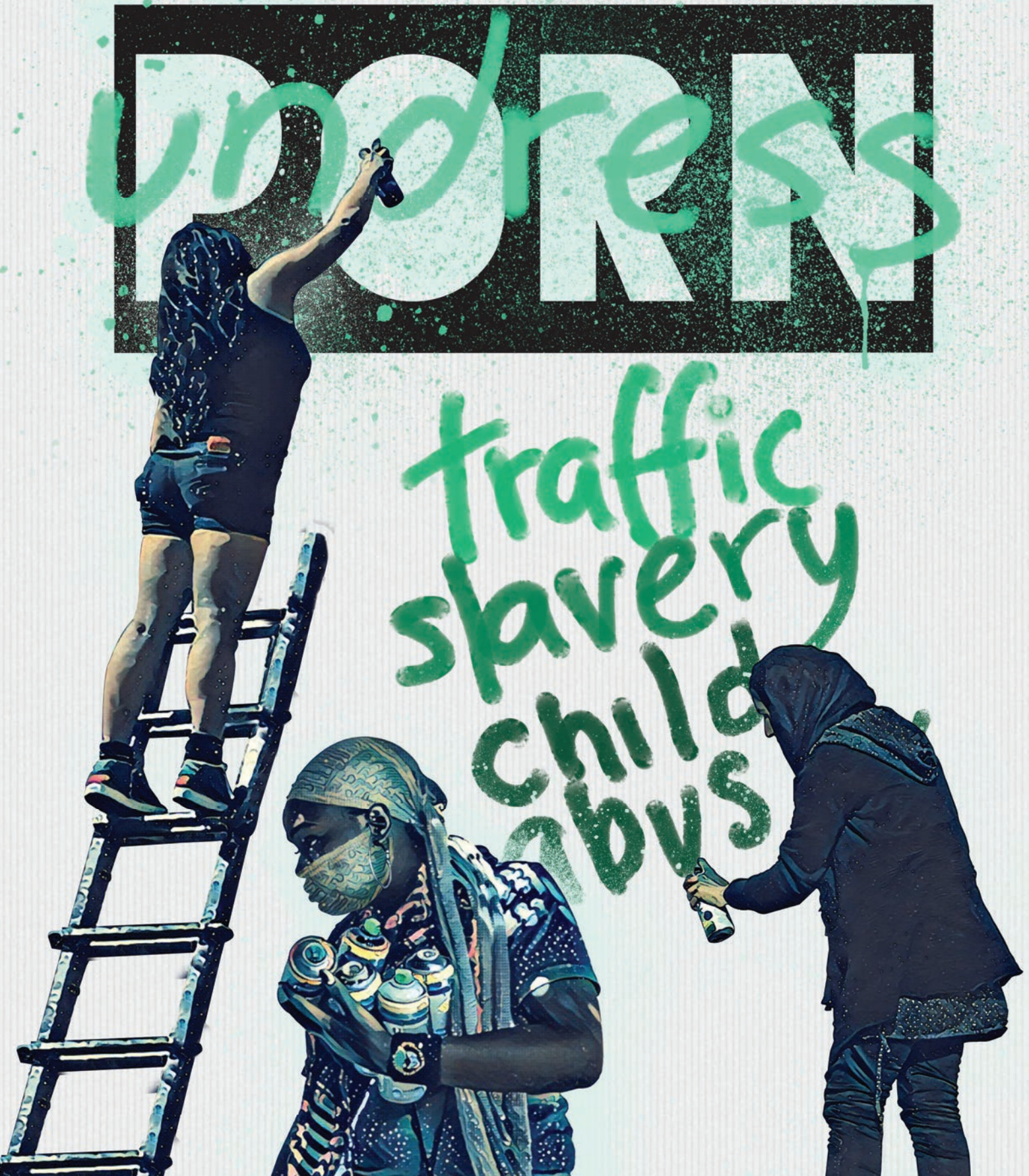


STATE OF POWER 2017

# Power of Porn Cultures

– Karen Gabriel





The porn<sup>1</sup> business has been identified as among the most lucrative and fast-growing easy-money operations. In 2007, it was estimated that the industry earns about 2.9 billion dollars annually mainly from male user-consumers<sup>2</sup>. A 2011 study stated that the world pornography revenue—which includes revenues from sources like Internet Web sites, magazines, cable, in-room hotel movies, and sex toys—was calculated to have been about 97 billion dollars in 2006. Paul Fishbein of the Adult Video News Media Network observes that approximately \$13 billion of this was from the US alone, despite an ostensible “slowdown in sex entertainment trade”. Hilton, Jr, and Watts note that the global porn revenue reportedly exceeds the combined revenue of Microsoft, Google, Amazon, eBay, Yahoo, Apple, and Netflix. Furthermore, these figures do not include estimates of the child-pornography industry, which is a separate and distinct phenomenon, and outside the scope of this paper.

With revenue figures of the kind mentioned above, and the fact that 10,000 to 11,000 porn films are produced in a year in the US (vs. approx. 400 Hollywood films a year), it appears that pornography is no longer a “sideshow” but “the main event”. Nevertheless it is rarely the subject of analysis of social movements, liberals or progressives of any type.

## The globalization of Porn

Declared and estimated revenue figures may be regarded as important indicators of the size of the industry, but not a conclusive measure of it. The size of the industry may quite reasonably be presumed to be larger, not smaller than its reported revenues. Dennis McAlpine, an analyst who has covered the entertainment industry for nearly three decades in an interview with American public television public affairs series, *Frontline* remarked that:

There’s no reason for the adult entertainment companies to make themselves look bigger, unless they’re a *Playboy* who would like to look bigger. Most of them would like to say, “Oh, we’re just a small cottage industry. We’re struggling to survive.” ... They don’t want the notoriety of how much money they’ve made. That’s why you don’t see most of them running around in the Rolls they keep that in the garage and take out on weekends. It draws too much attention to them. Then they’re afraid that there will be investigations, and that some of the so-called public interest groups will come back and start going after them.

Furthermore, exact and reliable figures about the porn industry can be difficult to come by for a number of other reasons.

First, the phenomenon of porn itself is uneven in its occurrence, production, distribution and consumption within and between countries. Second, countries like India, China, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Afghanistan, most MENA states (except Egypt), several African countries, Cuba, Indonesia, Malaysia have partially or completely illegalized the production, distribution and in some cases even the consumption of porn and hence do not generate figures. Moreover, the figures themselves—when available—need to be carefully generated, juxtaposed with thicker descriptors and then, carefully interpreted. For example, while a country like India has been identified as having the third heaviest porn traffic in the world by Pornhub in 2016, India is in fact not a key producer of porn, and possibly not a customary or habitual consumer either, even while it may be a key consumer in terms of absolute numbers of user-consumers<sup>3</sup>. What has tended to happen is that Internet penetration has been conflated with porn consumption, and racial-cultural stereotypes promote the understanding of ‘Indian’ society as sexually repressed and therefore with a proclivity

for practices like the consumption of porn. Here I will not engage with the categorization of Indian society or indeed the understandings of sexuality basing it, but simply note that the relatively heavier porn traffic of India may in fact be simply a function of demographic size (India is the second most populous country in the world) rather than an indicator of a particular proclivity for porn viewing. Moreover, Internet penetration does not necessarily translate as Internet usage (unlike in many industrialised countries).<sup>4</sup>

In fact, according to MetaCert, there appears to be a greater preponderance of both the production and consumption in the industrialized parts of the world: the top-ten countries where porn sites are hosted are the USA, Netherlands, UK, Germany, France, Japan, Australia, Canada, the British Virgin Isles and the Czech Republic<sup>5</sup> The greater per capita presence of porn connectivity and networks in industrialized countries may be attributed to various factors that include (a) logistical ones like regular and consistent supply of electricity, robust ICT infrastructures (networks, servers, optical cables, connectivity), viable hardware with which people can access the internet and digital content, Internet access and the cost of internet access, bandwidth; and (b) socio-cultural factors such as a greater acceptance of porn and porn cultures, the specific registers in which conversations around sexuality can or may happen, gender-sexual norms, the organization of gender-sexuality or the prevailing sexual economies.

Despite the fact that not all of these circumstances avail equally and evenly, and despite the amount of controversy that attaches to the phenomenon, porn and porn cultures have clearly grown expanded dramatically across the globe. And its influence can be found everywhere: in hypersexualised advertisements rife with sexual innuendo; on television channels (such asFTV, AXN in India) that have been faulted and penalized for hosting obscene or objectionable sexual content; in video games that are both hypersexualised and obscenely brutal (e.g. *Gotcha*, *Custer's Revenge*, *Grand Theft Auto*, *Dead or alive Xtreme Beach Volleyball*, *RapeLay*).

This phenomenon is quite different from the longstanding and much-remarked use of sex to advertise and sell something (other than itself). It is about an exponential increase and a normalization of specific kinds of sexual explicitness and sexual content that were earlier, and sometimes continue to be, considered either obscene or pornographic. This general and overt increase in the occurrence and even acceptability, of specific kinds of sexual themes and imagery in the public domain has been referred to as the 'pornification' of the media (or the use of porn-like images in the depiction of everyday situations, e.g., in ads for cars or ice-creams); the 'mainstreaming of pornography' (or the increasing acceptance of some kinds of porn as harmless, and only needing monitoring by adults, e.g., soft-core, especially heterosexual porn), the 'pornification of culture' (or the increasing use of common pornographic themes, situations, etc, in everyday cultural phenomena, e.g., in TV serials, fashion television or the "pornographication of mainstream capitalist culture" (same as above, but focusing on understanding porn as a product of capitalism).

The expansion of the pornographic and of porn cultures may be understood as a function of factors like (a) the emergence and expansion of the Worldwide Web; (b) the processes of globalization, liberalization and privatization which significantly, included the privatization of the media, and the expansion of ICT services, but also generated (c) socio-economic crises that include growing precarity and the amplified national and transnational movement of precarious persons caused by displacement and a range of other push and pull factors<sup>6</sup>; and (d) the socio-cultural factors such as a spike in persons (both male and female) engaged in sex work<sup>6</sup>, in addition to the socio-cultural factors like the greater acceptance of porn cultures and extended sexual horizons and expectations.



## ‘Politically correct’ porn?

There is a range of porn that claims to be ‘feminist’ porn. Feminist porn claims to redress concerns about mainstream production and labour practices, content, and ethical issues. ‘Feminist’ pornographers claim to provide better work conditions, wages and health conditions, and alternative content that caters to ‘authentic’ women’s needs, desires and sexuality rather than men’s. In terms of idiom, this typically indicates a slightly more prominent story line, changed POV, more filters, occasionally impeded visibility, less intrusive camera work. However the claims that conditions on set are more equitable and accommodative have not been verified. In fact, notwithstanding the claims of ‘feminist’ pornographers like Tristan Taormino and Erika Lust, the economic and social realities of performers remain murky, the idioms more or less mainstream, and the profit imperative intact. Commenting on Taormino’s ‘feminist’ pornography whose claims are common to those “who produce, perform in, and/or support feminist pornography”, Rebecca Whisnant for instance, writes that “her work is burdened by thin and limited conceptions of feminism, authenticity, and sexual ethics, as well as by the profit-based exigencies of producing “feminist porn” within the mainstream pornography industry”. Taormino herself has frequently commented on how the market and money have moulded her films.

In response to growing critiques about and scrutiny of economic imparities and ethical issues around the conditions in which performers work, pornographers now routinely speak of performers’ consent and choice. The fetishization of race, class, imperialism remain common and prominent in genres like ‘gonzo’ porn, ‘pick-up’ porn, categories like ‘Afro’, ‘Asian’, ‘Black and Asian’, ‘Blonde Teen’, ‘Arab’, ‘White’ and so on. The play on race, male aggression and female submission are evident and remain issues in ‘feminist’ porn as well. Taormino’s ‘Rough Sex’ series exemplifies this as it shows women being choked, slapped, gagged, spat on, degraded and weeping. Surprisingly, the ‘money shot’<sup>6</sup> too is often retained in porn that is self-identifiably feminist. These observations are not aimed at challenging the larger, very important feminist agenda of making possible the free and safe representation, articulation and practice of female desire and sexuality. Rather, they must serve as a broad index of the insidious power with which the oppressive and exploitative ideologies that dominate the world of porn, can leech into measures to critique and correct it as well. Writing about the problems of ‘decolonizing the Indian mind’ the Indian critic, Namwar Singh, notes: ‘the spirit that we seek to exorcise has thus infiltrated the very mantra through which we seek to exorcise it’. That a comment on the processes of decolonization can apply to the dominion of the pornographic imagination, is telling.

An added issue in the orientation and scope of the conversations about porn is that, so far, much of the sustained and sponsored research on porn has been on the porn business in countries in which porn has been recognized as a legitimate activity (whether as a form of sex work, or as a type of filmmaking, or as both). These mainly comprise countries of the global 'North', like the USA, the UK, Australia, Japan, Canada, and parts of Europe. Consequently, there is a modest but growing body of empirical and analytical work on the porn business in these countries. However, notwithstanding the growing presence of various kinds of porn in other parts of the world especially in the global 'South', and the identification of these parts of the world as lucrative markets for promoting digital porn in particular, there is almost no corresponding work on these parts of the world.

*Notwithstanding the claims of 'feminist' pornographers ..., the economic and social realities of performers remain murky, the idioms more or less mainstream, and the profit imperative intact.*

Furthermore and typically of the (imbalanced) powers of location, relevant scholarship from the global South is often bypassed, underrepresented or denigrated by those working in the global 'North'. Consequently, findings, observations, discursive frameworks and practices regarding a range of diverse matters on the porn business itself—including the nature, scope and organisation of the business—and closely related issues—such as sexual practices, gender norms, economic conditions, laws and policies—that are specific to the global 'North', become hegemonic, universalised and applied normatively to the global 'South'.

The consequences may be summed up as follows: first, the material conditions within which the production, distribution and consumption of porn happens in these areas get obscured, sidelined or ignored; second, the analytical and discursive frameworks through which porn is examined in these contexts get dissociated from the context and site and end up being derivative; and third, conversations tend to become either abstractly moral or purely philosophical at the expense of more robustly contextual, data driven, discursively layered one. It is vital to recognize that disparities in production, distribution and user-consumption methods bring their own complex dynamics that need to be factored into any analysis of the porn business.

For instance, Sunder Rajan observes that the 'liberationist postmodern position' has framed both sex-work and arguments for decriminalization and regulation within the terms of "agency", "entrepreneurship" and "rational choice". Such a framework may be inappropriate in the Indian or most other third world contexts where exploitation, coercion and forms of family prostitution exist. Moreover, studies have established that an average 70% of the prostitutes in the EU are migrants, many of whom are undocumented or part of informal set-ups<sup>9</sup> and there are persuasive arguments for the link between pornography and prostitution and to consider porn as a significant link in the chain of sex work, and not just as a representational genre.





## The porn socio-economy

Researchers have noted pornography's links to prostitution, trafficking and modern forms of slavery, to fraternal industries like the alcohol and drug industries, the military; media networks and the corporate world itself<sup>10</sup>. The main findings here are that (a) the business of porn in most parts of the world, is not organized and regulated; (b) it therefore uses women (and men and children) from wherever they are cheaply available; (c) it is therefore closely linked to prostitution, trafficking and slavery, from where it gets cheap and vulnerable labour; (d) its products are used by a variety of industries and businesses, not just as entertainment (by the military or hospitality industries), but to promote sales, for instance of sexual performance enhancing drugs by the pharmaceutical industry; or to reinforce anxieties about body types by the fashion industry.

There is more research, as well as a far greater acceptance of research, around allied areas of sex work such as prostitution and other kinds sexual transactions, than there is around pornography. One of the reasons for this is the routine reduction of the field of pornography to its AV images. Most research on porn treats it as a 'purely' textual-representational phenomenon, to be governed by laws pertaining to free speech and artistic freedom, rather than a socio-economic phenomenon as well-sex work-that would then be governed by a different set of criminal, civil and labour laws, and different systems of regulation. Despite the fact that 'cross-country studies showed a strong bi-directional link "between pornography and prostitution"', pornography is rarely regarded as a link in the chain of sex work<sup>11</sup>.

*Most research on porn treats it as a 'purely' textual...phenomenon..rather than a socio-economic phenomenon*

The pressure to treat the pornographic as a purely textual event or a purely representational phenomenon comes through lobbies and through political, polemical and analytical arguments. Of course, and very fundamentally, it is simply much easier to study porn as a 'pure' text divorced from the politics and conditions of its production and reception. After all, the porn business is a highly secretive one that is sometimes underground, and often on the margins of illegality or criminality. It is very difficult to gain access to any of the key actors in it – whether these are performers, producers or distributors. In the specific case of Internet porn, there are conceptual and analytical problems like understanding the operational dynamics of the Internet, and the logistical problem of tracking. Johnson<sup>12</sup> notes that "According to Google, there are over one trillion pages of content on the web today whereas there were only 26 million just 10 years ago; there has been a 40,000 fold increase in the size of the web in just a decade". Consequently, limited information is available on the material conditions within which porn is produced, distributed and consumed.

However, the epistemic fault lines and knowledge gaps are likely to endure for a while, since the research on porn, besides being uneven, is often actively discouraged. Notwithstanding the size of the business or the fact that it is now being 'normalized' as a mainstream phenomenon, the study of pornography is routinely stigmatized, as if the study of the phenomenon is tantamount to the practice of it. Consequently the general imputation of sleaziness, immorality, even debauchery and criminality attributed to the field, gets extended to the research and researcher: the stigma that attaches to the object of the research is extended to the researcher and the research<sup>13</sup>.

## Porn Inc. – the corporations driving the industry

The associated stigma and the reduction of the business to its texts and images leads to porn being effectively dislocated from the complex, dense and lucrative chain of commercial-sexual activities within which it is otherwise and actually located.

Most of the industry is privately owned by individuals or private corporations, a fact that contributes to the secrecy that characterizes this industry. The links between the corporate world and the porn business were amply clear in Francis Koenig's porno-capitalism initiative. Koenig, who was a Wall Street hedge fund executive, is founder, President and CEO of the adult-oriented private equity firm of AdultVest, which is looking to promote, legitimize and mainstream 'sin stocks' since 2005, by matching big-money investors with adult entertainment companies<sup>14</sup>. In November 2013, Vicex Fund was advertised as the 'only pure sin stock mutual fund'; it has assets totaling almost \$211.17 million invested in 97 different holdings. These holdings include Philip Morris, Lorillard, British American Tobacco, defense and weapons giants like Lockheed Martin and Raytheon, beer companies such as Carlsberg A/S and Molson Coors, and some gambling picks. Even while the investments in vice and sin funds are played down and largely anonymized, they are increasingly being marketed aggressively and openly, as attractive, acceptable and recession proof.

Years ago ABC News disclosed that companies like General Motors, AOL Time Warner and Marriott earn revenue by piping adult movies into Americans' homes and hotel rooms, without revealing this in their company reports. In fact Chris Hedges reports that

General Motors owns DIRECTV, which distributes more than 40 millions streams of porn into American homes every month. AT&T Broadband and Comcast Cable are currently the biggest American Companies accommodating porn users with the Hot Network, Adult Pay Per View and similarly themes services. (2014, 57)

Johnson remarks on the connections between pornography and mainstream companies:

Both AVN and X-Biz publish business reports chronicling which companies, websites and brands are doing business with each other. These reports document new and established connections between and among both pornography and mainstream companies. (2011, 195)

It also reported that many of the major hotel chains, including Marriott, Hilton and Westin, used to derive revenue from adult films without mentioning it in their company reports. In 2001 ABC News reported that Adult titles were available as in-room movies in around 40 percent of all hotel rooms in the United States and elsewhere in the world too, and the participating hotels shared the revenue with the in-room entertainment companies that provide the TVs and the content.

Now, with the arrival of digital porn, the Internet has become the preferred porn provider, with hotels providing full Internet access either free or for a cost.

The growth of the Internet also facilitated the unprecedented expansion of amateur porn. This form of porn soon began to blur the lines between 'real' and 'enacted' sex, not least because its rapid popularity led professional pornographers to produce a kind of amateur-like, professionally produced porn – with new, unknown faces, handycams and documentary-style filming – that came to be called 'gonzo porn', that was distributed and sold in the same way as professional porn. Also, while a substantial amount of amateur porn was, and continues to be, freely uploaded, enterprising amateurs also started selling their own visuals (films and stills), on websites that began to cater specifically to this demand. Furthermore, as Johnston demonstrates, the very organization of the Internet facilitates the commercialization of even its ostensibly 'free' content. Thus, despite the volume of free pornography available, pornographic websites continue to earn money from affiliates to whom it directs traffic. This traffic is monetized through traffic brokers—the majority of which do not even visit the sites in their affiliate networks<sup>15</sup>.

John Straw, author of *iDisrupted* and chairman of Thomas Cook's Digital Advisory Board, highlights a different aspect to the relation between mainstream operations and porn. He observes that, "porn will be the driving force behind mainstream consumer adoption of virtual reality headset devices" such as the Oculus Rift, Sony Project Morpheus, HTC Vive, Samsung Gear VR, Microsoft HoloLens, Razer OSVR. Straw, also notes that platforms such as VHS won the war against Sony Betamax because of the adoption of the format by the porn industry. He believes the same will happen with virtual reality in which "What will drive standard adoption again is porn"<sup>16</sup>.

*The transnational processes of technological, media and platform convergence ...[is] building a formidable convergence of patriarchal and capitalist business interests and strategies.*

One of the key requirements for effective and viable porn technology—especially of the immersive VR type—is privacy. In the IT age, this has been addressed by the continued technological migration away from shared household devices toward single-use smartphones and tablets. This will facilitate the transfer of "more enhanced, tailored content ... onto these personal devices". Other concerns of distribution, privacy, device reliability, affordability, secure and efficient payment modes are constantly addressed in collaboration with the ICT companies most of which are multinational corporations (MNCs). The transnational processes of convergence—technological, media and platform convergence—that characterizes the communications industry in particular, have substantially enabled this<sup>17</sup>. This has facilitated porn's use on distinctive consumer devices (like telephones and computers) and via different delivery chains (like print and online media), while at the same time building a formidable convergence of patriarchal and capitalist business interests and strategies<sup>18</sup>.





## Sexual liberation or neoliberal exploitation?

Those who argue for porn, interpret the proliferation of sexual explicitness as testimony to the democratization of desire in a manner of speaking, as a consequence of growing sexual openness and gender equality<sup>19</sup>. They argue that porn per se, the growing volume of porn and the increased visibility of it are welcome signs of a democratizing socio-polity and an enabling political-economic regime. Those who critique porn frequently invoke the principle of harm. They draw links between sexual exploitation and pornography and between these and structural violence, impoverishment, the violence of transnationalization, the increased the vulnerability of women and children to commercial-sex industrialists and changing sexual cultures.

Porn may be understood as a cultural phenomenon that manifests the nexus between a set of institutions (e.g., commercial, media, ICT); gendered practices; the organization of sexuality; directly linked phenomena like sexual exploitation; indirectly linked phenomena like criminal networks, the gray economy and their conduits; representational idioms; and the gendering and sexualization of power within and between these.

Interestingly, both the corporate sector and technological change are thought of and spoken on in gender-neutral ways. Jeff Hearn notes that the supposedly 'gender-neutral' MNC is in fact highly gendered: "MNCs are typically constructed as gender-neutral, without gender in-everyday discourse, research, media and political debate". In actual fact, "Multinational Corporations (MNCs), and their organization and management are one of the taken-for-granted elements of transnational hegemony of men within transpatriarchies"<sup>20</sup>. Hearn, and Connell and Messerschmidt, have argued that ICT is also very much a men's arena<sup>21</sup>. In many transnational movements, both physical and virtual, particular groups of men are the most powerful actors. Hearn notes that despite or perhaps because they are thought of as virtual, it is good to remember that "ICTs are not disembodied technologies but operate in local social practices".<sup>22</sup> ICTs are not just texts but exist within and create material social and sexual relations.

ICTs have produced hugely successful historical transformations in promoting global trafficking and sexual exploitation of women in supplying encyclopaedic information on prostitution, and the (re)constitution and delivery of the sex trade.... Pornographers are also leaders in developing Internet privacy and secure payment services.... Viewers can interact with DVD movies similarly to video games, giving the man apparently more active role. The "real" and the "representational" converge; and the sexual commodification can proceed apace.<sup>23</sup>

Hearn's 2009 observations about the convergence of the real and the representational have even greater import today, almost eight years later, in relation to the growing phenomenon of live sex shows. These have piggybacked on the increasing use – and hence the increasing technological facilitation – of live videoconferencing via the Internet, as well as the popularity of amateur porn noted earlier. In its pornographic form, this involves the buying of live sex shows, often in which the (usually male) user-consumer can direct the show. It is estimated to be earning USD 1 billion, annually, and growing<sup>24</sup>. While this appears to be largely voluntary in the US, 'for many, especially outside the United States, 'camming' is a form of exploitation and even sex trafficking'<sup>25</sup>.

As important, it has become increasingly evident that even evolving and new forms of sex work are deeply gendered, with women, girls and vulnerable persons—the worst-off, often racialised category of the precariat—performing the riskiest jobs. As I have tried to show in this article, it is only by locating the practice in its contexts of operation, rather than in terms and frameworks produced elsewhere, that a clearer picture emerges of the forces at work in the production, dissemination and use-consumption.

Perhaps most troublingly, and as we have seen above, the phenomenal growth of porn with ICT and the Internet, and of new, more interactive, more 'real' forms of porn, drawing on cutting edge VR technology, increasingly and insistently blur the distinctions between 'reality' and 'representation', 'amateur' and 'professional', 'free' and 'paid'. These developments may be seen as indices of the growing extent to which porn is shaping gender and sexuality, not just as cultural capital but as 'real' capital, through the systems of monetization offered by the Internet. As technology makes the accessing of porn not only more feasible but far more private and intimate than ever before, porn is serving as the vehicle for the delivery of these new cultural capitals, directly into the most private and intimate experiences of its user-consumers. This process echoes the familiar ways in which finance capital has evolved and spread, as neoliberalism develops, e.g. Google profiting from information sharing, rather than from products, as conventionally understood. This has far-reaching implications, not only for the manner in which user-consumers will practice their gender and sexuality, as the lines between the 'real' and the 'virtual' get more and more blurred in porn; but for the manner in which such porn is produced – for the 'performers', and for the ways in which their gendering and sexualization will be shaped by the demands of porn and pornification<sup>26</sup>. The fast-growing phenomenon of video sex-chats, for instance - where (mostly) women strip, masturbate and 'chat' their (mostly) male clientele to orgasm, over a live video feed, for money – well exemplifies the blurring of boundaries between the actual and the virtual, the real and the representational, and between sex-work and porn-work. The various (often deeply gendered and racialised) aspects and implications of these developments need to be carefully assessed and analysed, as the idiom of porn if not porn itself, gradually becomes somewhat ubiquitous.

*Porn may be understood as a cultural phenomenon that manifests the nexus between a set of institutions (e.g. commercial, media, ICT), [the broader socio-political economy]... representational idioms; and the gendering and sexualization of power within and between these.*

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## Endnotes

1. 'Porn' is used in this article to refer primarily to audio-visual representations of nudity, sex and sexuality, produced by digitally or analogically recording people (usually real but also animations) naked and/or having sex, and circulating the product amongst a wider group for their use-consumption. This can also include advertisements for prosthetics and sex-toys.
2. I have coined the term 'user-consumer' and use it to indicate the subject as dual receiver of porn undertaking two related but distinct actions – the act of using the physical object of porn (film, book, photograph, picture) and the ideological act of consuming its representations. See Morris (2014) and Ropelato (2007) for a discussion on the size of the industry.
3. The recent instance where sitting MPs of the ruling BJP were found to be watching porn in the House deserves mention as an example of access and user-consumer habits.....Here we have a spectacular instance rather than an exemplary one.
4. This is one instance of the point noted earlier, of the perceptions of porn outside the Euro-American contexts getting distorted by the preoccupations of the Euro-American framework – in this case, mistaking a relative number for an absolute number, because in the European context, there is a close relation between the volumes of internet usage and porn usage. Moreover, there is almost no data on porn production in India, yet the purportedly high volume of porn usage is tacitly understood as sufficient indication of a high volume of production too.
5. Cited in Holmes (2013). The presence in this list of the Czech Republic may be explained by the fact that the Czech Republic has now become a key destination for pornographers and sex exploitation mafias (see Malarek 2003).
6. The so-called money-shot is where a male porn performer ejaculates, usually on a partner.
7. See 2009 TAMPEP Report.
8. See the work of Jeffreys (2009); Kara (2009), Enloe (1989), Hughes (2007), Johnston (2011), Hearn et al. (2008), Banyard and Lewis (2009), Hughes (2007) among others.
9. Shultze (2014). Even in countries like Holland in which adult porn and sex work are both legalized, there is sexual exploitation and an active underground and informal sex business, with undocumented migrants (cf. Outshoorn 2016).
10. See Johnson (2011)
11. For a more detailed discussion of the issues here, see Gabriel (forthcoming, 2017), and Hammond (2014)
12. 'Sin' and 'vice' stocks are stocks that profit from investing in industries that are considered to be either unethical or undesirable such as alcohol, tobacco, gambling, gaming, weapons, adult entertainment. Some examples of these are the Ladenburg Thalmann Gaming and Casino fund, Fidelity Select Leisure and Seven Deadly Sins Portfolio. See [http://money.cnn.com/magazines/business2/business2\\_archive/2006/11/01/8392016/index.htm](http://money.cnn.com/magazines/business2/business2_archive/2006/11/01/8392016/index.htm) <http://money.usnews.com/funds/mutual-funds/large-blend/vice-fund/vicex> and <http://www.thestreet.com/story/11491428/1/5-sinful-stocks-to-buy-for-2012-gains.html>
13. See Mims (2010)
14. Cited in Sacco (2015, n.d)
15. For a discussion of convergence see Jenkins (2006); Budki, (2008); Gabriel (2013)
16. cf. Gabriel (2013)
17. These include theorists like Ann Snitow and Carole Vance, Laura Kipnis, Ratna Kapur. Theorists who argue that forms of sex work and the overrepresentation of women in the service side of it symbolize the subordination of women under patriarchy include Catherine MacKinnon, Andrea Dworkin, Sheila Jeffreys, Donna Hughes, Gail Dines.
18. See Hearn (2009, 5)
19. See Hearn (ibid.); and Connell and Messerschmidt (2005)
20. Hearn and Jyrkinen (2006, n.d.).
21. Hearn (2009, 5-9)
22. Weisman (2015)
23. McGehee (2015)
24. The instance of the Philippines is important here.

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This essay appears in TNI's sixth annual State of Power report. This year, it examines the cultural processes that are used by corporations, military and privileged elites to make their power seem 'natural' and 'irreversible'. It also explores how social movements can harness creativity, art and cultural forces to resist and to build lasting social and ecological transformation. Visit [www.tni.org/stateofpower2017](http://www.tni.org/stateofpower2017) to read all the essays and contributions.



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