain responses in the brain and can even alter

chemical reactions. It is this biological response that causes us to be afraid during scary movies or yearn for intimacy when romantic movies are watched. It is because of these chemical reactions that simulation is used in everything from medical to military training (Petty & Barbosa, 2016; Jalink, Heineman, Pierie, & Hodemaker, 2014; Keebler, Jentsch, & Schuster, 2014).

These biological responses have not been well documented when it comes to pornography; however, at the time of this research there are a couple of studies that may provide some insight into the biological responses. Researchers “performed functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI) studies of objects in two different conditions... The results of the fMRI indicated that being touched and watching someone being touched produced a similar pattern of activation in the secondary somatosensory cortex” (Bach, 2010: 59). Essentially, our brain “fills in the blanks” and allows us to live vicariously through the actors. This process is commonly called “simulation.” If the viewer does not feel that connection with the actor, it is likely that he or she will not achieve the same level of arousal. It is because of this, certain aspects of pornographic filmmaking are deemed imperative, such as the *money shot*, which is described as “the literal and figurative climax of nearly every porn scene... [i.e.] the successful filming of the male’s ejaculation, where said ejaculation always occurs visibly and directed toward whether the sexual activity is really happening...” (Bach, 2010: 60).

DeKeseredy & Corsianos (2016) mirror the notions of the biological impact of pornography as they discuss the impact that viewing pornography has had on individuals in a laboratory setting in the earliest examinations of the effects of pornography. While these physical responses are important, it should also be known that pornography can have a psychological effect on viewers as well. DeKeseredy & Corsianos, of course, are citing Bridges (2010) and Bridges &

Anton (2013: 199) who found that “[r]epeated exposure to pornographic images leads to desensitization to these images; therefore, new, more arousing, and more intense pornographic images much be obtained to achieve the same degree of sexual excitation” (*also seen in* DeKeseredy & Corsianos, 2016: 66). Still, the conclusion is conspicuous: there is a biological impact on those who view pornography.

### *Psychological Responses to Porn*

The psychological responses to pornography are highly debated. While most professionals agree that there is likely a psychological response, the APA (2000; Weir 2014) classifies one known psychological aspect created by pornography as a mental health disorder and does not recognize any other psychological responses to pornography. The APA does not address whether it believes all pornography to be voyeurism or not, but it does define voyeurism as a psychosexual disorder. But, what is voyeurism and how does it fit into pornography? Voyeurism is a “sexual fetish in which an unseen viewer spies on an unsuspecting body that is ‘naked in the process of disrobing, or engaging in sexual activity’” (Senft, 2008: 45).

Pornography is perfect for voyeurs. First, it allows the viewer to watch strangers have sex in a variety of ways. Second, in many films, the actors pretend that they are not there (referred to by Senft as the ‘gaze of the camera’) or they react to the camera or spectators. Either way, the voyeur gets their psychological needs met in a low-stakes way. The psychological voyeur response is the antithesis to the biological simulation response, as in the one case the thrill is in not being a participant, whereas in the other the thrill is placing oneself in the participant’s shoes. At this time, the APA does not recognize any other known psychological effects of pornography. In fact, the APA is still researching to determine whether or not pornography can be addictive (Weir, 2014).

Regardless of the response, be it physical or psychological, these responses to pornography are both documented on some level and important to the discussion.

### *The Sociological Effects of Pornography on Viewers*

When beginning the dialogue on pornography, it is imperative to understand where the majority of the research is coming from. Most of the discussions and arguments surrounding pornography are the effects that it has on its viewers. Within this, there is a strict dichotomy between the two camps. Proponents for pornography often look at the lack of harm, while opponents of pornography look at the potential negative effects. Dissenters of pornography have championed the argument that pornography affects the male and female perspective of women, sex, and sexuality. The perception is that a negative view of women is portrayed in these films, therefore, causing men and women to accept a view of sexual aggression or sexual violence against women as being normal (Malamuth et al., 2011<sup>2</sup>). This perspective has support from findings from a cross-sectional study of the positive correlation between the consumption of pornography and attitudes that are supportive of violence towards women (Malamuth et al., 2011). While there is a positive correlation between the two, it is stronger with men who are at a higher risk for sexual aggression to begin with (Malamuth et al., 2011).

Cornell (2012) argues that pornography promotes and replicates oppressive ideas; however, proponents of pornography argue that it is not the source of the oppression, instead it is a source of empowerment from oppression. In Cornell's research, the belief is that pornography merely mirrors what the population wants to see. Instead, these individuals argue that although

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<sup>2</sup> Respondents were asked how frequently they viewed popular pornographic magazines, such as Playboy and Hustler using a 4 point scale (never-very frequently).

pornography affects viewers, this impact can be used to change the narrative surrounding sex and sexuality (Cornell, 2012). This does not, however, take into consideration viewers who may not have been exposed to these sexual experiences and are seeing them for the first time through film. For example, Gorman et al. (2010)<sup>3</sup> found acts of degradation in their sample of both amateur and professional pornography that included autoerotic asphyxiation, name calling, and facial ejaculations, to name a few. If an individual sees this type of behavior for the first time and has no outlet to discuss it, damage to the psyche may ensue (Gorman et al., 2010). McKee (2005<sup>4</sup>) argues that with the creation of the internet, a whole new world of sexual deprivation is accessible, allowing for extreme and violent images of gang bangs, sexual assault, incest, bestiality, and the like to be at our fingertips. The creation of the “voyeurweb,” as Lehman (2007) calls it, allows for niche porn to find an outlet and perhaps it eventually can find its way into mainstream culture. An example of this is the recent success of the 50 Shades franchise, which depicts (however construed) a sadomasochistic relationship, which would have once been too taboo for theaters.

The type of pornography also plays a role in the effect it has on the attitudes supporting violence; with a significantly stronger correlation between pornography that is considered to be violent and attitudes supporting violence (Malamuth et al., 2011). It could also be that men who are considered to be at risk for committing sexual aggression are more inclined to watch pornography that is considered extreme (Malamuth et al., 2011). For the men considered to be in the high-risk category, those who reported using porn very frequently were found to have attitudes

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<sup>3</sup> Content analysis where key terms were used, such as XXX, and then the first five websites were selected. It is unclear if there was a method to which video on the websites were chosen, just that the videos were located on the first page.

<sup>4</sup> Derived the sample for the content analysis from best seller lists of two mail order pornographic video companies to determine the 50 most popular films.

that supported violence toward women more strongly than high-risk users who reported they rarely or never used pornography (Malamuth et al., 2011). However, in this instance, it should be noted that the direction of the effect is not apparent, where it is not possible to determine whether or not high risk behavior increases pornography consumption or pornography consumption increases high risk behavior. Aside from the effect of males' perspective on women, pornography has had an impact on the way men view sex. This idea was reevaluated by DeKeseredy & Corsianos (2016) who also determined that pornography is a major factor in gendered violence.

In contrast, Kohut, Baer, & Watts (2016) found that most studies did not find an association between pornography consumption and male or female attitudes toward sexual violence or gender attitudes. For example, Potter (1996) determined that those who consume pornography are average individuals with average beliefs, suggesting that our understanding of pornography is nothing more than a misunderstanding. Likewise, Potter (1999) determined that beliefs and attitudes towards women and what are deemed as traditional or non-traditional roles are not impacted by pornography consumption. Aside from the potential effect of males' perspective on women, which have mixed findings throughout various studies, pornography may have had an impact on the way men view sex. Men's view of various sexual situations has been found to be more lenient by men who consume pornography, who are statistically more accepting of casual and premarital sex (Carroll et al., 2008<sup>5</sup>). They are also more approving of extramarital and teenage sex (Wright, 2013<sup>6</sup>).

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<sup>5</sup> In this study, pornography is self-identify and self-report. Young adults were asked "How frequently do you view pornographic material (such as magazines, movies, and/or internet sites?" Measured on a six point scale from never to every day.

<sup>6</sup> This study was also self-identify and self-report. Respondents were asked whether or not they had viewed pornography in the past year (yes or no).



While there are obvious factors that cannot be measured, the proposed link between these behaviors and pornography shows that pornography is at least part of the narrative. For example, it is accepted in some research circles that it is possible that the viewer's perspective is altered, affecting his or her behavior. Behavior associated with pornography use has some correlations that would be seen as both positive and negative in society. A positive association was that researchers found that unmarried viewers of pornography were significantly more likely to use condoms than unmarried non-viewers (Wright, 2013). This is particularly telling considering the documented lack of condom use in pornography (Tannen, 2004). Another association is the positive correlation between viewing pornography and partaking in extramarital sex (Wright, 2013). However, these are associations found without clarification of whether or not changing aspects of culture, such as wider-spread sexual education programs, were taken into consideration.

Other researchers have explored pornography's effect on individuals in a committed relationship and found that when men used pornography it was indirectly correlated with lower relationship satisfaction for both men and women, but when women used pornography, it was significantly correlated with higher relationship satisfaction for men, but not women (Poulsen & Busby, 2013<sup>7</sup>). Researchers concluded that pornography might negatively affect a committed couple's relationship because the man has a loss of interest in sex with his partner and the woman pulls back from sex (Poulsen & Busby, 2013). However, they do not discuss whether or not unhappy relationships increase pornography usage. Lastly, researchers have expressed a great concern in the potential for addiction to pornography to consume the consumer (Stern & Handel,

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<sup>7</sup> Respondents were asked if they had read or viewed pornography in the past year, including graphic novels, internet sites, movies, and magazines. Measured on a six point scale from never to every day.

2010<sup>8</sup>).The majority of arguments regarding effects of pornography have discussed adults, but arguments that are also popular in the discussion include how adolescents are affected by exposure to pornography.

Those who focus on studying the correlation between early exposure to pornography and sexual compulsivity of adults found that the females in the sample were first exposed at age 11, on average, while the males were first exposed at age 10, on average (Stulhofer et al., 2008<sup>9</sup>). They found that age of first exposure and sexual compulsivity was not significantly correlated; however, more exposure to pornographic material causes men and women to view the material as being more realistic leading to an alteration of their view on recreational sex (Stulhofer et al., 2008). In their later study, Stulhofer et al. (2008) found that a person's age when first exposed to pornographic material was significant in predicting if he or she would engage in risky sexual behavior. Some of the pornography that adolescents are exposed to comes from their own curiosity, while some of it is unwanted. However, it should be noted that the chances of accidental exposure, contrary to public outcry, are relatively low and sexual content is not as pervasive as once postulated (Potter & Potter, 2001). Regardless of the reason for exposure, it has a well-documented effect on adolescents, but the exact impact has been met with much debate (Spears, 2009; Stulhofer et al., 2008; Wolak et al., 2007; Money, 1986).

For example, researchers found in one study that youth who had unwanted exposure also experienced solicitation online and even victimization from peers' offline (Wolak et al., 2007<sup>10</sup>).

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<sup>8</sup> Study is a review of all types of mass media that may contain sexual imagery, including, but not limited to: telephone sex lines, music, internet websites, books, and television.

<sup>9</sup> Individuals were asked three different questions: age of first exposure, frequency of exposure by age 14, and pornographic genre of their choice: BDSM, bestiality, fetish, or violent pornography. It is unclear whether or not individuals who did not answer one of these categories were included in the analysis.

<sup>10</sup> Defined pornography as pictures of naked people or of people having sex.

Also, delinquent youth, those with depression, and those who had been victimized interpersonally had a greater chance of being exposed to pornography (Wolak et al., 2007). Essentially, those who are at greater risk for deviant sexual behavior are at greater risk to being exposed to pornography at an early age. They are also the adolescents who are less likely to have parental involvement and more likely to be delinquent. These findings can seem tautological, with no certainty whether or not the outcome is being impacted by multiple correlating variables. Even so, with the potential for the exposure of sexually explicit material affecting youth, it should still be studied, using the findings from these studies as control variables.

### *The Fragile Childhood and Damaged Goods*

Understanding the effects that pornography has on viewers and participants alike is crucial. While there has not been direct research to study the effects that pornography has on the love map or the effects that a damaged love map has on an individual's decision to make pornography or view it; there are a number of studies that have to do with both the love map and pornography that suggest that this should be looked into. The *love map* "refers to the routes that an individual's mind must follow to arrive at sexual pleasure and satisfaction" (Money, 1986; Straus, 2001 [1994]: 124). According to Money (1986), the *love map* is a pattern in the mind that is solidified by the age of seven, which determines how we as individuals perceive sex, relationships, and potential violence within them. The *love map* stays with us throughout our lives and guides the decisions we make regarding love and sex. This has an impact on juveniles who may stumble upon or be exposed to pornography. This is especially the case if the pornography depicts violent imagery, because these images may be fused into the *love map* and become normalized for the viewer. If the *love map* is

damaged for another reason, say childhood sexual abuse, it may have an impact on the decision of actors to participate in adult media or viewers to view violent material.

Following this mindset, the possibility of the role that childhood sexual abuse may play in the decision to create pornography, researchers have sought to test the “damaged goods hypothesis.” According to Griffith et al. (2013b), “the damaged goods hypothesis posits that female performers in the adult entertainment industry have higher rates of childhood sexual abuse (CSA), psychological problems, and drug use compared to typical women” (p. 621; Evans-DeCicco & Cowan, 2001). In fact, it is a common conception among people who view the industry from the outside that the women, in particular, “must be damaged” in order to do the kind of work they do. The problem with this conception is that it has not been tested. While Griffith et al. managed to study pornographic film actors qualitatively, few have tried to study the damaged goods hypothesis on a large scale. Part of this may be access to the population or perhaps fear that the participant will shut down because the researcher asked the question. Regardless of the reasons, there is a critical need for research to test this hypothesis. It should be noted that Griffith et al. (2013b) was the first to refer to this phenomenon as the “damaged goods hypothesis,” however, the study was created based on conversations by Dworkin (1989), MacKinnon (1993), Polk & Cowan (1996), and Evan-DeCiceo & Cowan (2001). No other studies at the time of this publication were identified to test the damaged goods hypothesis with pornographic film actors or any other type of sex work.

### *Feminist Pornography*

The ideology behind feminist pornography rests in the notion of “reclaiming” pornography for women. The basic argument is that pornography will always exist and because of this, women

should reclaim pornography, take back the “power” notions behind it, and turn it into something that is empowering (Sheiner, 1997). While some suggest that what feminist pornographers are talking about is really erotica, proponents might argue that rejecting the term pornography and adopting a new one would be violating the reclaiming process. Regardless of whether it is called erotica or pornography, the ultimate goal is to create pornography by women and for women and to change the way women, sex, and pornography are seen, making them something that can be embraced. Most importantly, the goal is to remove any aspects of degradation from pornography. In essence, those who participate in feminist pornography are not against all pornography, but against overt and covert racist and sexist acts that have penetrated main stream pornography (DeKeseredy & Corsianos, 2016).

Those who are against censorship contend that pornography can be of some importance because it “validates a range of female sexuality that is wider and truer than that legitimated by the non-pornographic culture [and it] celebrates both female pleasure and male rationality” (West, 1987: 696). Essentially, pornography allows women to embrace notions of pleasure and sexuality, while allowing men to accept women as sexual beings without the derogatory connotations of being a sexual being. Additionally, it allows women to be more involved in the process of creating pornography. Monet (1999) suggests that by creating feminist pornography, aspects of degradation are being removed automatically because the intent is no longer to degrade participants; intent being the main component of degradation. The focus of feminist pornography, therefore, is to give participants back their power and their choice, changing the outcome of the film and the perception of participants and viewers alike.

Trying to change the balance of power is one of the reasons why empowerment is one of the most important elements of feminist pornography. According to Weinberg, Williams, Kleiner, & Irizarry (2010), there are two sociological processes that take place through the consumption of pornography: normalization and empowerment. Each of these processes can have positive and negative effects and it is important to distinguish the difference between the two.

The process of normalization takes place because as individuals view pornography, the sexual behaviors that they see become seen as normal behaviors, even if they were once considered taboo or deviant. One example of this was the finding of Fahs, Swank, & Clevenger (2015), where it was discovered that access to pornography has normalized anal sex and made it not only acceptable, but popular. Likewise, the film *Playground* discusses how those who have been introduced to various types of pornography, including child pornography, begin to seek out those images in order to achieve arousal, even if they themselves once considered the images abnormal (Spears, 2009). Now, just to reiterate, normalization is not necessarily a negative outcome of feminist pornography. Plenty of sexual acts that were once taboo are now mainstream and popular because of the normalization of pornography, which can be liberating for the participants.

The other process that is evident in the consumption of pornography is empowerment. Essentially, the belief is that the “consumption of pornography can promote is a sense of erotic empowerment, the ability not only to create or alter sexual scripts but also a desire to act on them” (Weinberg et al., 2010: 1391). Basically, the belief is that if women see themselves or others like them participating in pornography and enjoying their sexual side, they too will be empowered to embrace those aspects of their bodies and minds. Feminist pornography essentially provides the necessary validation to women regarding their sexuality (Cornell, 2012). This is especially the case

when a particular aspect of a person's body is labeled by society as violating social norms, such as tattoos, BBW (big, beautiful women), and the like.

An example of this would be the *suicide girls* who are a part of an alternative soft core porn site where the females involved are considered "punk" and often have tattoos and piercings (Attwood, 2007). Those who support the suicide girls believe that they help women, in particular, with body image. The goal is to empower women, regardless of physical beauty, to acknowledge themselves as sexual beings. There is some evidence to suggest that these ideologies are infiltrating other types of pornography as well. In fact, one content analysis determined that 'positive porn sex scripts' can be found even within online pornography (Vannier, Currie, & O'Sullivan, 2013). These positive sex scripts can be important in the development of an individual sexually, but also in the further development of society as men and women see people participating in pornography who are just like them.

#### *Concern for Feminist Pornography*

Unfortunately, as with most things, there are a number of unintended consequences that come along with the embracing of feminist pornography. These concerns can be broken down into two primary groups: consequences for viewers and consequences for the performers. Viewers can become lured into a false sense of empowerment, where women can believe that they are feeling empowered, but are not actually empowered (Gill, 2012). Others have suggested that "...the prominence of the pornified version of empowerment erases for many the idea of choice and experimentation..." (Lamb, 2010: 316). In other words, some viewers may feel the need to experiment in ways that porn suggests, instead of experimenting in ways that they find arousing or empowering because they are basically being told what they should find empowering. An

example of both of these elements can be seen in the findings of Weinberg et al. (2010), where female respondents agreed to partake in anal sex with partners, even if they derived no sexual pleasure from it.

The consequences for performers also can take away from feelings of empowerment through pornography. These are multifaceted and can include everything from the emotional toll that sex can take on participants to labor issues that may be seen in other industries. Chateauvert (2013) discusses an “emotional labor of sex” and compares it to many of the “smiling occupations” that we see where the participants must maintain their smile and even pretend to like something they do not simply because it is a requirement (p. 134).

The final concern for feminist pornography and even all pornography surrounds some typical labor-based issues. According to industry insiders, “[m]anagement views ‘girls’ as temporary laborers, not skilled entertainers” (Chateauvert, 2013: 131). This viewpoint essentially prevents participants from voicing concerns, impacting their own bodies throughout filming. Additionally, this can have an impact on wages, benefits, and the like. While some suggest that these issues could be circumvented by unions, and advocacy groups have certainly taken root throughout the industry, the bottom line is that if a participant does not like a certain aspect of their pay or filming, producers can always “get another girl.” In the end, even in feminist pornography, some of the empowerment is reduced to ideology at best.

### *The Relationship between Pornography and Sexual Violence*

The relationship between pornography and sexual violence is multifaceted. The concern for the potential fusion of sex and violence includes concern both for viewers and for creators of pornography. While most of the documentation of the link between the two explores the effects



that pornography has on the perception of sex and sexuality, there has been a recent display of studies that focus on the link between sexual violence and pornography (Wright, 2013; Malamuth et al., 2011; Bridges, Wosnitzer, Scharrer, Sun, & Liberman, 2010; Carroll et al., 2008; Stulhofer et al., 2008; Wolak et al., 2007; Tannen, 2004). For example, Dines (2010) postulates that pornography has permeated American culture to the extent that it effects socialization into sex. This sentiment is even mirrored in the 2009 documentary, *Playground*, where interviewees discuss not only the role pornography plays in child sex trafficking, but how it can alter the sexual desires of pedophiles as internet sources try to out-do each other (Spears, 2009). Additionally, and perhaps more telling, is the 1999 finding of Monk-Turner & Purcell, who determined that most pornographic videos contain sexually violent themes, with these videos fusing sexual violence and intimacy. This allows for the viewers' reality to be distorted when it comes to sex, violence, and modern notions of "love."

The link between violence in pornography and sexual violence has been studied and the conclusions that were drawn in these studies were in line with previous suppositions. In their study of 45 professional and amateur films, Gorman et al. (2010) discovered not only overt sexual violence being portrayed, such as choking, forcing actresses to gag on the male participants' penis, etc., but covert sexual violence, such as ejaculation on the face, name calling, and depicting the women to be excited to participate in any and all sexual acts. This finding is mirrored by Cowen & Dunn's (2003) conclusions that "dominance, objectification, and penis worship [are] the three most degrading themes" in pornography (McKee, 2005: 18). This includes moments in film where one participant says "no," but the other takes it as "yes" and completes the act. Further exacerbating the conundrum is the inability of researchers to define what violence in pornography means, with

most researchers using different definitions, making it next to impossible to evaluate these films on the same scale (McKee, 2005).

The last substantial finding that should be noted is Barron & Kimmel's (2000) study, which concluded that SEUGC is significantly more likely to contain acts of violence, including, but not limited to: verbal threats and degradation, torture, choking, and even murder (p.163). The widespread conclusions of the fusion between sexual violence and pornography are well documented; however, there is no documentation about how participation in these films affects the men and women who partake in their creation. Some suggest, though, that the same effects that we see on viewers can be seen within the porn industry and can lead to psychiatric and drug problems (Wagoner, 2012). The reality is that without a systematic scientific study this is merely speculation based on a few case studies.

There is one final concern in regard to sexual violence and pornography that needs to be addressed. There has been some speculation that individuals who decide to make pornographic films may have a history of sexual violence in their past. For participants, this may mean that they were sexually abused as children or adults. While Griffith et al. (2013b) did not find support for the childhood sexual trauma hypothesis, i.e. that those who participate in pornographic films were more likely to have experienced childhood sexual trauma, they did find that pornographic film actors were more likely to have experienced sex at an earlier age and more often than their non-pornography counterparts. Although this study did not find empirical support for the hypothesis, the link between other sex work, i.e. prostitution, stripping, etc., has found empirical support, so it must be included in the discussion model.

## CHAPTER 4: CREATING PORNOGRAPHY

“I don't think many people anticipated how the Internet was going to revolutionize the way we disseminate information.”

—Larry Flynt, Hustler Magazine

### *101 Ways to Create Pornography*

Although there may not technically be 101 ways to create pornography, there are certainly more ways to create and disseminate pornography than what there were 30 years ago. Long gone are the days of the Polaroid photos and your fathers' porn stash. Today, pornography is produced, reproduced, and disseminated to large audiences in a variety of mediums to the tune of \$4-\$10 billion annually in the U.S. and \$97 billion globally (DeKeseredy & Corsianos, 2016; Morris, 2015; Kimmel, 2008; Jensen, 2007; Kirk, 2002). While the term pornography can be used to discuss a variety of mediums, generally speaking, the term is used to discuss any media that includes naked bodies. This may include pictures or print media, internet films, webcam shows, sex chatting, sexting, amateur camera videos, professional videos, and the like. These may be done by professionals or amateurs. Lehman (2007) suggests that one of the greatest concerns of amateur pornography, or SEUGC, is that it is unregulated, uncontrolled content, including, films, webcam shows, photos, and explicit written material uploaded by individuals from a variety of nations. Additionally, pornography on the internet can be viewed anywhere and at any time streaming live on cell phones and other devices that are internet capable (Jacobs, 2007).

Pornography has changed over the past couple of decades in both its creation and its dissemination, yet researchers have not caught up to the changing tide (Sun et al. 2008). In the

past, pornography was “industry” created. In fact, pornography viewed over the internet has reached unprecedented heights resulting in a multi-billion-dollar industry, not including the newer phenomenon of individual pornography or fetish websites, which may not charge money at all or where the money is paid to individuals instead of corporations (Stack et al., 2004; Schauer, 2005; Corley & Hook, 2012). While the internet has been around for decades, few attempts to understand the way it has changed pornography have been made. In addition, the phenomena of sexting and amateur pornography have also had an impact that has not been fully understood or researched (Hardy, 2008).

The creation and expansion of the information super-highway has allowed for easy access to pornographic material whether one is looking for it or not. While internet pornography has been around for over 20 years, there is some evidence to suggest that it has transformed from a reliance on professional pornography to amateur pornography (Hardy, 2008). This shift is one of the reasons why we need to take a renewed look into pornography. Buzzell et al. (2006) found that three factors influenced the downloading of pornographic material: access, sophistication, and monitoring. Once one has the access and sophistication with no monitoring, researchers looked at whether the self-control theory was related to the downloading of pornographic images or visiting pornographic websites (Buzzell et al., 2006). These researchers found that there was significant variation regarding gender, opportunity, and lack of self-control (Buzzell et al., 2006). Today, the access portion is even easier, as almost everyone knows the basics of computers and the internet (Ray, 2007).

The internet has also changed pornography in the types of pornography created, not just the way it is disseminated. According to DeKeseredy & Corsianos (2016), the pornographic film

industry has split into two categories: “feature” pornography, which includes a movie-like storyline and “gonzo” pornography, in which participants participate in sex acts on film with little or no background story. Feature pornography and gonzo pornography differ in other ways as well. Gonzo pornography is more likely to include non-career actors, minimal dialogue, and more extreme acts of sex. In fact, by the 2000s, it was not uncommon for gonzo pornography to include anal sex, double penetration (anal or vaginal), gang bangs, bukkake (the practice of external ejaculation), and ass-to-mouth acts, or even pegging (penetration with a sex object, usually a dildo or strap on) (DeKeseredy & Corsianos, 2016). Feature films, in an attempt to maintain a more mainstream status, perhaps to recoup costs, continues to steer clear from some of these sex acts. On the other hand, gonzo pornography, which is usually recorded “in a private home, or on a minimal set,” is relatively cheap to make, making it key for amateur pornography (DeKeseredy & Corsianos, 2016: 9). The vast majority of pornography on PornHub, where the sample for this project is derived, would be considered gonzo pornography, although there is certainly room for overlap when it comes to the actors. The shift from feature pornography to gonzo pornography has further hidden the population of actors who work in the pornographic media industry.

### *Professional Pornographic Film Actors*

One of the least studied phenomena regards the role of men and women in the creation of pornography as active participants (i.e. directors, actresses, etc.). In fact, due to the inability of social researchers to gain access to the population, very few studies have looked at the role women play in pornography, their reasons for doing so, whether or not doing so is harmful, and what happens to the actresses once they have declined (Griffith et al., 2012). While studies have reviewed the effects of sex work on those who participate in strip clubs or who work as prostitutes,

these industries, while they can be intertwined, are separate institutions which would contain their own levels of stigma and therefore need to be understood as separate careers. Although pornography can be placed under the overarching term of sex work, and this project seeks to determine whether or not that is a fair assessment, it is important to look at it as part of sex work and separate from sex work. The main differences between them on the surface are obvious: prostitution is illegal, whereas, pornography is not and strippers in many cases do not participate in actual sex. With this, essentially, our perceptions about the population have been relegated to our understanding of a few ungeneralizable studies and pure speculation.

One such study that has shed some light onto the population in spite of these problems has determined that women who participate in pornography have higher self-esteem than a random matched sample of women (n=177) (Griffith et al., 2013b)<sup>11</sup>. In addition, fifty-three percent of those surveyed said that they worked on pornography because they needed the money (Griffith et al., 2012). However, it should be noted that Griffith et al. (2013b) also discovered that forty-percent of those surveyed made less than \$40,000 per annum and that this income is not seen as steady because they are paid only when they are working. Additionally, while only one respondent admitted to being in the industry because of coercion, many agreed that coercion does exist within the industry, but it just happens to “someone else” (Griffith et al., 2012).

Individuals identified as professional pornographic film actors were compared to a matched sample of college students by Griffith et al. (2013b; 2013c) and were found to have had more sexual partners, be more concerned with STDs, and more likely to have tried drugs, including

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<sup>11</sup> Note: the sample of women compared to the pornographic actors was a random sample, not the sample of pornographic actors.

harder drugs, such as crack and heroin. The same study found that actors were more likely to have high self-esteem and wanted their partners to have fewer sexual partners than they had. A qualitative analysis of more than 100 male actors determined that “money, liking the work, fulfilling a fantasy, sexual liberation, lack of employment opportunities, and coercion” were the primary motivations for participating in pornographic films (Griffith et al., 2012a: 246). Griffith et al.’s inclusion of both male and female actors within the industry allows for a multi-level look into the motivations of those who create pornography.

Other glimpses into the industry, such as Calvert & Richards (2006: 287) have told a different story, where porn star Sharon Mitchell is quoted saying:

Literally, they [female actors] get over-exposed – the average lifespan of a porn star now is anywhere from six months to three years, tops, and then they’ve got no money. It’s a real trick bag when it comes to finance – they think the money’s not going to end, so they get a boob job and a Ferrari. If they make \$400, they’re going to spend \$300 on a pair of jeans. All of a sudden they are broke, they don’t know how to make a living and they don’t have any education. They’ve been kicking up their heels to make a couple of thousand dollars a day, and if they don’t have a plan, then they qualify for our life-after-porn program, which is a scholarship and a long-term counseling program to re-integrate them in to society.

Similarly, Gruzden, Meeker, Torres, Du, Morrison, Andersen, & Gelberg (2011) and Bridges & Anton (2013) determined that women who participate in pornography experience both physical and emotional abuse. Gruzden et al. (2011) also discovered that women who are currently in the pornographic film industry report having poor mental health, live in poverty, and experience intimate partner violence. It should be noted, however, that between the various researchers, there is conflicting evidence to conclude whether or not there is harm overall in pornography creation. It is because of this, these studies need to be replicated and expanded.

The role of women is largely ignored in studies regarding the creation of pornography. Studies that examine pornography often focus on specific caveats within specific groups. For example, Sun et al. (2008) focuses on how pornography changes when women direct the films. To current knowledge, at this time, there have been no studies to determine characteristics of female directors, their motives for directing, or the affects it has on them post-production. What we do know about female directors is that, much as they would with participating in any male dominated industry, they often find a way to create movies that can fit in with their male dominated world (Sun et al., 2008). Astonishingly enough, verbal and physical aggression is the norm in female directed porn and it may, in fact, be more aggressive and more degrading towards female actors than in male directed films (Sun et al., 2008). Podlas (2000) also specifically focuses on a subset within pornography, concentrating on the women who own or operate pornographic film businesses.

### *Amateur Behavior in Pornography*

When discussing amateur pornography, it is important to understand that we are discussing a wide variety of behaviors and media mediums. For this project, amateur pornography is divided into four basic categories: amateur videos, web cams, sexting, and sex chats. The important thing to remember about all of these categories is that average, everyday people can be participants. Some people even participate for private use. However, others specifically use these mediums to make money or break into the professional industry. The truth of the matter is that the motivations and identities of those who participate in amateur pornography are relatively unknown to researchers. The following section is an exploration into what researchers do know about amateur pornographers and the ways they create pornography.



Amateur porn often reflects sexualities that may not have been validated by mainstream culture, effectively creating that validation and changing what is acceptable (Cornell, 2012). Proponents argue that this alteration of the status quo has challenged male privilege, oppression, fat shaming, etc. (Cornell, 2012). However effective this challenging may be, the perception of pornographic film actors, especially those involved in amateur pornography, is largely negative (Griffith et al., 2013a). This may suggest that although many acknowledge the benefits of pornography, the creation of pornography is still taboo and stigmatized. Of course, Griffith et al. (2013a) cautions us that those who are opposed to pornography are more likely to have negative views of those who participate in its creation. One of the more marked differences between professional and amateur pornography is the indistinct borders between users and actors, as interaction between the two groups is often highly encouraged in amateur settings (Paasonen, 2010). Additionally, proponents of pornography often cite the ability of the amateur realm to turn female participants into entrepreneurs, allowing them to film and sell their own work (Podlas, 2000). In many cases, women are both the owners and operators of the sites, as well as the actors and directors, making them active and willing participants.

There have been few studies looking at sexually-explicit user-generated content (SEUGC). This is in spite of the increase in media sexualization, as well as an increase and interest into the lives of everyday people performing everyday tasks (van Doorn, 2010). People have taken this shift in interest to another level by making their own pornography. One study was conducted looking at the site YouPorn, which is a site that allows everyday people to upload and share their homemade, sexually-explicit videos. Van Doorn (2010) analyzed 100 of the videos on the site to see how they follow the pornography scripts that are heteronormative. It was found that the focus

of the videos would go to male satisfaction if the woman was not appearing to be as photogenic or in the right placement, which made the woman more objectified. Another inquiry into SEUGC was Sirianni et al.'s (2012) study, which analyzed the use of SEUGC among 400 undergraduate college students while relating it to social cognitive theory. It was found that participants were influenced to partake in SEUGC by "sexual self-efficacy" and pornography, but the individuals partaking in it were not looking at the negative consequences that could happen because they anticipated it as something that would benefit them (Sirianni et al., 2012). The types of amateur sexually explicit material studied by Sirianni et al. and van Doorn widens the spectrum of pornography showing that professional pornography is not the only area for potential investigation. The studies show that pornography can be produced by everyday people and further research can help in understanding how this kind of filming affects the people involved.

Webcams are one of the most versatile ways the individuals create and disseminate amateur pornography. Few technologies have seen more advances than the webcam (Ray, 2007). In the beginning, webcams "were a little more than low-res, refreshable, still cameras that were small and durable enough to install in the corner of a room" (Ray, 2007: 38). Today, webcams are easy access, high resolution, and can capture second by second images and immediately send them over the internet to others in real time. Additionally, through sites like PayPal and even Facebook, money can be exchanged conveniently and anonymously from one person to another. These advancements in technology have changed amateur pornography in a variety of ways, giving "webcamers" vast amounts of "control over" the creation and propagation of their images (Senft, 2008: 78-79). This control is one of the reasons why using webcams for amateur pornography has

become prominent. Participants can control what they do, when they do it, and can even “boot” or “block” viewers who harass them.

Sexting is the most widely used form of amateur pornography (Walker et al., 2013). Sexting is a term used to describe behaviors in which people are involved in producing or distributing semi-nude or nude pictures or videos of themselves or others (Walker et al., 2013). Sexting is considered part of amateur pornography because it is sexual based behavior that may include the exchanging of money or sexual language and photos for sexual arousal. Unfortunately, the majority of the research regarding sexting has been in the area of understanding the dissemination of child pornography, so little information is known about sexting by adults, of adults, for adults. However, some have attempted to understand the behavior in young adults. Delevi & Weisskirch (2013) analyzed 304 college aged students to determine what personality factors can predict whether or not someone will participate in sexting. Participants admitted to behavior in which they sent text messages that are sexual or that were proposals for sexual activity. Both the studies done by Walker et al. (2013) and Delevi & Weisskirch (2013) found that there were significant differences between females and males in their motivations for sexting: females did so because they believed that it would keep their partners interested, while males did so because they wanted to attract a new partner. However, it should be noted that the majority of respondents believed that they felt a committed relationship was necessary before partaking in riskier sexting behaviors such as sending nude photos (Delevi & Weisskirch, 2013).

Most of the major concerns with sexting come from the potential repercussions of participation. Many suggest that the negative consequences are far reaching and are often not thought about by participants. An example of such negative consequences can be seen through

Bradford et al.'s (2013) study, which explored the connection between sexting and cyber-victimization. Cyber-victimization includes an individual being threatened or harassed through the use of electronics. Unfortunately, potential links between sexting, other types of pornography, and cyber-victimization have not been fully explored. While sexting and other types of pornography are related because they include individuals exposing themselves sexually in either sexual explicit manners or performing sexual acts, they differ because often times those involved created the picture or film for private consumption with a restricted audience. It is because of this link that sexting is included in the types of pornography that will be reviewed throughout this project.

The last type of pornographic media to be included in this project are sex chats, more commonly referred to by participants as “cybersex.” Cybersex is defined as the “use of the internet to make sexual contacts,” but it can start off as random chats leading to chats that are sexually explicit (Ross, 2005: 342). Cybersex does not necessarily include face to face contact, but it can include people meeting to act out fantasies that were composed online. According to Ross (2005), “the internet provides a kind of missing link between fantasies, desires for intimacy, the traditional role of text in expressing these, and sexuality” (p. 344). Essentially, it is believed that those who participate in sex chats are there to either fulfill a fantasy that those they are intimate with will not fulfill, such as S&M fantasies, or they do so because of the lack of intimacy in their lives. Additionally, because the chats do not require the participants to come face to face, anyone can participate, regardless of their attractiveness, weight, impotence, etc. According to Ross (2005), sex chatting is one of the most important forms of pornography because it is inclusive, transformative, and liberating, pushing the boundaries of sex and sexuality.

Throughout this chapter, the focus has been on understanding the many ways individuals can create and disseminate pornography. From sexting and sex chats to camera videos and webcam videos, now, more than ever, there are a variety of ways to both create and view pornography. Understanding the types of pornography that have been identified is crucial to this project because one of the goals is to understand how people participate in pornography. This review has allowed for the development of a question for respondents to explain the types of media they participate in. Additionally, by understanding the various types, possible motives for participation were unearthed.

## CHAPTER 5: SEX WORK

“There is no standard sex worker. Each woman has her own reasons for working, her own responses of boredom, pleasure, power and/or trauma, her own ideas about the work and her place in it”

(Sanders, O’Neill, & Pitcher, 2009a: 12).

### *Sex as an Occupation*

In chapter 2, it was briefly mentioned that pornography is viewed as a form of sex work. The focus of the initial inquiry was to place pornography into its larger context and to help understand why pornography has its current place in society. This chapter seeks to expand upon the mere definition of sex work and to focus on what sex work is, what types of sex work participants can perform, why the phrasing of sex work entered the narrative, who participates in sex work, including demographics and motivations of participants, and the possible repercussions of being involved in the world’s oldest profession.

The coining of the phrase sex work or sex worker was purely a political move. Before the advent of the phrase, sex workers were referred to as prostitutes, a blanket term used regardless of their actual level of participation. In an attempt to remove the stigma of prostitution, commonly called whore stigma, and to solidify sexually based services as legitimate occupation, the term ‘sex work’ was created in 1973 (Uretsky, 2015; Sanders, O’Neill, & Pitcher, 2009a). The stigma of sex work comes from the fact that historical and sociological research has often painted laborers as “purveyors of disease, a social evil, public nuisance and, more recently, as victims needing to be ‘rescued’ from their abject state” (Sanders et al., 2009b: 33; Minichiello, Scott, & Callander,

2013). In fact, researchers have commonly viewed sex workers as “psychologically unstable, desperate, or destitute victims” (Minichiello et al., 2013: 263).

Since the turn of the century, law enforcement agencies and scholars have viewed sex work through the lens of a victim and offender paradigm. While this has been crucial to raise awareness and combat sex trafficking, it has also shifted societal understandings of sex work. It is only recently that various organizations, such as the Sex Workers Outreach Project (SWOP), have tried shifting the narrative to include the potential for sex work to be deemed a legitimate profession (Finn, Muftic, & Marsh, 2015; Sanders et al., 2009a). In reality, even when law enforcement forces a dichotomy between victim and offender, they often find that the two roles overlap. For example, Finn et al. (2015) discovered that 57.9% of the sample had both been victimized and committed offenses themselves. Likewise, Sagar & Jones (2014) determined that not all sex workers can be perceived as victims and that many of the workers in their sample (N=30) liked being involved in sex work and made a purposive decision to participate in sex work because of it.

In reality, sex work is used by a variety of people for a variety of reasons and through various mediums. For example, Sanders et al. (2009b) explains that there are a variety of types of sex work that can fit into two basic categories: street based sex workers and indoor based sex workers (e.g. workers in brothels, massage parlors, saunas, trap houses, window workers, escorts in an agency/ online ads, strippers, pornography, etc.) (p. 35). These workers can participate in a multitude of services, including, but not limited to escorting, erotic massage, street based sex work, phone sex, pornography, stripping/ exotic dancing, BDSM dungeon work, etc. These transactions take on different meanings for different participants. For example, “[r]esearchers have noted that not all financially-mediated sexual encounters feel the same to participants, who may draw clear

lines between prostitution, defined as direct payment for sex, and relationships they label as social (i.e. girlfriend/boyfriend, sugar daddy/mommy/baby) in which exchange and sex relate more circuitously” (Wentzell, 2014: 857). The example used by Wentzell (2014) is the Mexican men who participate in transactional sex with sexual surrogates, who are usually single mothers of a certain age and are provided with money and gifts in exchange for their companionship and discretion.

### *Pornography as Sex Work*

Since much of the literature review of this project has been to focus on what is currently known about pornography, the focus of this brief section will not be to review the literature regarding pornography, but to develop an understanding of why pornography is a part of sex work, even though there are a number of elements that would separate it from the industry. Pornography is different because of two main reasons: it is legal (although, technically, the vast majority of sex work is legal, depending upon circumstances) and actors do not have sexual contact with clients, but with surrogates for the clients, i.e. their sexual partners in the films. Even so, those who participate in pornography do have to withstand the negative connotations that come with the industry. “Whore stigma” or the stigma associated with being involved in sex work can have a negative impact on those who experience it (Pinsky & Levey, 2015b; Sagar & Jones, 2014; Sanders, O’Neill, & Pitcher, 2009b). It is because many who oppose sex work refuse to distinguish the differences between prostitution, pornography, stripping, and the like that each of these services are placed in the same category by society for the sake of a moralistic argument, stigmatizing the population. It is because of this stigma that the focus will be to understand the similarities and the differences among the different types of sex work.



## *Prostitution*

Prostitution can best be defined as the participation in sexual acts, both penetrative and non-penetrative, in exchange for money or other financial gain. When the phrase sex work is used, it is commonly used colloquially and synonymously with prostitution. One of the main reasons for this is the visibility of prostitution's labor force and the sheer quantity of people involved. Estimates postulate that greater than 2 million American women participate in some form of prostitution, with the FBI's Uniform Crime Reports (UCR) reflecting this high rate reporting 62,670 arrests for solicitation and other prostitution related offenses in 2010 (Finn et al., 2015) and 47,598 arrests in 2014 (Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI], 2015). While at the time of this paper there are no estimates regarding the number of males who participate in sex work, 7,147 of the solicitation arrests in 2014, or roughly 15% of arrests, were of male sex workers (Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI], 2015)<sup>12</sup>. Given our inability to accurately measure indoor sex services, however, the estimated number of women and men is probably a conservative estimate compared to the actual number. In fact, those who participate in indoor sex work face fewer possibilities of law enforcement intervention (Minichiello et al., 2013). Even so, the general consensus is that prostitution exists and those who participate in it, whether they be the prostitute, the John (the purchaser of sex), or the pimp, are stigmatized by society.

Much of the stigmatization of prostitution, particularly street based prostitution, comes from the fact that it is associated with other types of at risk behavior, such as illicit use of crack cocaine and heroin (Draus, Roddy, & Asabigi, 2015). This belief found support in the findings of

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<sup>12</sup> The UCR does not specify whether or not these individuals were transgender or transsexual. These are individuals who were born male.

Draus et al. (2015) who determined that 37% of those in the sample (N=94) had used illicit drugs. Likewise, Betzer, Kohler, & Schlemm (2015) determined that selling sex is associated with higher rates of STDs, as well as substance use and misuse. Additionally, Rekart (2005) determined that sex work, as a high risk behavior, can lead to other high risk behaviors, such as drug use. While it is important to remember that the link between drugs and prostitution is not necessarily causal, there is some evidence to suggest that drugs play an important part in either the recruitment process or as a coping agent (Scambler & Paoli, 2008).

Assuming the link between prostitution and drug use, the stakes are incredibly high. If a prostitute is found soliciting sex and has drugs in their possession, the repercussions will certainly serve to further stigmatize them and push them to the outer fringe of society. The truth of the matter is that those who partake in sex acts for financial reasons have a number of key aspects of their work that they must take into consideration. In fact, Draus et al. (2015) suggests that there are three major factors that street based sex workers have to take into consideration when it comes to exchanging sex for money: demand for services, locations to complete the sex act, and potential for law enforcement intervention. All of these factors become a greater source of contention for street based workers who often have to perform their basic job functions in the back of cars, in alley ways, or in abandoned properties. For the higher end escort, these factors are negotiated long before the client arrives.

However, it is important to realize that prostitution does not just include street based prostitution. Inevitably, the narrative regarding indoor based prostitution is different. First, many who participate in indoor prostitution are likely to refer to themselves as offering escort services. This is likely an attempt to distance themselves from the stigma of being a street based prostitute.

According to escorts who were interviewed by Minichiello et al. (2013), escort work differs from street based prostitution in a lot of ways, including the amount of autonomy the escort has over their own bodies. First, they have greater agency over finances (i.e., fees charged, no fees shared with other workers), who gets accepted as clients, their own personal safety, and they are less likely to experience law enforcement intervention because they are less visible (Minichiello et al., 2013). Some, such as the participants in the study done by Wentzell (2014), are not even viewed as sex workers, let alone the type of worker warranting law enforcement intervention. Still, as prostitution shifts from open air markets to internet-based services, it is likely that this focus will change.

### *Exotic Dancing*

Much of the literature on sex work comes from exotic dancing, more commonly called stripping. Stripping has found a way into the mainstream culture, appearing in movies, television shows, and music since the 1980s. It is, in essence, the most accepted of all the sex work genres. It is because of the limelight and the easier access, much of the sociological inquiry on sex work has included stripping as a large part of the narrative.

According to DeMichele & Tewksbury (2004: 541), there are two main types of strip clubs: the ‘dive strip club,’ characterized by working class patrons, their allowance of contact between patrons and workers, impoverished locations, and low wage potential for workers and the ‘gentlemen’s clubs,’ characterized by high levels of amenities, specific dress codes, and spending minimums. Strippers who work in ‘dive strip clubs’ are viewed by the owners as “‘independent contractors’ and pay the bar and other employees at the end of the shift” (DeMichele & Tewksbury, 2004: 544). For example, in the strip clubs surveyed by DeMichele & Tewksbury (2004) strippers

were required to pay the bartender, waitresses, the DJ, and the security staff minimum fees or percentages. The penalty for failure to do so was much higher than producing the initial fee, forcing dancers to comply, or risk unemployment.

One of the most distressing aspects of stripping to the average on-looker is the emotional toll that can be experienced by the men and women who participate in stripping. This emotional impact has been documented by a variety of inquiries (Sagar & Jones, 2014; Bianchi et al., 2014; Sanders, O'Neill, & Pitcher, 2009a; DeMichele & Tewksbury, 2004; Wesely, 2003a, 2003b, 2002; Dressel & Petersen, 1982a, 1982b). One stripper was reported by Wesely (2003a: 498) as recalling that “[t]here was a situation where I gave a blow job to a manager at the club. After work, had a couple of beers, doing the job all night long. And you feel like you can’t say no... You’ve given yourself up to so many situations, it really doesn’t matter anymore.” This narrative provided by a respondent suggests that emotionally, participation in stripping can impact the participant. In this case, the respondent has an altered sense of autonomy and agency. This emotional impact will be discussed further in the section on coping with sex work.

### *BDSM and the Dungeons*

The final section chronicling various types of sex work seeks to help the reader understand the role that BDSM plays in sex work. BDSM is an acronym that stands for bondage and discipline, sadism and masochism (Cowan, 2012). In BDSM, “[p]rofessional dominatrices (pro-dommes) are women who receive money to physically and verbally dominate male clients (whom are called “submissives,” “subs,” or “slaves”) through spanking, flogging, verbal humiliation, bondage, cross-dressing, and other tactics” (Lindemann, 2010: 588; Pinsky & Levey, 2015a). Dominatrices often work in what is referred to as a “dungeon” (Lindemann, 2010), where the motto is to make

BDSM safe, sane, and consensual (Cowan, 2012). It should be noted that most of the literature surrounding BDSM comes from dungeon work and almost none of the literature focuses on street based BDSM, where sex workers who are paid to be submissive, instead of pro-dommes, are much more vulnerable to patrons (Cowan, 2012).

Within the BDSM dungeon culture, two dichotomies exist: one between those who are in the lifestyle and those who participate for monetary gain and one between those who practice actual BDSM versus those who practice sex work with BDSM tendencies (Cowan, 2012; Lindemann, 2010). Although it is not uncommon for these arenas to overlap and for pro-dommes to retreat to different categories over the course of their careers. For example, they may begin their careers in dungeons and then move to independent work. The exception to this general rule is that generally speaking pro-dommes do not participate in other types of sex work. Those pro-dommes who identify as *purists* can have a different view on various aspects of their work. For example, Lindemann (2010) states that pro-dommes interviewed “repeatedly legitimated their sessions with clients as artistic, interpreting their own work as *real* and drawing a distinction between themselves and those pro-dommes who work solely for the purpose of financial gain... disconnected from profit, despite the fact that they, themselves, are earning money to dominate men” (p. 589).

Many individuals who work in the BDSM industry do not consider themselves to be sex workers, instead focusing on the therapeutic aspects of their industry, highlighting their fulfillment of “stigmatized fantasies” for clients (Cheng, 2013: 378; Mears, 2013; Lindeman, 2012). Instead, pro-dommes and their advocates use the phrasing *erotic labor*, which allows them to actively distance themselves from individuals who sell penetrative sexual services (Cowan, 2012; Lindemann, 2010). However, BDSM is like sex work on at least some level because in BDSM,

although intercourse is not a part of the transaction, pro-dommes are “compensated financially for fulfilling erotic desires” (Pinsky & Levey, 2015a: 439). Others argue that because pro-dommes have a tendency to be highly educated, white women (Lindemann, 2012) and their clients tend to be highly educated professionals, they are at the very least on the higher end of the sex work spectrum, if not in a whole different category of their own (Mears, 2013). Still pro-dommes must combat a double stigma, from both sex work and BDSM, forcing them to spend a great deal of time managing their identities as far away from other sex workers as possible (Pinsky & Levey, 2015b).

One of the greatest distinguishable differences championed by those involved in BDSM between BDSM and other types of sex work involves the reasons that individuals participate. As with many types of sex work, proponents of BDSM argue that, while there is a potential for vulnerability among the population, assuming that the population is vulnerable is problematic (Cowan, 2012). In reality, people who participate in BDSM are not coerced into doing so and are less likely to be motivated by money than their sex work counterparts. This is one of the reasons why BDSM is also seen as a lifestyle, instead of a profession, and many participants are more like connoisseurs than workers. BDSM participants report a variety of reasons for their participation, including but not limited to: dissidence, pleasure, escapism, transcendence, and pathology (Cowan, 2012: 270). This suggests that participants in BDSM relate to their participation on an emotional level, whereas individuals who participate in other types of sex work may seek to mitigate the emotional impact of their participation.

### *Motivations for Participating in Sex Work*

While there is not much completed research on the motivations to enter pornography, there are a number of inquiries that attempt to address the motivations for entering other types of sex work (Sagar & Jones, 2014; McCarthy, Benoit, & Jansson, 2014; Bleakly, 2014; Hickie & Roe-Sepowitz, 2014; Silcock, 2014; Sanders & Hardy, 2012; Sanders, O'Neill, & Pitcher, 2009a & 2009b; Wesely, 2009; Jeffreys, 2008; Scambler & Paoli, 2008; Barton, 2007; Wesely, 2003a; Wesely, 2003b; Pasko, 2002; Sweet & Tewksbury, 2000). Depending on the type of sex work, these motivations range from money or work to sex to empowerment to abuse. There are two main concerns for participation that researchers take into consideration when looking at involvement in sex work: childhood narrative and current life situations (McCarthy, Benoit, & Jansson, 2014). These can include income inequality, emotional or physical abuse, family instability and attachment, educational attainment, employment issues, and/ or illicit substance use and misuse.

Scambler & Paoli (2008) suggest that there are a number of typologies to the various motivations for participation in sex work: coercion (trafficked), destiny (familial ties to the industry), survivors (those who do so for drug money or to feed their families), workers (consider sex work a permanent career), opportunists (do sex work for a final purpose or end game, such as to pay for school), and bohemians (do so occasionally because they enjoy it) (p. 1853). These typologies find support in the study by Sweet & Tewksbury (2000), who found some commonalities among strippers in terms of their backgrounds, citing multiple factors that influence women to strip, including, but not limited to childhood family instability, “exhibitionistic” pasts, childhood abuse, and early physical maturity (p.341). This potential typology was also supported by Hickie & Roe-Sepowitz (2014) who discovered that those who were involved in sex work did

so because they were told to by a pimp or family member or because they were trying to meet basic needs such as food or shelter.

Wesely (2009) suggests that early sexualization of girls can lead them to develop an identity where they see themselves as having one commodity to sell—SEX. If these girls and women become homeless, they can find themselves in need of a “hustle” to obtain the resources they need; frequently, this means turning to sex as a means of survival (Wesely, 2009: 93). According to Sanders, O’Neill, & Pitcher (2009b), the participation in sexualized labor becomes a sensible decision for men and women within the industry, because it provides income, agency, and contentment on a level that lower wage jobs cannot offer. As an illustration of this, Wesely (2003a) produced interviews with women who strip and concluded that many of them were motivated to do so financially, either as an alternative to homelessness, to support their children, or as a way to afford luxury items such as college tuition and car payments:

Once I started dancing, I completely lost all memory that I could get a real job. All I saw myself as was that. And I was lazy. You get lazy, if I went on a boat [belonging to two men for whom she danced and engaged in oral sex] once a week, I could make \$2000 a month tax free, and pay my bills and be fine, and party the rest of the time. Why would I do anything else? (p. 493).

Other researchers have found this to be an explanation for participation in sex work. For example, Sagar & Jones (2014) determined that of their respondents, “[s]ome had made the conscious decision to sell sex as a way to increase income because they had fallen on what may be described as ‘hard times’ or they sought to maintain a lifestyle” (p. 239).

Barton (2007) suggests that women participate in stripping for a multitude of reasons ranging from rejecting gender roles or rigid sexuality, to be empowered, or because they are



seeking employment. Bleakly (2014) determined that those who participate in sex work can be motivated by money and sex-positivism. Likewise, Sanders & Hardy (2012) found support for a variety of motives including money, flexibility for other obligations such as school or family, and the ability to use participation to launch them into other more permanent careers. Jeffrey (2008) reports that some women who participate in stripping do so as a way to reverse gender roles and take control over sexual structural factors which focus on male sexual satisfaction, male control, and male profit. Pasko (2002) mirrors these findings by examining stripping as a confidence game where women act as both a sex object and a surrogate for intimacy in exchange for money.

#### *Women who participate in Sex Work*

One of the largest questions postulated by research is who participates in sex work. Given the current climate of understanding sex workers as victims, many assume that sex workers are young, even juvenile, girls who come from tough neighborhoods or even countries far away. The reality is that “[t]here is no standard sex worker. Each woman has her own reasons for working, her own responses of boredom, pleasure, power and/or trauma, her own ideas about the work and her place in it” (Sanders, O’Neill, & Pitcher, 2009b: 12). Recognizing that we would be hard pressed to determine a typology for sex workers, this section does not seek to develop one. However, it does attempt to discover consistencies and potential understandings of who participates in sex work. To do so, the goal here will be to review the information provided by the cases that have been discussed, with a culmination of the aspects that were saturated in the end. It should be noted that, unfortunately, not all researchers reported the same types of characteristics. For example, Dressel & Petersen (1982a & 1982b) who were surveying males employed in strip clubs in a southern city, did not provide any other identifying information about their sample.

Those that were reported were included in this review, even if they were not reported in others. All demographic type characteristics for each study are reported.

Sagar & Jones (2014), in their study, (N=30) determined that 77% of the sample had professional qualifications, including degrees in law, sociology, and chemistry. Additionally, 83% of the sample were female, greater than half were over the age of 35, 77% identified as heterosexual, and 67% identified as white.

Respondents in Finn et al. (2015) had a mean age of 34.4 years (N=33). Together, they had an average of 11.79 years of education, 55% identified as white, 71% were from urban areas, and 58% were adamant that they had not been forced into prostitution.

Comparatively speaking, Draus et al. (2015) reports that their sample was 44% black (N=94), with an average age of 39, and an average of 12 years of education. Thirty-seven (37) percent of the respondents in their study reported using illicit substances.

In McCarthy et al. (2014), respondents had an average age of 36 (N=212), 41% reported themselves to be non-heterosexual (i.e. homosexual, bisexual, etc.), 43% reported themselves to be a racial minority, and 48% reported completing at least high school.

The sample for Wesely (2002, 2003a, & 2003b) were 55% white (N=20), had an average age of 26, 70% had at least some college, and 35% percent were single and not in a committed relationship. Additionally, 45% of the respondents in the sample reported being survivors of childhood sexual abuse (csa).

Surveying a bit of a different population, Bianchi et al. (2014) had a sample of men or transsexual women (who were born male) (N=26), with no formal education, between the ages of 20 and 46 years old. Those interviewed in this case were individuals who were displaced in Bogota,

Columbia in the lowest socioeconomic neighborhoods and only 35% participated in sex work before their displacement.

Rael (2015) surveyed female sex workers in the Dominican Republic and found that the workers had an average age of 27.5 years, 8.4 years of education on average, and 67.8% were single, averaging 2 children.

Lindemann (2010) interviewed 66 female pro-dommes and discovered that her sample had a mean age of 37, were reportedly 67% bisexual, and 97% had some college or higher.

The groups of sex workers surveyed by Pinsky & Levey (2015a & 2015b) provided a little information as to the identifying characteristics of the sample (N=13): 92% had some college, all were either US or European, and all were female. No other identifying information was given for the sample.

Each study seemed to tap a different part of the sex worker population. However, there were some key elements that were identified within these populations that could further frame the narrative we seek to discuss. First, many of the respondents reported ages much older than the current victim paradigm would suggest. With the exception of the sex workers outside of the Western hemisphere, the majority were educated to at least some degree, with some highly educated. In speaking of sexuality, many reported themselves to be non-heterosexual, except in cases of BDSM, where the sexuality of the pro-domme would not necessarily be of concern to the client. As a more general, reoccurring theme, exploitation and abuse does appear to play a role in at least part of the narrative. This will be examined further in the next section.

### *The Fusion of Sex Work and Violence*

A wide variety of researchers have found a link between participation in sex work and sexual violence experiences (McCarthy et al., 2014; Sanders, O’Neill, & Pitcher, 2009a & 2009b; Brents & Hausbeck, 2005; Rekart, 2005; Wesely, 2002; Grussenford & Leighton, 2002; Cooper, Kennedy, & Yuille, 2001; Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000; Farley, Baral, Kiremire, & Sezgin, 1998; Nadon, Koverola, & Scludermann, 1998). Violence experienced can manifest itself in a variety of ways, with sex workers experiencing a wide variety of violence, particularly street based workers, who may experience physical and verbal abuse, rape, robbery, unlawful confinement, and homicide (Sanders, O’Neill, & Pitcher, 2009b; Rekart, 2005). These workers experience these problems at a disproportionate rate to their counterparts in other facets of the economy. In fact, when comparing the differences between sex workers and individuals participating in other forms of emotional labor, McCarthy et al. (2014) determined that “[t]here was also evidence of associations between sex work and several types of childhood trauma: most notably, physical and sexual abuse and having lived in a foster or group home” (p. 1387). This violence is experienced by individuals before and after their initial participation in sex work.

According to research, this connection takes place both before active participation and during participation in sex work. An example of sexual violence taking place after participants have entered the industry is Grussendorf & Leighton’s (2002) case study where industry participants described abuse and mistreatment while working in stripping, pornography, and prostitution. This has been supported in other cases, such as Sanders & Hardy (2012), where 51% of stripping participants reported having been harassed and even touched inappropriately by customers (n=133). The stakes are much higher for less protected professions, such as street level

prostitution, where respondents reported severe abuse and even rape by clients and traffickers (Dalla, Xia, & Kennedy, 2003). It should be noted, however, that this particular study had a relatively small sample size (n=32).

The reasons highlighted for post-industry participation exposure amount to a number of *trigger factors* for male aggression towards female workers: refusal to perform specific types of sex acts, disputes over money, finishing the service before ejaculation, and the client's inability to get an erection (Sanders, O'Neill, & Pitcher, 2009b: 44) (Note: female aggression to male sex workers will be addressed in the section on men in the industry). While many of these trigger factors appear to be from *johns* who are dissatisfied with services, it is possible that those in other sex based services experience similar interactions with clients, agents, or even employers, depending on the industry and on its regulation by outside authorities.

Pre-industry exposure is different from post-industry exposure. The motivations for childhood sexual abuse are outside the purview of this inquiry. Here, the established link between childhood sexual abuse and sex work is the focus. An example of pre-industry exposure was the study done by Vaddiparti, Bogetto, Callahan, Abdallah, Spiznagel, & Cottler (2006), which found that those who sell or trade sex for goods are significantly more likely to report childhood sexual abuse, including various types of molestation and even forced sexual intercourse. Likewise, Cooper, Kennedy, & Yuille (2001) discovered through their interviews of 33 sex workers that the majority of them were also victims of sexual violence before entering the industry. Wesely (2002), in her analysis of exotic dancers in a southwestern city, discovered that stories of childhood abuse, both physical and sexual, were fairly commonplace. Those who did not have stories of abuse directly, often learned from the men in their lives that women were sex objects to be used by men

for sexual gratification, either by their direct actions of abuse towards others or through their language. Whether the exposure to sexual violence is first hand or through the oral histories of others, the impact that it can have on the sex worker is crucial and, unfortunately, commonplace.

Sweet & Tewksbury (2000), in their study of strip club workers, discovered childhood abuse as one of the prevailing themes in the lives of women who use stripping as a form of employment. Of course, that particular study also identified a number of other factors that play a role in a woman's decision to strip, including: "early maturity and early sexual experiences, order position, absence of a father in the home, early independence from or in home, average educational levels, a relationship between exhibitionistic behavior and previous jobs experience, athletic or entertainment backgrounds [...and] the ugly duckling syndrome" (Sweet & Tewksbury, 2000: 341). Still, the inclusion of sex and sexual violence speaks volumes. Remaining consistent with previous researchers' findings, Orchard, Farr, Macphail, Wender, & Wilson (2014) revealed that one third of their sex worker interviewees experienced sexual violence during childhood and the majority of those expressed that the abuse occurred at the hands of a male relative. While this is not to say that all sex workers have experienced childhood sexual abuse, or even adult violence victimization, the inclusion of this in the narrative of so many workers suggests that it needs to continue to be a part of the conversation.

### *Coping with Sex Work: Stigma Management*

There are a number of ways that individuals involved in sex work can try to cope with not only the stigma they experience from working in the industry, but in managing their identities to continue working. Sex work, unlike any other form of emotional labor, requires distance from other types of sex work, coping strategies to manage identity within the industry and a separate

one outside of it. Additionally, they have to manage the stigma associated with their various levels of societal participation.

Throughout any inquiry on sex work, it is important to realize that sex work is emotionalized labor (McCarthy et al., 2014; Sanders, O'Neill, & Pitcher, 2009a; Boden, 2007; Wesely, 2003a). This notion of sex work as emotionalized labor is understood by the findings of Wesely (2003a) who determined that stripping has a “profound impact on the psyche of participants” (p. 501). Additionally, Boden (2007) postulates that “[s]tripping may be understood as a sexualized extension of emotional work. The satisfaction of the patron is based in his subjective satisfaction with the dancer as producer of a consumable sexualized interaction” (p. 131). The inclusion of sex work as a form of emotional labor is paramount because it helps legitimate sex work as a profession and it helps the understanding of sex work in a capitalistic society where the worker is a commodity. Here, the worker’s fake smiles and people-pleasing persona are imperative. This is just one of the reasons why sex work takes an emotional toll on the participants and they may turn to a variety of coping mechanisms to deal with their work.

According to Rekart (2005), there are a number of coping strategies that can be used by sex workers to manage their identities and the stigma associated with their jobs. These can include, but are not limited to: keeping work and personal lives separate; prioritizing positive roles, such as motherhood; dissociate mentally and physically from clients; using varying degrees of intimacy between work and non-work; maintaining a positive and professional attitude towards work; and acknowledging that this is work (Rekart, 2005). Some examples of these techniques in practice are: negotiating condoms with clients, not wearing condoms when having sex in one’s personal life, using work names, not associating with people from work in outside conditions, and

explaining that participation in sex work is being done solely to take care of one's children (Bianchi et al., 2014; Rekart, 2005).

The use of what is referred to in the literature as body technologies has become a common practice by those in the industry to maintain their edge over others. According to Wesely (2003b: 644) “[a] continuum of body technologies might range from temporary altercations like make-up or attire on one end to more permanent or invasive changes like cosmetic surgery or drugs on the other.” Practices can include weightlifting to build muscle, steroid use, breast implants or other cosmetic surgery, anorexia—bulimia or other eating disorders, and drug use to curb appetite. These practices, according to Wesely (2003b) and Scull (2013) are commonplace as exotic dancers both male and female, and undoubtedly other types of sex workers, seek to distinguish themselves from others in the industry and provide the clients the fantasy they are looking for. While DeMichele & Tewksbury (2004) did not record a motive for the drug use of their respondents, it is possible that they were participating in body technologies. Meth and other amphetamines, as a drug of choice for many of their respondents, for example, would cause weight loss and energy gain, making it an excellent choice for those looking to stay thin enough and have enough energy to participate in sex work.

If a worker within the sex industry decides that it is time to exit, there are a number of potential routes out of sex work. These change depending on the motivations of the worker. Routes out of sex work can include: reactionary, gradual planning, natural progression, or yo-yoing (Sanders, O’Neill, & Pitcher, 2009b: 42). Those who leave sex work due to crisis often do so once they experience some type of violence or a culminating event that is so traumatic that the individual leaves the industry for good. Many sex workers who are motivated by money, especially if by



luxury and not necessity, gradually plan themselves an exit. For example, a student may use sex work to get them through school and leave once they have graduated and embarked on a different type of career. Natural progression often involves workers aging out of the industry. As expressed by DeKeseredy & Corisanos (2016), the average amount of time spent in the sex industry is just a few short years, depending upon the specific nature of the work. Porn stars may only be in the pornographic film industry for few years, but stay in sex work overall much longer. Lastly, we have what Sanders et al. (2009b) refers to as yo-yoing, where individuals may participate in sex work for months or years at a time, leave the industry at some point, and then return as needed.

Assuming the worker stays in the industry, or at the very least, for the amount of time they are in the industry, if worker experiences stigma, they will have to manage it. Rael (2015) determined that there are two types of stigma that an individual has to overcome: stigma from society and stigma from the family. To manage this stigma in their personal lives, they typically used neutralization and rationalization techniques to manage their identities (Pinsky & Levey, 2015b). They may attempt to rationalize their participation by comparing themselves to more stigmatized sex work, identifying themselves as participating in less deviant work (Wesely, 2003a). They may attempt to neutralize their work by saying that they have no choice and must do so to feed their families.

Those who tried to manage the stigma of the community, often turned to various levels of concealment, from completely concealed to completely open about their participation in sex work (Pinsky & Levey, 2015b). For respondents in one study, doing sex work independently, instead of working in a sex work venue, reduced the amount of stigma felt by the community—probably because of the likelihood of being able to say they work in another occupation (Rael, 2015). This

suggests that concealment is a valuable tool for stigma management. However, that these individuals would have to conceal their identity shows that more needs to be done for the stigmatization of sex work. Reducing the stigma associated with sex work will allow for a reduction in the psychological effects experienced by the participant, which at the very least has a marked impact on the psyche of the individual.

### *Sex work and HIV/AIDS*

As mentioned in previous sections, much of the stigma regarding sex work has been spurred along by the HIV/AIDS epidemic (Steen, Jana, Reza-Paul, & Richter, 2015; Uretsky, 2015; MacPhail et al., 2015; Rael, 2015; Bianchi et al., 2014; Minichiello et al., 2013; Baral, Beyrer, Muessig, Poteat, Wirtz, Decker, Sherman, & Kerrigan, 2012; Natale, Biswas, Urada, & Scheyett, 2010; Basu, 2010; Rekart, 2005). HIV or the Human Immunodeficiency Virus and AIDS or Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome, the final stage of HIV, are viruses that attack the immune system, causing the body to be unable to fight off other infections, and are said to currently be affecting more than 40 million people worldwide (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services). At the height of the AIDS epidemic in the 1980s, with so many unknowns, much of the stigma associated with the virus had to do with not only the belief that sex workers carried the virus, but in that they were at higher risk of transmission to others because of the number of sexual partners and the perceived lack of precaution taking (Minichiello et al, 2013; Tewksbury & Moore, 1997). Since then, sex workers have traditionally been the targets of many HIV campaigns because their profession has customarily been linked with the disease (Uretsky, 2015; Rael, 2015). The question remains, however, whether or not the link is spurious and what should be done to mitigate the risks involved with sex work.

One of the well-known covariates of HIV and AIDS is the acquiring of other sexually transmitted infections (STIs) and the attempts made by people to mitigate these risks can often place them at greater risk, for example vaginal douching or using multiple condoms (Rekart, 2005). Knowing this, many places have adopted the ABC attitude: Abstinence, Be faithful, Condoms (Natale et al., 2010). Still, others have recognized the need to expand upon this mentality and provide other education and services. In some places, mandatory HIV/AIDS testing for sex workers and 100% condom campaigns have sought to reduce the prevalence of the disease, but some of those measures appear to fall short (Barel et al., 2012). For example, Bianchi et al. (2014) found that a large portion of those surveyed confirmed not using condoms for oral sex, or if the customer was willing to pay an additional fee. Similar findings were seen in other studies as well. In Baral et al. (2012), researchers “identified consistent evidence of substantially higher levels of HIV among female sex workers compared with women of all reproductive age in low-income and middle-income countries in all regions with data” (p. 543). This finding alone suggests that there is a risk of unprotected or under-protected sex by the population. While the Australian sex workers in the MacPhail et al. (2015) study did not offer unprotected sex to clients, some workers suggested that they would be open to more risqué practices. These findings suggest that there must be a gap between AIDS prevention programs and the sex workers who are at risk.

The reasoning behind the gaps between these campaigns and their potential for success are multifaceted. First, law enforcement efforts to curb sex trafficking, particularly sex trafficking of minors, often serve as a destabilizing event for service providers who assist sex workers (Steen et al., 2015). Secondly, respondents cite a number of barriers to getting tested for HIV/AIDS, such as “the health insurance system, protocols surrounding HIV testing, poverty, lack of social support,

and fear” (Bianchi et al., 2014: 1645). Baral et al. (2012), Scambler & Paoli (2008), and Rael (2015) all seem to mirror the same sentiments, collectively referring to stigma and bureaucratic red-tape as preventing access to services. These obstacles prevent the worker from taking necessary pre-exposure and post-exposure steps to prevent the possibility of spreading any STIs to others. Lastly, governmental organizations and service providers often fail to provide services where they are needed and usually require those who need services to come to the provider (Natale et al., 2010). This increases the chances for red tape, stigma, and fear to take hold of the person needing the services and decreases the likelihood they will follow through with seeking out the service. To mitigate these issues, those who provide services to the sex working community should seek to remove these barriers. Until this happens, sex work may continue to be linked to HIV and AIDS.

### *Men in the Industry*

Men who work in the sex industry have somewhat different experiences than women. The amount of information we have regarding these men is very limited in size and scope. Still, it is important to the conversation of sex work to include this information. Throughout this section, the goal will be to explain the similarities and differences between men and women in the industry. Hopefully, this will help build a more accurate and refined understanding of sex work. The role of men in sex work ranges from active, i.e. sex workers, to passive, i.e. managers, bouncers, owners, pimps and the like (DeMichele & Tewksbury, 2004). Those in passive roles seek to facilitate female sex work. For the purposes of this inquiry, however, the focus will be on the men who actively participate in sex work.

Demographic information regarding male sex workers, because of the limited information available, often does not fit any discernable pattern. Authors, such as Dressel & Petersen (1982a, 1982b) provide no real demographic information other than basic geographic location. Still, some provide some basic information about their respondents. Boden (2007) interviewed males (N=27) who identified as 63% white and 78% homosexual, between the ages of 25-55. Scull (2013) interviewed respondents (N=22) who identified as white (45%) and heterosexual (100%), with an average age of 32.5 years. Similarly, Bar-Johnson & Weiss (2015), in their comparative analysis of internet sex workers versus bar sex workers had a sample (N=20) which included 85% of the research population identifying themselves as being non-heterosexual (either bisexual or homosexual), with a mean age of 23. Finally, and in contrast, Bianchi et al. (2014) interviewed (N=26) displaced sex workers from the lowest socioeconomic neighborhoods in Bogota, Columbia, finding a sample of men and trans-women who ranged between the ages of 20-46, but some of whom admitted to participating in sex work before the age of 18. While those interviewed seemed to match in age, there were no other identifiable matching characteristics, given the limited information provided. Even so, their interviews provided a base-line understanding of male sex work.

According to Minichiello et al. (2013), our understanding of the male sex worker has evolved over the last century. To illustrate what he refers to as *inventing the hustler*, Minichiello et al. chronicles the transition of male sex workers as social problems, vectors of disease, a public health problem, as agents and victims, as cybersex workers, and finally through the current period of the de-urbanization of sex and sex as work (2013: 263-271). Much of this has been through societal understandings of who the male sex worker is, assuming, incorrectly, of course, that male

sex workers have male clients. In actuality, male sex workers can have male and female clients and given technological advances and the greater acceptance of sexuality, the people who are potential clients and acceptable places with which to work are plentiful and easily accessed (MacPhail, Scott, & Minichiello, 2015).

Male sex workers do not simply differ in their client bases, however, but in a number of ways, including, but not limited to motivations for participation, interactions with clients, how they view their labor, how they experience violence, and how they respond to stigma associated within their industry (Bar-Johnson & Weiss, 2015; Scull, 2013; Minichiello et al., 2013; Boden, 2007; Dressel & Petersen, 1982a & 1982b). For example, one of the main differences between men who dance for men (MDM), versus men who dance for women (MDW), is that MDM discourages patrons from actively touching the dancers during a performance (Boden, 2007), whereas MDW are encouraged to physically get involved by the dancers (Scull, 2013). This is in stark contrast with female exotic dancers whose patrons are explicitly prohibited from physical contact. This perhaps suggests that the moratorium on touching has less to do with the worker and more to do with the client. In fact, Boden (2007) determined that “central to the performance is a constructed sexuality that this is not reflective of the desires of the dancer [or arguably other male sex workers] but, rather, those of the consumer” (p. 129). This suggests that sexual desire or fantasy might not be the motivation for their participation, or at least not a primary motivation.

Motivations reported for participating in sex work for men include reasons not that unfamiliar to female participation, such as money, flexibility, and sex, but also include the need to satisfy a dare (Bar-Johnson & Weiss, 2015; Boden, 2007; Tewksbury, 1994; Dressel & Petersen, 1982b). According to Dressel & Petersen (1982b) most of the respondents who were working in

strip clubs entered stripping because they were dared by friends or even relatives to dance. When asked why they then stayed in the industry, some reported money while others reported flexibility, with one respondent reportedly saying “what other kind of job can you walk around, talk, joke, and drink, and be working [at the same time]?” (Dressel & Petersen, 1982b: 382). Mirroring this finding, Bar-Johnson & Weiss (2015) found that “50% of internet escorts reported a financial emergency had motivated them, while 30% simply wanted to improve their current financial situation, and 20% stated that it was purely because they enjoyed sex” (p. 342). In terms of financial motivations, male sex workers reportedly used income received “to supplement or support other endeavors such as gaining real estate licenses, *fun money*, or paying for undergraduate and graduate education” [quotation emphasis placed by original author and changed to italics by current author for uniformity purposes] (Boden, 2007: 131). While these are motivations to stay in sex work, as with female sex work, there are motivations to abandon sex work.

Contrary to what some might believe, men who participate in sex work experience violence at similar intervals as female workers, but with different levels of violence. Much of the violence experienced by male sex workers happens in public venues, especially in cases where women are the perpetrators; including verbal abuse, demanding of physical sexual services, pinching, scratching, biting, burning their physical body with a cigarette or lighter, slapping, and groping (Boden, 2007; Tewksbury, 1994; Dressel & Petersen, 1982a). Escalated violence has a tendency to take place in more private venues. For example, in one study of male escorts who work in bars and via internet services, 15% of workers who find their clients online and then meet them in person (referred to as internet workers hereafter) and 20% of bar workers reported physical abuse

by a client, while 25% of internet workers and 5% of bar workers reported experiencing sexual violence (Bar-Johnson & Weiss, 2015). For many of these sex workers, the only way to deal with this violence is to rely upon others to assist, such as security, bouncers, police, and managers (Boden, 2007). When it comes to the smaller, yet detrimental acts of violence, workers often simply learn to cope internally.

The stigma associated with male sex work becomes an important concept to understand, because men do not have to deal with the same “whore stigma” that female sex workers do, but they do have to deal with their own types of stigma associated with being a male sex worker. First, many male sex workers believe that society views male sex work, particularly male sex work for male clients, negatively (Minichiello et al., 2013; Boden, 2007; Dressel & Petersen, 1982b). The men who participate in sex work find themselves in precarious situations that not only harm them emotionally, but serve to further stigmatize their profession. One dancer illustrates his shame by recalling this incident “[i]n my last fifteen minutes that I was dancing, I was masturbating on stage and letting all these guys touch me and feel me...I made close to four hundred dollars in fifteen minutes” (Boden, 2007: 143). The dancer reportedly felt ashamed by this interaction, but trapped by the client’s reaction and the amount of money he made. In reporting others’ behavior, another dancer said “[t]hey’re kissing on all of these people [...] getting their dicks sucked. I found one in the bathroom getting fucked. I was like, “[w]ow, this is not me” (Boden, 2007: 144). These two instances show moments where the individual involved experiences emotional trauma, either by their own behavior or because of someone else’s. Either way, those who work in the sex industry find themselves having to justify their work and manage the stigma associated with it.



Another example of the stigma associated with the male sex industry surrounds the notion of being *gay for pay* (Minichiello et al., 2013). Being *gay for pay* is a phrase used by many both in and outside of the sex industry who provide sexualized services for men, even though they themselves identify as straight or heterosexual. Men who provide sexual services find themselves either fielding questions regarding their sexuality or regarding their sexual conquests, as if they need to prove their straightness. Those who adamantly and ardently identify as being straight are challenged by even other workers who claim that their mere participation in sex work involving other men suggests that they are not 100% heterosexual (Boden, 2007). This challenging of the identity seeks to further stigmatize participants and force them to manage their identities in a number of ways.

The men who participate in sex work use a variety of mechanisms to mitigate the stigma they experience and the emotional toll their labor places on them, as well as manage their identities. Literature suggests that the vast majority of men who participate in sex work, particularly men who perform services for men, attempt to either completely conceal their employment from family and friends, or minimize their involvement (Dressel & Petersen, 1982b). Those who allow people to know their professions “explain their involvement in the occupation as a form of sexual entertainment, a personal indulgence, an *ego stroke*, sexual catharsis, or just a job until something else comes along” [quotation emphasis placed by original author and changed to italics by current author for uniformity purposes] (Boden, 2007: 148). Of course, it should be noted that having to hide one’s profession or minimize their involvement places a significant toll on the participant as well. This is especially true, if they experience violence over the course of their work, because they will not have the same support system required by abuse and violence survivors.

To mitigate the violence associated with their work, those who participate in sexual labor will respond to the violence in a variety of ways, including but not limited to “(1) accept[ing] of the violation as part of his heretofore unknown limits, (2) refusal of responsibility, (3) shame, (4) numbing the experience with drugs and alcohol, and/or (5) removing himself from the occupation entirely” (Boden, 2007: 149). These coping mechanisms match the coping mechanisms of female sex workers. Whether these coping mechanisms become most important, however, is how they may alter the perception the individual has of themselves. Most importantly, these are damaging behaviors that will likely have a lasting impact.

The literature surrounding sex work conspicuously identifies a number of challenges surrounding both the industry and social inquiry into the industry. Throughout this section, the goal has been to understand each type of sex work, motivations of participants, the role of stigma and shame, how participants mitigate that shame, who participates in sex work, and how male sex work participation differs from female sex work. While many of these questions have been answered on a basic level, there is still much work to be done when it comes to understanding sex work. This project, focusing on pornography as sex work, will allow for the beginning of a greater understanding.

## CHAPTER 6: THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

“You're trying to remember where you know me from? All right, I'll give you a hint... FROM PORN. Yeah, your pervert boyfriend watched me in a porno movie.”

~Phoebe Buffay *Friends*  
(Crane, Kauffman, & Bright, 2000).

### *Theory as a Guide in Social Research*

Theory can be one of the most important aspects of any given research project. As sociologists, our goal is to study society and the people in it. When we approach a new research project, it can be helpful to use pre-established sociological theories to guide our research. However, it is also important to use theory with caution, as it is possible to cause the research to be “pigeon-holed” into a framework that will prevent other possible findings to be exposed. By using theoretical concepts as a loose framework, we can explore a multitude of possibilities while still having some guidance. The goal of this section is to take a brief glimpse into the theories that guided the survey instrument and those that may have an impact on those who participate in adult media.

### *Theories that Guided the Research*

There are a number of theories that guided the research in terms of creation of the survey and guiding the project. Additionally, these theories may have an impact on those who participate in adult media. The goal was to look at this project from the perspective of symbolic interaction (SI). The basic premises of SI are that human beings act based on assigned meanings that are created out of interactions that they have with others (Blumer, 1969). These meanings are then formed and reformed through the continuation of this process. The focus is on the social actor,

meaning/relevance, and the context in which these things take place. This approach, therefore, is a bottom-up approach that focuses on the individuals and their interpretations of the situations that they are in (Dennis, 2011). For SI, overarching societal factors are secondary to individual interactions with the rest of society. Essentially, symbolic interactionists hold that the researcher needs to explain the process by which meaning is developed and the nature of meanings (understood only through interpretation) that are represented in interactions between or among human beings.

According to Blumer (1969), there are three ideologies of symbolic interaction—meaning (humans act towards people and things based on the meanings they have given them), language (gives people a way to convey meaning), and thought (allows us to modify meanings). Basically, when people are in situations they enter with meanings that they have obtained through other interactions. Individuals use language to then convey those meanings with and to others. Once this has occurred, they choose through thought to either keep the meaning they have applied to the situation or change it based on their new interaction. The emphasis, essentially, is placed on the interactions of individuals with others and the meanings that they place on those interactions. Blumer (1969) theorizes that humans live in a symbolic world of learned meanings. These symbols arise through shared social processes, allowing individuals to carry out activities and exchanges. Human beings, therefore, act based on assigned meanings that are created based on their interactions with others and are reevaluated through additional interactions as part of the interpretive process. Basically, human beings have interactions with others. These interactions produce meaning, which they then apply to future interactions. The interpretation produced by this future interaction will be used for the next interaction. The concepts of stigma and shame are two

very important concepts within symbolic interaction that will be reviewed as they pertain to pornography. To fully understand how they relate to the current study, a brief look at the concepts in their original form and how they are used today must take place.

According to Goffman (1963), “the Greeks...originated the term stigma to refer to bodily signs designed to expose something unusual and bad about the moral status of the signifier” (p. 1). He goes on to theorize that stigma is essentially the discrepancy between our virtual social identity and our actual social identity (Goffman, 1963: 2). That is, the difference between the self that humans present to society and the self that they actually are. Within this, there are three types of stigma: abominations of the body, blemishes of individual character, and, finally, the tribal stigmas of race, nation, and religion (Goffman, 1963: 4). Those who are seen as stigmatized are often not viewed as human, which leads to discrimination and the use of stigma specific terms, in this case: whore, slut, trick, etc. (Goffman, 1963). Stigma then is the external view of the self, where outside individuals size-up negative aspects of others. Today the term stigma is often defined as “any status or identity that is discreditable and devalued by society, both visible and permanent (such as physical disability and race) and concealable and transient (such as drug dealer and prostitute)” (Levey & Pinsky, 2015: 349).

Stigma becomes an important part of the self because of the role that it plays in crime and deviance. According to Braithwaite (2000), stigma becomes important to the criminal element because people may turn to criminality and deviance assuming they do not fit into traditional society. Because of this potential detachment from society, many people who participate in stigmatized professions or behaviors “have an interest in concealing their stigmatized identities because once revealed, the stigma becomes attached to how others see them” (Levey & Pinsky,

2015: 348). Levey and Pinsky (2015) go on to say that sex workers in particular use “information management strategies such as concealment, selective disclosure, and cover stories to protect their professional identities and personal relationships” (p. 362). An example of social stigma experienced by sex workers can be seen in Ngo, McCurdy, Ross, Marham, Ratliff, & Pham (2007), where it was learned that female sex workers in Vietnam had experienced various levels of abuse and stigma because of their profession, with some even reporting that stigma attached to sexually transmitted infections played a key role in how people saw and interacted with them. According to Cornish (2006), much of the stigma experienced by sex workers also contributes to their inability to participate in female sources of respect, such as marriage and motherhood, while participating in sex work.

Shame, on the other hand, can be viewed as the consequence of stigma, as shame is the way that individuals internally feel based on how they both see themselves and how outside actors perceive them. Shame is created when the individual sizes up the way that others react to their behavior, giving the “transgressor” the feeling that he or she has somehow failed to live up to the cultural contract or pre-established moral codes (Turner & Stets, 2006). The individual then internalizes that feeling, creating a feeling of shame. Most cultures make linguistic provisions for two different types of shame: disgrace shame and everyday shame; however, in America, there is only an allowance for one all-inclusive type of shame, perhaps changing the level of taboo experienced by those who feel shame (Scheff, 2003). Instead, Americans view shame as having various echelons of “intensity and duration by the terms “embarrassment” (weak and transient), “shame” (stronger and more durable), and “humiliation” (powerful and of long duration)” (Scheff,

2003: 254). When it comes to shame experienced by pornographers, the lack of research into those who make films has left the answer largely unknown.

Symbolic interaction, stigma, and shame pertain to this project in a number of ways. First, the mission is to determine how the actors see themselves. That is, do they see themselves as professional actors, amateur actors, or simply amateurs? Do they consider themselves as sex workers? Second, we want to know how other people perceive their participation or how do they perceive that others see their participation. The goal here is to know whether or not their perception of themselves changes in the face of opposition to their craft. Lastly, the goal is to know how participation in these films make them feel and if there is an impact on them due to their participation, what is it?

### *Stigma and Shame in Pornography*

As of the writing of this manuscript, there have been no quantitative attempts at measuring stigma and shame in the pornographic media actor population. However, the “stigma associated with female sexuality... and appear[ing] naked on film” has been postulated (Bleakly, 2014:894). Those who participate in pornography and other forms of sex work are subjected to the way society sees them and the pressure that it creates, leading to internal pressure. Stigma has also been associated with other types of sex work, including stripping (Pasko, 2002). Unfortunately, because of lack of access, the majority of these studies result in qualitative or mixed mode analyses, which require replication and further research (Pedersen, Champion, Hesse, & Lewis, 2015<sup>13</sup>; Sanders & Hardy, 2012; Dalla, Xia, & Kennedy, 2003; Pasko, 2002; Sweet & Tewksbury, 2000). Fortunately,

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<sup>13</sup> In this study, N=230, however, of those who participated in stripping, N=52.

the inclusion of some qualitative studies regarding sex work allow for the inclusion of these aspects of the social world into the narrative for further review.

### *Stigma and Shame in Sex Work*

While the relationship with pornography has been understudied, the concepts of stigma and shame have been studied for other types of sex work (Hickle & Roe-Sepowitz, 2014; Bradley, 2007; Barton, 2007; Downs, James, & Cowan, 2006; Sloss & Harper, 2004). For example, Bradley (2007) reports that women who strip not only experience shame as a result of the stigma associated with their work, but because of how it impacts their relationships, with partners being a source of the stigma. Likewise, Sloss & Harper (2004) found that women who worked as prostitutes experienced a heightened sense of shame if they were mothers which impacted their relationships with their families, often causing them to hide their work. Barton (2006) suggests that the nature of stripping alone causes workers to experience stigma and shame. While Hickle & Roe-Sepowitz (2014) only surveyed respondents who would be by definition sex trafficking survivors, they also found support for shame, reporting that adolescent girls who participated in sex work for a variety of reasons experienced shame and a variety of damaging behaviors ranging from suicide attempts to guilt. According to Hickle & Roe-Sepowitz (2014), these behaviors were as a direct result from being labeled with pejorative language. Lastly, Downs, James, & Cowan (2006) discovered that shame was negatively correlated with self-esteem.

### *Measuring Stigma and Shame*

The survey instrument included a number of questions that are designed to measure aspects of symbolic interaction, including stigma and shame that may be associated with working in adult



media. The first of these questions is “do the people that are closest to you (i.e. family, friends, or significant others) know about your participation in adult media?” This question is designed to measure whether or not the individual is trying to manage their identity by avoiding telling people about their participation. The second question, measuring stigma, is identified as perception in the models, was written as “some people wonder if participation in adult media changes the perception that people have on the participants. Do you ever feel as though the people who know about your participation in these films see you differently because of your participation? The third and fourth questions measure empowerment and shame were developed in Likert scales measured from very empowered to very alienated and very unashamed to very ashamed respectively. The inclusion of these questions will not only allow us to take a look at pornographic film actors from a symbolic interactionist approach, but will allow us to quantifiably measure proposed elements of stigma and shame within the population.

## CHAPTER 7: A NOTE ON SAMPLING HARD TO REACH POPULATIONS

“Research is formalized curiosity. It is poking and prying with a purpose.”

~Zora Neale Hurston

The ultimate goal of a researcher is to tell the tale of a particular phenomenon. While some populations have easily defined borders, social scientists and others who study social problems understand that there are some populations that require maneuvering to reach. The goal of researchers then becomes to reach the unreachable and establish trust once you find the population (Dawood, 2008). In order to do so, researchers have to get creative and think outside the preferred scientific paradigm to find a way to develop an understanding about the population in question. The purpose of this inquiry is to determine the methods we can employ as researchers to sample hard to reach and rare populations. This will include extensive looks into snowball sampling and respondent driven sampling. Additionally, there will be a brief look into random sampling and why it is not feasible when looking into hard to reach populations. In order to do this, there will be an investigation into other studies that have sampled hidden populations and the methods they used.

### *Sampling Hard to Reach Populations*

Before sampling strategies can be discussed, it is important that what is meant by hard to reach or hidden populations be defined. Sydor (2013) breaks the “hard to reach” population into three groups: hard to reach (i.e. a “population that is difficult for researchers to access”), hidden (i.e. a “population with no defined limits, such that its exact size cannot be known”), and sensitive

subject populations (i.e. “a subject that some people prefer not to discuss publicly”) (p. 35). While there are distinct differences between these three groups, some groups can fit more than one category. According to Heckathorn (1997; Dawood, 2008), a hard to reach or hidden population is a population in which the parameters are unknown and privacy concerns usually exist within the population because the research question regards predominately stigmatized behavior. Although these populations may have conspicuously defined conditions, being granted access can still be difficult and methodically rigorous sampling frames cannot be created for those groups forcing us to rely on alternative measures (Muhib, 2001). Given the circumstances behind the population’s identity, they often have no identifiable sampling frame and gaining access to the population usually requires establishing access to a gatekeeper or a point of contact within the survey population (Sydor, 2013).

#### *Techniques for Sampling Hard to Reach Populations*

Given these obstacles of sampling, researchers have spent a great deal of time attempting to develop practical methods for dealing with these populations. Over the course of several decades, a plethora of methods have been used to sample these rare populations, including but not limited to: “special lists, multiple frames, screening, disproportionate stratification, multiplicity sampling, snowballing, adaptive sampling, multipurpose surveys, location sampling, cumulative cases over several surveys, and sequential sampling” (Kalton, 2001: 1; Magnani et al., 2005). Additionally, researchers have adapted these methods to try to limit bias and truly capture information about the population being reviewed. Adaptive sampling techniques seek to merge a number of tried and true sampling designs to assist in recruitment efforts to meet sampling standards (Martsolf et al., 2006). For example, Muhib et al. (2001) supports using an adapted

method of time-space sampling that relies on identifying when potential participants would be at a specific venue so that they could intercept them and collect the data there. Additionally, efforts can be made by researchers to get individual service providers to assist them in gaining access to the sample. An example of this is presented in Sadler et al. (2010) where researchers adapt the snowball sampling framework through a process called *affinity*, whereby relationships are developed with organizations, social groups, and community leaders to gain access to the population.

While this might suggest that when sampling hard to reach populations social scientists have thrown caution to the wind, the truth of the matter is that there are guidelines for sampling that must be followed. Although adaptation is allowed, generally speaking, there are six major guidelines for sampling that should be shadowed, including that (Abrams, 2010: 540):

1. The sampling strategy should be relevant to the conceptual framework and questions addressed by the research;
2. The sample should be likely to generate rich information on the type of phenomena which need to be studied;
3. The sample should enhance the generalizability of the findings;
4. The sample should produce believable descriptions and explanations;
5. The sample should be ethical; and
6. The sample should be feasible.

These guidelines are set forth to ensure that the sample can measure what it is intended to measure and that it is doing so within the guidelines of scientific research.

When sampling hard to reach populations, one of the most important lessons to be learned revolves around the challenges within these populations. These challenges are multifaceted and include lack of access, absence of accurate information regarding these populations, and finally, that any sampling technique that requires chain referrals can fall short if the members of the

population have limited interaction with one another (Rock, 2010). In fact, in many ways researchers have to resort to mixed sampling methods because of these challenges. The primary concern for many social researchers is being given access to the population, which is in effect a narrative on how easily they can gain “access to [the] gatekeepers” of the population (Abrams, 2010: 542). Two of the most trusted sampling methods for hard to reach populations are an attempt to gain access within these populations are snowball sampling and Respondent Driven Sampling (RDS). Even though these are trusted techniques within the research community, it is important to remember that non-random sampling, such as RDS and snowball sampling, is a cautionary tale because its lack of randomness can introduce bias (Magnani et al., 2005). This will be discussed in greater length in the next section.

#### *Respondent Driven Sampling (RDS)*

Respondent driven sampling and snowball sampling are often erroneously used as interchangeable terminology (Goodman, 2011). In fact, these two are different sampling techniques that are drawn from similar foundations. Respondent driven sampling is similar to snowball sampling only because it uses “chain referral sampling,” however, many would argue that the technique is closer to probability sampling than snowball sampling because it uses a specific process that allows for probability calculations (Magnani et al., 2005: 570). More specifically, the process begins with the non-probability selection of individuals within the target population, referred to as “seeds,” who will then recruit a pre-specified number of individuals into the sample (Hakansson et al., 2012). The idea is to limit the number of people within the sample who travel in the same circles and expand the sample into different social circles within the target population. Essentially, the basic notion is to move beyond the pitfalls of convenience sampling.

However, even within the RDS framework, there has been some room for evolution. RDS has advanced in more recent years to include a recruitment matrix, self-reported degrees of inclusion, and sample proportions (Heckathorn, 2011). Specifically, the goal of these new and improved approaches is to improve the sample by decreasing the odds of everyone in the sample being linked to one another, which would reduce the generalizability of the study's conclusions.

RDS as a technique is unfortunately not without its concerns. While RDS reduces sampling bias, it does not eliminate it and in order for it to even be used as a technique, it has to start with a convenience sample (Gile & Handcock, 2010). The danger of RDS, therefore, is that researchers become comfortable with the technique and fail to remember that many of the individuals being recruited are likely to be in the same social network and are less likely to be randomly selected into the sample. This is one of the reasons that researchers have begun refining the model. Essentially, the goal is to mitigate generalizability issues through greater randomization, so that it can start to explain the wider target population. An example of this multi-technique RDS sampling comes from Ford et al. (2009) who used venue based convenience sampling and established contacts with venue owners to enhance the RDS model. In the end, the adaptive RDS model provides one of the most promising sampling techniques for hard to reach populations. However, RDS models are not the only technique and they are not even the only method.

### *Snowball Sampling*

Snowball sampling is perhaps the most commonly used method for surveying hard to reach populations. Snowball sampling is a process that “entails identifying an initial number of subgroup members from whom the desired data are gathered and who then serve as ‘seeds,’ or study staff recruited respondents, to help identify other subgroup members” (Magnani et al., 2005: 569). The

goal is to let this process continue until the sample size is met or until saturation (the process by which researchers continue until no further information presents itself) can be met (Magnani et al., 2005). Essentially, the researcher will gain access to the population and they will use those who they establish contact with to help them find other individuals who are potential respondents for the sample. They then interview those respondents and others that they are referred to. This process continues until the researcher meets their predetermined sample size or the researcher feels that no new information is being discovered. This process can be beneficial because it allows the researcher to gain access to those hard to reach populations. Additionally, it allows for the researcher to establish the rapport needed to get the tough questions answered.

While there are a number of benefits to snowball sampling, there are also some concerns. The most major concern for those who utilize snowball sampling revolves around bias. According to Dawood (2008), there are two different types of bias that researchers need to be concerned with: selection bias and reflexive bias. Essentially, when snowball sampling is used as a technique, there is a great chance that potential respondents are left out of the sample because they do not know any of the 'key informants' or the recruiters. This type of sampling is heavily reliant on networks, which makes it almost inevitable that there will be people not reached and the chances of the sample being generalizable to the larger population is not as likely. The chances that bias will be introduced into the sample based on the selection process is known as sample bias. Reflexive bias, on the other hand, shows that our choosing of the sample is dependent upon the subject's choice of first contact (Dawood, 2008). Additionally, reflexive bias refers to the likelihood that if the chain goes to a specific individual, the chances are great that it will likely lead back to the original *key informant*. Basically, as researchers talk to informal recruiters, they will say something to the

effect of “you should talk to so-and-so.” While there may be someone else who the researcher should talk to, this recall of the individual who the respondent thinks will meet sample criteria sets the pace for the people that the researcher will actually talk to, introducing another form of potential bias. Eventually, in theory, this process will lead back to the original *key informant*.

Other researchers recall additional forms of bias. Faugier & Sargeant (1997), for example, identify five different types of biases: *the social distance between pairs of individuals* in the potential sample, *the island model problem*, *overlapping acquaintance circles*, *reflexive bias*, and *force field bias* (p. 795). The *social distance between pairs of individuals* is referring to the relational distance between respondents and the probability of them being selected into the sample. The *island model* refers to the connection probabilities between these individuals and the assumption that there are exact, finite possibilities (Faugier & Sargeant, 1997). *Overlapping acquaintance circles* shows that individuals can be a part of more than one social circle. And, finally, *force field bias* suggests that some individuals have a greater likelihood of being selected into the sample because they are more likely to be targeted by researchers (Faugier & Sargeant, 1997). While there may certainly be other ways that bias can be introduced into the sample, these that have been discussed suggest that we must at least attempt to mitigate these types of biases in order to address generalizability issues.

There are a number of ways that researchers have suggested can be used to assist with bias and other generalizability concerns. One of these such techniques for reducing bias is a process known as sift sampling, where data are collected from potential respondents and then vetted to ensure that these individuals belong in the sample (Dawood, 2008). The problem with this process is that it is both expensive and time intensive. Others have suggested very similar techniques,



however, as most researchers exist in the real world where both money and time are an issue, it is more important that the process begins when sample construction begins and that plans for these issues are taken into consideration from the beginning. According to Bernacki & Waldorf (1981: 144; Faugier & Sargeant, 1997: 792), within the process of sample construction, we should be addressing the following problems:

1. Finding respondents and starting referral chains;
2. Verifying the eligibility of potential respondents;
3. Engaging respondents as informal research assistants;
4. Controlling the types of chains and the number of cases in any chain;
5. Pacing and monitoring referral chains and data quality.

The belief is that by mitigating these known sources of selection bias, snowball sampling can be used with decent accuracy.

#### *RDS and Snowball Sampling: What's the difference?*

Given the suggested adaptations mentioned for snowball sampling, it is important that it is understood that RDS and snowball sampling are different methods. While much of the literature does refer to these two techniques interchangeably, or in snowball sampling as a precursor to RDS, they are two different constructs (Goodman, 2011). The predominate difference between the two is that RDS starts with a convenience sample, whereas snowball sampling starts with a random sample (Goodman, 2011). Both of these methods then use their initial sample as seeds and recruit new members into the sample through them. Another very important difference between RDS and snowball sampling is that in RDS, attempts are made to prevent the sample from having too many individuals that are a part of the same social circle, such as giving respondents three cards to give out to potential respondents, so that no more than three people from their inner circle will be

selected (Heckathorn, 2011). In terms of validity, snowball sampling has the upper hand because it starts from a random sample. However, when you are talking about hard to reach populations, RDS will allow you to gain access and then focus your efforts on the people who need to be examined.

*The Gold Standard: why random sampling isn't possible*

All of the concepts that have been discussed up until this point focus on what to do when the researcher needs to sample hard to reach or hidden populations. The question is “why do we have to resort to a different method at all?” Generally speaking, as social scientists, we would like to perform experiments with perfectly defined samples and scientific methods. However, we live in the real world where the “gold standard” of random sampling is not always possible, especially when we are trying to survey hard to reach populations (Harwood et al., 2012). Random sampling assigns equal probability that individuals can find their way into the sample, with chance playing more of a role than purposive selection (Groves et al., 2009). This method suggests that the researcher determine the sampling frame, everyone within the sampling frame has an equal possibility of becoming part of the sample. Unfortunately, when we are talking about hard to reach or hidden populations, random sampling is not a possibility because we are unable to define the sampling frame, meaning that sometimes the only course of action is to identify people who are a part of the population and begin the research through RDS or snowball sampling (Faugier & Sargeant, 1997). These are, essentially, providing the researcher with the sampling frame so they can begin their journey. It should be noted, however, that some have been able to use random sampling to reach hard to reach populations through other adaptive means, such as De Boni et al.

(2012), who used a stratified three stage cluster sample to understand drunk driving in Brazil. But, this is sometimes not the case when attempting to survey these populations.

*Through the RDS and Snowball Sampling Framework: Qualitative Versus Quantitative*

When sampling hard to reach populations, many researchers assume that because the populations are hard to reach, you will likely not have enough access as a researcher to do quantitative work. However, “hard to reach” does not necessarily mean “few in numbers.” The debate between qualitative and quantitative research is ongoing in social research, mostly because the two are seen as having conflicting goals and they certainly have different strategies for attaining those goals (Abrams, 2010). However, it is important to realize that both snowball sampling and RDS can be used in qualitative and quantitative research. One of the predominate differences between the two revolves around the concept of saturation. Saturation, as mentioned earlier, refers to the fact that qualitative sampling usually continues within the sample until no new concepts or ideas are being given by the target population (Abrams, 2010). Since qualitative research allows for a less stringent set of questions to be asked and researchers sometimes allow for a semi-structured interview, where respondents are given the opportunity to talk with guidance, as opposed to answer questions that have finite answers such as a Likert scale. In a quantitative setting, the respondent may have certain moments where they can explain their answer, but mostly, they will have to respond within the confines of the questionnaire.

*Making Decisions: what is the best course of action?*

Given the level of questions that have arisen in our quest to understand alternatives in sampling methods, it comes as no surprise that there are a number of avenues that can be taken in

researching hard to reach or hidden populations. However, determining the best course of action has to be done on a case-by-case basis. The most important finding of this particular inquiry is that there have been some successes using both RDS and snowball sampling that have shed some light on some very important topics. An example of this success can be found when looking at Southern et al. (2008) where researchers successfully sampled Americans living in Canada through a multistep process that included advertising, targeting, and seed references. Another success story comes from Grov et al. (2009), where researchers sampled men who have sex with men through a series of active and passive recruitments, utilizing the same techniques discussed here. What we can learn from each of these studies is that the best method is to use a blended method of sampling that will render researchers most likely to gain access to the target population.

*The Current Study: a Plan of Action for Pornographic Film Actors*

The current study is designed to look at individuals who act or perform in pornographic films. These, by definition, can be any individual who has performed a sexual act on film that has been released to the general public in some way (i.e. film, internet, print media, etc.). That is, these individuals can be considered professional or amateur pornographic actors.

The situation regarding hard to reach or hidden populations is conspicuous. Researchers are often torn between wanting to adhere to the standards of social research and wanting to make sure that they learn all they can about populations that very few people have managed to survey. While researchers will want to get as close as they can to the “gold standard,” circumstances will often require a bit of maneuvering. Fortunately, the process of adapting these methods, such as by using snowball sampling and RDS is allowing for many researchers to come closer than ever to the standard. While these methods may not be suitable for all situations, they have worked time

and again for many researchers. In the end, we have discovered that adapting these methods will be the best course of action for studying individuals who participate in making adult films.

As the goal here will be adapting methods discussed for surveying hard to reach populations, it should be noted that the plan to achieve the respondents necessary to continue with the project included location sampling and snowball sampling. For location sampling, the researcher did not have to go to a physical location to get people to take a survey; however, the researcher did have to go to a specific website—an internet location—in order to get people who participate in adult media to complete the survey. Snowball sampling was also used with SWOP and Twitter participants, as well as with participants on PornHub who were all invited to tell others about the survey. The exact methods behind this process will be discussed in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER 8: METHODS

“Never be afraid to do something new. Remember, amateurs built the ark; professionals built the Titanic.”

--Anonymous (n.d.)

Up until this point, this project has been conjecture. Is it even possible to reach pornographic film actors? Once reached, will they participate? If they participate, how will they receive the survey and its tough questions? Because of the nature of the population and the questions, an adaptive method of accessing the population had to be developed. Quantitative methods are challenging when they include readily available populations, let alone when they include hard to reach, hidden, and sensitive subject populations. This chapter will explain the survey used in brief detail and help us to gain an understanding of why the survey was designed the way it was designed. Additionally, it will focus on both what the initial plan was for surveying professional and amateur actors and what actually worked. Lastly, there will be some discussion about the people that I came into contact with over the course of data collection. This study was approved by the University of Central Florida IRB. The IRB approval letter can be found in Appendix D.

### *The Survey*

The following section will explain the design and intent of each section of the survey. It will be followed by additional information on the proposed plan for data collection. Lastly, there is a section on data analysis. This includes how each research question will be addressed by the survey instrument. The survey itself is a four-part survey (see Appendix A) specifically designed to address the research questions presented in chapter 1: the types of media respondents participate

in, the motivations of actors to begin pornography and to stay in pornography, the possible impact participation in pornography has on the actor, and whether or not there is a difference between amateurs and professionals. The goal in designing the survey was to mix information collected from previous attempts at interviewing pornographic film actors and what the researcher involved in this study wanted to know. The survey was uploaded into Qualtrics so that a link to the survey could be tweeted, emailed, or private messaged.

Part 1 of the survey includes work related sexual experiences, i.e. questions about condoms and the types of acts they are willing to perform on film. This section, through careful consideration, was placed first in the survey because it contains information about work related experiences, which are likely to be the questions that the respondent is most likely to discuss. Also, it is intended to ease the way into tougher questions. Additionally, this will help answer questions regarding motivations for participation in adult media and extent of participation, which may be some of the most important questions. Lastly, questions regarding potential shame felt by the respondent for their participation and potential participation in additional sex work will conclude the section. This section is meant to contribute to our understanding of symbolic interaction and its various elements and how they interact with pornographic film actors.

Part 2 includes questions regarding the respondent's sexuality and practices off film, i.e. at what age did the respondent first have sex, were they ever sexually abused or sexually assaulted and, if so, by whom, etc. This is probably the most sensitive set of questions in the survey because of the victimization aspect and the potential for re-victimization. These questions were purposely placed second in the series because the hope is to get more respondents to respond by asking standard questions first, but decrease the likelihood of them not answering because they decided

not to finish the survey due to length (Groves, 2009; Nardi, 2006). Additionally, there will be questions regarding the individual's sexual experiences outside of the adult film industry. These questions include aspects of condom usage, types of sex participated in, and the general desirability of sex. These questions will help understand the individual better and provide a comparison for their experiences on film.

Part 3 includes questions about drug and alcohol use and misuse, such as whether or not the respondent has ever been hospitalized for misuse. While this section is the shortest, it is designed to determine whether or not the respondent participates in other types of vice-related activities. They will be used both as control variables and as predictor variables, depending on the model. Mostly, this section will be used to determine whether or not there is a pattern of risk taking behavior that should be looked at among individuals who participate in adult films.

Part 4 includes demographic questions, i.e. questions about their childhood home, sexual orientation, income, etc. While some of these questions are standard demographic questions, such as age, income, race, etc., other questions speak to the vulnerability of the respondent. An example of this would be the question regarding the stability of the respondent's childhood home. This particular question is designed to reconstruct whether or not the respondent experienced familial disorganization, which when coupled with information about sexual victimization and age at first sexual experience, will provide us with insight regarding risk taking and delinquent behavior (Elliott & Merrill, 1961). Lastly, it includes an open ended question that allows respondents to provide feedback on the survey.



### *What WAS the plan?*

When surveying professional pornographic actors, the first thing that was important to realize was that they are considered hard to reach populations because access is restricted. In other words, researchers may not simply be able to call them up on the phone or e-mail them to ask them to participate in the survey. For this particular project, it was the intention of the researcher to enlist the cooperation of “gatekeepers.” In this modern technological age, the contact information for an adult film making company can be found easily. The majority of the organizations that produce pornography and organizations that are advocates of pornographic film actors have websites, twitter handles, and e-mail contact addresses. For example, the Adult Performer Advocacy Committee (APAC) can be reached on twitter through the @apacsocial handle. Attempts were made to reach out to not only APAC, but to the Sex Workers Outreach Project (SWOP) in multiple cities via twitter and email. The majority of the gatekeepers were enthusiastic about the survey and its goals, but apprehensive about helping disseminate the survey. The only exception is the SWOP chapter in Orlando. Alex Andrews, the founder of SWOP Orlando was eager to get the word out to people within the community to not only trust the survey, but to take it. Fortunately, before Alex’s involvement, over 115 responses had been recorded, allowing the impact to be realized. SWOP Orlando actively tweeted and emailed about the project. Unfortunately, the SWOP Orlando team’s involvement did not yield as many responses as the researcher hoped. Approximately 20 responses can be directly attributed to SWOP’s involvement.

Additionally, and in tandem, a list of adult film actors from iaafd.com (internet adult film database) was developed to attempt to gain responses. The Twitter handles from the website were used to make initial contact with the actors. A list was compiled of 250 professional film actors

and their Twitter handles. Over the course of two weeks, the researcher contacted potential respondents via tweets sent directly from a personal twitter handle @RuletheMoment. This method of outreach proved to be relatively unsuccessful, yielding fewer than ten surveys. Once a new plan was developed, this plan was abandoned.

Initially, the plan was to seek out professional actors via Twitter and amateur actors via Youporn, an internet pornographic film site. The reason revolved around the different nature of the two populations. Generally speaking, individuals who participate in amateur pornography do so under the cloak of relative anonymity. It was discovered that amateurs can be found through website domains and the e-mail addresses attached to those domains. The initial plan was to get a list of email addresses associated with Youporn accounts, take a random sample of those e-mail addresses, and then enlist those individuals to participate. If not enough participants were generated through this, all others were to be placed into the sampling frame. Once a random sample of these lists was taken, it was important to realize that these populations may be reluctant to complete the survey. It is because of this that the emails were eventually sent to all of the ones identified. This method was also unsuccessful as approximately 20% of the emails were returned as undeliverable and there were zero responses through this method. This suggests that either the email addresses were no longer in use, the email was sent to “spam” folders, or they were ignored altogether.

### *What Actually Worked*

While all of these previously mentioned techniques were tried and were not as successful as hoped, the plan was to adapt the strategies to find the respondents. While communicating with Youporn, the suggestion was made to find more respondents using their sister company Pornhub,

so that connections could be made with potential respondents. Pornhub can best be described as Facebook for pornography. Users make a user name, edit their profile, “friend” other social media participants, and even receive badges for accomplishments. Using Pornhub, I created the moniker “Social Researcher” and immediately set up an account using actual information about me—female, 30 years old, lives in Orlando, etc. While some suggested it would be “safer” or “better” to use fictitious information, the decision was made to use real information in an attempt to gain the trust of these “strangers” that I am asking some very personal questions about. What was clear at the onset was that some of my ability to complete data collection would be reliant on me building a rapport with potential respondents, which is why I made the conscious decision to try to get them to trust me. The best part about utilizing Pornhub, though, is that it includes professionals, amateurs, couples, solo artists, and everything in between.

Once my profile was created, I began sending friend requests to people on Pornhub, using the “search for members” function on the website. I narrowed down the search using the following parameters: participants of any gender, age, sexuality, and location who have verified Pornhub accounts and upload videos. While I did not want to exclude anyone, I had a better chance of finding those who participate, instead of those who simply view, by adding that the respondent needs to have uploaded videos. This would include individuals who also participate in camera shows or traditional pornographic photography. This allowed approximately 7500 members to potentially be invited to take the survey. Approximately 30 messages were sent daily. Over the course of the survey period, over 800 possible candidates were contacted. Once the friend request was accepted by the other party, they were sent the following message:

Hello!

I am a social researcher at the University of Central Florida, working on my dissertation, which includes a Survey of Adult Media Participants.

My goal throughout this research is to learn more about individuals who currently or have previously participated in the making of adult media. I want to know, for example, why they partake in adult films (i.e. do they like sex, do they do so for money, etc.). Mostly, I am acknowledging that, scientifically speaking, we know very little about adult media actors and models.

This study is exploratory in nature in order to learn about those involved. I know that it is hard to trust researchers, as we may feel that people have their own agendas. This is understandable given prior track records of people using the name of “research” to further their own agenda. My agenda here is only to find out who partakes in adults films and why. (And, obviously, to finish my dissertation). That being said, some of the questions that are in the survey are of a sensitive subject matter.

Please help me understand adult media participants by participating in my survey. Here is a link to my survey: [ucf.qualtrics.com//SE/?SID=SV\\_enXPZZ9BX2Y6N01](http://ucf.qualtrics.com//SE/?SID=SV_enXPZZ9BX2Y6N01)

If you have any questions, comments, or concerns, please feel free to contact me via email at [enoneal@knights.ucf.edu](mailto:enoneal@knights.ucf.edu). Participation is 100% voluntary and anonymous. Your answers will not be shared with anyone.

Sincerely,  
Erin N. O’Neal

The same message was used throughout the process, to remain consistent; however, many of the potential respondents decided to engage in conversation regarding the survey, the research, the impending results, and life in general. Others sent messages to verify that they were allowed to participate, some of them assuming that performing in solo pornography or only posting pictures would exclude them from the sample. Those individuals were invited once more to participate. The data collection period through all methods ran from July 7<sup>th</sup> until October 1<sup>st</sup>, 2015. The

process of using Pornhub, in particular, yielded over 100 responses. Additionally, the use of Pornhub, inadvertently gave additional insight through conversations that took place with participants who reached out before, during, or after completing the survey.

### *Making Friends with Potential Respondents*

The expectation for data collection was to send some tweets or messages, get some surveys filled out, and maybe answer some questions about the survey and the research. What was completely unexpected was both the level of support received from the community and the level of caution. Of course, the occasional interesting character requesting money, webcam chats, and even citizenship—yes, citizenship—entered the scene, but what was most interesting were the individuals who reached out to discuss other aspects of research and life in general. While it is not the moment to bog the project down with seemingly anecdotal information, there were two transactions that I thought were particularly interesting. The first one, was with a woman who we will call “Tasha.” And the second, was with a young man who we will call “Will.” These will be included in the methods section to both illustrate that rapport is often part of methods (Goudy & Potter, 1975; Hill & Hall, 1963) and to prevent individual cases from muddying the more analytical results.

#### *A Testament from “Tasha”*

When Tasha first reached out, it was because she wanted to “test the waters.” She had responded to the survey and had posted a rather critical message at the end in the question asking if there was any additional information that the respondent wanted to add. She wanted to know if I saw the response. I told her that I had not, as I was waiting to review the responses until data

collection was nearing completion. We began to have a conversation regarding my survey and she expressed that she thought it was too negative, not in tone, but in the types of questions asked. I apologized for her seeing the survey in a negative light and then I told her that there were some questions that had to be incorporated because of past research. Our conversation continued and she began to “open up” about why she was so protective over the men and women in the industry—her words not mine. She explained to me that she “think[s] she get[s] so defensive because this industry gets so much negative press.” She also said, “I’ve had girls work for me, and I’ve never taken them anywhere they didn’t say they wanted to go up front. I also always share content, so unlike 90% of the ladies in the business, they get to own and make money off of their work, not just what they got paid up front.” It was clear that she wanted to share her positive interactions with the pornographic media community.

During our conversations, I discovered that Tasha struggled with identity management and the stigma associated with participating in pornography. Her response was not from a personal standpoint, as she loves her work, but from a societal standpoint where she has to mitigate other people’s responses. According to Tasha, the biggest concern that she has in being in an adult film is dealing with the backlash from individuals and even businesses. For example, Tasha explained the following to me:

Just recently I had Chase Bank close my business and personal accounts and ask me to go find another bank. I had an 805 credit score at the time, no issues with overdrafts or banking issues, and \$116,000 cash in my savings alone. I also have a business license in the state of Washington for what I do, and pay ALL of my taxes and then some. They did this because they discovered I had shot for Playboy in [edited for anonymity], and they have adopted a policy that they will not do business with Pawn shops, Gun Dealers, Ammunition Dealers, and Adult oriented business...to name a few. I had no recourse, they could kick me out and deny me based on

working in the adult industry. Yet Chemical companies can poison us by the millions and they are treated better, oil companies can put BPA in everything and also be poisoning us and they aren't a problem, but because I allow men to see my naked body I am somehow unworthy. Though I am pretty certain that Chase didn't close any of HBO's or Comcasts bank accounts even though they make a HUGE profit from pornography.

While there is no way to “fact check” the information that she provided, although I do know that someone with her name posed for Playboy, her telling the story in itself speaks volumes to the perception that she has surrounding her own oppression and the stigma that she feels from participating in pornography.

*Walking through life with “Will”*

My exchanges with Will were very different. In fact, they seemed almost ordinary. Will was online every day that I visited the site. Our interaction came in the form of general small-talk. We would begin with brief hellos and “how’s your day” conversations. We would talk about school—his and mine—about family, my research, etc. Most of our interaction was no different than a typical interaction that one might experience over the internet or even in person. I found this interaction to be particularly intriguing not because it was “normal” and I was not expecting “normal,” but because it was interesting to see that someone was there for companionship, rather than sexual reasons. My conversations with Will furthered my need to explore my curiosities about those who participate in pornography.

In conclusion, the methods employed by this study are not new. They are adaptive. When it comes to reaching the hard-to-reach, it is imperative that resolve overtakes the need for randomization (Sadler et al., 2010; Abrams, 2010; Martsof, 2006; Magnani et al., 2005; Kalton,

2001). While every attempt possible was made to randomize this experiment, each method was later expanded to include all possible participants. Still, there is complete faith that this process was the best possible for reaching the population being surveyed.



## CHAPTER 9: DATA AND ANALYSIS

“You can have data without information, but you cannot have information without data” (Moran, n.d.).

### *The Data*

The methods discussed earlier yielded 213 total responses. Two of those responses were identified as duplicates by both using the IP address collected by Qualtrics and comparing the answers to each question. A third respondent was removed from the sample as she was identified as being under the age of 18. In the end, 210 responses were available for analysis. Using STATA 13.1, chosen because of the types of analysis that were conducted, all of the data was transferred from Qualtrics, labeled, cleaned, and verified. Frequencies were run on each of the variables and descriptive statistics. Tables 1 and 2, located in Appendix B show the sample characteristics of the respondents. Table 1 shows sample characteristics for the dependent variables used throughout the various models, while Table 2 shows sample characteristics based on standard control variables.

The results of the descriptive analysis showed that the majority of respondents self-identified as “amateur” actors (63.33 percent), whereas only 8.57 percent identified themselves as professional, 1.90 percent identified themselves as a professional actor who participates in amateur media, 7.14 percent identified themselves as amateurs who participate in professional media, and 13.33 percent identified as something other than those categories. Respondents reported being involved in a variety of types of adult media including print (73.81 percent), internet films (58.10 percent), webcam shows (46.19 percent), sex chat (63.33 percent), sexting (64.76 percent), amateur camera videos (77.62 percent), and professional videos (20.95 percent). Motivations to

enter pornography included money (22.86 percent), sex (45.24 percent), attention (29.52 percent), friend/ boyfriend/ girlfriend (20.48 percent), and career (10.00 percent). Likewise, motivations to continue pornography include money (37.62 percent), sex (48.57 percent), attention (35.71 percent), friend/ boyfriend/ girlfriend (3.33 percent), and other (7.62 percent).

Of the 210 respondents surveyed, 47.62 percent are male, 37.62 percent are female, 1.43 percent identify as transgender, 0.95 percent identify as questioning or not sure, 0.95 percent identify as other, and 11.43 percent did not respond to the question. The majority of respondents are white (non-Hispanic) 64.76 percent, followed by white Hispanic (9.05 percent), black (non-Hispanic) 8.10 percent, black Hispanic (1.90 percent) and other (4.76 percent), with 11.43 percent not responding to the question. Additionally, 47.14 percent were single (never married), 2.86 percent were separated, 4.76 percent were divorced, 16.67 percent were cohabitating or living with a partner, and 17.14 percent were married at the time of the survey (missing 11.43 percent). Respondents identified themselves mostly as heterosexual (40.00 percent), bisexual (25.71 percent), and straight, but has had sexual relations with members of the same sex (13.33 percent). Also within the sample, 4.29 percent identified as homosexual, 1.43 percent identified as asexual, 1.90 percent identified as gay, but having some sexual experiences with members of the opposite sex, 1.90 percent said none of the above or not sure.

The majority of respondents claimed to have at least some college or above educational attainment with 35.71 percent reporting some college, 16.19 percent having at least a bachelor's degree, and 7.14 percent having a master's degree or higher. Other respondents reported having less than a high school diploma or GED (4.29 percent) or a high school diploma or GED (24.76 percent) and 11.90 percent did not report their educational attainment. In paradox, 34.76 percent

of respondents claimed less than \$14,999 in income in 2014, 7.62 percent reported between \$15,000 and \$19,999, 6.67 percent reported \$20,000-24,999, 5.71 percent reported \$25,000-29,999, followed by 14.76 percent claiming \$30,000- \$49,999, 8.57 percent reporting \$50,000-74,999, and 7.62 percent reporting \$75,000 or more in income. In the sample, 14.29 percent did not report income.

### *Coding of Variables for Analysis*

#### *Dependent Variables*

Given the design of the survey, with inclusive categories, the dependent variables for the regression analysis were numerous. Each analysis was broken up into multiple models based on categories created within the same question on the survey. All dependent variables became dichotomous variables for the analysis. For example, the first set of variables has to do with the types of media respondents participate in. The variable for participation in print media was coded 1 for yes and 0 for no. The variables for web films, webcam shows, sex chat, sexting, amateur camera videos, and professional videos were also coded 1 for yes, showing the respondent has participated in that type of media and 0 for no, the respondent has not participated in that type of media. The next set of dependent variables has to do with the motivations for beginning pornography and the reasons to stay in pornography. The following variables were coded 1 for yes and 0 for no: motivated by money, motivated by sex, motivated by attention, motivated by attention, and motivated by career.

Likewise, the variables for reasons to stay (stays for money, stays for attention, stays for sex, and stays for a friend, boyfriend, or girlfriend) were also coded 1 for yes and 0 for no.

Variables to measure sex acts recorded on film to determine the possible effects of said acts were also coded dichotomously, 1 for yes and 0 for no, including films anal, films gang bangs, films BDSM, films fetish, films oral, films orgy, films vaginal, films same sex, films simulated rape, and films threesomes. Lastly, for the final model, the variable regarding the respondent's self-identified rank was coded 1 for amateur and 0 for professional. The possible responses for this question were a professional pornographic media actor, an amateur pornographic media actor, a professional actor who participates in amateur media, an amateur actor who participates in professional media, or other, please specify. These categories are mutually exclusive, so respondents were only allowed to select one choice. This variable was coded in this manner because of the influence of symbolic interaction where an individuals' self-identity is paramount.

### *Independent Variables*

The independent variables can be divided along the two traditional lines: predictor and control variables. Respondents were asked throughout the survey a plethora of questions that would be considered control variables: gender, year of birth, marital status, educational attainment, race or ethnicity, sexual orientation, and income level. Gender was recoded to male with 1 for male and 0 for female, with all other values marked missing. Year of birth was recoded from the calendar year to the age at the time of the survey, the year 2015, and left in ascending order, where smaller values reflect younger ages. Marital status, to reflect the state of flux within marriage as an institution, was recoded as committed (1) or not committed (0). Educational attainment was recoded to 1 for some college or more and 0 for high school diploma, GED, or less. Race was recoded to 1 for white and 0 for nonwhite. Sexual orientation was recoded to 1 for straight and 0 for other, with individuals who responded that they identify as straight, but have had sexual

experiences with others being coded with the other category. For the sexual orientation variable, symbolic interaction was taken into consideration and the variable's coding was designed to reflect the stigma or shame that may be exhibited by those who participate in same sex relations, even if they identify as straight. Income level was coded 1 for a person who makes minimum wage or higher and 0 for a person who makes less than minimum wage. To determine whether or not a person makes minimum wage, the number of people in their household was not taken into consideration, only the wage category they specified being in. It should be noted that the variables for age, age of first sex, gender, relationship status, educational attainment, race, sexual orientation, and income all used data imputation for missing cases. Data imputation was done by using a regression model to predict the missing values using new predicted indicator variables (Jasinski, 2014; Acock, 2012).

Some of the dependent variables and control independent variables serve as predictor variables depending upon the model. For example, models regarding different types of sex acts the respondent participates in on film include motivations and reasons for participation in the model. Additionally, there were other variables that were used as predictor variables in various models. Given the proposed link between sexual violence and pornography, respondents were asked a series of questions regarding their experiences with sexual violence. The first was whether or not the respondent had experienced sexual violence as an adult, coded 1 for yes and 0 for no. Secondly, respondents were asked if they experienced childhood sexual abuse, also coded 1 for yes and 0 for no. While there were follow-up questions, these were partially open ended and were excluded from the model. In conjunction with the sexual violence variables, respondents were asked about their childhood home. Possible choices were 1 for raised by both parents, 2 for raised by mother, 3 for

raised by father, 4 for raised by a relative that was not your mother or father, 5 for raised by a biological parent and a step parent, 6 for raised in the system (i.e. group home, foster home, hospital, etc.), 7 raised by an adoptive parent/ parents, 8 for other. This variable was not recoded, but higher values generally reflect greater instability.

Some of the predictor variables were designed to measure elements of vice and high risk behavior. The variable for alcohol asks whether or not the respondent consumes alcohol, coded 1 for yes and 0 for no. In conjunction with this, there are two variables that ask whether or not the respondent has been to the doctor for alcohol use, coded 1 for yes and 0 for no, or drug use coded 1 for yes and 0 for no. The variable STD measures whether or not the respondent was concerned about catching STDs, coded on a scale from 1, not at all concerned, to 5 very concerned. This variable was also not recoded, but higher values reflect higher levels of concern. Respondents were asked whether or not they feel like the decision to wear a condom is theirs, 1 for yes and 0 for no (condom 2r in the models) and whether or not they wear condoms during filming (condoms was also an imputed variable). Also, variables were created to reflect legal attachment: has the respondent been arrested, 1 for yes and 0 for no, and has the respondent been convicted of a felony, coded 1 for yes and 0 for no.

In addition to those variables, there were a series of variables designed to test notions of symbolic interaction, including stigma and shame. The first is a question about shame and whether or not the respondent feels ashamed by his or her experiences on film, where 1 is very unashamed, 2 is unashamed, 3 is neutral, 4 is ashamed, 5 is very ashamed, and 6 is both unashamed and shamed at different times or with different people. Likewise, the respondent was asked if film experiences made them very empowered (1), empowered (2), neutral (3), and both empowered and alienated

at different times with different people (4). This variable was also not recoded. Respondents were asked if they manage their identities by either letting people who are closest to them know about their participation (1 for yes) or if they conceal it (0 for no); and they were asked if they those who do know about their participation see them differently because of it, 1 for yes and 0 for no (perception).

### *Indices*

The decision was made to create two indices: one for sex work and one for drug use. The index for sex work was created by combining the following dichotomous (1 for yes, 0 for no) variables that asked whether or not the respondent participated in a variety of sex work related jobs: escorting, private stripping, club stripping, prostitution, or red light parties. This created a dichotomous variable for sex work where 1 is yes and 0 is no. Additionally, there was a variable created for drug use that combined questions about using marijuana, ecstasy, crack or cocaine, methamphetamines, heroin, or other drugs. This created a variable for drug use where 1 is yes the respondent has used an illicit drug and 0 is no the respondent has not.

### *Bivariate analysis: Correlations Matrix*

The bivariate level of analysis for this project included pairwise correlations matrices for various variables. The results of the bivariate analyses can be found in Appendix B. Since the number of variables that could be potentially included in the model exceeded what the test could comfortably process, the decision was made to break up the correlations based on the original research questions. This may assist in creating some insight into what the results of the regression models are telling us. The first model of correlations, shown in Table 3, reflects the correlations

between media participation and potential predictors of media participation. The second model, shown in Table 4, shows the correlations between the motivations for participation in pornography and potential predictor variables. The third model, shown in Table 5, reveals the correlations between variables reflecting reasons to continue to participate in pornography and the potential predictor variables. The fourth model (Table 6) reflects the effects participation may have had on the individual.

Correlations model 1 (Table 3) was designed to determine if there were any correlations among media participation and the factors that may have an impact on media participation. Weak, but statistically significant, correlations were found between the following variables participation in print media and participation in webcam shows (.19), amateur camera videos (.23), professional videos (.19), age first filmed (-.17), race (.18), and amateur ranking in media (-.17). There were small correlations found between participation in web films and sex chatting (.20), participation in amateur camera videos (.15), race (.22), income (.23), and amateur ranking in media (-.22). There were also slight, but statistically significant, correlations found between the variables for participating in webcam shows and amateur camera videos (.26), educational attainment (.21), amateur (-.28), sexual violence victimization in adulthood (.22). Additionally, there were soft correlations found between sex chatting and marital status (.23), educational attainment (.16), and sexual orientation (.16). There were weak correlations found between sexting and amateur camera video participation (.25), age of first film (-.17), and marital status (.25). There were slight correlations found between amateur camera video participation and age of first sexual experience (-.21), gender (-.25), and race (.17). There were weak correlations found between participation in



professional videos and age of first sexual experience (-.18), income (.22), and sexual violence victimization in adulthood (.17).

Also, slight, but statistically significant, correlations were found between age of first film and marital status (-.16), as well as age of first film and income (.19). Lastly, minor, but statistically significant correlations were found between age of first sexual encounter and sexual violence victimization in adulthood (-.18); gender and sexual orientation (.22); gender and amateur media rank (.20); marital status and race (-.15); marital status and income (-.19); educational attainment and income (.17); educational attainment and amateur media rank (-.17); & income and race (.21). Moderate correlations were found between participation in print media and participation in web films (.44), sex chatting (.29), and sexting (.29); participation in web films and participation in web cam shows (.37), participation in professional videos (.31); race and participation in professional videos (.30); sex chatting and sexting (.48); as well as, gender and adult sexual violence victimization (-.34). A strong correlation was found between participation in professional video and amateur media ranking (-.61).

Correlations model 2 (Table 4) displays the correlations among the motivations identified by the sample as reasons for initially participating in pornography, variables that may predict the behavior, and control variables. Minor, but statistically significant correlations were found between being motivated by money and being male (-.19); motivated by sex and motivated by attention (.15), motivated by sex and age of first sexual encounter (-.21), motivated by sex and being male (.28), and being motivated by sex and income (.24). Additionally, weak but statistically significant correlations were found between being motivated by attention and being motivated by a friend, boyfriend, or girlfriend (-.17), being motivated by attention and age of first sexual

encounter (.24), and being motivated by attention and being in a committed relationship (matstat) (.16). Next, slight correlations were discovered between being motivated by a friend, boyfriend, or girlfriend and age of first sexual encounter (-.20) and empowerment (.20). Age of first film was also faintly but statistically significantly correlated with marital status (-.16) and income (.19).

Age of first sexual encounter is slightly correlated with sexual violence victimization in adulthood (-.18) and childhood home stability (-.18). Gender, more specifically being male, is associated with weak to moderate correlations with being straight (.22), sexual violence victimization in adulthood (-.34), childhood sexual abuse (-.24), and childhood home stability (-.16). Likewise, being in a committed relationship is associated with weak, but statistically significant correlations, with race/ ethnicity (-.15), income (-.19), childhood sexual abuse (-.19), and shame (.19). Educational attainment is correlated with income (.17) and empowerment (-.23) and race is correlated with income (.21). Additionally, identifying as straight is correlated with sexual violence victimization in adulthood (-.21), childhood sexual abuse (-.23), general home stability (-.15), and empowerment (-.15). Sexual violence victimization in adulthood is also weak to moderately correlated with childhood sexual abuse (.32), general home stability (.29), and shame (.15). Lastly, there is a strong correlation in the survey population between shame and empowerment (.50).

Correlations model 3 (Table 5) shows the correlations between variables reflecting reasons to stay participating in pornography and the variables that may impact the reason to stay. Staying in pornography for money is correlated with gender (-.22) and sexual violence victimization in adulthood (.18). Staying in pornography for sex is weakly, yet significantly correlated with staying for attention (.21), staying for a friend, boyfriend, or girlfriend (.14), and age of first film (.15).

Likewise, staying in pornography for attention is also correlated with marital status (.15). The model also reflected a slight, but statistically significant, correlation between age of first film and marital status (-.16), income (.19), and empowerment (.15). Additionally, the model found that respondents' age of their first sexual encounter is correlated with sexual violence victimization in adulthood (-.18). Gender, more specifically being male, is both moderately correlated with sexual violence victimization in adulthood (-.34) and weakly correlated with identifying as being straight (.22). Marital status is slightly, but significantly correlated with race (-.15), income (-.19), identity management (-.24), and shame (.19).

Other correlations were found among educational attainment and income (.17), identity management (-.18), and empowerment (-.23); as well as race and income (.21). In addition, sexual orientation is correlated with sexual violence victimization in adulthood (-.21) and empowerment (-.15). Sexual violence victimization in adulthood is also found to be correlated with identity management (.17) and shame (.16), in the model. Lastly, perceived perception of the respondent is correlated with shame (-.15) and identity management is strongly correlated with empowerment (.50).

Correlations model 4 (Table 6) reflects a correlations matrix to explore the effects participation may have had on the individual and focuses on behaviors regarding sex and vice behavior. First, it was discovered that amateur media rank is moderately correlated with identity management (-.34) and weakly correlated with shame (.24) and empowerment (.28). In this model, adult sexual violence victimization is correlated with identity management (.17), childhood sexual abuse (.32), general youth home stability (.29), shame (.15), felony conviction (.16), and condom usage (.29). Likewise, there is a minor, but statistically significant correlation between the

perceived perception of the respondent and shame (.16). Statistically significant, weak, and inverse correlations were discovered between identity management and shame (-.15) and the respondent's belief that the decision to wear condoms was their own (-.17). Additionally, general youth home stability has a slight, inverse correlation with crack or cocaine use (-.15).

Other correlations found in the model include a correlation between shame and empowerment (.50), shame and STD concerns (.16), empowerment and crack or cocaine use (-.18), empowerment and STD concerns (.18), seeking a doctor's attention for alcohol use or misuse and whether or not the respondent has been arrested (.25), arrest and felony conviction (.42), crack or cocaine use and marijuana use (.30), condom usage and whether or not the decision to wear a condom is theirs (-.25), condom usage and STD concerns (-.23), as well as the decision to wear a condom being theirs and STD concerns (.14). Lastly, statistically significant correlations are found between seeking a doctor for drug use or misuse and arrest (-.31), felony conviction (-.16), crack or cocaine use (-.22), and marijuana use (-.20).

#### *Logistic Regression Models<sup>14</sup>*

The logistic regression analysis was broken up into the four research questions (Tables in Appendix B). It should be noted that because this study is exploratory, values that were approaching significance ( $p < .1$ ) are included in the results. The first question was designed to take a look at the types of media respondents participate in and possible predictor variables. This resulted in seven models. The dependent variables are print media, web films, webcam shows, sex chat, sexting, amateur camera videos, and professional videos. The independent variables for these

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<sup>14</sup> Prior to regression analysis, all variables within the model were checked for multicollinearity and were found to have a VIF below 4 which is considered acceptable by Fisher & Mason (1981).

models are age, age of first film, gender, relationship status, educational attainment, race, sexual orientation, income, sex work, motivated by money, motivated by sex, motivated by attention, motivated by friend, boyfriend, or girlfriend, motivated by career, stays for money, stays for sex, stays for attention, and stays for friend, boyfriend, or girlfriend. The independent variables were included in these analyses in order to explore some basic information about who participates in each type of adult media and why they participate, checking to see if there is any difference among the different types.

The second set of models was designed to examine the motivations behind initial participation in pornography, resulting in four models; and reasons to stay in pornography, resulting in four models. The dependent variables were motivated by sex, motivated by attention, motivated by a friend, boyfriend, or girlfriend, motivated by career, stays for money, stays for sex, stays for attention, and stays for friend, boyfriend, or girlfriend. The independent variables for these models are age, age of first film, age of first sex, gender, relationship status, educational attainment, race, sexual orientation, income, alcohol use, adult sexual violence victimization, childhood sexual abuse, perception, identity management, doctor for drug consumption, arrest, drug use, condom (2r), condoms (imputed values), empowerment, home stability, and shame. The independent variables were chosen to determine whether or not the various theories discussed throughout the literature when it comes to sex work have any bearing on the individuals who participate in or stay in adult media for specific reasons. Essentially, this model is designed to test the damaged goods hypothesis presented by Griffith et al. (2013b).

The third set of models are designed to determine the effects that participation in various types of adult media have on respondents, resulting in ten models. The dependent variables for

these models were films anal, films BDSM, films gang bangs, films fetish, films oral, films orgy, films same sex relations, films simulated rape, films threesomes, and films vaginal sex. The independent variables for these models were STD concerns, doctor for alcohol, sex work, doctor for drug consumption, arrest, felony, and drug use. These models included relatively few variables compared to the previous two sets of models, because it was designed specifically to test whether or not the respondent is, theoretically, changed by performing various types of sex acts on film. Traditional control variables were not included in the model to reduce the degrees of freedom and to get a rawer picture, in this exploratory study, about the relationship between filming specific types of media and various vice and at-risk behaviors.

Lastly, there is a model to determine the possible differences between amateur and professional participants. In this model, the dependent variable was amateur. The independent variables used in the model were age, age of first film, age of first sex, gender, relationship status, race, sexual orientation, sex work, adult sexual violence victimization, childhood sexual abuse, perception, identity management, arrest, drug use, and condoms (imputed values). Many of the variables included in the model were postulated by the researcher to possibly have differences between amateur and professional actors, some based on literature and others based on untested perceptions of the research group.

#### *Logistic Regression Results—Research Question 1*

The results of the first set of models were as follows. Research question 1 located in Tables 7-10 yielded both significant models and significant relationships between various variables. A summary table of the significant results can be found following this section in Figure 1. First, the

model with print media (Table 7) as the dependent variable had an N of 173, a <sup>15</sup>pseudo R<sup>2</sup>= 0.21, and a log likelihood of -69.49. This model was not significant, but revealed significant relationships among some independent variables with the dependent variable. For example, those who are white have 3.21 times greater odds of participation in print media than those who are non-white, when controlling for the other variables in the model (p<.05). Additionally, the model showed that those who stay in pornography for attention have 3.65 times greater odds of participating in print media (p<.05). The second model was for web film participation and had an N of 162 and was significant at the .05 level, a pseudo R<sup>2</sup>= 0.04, and a log likelihood of -84.56. From the model, we learned that those who make more than minimum wage have 0.70 times fewer odds of participation in web films than those who make less than minimum wage, when controlling for all other variables in the model (p<.05). Additionally, those who stay for money have 2.46 times greater odds of participation in web films (p< .05).

The third model (Table 8), for webcam shows, was significant at the .01 level, with an N of 166, a pseudo R<sup>2</sup> of 0.15, and a log likelihood of -96.59. However, none of the variables in the model were significant. The fourth model, sex chat, was also significant at the .01 level, but had an N of 170, a pseudo R<sup>2</sup> of 0.17, and a log likelihood of -82.88. Through the model, it was discovered that those who are in a committed relationship have 3.13 time greater odds of participating in sex chat than those who are not in a committed relationship, when controlling for all other variables in the model (p< .01). Those who have some college or more have 2.57 times greater odds of participating in sex chat than their less educated counterparts (p<.05). And, those

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<sup>15</sup> The inclusion of the pseudo R<sup>2</sup> is done for reporting purposes only. It should be noted that the pseudo R<sup>2</sup> does not have the same implications as the R<sup>2</sup> for OLS Regression (Acock, 2012).

who are heterosexual and have not had sexual experiences with members of the same sex have 2.39 times greater odds of participating in sex chat than those who have had sexual experiences with members of the same sex.

The fifth model (Table 9), measuring sexting and predictors, was significant at the .01 level, with an N of 166, a pseudo  $R^2$  of .21, and a log likelihood of -73.63. The model shows that those who were older for their first sexual experience are .82 times less likely to be involved in sexting when controlling for the other variables in the model ( $p < .05$ ). Additionally, those who have at least some college have 2.12 times greater odds of participating in sexting than those who are less educated ( $p < .01$ ). The sixth model, showing amateur camera videos, was significant at the .001 level, with an N of 170, a pseudo  $R^2$  of .40, and a log likelihood of -35.53. Through the model, it was discovered that those who had sex for the first time at a later age had 0.66 times fewer odds of participating in amateur camera videos than those who had sex for the first time at an earlier age ( $p < .01$ ). Males have 0.42 times lower odds of participating in amateur camera videos than females ( $p < .01$ ). Lastly, respondents who stay in pornography for attention have 92.33 times greater odds of participating in amateur camera videos than those who do not stay in pornography for attention ( $p < .01$ ).

The seventh and final model for understanding the types of films that are being participated in and their predictors involves professional pornographic videos (Table 10). The model was significant at the .001 level, with an N of 153, a pseudo  $R^2$  of 0.30, and a log likelihood of -61.72. Through the model, it was discovered that older respondents had 1.07 times greater odds of participating in professional camera videos than their younger counterparts, when controlling for other variables in the model ( $p < .05$ ). Those whose first film was at an older age had 0.93 times



fewer odds of participating in professional films than those who began filming at a younger age (approaching significance,  $p < .1$ ). Likewise, those who were older during their first sexual experience have .87 times fewer odds of participating in professional videos than those whose first sexual experience happened when they were younger ( $p < .05$ ). Those who are heterosexual and have not had sexual experiences with members of the same sex have 0.40 times fewer odds of participating in professional videos than those who have had sexual experiences with members of the same sex (approaching significance,  $p < .1$ ). Those who report higher incomes have 2.81 times greater odds of participating in professional videos than those who make less than minimum wage (approaching significance,  $p < .1$ ). Additionally, those who are motivated by career goals have 5.12 times greater odds of participating in professional films than those who are not motivated by career (approaching significance,  $p < .1$ ). Finally, those who participate in other types of sex work have 4.13 times greater odds of participating in professional films than those who do not participate in other sex work (approaching significance,  $p < .01$ ).

*Figure 1: Summary of Logistic Regression Results: Relationships between Types of Media Participated in by Actors & Possible Predictors*

	<b>Print Media</b>	<b>Web Films</b>	<b>Sex Chat</b>	<b>Sexting</b>	<b>Amateur Camera Videos</b>	<b>Professional Videos/Films</b>
Race	+					
Stays for Attention	+				+	
Income (+)		-				+
Stays for Money		+				
Committed Relationship			+			
Education (+)			+	+		

Heterosexual (No Same Sex)	+			-
Age First Sex (+)		-	-	-
Gender			-	
Age (+)				+
Age First Film (+)				-
Motivated by Career				+
Sex Work				+

*Note:* (+) by variable indicates that the behavior occurs when the variable increases. + = sig. pos. relationship; - = sig. neg. relationship; blank = no significant relationship. Demographic variables will always refer to the standard reference category.

#### *Logistic Regression Results—Research Question 2*

The second set of models was designed to test the reasons to begin pornography, reasons to stay in pornography, and possible predictor variables (Tables 11-15). For all of the models, N= 169. A summary table of the significant results can be found following this section in Figure 2. The results of the second set of models were as follows. The first model (Table 11), motivated by money, was not significant and contained no significant variables (pseudo R<sup>2</sup>= 0.16; log likelihood= -76.05). The second model, motivated by sex, was significant at the .001 level, with a pseudo R<sup>2</sup> of 0.24 and a log likelihood of -89.27. Through the model, it was discovered that those who are older have 1.06 times greater odds of being motivated by sex, when controlling for other variables in the model (p<.01). Those who had sex for the first time at an older age have 0.86 times fewer odds of being motivated by sex than their younger counterparts (p<.01). Males have 5.07 times greater odds of being motivated by sex than females (p<.001). Those who report incomes higher than minimum wage have 3.60 times greater odds of being motivated by sex than those who

report income less than minimum wage ( $p < .01$ ). Those who have told those who are closest to them about their participation in adult media have 2.11 times greater odds of being motivated by sex than those who conceal their involvement to loved ones (approaching significance,  $p < .1$ ). Lastly, those who wear condoms on film have 0.83 times fewer odds of being motivated by sex than those who do not wear condoms (approaching significance,  $p < .1$ ).

The third model (Table 12), motivated by attention, was not significant (pseudo  $R^2 = 0.12$ , log likelihood = -94.73), but did have some significant reaction among certain variables. Those who reported being in a committed relationship have 2.62 times greater odds of being motivated by attention than those not in a committed relationship, when controlling for other variables in the model ( $p < .05$ ). Those who reported being arrested have 0.40 times fewer odds of being motivated by attention than those who have not been arrested (approaching significance,  $p < .1$ ). The fourth model, motivated by a friend, boyfriend, or girlfriend was also not significant, but contained significant reactions among certain variables (pseudo  $R^2 = 0.18$ , log likelihood = -76.28). Those who reported making more than minimum wage were 0.32 times less likely to report being motivated by a friend, boyfriend, or girlfriend ( $p < .05$ ). Also, those who reported that people's perception of them was different because of their participation in pornography were 0.67 times less likely to be motivated by a friend, boyfriend, or girlfriend (approaching significance,  $p < .1$ ).

The fifth model (Table 13), motivated by career, was significant at the .05 level, with a pseudo  $R^2$  of 0.31 and a log likelihood of -40.84. Additionally, the model demonstrated that males have 0.17 times fewer odds of being motivated by career than females, when controlling for all other variables in the model ( $p < .05$ ). Those who manage their identities have 3.77 times greater odds of being motivated by career (approaching significance,  $p < .1$ ). Lastly, the model showed that

those who feel the decision to wear a condom or have their partner wear a condom is theirs have 7.65 times greater odds of being motivated by career than those who felt the decision was not theirs ( $p < .05$ ).

The sixth model (Table 14) depicts the motivation to stay in pornography for money and its possible predictor variables and was approaching significance (approaching significance,  $p < .1$ ), with a pseudo  $R^2$  of 0.14 and a log likelihood of -97.38. Through this model, it was learned that those who are older have 0.98 times fewer odds of staying for money than those who are younger, when controlling for all other variables in the model ( $p < .05$ ). Males have 0.43 times fewer odds of staying for money than females (approaching significance,  $p < .1$ ), whites have 0.46 times fewer odds of staying in pornography for money than non-whites (approaching significance,  $p < .1$ ), and those who believe their participation has changed the way people view them have 1.36 times greater odds of staying for money (approaching significance,  $p < .1$ ).

The seventh model shows those who are motivated to stay in pornography for sex and possible predictor variables. This model is significant at the .01 level, with a pseudo  $R^2$  of 0.15, and a log likelihood of -99.48. Through the model, we discover that those who are older have 1.05 times greater odds of staying for sex than those who are younger ( $p < .05$ ). Those who have experienced adult sexual violence victimization have 0.29 times fewer odds of staying for sex than those who have not experienced such victimization ( $p < .05$ ). Those who manage their identities by keeping their participation a secret from loved ones have 2.53 times greater odds of staying in pornography for sex ( $p < .05$ ). Additionally, those who are not empowered by their participation in pornography have 1.21 times greater odds of staying in adult media for sex than those who are empowered (approaching significance,  $p < .1$ ). Lastly, those who use drugs have 1.92 times greater

odds of staying in pornography for sex than their substance free counterparts (approaching significance,  $p < .1$ ) and those who come from less stable childhood homes have 1.15 times greater odds of staying for sex than those who came from more stable home environments (approaching significance,  $p < .1$ ).

The eighth model (Table 15), stays for attention, was not significant (pseudo  $R^2 = 0.10$ ; log likelihood = -102.05), but contained significant relationships. First, we learned that males have 1.97 times greater odds of staying in adult media for attention than females, when controlling for all other variables in the model (approaching significance,  $p < .1$ ). Additionally, it was discovered that those who consume alcohol have 2.43 times greater odds of staying for attention than those who do not consume alcohol ( $p < .05$ ). Lastly, we learned that those who are in a committed relationship have 2.43 times greater odds of staying in pornography for attention than those who are not in a committed relationship ( $p < .05$ ). The ninth model, measuring those who stay for a friend, boyfriend, or girlfriend, was also not significant (pseudo  $R^2 = .43$ ; log likelihood = -16.57), but contained significant relationships. For example, the model shows that those who are older have 1.17 times greater odds of staying for a friend, boyfriend, or girlfriend than those who are younger ( $p < .05$ ). Whites have 0.06 times fewer odds of staying for a friend, boyfriend, or girlfriend than non-whites (approaching significance,  $p < .1$ ). Lastly, those who have been arrested have 0.02 fewer odds of staying for a friend, boyfriend, or girlfriend than those who have not been arrested (approaching significance,  $p < .1$ ).

Figure 2: Summary of Logistic Regression Results: Relationships between Reasons to Participate & Predictors

	M-Sex	M-Attn	M-F/BF/GF	M-Career	S-Money	S-Sex	S-Attn	S-F/BF/GF
Race					-			-
Stays for Attention								
Income (+)	+		-					
Stays for Money								
Committed Relationship		+					+	
Education (+)								
Heterosexual (No Same Sex)								
Age First Sex (+)	-							
Gender	+			-	-		+	
Age (+)	+				-	+		+
Age First Film (+)								
Motivated by Career								
Sex Work								
Empowerment						+		
Drug Use						+		
Alcohol Use							+	
Stigma			-		+			
Childhood Home Instability						+		
Sexual Violence						-		
Arrest		-						-
Identity Mgmt	+			+		+		
Condoms on film	-			+				

Note: (+) by variable indicates that the behavior occurs when the variable increases. + = sig. pos. relationship; - = sig. neg. relationship; blank = no significant relationship. Demographic variables will always refer to the standard reference category. M-motivated by variable. S-stays for variable.

### *Logistic Regression Results—Research Question 3*

The third set of models focused on participation in various types of sex acts on film and variables that may have a relationship with each film type. A summary table of the significant results can be found following this section in Figure 3. It should be noted that for each of these models,  $N=182$  (Tables 16-20). The results of the third set of models were as follows. The first model (Table 16), films anal, was not significant (pseudo  $R^2=0.05$ ; log likelihood=-120.32), but contained significant relationships. First, those who reported going to the doctor for alcohol use or misuse have 0.24 times fewer odds of filming anal than those who did not report doing to the doctor for alcohol use or misuse (approaching significance,  $p<.1$ ), when controlling for all other variables in the model. Additionally, those who reported being arrested have 3.33 times greater odds of filming anal than those who do not report being arrested ( $p<.01$ ). The second model, films BDSM, was also not significant (pseudo  $R^2=0.05$ , log likelihood= -101.14), but contained significant relationships. First, it was discovered that those who are concerned about STDs have 0.75 times fewer odds of filming BDSM than those who are not concerned about STDs ( $p<.05$ ). Those who participate in other forms of sex work have 1.88 times greater odds of participating in BDSM than those who do not participate in other forms of sex work (approaching significance,  $p<.1$ ).

The third model (Table 17), films gang bangs, is approaching significance (approaching significance,  $p<.1$ ) with a pseudo  $R^2=$  of 0.05 and a log likelihood of -67.12. Through this model, we learned that those who participate in sex work have 2.30 times greater odds of participating in gang bangs than those who do not participate in sex work (approaching significance,  $p<.1$ ). The fourth model, films fetish materials, was not significant (pseudo  $R^2=0.05$ , log likelihood=-118.02),

but did show that those who are concerned about STDs have 0.75 times fewer odds of filming fetish films than those who are not concerned about STDs ( $p < .01$ ). The fifth model (Table 18), films oral, is significant at the .05 level, with a pseudo  $R^2$  of 0.08 and a log likelihood of -76.10. Through this model, it is learned that those who participate in sex work have 2.78 times greater odds of filming oral than those who do not participate in sex work ( $p < .05$ ). Additionally, those who have been arrested and those who have been convicted of a felony have 3.69 (approaching significance,  $p < .1$ ) and 1.04 ( $p < .05$ ) times greater odds of filming oral, respectively. The sixth model, films orgy, was not significant (pseudo  $R^2 = 0.06$ , log likelihood = -82.02), but showed that those who participate in sex work have 2.95 times greater odds of filming an orgy than those who do not participate in sex work ( $p < .05$ ).

The seventh model (Table 19), films same sex relations, is approaching significance at the .1 level (pseudo  $R^2 = 0.07$ , log likelihood = -108.48), and shows that those who participate in sex work have 3.04 times greater odds of filming same sex relations than those who do not participate in other types of sex work, when controlling for all other variables in the model ( $p < .001$ ). The eighth model, films simulated rape, was not significant and contained no significant results to report (pseudo  $R^2 = 0.03$ , log likelihood = -75.68). The ninth model (Table 20), films threesomes, is significant at the .001 level (pseudo  $R^2 = 0.13$ , log likelihood = -103.11). Through the model, it was also learned that those who participate in sex work have 3.24 times greater odds of filming threesomes than those who do not participate in sex work ( $p < .001$ ). Those who have been arrested have 2.36 times greater odds of filming threesomes than those who have not been arrested ( $p < .05$ ). Lastly, those who use drugs have 2.38 times greater odds of filming threesomes than those who do not use drugs ( $p < .01$ ). The tenth model, films vaginal, was not significant (pseudo  $R^2 = 0.06$ , log



likelihood=-93.50) and only yielded one significant result. Those who are concerned about STDs have 0.76 times fewer odds of filming vaginal sex than those who are not concerned ( $p < .05$ ).

*Figure 3: Summary of Logistic Regression Results: Relationships between Types of Sex Filmed & Possible Predictor Variables*

	Anal	BDSM	Gang Bangs	Fetish	Oral	Orgy	Same Sex	3somes	Vaginal
Alcohol Use	-								
Arrest	+				+				
Concerned about STDs		-		-					+
Sex work		+	+		+	+	+	+	
Felony					+				
Drug Use									
<b>Sex Work</b>									

*Note:* + = sig. pos. relationship; - = sig. neg. relationship; blank = no significant relationship. Demographic variables will always refer to the standard reference category.

#### *Logistic Regression Results—Research Question 4*

The final model (Table 21), a reflection of the possible differences between amateur and professional film actors is as follows. The model is significant at the .001 level, with an N of 171, a pseudo  $R^2$  of 0.36, and a log likelihood of -38.29. Through the model, it was discovered that those who identify as amateur have 0.21 times fewer odds of participating in other types of sex work, when controlling for the other variables in the model ( $p < .05$ ). Lastly, it was discovered that those who identify as amateur have 0.12 fewer odds of managing their identity by not telling loved ones about their participation in pornography ( $p < 0.001$ ).

### *Open Ended Questions*

The decision to include open ended questions was important to this study. Given the general lack of research in this area, it was important to provide the respondents an opportunity to provide their own responses if they did not find an option that suited them. Additionally, especially with the final question of the research instrument, it allowed them to provide feedback to the researcher and to assist in directions for future research. While a number of the questions were given an open ended question, i.e. in “other” categories, there are some questions that are important to the research overall and the research questions in particular. The open ended questions that will be discussed in this section correspond with the following survey questions: self-identification into media position, i.e. amateur, professional, or other; primary motivation for starting pornography; primary motivation for continuing pornography participation; ‘other’ needs that are met by pornography; and the final open ended question asking the respondent if there was anything that they wanted to add or comments that they may have had. The responses that were seen in the data have been recorded for viewing in Appendix C.

The majority of respondents self-identified themselves into the four categories provided: amateur, professional, a professional who participates in amateur media, or an amateur who participates in professional media, some of the respondents chose to identify themselves as ‘other’ and use the open ended function to provide an answer. The vast majority of these open ended answers could have easily been fit into one of the categories provided, some of the responses challenged definitions and insisted that they be looked at from a different perspective. For example, one individual said that she was “an actress that performs/ performed in all types of media,” suggesting that she did not want to be type casted as a pornographic film actor. Another

individual described themselves as “a semi-pro adult fetish video producer.” Others were willing to call themselves ‘amateur,’ but were not willing to commit to the term ‘actor.’ Regardless, these responses can be seen as telling when it comes to self-identification.

Motivations for beginning pornography and for staying were one of the primary reasons for this study. There are a number of conceptions and misconceptions held by the community about both. The options allowed for in the survey followed along those same lines, i.e. they focused on money, sex, attention, etc. For most respondents, these were their primary motivations. The majority of the open ended responses regarding motivations for beginning pornographic media making revolved around experience and experimentation. Others cited fun, sharing their sexuality with others, and excitement. Motivations for continuing with pornographic media mirrored the reasons for beginning pornographic film making in a number of ways. Respondents cited excitement, exploration, fun, and artistic expression as motivations.

As an extension of the motivation question, the survey instrument asked about needs that were being met by making pornography. As discussed in the literature review, researchers are concerned with the element of coercion the need to fulfill physical needs can bring to the industry. The question, therefore, was asked of respondents if they made pornography to fulfill basic needs such as food, shelter, etc. The open ended question was included so that they could express other needs that may need to be met. Respondents said that they participated in pornography for a new car, to get bills paid, money, sex toys, travel, and the like. While these may not be “needs” to some people, the respondents identified them as a need, making them important to the discussion.

The last of the open ended questions that will be discussed in this section is the final open ended question that was asked regarding whether or not the respondent wanted to add anything or

if they had any comments. As expected, there were some respondents who responded to the survey negatively. One respondent was worried that the survey and the research sought to generalize the community in a negative light. Another respondent, referred to the survey as “horrible” and “misleading.” However, the majority of respondents who answered the open ended questions took it as an opportunity to either ask questions or provide greater detail to questions that were closed ended throughout the survey. For example, one respondent discussed condom usage within the industry in greater detail. Another discussed risk of STDs and STIs. Others offered life advice, such as “go to college.” Some provided question options for a follow-up survey, such as including mental health, interracial encounters, and masturbation. In the end, the open ended questions provided a great deal of insight, critique, and direction.

## CHAPTER 10: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

### *Discussion*

Throughout this section, the goal will be to revisit the questions identified at the onset of research and the questions postulated post literature review. The discussion has been divided thematically in an attempt to further the conversation regarding pornography and the questions in front of the camera.

### *Sex Work and Pornography*

Many researchers and advocates have used the coined term sex work as a catch all phrase to describe a variety of sex related genres. The question becomes, then, is this an accurate presentation given what is known? Is it fair to include pornography in the sex work paradigm? This study has determined that there is a link between pornography and other forms of sex work, especially when it comes to the types of films the participant is willing to engage in. Those who participate in other types of sex work are 88% more likely to participate in BDSM, 130% more likely to participate in gang bangs, have a 178% greater likelihood of filming oral sex, 195% more likely to participate in filming an orgy, 204% more likely to film same sex relations, and 224% more likely to film threesomes. These findings may be consistent with the Fahs, Swank, & Clevenger (2015) conclusion regarding normalization of various types of sex due to the exposure of individuals to those types of sex. It stands to reason that the men and women who participate in sex work would have greater access to knowledge about various types of sex, including taboo sex. Furthering the link, it was discovered that those who participate in sex work are 313% more likely to participate in professional pornographic films than those who do not participate in sex work.

This sentiment was echoed by one respondent who said “I at one point did erotic massage as well as produced porn, I currently am trying to start my own adult blog/vlog.” This shows that even though there are differences between the different types of sex work, the various fields can intertwine when it comes to participation. Even given the vast amount of significance between sex work and pornography, this inquiry believes that pornography is a form of sex work.

### *Sexual Violence and Pornography Participation*

The question about whether or not pornography and violence are inextricably linked often comes from pundits, soundbites, and anecdotes provided by both sides of the debate. Much of this is spurred along by the vast amount of scientific information that is missing regarding pornography participation. As seen throughout the literature review, there are key gaps that are present and must be addressed in order to dispel or validate the link. For this project, what becomes most telling are the links that are not present. While it was found that those who have experienced sexual violence victimization are 71% less likely to stay in pornography for sex, no other links were established, even though adult sexual violence and childhood sexual abuse were included in a variety of models. It should be noted that at this time sexual violence related variables were not put into models regarding the types of sex the individual is willing to film, which could be a possible limitation for this finding. Another potential concern for the finding is whether or not the respondent felt as though they experienced sexual violence. For example, one respondent reported:

I was a little unsure how to answer the question about date rape in adulthood, as technically speaking I've been date raped twice, but once was due to my own over consumption of alcohol as well as my partners, so really that one doesn't really count as we were both acting under the influence, the second time was with a couple, who brought my already drunk ass home with them from a party, and proceeded to give me more alcohol once there, and then talked me into having sex with them both, they were both much more sober (one did drive) and obviously had it planned, they did NOT drug me and I took the alcohol willingly, so

it's still more on each individual states technicality on what legally defines date rape, in the state which I reside, it is considered date rape if an individual plans to get someone drunk and then take advantage of them regardless of whether another drug is added to the drink or not, or if they person willingly accepts the drinks. Besides these instances, there has been no sexual abuse in my past or present, and I don't lose sleep over the kind of date rape situations that I partially put myself into before I quit drinking.

However, given the lack of evidence in the statistical investigation, barring further replication to the contrary, it can be inferred that for this sample and analysis there is no link between pornography and sexual violence.

### *Damaged Goods?*

The question posed by Griffith et al. (2013b) about whether or not the men and women who participate in pornography are “damaged goods” and the speculation by non-researchers and researchers alike that those who participate must be “damaged goods” is an important one to address here. While there has already been a dispelled link between sexual violence and pornography, it is important to remind ourselves that the damaged goods hypothesis is meant to suggest that there may be more to the story than the idea of sexual violence victimization spurring participation. For the damaged goods hypothesis, there are some key findings to deal with: age and sexual experiences, drug and alcohol use or misuse, childhood home stability, and legal scrapes. Age becomes a key predictor of the damaged goods hypothesis with those who were younger for their first sexual experience being 82% more likely to be involved in sexting and 66% more likely to participate in amateur camera videos. Additionally, those whose first sexual experience was at an early age have 87% greater odds of participating in professional films. And, those whose first film was at an early age are 93% more likely to participate in professional films.

Drugs and alcohol, identified as predictors of damaged goods by Griffith et al. (2013b), found strong support in terms of motivations to stay and the types of films the respondent was willing to participate in. For example, those who reported using drugs are 92% more likely to stay in pornography for sex than those who abstain and are 136% more likely to film threesomes. Lastly, those who report seeking medical attention for alcohol misuse are 76% more likely to film anal than those who have not. Other important findings include that those who have been arrested are 60% less likely to report being motivated by attention and those who have been arrested are 136% more likely to film threesomes. Childhood home stability also plays an important role with those who come from less stable home environments having 15% greater likelihood of staying for sex.

With these findings, there is at least some support for the damaged goods hypothesis. With the role of childhood sexual experiences, substance use, and childhood home instability playing a crucial part in the decisions to participate in pornography, to stay in pornography, and the types of pornography respondents participate in, it is hard to avoid the conversation. However, the key here is not really regarding support for the damaged goods hypothesis, but whether or not it should even be tested. The damaged goods hypothesis suggests that people's negative experiences damage them beyond repair and lead to other negative experiences. First, there is no evidence to suggest that pornography participation is a negative experience and that those who participate are indeed damaged. Secondly, define damaged. Without a controlled experiment, which would be unethical in this situation, causality will likely not be able to be determined.



## *Motivations*

In the spirit of the notions surrounding the reasons for pornographic film participation, it is important to address the motivations to enter pornography and the motivations to stay in pornography, recognizing, of course, that there might be different motivations for each. Motivations to participate and to stay seem to follow along three themes: attention seeking behavior, money, and sex.

Those who stay in pornography for attention are 265% more likely to participate in print media and have 92.33 times greater odds of participating in amateur camera videos. This may be a reflection of the availability of print media and amateur camera videos. Higher visibility may equate with attention seeking motivations. Additionally, males are 97% more likely to be motivated by attention than females. Relationship status also plays a role in the decision to be involved in pornography, with those who reported being in a committed relationship being 162% more likely to be attention seeking and 213% more likely to participate in sex chat. This behavior suggests that those involved are also attention seeking, be it from their significant other or others outside the relationship.

Money seems to play a role as well. Those who reported making more than minimum wage were 68% less likely to be motivated by a friend, boyfriend, or a girlfriend. Additionally, those who reported staying for money have 146% greater chances of participating in web films. Perhaps most important to the narrative, however, is the absence of money as a motivation for a number of variables. Given the support for pornography as a form of sex work, one might postulate that money would play a larger role. However, there was little support for money playing a key role in pornographic film acting.

The final important motivating factor is sex. The linking of age and sex as a motivation is particularly key. Older respondents reported being motivated by sex at 6% higher rates. Those who were older the first time they had sex are 14% less likely to be motivated by sex than their younger counterparts. These findings suggest that it is not perversion or damaged goods that is a motivating factor for participation, but wanting an increased access to sex. This experience is resonated in one respondent's narrative, "I don't do it for money, also a moderator of the porn page invited me, but I don't want to earn money with this, and I will never. I do it for pleasure, when I want and how I want, and I don't want to change that."

#### *Differences between Amateur and Professional Actors*

When it comes to determining if there is a difference between the men and women who identify as professional pornographic film actors and those who identify as amateur actors, the decision is made to tread lightly. Given that this particular research is the first of its kind, there is no way to know whether or not this sample is a representative sample of the general population until the study can be replicated. It is with this in mind, the goal will be to proceed with optimistic caution. That being said, the findings of this portion of the study are relatively simplistic. Amateurs are less likely to manage their identity and less likely to participate in other types of sex work. Professionals are more likely to be motivated by career. Amateurs are likely less likely to manage their identity because they are not trying to focus on a career and because they are more likely to be motivated by other factors when it comes to the decision to participate. The thought that amateurs are less likely to participate in other types of sex work is probably also related to money as a motivating factor for professionals and not amateurs. Sex work, of course, brings money. In

the end, while there is not a great deal of differences between the two groups, the idea that there are differences is something that should be explored further.

### *Pornography and Inequality*

Some studies have suggested a proposed link between various elements of inequality and sex work (Bleakly, 2014; Goldenberg, Rangel, Staines, Vera, Lozada, Nguyen, Silverman, & Strathdee, 2013; Cimino, 2013; Jeffreys, 2008; Escoffier, 2007). Whether it be the subjugation of women, the control of economic resources, or sexuality; the question becomes does sex work and pornography in particular lend itself to maintaining inequality? While this study does not pretend to answer this overarching question, there were some key findings in the data that will lend a hand to the discussion.

Gender played a significant role in the analysis in terms of motivations and types of media participated in. Males are 58% less likely to participate in amateur camera videos. When it comes to motivations, males are 407% more likely to be motivated by sex, 83% less likely to be motivated by career, and 57% less likely to stay for money. One of the unique aspects of this study is its inclusion of males in the sample. However, in the findings of the initial analyses, the differences between males and females went along an expected paradigm.

Sexuality presented an interesting dynamic. Those who identified as heterosexual and have not had sexual experiences with members of the same sex were 139% more likely to participate in sex chat and 60% less likely to participate in professional videos. While discussing these two findings is mere speculation, it is possible that the heterosexual men and women who are participating in sex chat are doing so in order to experiment with various aspects of their sexuality that they may not be willing or able to act on, making this medium a practical choice. Given the

nature of professional videos and their inclusion of homosexual experiences, via threesomes for example, it is no surprise that those who identify as heterosexual and have not had experiences with those of the same sex are less likely to be in professional films.

While income may prove to be an important variable, income inequality has not found much support in this analysis of pornography. Those who make more than minimum wage are 30% less likely to participate in web films. Those who stay for money have 146% greater chances of participating in web films. Those who participate in professional films are 181% more likely to report higher incomes and 260% more likely to be motivated by sex. These findings suggest that respondents are either making higher wages from pornography or that they have higher wages from another job and participate in pornography in order to fulfill other needs that are not related to money.

Educational attainment presented some interesting findings. Those who have at least some college have 157% greater chances of participating in sex chat and 112% greater chances of participating in sexting. As a whole, sex chat and sexting are lower risk behaviors, as they do not necessarily include nudity and are often done with those who are closer to the participant. Additionally, those who are more educated may have the technical skills required to participate and be more concerned with future employment when it comes to participating in riskier behavior.

Race plays a minimal role, but an important one. This study determined that whites have a 221% greater likelihood of participating in print media and are 54% less likely to stay in pornography for money than non-whites. The lack of participation of non-whites in print media may be impacted by a wide variety of factors, including notions of beauty and the sexualization of blacks by whites (Newsome et al. 2012; Cornell, 2012; Dines, 1998). The increased likelihood of

non-whites to stay for money becomes important when taking the intersectionality of race and class into consideration. This bond is a dynamic that should be studied further in the context of pornographic media participation.

### *Theoretical Relevance*

While this study did not intend to provide discourse on the proposed link between sociological theory and those who participate in pornography, there were a number of interesting findings that should be discussed. Among the concepts reviewed—stigma, shame, and identity management—looking at pornography from the lens of symbolic interaction theory was key to this endeavor. That being said, there was a great deal of significance when it came to variables involving stigma, empowerment, and identity management. Identity management, in particular, has had a major impact on motivations. For example, those who have told their loved ones about their participation have a 111% greater chance of being motivated by sex. Those who have not told those who are closest to them about their participation have a 277% greater chance of being motivated by career and a 153% greater likelihood of staying in pornography for sex.

Respondents who have experienced stigma have 36% greater odds of staying in pornography for money. They are also 33% more likely to believe people's perception of them is different because of their participation. Those who are not empowered by their participation in pornography have 21% greater odds of staying in adult media for sex than those who are empowered. On the other hand, as one respondent reported, there are some exceptions to this finding, for example:

I have chosen to not be paid for my porn. I do it because it makes me happy, I feel empowered, and it's a safe, healthy outlet. I have a bachelor's degree in psychology, so it's safe to say I know what I'm

doing. I hate the negative stigma with girls doing porn. It's not about the money for many of us. It's a way to sustain self-worth. Any negative stigma comes from the exceptions and the media's false representation.

This narrative suggests that there may be a struggle between the empowerment felt by individuals and the stigma pressed upon them by society. This was mirrored in another respondent's open ended answer where she said:

I have social anxiety, so I've found that I works well as a sexual replacement. I think it helps a lot. My self-esteem is higher. My body image is better. I feel more sexually empowered. I'm motivated to try new things. I don't naturally have the inclination to masturbate, so doing videos reminds me that it's something I need to do.

Just as important, shame was not a significant factor in the analysis. Shame, of course, in theory, is the internalization of stigma. So, it is possible that the individual does feel both empowered, not shamed, and stigmatized at the same time.

The understanding of shame, stigma, and empowerment from a theoretical perspective can be crucial to understanding pornography participation. Focusing on the role that they play within the narrative helps establish what happens to men and women post involvement. This is the only aspect of this research that focuses on not how the person got into pornography, but what happens after the deed is done. Going forward, this may be one of the more important elements of social research involving pornographic media participation.

### *Potential Societal Implications*

The greatest finding of this study is that what proponents and opponents claim to know about pornography is not supported by the data. Since there is no support for the theories surrounding sexual violence, it is not possible to suggest that there be any change in the legal status

of pornography. While there were some weak, but statistically significant, correlations between various types of pornography or types of films, once other interactions come into consideration, the significance of the relationship between sexual violence and pornography becomes almost non-existent. There was some anecdotal evidence to suggest the link, in opened ended questions, such as one respondent who believed that she was date raped, but did not record it as adult violence victimization because it “was due to [her] own over consumption of alcohol.” This suggests the need for additional research, perhaps with a specific definition included with questions about sexual violence.

One of the larger sociological and societal implications comes from the notions of stigma and the need of identity management from participants. The data show that these are aspects that have a tendency to affect people more than the actual filming. Many of the respondents mirrored this as they seemed very guarded when answering the open ended questions. They were concerned with overgeneralization and misinterpretation. Recall *Tasha's* story regarding her interactions with the bank. If everyday interactions become problematic because of the stigma associated with sex work, there is much damage that can be done. More research is needed on the effects participation has on participants from the standpoint of what happens after their participation.

Some support was given to the idea of the damaged goods hypothesis, with young age and sexual experiences, drug and alcohol use or misuse, childhood home stability, and legal issues taking center stage. While cause and effect are not established here and there are a number of variables to take into consideration, the inclusion of these findings, at least individually, not necessarily as part of the damaged goods hypothesis, is important to the continued discussion. One of the aspects that all of these experiences speak to is the need for increased mental health

considerations and access. Not only will providing access to mental health assist those who are “damaged goods,” it will also assist participants in managing the stigma that is associated with pornography participation.

The final implication comes from the stand point of future research. Since this study has at least partially disproven a lot of what proponents and opponents think they know about pornography, it is time to fully investigate pornography from a sociological perspective. Many studies lack generalizability or unbiasedness. This study has proven that the tough questions can be asked and respondents are willing to freely give information. Researchers must listen.

#### *Limitations of Present Study*

The present study has a number of limitations that the researcher would like to note. These concerns come from a number of places within the project, including, but not limited to: sample demographics, research design, and data analysis. In this section, we will briefly examine the challenges created by the limitations.

Given the exploratory nature of this research and the lack of prior studies, it is not possible to understand whether or not this is a representative sample. What is known is that for some samples for other sex work, this sample is a match for a number of demographics, such as Sweet & Tewksbury (2000), where this sample matches in race and educational attainment. Or, Pedersen, Champion, Hesse, & Lewis (2015), where the sample matches educational attainment and relationship status. However, the samples do not match up on other key variables, such as gender, mostly because these studies largely exclude gender as a factor. Or, they do not match up because the studies were looking at a specific population, such as Goldenberg, Rangel, Staines, Vera,



Lozada, Nguyen, Silverman, & Strathdee (2013) who were specifically looking at female sex workers in Mexico.

In the name of time and scope, there were a number of potential research questions that would have been pertinent to the study that were not included. For example, there was no question about general mental health. Questions were geared towards those who participate in sexual acts with other individuals, ignoring solo artists. Unique fetishes were also only briefly touched upon. Most of these questions were examined in the initial phases and then eventually excluded because of the limitations that they produce and the narrowing of the population that they create. Obviously, in this instance, not only did the researcher want more of a broad overview, but it was also imperative that the length and complexity of the survey be taken into consideration. Additionally, the design of the survey, including its use of non-mutually exclusive categories and open ended questions made data analysis complicated. However, given how little we know about the population at hand, this is incredibly important information to have obtained. Lastly, the study is self-report by individuals who self-identified as being potential respondents.

The data proved to be challenging in a number of other ways, outside of the design. The plethora of data collected prevented a number of variables from being included. While not a large dataset, it is comprehensive and can be utilized in a number of ways. Unfortunately, at this time, only some of these ways were explored.

The design of this study employed the “best we can” approach. While every attempt to randomize and provide information with which to generalize was made, the challenges of surveying a hard to reach, hidden, and sensitive subject population prevented this particular study from being able to do so at this time. This particular project provides a launching point for future

research. The questions that were answered and not explored, combined with the questions that were not even asked in this project will allow for a great exploration of pornography and other types of sex work.

### *Directions for Future Research*

The most important direction for future research is replication. Given the rapport built with the online community at PornHub, it may be possible to get more respondents to complete the survey. In the essence of time, and completion, the project was locked after 213 responses were collected. However, inquiries regarding the survey are still being made to SocialResearcher. This suggests that the replication of this study and increasing of its scope is not only possible, but eminent. The amount of information understood regarding the population could be expanded exponentially with the extension of the data collection time frame.

Secondly, the expansion of the survey instrument or the inclusion of additional qualitative components could also be useful. For example, there was some evidence to suggest that the Sweet & Tewksbury (2000) finding regarding early independence and “ugly duckling syndrome” could have some merit when it comes to pornographic film actors. This question was mirrored by one respondent who wrote, “It’s a pleasure for me to take sexy pictures and videos, just because I always felt as the ‘ugly duckling’ in ALL places, doing this and receiving all types of applauses of approval... it helped me to feel better about myself, and continues, and when I don’t want to do it anymore, I will quit [emphasis added by the respondent].” The expansion to include such variables to measure this could prove particularly insightful. Additionally, the inclusion of further elements regarding stigma, shame, and empowerment, as suggested by the findings of this research, should also be included in future discussions. Lastly, without redesigning or replicating

the research, much can still be learned by running additional models with the current data. Future research would likely include the recoding and remodeling of the current data, as well as including variables in models designed to answer similar questions that were excluded even though they were designed to be included in the original models.

### *Conclusion*

Throughout this project, the focus has been multifaceted. On one hand, the goal was to create a comprehensive overview of the historical significance of pornography, including a review of sociological and psychological literature surrounding the creation and dissemination of pornography. This included a stroll through the history of pornography in the courts and an understanding of the role of the sexual revolution. The next goal was to develop an understanding of research methods for surveying hard to reach, hidden, or sensitive subject populations, drawing specifically from nursing and other sciences to develop a best practices approach. Through this goal, it was learned that the best way to survey these populations is not to throw caution to the wind, but to be more adaptive within the confines of social research to develop the best method possible to get the research done, while maintaining scientific integrity. Finally, the goal was to create a workable survey to disseminate to the men and women who act in and create adult pornographic media, to circulate this survey, and to produce data to be analyzed to help sociologists and other researchers understand the population better.

In the end, this research has provided a number of insights into the lives of the men and women who participate in adult media. More is now known about the motivations, reasons to stay, the differences between amateurs and professionals, and the impact that participation has on participants. It is now known that respondents are mostly motivated by money and sex. Their

motivations to stay are very similar, but money becomes the top reason for staying in adult media. Those who identified as amateurs were different from their professional counterparts in that they were less likely to be motivated by career and more likely to participate in vice behavior. Likewise, participants were shown to be impacted by participation in a variety of ways, including emotionally and physically. This caused them to have to manage their identities and overcome insurmountable obstacles. While these barriers are not necessarily common place, they are present within the pornographic film community, particularly in the amateur community.

The research presented in this inquiry, however, is only the beginning. Within the data set created, there are hundreds of questions that can be explored and within the community surveyed, hundreds more. The truth is that this project merely scratches the surface of what can be known. Additionally, other questions have been raised because of this inquest. More specifically, questions regarding economic coercion and mental health concerns, and the extent to which they may or may not be pervasive must be explored. Hopefully, the primary objective—to increase the dialogue surrounding sex work—will be obtained by this research project, particularly in terms of sex work that is accepted versus that which is stigmatized by society.

## **APPENDIX A: SURVEY OF ADULT MEDIA PARTICIPANTS**

## Survey of Adult Media Industry Participants

### Q0 EXPLANATION OF RESEARCH

Title of Project: Survey of Adult Media Industry Participants

Principal Investigator: Erin N. O'Neal, MPA

Faculty Advisor: Dr. Lin Huff-Corzine, PhD

Investigational Site(s): University of Central Florida, Department of Sociology

You are being invited to take part in a research study. Whether you take part is up to you. You must be 18 years of age or older currently or previously participated in adult media (i.e. film, webcam shows, sex chats, pictures, etc.) as an actor or model to take part in this research study. The purpose of this study is to learn about individuals who currently or previously participated in the making of adult media. The researchers acknowledge that, scientifically speaking, we know very little about adult media actors and models. This study is exploratory in nature in order to learn about those involved. You will be asked to complete a one-time online survey. You do not have to answer every question or complete every task. You can end your participation at any time. The survey should take no more than 20-30 minutes to complete. Risks: In order to truly understand those who work in the adult film industry, investigators are going to be asking some pretty tough questions. These questions involve sexual experiences on and off camera, as well as questions regarding trauma. These questions may cause emotional trauma. While there are no reasonably foreseeable risks or discomforts involved in taking part in this study, because the survey will ask questions regarding sensitive topics, it is possible that you may want to talk to someone following completion of the survey. As investigators do not know where you are located, you are encouraged to call the toll-free, 24-hour hotline of the National Suicide Prevention Lifeline at 1-800-273-8255 to be connected to a trained counselor at a crisis center nearest you. It should also be noted that if this research uncovers abuse, neglect, or reportable diseases, investigators are required by Florida law to disclose this information to the proper authorities. Study contact for questions about the study or to report a problem: If you have questions, concerns, or complaints or think the research has hurt you, talk to Erin N. O'Neal, PhD Candidate, College of Sciences, Department of Sociology, University of Central Florida at 407-823-4115 or by e-mail at [enoneal@knights.ucf.edu](mailto:enoneal@knights.ucf.edu) or Dr. Lin Huff-Corzine, Faculty Supervisor, Department of Sociology at [Lin.Huff-Corzine@ucf.edu](mailto:Lin.Huff-Corzine@ucf.edu) or 407.823.5680. IRB contact about your rights in the study or to report a complaint: Research at the University of Central Florida involving human participants is carried out under the oversight of the Institutional Review Board (UCF IRB). This research has been reviewed and approved by

the IRB. For information about the rights of people who take part in research, please contact: Institutional Review Board, University of Central Florida, Office of Research & Commercialization, 12201 Research Parkway, Suite 501, Orlando, FL 32826-3246 or by telephone at (407) 823-2901.

Q00 By acknowledging below, I agree to the terms and conditions above and agree to take place in this study.

- Agree (1)
- Disagree (2)

If Disagree Is Selected, Then Skip To End of Survey

Q1 Thinking back to your experiences, do you consider yourself to be:

- A professional pornographic media actor (1)
- An amateur pornographic media actor (2)
- A professional actor who participates in amateur media (3)
- An amateur actor who participates in professional media (4)
- Other, please specify: (5) \_\_\_\_\_

Q2 Have you acted/ modeled in the following types of adult media?

	Choose all that apply		
	Yes (1)	No (2)	Unsure (3)
Pictures/ print media (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Internet Films (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Webcam shows (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Sex chat (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Sexting (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

- |                              |                       |                       |                       |
|------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Amateur Camera<br>Videos (6) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Professional Videos<br>(7)   | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Other, please specify<br>(8) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Q3 How old were you when you first filmed a sexual experience?

- (1) \_\_\_\_\_

Q4 Thinking back to your first time on film, what was your primary motivation for participating?  
(choose all that apply)

- Money (1)
- Sex (2)
- Attention (3)
- A friend, boyfriend/ girlfriend, or someone else convinced me to do it (4)
- Career move (did so to launch or revive a career) (5)
- Not sure/ don't remember (6)
- Other, please specify (7) \_\_\_\_\_

Q5 What is your primary motivation for continuing to participate in adult films? (choose all that apply)

- Money (1)
- Sex (2)
- Attention (3)
- A friend, boyfriend/ girlfriend, or someone else convinces me to stay when I try to stop (4)
- Not sure/ Don't know (5)



- I no longer participate in adult films (6)
- Other, please specify (7) \_\_\_\_\_

Q6 Have you ever participated in pornographic media to fulfill one or more of the following needs? (Do not include any necessity purchased with money, only items directly exchanged) (choose all that apply)

- Food (1)
- Shelter (2)
- Clothing (3)
- Drugs (4)
- Alcohol (5)
- Other, please specify (6) \_\_\_\_\_
- None of these apply to me (7)

Q7 Thinking back to your sexual experiences on film. Which of the following have you participated in? (choose all that apply)

	Yes (1)	No (2)
Oral Sex (1)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Anal Sex (2)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Vagina Sex (3)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Fetish Sex (4)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BDSM (5)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Gang Bang (6)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Simulated Rape (7)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Orgies (8)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Same Sex Relations (9)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Threesomes (10)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Other, please specify (11)

Q8 When performing sex acts on camera do you or your partner wear a condom:

- Always (1)
- Usually (2)
- Sometimes (3)
- Occasionally (4)
- Never (5)

Q9 Do you ever feel like you or your partners decision to wear a condom is not your choice?

- No (1)
- Yes (2)

Q10 How concerned are you about catching an STD?

- Not at all concerned (1)
- Slightly concerned (2)
- Somewhat concerned (3)
- Moderately concerned (4)
- Extremely concerned (5)

Q11 Do the people that you are closest to (i.e. family, friends, or significant others) know about your participation in adult media?

- No (1)
- Yes (2)

Q12 Some people wonder if participation in adult media changes the perception that people have on the participants. Do you ever feel as though the people who know about your participation in these films see you differently because of your participation?

- No, my participation does not change the way people see me (1)
- Yes, my participation changes the way people see me (can be positive or negative) (2)
- Not sure (3)

Q13 If you answered "yes" to the previous question, do you feel that:

- Most people see me more positively because of my participation (1)
- More people see me more positively, though a few people see me more negatively (2)
- About as many people see me more positively as see me more negatively (3)
- More people see me more negatively, though a few see me more positively (4)
- Most people see me more negatively because of my participation (5)

Q14 Do your experiences on film make you feel:

- Very empowered (1)
- Empowered (2)
- Neutral (3)
- Alienated (4)
- Very alienated (5)
- Both empowered and alienated at different times or with different people (6)
- Not applicable (7)

Q15 Do your experiences on film make you feel:

- Very unashamed (1)
- Unashamed (2)
- Neutral (3)

- Ashamed (4)
- Very ashamed (5)
- Both unashamed and ashamed at different times or with different people (6)
- Not applicable (7)

Q16 How old were you when you first had sex?

- (1) \_\_\_\_\_

Q17 Were you a victim of childhood sexual abuse?

- No (1)
- Yes (2)

Q18 If yes, was the person who abused you a

- Parent or legal guardian (1)
- Other relative (i.e. aunt, uncle, cousin, sibling, grandparent, etc.) (2)
- Family friend or acquaintance (3)
- Teacher, preacher, or other trusted figure (4)
- Other, please specify (5) \_\_\_\_\_

Q19 As an adult, have you been the victim of sexual violence (i.e. rape, sexual assault, date rape, any non-consensual sexual contact)?

- No (1)
- Yes (2)

Q20 If yes, was the person who abused you a

- Parent or legal guardian (1)
- Other relative (i.e. aunt, uncle, cousin, sibling, grandparent, etc.) (2)

- Family friend or acquaintance (3)
- "Stranger"/ someone you did not know or have prior contact with (4)
- Other, please specify (5) \_\_\_\_\_

Q21 How many different sexual partners have you had in your lifetime, not including those who you have had experiences with for work related purposes (i.e other actors, significant others if the interaction was filmed for the purposes of distribution, etc.)?

- (1) \_\_\_\_\_

Q22 How many different sexual partners have you had within the past year, not including those within the industry, unless occurring outside of work?

- (1) \_\_\_\_\_

Q23 In your personal life, do you consider sex to be:

- Very undesirable (1)
- Undesirable (2)
- Neutral (3)
- Desirable (4)
- Very desirable (5)

Q24 In general do you enjoy having sex?

- No (1)
- Yes (2)
- Unsure/ undecided (3)

Q25 When having sex (i.e. oral, anal, vaginal, etc.) outside of work, do you or your partner wear a condom? (Note: skip this question if you and your partner are in a committed relationship and/or do not use condoms as the preferred method of birth control):

- Always (1)
- Usually (2)
- Sometimes (3)
- Occasionally (4)
- Never (5)

Q26 In your personal life, have you participated in the following?

	Yes (1)	No (2)
Oral Sex (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Anal Sex (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Vaginal Sex (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
BDSM (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Gang Bang (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Simulated rape (6)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Orgies (7)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Same Sex Relations (8)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Threesomes (9)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Fetish Sex (10)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Other, please specify (11)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q27 Have you participated in the following: (choose all that apply)

- Escort Services (1)
- Stripping in a private setting for money (2)
- Stripping in a club (3)
- Prostitution (4)
- Red light parties (5)

Other, please specify (6) \_\_\_\_\_

Q28 Do you consume alcohol?

Yes (1)

No (2)

Q29 Have you ever been seen by a medical professional or a hospital for alcohol use or misuse?

Yes (1)

No (2)

Q30 In the past 12 months, have you used any of the following?

	Yes (1)	No (2)
Prescription drugs not prescribed to you by a doctor or drugs that are used solely for recreation (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Marijuana (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Ecstasy, MDMA, or Mollies (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Crack or Cocaine (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Meth or other amphetamines (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Heroin (6)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Hallucinogens (7)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Other, please specify (8)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q31 Have you been seen by a medical professional or a hospital for drug use or misuse?

- No (1)
- Yes (2)

Q32 Have you ever been arrested?

- No (1)
- Yes (2)

Q33 Have you ever been convicted of a felony?

- No (1)
- Yes (2)

Q34 How would you describe your gender?

- Male (1)
- Female (2)
- Transgender (3)
- Questioning/ Not sure (4)
- Other (5)

Q35 How would you describe your sexual orientation?

- Heterosexual (straight) (1)
- Homosexual (gay) (2)
- Bisexual (3)
- Asexual (4)
- Gay, but have had sexual experiences with members of the opposite sex (5)
- Straight, but have had sexual experiences with members of the same sex (6)
- None of the above/ not sure (7)



Q36 Into which of the following categories did your income fall for last year (2014)?

- Less than \$14,999 (1)
- \$15,000-19,999 (2)
- \$20,000-24,999 (3)
- \$25,000-29,000 (4)
- \$30,000-49,999 (5)
- \$50,000-74,999 (6)
- \$75,000 or more (7)

Q37 Which of the following best describes you?

- White (non-Hispanic) (1)
- Black (non-Hispanic) or African American (2)
- White Hispanic or Latino (3)
- Black Hispanic or Latino (4)
- Other (5)

Q38 What is the highest level of education that you have completed?

- Less than High School Diploma or GED (1)
- High School Graduate or GED (2)
- Some college or vocational training (3)
- Bachelor's Degree (4)
- Master's Degree or Higher (5)

Q39 What is your current marital status?

- Married (1)
- Widowed (2)
- Separated (3)

- Divorced (4)
- Single (never married) (5)
- Cohabiting or living with a partner (6)

Q40 How would you describe your current temperament?

- Very Happy (1)
- Happy (2)
- Somewhat Happy (3)
- Neither Happy nor Unhappy (4)
- Somewhat Unhappy (5)
- Unhappy (6)
- Very Unhappy (7)

Q41 In what year were you born?

- (1) \_\_\_\_\_

Q42 Which of the following describes your childhood home?

- Raised by both parents (1)
- Raised by mother (2)
- Raised by father (3)
- Raised by a relative that was not your mother or father (4)
- Raised by a biological parent and a step parent (5)
- Raised in the system (i.e. group home, foster home, hospital, etc.) (6)
- Raised by an adoptive parent/ parents (7)
- Other, please specify (8) \_\_\_\_\_

Q43 Is there anything that you feel would be important to someone who is researching those who participate in the making of pornographic media that is not covered by this questionnaire?  
Please, let us know below. Also, if you have any comments about the questionnaire, let us know.

## **APPENDIX B: TABLES**

Table 1: Respondent Characteristics (Dependent Variables)

Characteristic (N=210)	Percentage
<i>Dependent Variables</i>	
<i>Media Self-Identification</i>	
Amateur	63.33
Professional	8.57
Other	22.37
<i>Media types</i>	
Print	73.81
Internet Films	58.10
Webcam shows	46.19
Sex chat	63.33
Sexting	64.76
Amateur Camera Videos	77.62
Professional Videos	20.95
<i>Motivations to enter pornography</i>	
Money	22.86
Sex	45.24
Attention	29.52
Friend/ Boyfriend/ Girlfriend	20.48
Career	10.00
<i>Motivations to continue pornography</i>	
Money	37.62
Sex	48.57
Attention	35.71
Friend/ Boyfriend/ Girlfriend/ Other person	3.33
Other	7.62

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Note: values reflected in percentages.  
Source: Adult Media Survey (O’Neal, 2015)

Table 2: Respondent Characteristics Continued

Characteristic (N=210)	Percentage
<i>Independent Variables (IVs)</i>	
<i>Gender</i>	
Male	47.62
Female	37.62
Transgender	1.43
Questioning/ Not sure	0.95
<i>Marital status</i>	
Single	47.14
Married	17.14
Separated	2.86
Divorced	4.76
Cohabitating/Living With Partner	16.67
<i>Race</i>	
White (non-Hispanic)	64.76
Black (non-Hispanic)	8.10
Other	4.76
<i>Education</i>	
Less than High School	4.29
Some College or Vocational training	35.71
GED/ High School Diploma	24.76
Bachelor's Degree	16.19
Master's Degree or higher	7.14

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*Sexual Orientation*

Heterosexual (straight)	40.00
Bisexual	25.71
Straight, but has had sexual relations w/ same sex	13.33
Homosexual	4.29
Asexual	1.43
Gay, but has had relations w/opposite sex	1.90

*Income*

Less than \$14,999	34.76
\$15,000-19,000	7.62
\$20,000-24,999	6.67
\$25,000-29,999	5.71
\$30,000-49,999	14.76
\$50,000-74,999	8.57
\$75,000 or more	7.62

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Note: values reflected in percentages. 11.43 did not respond to gender, race or marital status.  
14.29 did not report income.  
Source: Adult Media Survey (O'Neal, 2015)

Table 3: Correlations Among Dependent and Independent Variables (Part 1: Media Participation and predictors of media participation) N=210

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
1	1.00																
2	.44*	1.00															
3	.19*	.37*	1.00														
4	.29*	.20*	.37*	1.00													
5	.29*	.10	.12	.48*	1.00												
6	.23*	.15*	.26*	.10	.25*	1.00											
7	.19*	.31*	.30*	.10	.04	.01	1.00										
8	-.17*	-.10	.05	-.10	-.17*	.01	-.08	1.00									
9	-.05	-.12	-.05	-.05	-.11	-.21*	-.18*	.09	1.00								
10	-.09	-.02	-.12	-.04	.11	-.25*	-.12	.01	.07	1.00							
11	-.04	-.10	-.03	.23*	.25*	-.13	.01	-.16*	.02	.14	1.00						
12	.08	.11	.21*	.16*	.12	.07	.12	-.02	.05	-.12	-.06	1.00					
13	.18*	.22*	.15	.11	.04	.17*	.10	.10	.08	-.10	-.15*	.07	1.00				
14	-.09	.03	-.04	.16*	.10	-.03	-.16	.05	.03	.22*	.11	.04	.05	1.00			
15	-.03	.23*	.07	-.01	-.01	-.01	.22*	.19*	-.07	.01	-.19*	.17*	.21*	.08	1.00		
16	-.17*	-.22*	-.28*	-.07	.02	.02	-.61*	.10	.02	.20*	-.06	-.17*	-.09	.04	-.10	1.00	
17	.00	.04	.22*	.11	.07	.02	.17*	-.12	-.18*	-.34*	-.04	.14	-.02	-.21*	.02	-.04	1

Notes. \*  $p < .05$ . Key: (1) printmed1 (2) wwwfilm1 (3) webshow1 (4) sexchat1 (5) sexting1 (6) amcam1 (7) profvideo1 (8) agefilm (9) firstsex (10) male (11) matstat (12) educ (13) white (14) straight (15) wage (16) amateur (17) sexvior



Table 4: Correlations Among Dependent and Independent Variables (Part 2: Motivations and predictors of motivations) N=210

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
1	1.00																
2	.07	1.00															
3	.10	.15*	1.00														
4	-.05	-.01	-.17*	1.00													
5	-.07	-.00	.01	.04	1.00												
6	.06	-.21*	.24*	-.20*	.09	1.00											
7	-.19*	.28*	.04	-.12	.01	.07	1.00										
8	.02	.02	.16*	-.03	-.16*	.02	.14	1.00									
9	.12	.12	.07	-.07	-.02	.05	-.12	-.06	1.00								
10	.11	-.07	-.02	.04	.10	.08	-.10	-.15*	.07	1.00							
11	-.04	.03	-.03	-.09	.05	.03	.22*	.11	.04	.05	1.00						
12	.07	.24*	.05	-.13	.19*	-.07	.01	-.19*	.17*	.21*	.08	1.00					
13	.12	-.03	-.00	.13	-.12	-.18*	-.34*	-.04	.14	-.02	-.21*	.02	1.00				
14	.03	-.11	-.02	.02	.04	-.14	-.24*	-.19*	-.05	-.00	-.23*	.02	.32*	1.00			
15	.06	.10	-.01	.03	-.07	-.18*	-.16*	-.02	.04	-.12	-.15*	.02	.29*	.02	1.00		
16	.03	-.07	.01	.06	-.01	-.08	.00	.19*	-.05	-.12	-.01	-.06	.15*	-.00	.01	1.00	
17	-.11	.01	-.01	.20*	.15*	-.10	.03	.02	-.23*	-.08	-.15*	-.10	.09	-.07	-.02	.50*	1

Notes. \*  $p < .05$ . Key: (1) momoney (2) mosex (3) moattention (4) mofriend (5) agefilm (6) firstsex (7) male (8) matstat (9) educ (10) white (11) straight (12) wage (13) sexvior (14) csar (15) home1 (16) shame (17) empowerment

Table 5: Correlations Among Dependent and Independent Variables (Part 3: Reasons to stay and their predictors) N=210

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
1	1.00																
2	.09	1.00															
3	.04	.21*	1.00														
4	-.03	.14*	.03	1.00													
5	-.13	-.01	-.02	.06	1.00												
6	-.10	-.08	.10	-.07	.09	1.00											
7	-.22*	.14	.14	.07	.01	.07	1.00										
8	-.04	.02	.15*	-.02	-.16*	.02	.14	1.00									
9	-.04	.09	.07	-.10	-.02	.05	-.12	-.06	1.00								
10	-.13	-.11	.05	-.07	.10	.08	-.10	-.15*	.07	1.00							
11	-.06	-.08	-.05	-.01	.05	.03	.22*	.11	.04	.05	1.00						
12	-.11	.06	.03	-.01	.19*	-.07	.01	-.19*	.17*	.21*	.08	1.00					
13	.18*	-.06	-.02	-.00	-.12	-.18*	-.34*	-.04	.14	-.02	-.21*	.02	1.00				
14	.07	.03	.06	-.07	-.01	.05	.03	.05	.03	-.03	-.03	-.04	.06	1.00			
15	.14	.15*	.00	.01	-.01	-.01	-.02	-.24*	-.18*	.08	.09	-.01	.13	.17*	1.00		
16	.01	-.07	.07	-.07	-.00	-.08	.00	.19*	-.05	-.12	-.01	-.06	.15*	.16*	-.15*	1.00	
17	-.12	.02	.05	.12	.15*	-.10	.03	.02	-.23*	-.08	-.15*	-.10	.10	.10	-.11	.50*	1.00

Notes. \*  $p < .05$ . Key: (1) smoney (2) ssex (3) sattention (4) sfriend (5) agefilm (6) firstsex (7) male (8) matstat (9) educ (10) white (11) straight (12) wage (13) sexvior (14) perceptionr (15) identmgmtr (16) shame (17) empowerment

Table 6: Correlations Among Dependent and Independent Variables (Part 4: Effects participation may have had on the individual) N=210

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
1	1.00																
2	-.04	1.00															
3	.12	.07	1.00														
4	-.34*	.17*	-.11	1.00													
5	-.07	.32*	-.03	.07	1.00												
6	-.02	.29*	.00	.11	.02	1.00											
7	.24*	.15*	.16*	-.15*	-.00	.01	1.00										
8	.28*	.10	.11	-.11	-.07	-.02	.50*	1.00									
9	.01	.03	-.01	.00	.00	.06	.02	-.02	1.00								
10	-.01	-.13	.08	-.06	-.08	-.03	.00	-.01	-.14	1.00							
11	-.14	.10	.03	.09	.13	.10	-.02	-.01	.25*	-.31*	1.00						
12	-.10	.16*	.04	.06	.06	.09	.03	.06	.02	-.16*	.42*	1.00					
13	-.06	-.05	.03	.12	-.02	-.15*	-.01	-.18*	-.06	-.22*	.04	.03	1.00				
14	.01	.09	.12	.03	.04	.11	.10	-.08	.11	-.20*	.14	.08	.30*	1.00			
15	.14	.29*	.10	.15	.12	.14	.00	.06	.03	-.07	.11	.11	-.06	.07	1.00		
16	-.02	-.02	-.02	-.17*	.07	-.01	.12	.11	.06	.03	.03	.02	.05	-.01	-.25*	1.00	
17	.11	.08	-.02	-.12	.08	.03	.16*	.18*	-.08	.01	-.00	.03	.03	-.04	-.23*	.14*	1

Notes. \*  $p < .05$ . Key: (1) amateur (2) sexvior (3) perceptionr (4) identmgmtr (5) csar (6) homel (7) shame (8) empowerment (9) docalcoholr (10) docdrugr (11) arrestr (12) felonyr (13) crackcoker (14) marijuanar (15) condoms (16) condom2r (17) std

Table 7: Summary of Logistic Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Decisions to Participate in Various Types of Adult Media, Controlling for Background Variables (Table 1 of 4)

Predictor	Print Media			Web Films		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	$e^B$	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	$e^B$
Age	-0.04	0.03	1.00	0.59	0.02	1.01
Age of First Film	-1.32	0.03	0.96	-1.47	0.03	0.95
Age of First Sex	-0.50	0.07	0.97	-1.43	0.05	0.92
Gender	-1.27	0.27	0.51	0.60	0.60	1.31
Relationship Status	-0.83	0.33	0.66	-0.85	0.30	0.70
Educational Attainment	0.37	0.58	1.20	0.82	0.61	1.42
Race	2.33**	1.60	3.21	2.39	1.50	2.81
Sexual Orientation	-0.84	0.32	0.66	0.34	0.45	1.15
Income	-0.82	0.34	0.66	2.35**	1.24	0.70
Sex Work	1.33	0.99	1.96	-0.57	0.49	0.57
Motivated by Money	-0.17	0.59	0.89	-0.98	0.43	0.38
Motivated by Sex	-0.44	0.46	0.77	-1.68	0.33	0.64
Motivated by attention	-0.54	0.47	0.69	-0.85	0.22	2.04
Motivated by Friend/BF/GF	-1.04	0.32	0.54	0.99	0.34	3.26
Motivated by Career	-0.59	0.46	0.66	2.29	1.46	1.32
Stays for Money	-0.71	0.36	0.69	0.53**	1.68	2.46
Stays for Sex	0.70	0.83	1.48	1.58	0.68	1.31
Stays for Attention	1.89**	2.51	3.65	0.26	1.40	
Stays for Friend/BF/GF	-0.65	0.54	0.49	0.73	1.34	
Constant	2.09			-1.21		
$\chi^2$		23.70			31.12**	
pseudo R <sup>2</sup>		0.21			0.04	
N		173			162	
Log Likelihood		-69.49			-84.56	

Note:  $e^B$  = exponentiated *B*. Predictor variables (Sex work participation, motivations, reasons to stay) coded as 1 for *yes* and 0 for *no*. Age, Age of First Film, and Age of First Sex are measured in years. Relationship status coded 1 for committed relationship and 0 for not in a committed relationship. Age, age of first sex, gender, relationship status,

race contain imputed values for missing cases. Sex work is an index variable including escort, prostitution, private stripping, club stripping, and red light party participation. \* $p < .1$ . \*\* $p < .05$ . \*\*\* $p < .01$ . \*\*\*\* $p < .001$

Table 8: Summary of Logistic Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Decisions to Participate in Various Types of Adult Media, Controlling for Background Variables (Table 2 of 4)

Predictor	Webcam Shows			Sex Chat		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	$e^B$	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	$e^B$
Age	1.11	0.02	1.03	1.54	0.03	1.05
Age of First Film	0.02	0.03	1.00	-1.52	0.03	0.95
Age of First Sex	0.05	0.05	1.00	-1.88	0.06	0.87
Gender	-0.82	0.29	0.72	-0.83	0.32	0.68
Relationship Status	0.14	0.42	1.06	2.60***	1.37	3.13
Educational Attainment	2.58	1.16	2.86	2.19**	1.11	2.57
Race	2.22	1.13	2.61	1.24	0.83	1.79
Sexual Orientation	0.09	0.40	1.04	2.05**	1.01	2.39
Income	-0.64	0.31	0.77	-0.75	0.32	0.72
Sex Work	1.62	0.74	1.89	1.21	0.72	1.68
Motivated by Money	-1.02	0.30	0.59	0.51	0.78	1.34
Motivated by Sex	0.87	0.72	1.51	-0.97	0.32	0.59
Motivated by attention	0.10	0.55	1.05	1.60	1.93	2.90
Motivated by Friend/BF/GF	-0.22	0.42	0.91	0.50	0.65	1.29
Motivated by Career	0.83	1.00	1.66	-0.96	0.35	0.52
Stays for Money	2.46	1.37	3.04	-0.59	0.36	0.75
Stays for Sex	1.39	0.83	1.86	0.37	0.62	1.21
Stays for Attention	0.41	0.61	1.23	-1.34	0.27	0.44
Stays for Friend/BF/GF	0.70	1.96	2.00	-0.04	0.97	0.96
Constant	-2.66			1.01		
$\chi^2$		35.41***			34.69***	
pseudo R <sup>2</sup>		0.15			0.17	
N		166			170	
Log Likelihood		-96.59			-82.88	

Note:  $e^B$  = exponentiated *B*. Predictor variables (Sex work participation, motivations, reasons to stay) coded as 1 for *yes* and 0 for *no*. Age, Age of First Film, and Age of First Sex are measured in years. Relationship status coded 1 for committed relationship and 0 for not in a committed relationship. Age, age of first sex, gender, relationship status,

race contain imputed values for missing cases. Sex work is an index variable including escort, prostitution, private stripping, club stripping, and red light party participation. \* $p < .1$ . \*\* $p < .05$ . \*\*\* $p < .01$ . \*\*\*\* $p < .001$ .

Table 9: Summary of Logistic Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Decisions to Participate in Various Types of Adult Media, Controlling for Background Variables (Table 3 of 4)

Predictor	Sexting			Amateur Camera		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	$e^B$	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	$e^B$
Age	1.11	0.03	1.03	-0.28	0.04	0.99
Age of First Film	-1.73	0.38	0.94	0.77	0.06	1.05
Age of First Sex	-2.29**	0.07	0.82	-2.66***	0.10	0.66
Gender	0.56	0.65	1.32	-2.90***	0.05	0.42
Relationship Status	2.70	1.63	3.51	-1.68	0.21	0.27
Educational Attainment	1.65***	0.96	2.12	-0.75	0.42	0.57
Race	1.01	0.87	1.69	1.47	3.03	3.54
Sexual Orientation	0.73	0.63	1.39	0.43	0.92	1.34
Income	-0.22	0.42	0.90	-1.43	0.25	0.28
Sex Work	0.20	0.50	1.10	-0.90	0.38	0.51
Motivated by Money	-0.65	0.40	0.68	0.71	1.84	1.95
Motivated by Sex	-1.22	0.29	0.49	0.28	1.18	1.29
Motivated by attention	-0.77	0.41	0.57	-1.76	0.14	0.11
Motivated by Friend/BF/GF	-1.51	0.24	0.44	-1.28	0.28	0.27
Motivated by Career	-0.52	0.48	0.70	0.26	2.36	1.50
Stays for Money	-0.89	0.32	0.64	-1.11	0.33	0.40
Stays for Sex	1.09	0.96	1.79	1.80	4.63	5.11
Stays for Attention	2.00	2.99	4.18	2.91***	143.54	92.33
Stays for Friend/BF/GF	-0.38	0.69	0.68	-1.78	0.13	0.10
Constant	2.06			3.42		
$\chi^2$		38.32***			48.01****	
pseudo R <sup>2</sup>		0.21			0.40	
N		166			170	
Log Likelihood		-73.63			-35.53	

Note:  $e^B$  = exponentiated *B*. Predictor variables (Sex work participation, motivations, reasons to stay) coded as 1 for *yes* and 0 for *no*. Age, Age of First Film, and Age of First Sex are measured in years. Relationship status coded 1 for committed relationship and 0 for not in a committed relationship. Age, age of first sex, gender, marital status, race



contain imputed values for missing cases. Sex work is an index variable including escort, prostitution, private stripping, club stripping, and red light party participation.  $.^*p < .1$ .  $^{**}p < .05$ .  $^{***}p < .01$ .  $^{****}p < .001$ .

Table 10: Summary of Logistic Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Decisions to Participate in Various Types of Adult Media, Controlling for Background Variables (Table 4 of 4)

Predictor	Professional Video		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>e<sup>B</sup></i>
Age	2.21**	0.03	1.07
Age of First Film	-1.83*	0.04	0.93
Age of First Sex	-1.98**	0.06	0.87
Gender	-0.32	0.46	0.84
Relationship Status	0.04	0.53	1.02
Educational Attainment	0.72	0.78	1.47
Race	0.72	0.89	1.53
Sexual Orientation	-1.89*	0.19	0.40
Income	1.86*	1.56	2.81
Sex Work	2.76***	2.12	4.13
Motivated by Money	-0.08	0.61	0.95
Motivated by Sex	0.31	0.73	1.21
Motivated by attention	-0.24	0.59	0.84
Motivated by Friend/BF/GF	-1.34	0.27	0.45
Motivated by Career	2.31**	3.63	5.12
Stays for Money	0.44	0.75	1.29
Stays for Sex	-0.82	0.36	0.62
Stays for Attention	-1.45	0.25	0.38
Stays for Friend/BF/GF	0.02	1.19	1.02
Constant	-0.40		
$\chi^2$		52.37****	
pseudo R <sup>2</sup>		0.30	
N		153	
Log Likelihood		-61.72	

Note:  $e^B$  = exponentiated *B*. Predictor variables (Sex work participation, motivations, reasons to stay) coded as 1 for *yes* and 0 for *no*. Age, Age of First Film, and Age of First Sex are measured in years. Relationship status coded 1 for

committed relationship and 0 for not in a committed relationship. Age, age of first sex, gender, marital status, race contain imputed values for missing cases. Sex work is an index variable including escort, prostitution, private stripping, club stripping, and red light party participation.  $. *p < .1$ .  $**p < .05$ .  $***p < .01$ .  $****p < .001$ .

Table 11: Summary of Logistic Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Motivations to Enter Pornography (n = 169), Controlling for Background Variables (Table 1 of 3)

Predictor	Motivated by Money			Motivated by Sex		
	B	SE B	e <sup>B</sup>	B	SE B	e <sup>B</sup>
Age	-0.20	0.03	0.99	2.36***	0.03	1.06
Age of First Film	-0.94	0.04	0.96	-1.60	0.03	0.94
Age of First Sex	1.48	0.08	1.11	-2.69***	0.05	0.86
Gender	-1.15	0.28	0.57	3.47****	2.37	5.07
Relationship Status	0.83	0.70	1.48	0.69	0.55	1.33
Educational Attainment	0.79	0.80	1.52	1.50	0.84	1.93
Race	0.72	0.76	1.46	-1.97**	0.19	0.40
Sexual Orientation	-0.34	0.40	0.85	-0.63	0.32	0.77
Income	1.37	0.95	1.95	2.99***	1.55	3.60
Alcohol Use	-0.49	0.37	0.80	0.15	0.44	1.06
Adult Sex Violence Victimization	0.47	0.88	1.36	0.06	0.71	1.04
Childhood Sexual Abuse	-0.42	0.47	0.78	-1.10	0.30	0.53
Perception	-0.18	0.20	0.96	0.59	0.20	1.11
Identity Management	1.01	0.69	1.56	1.78*	0.89	2.11
Doctor for Drug Consumption	-0.50	0.46	0.73	-0.56	0.42	0.72
Arrest	0.85	0.83	1.57	-1.12	0.28	0.58
Drug Use	1.45	0.90	1.95	0.45	0.49	1.20
Condom (2r)	-1.39	0.26	0.30	0.73	0.94	1.56
Condoms (imputed)	-0.15	0.12	0.99	-1.69*	0.09	0.83
Empowerment	-1.25	0.12	0.84	0.86	0.13	1.10
Home Stability	-0.11	0.09	0.99	1.02	0.10	1.09
Shame	1.58	0.16	1.24	-0.40	0.11	0.95
Constant	-1.53			0.02		
$\chi^2$		28.05			55.73****	
pseudo R <sup>2</sup>		0.16			0.24	

Log Likelihood

-76.05

-89.27

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*Note:*  $e^B$  = exponentiated  $B$ . Predictor variables (Sex work participation, CSA, Adult Sexual Violence Victimization, Perception, Identity Management, Arrest, alcohol consumption, Drug use, home stability, and condoms) coded as 1 for *yes* and 0 for *no*. Age, Age of First Film, and Age of First Sex are measured in years. Marital status coded 1 for committed relationship and 0 for not in a committed relationship. Age, age of first sex, gender, marital status, race, and condoms contain imputed values for missing cases. Sex work is an index variable including escort, prostitution, private stripping, club stripping, and red light party participation. Drug use is an index variable including marijuana, crack and cocaine, heroin, prescription drugs, meth, and other drugs. Condom (2r) asks whether or not a respondent feels the decision to wear a condom is not theirs (1=yes, 0=no). Condoms asks whether or not the respondent wears condoms on film (1= yes, 0=no). A third variable for condom usage was not significant in any models and was removed from the table. \* $p < .1$ . \*\* $p < .05$ . \*\*\* $p < .01$ . \*\*\*\* $p < .001$ .

Table 12: Summary of Logistic Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Motivations to Enter Pornography (n = 169), Controlling for Background Variables (Table 2 of 3)

Predictor	Motivated by Attention			Motivated by Friend/BF/GF		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>e<sup>B</sup></i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>e<sup>B</sup></i>
Age	1.35	0.24	1.03	1.63	0.03	1.04
Age of First Film	-0.33	0.03	0.99	-0.35	0.03	0.99
Age of First Sex	0.76	0.05	1.04	-0.71	0.05	0.96
Gender	0.85	0.60	1.43	-1.26	0.27	0.54
Relationship Status	2.33**	1.08	2.62	-0.18	0.44	0.92
Educational Attainment	0.88	0.62	1.46	-0.81	0.32	0.68
Race	-0.75	0.32	0.72	0.49	0.71	1.31
Sexual Orientation	0.50	0.50	1.22	-0.46	0.37	0.81
Income	1.04	0.66	1.56	-2.37**	0.15	0.32
Alcohol Use	0.95	0.60	1.48	-1.39	0.24	0.54
Adult Sex Violence Victimization	-0.29	0.51	0.84	1.58	2.04	2.96
Childhood Sexual Abuse	0.46	0.66	1.27	-0.80	0.37	0.62
Perception	0.24	0.08	1.04	-1.89*	0.14	0.67
Identity Management	0.27	0.43	1.11	-0.94	0.30	0.64
Doctor for Drug Consumption	-0.92	0.35	0.58	1.23	1.87	2.51
Arrest	-1.92*	0.19	0.40	-0.72	0.36	0.69
Drug Use	1.49	0.70	1.79	0.88	0.68	1.49
Condom (2r)	0.99	0.95	1.73	-0.80	0.40	0.59
Condoms (imputed)	1.59	0.13	1.19	-1.59	0.10	0.83
Empowerment	-0.05	0.11	0.99	1.40	0.14	1.18
Home Stability	-0.14	0.08	0.99	-0.51	0.09	0.95
Shame	-0.28	0.11	0.97	0.50	0.14	1.07
Constant	-1.84			-0.91		
$\chi^2$		26.60			32.41	
pseudo R <sup>2</sup>		0.12			0.18	

Log Likelihood

-94.73

-76.28

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*Note:*  $e^B$  = exponentiated  $B$ . Predictor variables (Sex work participation, CSA, Adult Sexual Violence Victimization, Perception, Identity Management, Arrest, alcohol consumption, Drug use, home stability, and condoms) coded as 1 for *yes* and 0 for *no*. Age, Age of First Film, and Age of First Sex are measured in years. Marital status coded 1 for committed relationship and 0 for not in a committed relationship. Age, age of first sex, gender, marital status, race, and condoms contain imputed values for missing cases. Sex work is an index variable including escort, prostitution, private stripping, club stripping, and red light party participation. Drug use is an index variable including marijuana, crack and cocaine, heroin, prescription drugs, meth, and other drugs. Condom (2r) asks whether or not a respondent feels the decision to wear a condom is not theirs (1=yes, 0= no). Condoms asks whether or not the respondent wears condoms on film (1= yes, 0=no). A third variable for condom usage was not significant in any models and was removed from the table. \* $p < .1$ . \*\* $p < .05$ . \*\*\* $p < .01$ . \*\*\*\* $p < .001$ .

Table 13: Summary of Logistic Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Motivations to Enter Pornography (n = 169), Controlling for Background Variables (Table 3 of 3)

Predictor	Motivated by Career		
	B	SE B	e <sup>B</sup>
Age	0.15	0.04	1.01
Age of First Film	1.41	0.06	1.08
Age of First Sex	0.87	0.11	1.09
Gender	-2.22**	0.14	0.17
Relationship Status	1.62	2.24	3.16
Educational Attainment	0.65	1.67	1.82
Race	-0.58	0.50	0.64
Sexual Orientation	0.37	0.90	1.30
Income	0.19	0.83	1.15
Alcohol Use	0.68	1.15	1.62
Adult Sex Violence Victimization	1.47	3.78	4.01
Childhood Sexual Abuse	-0.76	0.45	0.52
Perception	1.38	0.44	1.50
Identity Management	1.93*	2.59	3.77
Doctor for Drug Consumption	-1.57	0.23	0.27
Arrest	1.32	2.38	2.93
Drug Use	-0.42	0.53	0.74
Condom (2r)	2.20**	7.07	7.65
Condoms (imputed)	-0.06	0.18	0.99
Empowerment	-0.73	0.19	0.85
Home Stability	-0.72	0.15	0.88
Shame	-0.80	0.18	0.85
Constant	-2.04		
$\chi^2$		37.15**	
pseudo R <sup>2</sup>		0.31	



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*Note:*  $e^B$  = exponentiated  $B$ . Predictor variables (Sex work participation, CSA, Adult Sexual Violence Victimization, Perception, Identity Management, Arrest, alcohol consumption, Drug use, home stability, and condoms) coded as 1 for *yes* and 0 for *no*. Age, Age of First Film, and Age of First Sex are measured in years. Marital status coded 1 for committed relationship and 0 for not in a committed relationship. Age, age of first sex, gender, marital status, race, and condoms contain imputed values for missing cases. Sex work is an index variable including escort, prostitution, private stripping, club stripping, and red light party participation. Drug use is an index variable including marijuana, crack and cocaine, heroin, prescription drugs, meth, and other drugs. Condom (2r) asks whether or not a respondent feels the decision to wear a condom is not theirs (1=yes, 0= no). Condoms asks whether or not the respondent wears condoms on film (1= yes, 0=no). A third variable for condom usage was not significant in any models and was removed from the table. \* $p < .1$ . \*\* $p < .05$ . \*\*\* $p < .01$ . \*\*\*\* $p < .001$ .

Table 14: Summary of Logistic Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Motivations to Stay in Pornography (n = 169), Controlling for Background Variables (Table 1 of 2)

Predictor	Stays for Money			Stays for Sex		
	B	SE B	e <sup>B</sup>	B	SE B	e <sup>B</sup>
Age	-1.04**	0.02	0.98	2.19**	0.02	1.05
Age of First Film	-0.64	0.03	0.98	-1.40	0.03	0.96
Age of First Sex	-0.27	0.05	0.99	-1.52	0.04	0.93
Gender	-1.93*	0.19	0.45	1.54	0.79	1.90
Relationship Status	-0.40	0.34	0.85	1.01	0.58	1.48
Educational Attainment	-0.66	0.31	0.76	1.25	0.67	1.66
Race	-1.81*	0.20	0.46	-2.26	0.16	0.38
Sexual Orientation	0.51	0.50	1.22	-0.44	0.33	0.84
Income	-0.72	0.30	0.75	0.76	0.54	1.35
Alcohol Use	-0.29	0.35	0.89	0.58	0.48	1.25
Adult Sex Violence Victimization	0.51	0.77	1.34	-2.02**	0.18	0.29
Childhood Sexual Abuse	0.95	0.82	1.62	1.14	0.91	1.79
Perception	1.78*	0.23	1.36	0.72	0.19	1.13
Identity Management	0.87	0.54	1.40	2.37**	0.99	2.53
Doctor for Drug Consumption	-0.15	0.54	0.91	-0.67	0.40	0.68
Arrest	-0.09	0.44	0.96	-1.23	0.26	0.57
Drug Use	-0.90	0.27	0.70	1.68*	0.74	1.92
Condom (2r)	0.08	0.59	1.04	0.48	0.72	1.30
Condoms (imputed)	1.20	0.12	1.13	-0.17	0.10	0.98
Empowerment	-1.51	0.09	0.85	1.72*	0.14	1.21
Home Stability	0.83	0.09	1.07	1.66*	0.09	1.15
Shame	1.02	0.13	1.13	-1.48	0.10	
Constant	0.93			-0.15		
$\chi^2$		32.22*			34.85**	
pseudo R <sup>2</sup>		0.14			0.15	

Log Likelihood

-97.38

-99.48

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*Note:*  $e^B$  = exponentiated  $B$ . Predictor variables (Sex work participation, CSA, Adult Sexual Violence Victimization, Perception, Identity Management, Arrest, alcohol consumption, Drug use, home stability, and condoms) coded as 1 for *yes* and 0 for *no*. Age, Age of First Film, and Age of First Sex are measured in years. Marital status coded 1 for committed relationship and 0 for not in a committed relationship. Age, age of first sex, gender, marital status, race, and condoms contain imputed values for missing cases. Sex work is an index variable including escort, prostitution, private stripping, club stripping, and red light party participation. Drug use is an index variable including marijuana, crack and cocaine, heroin, prescription drugs, meth, and other drugs. Condom (2r) asks whether or not a respondent feels the decision to wear a condom is not theirs (1=yes, 0= no). Condoms asks whether or not the respondent wears condoms on film (1= yes, 0=no). A third variable for condom usage was not significant in any models and was removed from the table. \* $p < .1$ . \*\* $p < .05$ . \*\*\* $p < .01$ . \*\*\*\* $p < .001$ .

Table 15: Summary of Logistic Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Motivations to Stay in Pornography (n = 169), Controlling for Background Variables (Table 2 of 2)

Predictor	Stays for Attention			Stays for Friend/BF/GF		
	B	SE B	e <sup>B</sup>	B	SE B	e <sup>B</sup>
Age	0.87	0.02	1.02	2.01**	0.09	1.17
Age of First Film	-0.63	0.03	0.98	-0.00	0.09	1.00
Age of First Sex	0.43	0.05	1.02	-1.17	0.12	0.85
Gender	1.68*	0.79	1.97	0.77	4.56	3.09
Relationship Status	2.23**	0.92	2.37	-0.15	1.05	0.82
Educational Attainment	0.96	0.59	1.47	-0.87	0.42	0.35
Race	0.88	0.61	1.45	-1.72*	0.10	0.06
Sexual Orientation	-0.53	0.31	0.82	0.37	2.04	1.61
Income	-0.12	0.38	0.95	-0.16	1.17	0.79
Alcohol Use	2.26**	0.95	2.43	-1.37	0.18	0.11
Adult Sex Violence Victimization	-0.16	0.53	0.91	0.95	20.28	8.82
Childhood Sexual Abuse	0.34	0.59	1.18	-0.01	1.72	0.97
Perception	0.30	0.17	1.05	0.02	0.54	1.01
Identity Management	0.57	0.47	1.24	0.18	1.66	1.27
Doctor for Drug Consumption	0.36	0.69	1.23	-0.61	0.59	0.30
Arrest	0.39	0.51	1.18	-1.80*	0.05	0.02
Drug Use	1.11	0.56	1.51	-0.15	1.05	0.82
Condom (2r)	-0.00	0.53	1.00	0.05	1.85	1.10
Condoms (imputed)	-0.22	0.10	0.98	0.59	0.50	1.27
Empowerment	0.80	0.12	1.09	1.48	0.46	1.55
Home Stability	-0.32	0.08	0.97	-0.81	0.31	0.69
Shame	-0.42	0.11	0.95	-0.97	0.27	0.68
Constant	-2.43			-0.17		
$\chi^2$		22.02			25.13	
pseudo R <sup>2</sup>		0.10			0.43	

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*Note:*  $e^B$  = exponentiated  $B$ . Predictor variables (Sex work participation, CSA, Adult Sexual Violence Victimization, Perception, Identity Management, Arrest, alcohol consumption, Drug use, home stability, and condoms) coded as 1 for *yes* and 0 for *no*. Age, Age of First Film, and Age of First Sex are measured in years. Marital status coded 1 for committed relationship and 0 for not in a committed relationship. Age, age of first sex, gender, marital status, race, and condoms contain imputed values for missing cases. Sex work is an index variable including escort, prostitution, private stripping, club stripping, and red light party participation. Drug use is an index variable including marijuana, crack and cocaine, heroin, prescription drugs, meth, and other drugs. Condom (2r) asks whether or not a respondent feels the decision to wear a condom is not theirs (1=yes, 0=no). Condoms asks whether or not the respondent wears condoms on film (1= yes, 0=no). A third variable for condom usage was not significant in any models and was removed from the table. \* $p < .1$ . \*\* $p < .05$ . \*\*\* $p < .01$ . \*\*\*\* $p < .001$ .

Table 16: Summary of Logistic Regression Analysis for Variables Determining Effects of Participation of Certain Types of Pornography on Participation (N=182) (Table 1 of 5)

Predictor	Films Anal			Films BDSM		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>e<sup>B</sup></i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>e<sup>B</sup></i>
STD	0.47	0.11	1.05	-2.20**	0.10	0.75
Doctor for Alcohol	-1.89*	0.18	0.24	-----	-----	-----
Sex Work	0.19	0.34	1.06	1.75*	0.68	1.88
Doctor for Drug Consumption	0.86	0.83	1.57	0.92	1.14	1.80
Arrest	2.83***	1.41	3.33	0.73	0.58	1.36
Felony	-0.74	0.40	0.62	0.64	1.05	1.55
Drug Use	-0.03	0.32	0.99	-0.63	0.28	0.80
Constant	-1.28			-1.72		
$\chi^2$		11.66			9.75	
pseudo R <sup>2</sup>		0.05			0.05	
Log likelihood		-120.32			-101.14	

*Note:* :  $e^B$  = exponentiated *B*. Predictor variables (std, doctor visit for alcohol consumption, sexwork doctor visit for drug consumption, arrest, felony conviction, and drug use) coded as 1 for *yes* and 0 for *no*. Sex work is an index variable including escort, prostitution, private stripping, club stripping, and red light party participation. Drug use is an index variable including marijuana, crack and cocaine, heroin, prescription drugs, meth, and other drugs. \* $p < .1$ . \*\* $p < .05$ . \*\*\* $p < .01$ . \*\*\*\* $p < .001$ .

Table 17: Summary of Logistic Regression Analysis for Variables Determining Effects of Participation of Certain Types of Pornography on Participation (N=182) (Table 2 of 5)

Predictor	Films Gang Bangs			Films Fetish		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>e<sup>B</sup></i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>e<sup>B</sup></i>
STD	1.12	0.17	1.18	-2.55***	0.08	0.75
Doctor for Alcohol	-0.13	0.98	0.86	0.03	0.71	1.02
Sex Work	1.70*	1.12	2.30	1.63	0.56	1.71
Doctor for Drug Consumption	0.34	1.12	1.33	0.68	0.77	1.44
Arrest	-0.13	0.52	0.93	1.57	0.75	1.86
Felony	-0.72	0.50	0.44	-0.48	0.47	0.73
Drug Use	1.01	0.74	1.60	-0.37	0.29	0.89
Constant	-3.18			-0.57		
$\chi^2$		7.70*			9.75	
pseudo R <sup>2</sup>		0.05			0.05	
Log likelihood		-67.12			-118.02	

Note: :  $e^B$  = exponentiated *B*. Predictor variables (std, doctor visit for alcohol consumption, sexwork doctor visit for drug consumption, arrest, felony conviction, and drug use) coded as 1 for *yes* and 0 for *no*. Sex work is an index variable including escort, prostitution, private stripping, club stripping, and red light party participation. Drug use is an index variable including marijuana, crack and cocaine, heroin, prescription drugs, meth, and other drugs. \* $p < .1$ . \*\* $p < .05$ . \*\*\* $p < .01$ . \*\*\*\* $p < .001$ .

Table 18: Summary of Logistic Regression Analysis for Variables Determining Effects of Participation of Certain Types of Pornography on Participation (N=182) (Table 3 of 5)

Predictor	Films Oral			Films Orgy		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>e<sup>B</sup></i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>e<sup>B</sup></i>
STD	-0.94	0.12	0.88	-0.30	0.13	0.96
Doctor for Alcohol	0.09	1.28	1.12	-0.55	0.61	0.54
Sex Work	2.16**	1.32	2.78	2.54**	1.25	2.95
Doctor for Drug Consumption	0.98	1.41	2.00	0.93	1.75	2.13
Arrest	1.84*	2.63	3.69	-0.19	0.45	0.91
Felony	0.03**	1.26	1.04	-0.38	0.64	0.72
Drug Use	0.49	0.54	1.24	1.33	0.69	1.71
Constant	0.61			-3.06		
$\chi^2$		13.92**			11.25	
pseudo R <sup>2</sup>		0.08			0.06	
Log likelihood		-76.10			-82.02	

Note:  $e^B$  = exponentiated *B*. Predictor variables (std, doctor visit for alcohol consumption, sexwork doctor visit for drug consumption, arrest, felony conviction, and drug use) coded as 1 for *yes* and 0 for *no*. Sex work is an index variable including escort, prostitution, private stripping, club stripping, and red light party participation. Drug use is an index variable including marijuana, crack and cocaine, heroin, prescription drugs, meth, and other drugs. \* $p < .1$ . \*\* $p < .05$ . \*\*\* $p < .01$ . \*\*\*\* $p < .001$ .



Table 19: Summary of Logistic Regression Analysis for Variables Determining Effects of Participation of Certain Types of Pornography on Participation (N=182) (Table 4 of 5)

Predictor	Films Same Sex Relations			Films Simulated Rape		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>e<sup>B</sup></i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>e<sup>B</sup></i>
STD	0.82	0.12	1.10	0.91	0.16	1.13
Doctor for Alcohol	-0.03	0.75	0.98	-0.53	0.62	0.56
Sex Work	3.21****	1.05	3.04	0.40	0.52	1.19
Doctor for Drug Consumption	-0.08	0.54	0.96	0.50	1.02	1.42
Arrest	-0.72	0.31	0.73	0.28	0.61	1.16
Felony	0.69	1.06	1.59	0.24	0.95	1.21
Drug Use	1.43	0.56	1.63	1.62	0.91	2.05
Constant	-2.38			-3.27		
$\chi^2$		16.53*			4.92	
pseudo R <sup>2</sup>		0.07			0.03	
Log likelihood		-108.48			-75.68	

Note: :  $e^B$  = exponentiated *B*. Predictor variables (std, doctor visit for alcohol consumption, sexwork doctor visit for drug consumption, arrest, felony conviction, and drug use) coded as 1 for *yes* and 0 for *no*. Sex work is an index variable including escort, prostitution, private stripping, club stripping, and red light party participation. Drug use is an index variable including marijuana, crack and cocaine, heroin, prescription drugs, meth, and other drugs. \* $p < .1$ . \*\* $p < .05$ . \*\*\* $p < .01$ . \*\*\*\* $p < .001$ .

Table 20: Summary of Logistic Regression Analysis for Variables Determining Effects of Participation of Certain Types of Pornography on Participation (N=182) (Table 5 of 5)

Predictor	Films Threesomes			Films Vaginal		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>e<sup>B</sup></i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>e<sup>B</sup></i>
STD	-0.68	0.11	0.92	-2.27**	0.09	0.76
Doctor for Alcohol	-1.06	0.34	0.44	0.56	2.08	1.87
Sex Work	3.30****	1.16	3.24	0.50	0.47	1.21
Doctor for Drug Consumption	0.66	0.82	1.45	0.83	1.07	1.69
Arrest	2.06**	0.98	2.36	1.31	0.99	1.95
Felony	0.86	1.22	1.80	0.95	3.34	2.94
Drug Use	2.47***	0.84	2.38	0.44	0.45	1.18
Constant	-3.02			1.31		
$\chi^2$		31.02****			12.01	
Pseudo R <sup>2</sup>		0.13			0.06	
Log likelihood		-103.11			-93.50	

*Note:* :  $e^B$  = exponentiated *B*. Predictor variables (std, doctor visit for alcohol consumption, sexwork doctor visit for drug consumption, arrest, felony conviction, and drug use) coded as 1 for *yes* and 0 for *no*. Sex work is an index variable including escort, prostitution, private stripping, club stripping, and red light party participation. Drug use is an index variable including marijuana, crack and cocaine, heroin, prescription drugs, meth, and other drugs. \* $p < .1$ . \*\* $p < .05$ . \*\*\* $p < .01$ . \*\*\*\* $p < .001$ .

Table 21: Summary of Logistic Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Differences between Amateur and Professional Pornography Actors (n = 171), Controlling for Background Variables

Predictor	B	Amateur	
		SE B	e <sup>B</sup>
Age	-0.12	0.04	1.00
Age of First Film	0.78	0.06	1.05
Age of First Sex	0.42	0.09	1.04
Gender	1.64	2.53	3.40
Relationship Status	-1.44	0.25	0.35
Race	-0.91	0.40	0.42
Sexual Orientation	0.84	1.27	1.81
Sex Work	-2.11**	0.16	0.21
Adult Sex Violence Victimization	0.79	1.96	2.09
Childhood Sexual Abuse (CSA)	-0.57	0.51	0.63
Perception	1.28	0	1.55
Identity Management	-2.73*****	0	0.12
Arrest	-1.39	0	0.35
Drug Use	1.14	0	2.19
Condoms (imputed)	1.16	0	1.24
Constant	1.06		
$\chi^2$		42.72*****	
pseudo R <sup>2</sup>		0.36	
Log likelihood		-38.29	

Note: e<sup>B</sup> = exponentiated B. Predictor variables (Sex work participation, Adult Sexual Violence Victimization, Perception, Identity Management, Arrest, Drug use, and condoms) coded as 1 for *yes* and 0 for *no*. Age, Age of First Film, and Age of First Sex are measured in years. Relationship status coded 1 for committed relationship and 0 for not in a committed relationship. Age, age of first sex, gender, marital status, race contain imputed values for missing cases. Sex work is an index variable including escort, prostitution, private stripping, club stripping, and red light party participation. Drug use is an index variable including marijuana, crack and cocaine, heroin, prescription drugs, meth, and other drugs. Condoms asks whether or not the respondent wears condoms on film (1= yes, 0=no). \*p < .1. \*\*p < .05. \*\*\*p < .01. \*\*\*\*p < .001.

## **APPENDIX C: ANSWERS TO OPEN ENDED QUESTIONS**

Other classification than amateur or professional:

1.	A semi-pro adult fetish video producer
2.	Adult erotica
3.	An actress that performs/performed in all types of media
4.	An amateur actor who participates in amateur media
5.	Home made
6.	I don't consider myself to be an actor. I make amateur videos with my fiancé having sex, we don't act.
7.	I never done any type of professional pornographic videos
8.	I'm just a normal working man who enjoys experiencing sexy with different people and different types.
9.	Just a person. Neither an actor nor a professional.
10.	Mainly only self-photography for partners and similar
11.	Neither
12.	Role-play
13.	Voyeuristic
14.	We don't really act, we just enjoy having sex with one another and like to share our sex life with others. That way maybe they can enjoy it too.
15.	A blogger/ amateur producer
16.	A guy who wants to become a pornographic actor
17.	Amateur couple sharing our sexual experiences
18.	Amateur porn enthusiast
19.	Amateur voyeur
20.	Amateur who makes home videos
21.	An amateur who enjoys making homemade porn
22.	A guy who likes porn
23.	Not an actor, nor a porno star, I do am on this site pornhub because my bf and myself wanted to try and fulfill our curiosity, fantasy, desires together and the site pornhub is the place to find that.
24.	Simply amateur
25.	Someone who does not know how to act and just want people to know what I can do.

Primary motivation for starting porn:

1	A fun experience as a couple
2	Artistic expression
3	Because I got high... because I got hiiiiighhh eh eh eh
4	Curiosity
5	Enjoyment—I knew sex workers (strippers) who enjoyed their jobs.
6	Excitement

7	Experience
8	Experimentation
9	Explore my sexuality
10	Finding the boundaries of my own sexuality
11	For fun/for the novelty of it.
12	Found it exciting
13	Fun
14	Girlfriend at the time and myself thought it would
15	be fun and a hot new thing to try together
16	I just wanted to see if my girlfriend would do it.
17	We both enjoyed watching porn, so I wanted to see
18	how freaky she would get.
19	I wanted to see what I looked like having sex on
20	camera
21	In a sense money is always a factor, but was not
22	specifically the reason I was trying it, I decided
23	I wanted to SEE what i could generate, I wasn't in
24	need of money specifically
25	In my experience participating in documenting sex
26	has been part of an erotic experience, something
27	that turns me on. I enjoy sharing my self and my
28	sexuality with others. In my case, it is a
29	positive, self affirming, act. A way to explore
30	and assert my sexuality.
31	It was a turn on
32	It was on my bucket list. Always wanted to try it.
33	Never experienced
34	Photographer girlfriend asked me to participate in photos for class that would not reveal my identity. 1/2 a lifetime ago, but still glad I did it, for numerous reasons.
35	Pure curiosity and excitement
36	See what you look like
37	Seemed like it would be fun
38	Sexual stimulation
39	Sheer fun doesn't hurt.
40	Simply did not want to have not done it (ever or at the time)
41	Sounded like fun
42	To Explore the medium of sensual erotic captured on film as art
43	To gain personal confidence
44	Was Trying To Make An Ex Jealous
45	a new experience for my husband and i
46	curious
47	did it for my gf

48	it was with my partner
49	its fun
50	sexual arousal
51	to feel special honestly
52	to fullfill my husbands fantasy

Primary motivation for staying in porn:

1.	A love and passion for the industry
2.	Artistic Expression
3.	Career
4.	Enhancing the experience
5.	Enjoyment
6.	Enjoyment, for myself and my boyfriend
7.	Excitement and sexual satisfaction
8.	Exploration
9.	FUN
10.	Friendship/flirtation. The few photos/videos I share on PornHub are created with one specific person in mind. If others enjoy them as well, great. So far no one has said anything negative to make me regret.
11.	Fun
12.	Fun, if possibility for money arises I will take it, but mostly out of my love for sexual activities.
13.	I currently only produce solo content as of today
14.	I find it energizing and entertaining.
15.	I like doing it
16.	I love my job.
17.	It's a turn on. Voyeurism. Exhibitionist
18.	It's what I'm used to
19.	Just for fun. I certainly haven't made money from it
20.	Just having fun and sharing our videos with
21.	everyone
22.	Still Trying To Make Her Jelly
23.	Still find it exciting
24.	The attention isn't real but the fringe benefits are.
25.	To Brand My Name
26.	To show my partner this act from other perspective
27.	confidence booster and it's fun
28.	entertaining
29.	hobby/career
30.	i enjoy watching because i learn from other videos and i have pictures of myself because it turns my bf on
31.	i never participated in adult films only for fun
32.	it makes me horny knowing people like my videos

33.	my husband and I share our intimate moments we find so much pleasure in each other.
34.	safe sex and safe fun
35.	same as above, and also just to have documented
36.	because I'm a freak like that.
37.	sexual arousal
38.	somethin to keep me occupied and because i like to make other people happy.
39.	teaching others about pleasure and being comfortable with their body
40.	the feeling that im allowed to gives me a kick out of it
41.	to be comfortable with myself for acting in movies
42.	to offer something that the adult viewer has not seen before taking the porn out of pornography and building sensuality so more couples will watch.

Other needs met by porn:

1.	A new Car
2.	Bills being paid, sex toys
3.	Money
4.	No
5.	Nope
6.	Now just do it for fun and attention
7.	Orgasms
8.	Sense of self
9.	Sex Toys
10.	Sexual Stimulation
11.	Sexual urges
12.	all in good fun
13.	attention and sex
14.	dont make any money do it for attention find it turn on
15.	entertainment
16.	for other people to enjoy
17.	just fun with the wife
18.	new car
19.	no
20.	none of the above
21.	pay bills
22.	sex toyes
23.	sexual satisfaction
24.	travels to exotic places and meeting important
25.	people



Anything else I should know?:

1.	I think you should talk to people in person so you can get more information and not generalize.
2.	I do my job because I love it. I am tested every 14 days for chlamydia, gonorrhea, syphilis, trichomoniasis, & HIV. I have the choice to use condoms or not and some companies are condom only. I prefer not to use condoms in my scenes because I tend to get condom rash and if the condom breaks it makes me more susceptible to contracting an STD. Condom rash causes irritation inside the vaginal area which could lead to a higher probability of exposure. I feel safe in my job and the choice is always mine in what I do.
3.	These were generic questions that could be misinterpreted, depending on how you're going to be able to tell if actual performers took this survey, or random trolls. You posted this on Twitter, you can't expect to get accurate results that are going to represent the industry correctly. I would suggest finding different agencies, and/or publicists and asking them to email this survey to their performers.
4.	Also, many performers, including myself are pansexual; someone who is attracted to male, female, and transgender persons. There was no option for that.
5.	I'd say I'm not a good data point, but reality is reality. I started for money for my student loans, but I have social anxiety, so I've found that I works well as a sexual replacement. I think it helps a lot. My self-esteem is higher. My body image is better. I feel more sexually empowered. I'm motivated to try new things. I don't naturally have the inclination to masturbate, so doing videos reminds me that it's something I need to do. I hope you get the data you need for your thesis. I would love to read a book on your findings.
6.	Concerning the use of condoms, we always had the choice to either use condoms or get tested for bareback sex. We always opted for testing and rarely used any condoms. I test every 3 months when not having sexual encounters with unknown people. However before any fetish play we all get tested twice at two different medical centers, once 1 month before and the second test one week before the session. for more info you may contact me here... [edited for privacy]
7.	I was a little unsure how to answer the question about date rape in adulthood, as technically speaking I've been date raped twice, but once was due to my own over consumption of alcohol as well as my partners, so really that one doesn't really count as we were both acting under the influence, the second time was with a couple, who brought my already drunk ass home with them from a party, and proceeded to give me more alcohol once there, and then talked me into having sex with them both, they were both much more sober (one did drive) and obviously had it planned, they did NOT drug me and I took the alcohol willingly, so it's still more on each individual states technicality on what legally defines date rape, in the state which I reside, it is considered date rape if an individual plans to get someone drunk and then take advantage of them regardless of whether another drug is added to the drink or not, or if they person willingly accepts the drinks. Besides these instances, there has been no sexual abuse in my past or present, and I don't lose sleep over the kind of date rape situations that I partially put myself into before I quit drinking.

8.	I have chosen to not be paid for my porn. I do it because it makes me happy, I feel empowered, and it's a safe, healthy outlet. I have a bachelor's degree in psychology, so it's safe to say I know what I'm doing. I hate the negative stigma with girls doing porn. It's not about the money for many of us. It's a way to sustain self-worth. Any negative stigma comes from the exceptions and the media's false representation.
9.	I entered of my own volition and absolutely adore this industry.
10.	Making adult movies was fun and there was a real sense of community among everyone on sets.
11.	I think this is a horrible survey and will not provide any accurate information about performers in the adult industry. This survey consists of vague and leading questions that will only serve to perpetuate a stereotype. Your intentions may be good but your results will not be.
12.	It's a great way to get even better at sex.
13.	In many aspects of my life, I am sort of the exception to the rule, and this may be another case of that. The little bit of media I've been involved in creating is out of shared interest in the act(s) and affection for a specific person for whom I'm participating. I'm middle aged, but even before that, I've never had a very positive impression of my body. When a woman wants to see me, and do things with me, or watch me do things to/with myself, I am very flattered. So far these have all been very positive and empowering and -- dare I say -- loving experiences. What I share on PornHub is blocked so that only people I choose/accept as friends can see it. Money, safety, addiction, etc have never been a factor. Someone who matters to me, to whom I am attracted, makes me feel attractive too, and I want to share that to a heightened degree with them. If I lived in the same city with the women for whom I have shared photos/sexts/videos, I might simply meet them, and maybe we'd have an old fashioned one-night stand or full blown affair. With the way media is now, I am able to adore and be adored by women and couples and a few men who are 100's or 1000's of miles away from me. There are people across the world who feel this void and find it filled the same way I do, and until the past few years, it was impossible or highly unlikely to ever cross these people's paths. Think about the loneliness and alienation that people throughout human history have felt for thinking that they were the only person who longed to experience a particular act with someone who longed to share it with them. Suddenly now we can find each other, across continents, and make each other feel wanted and desired and hungered for. That's why I have participated in the things I have done.
14.	Most of my sex videos are masturbation videos only, of just me. The question of the Happy or Unhappy current emotional state, I AM depressed, but mostly because of my current job and money situation. I make my videos for fun, for a release. So they make me happy.
15.	I think that a lot of people are interested in sex - how it is done, what kind of things you can participate in, what's expected, what's unrealistic, etc. I've found that porn has both positively and negatively influenced people on how sex can/should be. A lot of men think that because they see girls getting their faces came on - or getting f**ked in the ass, means every girl likes that. Porn is supposed, at least to me, to be taken as a fantasy. Something that is visually appealing and stimulating. Just

	because I like to watch girls/guys in action movies doing badass stunts - doesn't mean that I think that's achievable or even desirable for ME to do.
16.	The real reason I got into adult film acting was because my ex-fiancé wanted to start stripping and I said "hell no, i know what happens in them club, if you wanna make money off your body, we can just start making pornos, we have sex all the time anyway, might as well just put it on camera and start making money off of it" ...I'm also in the music biz, so being in the limelight isnt anything new to me. I actually found it very appealing and fun. I also kinda wanted to make a girl I used to be in love with, pretty much still am, jealous and pretty much show her what she was missing out on. Like I said I started doing it with my fiance, so I kinda wanted to see if I could get a reaction from the other girl before I got married. Basically to see if there was any feelings still. But that's pretty much it. We ended up breaking up, me and my fiance, and I continued to make adult films, I almost feel like I don't even wanna have sex unless it's on camera nowadays....It's weird. To me It's like why freestyle and not record it, It's a waste of time. I feel the same way about adult film now. Except with that girl that I'm still in love with, I prolly wouldn't do any films with her, but I just wanna keep making films with other girls until she comes around. That prolly sounds crazy as hell, but thats how I feel. My pornhub.com name is [edited for anonymity]. If you'd like to see any of my videos. And my music can be found at [edited for anonymity], If you'd like a deeper insight into my psyche and why I do the things I do...Thank You For This Opportunity, I appreciate you including me in your dissertation. If you'd like to contact me about anything else you can reach me at [edited for anonymity]....Thanks Again.
17.	None. only thanks for this experience
18.	i have safe sex only safe sex its the only way for me
19.	hope that i was a help for you
20.	good luck in your research :)
21.	I consider sex when a penis penetrates a vagina. It would be interesting to see the variation of definition on that. I have had sexual experiences with members of the same sex ( female) that did not involve sex. I hadn't thought about her as a sexual parter as we only had sexual relations twice a few years ago. My apologies.
22.	I am very open with my sexuality, However I neither hide it nor flaunt it.
23.	Not all deviants are nuts or wacked out. I was raised in a "normal" environment with loving parents who praised hard work. I just happen to have a different sexual appetite than most.
24.	It's important that as amateur couples us, and many others filming only our life partner. Witch excludes STD risks sexual apathy, etc. Although it's interesting that many people uploading amateur videos to share their passion about their partner, for more people to see that you don't have to fit some standards to be hot or seductive, as well as beloved and cared for.
25.	Go to college!!!!
26.	I noticed that this primarily focused of actors(tresses) in the field. I feel that although narrowing the focus to that portion, though good, may also prevent you from getting a clear picture of the industry or the broader picture.
27.	As I mentioned in some of my answers, I at one point did erotic massage as well as produced porn, I currently am trying to start my own adult blog/vlog. Although

	some of my experiences fitted your questions and research, many didn't because of the scope of the questions. I would suggest that phone or live 1-on-1 interviews would be a better way to get some of your data.
28.	None that I could think of right now.
29.	I do all my movies with my husband. We do it as a couple.
30.	ok...
31.	A very important thing that may be interesting and the questionnaire dont cover: I dont do it for money, also a moderator of the porn page invited me, but I dont want to earn money with this, and I will never. I do it for pleasure, when I want and how I want, and I dont want to change that. Its a pleasure for me to take sexy pictures and videos, just because I always felt as the "ugly duckling" in ALL places, doing this and receiving all types of applauses of approval... it helped me to feel better about myself, and continues, and when I dont want to do it anymore, I will quit. I hope you can understand my point of view, Im not an english speaker. Good luck!
32.	not the best thing to get into
33.	have a nice day =)
34.	You messaged me on pornhub to fill a questionnaire, I don't think that you took the time to read our profile. My husband and I share our most intimate moments, we find so much pleasure in each other in and out of the "bedroom", not all people that share amateur videos are abused at a young age, low income, drug addicts.... I understand the perception and that is why I have no problem sharing such beautiful intimate moments between a husband and a wife that have respect for each other, mutual admiration, and are the best of friends. Sex is not always dirty! It can be clean and fulfilling -healthy!
35.	Seeing that it's about attention, perhaps many make these videos because they never received the attention they wanted, and like the attention when it's positive and the audience enjoys it?
36.	Nothing at this time . . .
37.	Ask about interracial encounters.
38.	Ask about masturbation , ie, like or dislike of toys.
39.	Ask how many hours per week are dedicated towards porn.
40.	My answer would be 24 hrs per week on avg. This is watching, producing ( making ), participating, masturbating.
41.	Mother of 4 and 3 grandkids. I do not have sex shows

**APPENDIX D: IRB APPROVAL LETTER**



University of Central Florida Institutional Review Board  
Office of Research & Commercialization  
12201 Research Parkway, Suite 501  
Orlando, Florida 32826-3246  
Telephone: 407-823-2901 or 407-882-2276  
[www.research.ucf.edu/compliance/irb.html](http://www.research.ucf.edu/compliance/irb.html)

## Approval of Exempt Human Research

From: UCF Institutional Review Board #1  
FWA00000351, IRB00001138

To: Erin N. O'Neal

Date: June 28, 2015

Dear Researcher:

On 06/28/2015, the IRB approved the following activity as human participant research that is exempt from regulation:

Type of Review: Exempt Determination  
Project Title: Survey of Adult Media Industry Participants  
Investigator: Erin N. O'Neal  
IRB Number: SBE-15-11304  
Funding Agency:  
Grant Title:  
Research ID: N/A

This determination applies only to the activities described in the IRB submission and does not apply should any changes be made. If changes are made and there are questions about whether these changes affect the exempt status of the human research, please contact the IRB. When you have completed your research, please submit a Study Closure request in iRIS so that IRB records will be accurate.

In the conduct of this research, you are responsible to follow the requirements of the [Investigator Manual](#).

On behalf of Sophia Dziegielewski, Ph.D., L.C.S.W., UCF IRB Chair, this letter is signed by:

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Kanielle Chay" with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right.

IRB Coordinator

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