

Feona Attwood, Clarissa Smith and Martin Barker

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Since the early 2000s, studies of pornography have focused on the changes in the ways that porn is produced and distributed - on 'porn after porn' (Biasin et al. 2014) and the place of pornography in various cultures and subcultures. Attention has been paid to the differences between 'commercial, predictable and dull' porn and new forms of 'netporn' that may be seen as 'networked, interactive, novel, intellectually and aesthetically challenging' (Paasonen 2007: 164) and the ways that 'online technologies re-structure the pornographic' (Paasonen 2010: 1298; see also Jacobs, Janssen and Pasquinelli 2007). The term 'post porn' has been used to describe the emergence of porn that is explicit, politicized and challenging (see Stuttgen 2009).

These changes have been accompanied by a growth in academic studies of pornography, most notably the launch of a dedicated journal *Porn Studies* in 2014. And while pornography has continued to be at the centre of public controversies around media, gender, sexuality and technology - often framed as a type of moral concern - some very recent academic work has worked hard to reframe discussion. Shira Tarrant's book *Gender, Sex, and Politics: In the Streets and Between the Sheets in the 21st Century* (2015) includes pornography in a set of topics for 'sparking debates in to women's and gender studies, sexuality, and gender courses', not in the familiar 'pro/con debate format' but by examining a range of views to 'encourage critical thinking and robust conversation'. Lynn Comella and Shira Tarrant's *New Views on Pornography* (2015) emphasizes the importance of interdisciplinary work by including contributions from 'media studies, sociology, psychology, gender studies, criminology, politics, and the law'. Alan McKee and

Rebecca Sullivan (2015) have produced the first textbook on pornography as part of a 'Key Concepts in Media and Cultural Studies' series, providing 'scholars, activists and those hoping to find new ways of understanding sexuality with the first overview of the histories and futures of pornography'.

The production of 'DIY' porn in new and alternative sexual cultures, subcultural sexualities, kink communities, and amateur pornographies, has also been a focus of attention as part of an academic interest in the growth of user-generated content and a broader 'participatory culture' (Jenkins 2009: 8; see van Doorn 2010; Hofer 2014). In this era, pornography has become more diverse and specialized. While the study of new pornographies has sometimes been criticized as a way of avoiding research on 'typical' or 'mainstream' porn, it has also opened up ways of understanding the diversity of porn styles and genres and helped to problematize the idea of a monolithic and stable pornographic mainstream.

The sexual is 'increasingly lived in worlds of mediated forms' (Plummer, 2008: 10) and porn practices take place with 'diminishing boundaries between online porn and real life sexuality' (Arvidsson, 2007: 74) and as part of a broader set of shifting online practices. Academic interest in new technologies and sex has grown as the mediation of sex, communication and intimacy has become more commonplace. Even so, the picture of the porn consumer as 'pimpily teenagers, furtive perverts in raincoats, and asocial compulsively masturbating misfits' (Kipnis 1996:161), or as 'deviant, slightly suspect and probably addicted' (McKee, Albury & Lumby 2008: 25) remains a popular trope. In the introduction to their recent special issue of *Porn Studies* audiences and consumers of porn Mowlabocus and Wood recognize the tenacity of assumptions that 'audiences are made up largely of men, young people and, increasingly, children ... who are routinely watching ever more "extreme" pornography..."warped" by what they see, their brain chemistry fundamentally altered by these 'addictive' scenes ...' (2015: 118).

The special issue on audiences and consumers showcased a range of new areas of focus: the porn film as an important cultural artifact within the gay male home, and its role within hook-up culture (Adams-Thies 123-136); men's practices of surfing, watching, reimagining and discussing pornography (Voros 137-149); interactions related to trans* porn on Tube (Edelman 150-160); the potential contributions of queer, feminist and lesbian porn to women's spectatorship, sexual agency and discovery of desires (Ryberg 161-173); feminist taste cultures (Lieberman 174-191); women's pleasures in gay male pornography (Neville 192-207); the materializations of women's gender identities through porn consumption (Tzankova 208-221); responses of a BDSM/fetish community to 'sexy' and 'edgy' imagery in sexual health education (Albury 222-236); the conflictual and symbolic role of porn in interactions between girls and boys (Scarcelli 237-249); and the relations of representations of sex and on 'interrelated network of sexual practice' in which 'moments of "consuming erotica" cannot be neatly isolated from moments of sexual commodity consumption, porn consumption, and researching, writing, and producing erotic texts' (Wood 250-262).

Other ways of including audiences have worked to situate engagement with porn in terms of affect (Paasonen 2011) and intimacy (McGlotten 2013). Pornhub, the world's biggest porn site now produces its own data and analysis 'to explore the intricacies of online porn viewership'. Its data is intriguing but comes without the kinds of socio-cultural interpretation that might help us understand the importances of pornography in everyday life. Studies which focus more squarely on audience engagement with porn remain rare and, as Mowlabocus and Wood note (2015: 121), the voices of 'minority' audiences (trans people, gay men, young people), while undoubtedly important, are perhaps over-represented in comparison to the number of heterosexual, able-bodied, cis-gendered men in the world who consume pornography.

Researching online audiences; the pornresearch project

Our discussion here is based on a research project hosted at <http://www.pornresearch.org> in 2011, designed to examine everyday engagements with pornography. The project was not based on assumptions about pornography's harmfulness but was designed to ensure that people who use porn and who are likely to be intensely aware of the way they are talked about, categorized, and belittled, would trust the researchers sufficiently to tell their stories and their preferences. Our questionnaire used a carefully tailored combination of quantitative and qualitative questions intended to gather sufficient responses to do some secure quantitative analyses in order to discern patterns, distinct groupings, connections and separations. Equally important was the gathering of rich qualitative data (for example asking respondents to tell us how important pornography was to them and then to tell us why) and questions about their orientations (for example their reasons for looking at porn and the meanings of sex in their lives). Other questions were designed to allow respondents to tell us about their experiences in more distinctive ways. For example, we were interested in the idea of a *personal career* with pornography so we asked people to tell us a 'history of their engagement with pornography in ten sentences'. In addition we asked about the sexual stories that most attracted them, and about pornographic moments or scenarios that they had found especially arousing. We received 5,490 responses, of which 68.4% were from men and 31.6% were from women. While we sought a wide range of information from our participants, what mattered most to us was their accounts of what pornography means to them and the ways in which it may matter to them. Of course, such accounts are not transparent truths. They are the ways that people are willing and able to tell researchers about themselves. But that is their distinctive value.

There is not enough space here to discuss the statistics in detail so we offer some key numbers below in order to contextualize our explorations of histories with pornography and specific case studies. One third of our respondents were in the

age group 18-25's (35.4%), followed by the 26-35's (33.3%). Our smallest age groupings were the under 18's (1.8%) and the over 65's (0.6%). 70.1% stated that they were 'heterosexual' followed by bisexual (16.5%), 'Queer' (5.5%), 'Gay' (3.4%), and 'Unsure' (3.4%). Significantly more males (79.5%) stated that they were 'heterosexual' compared to females (50.2%), and more males (4.8%) identified as 'gay' compared to females (0.3%). Interestingly, women seemed more likely to identify with the labels 'bisexual' (male: 10.3%, female: 30.1%) and 'queer' (male: 2.2%, female: 12.3%) compared to males.

Our quantitative questions were geared towards getting at some of the differences in the frequency and significance of pornography engagement in people's lives. One reason for this was, of course, the existence of much public anxiety about 'heavy users' of pornography, and the imputations that time spent on porn is not just a waste of time but is actively 'dangerous'.

One of the clearest findings seems to be that the 65+ age group stated that they view porn 'as often as they can' (22.6%) significantly more than all other age groups. This was followed by 10.3% of the <18's stating that they look at porn 'as often as they can'. Another clear finding is that the most frequently cited response category across all ages was for viewing porn 'most days'. The 18-25 age group cited looking at porn 'maybe once a week' (24%), more than any other age group. The age groups 26-35, 36-45 and 46-55 all presented with a similar pattern of results with porn being looked at 'most days' as the most prevalent response category, followed by 'once a week' and then 'occasionally'. Gay men (8.1%) and 'unsure' (10.2%) individuals were more likely to view porn 'as often as they can' compared to all other sexual orientations. A quarter (25.5%) of lesbians viewed porn 'most days' while 61.8% of gay men and 50.5% of heterosexuals gave that answer. 40% of lesbians responded that they only viewed porn 'occasionally', compared to 15% of gays who reported only 'occasional' viewing.

We asked 'how important they would say porn is in their lives?' - the most frequent response being 'only a little' (35.7%) The least frequent response was for 'extremely' important (5.2%). There was a weak relationship between the frequency and importance of engagement with pornography across age groups; even for those who access porn frequently, this was experienced as an ordinary thing. Younger people, both male and female, are also less likely to find their contact with pornography important, however frequently they access it.

Women attach less importance to pornography and visit it less frequently than men, furthermore their engagement dips in the 26-35 age group and after age 55. Men rated porn in their lives as being 'extremely important', 'very important', and 'quite important' significantly more than females. Men predominantly rated viewing porn 'most days' (60.5%) significantly more than women (22.5%)

The most frequently cited category for viewing porn among women was 'occasionally (34.4%)'. More women (23.6%) than men (18.6%) stated that they viewed porn 'maybe once a week'. The age distribution of men and women was markedly different, with a much higher proportion of females than males in the younger age groups.

As we have discussed elsewhere, the accordance of low significance to contact with pornography is linked to the 'whys' of people's engagements (**Smith et al.**). On our lickert scale questions, the most frequently selected reason was 'When I feel horny' (74.3%). The next most frequently cited reasons were 'When I'm bored, can't relax, or can't sleep' (45.7%), 'Because I want to feel horny' (41.3%), and 'For recognition of my sexual interests' (35.4%). The least popular reasons for looking at porn were 'I just get attracted by pop-ups' (0.9%), 'To see things I shouldn't do' (4.3%), and 'To see things I wouldn't do' (7.6%).

More men compared to women stated that they looked at porn 'when they feel

horny', 'I want to feel involved in a world of sex out there', 'Sometimes I've nothing better to do', 'When I'm bored, can't relax, or can't sleep', and 'to see things I can't do'. In contrast, more women compared to men stated that they looked at porn because 'I want to feel horny', 'To get in the mood with my partner', 'For recognition of my sexual interests', 'To find stories that dramatize what sex is all about', 'To see things that I might do', 'To see things that I wouldn't do', and 'For a laugh'. No significant relationship between sex and reasons for looking at porn were found for 'To see things I shouldn't do' and 'I just get attracted by pop-ups'. More men than women reported engaging with porn as a *response* to arousal, whereas for women it is more of a *means* to arousal. More men than women turn to pornography when they are bored, tired, or need distraction. However overall, the overlaps remain enormous, and the main ordering of preferences is unchanged between the genders.

Motivations

Of course, sexual arousal and pleasure are aspects of people's interests in pornography, but it is not the whole story. The reasons driving a person to seek out pornography will play a role in shaping their preferences and choices, and hence their responses. To understand how audience responses to pornography may work, we need to take a closer look at the complexities within people's stated interests. Sampling our overall body of responses, focusing on answers to our first qualitative question, which asked respondents to explain in their own words their choice from the options for the Importance of pornography, we can see evidence for a number of different reasons people view pornography. We identified eleven broad themes:

1. particular kinds of boredom, in which one's body asserts itself and demands some attention in and of itself;
2. accessing pornography as a way to intensify masturbation as a wind-down from forms of stress;
3. as an intensification of bodily pleasures where sexual arousal is worthy of its own modes of attainment;

4. where pornography becomes a leisure choice in its own right;
5. as a compensation for inadequate sexual opportunities, for various reasons, including age;
6. within an ongoing relationship;
7. exploring one's sexual self/identity;
8. as part of a wider recognition of the force of sex
9. as an aesthetic/erotic experience
10. voyeurism, simply, the sight—and sound—of bodies sexually engaged is an attraction in itself;
11. the attraction of the kinky, the naughty and the dirty: surely linked to the bad reputation of pornography—to seek it out and watch it is to explore a forbidden domain, and see what goes on there.

Each of these motivations leads, broadly, to a different orientation to porn, and from that connects with how much and with what commitment individuals engage; what sources they choose; what materials (visuals, scenarios, narratives) they find interesting and arousing; and what they feel pornography adds to their lives. Thus one of our key findings is that there are a range of motives for engaging with porn, beyond the simple 'facts' of physiological arousal leading to masturbatory release. Nearly half our participants mentioned the issue of 'fantasy' and used the term to reference a range of different *orientations* to porn in which fantasy may act to accentuate desire, work as a mirror to look at their responses to things, open up a world of possibilities to be explored and thought about, invite journeys to a distant realm of desires and activities, or show an 'other self'; what they might or might not be (Barker 2014).

'I First Came to Porn': Porn Histories and Careers

I like that “I first came to porn.” Yes, and that's what usually happens. Thank you.

Our participants' porn histories were varied in length, detail and attitude. A recurring theme is the importance of the internet in people's porn careers and of a 'standard history' which moves from print to online, reflecting the newness of the internet. Yet those print materials are varied; including software magazines, publications aimed at teenage girls, tabloid newspaper 'sexy' imagery such as the UK's page 3 models, 'forbidden books such as *Lady Chatterley's Lover* and *Portnoy's Complaint*', 'a Japanese graphic novel that was basically 2 teenage boys having sex', 'my parent's *Joy of Sex* double copy', 'feminist theory addressing porn', 'fantasy novels such as Terry Goodkinds' *Wizard's First Rules*', 'library books on human sexuality and technique' and finally, 'my mother's Nancy Friday books'. Others first encountered porn through anime, 'shock' images, porn fan fiction, chatting with men in craigslist casual encounters, and ads for mobile phone wallpapers, amongst other things. Thus we should recognize the expansiveness of what constitutes 'pornography' - it is not simply those materials produced commercially as *porn*.

Many participants refer to first encounters with porn as 'accidents' (coming across something that unexpectedly arouses them, finding a stash of porn, or being shown some by a friend or a partner).

I first came to porn as a teenager in the form of ladies underwear sections of home shopping catalogues. One day I found some *Fiestas* my father had hidden. Later on I was a subscriber to *Mayfair* before Paul Raymond sleazed it up and dumbbed it down.

Another recurring theme, set against those accounts which describe 'stumbling upon' porn, is looking for porn out of curiosity, and this takes a variety of forms:

Because- hey, tits!

To see what sex was all about

To try to convince myself that I wasn't gay

To see if visual stimulus would help me reach climax

Because it was intriguing and inappropriate

Because it was taboo

With college neighbors watching the filthiest things they could find

To learn to please women

More out of anatomical curiosity than for sexual gratification.

I had nearly gone in to celibacy, but suddenly my body ached after something and porn became a good way of connecting to my body.

I was a young girl and was curious about my body and all those new feeling.

Growing up I had a slight weight issue and porn allowed me to feel better about myself by viewing your non-typical playboy glamor porn. It was reassuring to know that beauty does come in all shapes and sizes.

I looked for images that reflected a couple of niche fantasies.

Thus, we have a range of accounts of the beginnings of people's careers with porn and some of those suggest taking the plunge very intentionally:

When I was a teenager, I frequently pestered my boyfriend to buy some porn DVDs.

In my mid 20s I started to get frustrated that I hadn't seen any porn films - I wanted to tick that box.

I first came to porn when my spouse complained about lost sexual desire and wanted to renew it.

While there was a clear journey for many from print to digital, some participants described how they revisit earlier experiences and styles of porn

Most recently I pulled that ancient magazine (it really is ancient, it has Paula Jones the Clinton affair woman naked in it!) out of my drawer the other day when I was rummaging for pyjamas. I looked at a couple of pages and put it back. Wasn't ready to get into the mood as I had other stuff to do.

I discovered online forums such as Famousboard. And most recently discovered online forums for vintage (for me this means 1960s-1980s) pornography.

Sources and Sites

As the table below shows, the most popular means of accessing pornography were tube sites by some way. The least popular were studio and star pay sites online. Other well-used sources were downloads, fiction sites, specialist sites, amateur sites, sex blogs and alt porn sites. In line with their higher overall frequency of visits, men reported more choices of sites than women. The most striking differences according to gender were in downloads, amateur sites, live sex cams and webcams (where men outstrip women), and 'specialist' and fiction sites (where women outstrip men). The figures do not support the popular association of other types of pornography such as 'alternative' and 'erotic' with women. Alongside these differences there is considerable overlap in the popularity of DVDs, magazines, and tube sites and lack of popularity of pay per view sites with both men and women

Table 1: Percentages accessing different kinds of sites and materials.

	All	Male	Female
DVDs	25.6	25.3	26.3
Downloads	53.4	62.8	43.7
Magazines	14.2	14.3	14.1
'Tube' sites	80.5	83.8	73.8
'Specialist' sites	33.8	31.4	39.0
'Studio' pay per view sites	4.9	5.8	3.1
'Indie' pay per view sites	8.1	9.4	6.8
'Star' pay per view sites	3.1	3.7	1.7
'Authentic' sites	10.2	10.7	9.2
'Amateur' sites	39.8	45.4	27.5
'Alt.porn' sites	21.8	21.9	21.6
'Erotic' sites	22.8	24.3	19.6
Fiction sites	37.1	31.0	50.3
Sex Blogs	28.7	26.8	32.6
Chatrooms	8.2	9.4	5.8
Live sex cams	7.8	12.5	3.7
Webcams	10.2	12.5	5.3
Hook-up sites	7.8	9.4	4.6

Very few of our respondents chose 'I just get attracted by pop-ups' - those images that interrupt intentional browsing to lead viewers to other sites. This seemingly insignificant result is, in fact, very important. It indicates that despite the attempts to frame porn as something that seeks viewers out, consumers actively pursue the sexually explicit materials they choose to engage with. Moreover, far from being indiscriminate and simply opportunist, porn consumers have rich histories and tastes which connect in complex ways with understandings of sex and sexuality in their everyday lives.

How Do You Find Porn?

Some participants gave very brief accounts of the way they found porn;

'Kinda like how I find all the movies I don't flick my clit to'

But in the shortness of that response is an indication of the absolute ordinariness of searching for porn; for this woman, the search is just like her explorations for non-sexual films. Others provided detailed information about their searches:

For stories, I search for a small text fragment of the kind of story I'd like to read (eg 'without her panties'), or search ASSTR.org for keywords. For images, I tend to prefer drawn images to images of real-life women because there's much less risk of exploitation. I visit sites of 'ecchi; (softcore) anime images, or browse imageboards. For videos, I tend to search dailymotion or other porn-friendly video engines. For H manga, I search for authors I like such as Suehirogari, or find recommendations mentioned on websites.

I start with a google image search because it's easy, then explore within sites. I search in French and German as well as English to get a different framing of some fantasies than the dominant American mainstream. Sometimes I look via artist blogs.

Some searched for work by particular performers or producers, or focused on looking for specific sexual positions or types of image. Participants used a variety of information sources for finding porn; 'my boyfriend's search history', friends and partners, sex review sites, rss feeds, tips on Twitter, recommendations on sex blogs, membership of email newsgroups, links on BDSM dating sites, and keeping up to date with sexual health professionals, sex advice columnists, and reviewers.

Responses listed a range of places for consuming pornography: mainly online or through social/mobile media. These included tube sites, 'major porn sites', free sites and free trials of porn sites. Also used were databases, tumblr, blogs, bookmarking sites, Torrent trackers, live cams, chan sites (4chan, 7chan, 99chan and so on). Many named specific sites such as fleshbot, Stumbleupon, perfectgirls.net, the hun.net, xnxx.com, filthyfigments.com, Fetlife user galleries, Literotica, and some noted that they like the familiarity and reliability of using the same sites.

What becomes clear in reading these descriptions of searches is that the idea that one simply clicks and stops with the first 'arresting' image is not sophisticated enough to comprehend the layers of engagements with pornography. Frequently, there is also a sense of participants' tastes developing and changing;

I first came to porn as a kid when I found my cousin's porn stash. Playboy made the women look like living art and Penthouse forum stories were incredibly arousing even though I didn't understand half of what was written.

As an adult, I actually found myself bored with porn until running across more amateur porn that was just raw, low/no production sex. Most recently I've found myself enamored with pegging porn both professional and amateur. Seeing it both mainstream and done by average people makes it easier to talk about and engage in with a partner.

I first came to porn in 6th grade where I would masturbate to still images and literotica. I eventually began searching for galleries instead of using Google. As I got a better internet connection I discovered videos and would watch the previews for pay porn. Eventually the topics of the video went from softcore to lesbian to hardcore, and very occasionally I would find myself watching things like gangbangs and bestiality. Sometimes I like porn that makes me angry or insecure, such as cheating girlfriends or wifesharing. Most recently I realized I like amateur and teen porn the best, but it has to meet certain criteria: hot girl, doggystyle among other positions, very hot if she keeps some clothes on and gradually removes more and more during intercourse, no panning to the guys face for his reaction, and no cumshot, or at least I can exit as the cumshot starts.

Throughout these responses we gain a picture of involvements that come and go; interests may wax and wane. Contexts are important in how pornography is experienced and its significance and role varies across life-circumstances, as the following accounts demonstrate:

I first came to porn as a teenager in the 1960s. In the 1970s I became interested in BDSM porn as well as 'ordinary' porn. My interest faded in the 1980s when I had small children but re-emerged in the 1990s and up to the present. Most recently I have got interested in porn chat rooms as a way of exploring my interest in BDSM in a more direct and real way.

I first came to porn in 6th grade at a party at my friend's house. They put on the Playboy channel and I complained about it, but actually was glued to the screen. In high school, in 9th or 10th grade, when I first discovered masturbation, every night after my parents went to bed, I would go on the family computer and watch and masturbate like a madwoman. This use decreased significantly over the years-- maybe because of boredom, or the novelty of masturbating EVERY SECOND OF EVERY DAY wore off. I never watched in college really, and most recently I watch just a few times a year when I'm bored, and usually just for a few minutes.

I come from a country where porn was banned, so it was always an attraction. When I came to the UK and had freer access to the internet, my desire to watch porn diminished. Lately, I find porn rather dull and mechanical, and not very stimulating.

Sometimes tastes in pornography relate very much to developing identity wherein porn becomes a means of recognizing sexual identity or the process of coming out. For some, porn becomes a part of sexuality separate from physical sex with a partner, it offers an expansion of sexual interests or a way of acknowledging what is arousing and what is not.

As a male with a disability, porn allows me to indulge in some of fantasies and helps relieve some level of sexual frustration. I did not get to enjoy high school and college as some people do. I first came to porn as way of dealing with this. Seeing and hearing the act of sex on screen helped to an extent. I saw certain fetishes, such as pegging, depicted and began to explore that facet of my sexuality. And most recently, I have started to wonder if porn with people with disabilities could be made.

I first came to porn when I was 13. My brother had a bootleg vhs copy of New Wave Hookers. I had never masturbated before and watching the movie led me to my first orgasm. Most recently, I began searching for porn that characterized fantasy, ie midget porn, group/gangbang scenarios, costume play. I am trying to find my sexual self.

I first came to porn in my mid-teens when I was exploring my sexuality. I ended up looking at almost everything the porn world had to offer, before eventually finding a middle ground that satisfied my more standard fantasies and occasionally some kinkier ones. These days I tend to watch a mixture of straight-up hardcore, mixed with the occasional bisexual threesome, etc.

I first came to porn when I was a teenager. Mostly it was a way to get in touch with my body and also to see things I wasn't able at the time to admit to myself and/or others (gay porn). I watched porn more often when I wasn't in a relationship, until now. Most recently me and my boyfriend do use porn sometimes occasionally, at any time we feel like, and for several reasons. We watch it either individually or in each other's company (the second is more frequent tho).

Pornographic fanfiction and fanart has continued to be one of my main sources of entertainment and socialization, leading to many lasting friendships.

For others, porn careers involved a move towards participating in the curation or production of porn;

I first came to porn by reading *Playboy* and *Lui* magazines. And most recently I have created a Tumblr blog with NSFW pictures.

I first came to porn as a young kid, a transition from woman's lingerie. And most recently I've spent a huge amount of time developing software that will allow me to better tag and organize my porn.

I first came to porn at boarding school, smuggled copies of *Mayfair*. Most recently looking at photos I took of my lover.

Most recently, I considered creating my own pornographic videos. I have written pornographic stories before.

The possibilities for peer-to-peer exchanges and personal uploads via online platforms blur the lines between consumption and production, while the practices of collecting, curating and sharing of pornographies on- and off-line indicate that engagements with sexually explicit materials (user-generated and/or professional) are rarely as ephemeral as dismissive accounts of porn use as momentary, accidental, orgasm-focussed, wasteful, shameful and embarrassing would suggest.

This essay only briefly explores some of the issues relating to the ways in which people engage with online content. Our participants' responses point to the ways in which pornographies' place in everyday life is a matter of change and continuity; highly-individual and yet shared and patterned experiences played out against the backdrop of transformations in media platforms and accessibility. The past decade has brought unequalled increase in the availability, volume and forms of online pornography, and the cultural visibility of pornography is unprecedented. Even so, our understandings of porn consumption remain mired in concerns over visibility and presumed (harmful) effects of pornography, particularly audiovisual forms. In the

responses here we see that pornography is not simply texts working on bodies or contributing to the pornification of culture (Smith 2010), but has meaning for the individual, as commodity, memories, aesthetic experience, and forms of sociability.

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