



Reconnecting Pornography, Prostitution, and Trafficking: "The experience of being in porn was like being destroyed, run over, again and again"

Reconectando la pornografía, la prostitución y la trata: "La experiencia de estar en la pornografía fue como ser destruida y atropellada una y otra vez"

Melissa Farley

Meghan Donevan

Recibido: 21/12/2020

Aceptado: 14/09/2021

ABSTRACT

Pornography has been perceived as existing separate from prostitution and trafficking. We suggest that pornography, prostitution, and trafficking overlap conceptually and empirically. We discuss similarities between pornography and other arms of the sex trade such as escort, street, or massage prostitution via a review of survivor testimony and existing research. Women used in the production of pornography suffer the same adverse antecedents as those in other prostitution including poverty, childhood sexual abuse, racism, domestic violence, and the cultural mainstreaming of sexism. These factors groom and channel women into pornography, with pornographers using the same controlling tactics employed by other pimps. In pornography, women are subject to physical and psychological harms that are the same as those harms in other prostitution. We offer recommendations for holding those who perpetrate sex trade harms - pimps, traffickers, and sex buyers - legally accountable. We conclude that pornography should be legally and conceptually understood as one variant of prostitution and trafficking.

Keywords: *pornography victim, pimps, webcam, prostitution, trafficking, sex purchase act*

Melissa Farley Ph.D. is a research and clinical psychologist at Prostitution Research & Education. See www.prostitutionresearch.com for a library of free resources on prostitution, pornography, and trafficking. Contact: mfarley@prostitutionresearch.com

Meghan Donevan is at Talita, Stockholm (Sweden). Contact: meghan@talita.se

All views expressed are her own and not necessarily the ones of their institutions.

Cómo citar este artículo: Farley, Melissa & Donevan, Meghan (2021). Reconnecting Pornography, Prostitution, and Trafficking: "The experience of being in porn was like being destroyed, run over, again and again". *Atlánticas. Revista Internacional de Estudios Feministas*, 6 (1), 30-66. doi: <https://dx.doi.org/10.17979/arief.2021.6.1.7312>

RESUMEN

Se ha percibido la pornografía como un fenómeno separado de la prostitución y la trata. Sugerimos que la pornografía, la prostitución y la trata se superponen conceptual y empíricamente. A través de entrevistas con supervivientes e investigaciones existentes, discutimos las semejanzas entre la pornografía y otras vertientes de la industria del sexo tales como escorts, prostitución de calle o locales de masajes. Las mujeres utilizadas en la producción de pornografía presentan los mismos antecedentes adversos de quienes se encuentran en la prostitución, incluyendo la pobreza, los abusos sexuales en la infancia, el racismo, la violencia de género y el sexismo de la cultura dominante. Estos factores preparan y conducen a las mujeres hacia la pornografía, donde los pornógrafos emplean las mismas tácticas de control utilizadas por otros proxenetas/padrones¹. En la pornografía, las mujeres están sujetas a los mismos daños físicos y psicológicos que en la prostitución. Proporcionamos una serie de recomendaciones para hacer legalmente responsables de sus actos a quienes perpetran los daños de la industria del sexo: proxenetas, tratantes y compradores de sexo. Concluimos que la pornografía debería ser legal y conceptualmente comprendida como una variante más de la prostitución y la trata.

Palabras clave: víctimas de la pornografía, padrones, proxenetas, webcam, prostitución, trata, compra de sexo

RESUMO

Percíbese a pornografía como un fenómeno separado da prostitución e da trata. Nós suxerimos que a pornografía, a prostitución e a trata superpóñense conceptual e empíricamente. A través de entrevistas con superviventes e outras investigacións existentes, discutimos as semellanzas entre a pornografía e outras vertentes da industria do sexo tales como as *escorts*, a prostitución a pé de rúa ou os sitios de masaxes. As mulleres envoltas na produción da pornografía presentan os mesmos antecedentes adversos daquelas que encóntranse en situación de prostitución, incluída a pobreza, os abusos sexuais na infancia, o racismo, a violencia de xénero e o sexismo da cultura dominante. Estes factores preparan e conducen ás mulleres á pornografía, onde os pornógrafos empregan as mesmas tácticas de control utilizadas por outros proxenetas/padrones. Na pornografía as mulleres están suxeitas a danos físicos e psicolóxicos iguais aos da prostitución. Proporcionamos unha serie de recomendacións para facer legalmente responsables polos seus actos a quen perpetra os danos da industria do sexo: proxenetas, tratantes e compradores de sexo. Concluimos que a pornografía debería ser legal e conceptualmente comprendida como unha variante máis da prostitución e da trata.

Palabras chave: vítimas da pornografía, padrones, proxenetas, webcam, prostitución, trata, compra de sexo

¹ Término preferido en la literatura feminista latinoamericana para referirse a los proxenetas

1. INTRODUCTION

“Pornography is pictures of prostitution,” explained Evelina Giobbe². Another survivor of porn production said, *“Pornography is prostitution that is legalized as long as someone gets to take pictures”* (Simonton & Smith, 2004, p. 355). Jewell Baraka, a survivor of porn, an educator and consultant, explained that pornography is *“a meticulously planned and executed violation, sourced in an intense hatred of women, like a hate crime”* (Jewell Baraka, personal communication, June 30, 2020). Although some porn producers claim that women have control and can set boundaries in porn, Baraka disagrees. *“Women are not at all in control on a porn set,”* she explained. *“The experience of being in porn was like being destroyed, run over, again and again.”*

It is often assumed that pornography is somehow separate from the rest of prostitution, but in this chapter, we explain the ways in which pornography is fully integrated into the multinational sex trade. There is similar exploitation and violence in all forms of prostitution, including sugar daddy/sugar baby prostitution, cell phone/escort prostitution, webcam prostitution, studio-produced pornography, massage brothel prostitution, street prostitution, and strip club prostitution (Olsson, 2006; Moran & Farley, 2019). The Swedish Women’s Lobby noted the convergence of sex trade businesses that undermine sex equality, including pornography and strip clubs (Sveriges Kvinnolobby, 2010). Furthermore, women in the sex trade move from one physical and online location to another – wherever the sex buyers are located and where the pimps send them for example, sports events, sales events/conferences, military bases, escort to street and back again, escort to webcam. A prostituting woman explained that she went from her home to the street to locate sex buyers when her mobile phone stopped ringing (Skarhed, 2010). As is true of other global businesses, there are domestic and international sectors of the sex trade, marketing sectors, a range of physical locations out of which sex businesses

² Evelina Giobbe is a US feminist, and founder of WHISPER, Women Hurt in Systems of Prostitution Engaged in Revolt. WHISPER was one of the first organizations in the world to offer survivors of prostitution support for exiting prostitution along with a feminist analysis of the sex trade as violence against women.

operate. In today's market, sex buyers will pay for a photo or they will take cellphone videos with or without permission in any of the locations where prostitution happens. A sex buyer explained, "*Yes, the woman in pornography is a prostitute. They're prostituting before the cameras. They're getting money from a film company rather than individuals*" (Farley, 2007b, p. 147).

The same kinds of violence against women are perpetrated in pornography, prostitution, and trafficking, including sexist verbal abuse, racist verbal abuse, degradation, physical and sexual assault, and acts that are identical to torture as defined by international legal conventions.³ A survivor of pornography and prostitution described their sameness, explaining that she had been physically hurt, raped on camera, and pressured to do more extreme sex acts on film, such as anal sex, in the same ways that sex buyers had coerced and harmed her in prostitution (Simonton & Smith, 2004).

Pimps benefit when they can artificially segregate an arm of the sex trade, mainstream it, and then legalize it. Sex trade promoters de-link pornography, prostitution, and trafficking because that compartmentalization can provide legal protections, thereby increasing profits. Strip clubs are named exotic dance performance venues, massage parlors are named health clubs, sugar daddy/baby prostitution is named "mutually beneficial dating," and porn is named "speech" instead of documentation of abuse and humiliation. And then these de-linked sex trade businesses are legally normalized. 'Freedom of speech' porn lawyers promote the notion that pornography is speech rather than documented abuse; they tell us that it is separate and apart from all other exploitation and abuse in the sex trade. The pornographers' free speech argument is a cruel but very profitable lie. The sex trade expands as public opinion, technology, and law tolerate it. A ground-breaking investigation of Stockholm pornography businesses documented the "pornographication of sex" that ultimately restricts the free expression of human sexuality (Mansson & Larson, 1976; Mansson & Söderlind, 2004).

³ *Istanbul Protocol: Manual on the Effective Investigation and Documentation of Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment* Aug. 9, 1999, available at <http://www.unhcr.ch/pdf/8istprot.pdf>

In this article we present anecdotal and research evidence that pornography is an integral part of the sex trade. We discuss the conceptual and empirical sameness between prostitution, porn production, and trafficking with respect to antecedent risk factors, recruitment, racism, harms perpetrated by pimps and by sex buyers, coercion, and economic exploitation. We describe legislation that could redress pornography production harms, including recent legal actions. It is crucial that restitution of pornography harms includes funding to assist those who want to escape the sex trade.

2. HARMS OF PORNOGRAPHY AND OTHER PROSTITUTION

According to survivor testimony and other research, the harms of pornography, prostitution and trafficking are similar in widely varying cultures whether it's upper class or poverty class, legal or illegal, in a brothel, strip club, webcam, massage parlor, or the street. Symptoms of emotional distress among those in the sex trade are frequent and severe: depression, suicidality, posttraumatic stress disorder, anxiety, dissociation, eating disorders, substance abuse. This extreme distress tells us, like Andrea Dworkin did in 1997, that the sex trade causes great psychological harm to those in it:

Her mind is hurt by rape and other physical assault on her body, it fades and shrinks and seeks silence as refuge; it becomes the prison cell inside her...Every invasion of the body is marked in the brain: contusions, abrasions, cuts, swellings, bleeding, mutilation, breaking, burning. Each capacity of the brain – memory, imagination, intellect, creation, consciousness itself – is distressed and deformed, distorted by the sexualized physical injuries that girls and women sustain (Dworkin, 1997, p. 31).

Several studies suggest that at least half of all prostituting women have had porn made of them. Fifty-three percent of prostituted women at WHISPER had porn made of them by sex buyers or pimps (Giobbe, 1990). In research among people used in pornography, there was an overlap between porn and other prostitution: 23% of men and women porn actors reported having prostituted outside of porn

production. Among the women in porn, 27% had been in escort prostitution and 24% in strip-club prostitution in the last 3 months alone (Javanbakht, Dillavou, Rigg, Kerndt & Gorbach, 2017).

A 9-country study of 854 people in prostitution explored factors that might indicate what exactly it was about prostitution that resulted in such high rates of PTSD (Farley et al., 2003). Those women whose sex buyers or pimps made pornography of their prostitution had significantly more severe symptoms of PTSD than did women who did not have porn made of them (Farley, 2007b). When women had pornography made of them, it caused them even more hurt and distress than was caused by non-filmed prostitution. Compared to women who were not in the sex trade, Grudzen and colleagues (2011) found that women in porn had significantly worse mental health and more severe depression. Women in porn in a third study suffered from a number of mental health problems including anxiety, depression, low self-image, loneliness, panic attacks and suicidal thoughts (Donevan, 2019). Women exploited in pornography tend to abuse drugs, have surgeries or body modifications, engage in risky sex, and are exposed to physical dangers during porn production (Grudzen et al., 2009). Substance use is one way to cope with the traumatic stress of being in the sex trade according to a study noting that 70% of porn actors had used drugs in the previous 3 months, including marijuana (59%), cocaine (20%), Xanax (19%) and ecstasy (18%) (Javanbakht et al., 2017). Because they are sold to many sex buyers and because they are frequently raped, women in prostitution have extremely high rates of HIV (93%, Ward & Day, 2006). Porn producers' refusal to require condom use is a life-threatening norm in pornography. Most (69%) porn actors failed to use a condom in the previous month (Javanbakht et al., 2017). Some people in porn (21%) felt they could not insist on condom use even though they strongly preferred that. STDs were more likely if the porn actor was younger, had been in the sex trade longer, and was filmed more frequently in the past month. Other harms included being physically hurt during porn production (10%), being sexually exploited prior to being hired (16%) and being coerced into performing a sex act on film (14%). Some women (17%) were never paid for being filmed, a common scam in all prostitution (Javanbakht et al., 2017).

Pornography users also harm women in pornography. A web-cam prostitution survivor explained that “camming was worse than the rest of the porn industry because we had direct contact with the consumer, people who were often very cruel and demanding by threatening to leave negative reviews and therefore affecting your pay if you didn’t perform exactly as they wished” (Anonymous, 2018). In webcamming and in sugar daddy or girlfriend experience (GFE) prostitution, women are distressed by being forced to playact whatever the sex buyer wants, and by having to be nice to abusive men. “The emotional labour that goes into camming is unreal – constantly chatting, trying to be yourself [and] pleasant” (Shehadi & Partington, 2020). In both online and offline prostitution, pimps and sex buyers exert psychological control, with threats if the women don’t accede to the men’s requests, including requests for performances of emotional states. The greater her economic and social vulnerability, the less power she has to say no to any porn user’s specific demand. Sex buyers sometimes become obsessed with women in the sex trade. Porn buyers who call themselves ‘fans,’ harass and pressure women and in some cases stalk them, for example by locating the women’s real names and addresses, or following the women on social media (Donevan, 2019). At times this escalates to terrorist threats against women in porn. A porn buyer texted a survivor of webcam porn, “You are disgusting. You are dirty. You should be stoned. You should be raped” (Donevan, 2019).

3. SIMILAR ANTECEDENTS IN PORNOGRAPHY, PROSTITUTION, AND TRAFFICKING

Women in pornography and other arms of the sex trade have multitraumatic histories. Childhood abuse and neglect, racism, poverty, lack of education, lack of sustainable employment, culturally mainstreamed sexism - all these oppressive forces channel, and when combined, coerce women into the sex trade. Women’s economic desperation functions as coercion into pornography (Averdijk, Ribeaud & Eisner, 2019; Grudzen et al., 2011; Donevan, 2019; Waltman, 2020, citing Attorney General’s Commission on Pornography, 1986). Homelessness is a primary vulnerability among most (75%) women who are prostituting (Farley, 2003).

Women's testimony regarding their experiences of porn production clarify how poverty pushes them into the arms of pornpimps. One woman explained that she was about to be evicted from her apartment when she saw an advertisement for nude photos: "The owner of the 'nude photo agency' offered me a place to live and a lot of other work if I did film. At that point in my life, I really didn't have any other options" (Simonton & Smith, 2004, p. 352). A 20-year-old Ukrainian woman was employed at a 'modeling agency' that photographed her and then sent her to European beauty pageants where she was introduced to rich men. The modeling agencies functioned as pimps and traffickers for sex buyers from UAE, France, Italy, Japan, and Russia who in turn inspected the women at the pageants, chose those they wanted to buy, and then rented the "models" for up to a month at a time. The young woman herself may not have known that the modeling job was actually prostitution that included pornography until she arrived in another country (Plekhanova, 2006).

Women in porn, like women in other arms of the sex trade, are extremely likely to have been sexually abused as children. One young woman explained, "I started turning tricks to show my father what he made me" (Silbert & Pines, 1982, p. 577; *see also* Farley, 2003; Grudzen et al., 2011; Kaestle, 2012; Wilson & Widom, 2010; Simons & Whitbeck, 1991). A woman in porn explained, "I have had a lot of traumatic events in my life. Several rapes, a lot of manipulation, and violence. The first rape was when I was 13" (Donevan, 2019). Among women in the Russian sex trade who had been sexually abused as children, a third had also been filmed in pornography as children. And having entered the sex trade as a child made it four times more likely that she would be filmed in porn (Urada et al., 2019). As Boyer (2008) pointed out, an abused and frightened 15-year-old girl does not have the skills to outmaneuver a 26-year-old pimp who's offering her love, money and housing. The traumatic stress caused by childhood sexual abuse results in mental health problems which leave a persisting vulnerability to sex trade recruiters. A woman who was abused as a child suffered from loneliness, anxiety and depression in adulthood, described this process: "When you feel poorly, you don't want to work, you just want to be left alone. I think it's easy to be drawn into [webcam porn] because you don't have the energy to work at a normal job, but you can still earn money [in webcam porn]" (Donevan, 2019).

4. RACISM IS AN ESSENTIAL ELEMENT OF THE SEX TRADE

The sex trade, including pornography, is profoundly racist. Prostitution causes exceptional harms to women of color and formerly colonized women in the sex trade (Nelson, 1993; Carter & Giobbe, 1999; Deer, 2010; Butler, 2015). Racism is a factor compelling many women's entry into prostitution since they may lack alternatives. Pimps and sex buyers are especially vicious toward women of color. There are fewer exit and escape options for women of color, who often receive substandard or culturally irrelevant support and treatment. Nelson (1993) wrote about the racist entitlement of white men from the suburbs who cruised Black neighborhoods in Minneapolis, searching for women to buy for sex. The racist behavior of white sex buyers who act as if they are still on the plantation, can be directly traced back to the attitudes of U.S. slave masters and traders who raped and trafficked African women during legal slavery (Baptist, 2014).

Women of color and ethnic minorities are overrepresented in prostitution when compared to their representation in many regions' populations. For example, in the United States, Canada, and Sweden, African American women, Aboriginal women, and Roma women are overrepresented in prostitution (Nelson 1993; Farley et al. 2005; BRÅ 2008 cited by Waltman, 2014). In porn, the same overrepresentation of racially/ethnically marginalized women occurs. African American women were represented twice as often in porn than they were as California citizens (Grudzen et al., 2011). In a study of 15-year-olds in Switzerland, researchers found that women of non-Swiss origin (most often from Yugoslavia, Portugal, Sri Lanka, Spain, and Turkey) was associated with the likelihood of being sold in the sex trade including pornography (Averdijk et al. 2019; Margit Averdijk, personal communication, August 22, 2020).

Pornographers have eroticized racism and monetized slavery in their video uploads, which Jensen (2011) described as "the most openly racist mass-media genre in contemporary society." West (2020) deconstructed and critiqued the sexualized racism in porn that portrays Black women as promiscuous and unrapeable, with films titled "Nappy Headed Hoes," or "Ghetto Gaggers" that portray white men's gleeful assaults and degradation of Black women on a

website advertising "White boys conquering Angry Black Women." Pornpimps have catered to sex buyers' racist demands for porn that ridicules and exploits the political vulnerabilities of women of color. For example, there is a subgenre of pornography that exploits the Black Lives Matter movement by presenting images of Black men as hypersexualized predators of white women (Dines and West, 2020). The 8th Street Latinas website advertised "See hot, brown and young Latinas that will do absolutely anything to get their citizenship!"⁴

Anti-Asian racism increased during the COVID-19 pandemic, with politicians and sex buyers alike blaming "the Chinese" for coronavirus. This racist behavior merges with the extensively documented racism of sex buyers who stereotype Asian women as submissive, exotic, or newly immigrated, that is, more vulnerable, a quality sought by sex buyers (Asian Women Coalition Ending Prostitution, 2020; Bindel, 2017). PornHub, which distributes elaborately articulated racist pornography – moved quickly to market anti-Asian racism during the COVID-19 pandemic (Farley, 2020). Racist pornography sells well; in May 2020, there were many hundreds of racist COVID-19 uploads to PornHub. PornHub's coronavirus pornography fused xenophobia about Asians being 'diseased' or 'foreign' with fetishization of Asian women as compliant and hypersexual (Lopez, 2020).

5. PIMPING AND TRAFFICKING IN PORNOGRAPHY PRODUCTION

Porn producers and distributors are pimps and traffickers. Pornpimps use well-known recruitment and control tactics of other pimps and traffickers. The cultural sexualization of women and girls, combined with the mainstreaming of porn as sex work, channels vulnerable girls and women into porn (American Psychological Association Task Force on the Sexualization of Girls, 2007; Olsson, 2006; Pape, 2018; Ward, 2016; Dines, 2010; West, Williams, & Siegel, 2000). The

⁴ Retrieved from 8th Street Latinas website <http://www.8thstreetlatinas.com/main.htm?id=faxxaff> which is itself advertised on other sites such as PornHub and <http://travelsexguide.tv/nausa.htm>

mainstreamed porn culture has so deeply penetrated most societies that women's autonomous sexuality has been polluted with the sex of prostitution. Prostitution culture has merged with the definition of what sex *is*, with for example increasing numbers of girls being pressured to perform anal sex with boyfriends who learned about that in pornography (Barry, 1996; Marston & Lewis, 2014).

Along with the cultural mainstreaming of prostitution, sexting is another antecedent to porn that grooms girls for later recruitment. Middle and high school girls are persuaded by boys to send nude photos which are then forwarded to others, transforming private sexual images into pornography and socially branding the girl a slut (Amundsen, 2019; Burén & Lunde, 2018; Salter, 2015). Pimps use social media to recruit young women into porn. Assistant pimps target women and girls with promises of fame and wealth, with porn itself camouflaged as blogging or modeling. Swedish pimps invite young women to clubs and ask her, "Are you our next blog star?" (Donevan, 2019). Pimps exploit social media 'likes' and influencer culture where a girl's value is measured by how many likes and followers she accrues. "Their boundaries end up being pushed further and further, and then the next step is actually very small," explained a survivor of porn. "All it takes is for someone to say, 'You can earn money instead of likes'" (Donevan, 2019). Just as women in strip clubs are told to do a sexy dance, first taking off their tops, and are then pressured into taking off all their clothes, young women may at first provide clothed sexualized images, then partially nude images but are later coerced into productions of hardcore/violent content to meet porn users' escalating demands. This practice is widespread. The payment of money or goods for naked photos was the most common form of prostitution among a large sample of Swiss youth (Averdijk et al. 2019). After its production, video pornography is uploaded to a pimp/distributor's site such as Chaturbate, StripChat, OnlyFans or MindGeek's PornHub. Pimps earn massive profits from the sold and re-sold videos of the prostitution that is converted into pornography.

Prostitution and trafficking are "interdependent phenomena" (Olsson, 2006) Pornography and trafficking are also interdependent in that pornography advertises and facilitates trafficking (MacKinnon, 2011). Pornographers can be

understood as pimps or traffickers if they physically or mentally control women. More than 80% of the time, adult women in the sex trade are under pimp control which is the same as being trafficked (Farley, Franzblau, & Kennedy, 2014). Pornography meets the legal definition of trafficking if the pornographer recruits, entices, or obtains women for the purpose of photographing a live commercial sex act. And that is precisely what pornographers do. For example, during the COVID-19 pandemic, a pimp recruited unemployed women for a job as 'models' at his porn site (Baah, 2020).

Pornographers establish mental control by alternating lavish praise and degrading insults that are designed to keep women insecure, needy, and grateful for small favors. Once they have been deceived and lied to, and after having been subjected to the contempt and brutality of porn production, women experience intense and conflicting emotions. Confused, they tell themselves what pimps have taught them: that self-commodification is a form of autonomy: "I thought that I was in charge, that I was in control. That I was deciding how I would use my body, who I would let do what to me. But I wasn't. I had only gone from having OTHERS decide how they would use me - to ME deciding how to LET others use me" (Williams, 1991).

6. UNIQUE HARMS OF PORNOGRAPHY

Pornography production results in some harms that are different from non-filmed prostitution. More extreme and more violent acts are perpetrated in porn compared to other prostitution (Tyler 2015). Women in pornography are subjected to double or triple anal penetration, fisting, and a porn actor moving his feces-contaminated penis from the woman's rectum directly to her mouth. This medically dangerous and psychologically humiliating 'ass-to-mouth' porn was found in almost half (41%) of the pornography reviewed by Bridges and colleagues (2011).

There is a difference in the level of force used against a woman in one-on-one prostitution as opposed to a porn production team where "it is just you alone up against a set full of actors, directors, writers, cameramen, stage managers,

handlers, and countless others who want a film of actual abuse, rape, humiliation, trauma, and mental despair/fragmentation” (Jewell Baraka, personal communication, June 30, 2020). A woman who was filmed at a kink.com production said that she quickly dissociated during a 5-hour torture session during which she was filmed being vaginally tortured and electrocuted. When she went to the bathroom afterwards, she saw other women who had also been bruised and who were bleeding from porn productions.

Pornography productions last many hours with risks of harm increasing over time (Jensen, 2007). Sometimes the abuse is prolonged because of the complexity of producing a scripted and directed film of sexual exploitation and abuse, multiple actors, and re-shooting. The harm of porn production, as compared to a 15 or 30-minute session with a sex buyer, is much longer, sometimes many hours longer. And during that time, women experience fear, humiliation and physical pain that requires dissociation to survive, and the additional knowledge that even when the filming is over, a document of that humiliation and abuse exists.

Women in the sex trade usually plan to get in, obtain urgently needed money, and get out as fast as they can. They do not want porn made of their prostitution with those images infinitely circulating on the web where their children, future employers, friends, future partners, might view them. The pornography is infinite prostitution, a document of sexual exploitation and humiliation, the women’s bodies exploited and masturbated over endlessly into the future as long as it generates profits. Mia Khalifa was in the sex trade only four months and after escaping, was unable to get her film removed. She remains traumatized by her experience. Like many other women in porn, she was doxed, a form of vigilantism intended to terrorize or intimidate women who are its targets. Doxing causes harm by exposing personal information like a home address and job location. Doxing permits porn fans who are in reality misogynist trolls, to harass women in pornography. The men claim to be fans of specific women in porn but if she objects to being stalked online, having her Facebook page intruded upon or if she sets limits or objects in any way, the fans become enraged. She is vilified, accused of being a whore, with unprintable misogynist hate speech. Hiding behind their anonymity, obsessed porn trolls have used facial

recognition software to discover the identity of women in pornography and the details of their lives. Khalifa explained that "porn star" became a fixed part of her identity even after she escaped the sex trade. She felt trapped inside her own home, because if she went outside, men would act as if they were entitled to "touch me in public because they felt like they knew me online" (BBC News, 2019).

Women who prostitute online via webcams encounter "privacy breaches, potentially dangerous interactions with clients, and laws that are not designed to protect them" (Drolet, 2020). Many express fear about the lack of privacy in online pornography, with some resigned to inevitable privacy violations (Deliatto & Fenton, 2020). Women fear harassment, blackmail, or being subject to revenge porn if they upload videos to porn sites. Videos are often stolen from porn sites. Mansson and Soderlind (2004) described thefts of photos from a teen website and their subsequent uploads to an adult porn site. "The platforms lack security and confidentiality. Anyone can take a screenshot and then share it," one woman said. In 2020, 1.5 TB of women's pre-recorded videos and images were stolen and leaked from the UK porn site OnlyFans (Shehadi & Partington, 2020). Women were upset by pimps' siphoning-off their earnings and refusing to remove video clips when women demanded that (Cole & Cox, 2020).

Income from porn and webcamming is significantly lower than income from other prostitution, and many women are too poor to buy video equipment (France24, 2020). A woman who was not earning enough to cover her basic expenses via private webcam prostitution, decided to upload her videos to a site where sex buyers pay for what is allegedly private content. "But," she said, "with cams, your face is out there." She decided not to show her face, and then discovered that sex buyers paid even less for that (Farley, 2020).

Women in pornography are often unrecognized torture survivors. "Pornography has socialized a generation of men into watching sexual torture" (Gail Dines, quoted in Hedges, 2018, p. 124). Porn survivors tell us that the worst part was the humiliation, which is the same protest registered by state-sponsored torture survivors. The physical pain ends, but survivors of torture remain haunted by

images of themselves exposed, soiled, splayed, begging, in abject passivity and helplessness. Because women in porn are coerced into smiling, their abuse is dismissed because they are seen (incorrectly) as having freely consented to torture (Whisnant, 2016). Writing about an Internet site named Welcome to the Rape Camp, Hughes (2008) described a US pimp/trafficker/pornographer who controlled a violent brothel in Cambodia that advertised “Asian sex slaves used for bondage and humiliation.” He filmed alongside sex buyers who sometimes directed the abuse via web cams. This site produced a live interactive transmission of the torture of women by porn/sex buyers who paid per session for planning and participating in violent sex acts in real time.

A film of 251 men humiliating, raping, and torturing Grace Quek (named Annabel Chong in the porn) was sold as “The World’s Biggest Gang Bang.” After being edited down to 4 hours, the film became hardcore pornography. The filming of sex buyers assaulting Quek was stopped after 10 hours because she was bleeding internally. Sex buyers perpetrated life-threatening sexual assaults on her resulting in severe physical and psychological injuries (Farley, 2006).

Filmed torture and humiliation sell well. Specific acts in pornography and other prostitution are the same as those acts that define what torture is according to international conventions: verbal sexual harassment, unwanted sex acts, sexual mocking, physical sexual harassment such as groping (Fritz et al. 2020; Shor, 2019; Bridges et al. 2011). Waterboarding is the theme in “Toilet Mouth Rape: I get my face flushed in the toilet after forced to suck cock” (Donevan, 2019). Kink.com is a torture porn production and distribution company where women and some men are filmed for porn titled *Wired Pussy*, *Hogtied*, *Ultimate Surrender*, *Fucking Machines*, *Sex and Submission*, and *Whipped Ass*. An observer of a kink.com film said, “This is not fake. Satine is feeling submissive and Donna is definitely on top. Donna is hurting Satine; Satine is being hurt.” Another observer said that the porn scene looked like “genital mutilation” (Prostitution Research & Education, 2007, 2008). State-sponsored torture is often protested by liberal social critics yet the identical treatment of women in prostitution is ignored by those same critics. Many viewed the torture of U.S. prisoners at Abu Ghraib with shock and horror, yet at the same time they

consider the identical acts perpetrated (and also photographed) against women to be sexual entertainment. Condemning the United States' tolerance for torture in the war on terror, one journalist noted the gleeful sadism of guards at Abu Ghraib. Yet the political pundits maintain silence regarding men's gleeful sadistic behavior toward women and gay men like the porn that was produced at kink.com (Kim, 2005).

7. CONNECTIONS BETWEEN PORNOGRAPHY AND OTHER SEX TRADE BUSINESSES

In the following four examples, it is evident that pimping and sex buying are common elements in sex businesses. Following are four examples of the seamless links between pornography and other segments of the sex trade (brothels, hotels, webcam, and street prostitution). Colombian and Venezuelan women who were pimped in Bogota's red-light districts live in overcrowded, overpriced pay-per-day rooms. During the COVID-19 pandemic, webcamming was advertised by pimps as a 'privilege' offered to women who could then work from home rather than the streets. In reality, webcam sites were a solution to the pimps' dilemma: how to keep business running smoothly during quarantines. Some women tried webcamming only to discover that they had no control over the use and resale of their images on porn sites. Because they lacked Internet skills and access to banking, they were deceived and often not paid. One woman despaired, "Coronavirus is just another, barely noticeable, danger added to the dangers we face in our daily lives in order to send money to our families" (Iniciativa Pro Equidad, 2020; Farley, 2020).

In Nevada, where brothel prostitution is zoned only in rural counties, a legal pimp hired women who had previously made pornography videos. He then used their videos to advertise his legal brothel: 'pornstars for rent' (Mead, 2011). At the legal pimp's brothel, women told researchers that it was not possible to earn money unless they permitted the pimp to film their prostitution at his brothel. Although they preferred not to have video porn made of their prostitution, the pimp coerced the women into being filmed (Farley, 2007a).

Glenn Marcus produced torture porn. He psychologically coerced a woman to

permit pornography of her to be sold on his website Slavespace.com. She brought charges against Marcus who was her pimp/pornographer/trafficker and torturer. At one point he stuffed a ball gag in her mouth, sewed her mouth shut and hung her on a wall. Her attorneys used the following definition of his abuse in her lawsuit: *sex trafficking is coercing or selling a person into a situation of sexual exploitation, such as prostitution or pornography*. On March 5, 2007, pornographer Marcus was convicted of sex trafficking. This legal decision reflects a deepening understanding of the ways in which pornography, prostitution, and trafficking are the same for the person who is being sexually coerced and exploited for profit (Sherloc, 2007; Marzuli, 2012).

The convergence of several different arms of the sex trade was evident in Las Vegas. Looking like an office complex from the street, a sex business blended pornography production, trafficking, escort, and webcam prostitution (Farley 2007a). On webcam sites, sex buyers paid to watch women perform prostitution on streaming video, acting out in real time what masturbating sex buyers paid them to do. In this case, the pimp/pornographer rented six offices that functioned simultaneously as a porn production studio, a live webcam site, and a physical location where women were pimped/trafficked to locations where prostitution was legal (zoned brothels) and illegal (hotels).

8. EXIT SUPPORT FOR SURVIVORS MUST ACCOMPANY LEGAL RESPONSES TO PORNOGRAPHY

The evidence for pornography's harms to its victims, leads us to the question: what can we do to reduce or eliminate these harms? The 1999 Swedish law on prostitution provides some guidance. The law was passed after research in Sweden demonstrated that women in prostitution tend to have histories of poverty, homelessness, and childhood sexual abuse and neglect (Departementsserien 1980; SOU, 1981; SOU, 1995). The Swedish government then stated that prostitution was a discriminatory institution that harmed vulnerable women who were seen as victims, rather than criminals (SOU, 1981, 1995). Recognizing that prostitution deserved to be abolished, the Swedish government criminalized the sex buyer's purchase of sex acts, and also the sale of women (pimping) to sex buyers in street prostitution, strip club or massage

prostitution. The Swedish government also banned escort prostitution when women were advertised or sold via website or cell phone and delivered to sex buyers' hotels or homes.⁵ The Swedish legislation for ending the sex trade has inspired abolitionists elsewhere with seven countries now having implemented versions of the 1999 Swedish law, all focused on holding sex buyers accountable: Iceland, (2008), Norway (2009), Canada (2014), Northern Ireland (2015), France (2016), Republic of Ireland (2017), and Israel (2018).

Sweden's success at combating the sex trade is a result of a) its law, b) exit support for those wishing to leave prostitution, and c) education of both police and the public (Skarhed, 2010; Waltman, 2011). Education of social service providers is essential to the provision of psychologically appropriate and culturally relevant services for healing from the sex trade. Sex education programs in public schools should include modules on porn and the sex trade so that children are prepared to critically evaluate the flood of pro-sex-trade information that propagandizes them at a young age. Culture Reframed, for example, is a US organization that teaches resistance to pornography and porn culture, and educates youth, service providers, police, and the public about the harms of porn. Gail Dines penned an "Informed Consent Contract" that demystifies porn with a tongue-in-cheek 'contract' that lists in excruciating detail the probable harms that pornpimps never disclose. See Appendix A. Young men can be taught that in addition to adversely affecting their own sexual functioning, porn's harms extend to all women including women who are prostituted in porn production. Boys who learn about sex from watching pornography fail to learn about loving or intimate sex (Olsson, 2006). They assume that "sex" is what they see and masturbate to in porn. It is useful to a discussion of the harms of pornography to review the testimony of young men who have been raised on porn, behave as if addicted to it, including escalating use of violent or fetishistic porn, and who have developed problematic porn use which then wreaks havoc on their intimate relationships, self-esteem, social confidence, sexual functioning, and cognitive clarity

⁵ Skarhed (2010) and Waltman (2011) have discussed the impacts of the Swedish law. Skarhed observed Internet advertising of both prostitution and pornography in her evaluation of Sweden's law.

(Sniewski, & Farvid, 2019; Sniewski, Farvid, & Carter, 2018).⁶

Critically important but often ignored is provision of support and exit services to women who want to escape the sex trade, including escape from porn production. In order to end prostitution, women in it must be provided governmental and NGO support so that they do not have to seek out pimps to provide them with food and shelter in exchange for filmed or non-filmed prostitution. Hedin and Mansson (2003) noted the need for supportive social networks to facilitate women's escape; these networks would include informal support as well as professional psychological support.

The 2017 French law on prostitution followed Sweden's model but expanded it to provide funding for exiting survivors so they could access housing, jobs, healthcare, and longer-term support services with federal subsidies for "social and professional integration" (CAP 2017, p. 5-6). The French law offers tax debt forgiveness for exiting survivors and a temporary residence permit for foreign victims of prostitution which is not contingent on whether or not the victim assists in prosecution of sex buyers or traffickers (as is currently required in Sweden and the United States). Appreciative of the French law's focus on funding for exit programs, Talita staff in Stockholm emphasized, "The women's wellbeing must be the first and foremost priority; otherwise, the initial intention of our 1999 law—to protect and support the victim of the crime—will fail to have its intended effect" (Anna Sander and Josephine Appelqvist, personal communication, Stockholm, August 17, 2020). Enforcement of laws against the sex trade are most effective in abolishing the sex trade when funding is legally

⁶ An educational and support group approach to the porn consumer who defines himself as a problematic porn user, has been employed by at least three advocacy groups (NoFap, Fight the New Drug, and Reboot Nation) that focus on porn's harms to men themselves. These groups encourage young men to quit using porn (Luscombe, 2016). Porn recovery groups are gradually increasing their websites' links to and commentary about the harms caused to women by porn production. The groups are supplemented with information from researcher Gary Wilson, who extensively documented the evidence for porn addiction at *Your Brain on Porn* <https://www.yourbrainonporn.com/>. See a review of problematic porn use at Mauer-Vakil & Bahji, 2020. The diagnosis Compulsive Sexual Behavior Disorder, can also be helpful in understanding problematic porn use (ICD-11 for Mortality and Morbidity Statistics, 2019; Brand, 2019; Alves, & Cavalhieri, 2019).

mandated to assist women in escaping the sex trade. Access to these support services must *precede* arrests and prosecutions of pimps and sex buyers. Porn survivors have explained that their needs include housing, jobs, educational and vocational training, and psychological support (Donevan, 2019):

Having civil remedies available to prostitution/pornography victims is a good thing. But meaningful access to these remedies requires an initial investment in support and advocacy services, as well as consistent public messaging that stresses sex buyer accountability. The women have to be empowered and connected to support first before legal remedies are usable/meaningful to survivors" (Margaret Baldwin, personal communication, Refuge House, Tallahassee, August 14, 2020).

We hope that the next phase of progressive legislation in Sweden will criminalize pornography production and distribution under the 1999 law. Porn producers, porn agents, porn managers, and porn distributors can be prosecuted for pimping women under the 1999 Law. These pornpimps are legally equivalent to men who pimp women whose prostitution is not filmed. Advocating the use of anti-pimping or anti-trafficking laws against pornographers, Andrea Dworkin noted that the harms women suffered from pornography occurred as a result of "trafficking, coercion, forcing pornography on a person, and assault or physical injury due to a specific piece of pornography" (Dworkin, 1987, p. 65; see also Dworkin, 1985).

Sex buyers who coerce women to perform sex acts for payment in real time on a webcam are easily understood as sex buyers, as we have indicated above. Rosen (2020) argued that pornography that is streamed live on the Internet constitutes the purchase of a sex act as defined under Chapter 6, Section 11 of the Swedish Criminal Code. She pointed out that live pornography is "a temporary sexual relationship for remuneration" even though the parties involved in the temporary sexual relationship are not in the same physical location.

We also hope that porn buyers/users will be held accountable under civil law that could function as an adjunct to the 1999 prostitution law. Andrea Dworkin

and Catharine MacKinnon (1988) proposed compensatory damages for women who prove direct harm via porn. The civil ordinance they proposed was based on the observation, “If you want to know who is being hurt in this society, go see what is being done and to whom in pornography, then go and look for them other places in the world. You will find them being hurt in just that way” (MacKinnon, 1985, p. 56). A Florida law holds sex buyers and pimps accountable by making available civil remedies for damages that sex buyers and pimps inflict on prostituted women. Legal definitions of the acts of prostitution in Florida law easily include pornography production and buying sex. Women who are coerced into prostitution via the exploitation of their social and legal vulnerability can sue sex buyers and pimps for resulting damages. Coercion is defined in the Florida law as “any practice of domination, restraint, or inducement for the purpose of or with the reasonably foreseeable effect of causing another person to engage in or remain in prostitution or to relinquish earnings derived from prostitution; restraint of speech or communication with others; exploitation of a condition of developmental disability, cognitive limitation, affective disorder, or substance dependence; exploitation of prior victimization by sexual abuse; *exploitation during the making of pornography; and exploitation of the human needs for food, shelter, safety, or affection.*” [authors’ italics] (Florida Statutes, 2006; Minnesota Statutes, 2019; Baldwin, 1993, 2004). A number of cases brought under the Florida law have been resolved with significant financial damages awarded to women in the sex trade.

Twenty-two women were harmed by porn producers and distributors at a porn website, GirlsDoPorn. The successful lawsuit demonstrated the potential for civil remedies for women exploited in the sex trade. The recruiters at GirlsDoPorn published online ads for modeling jobs, which the 22 women responded to. The women were lied to, pressured, tricked, deceived and coerced by three pornpimps to perform acts of prostitution that were videotaped and uploaded to the Internet. They were promised that the film would never be uploaded to the Internet and that their true identities would never be revealed. The women were given several alcoholic drinks before they were pressured and coerced into signing consent forms that were confusing and fraudulent. The women arrived on the porn set, uninformed about demands the pimp/producers would make.

Sometimes after extensive travel, they were instructed by pornpimps to enact prostitution or to leave without being paid. The 22 women brought the following civil charges against the GirlsDoPorn pimps: Intentional Misrepresentation, Fraudulent Concealment, False Promise, False Imprisonment, Sexual Battery, Gender Violence, Intentional Infliction of Emotional Distress, Misappropriation of Name and Likeness, Negligence, Breach of Contract, Unlawful and Fraudulent Business Practices. Criminal trafficking charges were later added to the civil charges against the pornographers. The 22 women were awarded \$13 million in damages against the website's operators (Doe, 2017). One pimp fled to New Zealand, seeking to avoid extradition from a country where the sex trade is legal.

Three feminist organizations Osez le féminisme!, Mouvement du Nid, and Les Effrontées alerted French authorities to rape, pimping, and torture of women by porn businessmen from the Jacquie et Michel website. In a separate justice investigation, four porn producers or distributors have been charged with rape, pimping, and human trafficking including Pascal OP of French Bukkake and Mat Hadix. Some charges against the men also include money laundering, fraud, illegal employment, and "releasing/broadcasting recorded images that are a violation of the integrity of the person." As of October 2020, at least 5 victims of porn production and distribution are involved in the ongoing legal investigations (Berger, 2020; El-Khoury, 2020; Osez le féminisme, 2020).

The civil and criminal laws described here and the legal actions taken against pornographers, provide hope and suggest options for redress of harms caused by porn production. Although the 1999 Swedish law has had much success in moving toward abolition of prostitution, there remains in Sweden and elsewhere, an urgent need for increased funding for exit support for survivors.

9. CONCLUSION

This article has presented evidence for the sameness of prostitution, pornography production, and trafficking with respect to antecedent risk factors, recruitment, racism, harms perpetrated by pimps and by sex buyers, coercion, and economic exploitation. We propose a conceptual and legal reconnection of pornography,

prostitution, and trafficking. Pornography is so deeply incorporated into the sex trade that it may be more visible if seen through a different lens. Stripclub prostitution can be understood as 'live pornography' (Jeffreys, 2010) and rape-sex robots as 'mechanized pornography' (Farley, 2018). "Pornography is its own unique form of trauma," explained porn survivor and educator Jewell Baraka, "It's gang-rape culture in action".

Sex trade promoters de-link pornography, prostitution and trafficking because compartmentalization can provide a means for legal protections and social mainstreaming which increase profits. Pimps benefit when they artificially segregate and decriminalize one or another sector of the sex trade. Massage parlors are named health clubs, sugar daddy/baby prostitution is named mutually beneficial dating, and porn is named speech instead of filmed prostitution. Sex trade advocates and their attorneys tell us that pornography is speech rather than harm; that it is different from other exploitation and abuse in the sex trade. The vast inequalities, social injustices, and human rights violations that harm women in the sex trade - including pornography - must be examined, analyzed and rejected. And we must learn more about the unique harms to women who are exploited in porn production who deserve protection, support, and real alternatives.

10. REFERENCES

- Alves, C. D. B., & Cavallieri, K. E. (2019). Self-perceived problematic pornography use: An integrative model from a research domain criteria and ecological perspective. *Sexuality & Culture, 24*, 1619-1640.
- American Psychological Association, Task Force on the Sexualization of Girls. (2007). *Report of the APA task force on the sexualization of girls*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association. <http://www.apa.org/pi/wpo/sexualization.html>
- Amundsen, R. (2019). "Kind of like making porn of yourself": understanding sexting through pornography. *Feminist Media Studies, 19*(4), 479-494. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14680777.2018.1494617>
- Anonymous, (2018, April 9). Sex freak: True confessions from a former cam girl. *Fight the New Drug*. <https://fightthenewdrug.org/sex-freak-true-confessions-of-a-former-webcam-girl/>
- Asian Women Coalition Ending Prostitution. (2020). <https://www.asianwomenequality.org>
- Averdijk, M., Ribeaud, D., & Eisner, M. (2019). Longitudinal risk factors of selling and buying sexual services among youths in Switzerland. *Archives of Sexual Behavior, 48*(1), 1-11. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10508-019-01571-3>.
- Attorney General's Commission on Pornography. (1986). *Attorney General's Commission on Pornography: final report*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Dept. of Justice.
- Baah, N. (2020, March 24) This adult site is offering ex-McDonald's employees camming work. *Vice*. https://www.vice.com/en_uk/article/dygjvm/mcdonalds-workers-coronavirus-employment
- Baldwin, M. A. (1993). Strategies of connection: Prostitution and feminist politics. *Michigan Journal of Gender & Law, 1*, 65.

- Baldwin, M. A. (2004). What can be done to interfere with and ultimately eliminate demand? In Torrey, M. (Ed.) *Demand dynamics: The forces of demand in global sex trafficking*.
http://lastradainternational.org/lisidocs/514%20demand_dynamics_oct07.pdf
- Baptist, E. (2014). *The half has never been told; Slavery and the making of American capitalism*. New York: Basic Books.
- Barry, K. (1996). *The prostitution of sexuality*. New York: NYU Press.
- BBC News. (2019, August 27). Mia Khalifa: Why I'm speaking out about the porn industry. <https://www.bbc.com/news/av/entertainment-arts-49453376>
- Berger, D. (2020, September 11) *The Jacquie et Michel porn site targeted by an investigation: "It's an organized system of pimping"*. Europe1. Retrieve from: <https://fr.news.yahoo.com/site-porno-jacquie-michel-visé-053921433.html>
- Bindel, J. (2017). *The pimping of prostitution*. London: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Boyer, D. (2008). *Who pays the price? Assessment of youth involvement in prostitution in Seattle*. Seattle: Human Services Department, Domestic Violence and Sexual Assault Prevention Division.
- Brand, M. (2019) Theories, prevention, and treatment of pornography-use disorder. *Suchttherapie* 20(S 01), S27-03.
- Bridges, A. J., Wosnitzer, R., Scharrer, E., Sun, C., & Liberman, R. (2010). Aggression and sexual behavior in best-selling pornography videos: A content analysis update. *Violence Against Women*, 16(10), 1065–1085.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1077801210382866>.
- Brottsförebyggande rådet (BRÅ). (2008). [Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention], *The organisation of human trafficking: A study of criminal involvement in sexual exploitation in Sweden, Finland, and Estonia* (Stockholm: BRÅ, 2008).

Reconnecting Pornography, Prostitution, and Trafficking: "The experience of being in porn was like being destroyed, run over, again and again"

Burén, J., & Lunde, C. (2018). Sexting among adolescents: A nuanced and gendered online challenge for young people. *Computers in Human Behavior*, 85, 210–217. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2018.02.003>

Butler, C. N. (2015). A critical race feminist perspective on prostitution & sex trafficking in America. *Yale Journal of Law and Feminism*, 27, 95-139.

Carter, V. & Giobbe, E. (1999), Duet: Prostitution, racism, and feminist discourse. *Hastings Women's Law Journal*, 10, 37-57.

Coalition for the Abolition of Prostitution International (CAP International) (2017). *The French law of April 13 2016 aimed at strengthening the fight against the prostitutional system and providing support for prostituted persons: Principles, goals, measures and adoption of a historic law*. Brussels: CAP International. www.cap-international.org

Cole, S. & Cox, J. (2020). Inside the underground trade of pirated OnlyFans porn. *Vice*. https://www.vice.com/en_us/article/5dz3xa/onlyfans-pirated-porn-scrapers-leak

Darj, F. (2016). *Conflicting Ideas of Justice. An Analysis of the Swedish Prostitution Policy Debate*. Lund University Dept of Political Science. Unpublished paper. <http://lup.lub.lu.se/luur/download?func=downloadFile&recordId=8873349&fileId=8873350>

Deer, S. (2010). Relocation revisited: Sex trafficking of Native women in the United States. *William Mitchell Law Review*, 36(2), 621-682.

Deliatto, M. & Fenton, R. (2020, April 2). Sex workers reveal their struggle to survive the coronavirus. *New York Post*.

Departementsserien (Ds) 1980:9 *Prostitutionen i Sverige, del I och del II. En rapport utarbetad inom prostitutionsutredningen* [Prostitution in Sweden, part I and part II. A report developed within the prostitution inquiry. Department series report from the 1970 Prostitution Inquiry] (Sweden).

- Dines, G. & West, C. M. (2020, July 9). White girl moans black lives matter: Pornhub's #BLM genre and the industry's brash racism. *Slate.com*. <https://slate.com/human-interest/2020/07/pornhub-black-lives-matter-genre-racism.html>
- Dines, G. (2010). *Pornland: How porn has hijacked our sexuality*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press.
- Doe, Jane No.15 v. *GirlsDoporn.com*, Complaint No. 37-2017-00033321-CU-FR-CTL California Superior Court, San Diego County. Filed September 7, 2017. Retrieve from: <https://sanfordheisler.com>
- Donevan, M. (2019). *Out of sight, out of mind - insights into the Swedish pornography industry*. Stockholm: Talita. <https://doi.org/10.1525/FQ.2011.65.2.14>
- Drolet, G. (2020, April 10). Sex work comes home: More of us are making and watching sexual performances online now. Fewer of us are paying. *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/10/style/camsoda-onlyfans-streaming-sex-coronavirus.html>
- Dworkin, A. (1985). Against the male flood: Censorship, pornography, and equality. *Harvard Women's Law Journal* 8.
- Dworkin, A. (1987). Pornography is a civil rights issue for women. *University of Michigan Journal of Law Reform*, 21, 55.
- Dworkin, A. (1997). Suffering and speech. In A. Dworkin and C.A. MacKinnon, (Eds). *In Harm's Way: The Pornography Civil Rights Hearings*. Harvard University Press.
- Dworkin, A. & MacKinnon, C. A. (1988). *Pornography & civil rights: A new day for women's equality*. Minneapolis: Organizing Against Pornography
- El-khoury, F. (2020, September 13) Trigger warning: rape, pedocriminality. *Filia*. https://filia.org.uk/news/2020/9/13/a-french-pornography-site-investigated-for-organised-pimping-and-rape?fbclid=IwAR1-pFpR9VKVsdPAUjnxKHCZ0Z2HP0eaPmO_WW_u37KdLgRXmAZnT0oCMI

Reconnecting Pornography, Prostitution, and Trafficking: "The experience of being in porn was like being destroyed, run over, again and again"

Farley, M. (2003). Prostitution and the invisibility of harm. *Women & Therapy*, 26(3-4), 247–280.

Farley, M. (2020). Prostitution, the sex trade, and the COVID-19 pandemic. *Logos - a journal of modern society & culture*, 19, 1–34.
<https://prostitutionresearch.com/prostitution-the-sex-trade-and-the-covid-19-pandemic/>

Farley, M. (2007a) *Prostitution and Trafficking in Nevada: Making the Connections*. San Francisco: Prostitution Research & Education.

Farley, M. (2007b). 'Renting an organ for 10 Minutes:' What tricks tell us about prostitution, pornography, and trafficking. In Guinn, D.E., & DiCaro, J. (Eds), *Pornography: Driving the demand for international sex trafficking*. pp. 144–152. Los Angeles: Captive Daughters Media.

Farley, M. (2006). Prostitution, trafficking, and cultural amnesia: What we must not know in order to keep the business of sexual exploitation running smoothly. *Yale Journal of Law and Feminism*, 18, 109-144.

Farley, M., Cotton, A., Lynne, J., Zumbeck, S., Spiwak, F., Reyes, M. E., Alvarez, D., Sezgin, U., (2003). Prostitution and trafficking in nine countries: An update on Violence and posttraumatic stress disorder. *Journal of Trauma Practice*, 2(3/4), 33–74.

Farley, M., Franzblau, K., & Kennedy, M. A. (2014). Online prostitution and trafficking. *Albany Law Review*, 77(3), 1039–1095.

Farley, M. & Richardson, K. (2017, October 15). Panel on gender and tech: Sex robots. London: *Filia*. October 15, 2017.

Florida Statutes. (2006). FLA. STAT. § 796.09(k)–(o) Prostitution. Coercion; civil cause of action; evidence; defenses; attorney's fees.

France24. (2020, March 25). Life under lockdown ups precarity for prostitutes. *Agence France-Presse*. <https://www.france24.com/en/20200325-life-under-lockdown-ups-precarity-for-france-s-prostitutes>

- Fritz, N., Malic, V., Paul, B., & Zhou, Y. (2020). A descriptive analysis of the types, targets, and relative frequency of aggression in mainstream pornography. *Archives of Sexual Behavior*. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10508-020-01773-0>
- Giobbe, E. (1990). Confronting the liberal lies about prostitution. In Leidholdt, D. & Raymond, J. G. (Eds.) *The sexual liberals and the attack on feminism*. pp. 67-81. New York: Teachers College Press 1990.
- Grudzen, C. R., Meeker, D., Torres, J. M., Du, Q., Morrison, R. S., Andersen, R. M., & Gelberg, L. (2011). Comparison of the mental health of female adult film performers and other young women in California. *Psychiatric Services*, 62(6), 639–645. https://doi.org/10.1176/ps.62.6.pss6206_0639
- Grudzen, C. R., Ryan, G., Margold, W., Torres, J., & Gelberg, L. (2009). Pathways to health risk exposure in adult film performers. *Journal of Urban Health*, 86(1), 67–78. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11524-008-9309-4>
- Hedges, C. (2018). *America the farewell tour*. Sadism pp. 112-149. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Hedin, U. & Mansson S.A. (2003) The importance of supportive relationships among women leaving prostitution. In M Farley (ed) *Prostitution, Trafficking and Traumatic Stress*. Pp 223-238. Abingdon-on-Thames: Routledge.
- Hughes, D. (2008). Welcome to the rape camp: Sexual exploitation and the Internet in Cambodia. *Journal of Sexual Aggression*, 6(1), 29-51.
- ICD-11 for Mortality and Morbidity Statistics. (2019). 6C72 Compulsive Sexual Behaviour Disorder. <https://icd.who.int/browse11/l-m/en#/http%3a%2f%2fid.who.int%2fid%2fentity%2f1630268048>.
- Iniciativa Pro Equidad. (2020). *Nonprofit abolitionist organization*. Bogota, Colombia.
- Javanbakht, M., Dillavou, M. C., Rigg, R. W., Kerndt, P. R., & Gorbach, P. M. (2017). Transmission Behaviors and Prevalence of Chlamydia and Gonorrhea among

Adult Film Performers. *Sexually Transmitted Diseases*, 44(3), 181–186.
<https://doi.org/10.1097/OLQ.0000000000000567>

- Jeffreys, S. (2011). Live pornography: Strip clubs in the international political economy of prostitution. In Reist, M.T. & Bray, A. (Eds.), *Big porn inc.: Exposing the harms of the global pornography industry*. pp. 136-143. North Melbourne: Spinifex.
- Jensen, R. (2011). Stories of a rape culture: Pornography as propaganda. In Reist, M. T. & Bray, A. (Eds.), *Big porn inc.: Exposing the harms of the global pornography industry*. pp. 25-33. North Melbourne: Spinifex
- Jensen, R. (2007). *Getting off: Pornography and the end of masculinity*. Cambridge: South End Press.
- Kaestle, C. E. (2012). Selling and buying sex: A longitudinal study of risk and protective factors in adolescence. *Prevention Science*, 13(3), 314-322.
- Kim, R. (2005, December 26). Pop Torture. *The Nation*, 37.
<https://www.thenation.com/article/archive/pop-torture>
- Lopez, C. (2020, March 5). Porn sites are peddling coronavirus-themed porn – and a lot of it is racist. *Insider*.
- MacKinnon, C. A. (1985). Pornography, Civil Rights and Speech. *Harvard Civil Rights-Civil Liberties Law Review*, 20, 1.
- MacKinnon, CA and Dworkin, A. (1997). *In harm's way. The pornography civil rights hearings*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Månsson, S-A., & Larsson, S. (1976) *Svarta Affärer. Utredning om vissa klubbars och näringsställens sociala betydelse och struktur* [Black Business. An investigation concerning the social meaning and structure of certain clubs and restaurants]. Malmö: Malmö Socialförvaltning.
- Månsson, S-A. & Söderlind (2004). *Sexindustrin på Nätet Aktörer, Innehåll, Relationer och Ekonomiska Flöden*. [Technology and Pornography: The Sex Industry on the Internet: Actors, Content, Relations and Financial Flows] Stockholm: Egalite.

- Marston, C. & Lewis R. (2014). Anal heterosex among young people and implications for health promotion: a qualitative study in the UK. *BMJ Open*.
<https://doi.org/10.1136/bmjopen-2014-004996>
- Marzuli, J. (2012, March 6). Victim of sex trafficker Glenn Marcus tells tormenter she carries 'scars of torture.' *New York Daily News*.
<https://www.nydailynews.com/new-york/victim-sex-trafficker-glenn-marcus-tells-tormenter-carries-scars-torture-article-1.1033743>
- Mead, R. (2001, April 23). American Pimp. *New Yorker*.
<https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2001/04/23/american-pimp>
- Minnesota Statutes. (2019). MINN. STAT. § 611A.80 *Definitions*.
<https://www.revisor.mn.gov/statutes/2019/cite/611A.80>
- Moran, R. & Farley, M. (2019). Consent, coercion, and culpability: Is prostitution stigmatized work or an exploitive and violent practice rooted in sex, race, and class inequality? *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, 48, 1947-1953.
- Nelson, V. (1993). Prostitution: Where racism and sexism intersect. *Michigan Journal of Gender & Law*, 81, 81–89.
- Olsson, H. (2006, April) From male privilege to crime: The prostitution issue in Sweden during the last 30 years *Kvinnovetenskaplig tidskrift* Translation by P. Bowen.
- Osez le féminisme (2020, October 20) Press Release. Pornography: rapes, procuring, human trade. <http://osezlefeminisme.fr/4-pornocriminals-charged-rapists-torturers-and-pimps-in-jail/>
- Pape, P. (2018). Prostitution and its impact on youth: Violence, domination and inequality. *Antyajaa: Indian Journal of Women and Social Change*, 2(2), 146–154.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/2455632717744312>
- Plekhanova, L. (2006, 10 August). Prostitution remains issue for Ukrainian modeling industry. *Kyiv Post*. <http://www.kyivpost.com/business/general/24915/>

Reconnecting Pornography, Prostitution, and Trafficking: "The experience of being in porn was like being destroyed, run over, again and again"

Prostitution Research & Education. (2007, October 22). *Kink.com in San Francisco: Women and gay men's Abu Ghraib*. https://prostitutionresearch.com/?sfid=5318&sf_s=kink.com

Prostitution Research & Education. (2008, January 16). Report of assault at kink.com a San Francisco torture pornography production company. https://prostitutionresearch.com/report_of_assault_at_kinkcom_a/

Rosen, E. (2020). Buying sex on the internet: Live pornography or purchase of sexual service under Chapter 6. Section 11 of the Penal Code? (Unpublished Master's thesis). Örebro Universitet, Örebro.

Salter, M. (2015). Privates in the online public: Sex(ting) and reputation on social media. *New Media & Society*, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444815604133>

Shehadi, S. & Partington, M. (2020, April 7). Coronavirus: offline sex workers forced to start again online. *BBC News*. <https://www.bbc.com/news/technology-52183773>

Sherloc Case Law. (2007). United States vs. Glenn Marcus. https://sherloc.unodc.org/cld/case-law-doc/traffickingpersonscrimetype/usa/2007/united_states_v._glenn_marcus.html?

Shor, E. (2019). Age, aggression, and pleasure in popular online pornographic videos. *Violence Against Women*, 25(8), 1018–1036. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077801218804101>

Silbert, M. & Pines, A. (1982). Entrance into Prostitution. *Youth and Society*, 13, 471-500.

Simons, R. L., & Whitbeck, L. B. (1991). Sexual abuse as a precursor to prostitution and victimization among adolescent and adult homeless women. *Journal of family issues*, 12(3), 361-379.

Simonton, A. & Smith, C. (2004). "Who are women in pornography? A conversation." In Stark, C., & Whisnant, R. (Eds.), *Not for sale: Feminists resisting prostitution and pornography*. pp. 352–361. North Melbourne, Australia: Spinifex Press.

- Skarhed, A. (2010). *Selected extracts of the Swedish government report SOU 2010:49: —The Ban against the Purchase of Sexual Services. An evaluation 1999-2008*. Stockholm: Swedish Institute.
- Sniewski, L., & Farvid, P. (2019). Hidden in shame: Heterosexual men's experiences of self-perceived problematic pornography use. *Psychology of Men & Masculinities*. Advance online publication. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/men0000232>
- Sniewski, L., Farvid, P., & Carter, P. (2018). The assessment and treatment of adult heterosexual men with self-perceived problematic pornography use: A review. *Addictive Behaviors, 77*, 217-224.
- Statens Offentliga Utredningar (SOU) 1981:71 *Prostitution i Sverige, bakgrund och åtgärder* [Prostitution in Sweden, background and measures: Final Report of the 1970 Prostitution Inquiry] [government report series] (Sweden).
- Statens Offentliga Utredningar (SOU) 1995:15 *Könshandeln: Betänkande av 1993 års Prostitutionsutredning* [The Sex Trade: Final Report of the 1993 Prostitution Inquiry] [government report series] (Sweden).
- Sveriges Kvinnolobby (2010). *Remissvar SOU 2010:49*. Swedish Women's Lobby. <http://sverigeskvinnolobby.se>
- Tyler, M. (2015). Harms of production: Theorising pornography as a form of prostitution. *Women's Studies International Forum, 48*, 114–123. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.wsif.2014.11.014>
- Urada, L. A., Rusakova, M., Odinkova, V., Tsuyuki, K., Raj, A., & Silverman, J. G. (2019). Sexual exploitation as a minor, violence, and HIV/STI risk among women trading sex in St. Petersburg and Orenburg, Russia. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health, 16*(22), 1–14. <https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph16224343>
- Waltman, M. (In press). The politics of legal challenges to pornography: A comparative analysis. *Wisconsin Journal of Law, Gender, & Society, 35*.

Reconnecting Pornography, Prostitution, and Trafficking: "The experience of being in porn was like being destroyed, run over, again and again"

- Waltman, M. (2014). The politics of legal challenges to pornography: Canada, Sweden, and the United States. *Stockholm Studies in Politics* No. 160. Ph.D. dissertation, Stockholm University. ISBN 9789176490471. <https://ssrn.com/abstract=2539998>
- Waltman, M. (2011). Sweden's prohibition of purchase of sex: The law's reasons, impact, and potential. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 34(5), 449–474. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.wsif.2011.06.004>
- Ward, L. M. (2016). Media and sexualization: State of empirical research, 1995–2015, *The Journal of Sex Research*, 53(4-5), 560-577. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00224499.2016.1142496>
- Ward, H., & Day, S. (2006). What happens to women who sell sex? Report of a unique occupational cohort. *Sexually Transmitted Infections*, 82(5), 413–417. <https://doi.org/10.1136/sti.2006.020982>
- West, C. M. (2020, July 2). *Why racist pornography is a form of sexual violence*. Fight The New Drug. <https://fightthenewdrug.org/how-mainstream-porn-normalizes-violence-against-black-women/>
- West, C. M., Williams, L. M., & Siegel, J. A. (2000). Adult sexual revictimization among Black women sexually abused in childhood: A prospective examination of serious consequences of abuse. *Child maltreatment*, 5(1), 49-57.
- Whisnant, R. (2016). Pornography, humiliation, and consent. *Sexualization, Media, & Society*, 2(3), 1-7. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2374623816662876>
- Williams, J.L. (1991). *Sold Out: A Recovery Guide for Prostitutes Anonymous*. 11225 Magnolia Blvd, #181 North Hollywood Blvd CA.
- Wilson, H. W. & Widom, C. S. (2010). The role of youth problem behaviors in the path from child abuse and neglect to prostitution: A prospective examination. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, 20, 210-236. <https://doi:10.1111/j.1532-7795.2009.00624.x>

Winter, C. (2018, April 29). Inside Bordoll, a German sex-doll brothel in Dortmund. *DW/Deutsche-Welle*. <https://www.dw.com/en/inside-bordoll-a-german-sex-doll-brothel-in-dortmund/a-43584520>

11. APPENDIX

Porn Informed Consent Contract

Do you consent to:

1. Losing control of the most intimate part of your life for as long as you live and after (because the images will live on long after you die). Exposing your body to untold millions of porn consumers who will view you as a "slut" or a "whore." You will never be able to regain control of these images and they will be owned and distributed by and across the porn industry.

Should you decide that you no longer want the pornographic images circulating across multiple platforms, you will have limited to no legal recourse to prevent this, and most likely, you will make no money beyond the initial payment.

If you decide to fight this in court, you will have to pay lawyers' fees (generally around \$350 per hour) with no guarantee that you will win. And even if you do, you cannot wipe out these images because they will have spread across the internet and been downloaded by thousands, if not millions, of porn consumers. They will likely be re-packaged and sold in bulk to distribution networks that will be hard to trace given that many are dispersed across the world.

2. Catching numerous STDs, many of which are antibiotic resistant, including, but not limited to:

- Chlamydia of the anus/throat/vagina/eye
- Gonorrhea of the anus/throat/vagina/eye
- Fecal throat infections
- Herpes of the Eye and/or Nose
- HIV of the Eye
- Hepatitis B and C

3. The possibility of the following happening on the porn set:

- Anal/Vaginal/Throat rape
- Vaginal or Anal Tears
- Rectal Prolapse
- Miscarriage if you are pregnant
- Being forced to doing sex acts you clearly stated in your contract that you would not do
- Damage to surgically implanted breasts that could cause rupture and would need removing
- Developing PTSD because of the ongoing abuse to body and soul

4. If any of 2 or 3 happens, you are responsible for all health care and medications because as contract labor, you have no health care benefits.

5. Being attacked on social media by the pornographers if you sue to prevent further distribution of the images. There is a strong possibility that they will set their lawyers on you, dig into every part of your past and present life, smear you on social media as mentally unstable, a “slut,” a criminal, and so on.

6. Very high probability of your friends, family and any children you may have, finding these images. Your children will most likely be shamed by their peers, ridiculed for having a mother who was in pornography, feel like social outcasts, and have to live in a community that will most likely see you as a “slut.”

7. Living in fear of future employers finding your images on the internet and firing you because your past behavior does not follow professional protocols of the company.

8. Living your life in a vulnerable and unsafe world that has robbed you of bodily integrity, the right to privacy, the right to control your own image, the right to live free from fear, the right to live a healthy life, the right to make mistakes and then undo these mistakes, the right to feel empowered, the right to evolve into an adult that has ownership of their life, image, sexuality and personhood.

© Gail Dines, Ph.D. Culture Reframed 2019. All Rights Reserved.