

THE INTELLECT HANDBOOK OF



Adult Film & Media

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Introduction

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The *Handbook of Adult Film and Media* offers a survey of the state of the discipline in the form of 36 themed chapters, each presenting an overview of the primary literature, important histories, and essential arguments. Ultimately, the collection serves as a reference work and resource for emerging scholars, as well as educators teaching undergraduate courses on film, media, gender, or sexuality studies.

As a site of frequent, intense stigma and significant creative expression, adult film and media occupy a contested space within cultural discourse, challenging normative assumptions about taste, morality, and artistic value, and study of the subjects illuminates broad cultural, social, and economic dynamics. Although they reside in liminal social spaces, these topics afford scholars rich opportunities to interrogate shifting attitudes toward sexuality, censorship, and technological innovation. Additionally, and increasingly in recent years, this work critically engages with questions of representation, labor, and power, foregrounding the significance of media that remains marginalized while exerting profound influence on public and private life. The paradox of pornography is that it is at once peripheral and ubiquitous in society. Although scholars have explored adult film and media through various academic traditions (and continue to do so), the formal establishment of porn studies as a distinct discipline is a relatively recent development. What follows maps some of the early history of the field, though any attempt to do will be incomplete. We are aware, as John Mercer writes, that “the perennial dilemma for any author preparing a summary review of a field, of course, is how to construct an architecture that at least feels representative and one always runs the risk of misrepresentation, intentionally or otherwise.”¹

Following a sexual revolution that was also a media revolution in the 1960s and 1970s,² the academic study of adult film and media emerged in the late 1960s through the early 1980s with a series of public seminars, feminist and queer magazines articles, and academic journal articles that examine the broad circulation of sex in the public sphere throughout the twentieth century, occasioning a mass sexualization of our mediated world. Linda Williams’s monograph *Hard Core: Power, Pleasure, and the “Frenzy of the Visible”* is sometimes considered the field’s seminal work. Indeed, *Hard Core* was a watershed moment as the first monograph to examine pornography within cinema studies, helping to further establish its legitimacy. By the time *Hard Core* appeared in 1989, however, the academic study of adult film and media had been emergent for more than two decades, a disciplinary history typically overlooked in understandings of the field’s origins. The film journals *Jump Cut* and, to a lesser extent, *Screen* laid the groundwork for the academic study of adult film and media that enabled later, more widely recognized studies of the genre. According to film historian Tom Waugh, in his genealogy of the field, “*Hard Core* was without a doubt a paradigmatic money-shot, but we must prevent the erasure from history of the seminal contributions to

the field not from books but from periodicals [...] and non-film magazines,” such as *Fag Rag*, *The Body Politic*, *Gay Left*, *Straight to Hell*, and *Heresies*.³

Such recuperation must also include the contributions of non-academic enthusiasts and historians, whose interest in these sorts of films has often been the only way it has been preserved at all. That includes a wide range of people, including William Rotsler, author of *Contemporary Erotic Cinema* (1971); Kenneth Turan and Stephen Zito, authors of *Sinema: American Pornographic Films and the People Who Make Them* (1974); Al di Lauro and Gerald Rabkin, authors of *Dirty Movies: An Illustrated History of the Stag Film, 1915–1970* (1976); Bill Landis, with his *Sleazoid Express* newsletter in the 1980s; Jim Holliday, whose *Top 100 X Rated Films of All Time* (1982) and *Only the Best: Jim Holliday's Adult Video Almanac and Trivia Treasury* (1986) remain indispensable accounts of industry history.⁴ Without these dedicated people (and many others, before and after) outside academia, the histories of adult film and media would already be lost.

Academic work on adult film and media began slowly emerging in the 1960s and then more clearly in the following decade, beginning with attempts simply to chart the obvious changes that were happening on film screens. That was the case with University of Southern California film studies professor Arthur Knight and film critic Hollis Alpert, chroniclers of the sprawling, 20-part “History of Sex in Cinema” series in *Playboy* magazine between 1965 and 1969.⁵ Raymond Durnat’s *Eros in the Cinema* (1966) examined the depiction of sexuality in global cinema, celebrating its liberating potential while critiquing the constraints of censorship and moral conventions.⁶

This was essentially the frame of the group of books following in its wake, typically from the perspectives of art, literary, psychoanalytic, or social criticism, attempting to claim that pornography transcended mere obscenity to function as legitimate aesthetic expression or carrier of deeper meanings about society, squarely part of the debates of that era. Works in this regard include Steven Marcus’s *The Other Victorians: A Study of Sexuality and Pornography in Mid-Nineteenth-Century England* (1964); essays in 1967 by Stefan Morawski, Susan Sontag, and Fred Chappell; Morse Peckham’s *Art and Pornography: An Experiment in Explanation* (1969); Theodore Bowie and Cornelia Christenson’s edited collection *Studies in Erotic Art* (1970); John Atkins’ *Sex in Literature: The Erotic Impulse in Literature* (1970); Peter Michelson’s *The Aesthetics of Pornography* (1971); Edward Lucie-Smith’s *Eroticism in Western Art* (1972); and Amos Vogel’s *Film as a Subversive Art* (1974).⁷

Studies of adult film as a specific medium arose simultaneously alongside adult film’s growth in the early 1970s into a more publicly visible industry—the so-called “golden age,” as outlined by Laura Helen Marks in this volume. Joseph Slade mapped the adult theaters in Times Square in 1971, just as the industry was beginning its rapid rise, and then followed with two additional essays tracing the subsequent narrative developments in the films that played in those theaters.⁸ Editor Thomas Atkins assembled a special issue of *The Film Journal* on sexuality in September 1972, gathering essays on aesthetics and eroticism, among other topics, as well as a review of *WR: Mysteries of the Organism* (1971, dir. Dušan Makavejev), then expanded the issue into, first, a longer pamphlet with additional chapters and, finally, in 1975, a book of essays, reviews, and images. Perspectives on European art films sit alongside histories of censorship, examinations of aesthetics and narrative, and analyses of specific films, including *Midnight Cowboy* (1969, dir. John Schlesinger), *Last Tango in Paris* (1972, dir. Bernardo Bertolucci), alongside pro-sex feminist Ellen Willis’s critique of *Deep Throat* (1972, dir. Gerard Damiano), marking the end of the cultural moment in which “adult films” remained a more nebulous and shifting category.⁹ That same perspective can be seen in a special issue of *Film Comment* on “Cinema Sex” from January 1973, featuring interviews with Radley Metzger and Russ Meyer along with various treatises on adult film, censorship, and Donald Richie’s analysis of Japanese “pink films.”¹⁰

Essays on adult film and media published in the 1970s reflected this shifting discursive landscape, as well as film studies trends at the time. During this period Dennis Giles twice explored how pornographic

film serves as a conduit for repressed desires to emerge into consciousness as “fantasy,” reflecting psychoanalytic perspectives prevalent in film studies at the time.¹¹ *Cineaste* ran “The Left and Porno” in late 1976, asking a group of “filmmakers, critics, writers, cultural publications and organizations on the left” (including Julia Lesage, associate editor of *Jump Cut*) to reflect on pornography from feminist and Marxist positions.¹² Gregg Blachford took up similar questions in a 1978 essay, asking: “Can pornography have any place in [gay men’s lives] as we are committed politically to a fight against capitalism and its manifestations in terms of economic exploitation and sexism?”¹³ Of significant importance to the field was also the 1976 publication of the first volume of Michel Foucault’s *The History of Sexuality*, which argues for sexuality as a discourse suppressed within capitalist societies.¹⁴

The big leap in academic studies of adult film and media occurred beginning in 1980 in the pages of the preeminent film journal *Screen*, which published a series of “urgent” articles on the heels of key events in the United Kingdom. According to John Ellis, a scholar of media arts, in his 1980 article “Photography/Pornography/Art/Pornography,” these urgent events included the “police seizure of material, attacks by feminists on representations and those who market them; and the pornography industry’s own attempts to get increased public acceptance. Now, the Williams Committee has produced a series of recommendations for replacing the existing unworkable legislation in this area.”¹⁵ Ellis methodically unpacks conflicting socio-legal definitions of pornography, ultimately calling for greater analysis of the genre and offering a psychoanalytic approach to fetishism to guide future studies of “representations of sexuality.”

In short order, *Screen* published four more articles about pornography. Film scholar Paul Willemen (1981) and visual culture scholar Claire Pasjczkowska (1981) both respond directly to Ellis, wrestling with his psychoanalytic approach while agreeing on the need for greater analysis of pornography.¹⁶ Visual arts scholar Leslie Stern (1982) examines the opening salvos of the feminist pornography debates, which would continue to proliferate throughout the 1980s and 1990s, poignantly arguing that the activity, speech, and writing about pornography within feminism was more revealing than pornography itself.¹⁷ For her part, film critic Susan Barrowclough (1982) provides an analysis of the film *NOT a Love Story: A Motion Picture about Pornography* (1981, dir. Bonnie Sherr Klein), exposing the film’s assumptions about pornography while analyzing the controversy surrounding the film.¹⁸ It is hard to imagine now, given the growth of the field, just how exceptional it was for an established journal such as *Screen* to publish five articles related to pornography between 1980 and 1982. Each of the five articles recognizes that, although laws regulating pornography were quickly eroding, the subject nevertheless remained controversial, largely absent from academic discourse, and was not taken seriously as an area of research. Indeed, *Screen* would not publish another article on the genre again for seven years.

More than any other scholarly publication at the time, *Jump Cut* helped develop and sustain an academic discourse about adult film and media that had not previously existed. Film scholar Julia Lesage (1981) led the way with her special section of *Jump Cut* on “Women and Pornography.”¹⁹ Already revered for its groundbreaking publications, including special sections on “Gays and Film” in 1977, several special sections on Brazilian and Cuban films from 1978 to 1980, and “Lesbians and Films” in 1981, *Jump Cut* was the first journal to explicitly call for scholarship related to the genre of pornography. In her introduction to the special section, Lesage writes, “Image and sexual fantasy are interconnected with social and economic reality in a way that we must delineate more clearly if we are adequately to understand pornographic film and take any political action on it.”²⁰ Lesage laments that such interconnections have not yet been traced within pornographic film studies. “Articles that contribute to such an understanding are the ones we would like to see in *Jump Cut*,” she declares.²¹ Lesage outlines the various approaches future film scholars might take to a study of pornography, including unpacking its socio-cultural definitions, textual analysis, examination of the contexts of its production and consumption, its relationship to sex education films, women’s fantasies, and its historical and social context, to name a few. Lesage’s call was nothing short of a manifesto for film scholarship to take pornography’s histories and forms seriously. Lesage prophesied

a field that was hard to imagine in 1981. She called for feminist approaches to pornography and studies of gay pornography long before the existence of any meaningful gay rights legislation, at the cusp of the feminist pornography debates, and as the first whispers emerged of the AIDS pandemic in the United States. Lesage's special section includes articles from literary author Valerie Miner about the current state of pornography as a genre and industry, Lesage's own article about racism and rape in *Broken Blossoms* (1919, dir. D. W. Griffith), and film scholar Gina Marchetti's comprehensive annotated bibliography on women and pornography, surely the most accurate capturing of the available literature to that point.²²

As the 1980s progressed, the academic field of adult film and media grew. Film scholar Constance Penley's 1982 analysis of *Sauve Qui Peut* (1980, dir. Jean-Luc Godard) argues that the film's homosexual propositioning, bestiality, prostitution, masturbation, sadism, masochism, sodomy, and voyeurism afford the spectator a wide-ranging iconography of the pornographic and confuse many of the genre's definitions.²³ Meanwhile, literature scholar Roger Rollins's study that same year of audience receptions of hardcore pornography reveals wish fulfillment fantasies.²⁴ Remarkably, by 1985 *Jump Cut* had published a second special issue on pornography, much larger than the first, entitled "Politics of Sexual Representation."²⁵ It included three of the earliest articles about gay pornography, from film scholars Richard Dyer, Tom Waugh, and John Grayson, helping found the subfield of gay pornography studies.²⁶ The special issue also included articles from film scholars Chuck Kleinhans and Julia Lesage about the politics of sexual representation and film scholar Lisa DiCaprio's reevaluation of Klein's *NOT a Love Story*, as well as DiCaprio's interview with the director.²⁷

Determined to carve out space for adult film and media studies, in spring 1986 *Jump Cut*—astonishingly—published a third special section, on "Sexual Representation." "This is by no means the last word on the matter," wrote Chuck Kleinhans in his introduction, "and we expect to have new articles in forthcoming issues."²⁸ The latest special section included articles from literary author Joanna Russ about the conflicting feelings about sexual representation for women; journalist Annette Fuentes and literature scholar Margaret Schrage's interview with the adult film performers in Club 90, the groundbreaking feminist support group turned performance art troupe; Gina Marchetti's analysis of the erotic martial arts thriller *Firecracker* (1981, dir. Cirio Santiago); literature scholar Jake Jakaitis's analysis of rape and revenge in *Giving Way* (1980, dir. Gaylon Emerzian); and film scholar Patricia Erens' analysis of the erotic thriller *The Seduction* (1982, dir. David Schmoeller).²⁹ By the end of the decade the study of adult film and media had appeared in a range of academic journals, including *Film Quarterly*, *Cinema Journal*, *Filmhaftet*, and *Screen* again, to name only a few.³⁰ The field had grown by 1989 to a point that Linda Williams was able to review a collection of essays on pornography in *Quarterly Review of Film and Video*: an expert reviewing other experts—surely a sign of increasing stability.³¹

Hence, by the beginning of the 1990s the study of adult film and media was well established within peer-reviewed academic journals, enabling longform sustained analysis of the genre in the form of monographs. Historian Walter Kendrick published *The Secret Museum: Pornography in Modern Culture* in 1987. He traces the concept of pornography, initially coined as a term in the late eighteenth century, as a public issue related to freedom of expression and censorship once the printing press had given ordinary people access to the erotica of the Greeks and Romans, the art and literature of the French enlightenment, and the poems of the Earl of Rochester and John Cleland's *Fanny Hill*.³² It is with all this foundational background that we must understand the impact of Williams's *Hard Core* in 1989, especially, as Mercer points out, with its second edition a decade later in 1999.³³ The book is the first monograph to consider pornography as a film genre with its own histories and cinematic forms, and as a force for shaping public discourses about sex and sexuality, as well as a powerful (and continuing) example of the kind of full-length scholarly work that could be done within the academy.

More seminal works followed. In the now classic 1993 collection *The Invention of Pornography 1500–1800: Obscenity and the Origins of Modernity*, editor and historian Lynn Hunt gathers ten authors to

examine how pornography emerged as a literary practice and a category of knowledge intimately linked to the formative moments of Western modernity and the democratization of culture.³⁴ In Hunt's introduction, she traces how, from the start, early modern European pornography used the shock of sex to test the boundaries and regulation of obscene behavior and expression in the public and private spheres. As such, pornography criticized and subverted political authorities as well as social and sexual relations. Amy Richlin's edited collection *Pornography and Representation in Greece and Rome* (1995) was the first large-scale application of feminist theory to the study of Greek and Roman cultures.³⁵ Its authors point out some striking similarities between contemporary culture and that of the ancient world, challenging psychoanalytic assumptions about the nature of sexuality. Tom Waugh's monumental 1996 book *Hard to Imagine: Gay Male Eroticism in Photography and Film from Their Beginnings to Stonewall*, which came out of a decade's worth of research, was the first work to explore in detail the development of gay male erotic imagery, covering everything from renowned art films and photography to intimate and often explicit amateur creations. With its 400 illustrations from a range of institutional, uncatalogued, and private collections, the book redefined archival research.³⁶ Mercer argues that the book "contained such an ambition and scope that it has been hard to match, and there really has not been a comparable study of gay sexual representation [since]. It is therefore a curiosity that the book is not as universally well known as Linda Williams' [*Hard Core*]."³⁷

With these early foundational works, the field of porn studies was established—albeit tenuously. After all, the study of adult film and media has long occurred (and continues) under complex and, at times, culturally fraught or prohibitive conditions. Roadblocks and complications to this kind of work can also come from much closer to home. Structural opposition, such as grant rejections or reluctance from publishers and conference organizers, has become a common experience for some working in the field, particularly depending on where they are in the world and with what types of institutional support. In her essential study of the complex issues surrounding the teaching and discussion of pornography and sexual media on college campuses, Lynn Comella notes that "[f]aculty are navigating a dizzying array of competing interests: student demands, colleague concerns, administrator anxieties, institutional gatekeeping, and, increasingly, legislative actions that are accelerating the erosion of academic freedom and, in some places, tenure."³⁸

Resistance or outright hostility to sexually explicit material and its study from segments of the public have also long been familiar to scholars. That has at times meant visible public protests, as in the case of attempts by activists to shut down Constance Penley's porn studies course at the University of California, Santa Barbara (UCSB) in the early 1990s, or the one taught by Peter Lehman at Arizona State University in the early 2000s.³⁹ Following other moral panics in previous decades, conservative activists, starting in the mid-2010s, manufactured a "crisis" around pornography in multiple countries, including Iceland, Poland, Canada, the United Kingdom, and the United States.⁴⁰ The goal was to move public discussion and potential regulation away from concerns around morality and into discourses of "public health," which might be more broadly palatable.⁴¹ Linking together anxieties around technology, human trafficking, and obscenity, a coalition of groups attempted to paint pornography as a public danger akin to tobacco and thus in need of strict regulation.⁴² The efforts had some success, resulting in multiple states in the United States officially declaring a crisis and pursuing legislation written by the activists, as well as the Republican Party, adding the rhetoric to its official 2016 platform.⁴³

As we go to press with this collection, the current cycle of opposition centers on the issue of age verification for online access to pornography. In 2022 Louisiana became the first state in the United States to require age verification on websites that contain adult content.⁴⁴ The law requires people to provide a government-issued ID for verification to a third-party site. Since then a flurry of copycat legislation has been passed by legislators across the United States, United Kingdom, France,⁴⁵ Germany,⁴⁶ and elsewhere. The United Kingdom's Online Safety Act 2023⁴⁷ requires people to provide the Office of Communications

(Ofcom), a government regulatory authority, with proof of age through a photo ID, credit card checks, or facial recognition technology for “facial age estimation.”⁴⁸ Meanwhile, the European Union requires specific websites—Pornhub, XVideos, and Stripchat—to verify the age of their users.⁴⁹ Each of these laws raise concerns about the efficacy of such technology, the unenforceability for websites not bound by laws in specific regions, and the risk to people’s privacy and data.⁵⁰

Finally, there is the extreme antiporn rhetoric of Project 2025, the policy group associated with Donald Trump, who was recently re-elected as president of the United States in 2024. Kevin Roberts, president of the Heritage Foundation and leader of Project 2025, flatly states in the group’s “Mandate for Leadership” document: “Pornography should be outlawed. The people who produce and distribute it should be imprisoned. Educators and public librarians who purvey it should be classed as registered sex offenders. And telecommunications and technology firms that facilitate its spread should be shuttered.”⁵¹ Although this sort of alarming rhetoric (which moves past “public health” approaches and into something much more bluntly authoritarian) may be new in the United States, where sexually explicit content has long been constitutionally protected, such forceful prohibitions are not uncommon elsewhere, as in places such as Saudi Arabia, North Korea, and Indonesia, making this moment a good reminder that the study of pornography is not only local but markedly different and potentially more dangerous depending on locale.

Despite these sorts of challenges, the history of work in this field demonstrates that the study of adult film and media will persist, as it always has, in the face of adversity and opposition, whether that be cultural, institutional, legal, or in combination. The creation of the *Porn Studies* journal in 2014 and of the Adult Film and Media Scholarly Interest Group in the Society for Cinema and Media Studies that same year, both inspired by the early work outlined here, illustrates the enduring, steady, and committed interest in studying adult film and media—as well as its ongoing need. Indeed, there is much more work to be done.

Although we have tried to present a wide-ranging overview of important topics in the field from a variety of perspectives, scholars and students will not find this volume to be comprehensive or exhaustive, which would be impossible. Some of these unintentional absences represent opportunities for scholars and students to pursue new lines of research, while others are ideal for seeking out existing work done elsewhere that will round out this collection. A few examples of the latter (among many others) include home video,⁵² lesbian pornography,⁵³ photography,⁵⁴ and magazines.⁵⁵

Chapter overview

The handbook is divided into six broad sections. The first section, “History,” focuses on the historical underpinnings and theoretical possibilities opened up by the study of adult media, and how “adult media” as an analytical category challenges conventional understandings of genre formation. This section features six chapters that critically interrogate the emergence of adult media forms and modes through historical and theoretical lenses. David Church traces a history of adult cinema from the precinematic exhibition of human locomotion from the 1870s to the varied forms it takes as it moves between shades of explicitness, as sex hygiene films, stag films, physique film, and peepshow loops. Dan Erdman examines the 16mm, 8mm, and Super-8 formats used by producers and exhibitors of pornographic films. In his account, Erdman outlines how small-gauge films gained prominence as mail orders in the United States even when the Comstock Act was in place to crack down on the circulation of obscene material over mail. Eric Schaefer tracks the distribution and exhibition contexts of sexploitation films such as *The Defilers* (1965) and *Delinquent School Girls* (1975) to showcase how the specific production and exhibition contexts influence their success. Whereas *The Defilers* was made at a time when sexploitation as a genre was diversifying, *Delinquent School Girls* arrived as theatrical hardcore had become commonplace, with Hollywood and foreign mainstream films incorporating some variation of sexual content. By juxtaposing

the production and exhibition histories of the two films, Schaefer lays out how changed circumstances, including the legal landscape, made it hard in the 1970s for sexploitation filmmakers to market their product. Laura Helen Marks locates the specificities of what has been commonly referred to as the “golden age,” the period from 1972 to 1984 when adult films grew in public visibility, budget, and ambition. She lays out how the films of this period are placed nostalgically in the history of pornography as a phase when unsimulated sex came to be woven together into feature-length, narrative films screened in cinema halls. Whitney Strub’s chapter on adult movie theaters looks at the period from the 1960s to the 1980s and how it was intermeshed in struggles involving censorship, urban zoning, and real estate. Calling for the need to have an analysis rooted in political economy, Strub revisits the histories of adult theaters and their decline, tracing how exhibition of adult cinema varied from grindhouse, beaver films, to softcore, nudie, and sexploitation films, along with the social worlds to which these theaters catered. Becky Holt’s chapter looks at the emergence and evolution of the distribution of pornography online with “tub” sites, focusing on the early days of Pornhub, and discusses the strategies to remap distribution and consumption, including making free content available for users. Holt’s account focuses on the intersections between technology and pornography by tracing how pornography was central to the development of the internet, and how tube sites drew from practices of participatory culture and algorithmic processing.

The second section, “Methodologies and Pedagogies,” focuses on pedagogical improvisations and methodological questions developed in adult film and media and how these resonate with the questions of teaching, syllabus building, and collaborative work practices in academia. This section includes six chapters by scholars who have taught adult media courses and examined the challenges of teaching explicit content in the classroom. Brandon Arroyo’s chapter looks at the role of cultural theories in shaping our understanding the role of sexuality within moving image cultures and representations. Daniel Laurin introduces an array of research methods used in the study of adult film and media, and how porn studies scholarship engages with methods from disciplines such as film studies, history, and sociology, and as it intersects with industry studies, labor, and the study of various media formats. Laurin argues for a “methodological promiscuity,” negotiating the varied methodological impulses within the study of adult film and media. Alan McKee, Emma Philips, and Pavla Nováková’s contribution to the handbook focuses on sex education and pornography by looking into how sex educators can develop pleasure-centric curricula that move away from privileging phallogocentric forms of sex. The authors, instead, suggest the need to critically examine the myth that women can orgasm from penis-in-vagina alone—what they refer to as a “gendered orgasm gap”—to inculcate healthy sexual development. In an interview with Constance Penley, professor emerita at the University of California, Santa Barbara, Peter Alilunas delves into Penley’s career and research as a porn scholar, the genesis of the (by now legendary) porn studies course she teaches at UCSB, and her experiences with the changing facets of the adult film industry. Throughout, Penley gives insights into “the radical importance of normalization”—her belief that the field of porn studies needs to treat its objects of study and pedagogy as simply another part of popular culture. B. M. Watson’s chapter on porn archives unpacks the work of archives and archivists by using the case study of the archives at the Institute for Advanced Study of Human Sexuality. Watson discusses how accessing the storage unit that hosts material from the archives played a crucial role in rendering the history of porn studies as a discipline. By foregrounding the need for more conversations between porn and archive studies, Watson calls for the need to account for the labor that goes into preserving the archival material. In his chapter, on “Fantasy,” Nikola Stepić traces the origins of the term and places it as a central part of the debates in feminist theory, and queer and women’s pornography. Stepić discusses the use of fantasy as a narrative trope in the earliest adult media produced by women and sexual minorities.

The third section, “Representations,” focuses on conceptual engagements with aesthetics and materiality in adult cinema and media and features eight scholars who work broadly on the film

and media cultures of adult cinema, and specifically on such artifacts as video tapes, magazines, digital technology, and film reels. Kevin Heffernan traces the history of bisexual male adult film and video and argues that the growth of bisexual adult male porn coincides with the efforts of the early home video films to cross over to mainstream audiences. This led to the imagination of a niche-based marketing strategy from which bisexual male porn was a by-product. In his account, Heffernan looks at the failed 1975 theatrical release of *Both Ways* (dir. Jerry Douglas) and the creation of star figures such as Jeff Stryker. Sophie Pezzutto offers a historical overview of trans pornography in the United States by tracing its evolution from community-produced niche magazines in the 1960s to commercialized studio porn in the 1990s that was integrated into mainstream straight pornography. By outlining the major players, the chapter maps how trans porn workers have made a space for themselves despite the odds. In an interview with Ariane Cruz, Marilia Kaiser discusses Cruz's work on racialized BDSM (an initialism for bondage, discipline, domination, submission, sadism, and masochism) in the context of Black female sexuality to explore themes of pleasure, violence, domination, and perversion. Yessica Garcia Hernandez looks at Latinx pornography by surveying the literature on race and pornography, and examines questions about citizenship, borders, language, mestizaje, colonialism, racial hierarchies, and white supremacy. Jennifer Moorman offers a survey of feminist pornography as a site of discourse by mapping the critical debates, production contexts, and cultural figures who spearheaded alternative ways of imagining an egalitarian view of pornography. Nguyen Tan Hoang locates the development of gay pornography in the EuroAmerican contexts, going from the early 1970s to the present, by looking at gay porn archives, questions of racial fetishism, and how media technologies shape gay temporalities. Loree Erickson's chapter traces the history of queercrip porn, analyzing how it challenges and redefines conventional ideas about disability, embodiment, sex, sexuality, desire, and desirability as part of a transformative world-building practice. Shawn Suyong Yi Jones examines discussions around the representations of Asian Americans in Western-produced pornography. Jones argues that development of Asian American representations in pornography emerges from the dominant racial discourses of North America, which tends to cater to the desires of White audiences. Jones makes a case to look at how, despite the limitations, Asian American audiences have complex relationship to these images, which they use to reclaim and reshape their own sexual experiences.

The fourth section, "Production, Spectatorship, and Distribution," consists of work by six scholars, who focus on adult industries to map the changing landscape of industry discourses around explicit media practices. The chapters look at adult media through different methodologies such as media industry studies, political economy, and audience studies, and address the formal and informal infrastructures supporting adult media. Kevin John Bozelka's chapter on adult film labor looks at how work features in discussion on pornography and capitalist work formations. Lynn Comella offers a social history of sex stores and the role they played in the growth of post-war sexual consumer culture. In her account, Comella examines early erotic entrepreneurs such as Beate Uhse-Rotermund and highlights the pivotal role of feminist sex toy stores, starting in the 1970s, in reshaping the sex industry by cultivating a market geared toward female consumers. Maggie MacDonald's chapter offers an overview of online pornography platforms and how they work with markets, infrastructures, and governance. MacDonald's account sheds light on the technological and commercial structures of platforms, and how power relations are defined through their systems. Hanne Stegeman's chapter focuses on webcamming and locates the history of live cams and the mediation of webcamming labor by platforms. Stegeman situates webcamming as a part of gig labor, influencer culture, and sex work and teases out the mediated ecology in which sexual expressions circulate in digital platforms. Patrick Keilty's chapter examines how the internet reconstitutes pornographic spectatorship, outlining major conceptual and methodological points of view that shape the

field, and how viewing online pornography follows and departs from broader trends in internet consumption. Susanna Paasonen examines the concept of porn through the lens of “dick pics” on Alaston Suomi, a Finnish sexual social media platform. It highlights how users perceive and discuss these images, revealing both appreciation and criticism. She argues that traditional definitions of porn may be inadequate for understanding the nuances of user-generated sexual content in online spaces.

The fifth section, “Area Studies and Transnationalism,” features six chapters locating adult media from a global vantage point that problematizes the need to think beyond nation state and methodological nationalisms in addressing regional sexual cultures. In doing so, the chapters address how adult media material migrates through formal and informal circuits, as well as examining the adult media produced by migrants. Oliver Carter maps the role of transnational entrepreneurs and how they facilitated western Europe’s pornographic film business in the 1960s and 1970s. Carter’s account examines the cross-border networks used by entrepreneurs to expand markets and negotiate regulatory frameworks. Ruepert Jiel Dionisio Cao’s chapter explores the landscape of pornography and sexually explicit media in southeast Asia, analyzing it through the lens of political, religious, economic, technological, and moral discourses, and considering pornography as a facilitator of socialization in the region. In their co-written chapter, Victoria Ruétalo and Ana Paula Magalhães da Silva construct a comprehensive yet fragmented history of adult/erotic/pornographic moving pictures across Latin America, with a primary focus on the influential film industries of Argentina, Brazil, and Mexico. Jordache A. Ellapen’s chapter, “Porn in/and Africa,” argues how discourse on porn is informed by moral panics and infantilizes Africans, reducing them to being susceptible and vulnerable to Western sexual cultures, which are often portrayed as being incompatible with African values. Questioning the limited social science and behavioral studies methodological approaches that conclude that exposure to porn at a young age negatively affects male adolescents’ sexual behavior and cognitive development, Ellapen asks us to rethink the role of sexual pleasure in Africa to generate more productive ways to understand African sexual agency and erotic autonomy other than in discourses of danger, contamination, and harm. Writing on south Asian pornographies, Darshana Sreedhar Mini and Anirban K. Baishya track how what counts as pornographic in south Asia overlaps with discussions of obscenity, largely influenced by the colonial encounters and fractured notions of modernities. Katrien Jacobs’s chapter on east Asian pornographies provides an overview of pornography research and pedagogy in Hong Kong by looking at different models of media governance and an east-Asian pornography symposium and undergraduate seminar that took place at the Chinese University of Hong Kong in 2019.

The sixth section, “Law, Health, Policy, and the State,” concludes the handbook with chapters from four authors, whose scholarship interrogates how state- and policy-level interventions on adult media practices shape the discourses around ethics, privacy, legislation, and health policy. Brenda Cossman’s provides an overview of the varied ways pornography has been legally regulated in the United States, the United Kingdom, and Canada. Val Webber examines the intersection of pornography and occupational health and safety (OHS), addressing issues such as performer health management on set and debates over whether porn creators can be classified as “employees” under traditional OHS frameworks. Carolyn Bronstein’s chapter, on feminism and pornography, offers a survey of the cultural, industrial, and legal factors that led to the polarization of feminist positions pertaining to pornography in the United States. Rebecca Sullivan looks at how panic around pornography operates and the arbitrary way it assembles facts to fabricate the urgency that places non-normative citizens at the brink of danger.

Through these essays and the extensive body of literature they engage with, we aim to support the continued growth of adult film and media studies. We hope the field not only builds on its foundational work but also explores new topics and perspectives, broadening the questions and areas of focus that shape it.

As Linda Williams has aptly observed regarding the growth of pornography studies, “[A]cademic fields are gardens that need to be tended.”⁵⁶ With this collection, we seek to contribute to that vital cultivation, inspiring further inquiry and care for the field.

Notes

1. Conal McStravick, Jon Mercer, and Peter Rehberg, “Tom Waugh, *Hard to Imagine*, and Porn Studies: A Dossier of Critical Reflections,” *Porn Studies* 11, 4 (2024): 436.
2. Eric Schaefer, ed. *Sex Scene: Media and the Sexual Revolution* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014).
3. In his genealogy, Waugh cites a special section in *Jump Cut*, vol. 16 (1977), edited by Chuck Kleinhans, as the first publication in the academic field of “porn studies,” which he erroneously titles “Sexual Identity.” The correct title of the special section is “Gays on Film.” With its focus on same-sex intimacy on screen, the 1977 special section of *Jump Cut* undoubtedly examines a broader sexual revolution in cinema. Yet the objects of analysis were not framed as “pornography,” “adult film,” or “erotic” at the time. Kleinhans does not discuss the films in this context in his introduction. Tellingly, Waugh himself describes the films in his article from that issue, “Films by Gays for Gays,” as “a gay perspective and in a non-porno framework.” Pornography hovers in the background in many of the articles, but it receives little attention and is not the focus or context of analysis. Thomas Waugh, “Back to the Golden Age,” *Jump Cut*, 53 (2011), <https://www.ejumpcut.org/archive/jc53.2011/WaughPorn/index.html>.
4. William Rotsler, *Contemporary Erotic Cinema* (New York: Ballantine, 1971); Kenneth Turan and Stephen F. Zito, *Sinema: American Pornographic Films and the People Who Make Them* (New York: Praeger, 1974); Al di Lauro and Gerald Rabkin, *Dirty Movies: An Illustrated History of the Stag Film, 1915–1970* (New York: Chelsea House, 1976); Bill Landis and Michelle Clifford, *Sleazoid Express: A Mind-Twisting Tour through the Grindhouse Cinema of Times Square* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2002); Jim Holliday, *Top 100 X Rated Films of All Time* (Hollywood: WWV, 1982); and Jim Holliday, *Only the Best: Jim Holliday's Adult Video Almanac and Trivia Treasury* (Los Angeles: Cal Vista, 1986).
5. The initial entry: “The History of Sex in Cinema,” *Playboy* 12, 4 (1965): 136–137.
6. Raymond Durgnat, *Eros in the Cinema* (London: Calder & Boyars, 1966).
7. Steven Marcus, *The Other Victorians: A Study of Sexuality and Pornography in Mid-Nineteenth-Century England* (New York: Basic Books, 1964); Stefan Morawski, “Art and Obscenity,” *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 26, 2 (1967): 193–207; Susan Sontag, “The Pornographic Imagination,” *Partisan Review* 34, 2 (1967): 181–214; Fred Chappell, “Twenty-Six Propositions about Skin Flicks,” in *Man and the Movies*, ed. W. R. Robinson (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1967): 55–59; Morse Peckham, *Art and Pornography: An Experiment in Explanation* (New York: Basic Books, 1969); Theodore Bowie and Cornelia V. Christenson, eds. *Studies in Erotic Art* (New York: Basic Books, 1970); John Atkins, *Sex in Literature: The Erotic Impulse in Literature* (New York: Random House, 1970); Peter Michelson, *The Aesthetics of Pornography* (New York: Herder & Herder, 1971); Edward Lucie-Smith, *Eroticism in Western Art* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1972); Amos Vogel, *Film as a Subversive Art* (New York: Random House, 1974).
8. Joseph Slade, “Pornographic Theaters off Times Square,” *Society* 9 (1971): 35–43, 79; Joseph W. Slade, “Recent Trends in Pornographic Films,” *Film Review* 12 (1975): 77–84; Joseph W. Slade, “The Porn Market and Porn Formulas: The Feature Film of the Seventies,” *Journal of Popular Film* 6, 2 (1977): 168–186.
9. Lawrence Becker, “Sex in the Cinema: Moral Values and the Aesthetics of Film,” *The Film Journal* 2, 1 (1972): 24–27; Harry M. Geduld, “The Sexual Image: Eroticism in the Movies,” *The Film Journal* 2, 1 (1972): 28–30; Lawrence Becker, “WR: *Mysteries of the Organism*: A Minor Masterpiece,” *The Film Journal* 2, 1 (1972): 62–64. The pamphlet with additional articles was published in early 1973 as *Movies and Sexuality: A Film Journal Publication*, ed. Thomas Atkins (Hollins College, VA: The Film Journal). The collection *Sexuality in the Movies*, ed. Thomas Atkins (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press), was released in 1975. Arthur Lennig, “A History of Censorship of the American Film,” in *Sexuality in the Movies*, ed. Thomas Atkins (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1975): 36–75; Wayne A. Losano, “The Sex Genre: Traditional and Modern Variations on the Flesh Film,” in *Sexuality in the Movies*: 132–144; Faster Hirsch, “Midnight Cowboy,” in *Sexuality in the Movies*: 200–207; Jack Fisher, “*Last Tango in Paris*: The Skull beneath the Skin Flick,” in *Sexuality in the Movies*: 231–232; Ellen Willis, “*Deep Throat*: Hard to Swallow,” in *Sexuality in the Movies*: 216–220.
10. Richard Corliss, “Radley Metzger: Aristocrat of the Erotic,” *Film Comment* 9, 1 (1973): 18–29; “Sex, Violence, and Drugs: All in Good Fun! Russ Meyer Interviewed by Stan Berkowitz,” *Film Comment* 9, 1 (1973): 46–51; Brendan Gill, “Blue Notes,” *Film Comment* 9, 1 (1973): 6–11; Stephen Farber, “Censorship in California,” *Film Comment* 9, 1 (1973): 32–33; Donald Richie, “Sex and Sexism in the Eroduction,” *Film Comment* 9, 1 (1973): 12–17.

11. Dennis Giles, "Angel on Fire: Three Texts of Desire," *Velvet Light Trap* 16 (1976): 41–45; Dennis Giles, "Pornographic Space: The Other Place," in *1977 Film Studies Annual*, eds. Ben Lawton and Janet Staiger (Pleasantville, NY: Redgrave Publishing, 1977): 52–65.
12. "The Left and Porno," *Cineaste* 7, 4 (1976): 28–31, 53.
13. Gregg Blachford, "Looking at Pornography: Erotica and the Socialist Morality," *Gay Left* 6 (1978): 16–20, 16.
14. Michel Foucault, *La Volonté de savoir* (Paris: Gallimard, 1976). The first English translation was two years later: *The History of Sexuality*, vol. 1: *An Introduction*, trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978).
15. John Ellis, "Photography/Pornography/Art/Pornography," *Screen* 21, 1 (1980): 81. The Williams Committee, formally known as the Committee on Obscenity and Film Censorship, was a 1970s British Home Office committee chaired by Professor Bernard Williams, a professor of moral philosophy at the University of Cambridge and the University of California, Berkeley. The committee concluded that pornography could not be shown to be harmful and advised significant legal reform around obscenity, indecency, and depravity.
16. Paul Willemen, "Letter to John," *Screen* 21, 2 (1980): 53–65; Claire Pajaczkowska, "The Heterosexual Presumption: A Contribution to the Debate on Pornography," *Screen* 22, 1 (1981): 79–94.
17. Lesley Stern, "The Body as Evidence," *Screen* 23, 5 (1982): 38–62.
18. Susan Barrowclough, "Not a Love Story," *Screen* 23, 5 (1982): 26–37.
19. Julia Lesage, "Women and Pornography," *Jump Cut* 26 (1981): 46–47, 60.
20. Lesage, "Women and Pornography": 46.
21. Lesage, "Women and Pornography": 46.
22. Valerie Miner, "Fantasies and Nightmares: The Red-Blooded Media," *Jump Cut* 26 (1981): 48–50; Julia Lesage, "Broken Blossoms: Artful Racism, Artful Rape," *Jump Cut* 26 (1981): 51–55; Gina Marchetti, "An Annotated Working Bibliography: Readings on Women and Pornography," *Jump Cut* 26 (1981): 51–60.
23. Constance Penley, "Pornography, Eroticism (on Jean Luc Godard's *Every Man for Himself*)," *Camera Obscura* 3/4, 8/9/10 (1982): 12–19.
24. Rollins, Roger Rollins, "Triple-X: Erotic Movies and Their Audiences," *Journal of Popular Film & Television* 10, 2 (1982): 2–21.
25. *Jump Cut* 30 (March 1985).
26. Richard Dyer, "Male Gay Porn: Coming to Terms," *Jump Cut* 30 (1985): 27–29; Tom Waugh, "Men's Pornography: Gay vs. Straight," *Jump Cut* 30 (1985): 29–35; John Grayson, "Homo Video," *Jump Cut* 30 (1985): 36–38.
27. Chuck Kleinhans and Julia Lesage, "The Politics of Sexual Representation," *Jump Cut* 30 (1985): 24–26; Lisa DiCaprio, "NOT a Love Story," *Jump Cut* 30 (1985): 39–41; Lisa DiCaprio, "Interview with Bonnie Klein," *Jump Cut* 30 (1985): 42–43.
28. Chuck Kleinhans, "Introduction," *Jump Cut* 32 (1986): 33.
29. Joanna Russ, "Pornography and the Doubleness of Sex for Women," *Jump Cut* 32 (1986): 38–40; Annette Fuentes and Margaret Schrage, "Deep inside Porn Stars: Interview with Veronica Hart, Gloria Leonard, Kelly Nichols, Candida Royalle, Annie Sprinkle, and Veronica Vera," *Jump Cut* 32 (1986): 41–43; Gina Marchetti, "Firecracker," *Jump Cut* 32 (1986): 344–348; Jake Jakaitis, "Giving Way," *Jump Cut* 32 (1986): 49–52; Patricia Erens, "The Seduction," *Jump Cut* 32 (1986): 53–55.
30. David James, "Hardcore: Cultural Resistance in the Post-modern," *Film Quarterly* 42, 2 (1988): 31–39; Stephen Prince, "The Pornographic Image and the Practice of Film Theory," *Cinema Journal* 27, 2 (1988): 50–53; Linda Williams, "Linda Williams Responds to Stephen Prince's 'The Pornographic Image and the Practice of Film Theory,'" *Cinema Journal* 27, 3 (1988): 50–53; Daniel Atterborn, "Amerikansk pornografi," *Filmhaftet* (1988): 39–52; Cindy Patton, "Hegemony and Orgasm—Or the Instability of Heterosexual Pornography," *Screen* 30, 1/2 (1989): 100–113.
31. Linda Williams, "Review of *Perspectives on Pornography: Sexuality in Film and Literature* by Gary Day and Clive Bloom," *Film Quarterly* 42, 4 (1989): 57–58.
32. Walter Kendrick, *The Secret Museum: Pornography in Modern Culture* (New York: Viking, 1987).
33. McStravick, Mercer, and Rehberg, "Tom Waugh, *Hard to Imagine*, and Porn Studies": 439.
34. Lynn Hunt, ed. *The Invention of Pornography, 1500–1800: Obscenity and the Origins of Modernity* (Princeton, NJ: Zone Books, 1993).
35. Amy Richlin, ed. *Pornography and Representation in Greece and Rome* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995).
36. Thomas Waugh, *Hard to Imagine: Gay Male Eroticism in Photography and Film from Their Beginnings to Stonewall* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996).
37. McStravick, Mercer, and Rehberg, "Tom Waugh, *Hard to Imagine*, and Porn Studies": 439.
38. Lynn Comella, "Teaching Porn in a Time of Backlash: Findings from a Study on Campus Sexual Speech," *Porn Studies* 11, 1 (2024): 6.
39. Penley describes her encounters with anti-porn activists in the interview in the volume: Kevin Bozelka, "An Interview with Peter Lehman and Linda Williams," *Velvet Light Trap* 59 (2007): 62–63.
40. Kristin Lam, "States Call Pornography a Public Health Crisis; Porn Industry Decries 'Fear Mongering,'" *USA Today*, May 9, 2019, <https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/nation/2019/05/09/pornography-public-health-crisis-states-adopt-measures-against-porn/1159001001>.
41. This movement away from morality as ostensibly the base concern is reflected in the very name of one of the

- primary groups associated with the effort, the National Center on Sexual Exploitation—which had been known for decades during previous anti-pornography efforts as Morality in Media until a name change in 2015. The contemporaneous rhetoric might be best captured in an essay for *The Washington Post* by Gail Dimas, longtime anti-pornography activist: “Is Porn Immoral? That Doesn’t Matter: It’s a Public Health Crisis,” *Washington Post*, April 8, 2016, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/posteverything/wp/2016/04/08/is-porn-immoral-that-doesntmatter-its-a-public-health-crisis>.
42. An early, frequently circulated essay during this period explicitly attempted to make this link: Mary Eberstadt, “Is Pornography the New Tobacco?” *Policy Review* 154 (2009): 3–18.
 43. Tal Kopan, “GOP Platform Draft Declares Pornography ‘Public Health Crisis,’” CNN, July 11, 2016, <https://www.cnn.com/2016/07/11/politics/gop-platform-republican-convention-internet-pornography>.
 44. “Act no. 440,” January 1, 2023: 8, <https://legis.la.gov/legis/ViewDocument.aspx?d=1289498>.
 45. “Loi n° 2024-449 du 21 mai 2024 visant à sécuriser et à réguler l’espace numérique,” May 22, 2024, <https://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/jorf/id/JORFTEXT000049563368>.
 46. “Legal Provisions on Pornography on the Net,” May 4, 2023, <https://www.klicksafe.eu/en/pornografie/gesetzliche-bestimmungen>.
 47. “Online Safety Act 2023,” October 26, 2023, <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2023/50>.
 48. “Implementing the Online Safety Act: Protecting Children from Online Pornography,” December 5, 2023, <https://www.ofcom.org.uk/online-safety/protecting-children/implementing-the-online-safety-act-protecting-children>.
 49. Kelvin Chan, “Three of the Biggest Porn Sites Must Verify Ages to Protect Kids under Europe’s New Digital Law,” Associated Press, December 20, 2023, <https://apnews.com/article/porn-websites-age-verification-digital-servicesact-64584aae905cb344dd3e1bfb385c7c27>.
 50. “Ineffective, Unconstitutional, and Dangerous: The Problem with Age Verification Mandates,” February 16, 2023, <https://action.freespeechcoalition.com/ineffective-unconstitutional-and-dangerous-the-problem-with-ageverification-mandates>.
 51. Kevin D. Roberts, “Foreword: A Promise to America,” in *Mandate for Leadership: The Conservative Promise*, eds. Paul Dans and Steven Groves (Washington, DC: Heritage Foundation, 2023): 5.
 52. For histories of pornography on home video, see Peter Alilunas, *Smutty Little Movies: The Creation and Regulation of Adult Video* (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2016); Jeffrey Escoffier, *Bigger than Life: The History of Gay Porn Cinema from Beefcake to Hardcore* (Philadelphia: Running Press, 2009); Lucas Hilderbrand, *Inherent Vice: Bootleg Histories of Videotape and Copyright* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009); Chuck Kleinmans, “The Change from Film to Video Pornography: Implications for Analysis,” in *Pornography: Film and Culture*, ed. Peter Lehman (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2006): 154–167; and Mireille Miller-Young, *A Taste for Brown Sugar: Black Women in Pornography* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014).
 53. For histories of lesbian pornography, see Edith Becker, Michelle Citron, Julia Lesage, and B. Ruby Rich, “Introduction to Special Section: Lesbians and Film,” *Jump Cut* 24/25 (1981): 17–21; Heather Butler, “What Do You Call a Lesbian with Long Fingers? The Development of Lesbian and Dyke Pornography,” in *Porn Studies*, ed. Linda Williams (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004): 167–197; Desirae Embree, “Private Pleasures, Public Provocations: Creating Dyke Pornography,” *JCMS: Journal of Cinema and Media Studies* 61, 2 (2022): 35–62; and Tamsin Wilton, “Erotic and Pornographic Art: Lesbian,” in *The Queer Encyclopedia of the Visual Arts* (San Francisco: Cleis Press, 2004): 114–116.
 54. For histories of pornography related to photography, see Claire Bonney, “The Nude Photograph: Some Female Perspectives,” *Women’s Art Journal* 6, 2 (1986): 9–14; Deborah Bright, ed. *The Passionate Camera: Photography and Bodies of Desire* (New York: Routledge, 1998); Susie Bright and Jill Posener, eds. *Nothing But the Girl: The Blatant Lesbian Image: A Portfolio and Exploration of Lesbian Erotic Photography* (London: Freedom Editions, 1996); Emmanuel Cooper, *Fully Exposed: The Male Nude in Photography* (New York: Routledge, 1990); Alexandre Dupouy, *Erotic Art Photography* (Paris: La Musardine, 1997); Allen Ellenzweig, *The Homoerotic Photograph: Male Images from Durieu/Delacroix to Mapplethorpe* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992); Jennifer V. Evans, “Seeing Subjectivity: Erotic Photography and the Optics of Desire,” *American Historical Review* 118, 2 (2013): 430–462; and Eugene Mirabella, “Looking and Not Looking: Pornographic and Nude Photography,” *Grand Street* 5, 1 (1985): 197–215; Waugh, *Hard to Imagine*.
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