

Free Adult Internet Web Sites: How Prevalent Are Degrading Acts?

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Abstract Russell (Dangerous relationships: Pornography, misogyny, and rape, 1988) argued that essential features of pornography were the inclusion of more female than male nakedness and the portrayal of men in dominant roles. Utilizing a sample of 45 Internet adult web sites, a content analysis was conducted to see if free and easily available Internet adult videos may generally be described as pornography in line with Russell's (1988) work. A majority of videos in our sample portrayed more female than male nakedness as well as much higher representations of men in sexually dominant positions. The prevalence of violence in this sample of video and the presence of various acts (name calling, ejaculating on the face, submission, and eagerness to participate in any sex act) were also content analyzed and used to establish prevalent themes. We found a significant difference in the likelihood of a video having a theme of exploitation or domination and whether or not the video portrayed one of these acts. If the video had a theme of exploitation or domination, 92% of the videos also included a minimum of one of these acts while those videos that had themes of reciprocity or autoeroticism were significantly less likely to contain such acts. This study contributes to the literature on gender and pornography by examining issues of degradation and power relations within the context of a rapidly expanding cybersex industry.

Keywords Pornography · Degradation · Internet

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Russell [34] argued that pornography influences the attitudes and behaviors of its viewers. Internet pornography is different from other sexually explicit materials because it is widely available and it is “active and interactive through the presentation of materials in multimedia formats” [24]. In 2006, consumers in the United States spent \$13.33 billion on the adult entertainment industry estimated, out of a worldwide take of \$100 billion dollars [33]. It is also estimated that a new pornographic video is created every 39 min [33]. Notably, pornographic websites received more visits than major search engines, including Google, Yahoo, and MSN [36]. At least 20% of those who are making adult related searches use key words such as “sex,” “porn,” and “XXX” and are under 18 years old [33]. Yet with this substantial shift in the industry, to date, little research focusing on cyberspace pornography has carefully documented the images and themes in such material. The present work content analyzes readily available pornographic websites in order to document the types of acts and images presented.

Advances in technology allow the consumption of pornographic material, ranging from still pictures to videos—from free sites to paid sites—from national to international sites—from passive to interactive and chat sites, to be available around the clock at home and work. Buzzell [5] explained how, “...use of the personal computer and the growth of home based computing and Internet access in the 1990s” has changed how users access pornographic material. Cooper [8] coined the term “triple-A engine” to argue that “accessibility, affordability and anonymity” have spurred the consumption of internet pornography. Specifically, there are countless pornographic materials available online (*accessibility*) which are *affordable* given competition, not to mention free internet pornographic sites that allow users to view material *anonymously* in their own home, office, or school.

MacKinnon and Dworkin [25] defined pornography as the “graphic sexually explicit subordination of women through pictures and/or words” (36). Elaborating on earlier work, Russell [34] defined pornography “...as material that combines sex and/or the exposure of genitals with abuse or degradation in a manner that appears to endorse, condone, or encourage such behavior” (232). According to Russell [34], there are essential features that identify the presence of pornography; namely, more images of female nakedness and images where men are in a dominant role. Such pornography has been defined as degrading pornography as opposed to violent pornography or erotica [7, 39]. Thus, degrading pornography has been defined as sexually explicit material that contains debasing and degrading images or acts [7] while violent pornography promotes sexual violence typically inflicted by men against women [16]. Erotica, on the other hand, is sexually explicit; however, the images seen in such material are nondegrading and nonviolent and involve consensual sexual activity [7].

Brownmiller [4] and MacKinnon and Dworkin [25] and others have argued that pornography is violence against women. Much work has been devoted to the study of violence as well as any impact that pornography may have on influencing negative attitudes and beliefs toward women [14, 18, 20, 26]. Many have argued that pornographic material routinely portrays women as sexual objects who enjoy being humiliated and degraded [17]. Golde et al. [20] explored how degrading but

non-sexually explicit material, compared to material that contained degrading and sexually explicit content, shaped viewers' perceptions. Golde et al. [20] argued that sexual explicitness alone does not contribute to the development of negative attitudes toward women instead it is the inclusion of degrading acts in pornographic material that is problematic. Thus, Russell's definition of pornography centers on the manner in which sexually explicit material is portrayed.

Russell [34] has theorized that exposure to pornography has the potential to influence the use of sexual violence including rape. Still, Gossett and Byrne [21] point out that research which aimed to link the consumption of pornography with the actual occurrence of rape were inconclusive and often contradictory. Nevertheless, many agree that viewing pornography tends to have a detrimental effect on the attitudes of those who view it [2, 10, 23]. Likewise, Zillmann and Brosius [38] argued that those who view pornography may exemplify the actions of those participating in such acts. When certain acts are portrayed as pleasing, viewers often then associate the behavior as sexual [12] and may even develop beliefs about how commonly the act is performed by other members of society [39].

Prior Research

Previous research has explored the effects of viewing pornography on male and female attitudes [14, 20, 26], the prevalence of violence in various pornographic materials [1, 11, 21] and interviews with pornography users and their family members [30]. Studies that content analyzed pornographic material have focused on the presence of violent compared to nonviolent images [1, 19, 31], as well as the prevalence of sexist and racist images in pornography [11]. Barron and Kimmel [1] reported an increase in the prevalence of violence between types of media, specifically magazines, videos, and the Usenet. On the other hand, research on sexual violence in cartoons from pornographic magazines indicates that such cartoons are not prevalent, nor increasing [35]. How common sexually violent pornography is in readily available internet pornography, not specialized rape sites [21] or other explicitly violent sites, has received little research attention.

Focusing on pornography in cyberspace, McCreddie Lillie [28] identified four primary research agendas. Some have examined behavioral-psychological issues related to unhealthy behaviors and porn addiction; another approach focuses on who uses pornography; some are concerned with children's exposure to Internet pornography; while others use "...a political-economic approach, studying pornography as a highly networked and self-conscious industry" [28]. Finally, some research has explored the content of online communities. Rimm [32], analyzing pornographic images on private bulletin board services, reports that images such as pedophilia, bestiality and sadomasochism are in higher demand than what was found to be available via the bulletin board service. Mehta and Plaza [29] downloaded pornographic images from internet newsgroups and found fetishes and masturbation to be prevalent. Heider and Harp [22], utilizing a textual analysis of pornographic internet sites, found that such material objectified women and portrayed them as

submissive and willing to meet the needs of the dominant male. Finally, Matacin and Burger [27] examined pornographic cartoons while Glascock and Larose [19] analyzed the content of dial-a-porn recordings for themes of violence and dominance.

Dines et al. [15] argues that pornography is primarily produced and used by men. Pornographic use is estimated to be highest among young adults [9] and students. Carroll et al. [6] found that college men were more likely to have ever used pornography compared to women (87 vs. 31%). Almost half of all male respondents reported using pornography every week; however, only 3.2% of women reported this same frequency of use [6]. Paul [30] suggested that some women purchased or viewed pornography in order to please a partner. Boies [3] reported that in samples of young people, men viewed pornographic material at a higher proportional rate (3:1) than women, but that this rate then increases significantly for samples of older men and women (6:1). Focusing on internet pornography use, Boies [3] found that 72% of college men and 24% of comparable women reported consuming pornography with 11% of users looking at such material once a week or more. Jensen [23] argued that consuming pornography used to be a private and even shameful act; however, today it is not only popular but expected, especially of males. Likewise, to be "...a cool, modern, liberated woman" watching pornography is expected [23, 37].

Because we utilize a sample of pornographic Internet sites from easily available and free locations, we do not expect to observe significant violence in our sample. Our aim is to content analyze whether the images presented contain the elements, defined by Russell [34], necessary to identify the material as pornography. We hypothesize that there will be more images of naked women than men as well as more images where men are in a dominant role. Therefore, we hypothesize that readily available internet pornography will not typically be erotica or violent pornography. Emergent acts and themes portrayed on internet video sites will be identified as well.

Research Design

Sample Selection

Utilizing the search engine Google, three search terms, "sex," "porn" and "XXX," were used to find free pornography sites on the World Wide Web. These terms were among the top most commonly searched terms identified by the Internet Filter Software Review. Terms were chosen in order to avoid repetitiveness therefore excluded terms included "adult dating," "sex toys," "teen sex," "free sex," "adult sex," "sex ads," "group sex," and "free porn." The first five websites, with titles matching the search, were selected for this content analysis if: (1) video clips are immediately available on their homepages (which is expected to appear after the initial page that asks users to confirm that they are over 18 years old in order to enter the site); and (2) once a video clip was chosen, it must take the user directly to the page where the video can be played and viewed (websites that link to other websites when videos are clicked on were not considered for analysis). Once a website has been identified, videos were selected randomly. Starting at the top of the

page, every fifth video was viewed so that a total of three videos were selected as content from each site. Websites with multiple smaller video images on their main page have a tendency to randomly shuffle the video images presented on the main page every time a user returns to it using the back browser button. In order to remain consistent with the videos originally appearing on the screen when one first enters the site, each time a video was selected, it was requested to be opened in a new screen so as not to disturb the original presentation of the videos available for selection on the main page. Because video box images displayed may randomly change, it was difficult to repeat this procedure and find exactly the same images on the website as one might have found before. This is not only due to the videos available for selection as presented in smaller boxes on a single page changing, but also because new material is constantly being uploaded for viewing. This is especially apparent on websites that will indicate beneath the videos just how recently a video has been added to the site. In order to return to a specific video that has been selected, the full website address of that video was documented in order to assure content accuracy in the sampling process. The videos were then retrieved at a later date when needed by using the full website address. Thus, the total number of videos selected for analysis was 45.

Each video was analyzed for content in terms of: length of the video in minutes, number of participants, as well as the sex and race of the actors. Whether various sexual acts occur on each video was noted including: kissing on the mouth, kissing on other parts of the body, vaginal sex, anal sex, fellatio, cunnilingus, and stimulation of the genitals. Whether the video appears to be amateur (quality of film and filming process appears rough) compared to professional (product is commercial quality) was coded. Finally, whether condoms appear to be used was identified in order to the extent to which safe sexual relations occurred in the sample. Next, we content analyzed whether this sample of Internet videos contained violent themes. Cowan et al. [13] argued that violence can be thought of as "...use of clear force (e.g. whips, pinching, slapping, hair pulling, bondage, and kicking)" (304). These categories provided a reference for the coding decisions used to identify and code violence within the sample.

We were most interested in whether readily available pornographic material on the Internet may be labeled as degrading pornography; therefore, we looked at differences in nakedness by gender and whether a theme of dominance was present. Next, we identified acts of degradation that appeared in these videos. Finally, we content analyzed whether three additional themes (apart from domination), identified by Cowan et al. [13], appeared in selected videos. Each video was coded as having a major theme. If a second theme was present on the video, it was noted as well. Videos with an exploitative theme are defined as those involving one or more participants being used by another and can include aspects of inequality such as age or status. Reciprocity was present if the video had a scene(s) of mutual satisfaction and consent while autoerotic was identified by the presence of acts performed on self or masturbation [13]. Again, only the two dominant themes that were most salient throughout the entire video were content analyzed in this work. A subset of the video sample was checked for validity by a second coder. No differences in coding between the two researchers emerged.

Results

Sample Description

Videos ranged in length from 2 min and 30 s to 29 min and 17 s, with a mean time of 10 min and 13 s ($SD = 7.75$). Number of participants shown on sample videos ranged from 1 to 6, with a mean of 2.49 ($SD = 1.34$). The majority of videos (56%) had two participants; however, 7 videos (or 16% of the sample) featured a lone female actor. No video included a man without a female present. The vast majority (76%) of actors were white with only one video including both a black male and female actor. When acts involving interracial actors were depicted, they were most likely to be a white male with a female of another race.

Frequency of Sexual Acts, Film Type and Condom Use

On videos with at least two actors present, kissing on the lips occurred in half of the videos viewed. Kissing on other body parts was not as common and was present in 45% of all videos again where at least two actors were present. Such kissing, of other body parts, was most likely to be on the woman's breasts or of her upper body (above the waist).

The majority (79%) of videos, again when two actors were present, portrayed fellatio (where a man received oral sex from a woman). Notably, videos containing a scene depicting cunnilingus were much less common. Oral sex, performed by either a man or by both a man and woman, for another woman, occurred in only 37% of all videos. Two videos depicted at least one scene of a woman performing oral sex for another woman. Therefore, over half of all videos, again where at least two actors were present, did not depict any oral sex where the female received pleasure; however, only six (or 16% of all sample) videos failed to show a male receiving oral pleasure from the female actor(s) appearing in the sexual content.

Vaginal intercourse was common and observed in (68%) of videos where at least two actors were present while the least common sexual act was anal intercourse (included in 32% of all such videos). Stimulation of another person's genitals, either by hands, objects, or body parts, was found in almost all (90%) videos where at least two actors were featured. Male to female only genital stimulation was rare (in only 13% of videos depicting genital stimulation) as was female to female stimulation (5% of all genital stimulation observed). Half of all videos (51%) did not include a masturbation scene; however, when masturbation was included, viewers saw female masturbation (38% of all masturbation on videos). Rarely does a viewer see a solo male actor masturbating (in only 9% of sample videos).

Condom use was rare and clearly seen in only one video, which depicted heterosexual acts. This film appeared to be an amateur video where the action was currently taking place rather than choreographed. The female in this video is on one side of a wall in a semi-private space. In the wall is a hole through which multiple men insert their penis. For the one male, with whom she decides to have intercourse, she passes a condom through the hole in the wall and he puts it on.

Amateur vs. Professional Videos

All videos, except four where a determination could not be made, were identified as either amateur or professionally made. This determination was based on the appearance of the video and whether there was any indication in the description or keywords that it was an amateur film. Other indicators that a video was professionally produced included the names of specific actresses either in the description or as a keyword. For those videos (41 in total) coded, the majority fell under the category of professional (61%). Still, a significant amount of amateur pornography was available on adult websites in this sample. It was not unusual to find videos that would advertise, through their title or key words, that the video was amateur or that the participant was a “school girl,” mom, or wife. We must recognize too that it is not always possible to determine if a video is in fact an amateur film since some may label a video as such in order to attract a particular audience when the video was professionally done. Videos that were clearly amateur often involved a stationary camera, so that it was not possible to see various angles, or the video would be stopped at various times throughout so that one of the participants could reposition the camera.

Prevalence of Violence

We hypothesized that violence would be rare in these videos and data generally support this proposition. Of the 45 videos viewed, one included overt acts of violence against the female participant by several male actors. Multiple instances of choking and slapping, both with the male participants’ hands and penises, against the woman’s face and buttocks were shown. Multiple men engaged in choking the female actor, who appeared to reach a point where she was about to pass out. At least once the woman was pulled up off the floor by the hair and over to a couch so that various sexual acts could continue. The woman was penetrated anally and vaginally by two different men while she was performing fellatio on the third. The female was also gagging because of the force used by some of the men during oral sex. Two male participants, who were not directly visible on camera, engaged in a brief conversation where one man made the statement to another, “You are so mean.” The other participant then responded, “What can I say man, I hate women.” Of all the videos viewed in our sample, this imagery most clearly depicted the simultaneous performance of sexual encounters and violence against women.

Besides this video that depicted overt violence, five other videos included a show of force by male actors when female actors resisted their sexual acts. Examples included holding a woman’s head down over the penis while a male actor thrust it into her mouth (accompanied by a gagging sound made by the female) or refusing to acknowledge when a female first protests and resists all sexual acts by male participants’ ignoring such objections and continuing their sexual dominance. To summarize, violence was present in this study; however, it was not commonly depicted in this sample of free and easily obtainable Internet video. Next, we turn to see if women’s naked bodies are more commonly shown

and whether domination, with a male actor in control, is a common theme in sample video.

Degrading Pornography?

The Display of Bodies

In 45% of videos in this sample, that included at least two actors, both male and female participants displayed equal levels of nudity; however, of all other videos women were more likely to be shown naked than men. Therefore, in a majority of the videos in our sample, female bodies were exposed more often than was true for males. In only one video was a male participant naked more often than the female actor. Thus, while many videos depict equal nakedness among male and female actors in this sample of internet video, when disparities appear, it is the female actor who is most likely shown naked.

Theme of Domination

If a man (or men) was shown in control while another or others were not, we coded the video as having a theme of domination [13]. The most likely major theme shown in these videos was that of a man (or men) being in a dominant position (shown in 33% of all videos). Typically, the male actor was directing the sexual acts that occurred. This would be accomplished by the male participant maneuvering the female into any position he desired or verbally instructing the female to perform certain acts or moving her body in different ways. For example, one man “brought home” a woman in order to cheer up a friend who is supposedly upset after having broken up with his girlfriend. The female actor is depicted as an object and the male participants may use her in any way they would like. Thus, the most likely theme in this sample of free internet videos was domination; however, only a third of all videos reflect this theme. Next, we define emergent acts that suggest degradation in easily available Internet pornography. Observed acts of degradation that were content analyzed included: submission, eagerness or willingness to participate in any sex act desired, name calling, and acts such as ejaculating onto the face [34]. Each video was coded in terms of whether or not the act was present in the video.

Submission

The most common act present in the sample of video was that of submission. When submission occurred, it was always the female in the submissive role, and this was present in 47% of all videos where at least two actors were present. A key factor in labeling a video as depicting an act as submission was whether or not the female actor was compliant to another (usually depicted by allowing herself to be moved in any position or agreeing to any act she was asked to perform). Male participants would make demands including, “Get down on your knees,” “Get back up,” “Lean forward,” or “I’m going to cum, get down.” Viewers also see female actors making

requests throughout the videos; however, such requests do not put male participants into a position of submission. For example, statements such as, “Please fuck me harder, please,” and “Grab that hair, come on grab it and fuck me” were uttered by female actors. Such requests did not imply that these women were in a directing role, rather they appeared to be anticipating the needs of their partners and making requests that reinforced male sexual dominance.

Eagerness or Willingness to participate in any act

In almost half (49%) of all sample videos, female actors displayed eagerness or willingness to comply with what was asked of them. This would take the form of either being specifically moved to a different position or being verbally directed to perform a certain act. Eagerness or willingness was coded as present on a video if the female actor did not object to requested acts and performed these with an attitude of excitement, which would be indicated with a smile or by verbally acknowledging how much she enjoyed the act. Female actors expressed their enjoyment of or desire to have the male participant ejaculate on them and to participate in other sex acts involving male dominance. In one video, a kneeling female was manually and orally stimulating several men simultaneously. At the end, all of the men ejaculate onto her. In this act of willingness, the woman kept a smile on her face throughout. Notably, this display of eagerness and willingness to comply was always enacted by the female throughout the sample.

Name Calling

Only three videos included name calling of females by male participants. Name calling was found in commands made by male actors such as “Bite, Bitch!” or in comments directed at the female participants such as, “You fucking nasty slut.” This act was clearly not prevalent in this sample of free internet videos.

Ejaculating on the Face

Ejaculation onto the face of the female by one or more males occurred in almost half (45%) of all videos in this sample. In these videos, there was a scene where male participant(s) visibly ejaculated onto the face or mouth of the female. (Ejaculation by the male onto other parts of the body of the female was also common). Male actors often indicated that they wanted to ejaculate on the female’s face and so positioned her to make the act possible (often with the female lowered and kneeling before the male as he is about to ejaculate). Female participants indicated their desire for the act by such statements as, “I want you to cum all over my face,” “I want this cum all over me,” and “What I love even more is cum all over me.” Videos that included an act of ejaculating on the face were also likely to contain an act indicating a desire or willingness to perform any sexual act or an act of submission. Finally, we examine emergent themes, exploitation, reciprocity, and autoeroticism (domination discussed earlier), in sample videos.

Emergent Main Themes

Exploitation

Again, each video was identified as having one major theme. Exploitation was found in 22% of all videos (see Table 1). Exploitation was identified if the video contained a scene where one or more participants were being used by another and could include aspects of inequality such as age or status [13]. Videos that focused predominantly on male arousal and orgasm were identified as exploitation if the female was considered to be only present for the goal of pleasuring the male participant and no reciprocity was visible. There were two videos where exploitation was a major theme; however, the person exploiting another was female (4% of all videos). In one of these two videos, the female actor, who was in charge, and had the power to exploit another, was playing the role of a mother who seduces her daughter's boyfriend. In the other video, exploitation occurred between two women where one has more power due to her status. The plot is based on the idea that the characters are in the process of making a movie where one is hiring actresses for a film. Given this power to hire, the female actor exploits her position by engaging in sexual acts with the other female participant.

Incidents of exploitation, where women were exploited by male actors, included differences in age between participants. For example, one very young looking girl is being filmed and told to remove her clothes through a translator who is there. The scene is set up to appear almost as a photography shoot with multiple people who are also watching the girl remove her clothes. It becomes clear that one of the males who is watching will be having sex with the female; however, it is does not seem clear whether or not the female is aware that this is going to be happening, or if so, with whom.

Because we are most interested in exploitation and domination, we examined the relationship between these two themes and the depiction of various acts of degradation (eagerness, name calling, force, ejaculation on the face) in the video sample. Notably, if exploitation or domination was a main video theme, then 92% of videos depicted degrading acts; however, if these themes were not present, only 40% of the videos included degrading acts ($\chi^2 = 14.01$; $P = .0002$). If one of these two themes was ever present in a video, then this relationship was more striking. In this case, 93% of all videos featured degrading acts while only 30% of those without

Table 1 Main and secondary themes in sample video

	Main theme N (%)	Secondary theme N (%)
Domination	15 (33%)	5 (11%)
Exploitation	10 (22%)	12 (27%)
Reciprocity	9 (20%)	5 (11%)
Autoeroticism	10 (22%)	1 (2%)
Other exploitation ^a	2 (4%)	
No 2nd theme		22 (49%)

^a Female actor in exploitative position

this theme did so ($\chi^2 = 19.86$; $P = < .0001$). In this sample of video, themes of exploitation and domination go hand in hand with acts of degradation being depicted on film.

Reciprocity

Videos containing the main theme of reciprocity accounted for another 22% of the sample. Reciprocity includes scenes of mutual satisfaction and consent [13]. In such videos, oral sex occurred mutually though there may still have been ejaculation onto body parts. In one video, a woman tells viewers about a fantasy. The video then begins to show clips of the fantasy being acted out while she is talking. This particular video was considered to have the main theme of mutual satisfaction because there was emphasis on female pleasure and not solely on the female being used by the male participant. In fact, the female in this video had more agency and control as she was not simply submitting to the demands of the male participant.

Autoerotic

Autoerotic videos accounted for 20% of all videos viewed and were identified as those that contained acts performed on one's self or masturbation [13]. In our sample, approximately half ($N = 23$) of all videos had a second theme. For videos that contained a second theme, the most prevalent was exploitation (52%), followed by domination and reciprocity (both accounting for 22% of all video with a second theme) while few featured autoerotic (4% of second themes). Videos that had no second theme include those focusing on masturbation. For example, in one video a woman is being filmed as she is stretching and pulling on her labia. She seems to be manipulating them in a way that would almost appear to be painful or at least not pleasurable; however, she is not verbally indicating an experience of either.

Discussion

We hypothesized that violence would not be a common theme in this sample of video. Six of the videos in our sample included acts of violence, with one of these videos showing much more violence than the others. When violence occurs, the female actor suggests these acts are pleasurable given her facial expression and the sounds that she makes. In Cowan et al.'s [13] study of pornographic video tapes, rape was found in 51% of the sample and physical aggression in 23% of the films. To find violent pornography on the Internet, a viewer may need to search for such material and perhaps pay to view it. Our sample consists of free videos that are readily available on the Internet. On these free sites, it is not unusual for new videos to be posted on a daily basis, as well as for there to be more than 50 videos to choose from on the site. For a user specifically seeking more violent sexual acts, he or she would simply need to choose the subcategory or do a search using key terms that would indicate that violent acts are found in the video.

More than half of the videos in our sample (55% of all videos with two actors present) were more likely to show naked women than men and 55% of all videos had a main theme of either exploitation or domination where the male actor was portrayed as being in control. Therefore, a majority of the free internet videos in our sample may generally be described as degrading pornography in line with Russell's [34] work. Various acts were coded (name calling, submission, ejaculation onto the face, and eagerness to participate in any act) if present in each video. Notably, we found a significant difference in the likelihood of a video having a theme of exploitation or domination and whether or not the video contained one of these acts. If the video had one of these themes, 92% of the videos also included at least one of these acts while those videos that had themes of reciprocity or autoeroticism were significantly less likely to contain such acts. A significant portion of our sample had themes of autoeroticism or reciprocity (40% of sample videos had one of these as a main theme). In terms of theme, these videos would fit under erotica where there were sexually explicit images; however, the theme of domination or exploitation was not present.

Not surprisingly, sample videos were much more likely to show a male actor receiving oral sex compared to a female actor. Specifically, the majority (79%) of videos portrayed fellatio; however, only 37% of videos included scenes where the female actor was the recipient of oral sex (and in two of these instances she was being pleased by another woman). We agree with Dines et al. [15] that pornography is primarily produced and used by men. Even though our research took place within the context of a pornography industry that has shifted dramatically in the past 20 years, the images we observed continued to focus on male pleasure, thereby upholding asymmetrical gender relations within a cybersex internet landscape that rapidly circulates such imagery and messaging. Given Cooper's "triple-A engine" description of the existing pornography industry, the ease and access of such visual depictions serves as a powerful tool in reinforcing gender inequality through socialization messages embedded within the widely available cyber material. For example, women's acts of submission, or an eagerness to perform any sexual act, were present in over half of the videos viewed. The message that women are naturally willing to perform almost any act may be, in part, why force was not common in sample videos. It is not necessary. Exemplification theorists [38] might express concern that because such a message is easily available on internet video sites, male and female viewers may internalize these images which could influence their understanding of expected behavior and gender roles in sexual relationships.

Our data illustrate specific examples of specific sexual acts and embedded power relations, which if internalized, would serve to reinforce the existing sharp gender inequalities. For example, because the female is frequently portrayed as assuming a submissive role, viewers may take this as a template for "normal" sexual behavior. The act of ejaculating on the face is very much tied to eagerness as it was not unusual for male participants to tell female participants to prepare for the act or for female participants to request it. Before ejaculation would occur, female participants would often kneel before the male with their mouths open, smiling, awaiting for the male to ejaculate. This act was also linked to eagerness in that women would

often describe how much they enjoyed the act itself as well as the taste of the ejaculate, or indicate so by rubbing it onto their hands and into their face or into their mouth. Again, this act was usually done with a smile. Such social messaging runs the risk of reinforcing the transference between what is viewed in the cybersex sphere, and what takes place in “real life.”

Several limitations were identified in the course of this research. One recurring problem throughout was that not all videos were fully functioning or full-length videos. This was expected to a certain extent; however, it became increasingly frequent as less popular sites were found in the searches. There was also overlap of sites in that several different sites would come up under more than one search term. This too was expected and at first not considered to be a problem as material is quite frequently updated and so no video was included in the sample more than once. A larger sample would be worthwhile so that, in addition to the more popular sites that were returned in searches, more diverse sites also could be included. Considering the amount of adult material available on the internet, it would be difficult to gather a representative sample; however, including more videos would at least help to uncover more of the variety that currently exists among sites.

It is also suggested that more preliminary research be done in order to determine the type of search terms that are typical of users. While the three included in this study were on the list of most popular adult search terms according to Internet Filter Review, again due to the amount of variation of adult material, it is thought that more experienced pornography viewers may be using other, more specific terms in order to find material that they would like to view. This is also thought to be the case because of the way that sites categorize material as well as assign key terms to videos to allow for easier searching.

Ultimately, this content analysis had the intention of providing a glimpse into the type of material readily available to those performing adult searches on the internet. Over half of the sample videos revealed more female than male nakedness. Further, we found that videos which featured one of these acts (name calling, ejaculation on the face, submission or willingness to participate in any sex act) were significantly more likely to have a theme of domination or exploitation. Male pleasure is emphasized in sample video whereas the pleasure of female actors is not. Rather, female actors appear to be in the video only to serve another. How such images shape what is perceived as acceptable or appropriate sexual behavior among viewers is important to explore in future work.

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