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Do It Yourself

A Content Analysis of Pornographic Tube Sites

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Science in Sociology at Virginia Commonwealth University

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Virginia Commonwealth University
Richmond, Virginia
May, 2013

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Abstract

In 2008 it was reported that there are approximately 28,258 internet users viewing pornography every second, and that men look at pornography online more than any other subject matter (Eberstadt 2009). Pornography has become a primary tool of sex education for young men (Bowater 2011) with the average age of first exposure being age 11 (Stefan 2012). However, research on viewer understanding and interpretation of the images is scarce. What are boys learning about sexuality as they watch pornography? Do they use pornography as a 'how-to' manual expressing a desire to mimic the onscreen act or do they use pornography as a general stimulant expressing a generalized pleasure, interpreting the act in alternative ways? The pro-pornography stance stresses the agency of the viewer, meaning the viewer has the ability to access a broad array of content creating a poly-semiotic or figurative experience. The anti-pornography stance stresses the agency of the industry, meaning the industry pushes a dominant design creating a mono-semiotic or literal experience. The purpose of this study is to look at how viewers of online pornography interpret what they see. By analyzing viewer comments sampled from free pornographic tube sites, this study seeks to understand the extent of viewer agency; do men interpret pornographic images literally or figuratively?

Introduction

The pornography industry is one of the most lucrative and fast growing industries with annual sales growing from \$8 billion in 1996 to \$13.3 billion by 2006 in the United States alone (Bridges et al. 2010). These annual revenues generated by the pornography industry are larger than ABC, NBC and CBS combined (Gorman et al. 2010). In Los Angeles alone there are over 200 production companies that employ over 1,400 performers. In fact, Hollywood produces about 400 films a year and the pornography industry produces over 11,000 films a year, meaning the porn industry produces 27.5 times the number of films as Hollywood. (Stefan 2012). As the pornography industry grows, it continues to become more acceptable both socially and culturally; as a result, there are more X-rated bookstores in the United States than McDonalds (Hudson 2006). It was also reported that of the 1,000 most viewed websites, over 100 of them are pornographic (Kimmel 2008). This industry's 66.2 percent increase in revenue can be attributed to an overwhelmingly high demand, but who is generating this high demand?

There are approximately 28,258 internet users viewing pornography every second (Eberstadt 2009). Although pornography is most accessible through the internet, the industry can also reach its viewers through posters, DVDs, pay per view, on demand and magazines. According to the editors of Maxim, a majority of their 2.6 million subscribers are males and 76% are unmarried with a median age of 26 (Kimmel 2008). This isn't to say that women don't watch pornography, but 72% of all viewers are male, and 20% of those viewers have even admitted to viewing pornography at work. Kimmel (2008) reported that porn isn't something

that phases out as boys turn into men, but instead the type of porn and scenario for viewing change. For example, most high school and college-aged males tend to watch the more extreme and humiliating videos, such as double penetration, in groups or as a guide to how sexual encounters are supposed to work, whereas adult men tend to watch by themselves or with a partner (Kimmel 2008). However, the development of free pornographic tube sites has begun to drastically change the way men view pornography at all ages.

The creation of free pornographic tube-sites makes pornography that much more accessible with averages of 42 million hits per day on one individual tube site (Wallace 2011). This number is so staggering because 10 years ago the total for all adult site traffic averaged less than one million hits per day (Wallace 2011). Like YouTube, pornographic tube sites give viewers an unlimited amount of videos at their fingertips for free. Before pornographic tube sites, viewers of pornography had to first confirm they were over the age of 18 and then buy a membership to get beyond the homepage. Fabian Thylmann, an owner of multiple pornographic tube sites, stated in an interview with New York Magazine that “people who consume only free porn, are people who, in the past, would not have consumed any” (Wallace: 2011). Pornographic content alone has generated a heated debate for centuries, but now with the size of the industry, the overwhelming amount of demand by viewers and the ease of accessibility through free tube sites, the argument has been amplified.

The porn wars were created by those who have extremely differing opinions on how pornography impacts both men and women. Most notably, this debate flourished amongst

second-wave feminist. For some feminists, pornography was seen as liberating and it allowed women to openly experiment with their bodies and their sexuality. For other feminist “this proliferation of sexual imagery was not liberating; rather it . . . presented them as objects merely to serve and submit to male sexual pressure” (Hudson 2006). Outside of this community, the debate surfaced in legislation with anti-pornography legislation such as the 1986 attorney generals commission on pornography and pro-pornography legislation that protects American’s first amendment right to freedom of speech and expression. The effect pornography has on society continues to divide feminists, scholars, Christians, parents and legislators generating a need for further research.

Unfortunately, most current pro-pornography and anti-pornography groups tend to use “research” that solely supports their stance to create an argument for the sake of arguing as opposed to relying on more non-biased procedures (Bridges et al. 2010). Pro-Pornography producer Nina Hartley believes that anti-pornography researchers focus on one or two examples that are particularly heinous, obscuring the broader truth, that the market of sexual entertainment contains products for almost every taste (in Bridges et al. 2010). Conversely, anti-pornography researchers see a lack of empirical data that supports the theoretical stance pro-pornography feminists have formulated. These contradictory analyses reflect the oppositional theoretical lens; pro-pornography researchers rely on a post-structuralist argument in believing that “objects do not have one meaning permanently embedded in them at the moment of creation” (Armstrong and Weinberg 2006: 412) whereas anti-pornography

analysis remains grounded in focusing on the production of pornography and the systems of dominance supported in that production process (Dines: 2010). These theoretical differences result in contradictory understandings of power and agency; for the pro-pornography feminist, agency resides in the viewer's ability to interpret the material in a wide variety of ways creating a poly-semiotic experience. The anti-pornography feminist locates agency inside the capitalist production processes such that the industry controls the message through the power of the dominant design creating a more literal or mono-semiotic experience for the viewer.

This research aims to contribute to the porn debate by looking at how viewers of free pornographic tube sites interpret what they see by analyzing the comments left by viewers. Through a content analysis of comments left on the top viewed videos on four of the most popular tube sites, this research approaches the pornography debate differently by concentrating on sex-education and focusing on how viewers are actually interpreting the images they are seeing instead of hypothesizing how they may or may not be effected by pornographic images. This method will take a different approach to agency by looking at it from the viewer's perspective instead of the image or industry's perspective.

Literature Review

The prevalence of pornography has generated a heated debate between those who are pro-pornography and those who are anti-pornography. This debate has little to do with whether or not an individual watches or likes pornography, but instead stems from whether or not pornography has an effect on society and its viewers. Stemming from second wave feminism and the sexual revolution, the porn wars have divided feminists debating whether pornography is liberating or dominating. One anti-pornography researcher theorizes that pornography both reflects and promotes “male dominance in society by communicating a message of male supremacy and dominance to consumers” (Bauserman 1996). Conversely, pro-pornography researchers argue that “consensual sexual practices, and the depictions of these practices, do not constitute sexual violence” (McKee 2008: 170). What is central to the porn wars debate is whether consumers of pornography are learning meaningless fantasy or misogyny. For Dines (2010) and other anti-pornography researchers, pornography is a critical tool in supporting the patriarchal system because it justifies and encourages the oppression of women reinforcing the notion that “women are only valued as providing sexual gratification” (1996:406). Pro-pornography feminist, Wendy McElroy (1998) stated that “pornography breaks cultural and political stereotypes, so that each woman can interpret sex for herself” and that pornography allows women to accept and enjoy their appetites and urges. These differing opinions make up the foundation of the porn wars, but a more in-depth look at the pro-

pornography and anti-pornography stances will be dissected below, beginning with pornography's role in sex education.

Porn as a sex education manual

Research shows that 80% of public school districts in the United States offer some sort of instruction in sex-related topics (Marsiglio and Mott 1986). Although sex-related topics are covered in schools, most sex-education still possesses an abstinence only theme in order to receive federal funding under the Adolescent Family Life Act (Denny and Young 2006). As pornography has become more easily accessible, teenagers have begun to seek other avenues for learning about sex-education with the average age at which American boys first view pornography being 11 years old (Stefan 2012). Karen Ciclitira's research found that most student participants she interviewed reported that pornography functioned as an important sex education tool for them (In Atwood 2005). Holland et al. (1998) found that both men and women use the media for sex-education, the difference being that men use pornography to learn about sex and women use romance novels and magazines sending two very different messages to young men and women. This difference in resources was also found by Measor (2012) who interviewed adolescent boys and girls about sex education. She found that girls tended to discuss the importance of friends and magazines in reference to gaining knowledge about sexuality whereas boys discussed the importance of peer groups and pornography. One male participant in her interview stated "In class you only get what happens explained to you, whereas in porn you can see exactly what is going on. You must feel stupid going into a sexual

relationship when you don't know what to do, which you wouldn't from only . . . looking at diagrams in the textbooks" (Measor 2012: 156). Pornography as a form of sex education has become a reoccurring theme in research on adolescent sexuality but how exactly does this effect teen's sexuality?

Knowing that pornography plays a pivotal role in developing adolescent male's sexuality, creates an increased need to understand how this can affect teen's views of sex and sexuality. Wong et al. found that male adolescents who viewed pornography were 6 times more likely to be sexually active than adolescent males who had not (2009:49). Wong et al. (2009) also found that almost 60% of male adolescents reported curiosity as the primary reason for engaging in sexual intercourse for the first time where 70% of female adolescents reported love or not knowing how to say no. Shaw (1999) came to a similar conclusion when he found that women felt an increased pressure to participate or perform unwanted sexual acts seen by their partners in pornography. Research shows that the social construction of adolescent boys and girls sexuality relies heavily on stereotypical pornography scenarios. Measor reported that "knowing what to do in a sexual encounter is defined as a male responsibility, not as a shared concern for two young partners who can mutually explore and experiment" (2012: 158). When interviewing both teenage boys and girls about sex, she found that both male and female participants found it important for the male to take charge in the bedroom. Seeing that teenagers are turning to pornography for information about sex, it is important to understand not just how it impacts adolescent's sexuality but what viewers of pornography are learning.

Current research can be broken into the pro-pornography position that sees pornography as a tool for fantasy and exploration promoting the agency of the individual and the anti-pornography position that sees pornography as a media source reinforcing aggression and misogyny towards women, promoting the agency of the industry. Both pro-pornography and anti-pornography research will be discussed in terms of this central theme in hopes of better understanding current empirical evidence on how viewers interpret pornography.

Pro-Pornography

Within the porn wars, one reoccurring pro-pornography theme is pornography use being harmless fantasies giving viewers the opportunity to openly explore their sexuality; a view that stresses the agency of the individual. Pro-pornography psychologist Michael Bader sees pornography use as something that is in the head and stays in the head. Giving pornography viewers the benefit of the doubt, he assumes they are sophisticated enough to enjoy pornography for its over-the-top sexual shenanigans as playful fantasies (in Dines 2010). Pro-pornography feminists also report that pornography makes women more confident and open to different sexual experiences, seeing pornography as empowering, not oppressing. Weinberg's (2010) research supports this claim with results that show pornography consumption as positive normalization and empowerment. His respondents, most notably the female respondents, reported using pornography for confidence or for trying new things. Aside from normalizing certain sexual acts, other researchers found that some young men use pornography to provide information about female anatomy and sexual techniques making

them more confident when having sex (Holland et al 1998). Seeing pornography as harmless fantasies or a user manual is something that feminist Wendy McElroy strongly supports. She believes that individual women have the right to define what is objectifying and liberating for themselves (1998). Pro-pornography researchers also rely on erotica porn that is made by women and for women as an example of liberation within the pornography industry.

Theoretical Framework

All of the above pro-pornography claims promote the agency of the individual, meaning each individual has the ability to interrupt pornography in their own way, creating a poly-semiotic experience. The theoretical foundation of this argument is based off Erving Goffman's work who theorized that all members of society are able to exercise some amount of agency (Sewell 1992). Goffman's theory is based off the idea that the amount of agency one has depends on each individual situation and that cultural norms, values and social institutions may also play a part in how much agency one has in any given situation. In terms of pornography consumption, the pro-pornography stance believes viewers have the maximum amount of agency, being able to differentiate between the fantasies they explore online and their real life sexual encounters. This amount of agency creates what is known as a poly-semiotic experience. Supporting this idea Kibby and Costello (2001) argue that pornography is the only industry that can accommodate individuals of all cultures with diverse desires creating a number of possible interpretations and experiences. The idea that there is a wide variety of interpretations and

experiences creates what is known as a poly-semiotic experience, meaning each pornographic image one encounters can be interpreted in an infinite number of ways. Frederic Regard stated that “pornographic representation is a matter of semiotics”, but whether pornography creates a mono-semiotic experience or a poly-semiotic experience is an issue that divides the porn wars debate.

Pro-pornography research supports the theory that the viewer has the maximum amount of agency by reporting a number of positive effects pornography can have on its viewers. McKee interviewed over one thousand consumers of pornography in Australia and found that only 7% reported any negative effects (McKee 2008). What McKee also found is aside from 35% of viewers reporting no effect, 57% reported a positive effect including feeling more open minded and more attentive to their partner’s pleasure (McKee 2008). Most critics of McKee’s work address the sample, stating that people who have larger negative effects from viewing pornography would be less likely to take the survey. Pro-pornography researcher Weinberg also reported on the positive effects of pornography when he interviewed 245 college-aged students and argues that “pornography seems to function not only as a learning experience, but a source of erotic empowerment for the viewer-building up confidence to try new things” (Weinberg et al 2010:1396). Although Gorman found that, according to her sample, most videos focused on the male sexual pleasure she also found that violence was not commonly depicted in easily obtainable and free internet pornography making it difficult for one to reenact a violent act, when it is not easily obtainable.

The pro-pornography stance also makes a convincing argument that pornography may provide the lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgendered community (LGBT) with a representation of other people that have similar sexual urges as themselves as well as providing validation for those urges. Living in a hetero-normative society, McKee argues that pornography allows those who fit outside what's considered "normal" the ability to seek acceptance and gain knowledge about their sexuality. Although McKee brings up a good point, he later back tracks and stated that "although our research indicates that porn can (and does) serve as sex education for many the vast majority of porn imagery is a poor teacher when it comes to sexual ethics, negotiation consumers, skills and sexual boundary-setting" (2008:171). Kendall's findings confirm McKee's backtracking by concluding that gay porn portrays "straight, or at least straight acting, men beat, rape, and/or humiliate descriptively (frequently stereotypical) gay men" (2004: 905).

In terms of empowering women, pro-pornography researcher Podlas found that the internet gives women entrepreneurship opportunities. Of the 71 cybersex sites she examined, 35 were female owned (Podlas: 2000). Psychologist Leonore Tiefer notes the opportunity for economic empowerment when she stated "sex industry workers, like all women, are striving for economic survival and a decent life, and if feminism means anything it means sisterhood and solidarity with these women" (in McElroy 2006). This has not only enabled women to have easy access to porn from the privacy of their homes, but it has also enabled them (as well as men) to produce and distribute their own non-professional porn relatively cheaply (McNair, 2002). By breaking down the distinction between producer and consumer, interactive sex entertainment

has enabled individuals to write their own sexual identities, and to accommodate diverse desires and cultural meanings (Kibby and Costello, 2001). However, Schauer examined porn advertised by women- for women and found that all of the sites he examined seemed “visually suggestive of straight male porn” with the focus being on the woman’s body and male penetration (Schauer 2005: 62). Like Weinberg’s (2010) study discussed above, Shaw had some female participants who consume pornography report positive outcomes such as heightened sexual pleasure or learning something new. Shaw also found that women who were in a relationship with porn users typically reported a strong dislike towards pornography and their partners’ consumption. Although the idea of a growing industry of pornography that is advertised as by women-for women is great, the reality is that this type of pornography is a mirror image of the male dominated pornography enterprise. This, coupled with the fact that only one researcher found a majority of cybersex sites being female owned using questionable sampling methods, shows a lack of empirical evidence that supports the popular pro-pornography theory that pornography can and does serve as a positive fantasy driven tool for young men and women.

Anti-Pornography

One reoccurring anti-pornography theme is the idea of pornography use being harmful to its viewers, producing a factory line of repetitive images created by savvy capitalists. Dines touches on this when she compared pornographic images to images of models in advertisements. Although women know beauty standards in advertisements are unattainable,

it doesn't stop them from spending thousands of dollars in hopes of attaining these unattainable beauty standards. As pornography becomes more mainstream and easily accessible, Gail Dines' comparison becomes more plausible. Aside from unattainable beauty standards, anti-pornography researchers discuss the perpetuation of misogynistic ideologies in pornography. Bauserman theorizes that pornography both reflects and promotes "male dominance in society by communicating a message of male supremacy and dominance to consumers" (Bauserman 1996). He also argues that pornography depicts women as sex objects and stated that "women are only valued as providing sexual gratification" and that pornography presents "actual aggression against women in a positive light" (1996:406). The anti-pornography stance also believes that viewing pornography "creates unrealistic expectations of deep thrusting penetration that lasts for hours and ends with screaming orgasms" (Dines 2010). One psychologist who works with internet sex addicts interviewed by Pamela Paul stated that rape-like pornography is a "brutal way to be introduced to sexuality" and that "pornography doesn't show how a real couple negotiates conflict or creates intimacy" (Witherspoon institute 2009).

Theoretical Framework

All of the above anti-pornography claims support the agency of the industry and this radical feminist approach to pornography consumption is rooted in Marxism. Radical feminist see that the production of pornography is based on unequal power relations between the men that produce pornography and the women that are objectified in pornography (Prevos 2006).

Marx theory is based off this same premise of unequal power relations but at the core of Marxist theory is the use of capitalism to facilitate the commodification of a product, and in this case that product is pornography. This process of commodification occurs when there is a disconnect between the production and consumption of a product resulting in that product becoming reduced to a mere exchange rate (Prevos 2006). This theory applies to the modern day consumption of pornography, where videos and women become nothing more than what it cost to consume them. Although Marx did not discuss semiotics, the commodification of pornography results in a mono-semiotic experience meaning the viewer cannot go beyond the factory line images that are being produced. Research supporting this claim will be discussed in-depth below, in hopes of illustrating the effects pornography has on its viewers.

Some Anti-pornography research relies on the actual pornographic images and what they are depicting, in order to better explain if pornography perpetuates the dominate design. Bridges et al. found that 90% of top-rented and best-selling pornography videos portrayed female-to-male oral sex and 86% portrayed vaginal intercourse (2010). Even pro-pornography researcher McKee found that fellatio is much more common than cunnilingus in mainstream pornography (McKee 2008). Gorman et al. noted that even though the pornography industry is constantly changing and has dramatically shifted over the last 20 years, most images still focus on male sexual pleasure. They also stated “because the female is frequently portrayed as assuming a submissive role, viewers may take this as a template for normal sexual behavior” (2010:142). Gorman’s research also supports this anti-pornography argument by finding that

most pornography analyzed in their study portrayed power relations where women frequently assumed a submissive role (Gorman et al 2010). The constant portrayal of women as sexual objects blurs the lines between what is playful fantasy in the cybersex sphere and what takes place in real life, leading one to question if pornography leads to rape?

Anti-pornography researchers are the first to admit that viewing pornography does not lead to rape but instead believe that “pornography has a multilayered effect on male sexuality” and that pornography “is a cultural practice that has been woven into the fabric of a male-dominated society” (Dines: 2010). Psychologist Neil Malamuth found that most experimental research on the effects of pornography concludes that exposure to both violent and non-violent pornography resulted in an increase in both attitudes supporting sexual aggression and in actual aggression towards women, which was later confirmed in his own research (In Dines 2010). He found that when looking at men who are considered to be at high risk for exerting sexual aggression, frequent pornography users were much more likely to actually engage in sexual aggression than their counterparts. Hite’s study, giving men the opportunity to express their relationship with pornography, found that most men surveyed reported that pornography gave them a sense of sexual misinformation and that porn did not represent how sexual encounters really are (1981). Although he did not have any findings of increased aggression, the sense of feeling misinformed by pornography could lead to the normalization of aggression seen in pornography. Twohig et al interviewed 41 college-aged male participants who reported that they view pornography and 59% self-reported that they had experienced negative behavioral outcomes (2009). This coincides with Malamuth’s work in that these men were

most likely at higher risks for sexual aggression, but that coupled with their use of pornography increased their chances for engaging in sexual assaults. With most debates, there is empirical evidence that supports the other side of this argument.

When looking at misogyny in pornography, Bauserman developed three main points for the anti-pornography stance that were discussed above. His first point, the promotion of male dominance, is supported by the research of Gorman et al. (2010) who found submission and domination to be the most common acts present in their sample of videos. In terms of women's use for male sexual gratification and aggression Bridges et al. (2010) found that most scenes in pornography end following ejaculation, focusing on the sexual pleasure of men over that of women. They also found that not only were women the overwhelming target of aggressive acts, 95.1% of the female's response to that aggression was positive; meaning they responded with either expressions of pleasure or with no change in facial expression (Bridges et al 2010). Manning (2007) surveyed matrimonial lawyers and found that 56% of their divorce cases involved one partner having a fixation with online pornography. She and Lambert et al. both concluded that consumers of internet pornography reported decreased sexual intimacy, lower levels of commitment and increased infidelity (Manning 2007; Lambert et al. 2012).

Viewer interpretation

Shifting towards the viewer's interpretation of pornography, empirical research becomes more limited and still, the porn war has conflicting views. The pro-pornography stance

stresses the agency of the viewer, meaning they are able to explore a wide array of videos and websites while creating a number of poly-semiotic fantasies and interpretations. This argument coincides with post-structuralism theory that “multiple and perhaps conflicting criteria are available to individuals as they seek to make sense of objects they encounter” (Armstrong and Weinberg 2006). Everything addressed up to this point boils down to the consumer’s interpretation of pornography. The pro-pornography stance sees each individual viewer as the master of their own domain, who can separate fantasy from reality, explore their sexuality without harming themselves or their partners, who can feel empowered by pornography and can interpret pornography in an unlimited number of ways. Interestingly, the fact that pro-pornography researchers see pornography as a form of sex education diminishes their argument that stresses the agency of the viewer, recognizing the agency of the industry.

Alternatively, the anti-pornography stance stresses the agency of the industry, meaning the industry pushes a dominant design creating a mono-semiotic experience. Dines concludes that gonzo pornography, the most common form of online pornography, presents a storyline of dehumanizing and humiliating women which delivers a clear message to its viewers that reinforces sexist ideologies (2010). She even takes her argument one step further to say that pornography actually limits one’s ability to be sexually creative by “delivering images that are mind-numbingly repetitive in content and dulling in their monotony” (2010: 84). The anti-pornography stance sees each individual viewer as a product of the industry, who cannot separate what they see in pornography from their own experiences with women, an industry

that reinforces male dominance and female oppression and an industry with millions of online viewers that have the same mono-semiotic experience; interpreting the images exactly as they are portrayed.

In regards to viewer interpretation, what empirical evidence is out there to support either claim? Bragg and Buckingham discuss this lack of empirical evidence when they stated there is “the potential of qualitative methods for gaining access to these processes of interpretation” (2002:50). Armstrong and Weinberg’s work on art versus pornography found that people are capable of developing multiple interpretations of an image that are based upon identity and cultural competency (2006). Although this does not directly relate to the argument of consumer interpretation, it is one of the only empirical studies found that supports the pro-pornography stance of a poly-semiotic interpretation. To make matters more complicated, the anti-pornography research on viewer interpretation is rooted in psychology and focuses more so on the cause and effect model, such as the correlation between viewing pornography and heightened aggression levels.

The central question for this research has a different focus. By focusing on the actual expressions of viewers, my goal is to assess agency. How much agency do viewers of pornography express in their responses to videos? If their expressions are varied and depart from the content of the video, this would imply a poly-semiotic experience where the viewer has the maximum amount of agency. If their expressions are similar both to each other and to the content of the video, this implies a mono-semiotic experience where the viewer has little

agency. In hopes of contributing to the porn wars debate, an analysis of the actual comments left by viewers of free pornographic tube sites will lead to a better understanding of what viewers are learning while viewing pornography. The exact methods on how to achieve this will be discussed below, but first a look at the hypotheses derived from above literature.

Hypothesis

Although my research will be exploratory, my hypothesis was derived from a question raised within this debate; how do viewers respond to pornographic videos? Do they express a mono-semiotic experience whereby they simply mimic what they see? Or do they express a poly-semiotic experience whereby they express diverse interpretations of the images? More specifically, my hypothesis is the following; H1: viewer responses are mono-semiotic; they replicate the dominant design in their replies. H1a: There is more similarity between viewer comments than variation. H2: Viewer responses are poly-semiotic; they craft new understandings of the material they are watching. H2a: There is more variation between viewer comments than similarity. The exact methodology will be discussed below but essentially my results will either show a wide array of comments left by viewers who are exercising their ability to fantasize and think outside the box, or patterns will develop among the comments, all expressing a desire to imitate or degrade.

Methodology

The purpose of this research was to examine viewer comments on free pornographic tube sites in hopes of determining whether the viewer interpretation is either poly-semiotic or mono-semiotic. I focused exclusively on pornographic tube sites because they have become overwhelmingly popular, are easily accessible and one of the only outlets for consumers to discuss the imagery they are viewing in a public manner. These comments are left anonymously by viewers, making it impossible to examine individual characteristics of viewers, therefore the unit of analysis is not the individual viewers but instead the individual comments left by viewers. These comments were coded at the comment level with each comment being assigned one overall code, which will be discussed further below, along with sampling, coding strategies and analysis of the data.

Sampling

The four tube sites that were examined in this research study were Pornhub, youporn, tube8 and xtube. According to Alexa.com, a list of the top 500 websites in the world, 3 of the 4 sites used in this research were ranked in the top 150; Pornhub is ranked 60th, YouPorn is ranked 98th and Tube8 is ranked 130th. Fabian Thylmann, the managing partner of Manwin, “owns [a majority] of the ten most trafficked tube sites” making them all linked together (Wallace 2011). Thus, if a viewer goes to youporn.com they can easily find themselves on any of the other tube sites making them all equally accessible. After looking over all of the tube sites, these four were chosen for a number of reasons including that they all had the same web

layout with the comments section located in the same place under each video, but the most important factor that went into selecting these tube sites is that they are the most trafficked and most popular sites, with the most comments available for analysis. On each of these sites, there is also a “most viewed” section and the top five most viewed videos on each individual site were examined. Bridges et al. noted that “sampling adult videos from lists of popular titles is particularly clever if the content analysis aims to describe what most people viewed” (2010:1068). I used this form of convenience sampling instead of a random sample because I was particularly interested in videos that received the most traffic, potentially generating the most comments left by viewers. Because internet pornography websites are constantly changing, the five most viewed videos of the week from each site were selected on one day to avoid issues with the top five videos changing from day to day. All comments left to date on January 12, 2013 for each video were extracted. Any videos that did not generate any comments were removed from the sample and the next highest viewed video was added to ensure there were five videos taken from each website. The average number of views for the 20 videos in the sample was 362,789. This sampling technique created a glimpse into the traffic and interactions viewers have at one point in time on free pornographic tube sites.

Aside from recording the title of each video, the video itself was not under review, just the comments left by viewers. The focus of this research was not to look for a correlation between video content and viewer comments, but instead for patterns in viewer comments; are they highly variable or highly consistent, i.e. poly semiotic or mono-semiotic. Each

comment was extracted using an HTML text extraction software and put into an excel spreadsheet. Any comments left in another language or comments that were indecipherable were discarded, leaving a total of 204 comments to be coded. See appendix A-D to get a better understanding of what the excel spreadsheet looked like prior to being imported into MAXQDA, a coding software.

Coding

A coding scheme can be motivated by theory or by the necessities of the research design (Krippendorff, 2004). With little previous research to rely on in terms of coding pornography text, open coding allowed for emerging themes to be coded during analysis. Holsti (1969) identified the following general principles for category construction; reflect the purposes of the research and be simple. The purpose of this research was to identify any patterns in responses based on Gail Dine's theory that the dominant design within the pornography industry breeds misogyny and male centered sex education. With that in mind, I constructed four categories: Misogyny, Sex Education, Both and Other that will be discussed further below

1. Sex Education:

The sex education category included any comments expressing a desire to imitate or participate in the acts depicted in the video. Phrases such as I want, I wish or I'd perform "said" act were coded as 'sex education'. This code also included an expression of likes and dislikes based on the notion that men use pornography as a manual to figure out what they like and don't like. The category term sex education was used because it involved the viewer inserting

themselves into the video creating the desire to imitate the performance or it helps them navigate their likes and dislikes when it comes to their own sex life.

2. *Misogyny:*

The category of misogyny included phrases where derogatory expletives such as bitch, slut, and whore were used as well as the objectification of the body where parts of the woman were mentioned. For example, if the viewer commented on the pornography actor's vagina, chest or legs etc. the code 'misogyny' was used.

3. *Both:*

Then, the following questions were asked when analyzing each comment; does the viewer express their likes/dislikes or a desire to imitate or participant and does the viewer use derogatory language or reference the performer's body? For example, if the viewer commented and said "I want to fuck that bitch" the codes sex-education and misogyny would apply because there was a desire to imitate and derogatory language towards the female performer was used.

4. *Other:*

If the comment was outside the scope of these two codes than it was coded as 'other'. The other category was created to represent all comments that do not depict the dominant design. I took an inductive approach to coding comments outside the scope of sex-education and misogyny, leaving room for other themes to develop. If other themes did emerge, than a category was created for each new emerging theme. For instance, if a pattern in the comments

emerged that all discussed the male performer, a code was created. No patterns emerged outside of sex education and misogyny; this will be discussed in-depth in the results section.

After the first round of coding, definitions of the codes were given to two other coders to insure intercoder reliability. The below chart (Table 1) was given to both coders along with paper copies of all the comments. The overall rate of differentiation between coders was 6%, meaning 94% of the codes were the same between the three coders (myself included). The 6% of comments that did not have the same codes were typically centered on a coder not utilizing the “both” option. All 6% were reviewed and discussed to ensure that the proper codes were assigned prior to analysis.

Code	Definition	Explanation
Misogyny	Derogatory expletives	Bitch, slut, whore etc.
	Objectification	Mention/focus on body part
Sex education	Desire to imitate	"I want, I wish, I'd perform said act" etc.
	Desire to participate	Contact information (skype, snapchat etc.)
	Discussion of likes and dislikes	"I love, very nice, very hot" etc.
Both	Misogyny and Sex ed	"I'd love to fuck that bitch"
Other	Does not fit in the above codes	"Who was on the phone"

Analysis

After each comment was coded, analysis of the comments was done by doing both qualitative and quantitative analysis. Based on the frequencies of each code, quantitative analysis will allow this research to compare the overall frequencies of each code, discussed further below. Qualitative analysis of any developing themes within each code will give this research more depth. SPSS version 20 and Survey Reporter were used for all statistical procedures. Univariate analysis provided the descriptive statistics of frequencies, for instance how often overall viewer comments discussed misogyny or sex education. The “other” category was also analyzed for frequencies and compared to the two main categories of misogyny and sex education. This type of analysis presented the total number of comments that were coded as sex-education, misogyny and other. Also, with each group of comments being labeled by the video’s website, bivariate cross-tabulation analysis would allow me to report the presence of each attribute among each individual website. This type of analysis will help me conclude which websites are most likely to contain the attributes sex education and misogyny using an independent samples t-test. Comparing these subgroups gives this research the opportunity to conclude whether mono-semiotic themes are present among all websites, or one or two specific websites. Because each video only averaged about 10 comments, individual videos will not be compared to one another.

If the sex-education and misogyny categories outnumber any 'other' types of responses across most of the top viewed videos then this will allow me to conclude that regardless of the content of the video, the viewer perpetuates the dominant design. A poly-semiotic experience would mean that the 'other' category outnumbers the dominant design categories and therefore the viewer is able to exercise agency. Variation is key in this type of content analysis. This will be discussed in more depth in the results section below. Within each of these codes the qualitative analysis of any emerging themes will help support this research by showing that within the dominant design, viewers are learning a number of things or, conversely within the 'other' category, viewers develop a nuance that was not predicted.

Results

The findings of this study are presented and discussed in terms of the two overarching categories; the dominant design and other nuances. Basic frequencies and cross-tabulations are presented for the dueling hypotheses within these two sections and statistically significant findings will be noted when applicable ($p < .05$).

The Dominant Design

The first hypothesis states that viewer responses are mono-semiotic; they replicate the dominant design in their replies. This means that there are more similarities between viewer comments than variation and that the similarities will manifest in the dominant design. Support for this hypothesis would mean that the sex-education and misogyny categories will outnumber the discussion of anything else.

Table 1: Overall frequencies for sex education, misogyny and other

Code	n	Percent
Sex education	127	62%
Misogyny	28	14%
Other	27	13%
Both	22	11%

Table 1 presents the overall results which indicated that a majority of viewer comments reflect the dominant design. Within this overarching theme of the dominant design, a majority of viewer comments (62%) reflect sex education, while 14% reflect misogyny, 11% reflect both sex education and misogyny and only 13% do not fall within these codes. This means that 87% of

the time, the viewer's interpretation of free pornographic tube sites perpetuates the dominant design, creating a mono-semiotic experience.

Table 2: Cross tabulation for the dominant design

	Dominant Design		Other	
	n	Percent	n	Percent
Overall	177	87%	27	13%
YouPorn.com	45	85%	8	15%
PornHub.com	45	90%	5	10%
Tube8.com	24	67%	12	33%
xTube.com	63	97%	2	3%

$p < .05$

Table 2 presents the cross-tabulation of the dominant design compared to anything outside of that, which was coded as 'other'. At a 95% confidence level, all websites are significantly more likely to have comments that perpetuate the dominant design than anything else ($p < 0.05$).

There is no research to suggest that any of these sites differ in their content but the above table shows that regardless of the site, a majority of viewers are responding the same way; with the dominant design. Table 2 supports hypothesis 1 by, first, showing that the viewer responses are mono-semiotic with only 13% showing variation and second, by showing they imitate the dominant design of male centered sex and misogyny 87% of the time.

Sex-Education:

When coding viewer comments, the sex-education code was applied to 73% of all comments. Appendix C and D shows all of the comments that were coded as sex-education. Two main themes emerged in coding these comments; learning specific tastes and learning to compete sexually with other men, both of which will be discussed further below.

Appendix C and D contains sex-education comments that show the user learning specific tastes for instance, *"I like where he licks her"* and *"Great video some of my favorite positions."* These types of comments include liking or disliking certain body parts of the performer, the sexual acts performed or the mention of other sexual acts they like outside of the video. Measor's (2012) research found that now more than ever adolescent boys are turning to pornography for information on what to do during a sexual encounter, much like an instruction manual. Measor's research is supported in my research by the number of comments that express the viewer's likes and dislikes and illustrate how they are learning from what they are viewing. These types of comments are the foundation of the sex-education category because they show how the viewer is using the pornography video to gain insight into what turns them on. Users are watching pornography videos and gaining a sense for their taste in sexual encounters and expressing those tastes in a public manner. Hite's study found that most men surveyed reported that pornography gave them a sense of sexual misinformation and that porn did not represent how sexual encounters really are (1981). My research shows the same unaided results that Hite found by going straight to the source and seeing that the users are

gaining this sense of sexual misinformation by developing their own tastes based off of what Dines' see as "unrealistic expectations" of sexual encounters between two consenting adults.

The comment section on free pornographic tube sites is not a forum that necessarily creates an environment where interactions are encouraged, and yet you see users trying to interact with one another. These types of comments took on two forms. First, they are centered around the aspiration of the viewer performing a sexual act on the performer, for instances "*I wanna ride you*" "*I wanna fuck this kind of beauty and pretty girl*" and "*I'd love to have a massage with her.*" These types of comments support the anti-pornography debate by showing how viewers are not just participating in harmless fantasies but instead are learning from the videos and expressing a desire to imitate or participate in the performance (Dines: 2010). These comments also show a display of hyper-masculinity, where you see the users presumably "one-upping" each other. Gail Dines research shows that viewing pornography "creates unrealistic expectations of deep thrusting penetration that lasts for hours and ends with screaming orgasms" and with these unrealistic expectations in mind, users then engage in performing masculinity in the comments section expressing to one another what they would do to the performer. This theme of competition can also be seen in other cases, where the users were trying to interact with other, presumably male, users by posing questions or statements that were clearly intended for an audience. For instance, "*does anyone believe for a minute that these girls are first-timers? In any event, she was hot*" and "*dayum dat gurl is so sexy anyone know more vids of her.*" This need for an interaction with other users can be seen in Kimmel's

work on how men construct masculinity. His research on pornographic chat rooms found that male bonding “is often accomplished by competing with other guys” and that these types of cyber interactions are the equivalent of men’s “locker room talk” (Kimmel: 2008) Kimmel also found that most high school and college-aged males tend to watch pornography in groups creating an environment where masculinity means proving yourself to the other group members, by topping the previous person’s story. My research supports Kimmel’s work in showing how the use of tube sites now allows men to construct this hyper-masculine environment through cyber relationships with other male users. While there is no way to conclude who these comments are intended for and there was no discovery of any back and forth discussions between viewers, they are all left in a manner that alludes to them desiring to interact with other viewers, and in some cases gain feedback on whether other viewers enjoyed certain sexual acts as well, validating their urges in wanting to replicate the videos.

Misogyny:

When coding viewer comments, the misogyny code was applied to 25% of all comments. Appendix A and D shows all of these comments that were coded as misogyny or both misogyny and sex-education. The previous sections show that viewers are learning from the pornography videos by expressing a desire to imitate or participate or by expressing their likes and dislikes, but what are they learning? As you can see, these types of comments take on two forms; they express derogatory language intended for the woman in the video and they

objectify the female participant by commenting on specific parts of the female body, both of which will be discussed further below.

Appendix A and D shows examples of comments that were coded as misogyny, some of which include derogatory language towards the female performer. These types of comments included “hot bitch!!!” and “the old whore needs to just shut the fuck up while she's sucking dick.” While these types of comments were not as prevalent as others they do support the anti-pornography research of pornography promoting male dominance and female submissiveness. The anti-pornography argument focuses on the systems of dominance supported by the pornography industry and previous research shows submission and domination as the most common acts being produced in pornographic videos (Gorman et al: 2010). With that in mind, it is not surprising to see pornography users responding to these videos in a way that promotes the oppression of women, by seeing them in a degraded role and responded with that same degradation. Kimmel’s (2008) research also found a prevalence of user’s exerting anger and hostility towards the female performers in pornography videos but he saw this as a way at getting revenge or “getting back at a world that deprives them or power and control.” Oppressing the women in these pornography videos give them a sense of power they may otherwise be lacking, unfortunately the pornography culture validates the urge to put down women which may lead to the normalization of this type of behavior in real life encounters. Pornography normalizing this type of behavior both in the video and in the view comments supports Malamuth’s research who found that exposure to pornography resulted in an increase

in both attitudes supporting sexual aggression and in actual aggression towards women (In Dines 2010).

Appendix A and D also shows examples of objectification that were coded as misogyny. These comments are much more prevalent than the use of derogatory language and include: *“Beautiful fucking tits,” “What a lovely piece of ass!”* and *“Boobs stand straight up and her pussy is fat and eatable. Nice ass too.”* Bauserman’s (1996) research found that pornography depicts women as sex objects that are only valued as providing sexual gratification to men. My research supports this by showing how misogynistic comments take the women in these pornography videos and reduces them down to merely a body part. These comments cannot be deemed harmless fantasies when the viewers are watching a wide array of videos and are responding to them in the same manner, a manner that supports the oppression of women. Loughnan et al. (2010) found that the objectification of women leads to depersonalization and that depersonalization could potentially lead to the justification of violence against women. As previously stated in the literature review, the objectification of women does not directly lead to violence against women but being able to reduce women to nothing more than an object in an environment that normalizes this type of behavior makes it difficult for pornography users to navigate the differences between their online world and the real world.

Other Comments

The second hypothesis states that the viewer responses are poly-semiotic; they craft new understandings of the material they are watching. This means that there would be more variation between viewer comments than similarities. Support for this hypothesis would show that the 'other' category outnumbers the sex-education and misogyny categories. Recall that only 13% of comments were outside the scope of sex-education and misogyny. The appended chart (*Appendix B*) shows a list of all comments outside this scope. As you can see, only 13% of the viewer comments crafted a new or different meaning to the pornographic videos, meaning they did not interpret the image using the dominant design of sex education or misogyny. This low percentage does not support hypothesis two, as a majority of viewer comments are actually mono-semiotic.

After looking through the 'other' comments, no new or emerging themes stood out that would support the pro-pornography stance. Appendix B shows the variation in these 'other' comments that would, in fact support part of hypothesis 2, meaning there is variation present in pornography viewer comments but there are not enough comments that fall in the 'other' category to conclude that the viewer interpretation is poly-semiotic. The desire to interact with other users is a theme previously seen in the sex education category that is also present here, only this interaction does not involve the desire to imitate or participate, for instance; *"That is Desirae Spencer who is late 30's. Hardly a granny?"* and *"Her and the mother were on Anderson Live today."* While the 'other' category should show support for the pro-pornography

side that allows users to develop nuances and deeper meanings, the interactions with one another actually supports Kimmel's anti-pornography research on constructing masculinity. Even though there is nothing misogynistic about the nature of these comments, the viewer still has the desire to try and create a group-like interaction to discuss the pornography videos.

Discussion

Throughout the previous sections major and significant trends were found in studying the viewer interpretations of free online pornographic tube sites. These findings contribute to the existing anti-pornography literature by giving us a better understanding of what pornography viewers are taking away from the images they see, which is male-centered sexual encounters and misogyny. Previous research has taught us that the types of images in pornography are both oppressive and degrading to women as they typically show women taking on a submissive role (Gorman et al 2010). Table 2 shows that 87% of viewer comments were coded as either sex-education and/or misogyny, meaning the viewer was responding to the pornography videos using the same dominant design used to construct the images. Being able to tie a pornographic image to a response contributes to the research by giving insight into how these pornographic images breed Gail Dines' concept of a capitalist-driven industry that produces a factory-line of images that are both repetitive and monotonous. The pro-pornography debate stresses the agency of the individual and their ability to create harmless fantasies from pornographic images. This research suggests that this is not the case, but instead this research supports Gail Dines and the radical feminist theory presented in the literature

review. Viewers are seeing repetitive factory line images created by the pornography industry and are responding in the same way.

This research also concluded that a majority of viewer comments illustrate how the users are learning specific tastes and learning to compete sexually with other men. This means that viewers are impressionable and are forming their sexual desires based off what they are seeing in a pornographic image that was created by the industry; an industry that both objectifies and oppresses women. The desire to compete with one another was seen many times as an attempt to create a dialogue with other users while viewing pornography and asserting their masculinity. As previously discussed, this supports Kimmel's (2008) research on constructing masculinity in a group setting, except now these group settings are being taken out of a face-to-face locker room atmosphere and put behind a computer screen. These viewers show a clear desire to interact with one another and it's not in the hopes of it leading to a sexual encounter with a girl, but they are interacting to gain acceptance into the pornography community by asserting their masculinity, and seeking approval and validation from the community as they express their desires to perform similar sexual acts. The assertion of masculinity can be seen in the number of comments that were misogynistic, of which the viewer relied on degrading words and phrases used towards the female and objectified her by only referencing certain body parts. So when wondering how viewers interpret pornographic videos, this research concludes that at least three-quarters of the time, regardless of the content of the video, the viewer take away is sexist ideologies of male dominance and female oppression.

More importantly, several new concepts emerged from this content analysis that had not been previously considered in the literature. First, these findings give insight to our current sex education in schools and how pornography fits into the mix. Literature suggests that pornography consumption can start as early as age 11 and that regardless of what is taught in schools, boys use pornography to get a better understanding of what they think happens during sexual encounters (Stefan 2012). My research shows there is a clear inability for users to be able to think for themselves or think creatively after viewing pornography. This contributes to the anti-pornography stance and specifically to Gail Dines' research, as she stated that pornography actually limits one's ability to be sexually creative by "delivering images that are mind-numbingly repetitive in content and dulling in their monotony" (2010: 84). The comments viewers leave are just as monotonous and mind numbing as the pornography videos that Gail Dines described and yet research shows that pornography is now seen as the norm for introducing men to their sexuality (Bowater 2011). Kimmel (2008) found the same to be true for pornography chat rooms where pornography consumption is no longer something that is enjoyed alone, behind closed doors but instead there's a new "homosocial element" in viewing heterosexual porn; concluding that men are not just learning from the pornography videos but they are learning from the other users how to assert their masculinity.

Finally, this research contributed to the debate by showing a lack to viewer creativity and nuances that discredits the pro-pornography argument. Pro-pornography researchers Kibby and Costello (2001) argue that pornography is the only industry that can accommodate

individuals of all cultures with diverse desires creating a number of possible interpretations and experiences. While the 'other' category did show variation within its own category that can be seen in this research, there were not enough comments in this category to conclude that there is more variation overall. A poly-semiotic experience did not just mean variation among comments coded as other, it meant that all comments showed too much variation and thus could not possess any codes. In reality, only 13% of comments support Kibby and Costello's argument that the industry allows viewers to create a new and different meaning to the pornography videos being viewed. Instead, an overwhelming majority of the time viewers see male-centered sex and misogyny and are responding in that same manner.

Conclusion

The results presented in this research in conjunction with the existing literature provide several important implications. First, the overarching finding of this research is that the videos located on free pornographic tube sites perpetuate the dominant design. This is congruent with the radical feminist theory discussed in the literature that sees the production of pornography is based on unequal power relations between the men that produce pornography and the women that are objectified in pornography (Prevos 2006). This radical feminist theory is directly correlated with Marx theory of capitalism. Marx theorized that the commodification of a product is rooted in unequal power relations, which creates a division between the production of a product and its consumption. In this case, that product is pornography and the

performers are being deduced to a commodity. Unfortunately, the consumption of this commodity leads to the normalization of unequal power relations between men and women. Gorman's research found that "because the female is frequently portrayed as assuming a submissive role, viewers may take this as a template for normal sexual behavior" (2010:142). A number of researchers (Bridges: 2010 and McKee: 2008) have also found support for Gorman's finding that a majority of pornography videos portray women in a submissive role, but the pro-pornography stance has never given that finding in clout, as they believe that regardless of this finding, it has no effect on pornography users, a point that is now discredited with my research of unaided interpretations of pornography.

The second implication of this research is that we now know that they are being affected by the pornography they are viewing and they are learning from it; learning first and foremost that they like what they are viewing, that they want to replicate the sexual acts being performed and that oppressing women in the process is not only ok, but encouraged. Holland et al. (1998) found that both men and women use the media for sex-education, the difference being that men use pornography to learn about sex and women use romance novels and magazines sending two very different messages to young men and women. This research contributes to Holland's study as it now shows how viewers of pornography are interpreting the messages they are receiving. The normalization of pornography videos, coupled with the viewer's desire to replicate what they saw may lead to viewers trying to seek out sexual

encounters that a majority of women would not agree to; one that involves them feeling both objectified and oppressed.

Future Research

There are four limitations of this research study that I identified, all of which deal with the sample. First, with no previous knowledge about the number of comments left on pornographic tube sites in a week, a conservative approach was taken and 5 of the top viewed videos in a week from each site were selected. This produced an overall sample size of 204 comments and an average of 10 comments per site which is not large enough to do a comparative analysis between videos. Second, based off of previous research, my research assumes a majority of comments come from male users, but it is recognized that in some cases the comments may have come from female users. The broader limitation of this is that the users are also self-selecting to comment so these comments may not be representative of all pornography users. Third, a convenience sample of the most viewed videos was used instead of a random sample. I was particularly interested in videos that received the most views but I am aware that this type of sample could create a bias in my results based on the type of videos that are most often viewed; are they more likely to perpetuate the dominant design than other videos? That being said, even if a bias towards these types of videos is present, these are the videos that most users are seeing, therefore they are more likely to be used in creating a mono-semiotic or poly-semiotic experience as opposed to any other videos. Lastly, not viewing the

content of the videos limits my ability to make conclusions about the types of videos being viewed; are there characteristics of the videos that lead to certain types of responses?

Future research is needed to help validate the results of this study, as it is the first of its kind, but future research can also help to build off these preliminary results. While these findings contribute to the anti-pornography debate, they also tap into a whole new area of research on how pornography affects male sexuality. Future research should expand the sample size to include more videos by either using a large random sample or by using the top viewed videos of all time versus top viewed videos of the week. This will include a larger sample of comments for further more in-depth analysis. Future research should also create a coding scheme for videos in hopes of shedding light on whether there is a connection between the types of videos and the types of viewer comments. This will give the researcher the ability to conclude which types of videos produce the highest levels of misogyny and male center sexual desires.

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Appendix A: Comments coded as Misogyny

Website	Comments- Collected on 1/12/13	Count	Code
YouPorn	She's never "done this before" but she has a condom within arms reach. And why didn't he pull them titties out?	13	M
YouPorn	What a body. Would never know she had a baby. Probably woke the baby with all the moaning and screaming. Glad to see theyre using birth contol, cumming on her belly.	1	M
YouPorn	Beautiful fucking tits	1	M
YouPorn	what,s the use in getting a 20 yr.old beauty and no tits fanny and plenty of the 'white stuff ' ?	1	M
YouPorn	hot bitch!!	1	M
YouPorn	She definitely knows how to sex... but damn girl, eat some food. We can see your bones.	1	M
YouPorn	What a horny and good looking face on that young girl! Lovely and beautiful body	1	M
YouPorn	My God, what a beautiful woman and what a perfect ass!	1	M
PornHub	Very sexy and lucky lady thats an awesome cock...	13	M
PornHub	mmm..she is gorgeous! a great little body!	1	M
Tube8	I feel like she was some underage Czech sex slave .	1	M
Tube8	I'm in love with Faye's perfect natural tits and puffy nipples.	1	M
Tube8	Never swallows properly or does anal	1	M
Tube8	Love watching this skinny pale redhead chick with bouncing boobies.	1	M
Tube8	What a lovely piece of ass!	1	M
Tube8	I love Faye Reagan's nipples!	1	M
Tube8	wow just can say no wordz man she is fucking so hot	1	M
Tube8	The old whore needs to just shut the fuck up while she's sucking dick.	1	M
Xtube	nothing beats pinay lesbos yum...	1	M
Xtube	Your feet are so sexy	1	M
Xtube	nice panty play. liked them wrapped round your ankles.	1	M
Xtube	PUSSY ALL DAY ,,WET WET AND more WET!CUM NOW	1	M
Xtube	That is so hot. Those lovely tight wet jeans on a couple of georgous gals.	1	M
Xtube	damn two fuckin ass sexy girls	1	M
Xtube	What a pretty pussy....	1	M
Xtube	My god! Love your wet, lovely pussy, and the noice you make	1	M
Xtube	I like your Lovely pussy Sweet Girl	2	M
Xtube	Oh my F'n God, my snow has just melted and the mercury exploded! The sounds, teasing, seeing those perfect tits in that shirt, this judge is holding up a big 10 scorecard! AMAZING!!	12	M

Appendix B: Comments Coded as Other

Website	Comments- Collected on 1/12/13	Count	Code
YouPorn	damn	0	0
YouPorn	I don't want to be pedantic, but who goes to sleep in a thong?	2	0
YouPorn	Seeing as they're sleeping, why can't the guy with the camera take care of the fucking baby?	3	0
YouPorn	A baby on a porn set?	0	0
YouPorn	Love asiens	1	0
YouPorn	Her and the mother were on Anderson Live today	1	0
YouPorn	Oh Sh!T	0	0
YouPorn	Who was on the phone?	0	0
PornHub	she looks like a mini kim karadasion	1	0
PornHub	heeeeeeeee	0	0
PornHub	Well, guess I have a new buisness plan.	2	0
PornHub	well, i found a new favorite song	2	0
PornHub	yah!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!1	0	0
Tube8	She looks like she's higher than a kite!	1	0
Tube8	Her name is Sasha Blonde	1	0
Tube8	give her a loaf of bread for fucks sake.	1	0
Tube8	She's Russian, now I can be sure.	12	0
Tube8	still, jessica biels younger sister	1	0
Tube8	It's always the same dude with her...	13	0
Tube8	Guys this could really bring the porn to other levels! They should do a show of this with episodes and season, why not??	0	0
Tube8	granny porn!	1	0
Tube8	anyone know the propa name of this video?	0	0
Tube8	Love Desirae Spencer, she's had her own site for about ten years or so	1	0
Tube8	That is Desirae Spencer who is late 30's. Hardly a granny?	1	0
Tube8	If that's a granny, you must thing a toddler is legal	1	0
Xtube	ohh sexy :p.. two Pinays	1	0
Xtube	Sticky sweet!	0	0

Appendix C: Comments Coded as Sex Education

Website	Comments- Collected on 1/12/13	Count	Code
Tube8	Anjelica Momoko-she's NOT always with this guy...incredibly beautiful and amazing performer...	1	S
Tube8	Gorgeous girl.	1	S
YouPorn	I'd love to have a massage with her..	12	S
YouPorn	that was awesome	0	S
YouPorn	This is as natural as it can be. Amazing woman. She came several times...Czech women are gorgeous!	1	S
YouPorn	whats her name ?	1	S
YouPorn	Wow...this is great and she is sooo sexy..:) Anyone knows her name?	1	S
YouPorn	Delicious, just the way lovemaking should be between husband and wife. I like the way she is so enthusiastic and noisy - makes the whole episode look genuine. Would like to see more of her.	1	S
YouPorn	love this	0	S
YouPorn	Very fine.	0	S
YouPorn	perfect	0	S
YouPorn	One of the most sexy and gorgeous women on this site. I came very hard to this vid...	12	S
YouPorn	Does anyone share a link to other videos of them?	0	S
YouPorn	Are they Chinese or Japanese girls? And what's the name of the chick in the second video, anyone know?	1	S
YouPorn	He is a lucky bastard !	2	S
YouPorn	One of the best porns ever! Love it!	0	S
YouPorn	That's a great video, AMAZING!	0	S
YouPorn	You shod make a video of angles fucking each other and god Post if that would be hot	0	S
YouPorn	I like where he licks her lol	13	S
YouPorn	3 asian babes!!!! i would be happy with just one of those	12	S
YouPorn	Best video ever. Thx (:	0	S
YouPorn	hi, i like all your videos. thanks for those and many more to come	2	S
YouPorn	hey exsinger i challenge you to find her in another video	1	S
YouPorn	Does anyone believe for a minute that these girls are first-timers? In any event, she was hot.	1	S
YouPorn	she is absolutely gorgeous	1	S
YouPorn	She's just a goddess!!!	1	S
YouPorn	One of the best I've seen in a long time, love this!	2	S
YouPorn	I came	2	S

YouPorn	She's perfect - good looking, sweet body. Long and intensive scenes. Well done.	1	S
YouPorn	Great video some of my favorite positions, no cheesy music, no over dramatic moans, hot couple made me completely wet :)	2	S
YouPorn	i wanna fuck this kind of beauty and pretty girl	12	S
YouPorn	just magic	0	S
YouPorn	dayum dat gurl is so sexy anyone know more vids of her?	1	S
YouPorn	A sweet young girl for sexual pleasures	1	S
PornHub	so fucking hotmmmm	0	S
PornHub	holy shit. , yyes.	0	S
PornHub	this is a perfect sex! i really love it! haha!	2	S
PornHub	Hot girl	1	S
PornHub	Skype me girls: x1SHOTxKILLx	2	S
PornHub	His cock looks like mine.	23	S
PornHub	add me on skype please tomy.samy1	2	S
PornHub	nice fuck. love shower sex	0	S
PornHub	ADDED TO MY FAVS!!!! Mmmm fuck	2	S
PornHub	check my dickk out	2	S
PornHub	ADDED TO MY FAVS!!!!	2	S
PornHub	Very hot! Girls add me!	2	S
PornHub	damn thats hot....	0	S
PornHub	hottttt	0	S
PornHub	very good	0	S
PornHub	very nice	0	S
PornHub	lucky fucker!	3	S
PornHub	young guy big cock check out my pictures and videos will cam with girls and guys!!	2	S
PornHub	cumshot on skype add me ladies sam.bradley.1992	2	S
PornHub	Girls, snap me @Chinos1	2	S
PornHub	add me on skype ladiesss kalbert93	2	S
PornHub	I like this vid cause I like being fucked this way!	2	S
PornHub	she's hot	1	S
PornHub	He's hot	3	S
PornHub	mines bigger..	2	S
PornHub	that's a fine lady! would like to go a few rounds with her!	12	S
PornHub	niceeee	0	S
PornHub	Mmmm waow	0	S
PornHub	They made my pussy wet!	2	S
PornHub	add me on skype please tomy.samy1 ,, , waiting for u girls	2	S

PornHub	who is that cutie.	0	S
PornHub	please fuq me	2	S
PornHub	wow	0	S
PornHub	sexy	0	S
PornHub	fuck me	2	S
PornHub	I only squirted once but my bf loved it.	2	S
PornHub	Damn that is sexy	0	S
PornHub	sexy girl	1	S
PornHub	any hot women in leeds uk do this i want u	2	S
PornHub	sexy woman	1	S
Tube8	Dick small a lot. She needs Mandingo.	13	S
Tube8	Sasha blonde, a true goddess. She's 30+...not a teen, but so beautyfull.	1	S
Tube8	she is bietiful,hot,and need much better and harder dick	1	S
Tube8	my favorite video	2	S
Tube8	wow awesome	0	S
Tube8	Lol my dick was bigger than his when I was 15, I'm not black either XD	23	S
Tube8	Perfect when I opened this video I said "I hope I just see her asleep and her face flying into the camera for 20 minutes."	12	S
Tube8	This Girl is Angelika, not Angelika Momoko. Momoko is a brunette with Asian features. I know because I have ALL of Momoko's vids and clips.	12	S
Tube8	ok, her name is Anjelica, more searching	1	S
Tube8	Really? THAT is where it was decided to end it?	0	S
Tube8	WoW! So HOT!!!	0	S
Tube8	for a german girl she's pretty pretty pretty hot !!	1	S
Tube8	damn i wat some	2	S
Xtube	sex tayo male straight here from caloocan txt me 09105369172 girl lng pwede ayaw ko sa bakla!!	2	S
Xtube	now this looks fun...	0	S
Xtube	wtf i like both of you..	2	S
Xtube	wow	0	S
Xtube	before after always good!!	0	S
Xtube	Oh god, I love the way you moan. You can make me cum even with just the audio.	12	S
Xtube	Absolutely superb video, you're quite probably one of the best girls I've seen on this site in a long time :D	1	S
Xtube	excellent	0	S
Xtube	Wow, your sexy! Very erotic!!	1	S
Xtube	after work cums are good..	1	S
Xtube	mmmm, HOT watching you please yourself.	1	S

Xtube	mmmmmmm baby you are hot.	1	S
Xtube	Lovely	0	S
Xtube	damn im so jealous i could see it in person	12	S
Xtube	this is simply amazing.. pure beauty, a perfect 10. this video is exactly what my fetish is all about.	12	S
Xtube	I know I've commented on this before, but I just wanted to say how badly I wish my cock was inside you while you were cumming...	12	S
Xtube	rOnce again, you drive me to a strong orgasm. Mmmmm, i need taht sweetness on my tongue...	12	S
Xtube	love it!	0	S
Xtube	I wanna playyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyy	2	S
Xtube	God I just want to lick you clean right now... xxx	12	S
Xtube	Mmmm, wish you could fedex those lovely panties to me. So fucking hot.....	12	S
Xtube	i want to come lick it.!	2	S
Xtube	damn i want to taste that	2	S
Xtube	I allways cum so hard watching you, your moaning its so sexy.I wanna ride you	12	S
Xtube	Please give me those panties..	2	S
Xtube	You don't mind if I cum all over myself watching this, right?	2	S
Xtube	Far out this is the sexiest video I've seen! Love hearing you moaning and wish I could taste and smell your sexy panties! :D	12	S
Xtube	wow what a turn on. pure sex goddess. you have an amazing ability to turn people on. us included. you are sooooooooooooo hot! thanks for posting yet another steamy hot play time of yours.	12	S
Xtube	I love hearing you cum. No woman on this site turns me on like you do.	12	S
Xtube	I know I've said it before, but watching and listening to you just give it up gets me off every fucking time -thank you	12	S
Xtube	MY LORD YOU ARE SO SMOKING HOT! WATCHING YOU GETS MY COCK SO HARD! Bellisimo!	12	S
Xtube	Absolutely a joy to see and hear you enjoying yourself!	1	S
Xtube	Thank you. You are an incredibly sensual woman!	1	S
Xtube	huummmmmm...sexy,so sexy...	0	S
Xtube	i miss hearing you gasp and moan	12	S
Xtube	WOW, omg, what a sexy video!!! well done	0	S
Xtube	omg made me cum hard	2	S
Xtube	Without a doubt, you are the most erotic and sexually stimulating woman on the planet!	1	S
Xtube	Thanks for sharing this totally erotic clip.	1	S

Xtube	For some reason I once again have watched one of your videos while at work, despite knowing what it was going to do to me. Too bad you aren't here in my office now to help out	12	S
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Appendix D: Comments Coded as Both Misogyny and Sex Education

Website	Comments- Collected on 1/12/13	Count	Code
YouPorn	i would fuck her so hard i would cum in her	12	SM
YouPorn	let us see those tits!	1	SM
YouPorn	holy shit....look at her face become red!!!.....i am cumming hard	12	SM
YouPorn	that is simply more than perfect! Love her face, her body and how they act! Like how he teaches her!!!	13	SM
YouPorn	Beautiful body, pretty face, good quality long video with positions I like. It sucks that she is too high to really enjoy and contribute.	1	SM
PornHub	mhhh any one ccome ride my huge cock im so fucking horny right now god i wish i had some pussy	2	SM
PornHub	i would love to get fucked hard u can here his big balls bang her ass	123	SM
PornHub	I want to suck on those huge tits	12	SM
Tube8	Thank you for muting the naughty america add at the end. you can't even imagine how irritating is to here those bitches advertise on it right after i cum	12	SM
Xtube	Wow! Your so sexy! Email me at juicyboy59@yahoo.com I'll fill your pussy with a real penis. I'll also let you suck my juicy dick!	12	SM
Xtube	seriously hot... you have probably heard it many many times but i will say it anyway. the thought of sliding my cock into your hot pussy makes me really turned on. (milfys hubby) obviously.	12	SM
Xtube	Not only do you have a very sexy body, but your toes are incredible as well. It looks like your big toes are the longest and the others get gradually shorter, otherwise known as tapered toes which are by far the sexiest. Please show us some closeup shots of your sexy toes in the future. I also loved watching and hearing you cum.	12	SM
Xtube	This women has a flawless body to me. Everything erogenous part of her body turns me on. Very few women when you look at them make your dick hard immediately!. Her feet and toes are so damn smooth and suckable. Boobs stand straight up and her pussy is fat and eatable. Nice ass too. I really, really want some of her. She could my dick and tongue every night!	12	SM
Xtube	Watching play with your pussy and hearing you moan with pleasure makes me so hard!	12	SM
Xtube	WOW! This is exactly what I was looking for... To see your panties moisten as you pleasure your delicious, hard clit... to hear your orgasmic moans as your beautiful, juicy, pink pussy pulses with ecstasy... I hope you don't mind me saying, but you made me so fucking hard... I had to try very hard not to cum! But I'm going to watch this again and cum with you... This is one of the hottest videos I've ever seen!	12	SM

Xtube	Again, it NEVER ceases to amaze me just how delicious it is watching you please that gorgeous pussy and that rigid, engorged clitty of yours. Suffice it to say, your clit is not the only thing 'rigid and engorged!' =)	12	SM
Xtube	baby that was hot love to eat that sweet pussy.	1	SM
Xtube	Very sticky, very damp I adore your beautiful clit and love watching it grow under your control. Final frames are also so very sexy with your panties wedged in your wet lips. Thanks for sharing.	12	SM
Xtube	the things i'd do to that sweet, HARD clit... i'd suck and suck and suck, until you explode in my mouth. for starters :P	12	SM
Xtube	Babe.... That was amazing! I love how fuckin loud you scream when you cum!!! and your clit is so nice and swollen! it get's so big!!! and you get sooo fucking creamy!! i want to feel that cream dripping down my chin and then my legs soooooo badly!! i would love to sit ass to ass with you while we both masturbate and cum on each other.... sounds like a date hey??	12	SM
Xtube	Annd you've got me back again! My god, I love this video. You know I've just joined xtube - I'm sure there's a whole naughty world out there just waiting...and yet, I keep coming back to this. Back to you. Back to your low moans, your delicious legs and aching, throbbing nipples that I just want to roll up in my fingers and hear you moan at. I wasn't planning on really getting into it today but again, you've just got me going again, sweetie! Beautiful.	12	SM
Xtube	Just one thing was missing from this show: my head between your creamy thighs!	12	SM