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Manufacturing Sex:
Careers and Culture in Pornography Production

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in Sociology

by

David William Schieber

2019

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Manufacturing Sex:

Careers and Culture in Pornography Production

by

David William Schieber

Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology

University of California, Los Angeles, 2019

Professor Gabriel Rossman, Co-chair

Professor Abigail Saguy, Co-chair

This Dissertation examines the career experiences and institutional decision-making processes of performers in the California adult film industry. Specifically, it explores how performers navigate a field typified by contingent, stigmatized work at the intersection of culture, health, gender, sexuality. Drawing on qualitative interviews with stakeholders in the California adult film industry, as well as an original quantitative dataset detailing the performance histories of adult performers, I develop three substantive chapters exploring different aspects of the adult film industry and how they advance theoretical areas in sociology. Chapter Two of the dissertation uses a unique quantitative dataset I constructed by scraping the performance histories and demographic information of over 140,000 adult film performers and directors and their roles in over

180,000 adult films, allowing me to examine differences in career length and trajectory between performers by sexuality and gender. The next section of the dissertation focuses on how workers experience non-standard or precarious labor markets. Chapter Three uses interview data to explain how adult film performers—as a type of non-standard worker—coped with a sharp decline in adult film production beginning in 2007. Chapter Four of the dissertation explores the case of HIV prevention in the California adult film industry, and the extent to which HIV prevention methods are embedded in the economic and cultural landscape of gay and straight adult film production. Taken together, these chapters illustrate the general ways workers experience contingent employment and the ways cultural meaning can intersect with and drive institutional health choices.

The dissertation of David William Schieber is approved.

Gail Kligman

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Abigail Saguy, Committee Co-chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2019

Dear Kathleen,

Well, here's your box.

David

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In the fall quarter of my freshman year at Northwestern in 2008, I took Introduction to Sociology because it fulfilled prerequisites for graduation and it had seats open. I was enjoying the course so much that I (perhaps naively) emailed random professors in the sociology department asking if I could do research with them. Gary Alan Fine responded within minutes with times he was available to meet that week. This began a mentorship that continues to this day and which I am incredibly grateful for. Whether it was pushing me to apply for research grants, advocating for me to enroll in graduate seminars as an undergraduate, introducing me to visiting scholars at departmental colloquium, or reading drafts upon drafts upon drafts upon drafts, it is hard to imagine making it this far in sociology without Gary's guidance. I am still not sure how you found so much time for an 18-year-old freshman, but you set an example and made an impression that I will try emulate for my own students in the future. Thank you.

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Anyways, here's the dissertation.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

The adult film industry is strange.

That is not to say the adult film industry is bad, or good, or immoral, or righteous. The only judgment I want to make about the adult film industry is that it is strange.

The adult film industry is strange because it combines different aspects of the social world that are typically separate. Condoms and contracts. Sex and career strategies. Nakedness and employment. These are all unique parts of our social world that get entangled in the adult film industry in ways that are largely unique to this context.

More so, this strangeness is instructive.

This strangeness is instructive because the adult film industry occupies a unique sociological space at the intersection of work and organizations, gender and sexualities, and health and culture. Given the recent push in sociology to take sex work more seriously as a form of labor that is inextricable from traditional labor markets and the broader political economy (Berg 2016; Bernstein 2007; Hoang 2015; Logan 2016), the US adult film industry presents a promising area for exploring these topics and how they relate. This dissertation not only informs why the adult film industry works the way it does, but also explains how structural factors influence the ways adult film performers navigate and experience this contested terrain as their careers progress.

This dissertation takes a meaningful departure from previous research on adult films. Previous research has largely focused on the social or psychological effect of pornography on those who consume pornography and how images in pornography are reflections of society and culture, while the organizational aspects of the adult film

industry have been given less consideration (Fisher and Barak 2001; Padgett et al., 1989; Parvez 2006; Voss 2012). More so, there has been a great deal of contention as scholars have argued whether pornography presents unrealistic expectations about sex and shifts what people perceive to be acceptable intimacy (Dines 2010; Dworkin and Heiferman 1981; MacKinnon 1985), or whether pornography represents a positive avenue for women to take control of their sexuality both as adult film performers or consumers (Rubin 1984; Weitzer 2009). However, there has been less focus on the adult film *industry,* and the behind the scenes commercial mechanisms of adult films that take place before anyone even appears on screen (Berg 2016; Voss 2012). Taking a cue from the production of culture perspective (Peterson and Anand 2004), this dissertation explores the systems in which adult films are produced and how performers navigate these systems.

Taking the gay and straight California adult film industries as research sites, this dissertation uses both qualitative interview data as well as a unique quantitative dataset to explore the impact that gender, sexuality, and race have on career trajectories, career choices, and health practices of adult performers. This is not meant to be a comprehensive analysis of the adult film industry, but an analysis of particular areas of adult film production where one can get theoretical leverage from unique aspects of the adult film industry.

Outline of Chapters

Chapter Two of this dissertation focuses on issues surrounding non-standard work, gender, and sexuality by examining differences in career length amongst performers in the adult film industry. Adult film productions constitute an aesthetic labor

market where people are hired due to how they look. Women often get paid more than men in aesthetic labor markets creating a reverse wage gap, and the adult film industry is no exception (Mears 2011; Tarrant 2016). However, in the course of interviews for this project, people in the industry argued that while woman do in fact earn more than men for performances, men have significantly longer careers than women in the industry since—unlike women who are hired primarily for their beauty and novelty—men are hired primarily for their ability to perform sexually during a scene (i.e. ejaculate on cue and maintain an erection for extended periods of time). Given this unique hiring process, I ask: How do career lengths differ if a person is hired as an aesthetic laborer versus as a skill-based laborer?

To examine this question, I use data from the Adult Film Database (Iafd.com) to construct a database including the performance histories and demographic information of over 140,000 performers and directors and over 180,000 gay and straight adult films spanning 1961 through 2016. I am able to identify the years specific performers began in the adult film industry; the number of films these performers performed in every year thereafter; performer's sex, age, race/ethnicity; and the sex acts performers perform in each scene. While my interview respondents anecdotally contend that men have longer careers than women since they are not being hired based on attractiveness, I test this hypothesis by conducting an analysis of individual performances by how many years the performer has worked in the industry. In addition, I include an analysis of career lengths of male performers in the gay adult film industry where men, like women in the straight adult film industry, are hired for primarily aesthetic reasons. Through this multi-method analysis, I find that women's careers and men's careers in the gay industry are

significantly shorter than their male counterparts in the straight industry, and these differences in career length are mediated by the *type* of work the performer is hired to do.

Chapter 3 studies adult film performers as an example of non-standard or precarious work. In this interview-based chapter, I develop the concept promotional labor to describe how workers strategically bundle complementary types of work that promote each other. Beginning in 2007, the adult film industry experienced a sharp decline in sales due to the proliferation of illegal content piracy and free online pornography (Voss 2012). In response, performers increasingly relied on escorting to make up for lost income. However, these sex workers still performed in adult films, despite filming being more time intensive and less lucrative, for the promotional benefits of being a "porn star". I conclude that promotional labor is a mechanism by which workers mitigate employment uncertainty by strategically bundling together different types of complementary work into careers. While there is a great deal of research on macro-level trends of non-standard labor, this research instead focuses on the micro-level experiences of workers in these labor markets, and how different *types* of work interact when done together.

Chapter 4 examines HIV prevention practices in the California adult film industry. The industry has long been segmented into gay-male adult film production and straight adult film productions, with little overlap between these two segments of the industry. Moreover, these two segments of the same industry have very different approaches to HIV prevention. Whereas the straight industry relies on mandatory HIV testing as its primary form of HIV prevention, the gay industry relies on condom use as its primary form of HIV prevention. Chapter Three asks: How do these two segments of the same industry end up with such different HIV prevention practices?

Using interview data with performers, directors, and other industry stakeholders, I find that these differences in organizational health practices stem from differing cultural understandings of acceptable HIV prevention. Specifically, members of the gay adult film industry are particularly averse to excluding HIV positive performers through mandatory testing. This aversion stems from the AIDS crisis in the 1990s and the controversial calls for mandatory testing and quarantine of HIV positive people during that time {Citation}. In turn, performers and directors see condom use as allowing for a Don't Ask, Don't Tell policy, because condoms allow for barrier protection and directors can avoid directly asking performers about their HIV status. In addition, the gay industry has historically seen itself as an advocate for condom use and safe sex, which stems from campaigns for increased condom use during the height of the AIDS crisis in the early 1990s. More recently, the rise of Pre-exposure prophylaxis medication, with the brand name Truvada, amongst performers in the gay industry has made the prevention of HIV possible through medication, and directors may ask performers if they are taking Truvada and allow it as an alternative to condoms use. Since Truvada can be used as both pre-exposure prophylaxis as well as a medical treatment for HIV positive people, this question follows the cultural script of allowing for a Don't Ask, Don't Tell policy with regards to HIV status.

Conversely, lacking this shared cultural history of the AIDS crisis, the straight industry employs HIV testing and quarantine. It does not use condoms in its films due to the perception that condom use in films will decrease film sales. To further justify their lack of condom use and avoid framing HIV prevention practices in purely pragmatic economic terms, stakeholders within the straight adult film industry argue that condom

use is painful for women and that it is their right to perform without them. Such talk of performer rights is, however, largely just rhetoric since women performers who would prefer using condoms say they fear that if they were to speak up they would no longer be hired. These findings highlight the importance in considering broader cultural and economic motivations and justifications for organizational health policies.

Background on Adult Film Production

Perhaps the biggest hurdle scholars face when studying the United States adult film industry is the distinct lack of demographic or economic data detailing its size, geography, or composition (Voss 2015). Since these companies are privately owned and not required to submit detailed earnings information like publically traded companies, it is difficult to ascertain the scope of the industry (Voss 2012, 2015). For example, there is an oft cited figure in scholarly work that the adult film industry has revenues between $10 billion and $14 billion (de Cesare 2005; Tibbals 2013), but these figures originate from an unsourced claim in a New York Times piece on the adult film industry in 2001 (Rich 2001). In addition, these figures were quickly debunked at the time as being wildly inflated (Ackman 2001), and do not account for the recent decline in production due to online piracy (Thomas 2010). Nobody actually knows the sales or revenue figures for the United States adult film industry.

With these limitations in mind, we can begin to explore what we *do* know about adult film production in the United States. The straight adult film industry and the gay adult film industry are located within the same broader industry, but they have historically been separate in terms of production companies and performers (Weitzer 2010; Thomas 2010). From the 1970s through today the straight adult film industry has

centered in Los Angeles, while the gay adult film industry is centered in Los Angeles and San Francisco (Thomas 2010; Tibbals 2012). Even as gay and straight production companies have become subsidiaries of larger companies through the late 2010s—most notably under the pornography conglomerate MindGeek—the gay and straight industries largely remain separate in terms of production (Mann 2014; Wallace 2011). While some male crossover performers appear in both straight and gay films, crossover performers from the gay industry are stigmatized within the straight industry due to the perceived risk that they could introduce HIV into the straight industry.

Legal Legitimacy in the Adult Film Industry

Through the 1970s, the straight adult film industry experienced growth as it consolidated most of its production in Los Angeles due to the established filming infrastructure of nearby Hollywood (Voss 2015). This growth was in large part due to the invention of the VCR in 1975, which made it easier for people to purchase pornography thus expanding the market (Tibbals 2012b), and the 1973 Supreme Court ruling in *Miller v. California* which made it more difficult to criminally prosecute pornography producers under obscenity statutes (de Cesare 2005). However, producers of pornography still operated in a legal gray zone since they could still be prosecuted under pandering laws that make it illegal to hire someone for sex (de Cesare 2005; Tibbals 2012b).

On the other hand, the gay adult film industry never experienced same degree of geographic concentration as the straight adult film industry, with production occurring largely in San Francisco, but also in New York City and Los Angeles (Escoffier 2007; Thomas 2010). More so, while the gay adult film industry saw growth due to the

invention of the VCR, it never reached nearly the same size as the straight adult film industry (Escoffier 2007).

The landscape of adult film production changed again in 1989 with the California Supreme Court ruling in *California v. Freeman.* This ruling made it legal to hire actors and actresses to have sex on screen, leading to a newfound legal legitimacy for adult film producers in California (de Cesare 2005; Voss 2015). The Freeman ruling not only continued the growth of the industry as adult film producers no longer worried about keeping their activities hidden, but also further cemented California as the de facto center for adult film production since California was now the only state that made it explicitly legal to hire performers to appear in adult films (Tibbals 2012).

Beginning in the late 1990s, the Internet became the largest exogenous force on the industry. Initially, the Internet dramatically decreased the barriers to entry for the adult film industry making it significantly easier to create distribute content (Voss 2015). This lead to a veritable "gold rush" as many small producers popped up expecting to make a great deal of money (Voss 2015). However, while the Internet led to growth, it also made it more difficult for producers to control their content. Specifically, beginning around 2008 free online pornography made it less profitable to sell content online, and both producers and performers talk about the sharp decline they have seen in production since 2008 (Fritz 2009; Morris 2012). Through my own interviews with people in the gay and straight industries, regulation of online piracy and coping with this new market is one of the most salient issues people in both industries talked about.

Performers in the Adult Film Industry

While the previous sections focus on the history of health and legal regulations within the industry, this section will clarify what we know about the careers and experiences of performers within these two industries. It is worth noting that most of these studies were conducted before the sharp decline of adult film production beginning around 2008 due to the proliferation of free online pornography. With that being said, these studies are still informative on how performers choose to enter the industry and what their experiences were like during that time period.

According to interviews conducted in 1996-1998, Abbott (2010) finds that performers in the straight adult film industry have multiple motivations for entering the industry including money, fame, or adventure. This leads to two separate career arcs where some performers who are looking for quick money are only in the industry for a short period of time, whereas other performers take part in certain strategies to lengthen their careers. For performers who seek longer careers, they must often make connections in the industry by signing with an established agent, and also quickly begin working for more established professional companies to establish their legitimacy as a serious performer.

Through these interviews, Abbott (2010) also finds that women typically made $300-$1000 for an individual scene depending on the prestige of the studio and the sex act performed. She also found that men typically made half that amount per scene. More so, the typical career for these performers averaged 4-5 years, with men's careers lasting longer than women's careers. This is because producers are continually looking for "fresh faces" with regards to hiring women, whereas producers typically hire men for their ability to maintain an erection and ejaculate on cue (Abbott 2010). This dynamic can

create problems for successful women in the industry because they become accustomed to earning $80,000 to $100,000 dollars per year in their first few years in the industry, but then see a dramatic decrease in their filming opportunities coupled with their stigmatized status as a porn star, which makes it difficult to find work outside of the industry (Abbott 2010; Jameson and Strauss 2010).

While it was possible for men and women in the straight industry to make a livable wage during this pre-2008 era, this was not the case for men in the gay adult film industry. According to Escoffier (2007), men in the gay adult film industry typically earned $10,000-$50,000 per year, with only the biggest stars earning close that upper range. While men in the gay adult film industry typically made a similar amount per scene compared to women in the straight industry, there are simply fewer opportunities to perform in the gay industry (Escoffier 2007). These men then tend to take part in a network of complementary sex work such as stripping and escorting to earn a livable wage (Escoffier 2007). As work has declined since 2008, it would be interesting to examine whether similar economic dynamics have led performers in the straight industry to rely other forms of sex work such as escorting as a secondary source of income.

While gender plays less of a differentiating role in the gay industry compared to the straight industry—since only men are performing[1]—there has been a historic differentiation between tops (men performing penetrative anal sex) and bottoms (men performing receptive anal sex) (Escoffier 2003; Thomas 2010). In addition to the broader cultural meanings ascribed to these acts, in which bottoms are viewed as more submissive and tops are viewed as more active (Hoppe 2011), tops have historically tended to earn

[1] For a discussion of how sexuality relates to "gay for pay" performances, in which ostensibly straight men perform in gay films, see Escoffier (2003).

more than bottoms in the adult film industry (Escoffier 2007) . This is due to the fact that tops need to be both conventionally attractive and also be able to maintain an erection and ejaculate when necessary (Escoffier 2007). This dynamic brings up an interesting comparison to the straight industry, in that it is possible bottoms experience similar to careers to women in the straight industry, and tops experience similar careers to men in the straight industry.

Overall, these histories set the background for why the adult film industry is such a valuable research site. Given the divergence of the gay and straight industries, I can compare the health policies and career trajectories within these two industries by both gender and sexuality. More so, given the recent destabilization of the industry due to online pornography, I can examine how performers navigate their careers not only as adult film performers, but also as sex workers coping with the Internet as a technological shock to their industry.

CHAPTER 2

If Looks Were Skill:

Divergent Career Trajectories of Aesthetic Versus Skill-Based Workers

Abstract:

Sociologists have long analyzed the gender pay gap and differences in pay women experience when doing the same work as men. Building on this research, I analyze differences in career *trajectories* between women doing the same work as men. Using data on the career lengths for 22,034 adult film performers, I find that men in the straight adult film industry have longer and more substantial careers than women despite earning less income per scene. I include 38 interviews with members of the adult film industry to contextualize these findings. Using this interview data, I find that men have more substantial careers because they are hired as skill based workers—based on their ability to perform sexually during a scene—as opposed to women who are hired as aesthetic laborers. I also find that men in the gay adult film industry, who are hired primarily as aesthetic laborers, have similar career trajectories compared to women in the straight adult film industry. I conclude that the *types* of labor people are hired to do have significant implications for career trajectories even if the workers are doing ostensibly the same job. More so, I argue that the mechanism behind gendered differences in pay and career trajectory is driven by the type of labor workers are hired to do, and these specific types of work tend to be gendered.

Introduction

Over the past few decades, scholars have paid a great deal of attention to gendered wage inequality, with an emphasis on job segregation and the systematic devaluation of female-dominated occupations (Cohen 2004; England et al. 1988; Reskin 1988). In addition, scholars have focused on the different *types* of labor men and women tend to be segregated into, and have found that women are often over-represented in occupations that require soft-skills such as those found in the growing area of service sector work (Lee and Wolpin 2006; Lorence 1992; Steiger and Wardell 1995). These studies highlight how the intersection of gender and types of work matter for wages.

However, what happens when men and women do different *types* of labor in the same job and, in turn, are judged by entirely different criteria? Using the case of men and women working as performers in the straight adult film industry, this paper examines how film producers hire male and female performers to do two entirely different types of labor—skill-based labor versus aesthetic labor—while ostensibly doing the exact same work in the exact same films. Within the straight adult film industry, I find that women are hired for their soft-skills as aesthetic laborers while men are hired primarily for their ability to perform sexually as skill-based laborers. In turn, I find that women earn more on an hourly basis but have significantly shorter careers compared to the men they work with. I then compare these results to male performers in the gay adult film industry, and I find that these men—who are hired as aesthetic laborers—have comparable career trajectories to women in the straight adult film industry.

These results indicate that, while women may be able to take advantage of higher wages compared to men in aesthetic labor markets, these higher wages come at the

expense of having significantly shorter careers. More generally, these results highlight the fact that even workers doing the same jobs may have very different earnings or career trajectories based on the specific types of labor they are expected to do within that job. While the adult film industry is a particularly extreme example of aesthetic versus skill-based hiring, these gendered differences in career trajectories and earnings have implications for the increasing prevalence of soft-skills, as opposed to hard skills, in today's labor markets (Balcar 2014).

Gender Pay Gap and Soft Skills

Scholars have paid a great deal of attention to the gender pay gap, and have sought to explain why women persistently earn less than men despite equal pay being codified into law in the United States in 1963 (Reskin 1988). Overtime, this research has focused on the role of gendered job segregation, and the systematic devaluation of female-dominated occupations (Cohen 2004; England et al. 1988; Reskin 1988). In turn, much of the progress in reducing the gender pay gap results from decreasing segregation in occupations, and increasing opportunities for women in previously male-dominated lines of work (Blau and Kahn 2007; Goldin 2014).

Given the gendered devaluation of certain types of work, it is important to understand how and why certain types of work are devalued in the first place. Historically, women typically worked in "female" dominated careers due institutional pressures (England et al. 1988), and these careers were systematically devalued leading to lower pay (Reskin 1988). Recent research in economics has focused on the importance of soft-skills—or intangible skills such as personality or motivations that help facilitate social interaction—and the value of these skills in the workplace (Heckman and Kautz

2012). As work becomes increasingly automated through technology, skills related to tacit social knowledge and interaction have become more valued in the workplace (Deming 2017). This shift towards valuing soft skills in the work place has played a role in narrowing the gender wage gap (Balcar 2014), while leading to continued racial discrimination in hiring processes (Moss and Tilly 1996).

Embodied and Aesthetic Labor

These discussions of soft skills in economics and sociology scholarship mirror similar discussions regarding embodied labor in sociology. Drawing from Bourdieu (1984) and Goffman (1959), sociologists argue that workers must increasingly possess a certain habitus, or style of thinking and being, and must effectively present this habitus in order to succeed in present day labor markets (Gruys 2012; Witz, Warhurst, and Nickson 2003). Emerging from Hochschild's (1983) study of flight attendants and how emotional labor impacts the work flight attendants do, scholars realize it is important to take into account the embodied aspects of labor involving the ways people put their own personalities, bodies, and selves up for sale on the market (Almeling 2007; Mears 2011; Witz et al. 2003).

One feature of embodied labor markets, and aesthetic labor markets specifically, is an inverse wage gap in that women are paid more than men (Almeling 2007; Mears 2011). Almeling (2007: 336) argues with regards to the medical market for egg and sperm that these differences in valuation are inherently cultural, stating, “It is not just that individual women have fewer eggs than individual men have sperm, or that eggs are more difficult to extract, that results in both high prices and constant gift-talk in egg donation, but the close connection between women’s reproductive bodies and cultural

norms of caring motherhood." Cultural norms can benefit women and make their work more valuable in embodied labor markets.

This inverse wage gap has also been examined in aesthetic labor markets, and more specifically, the fashion modeling industry (Mears 2011). Feminist scholars have argued that, "Display occupations reward women over men because women's bodies have higher cultural value as objects of sexuality and beauty," and Mears details the extent to which this ethos that women should earn more than men is embedded within the modeling industry (Mears 2011: 217). In doing so, Mears (2011: 248) points out an irony in this reverse wage gap in that "it shows an entrenched pattern of gender inequality more generally: women are more valuable bodies than men."

One aspect of this inverse wage gap which Mears (2011) alludes to is the longer career arc for men within the modeling industry. Whereas female models tend to range from age thirteen to their mid-twenties, male models range from age eighteen to forty-five (Mears 2011: 227). However, Mears (2011: 227) states that men's "longer career arc does not even out their economic disadvantages" because both men and women tend to drop out of the modeling industry at relatively young ages.

Methods

I use a mixed methods approach to examine differences in career tenure and career volume between groups of adult film performers. This data comes from two sources: 1.) A quantitative dataset of adult film performance histories compiled with data gathered from the Internet Adult Film Database (IAFD), and 2.) Qualitative open-ended interviews with stakeholders in the adult film industry. This mixed method approach allows me give a description of what adult film careers tend to look like for performers

(using the quantitative IAFD dataset), and also a description of why these careers look this way (using the qualitative interview data with stakeholders in the industry).

IAFD Dataset

To examine the career tenure of male and female adult performers in the gay and straight adult film industries, I collected data from the Internet Adult Film Database (Iafd.com)—a website documenting adult performers and their respective films. Emerging from Internet message boards in the late 1980s and early 1990s, Iafd.com was officially founded as a website in 1999. Since then, it has become the most comprehensive database of adult films and performers in the gay and straight adult film industry. The data set includes both film/DVD releases as well as web scenes that only appear online. Importantly, the data covers the huge growth of the adult film industry in the late 1990s and early 2000s in response to online pornography. From Iafd.com, I am able to identify the years specific performers began in the adult film industry, the number of films these performers performed in every year thereafter, the performer's gender, and whether male performers work primarily in the gay adult film industry or in the straight adult film industry. I collected the raw data on over 170,000 films and over 130,000 performers. My data includes the total population of iafd.com as of December 2016.

Sample

For this analysis, I limit my sample to performers whose careers started between 1970 through 2009. I define the year a performer started as the year the first film the performer performed in was released. For example, if a director spent many years directing films, but then switched to performing, only the director's performances would be counted in the dataset, and the director's first year would be the year of their first

performance. I chose 1970 as a starting point for my analysis since the early 1970s mark the beginning of the rise of the adult film industry in the United States (Tarrant 2016). I chose 2009 as the final year for a performer to start in order for the first 8 years of every performer's career to be observable in my sample. Any performer's career starting after 2009 would be censored prior to 8 years since my dataset goes through 2016.

I also limit my sample to performers who have filmed at least 5 films in the first 8 years of their career. Out of 105,679 performers who started their careers between 1970 and 2009, 22,034 performers appeared in at least 5 films in the first 8 years of their career. These 22,034 performers are the performers used in my sample and throughout my analysis. The careers of adult film performers tend to be very short due to the different motivations people have for taking part in the industry (Abbott 2010). In fact, most performers simply appear in one film, collect their paycheck, and then never work in the industry again, while fewer performers attempt to create an income stream through adult film work (Abbott 2010). By only including performers who have filmed 5 films in their career, I use a sample of performers who made a concerted effort to, at the very least, perform in multiple films before leaving the industry.

Dependent Variable

The dependent variable for this analysis is a count variable of the number of films a performer performs in each of their first 8 years of their career. Each performer in my sample has eight observations for each the first eight years of the performers career and the number of films in which the performer appeared in for each of those years. Since there are 22,034 performers in my sample, and each performer has 8 years of observation, my analysis includes 176,272 observations.

My dataset also includes compilation films made with extra footage the producer has on hand after the initial release. These compilations are sometimes released years after a performer has stopped performing. I removed these compilations from the analysis since performers receive no royalties from these releases, and their release does not represent current work in any meaningful sense.

Independent Variables

The independent variable I am most interested in is the gender of the performer in addition to the industry the performer primarily works in. I divide this variable into three categories: 1.) Women in straight adult film industry 2.) Men in the straight adult film industry 3.) Men in gay adult film industry. These three categories constitute the largest segments of the adult film industry, and the most meaningful ways for people to achieve some level of longevity as an adult film performer. I use the terms "gay" and "straight" industries since these are the terms used both within and outside of the adult film industry to label these two industries, but not necessarily the sexuality of performers within the industries. It is relatively rare for male performers to work in both the gay and straight industries due to a perceived risk of HIV transmission between the two industries (Schieber 2018). For men who have worked in both the gay and straight industries, I coded men who filmed 25% or more of their total films as gay scenes as being members of the gay industry.[1] While women often perform with other women in same-sex scenes, these films are most often filmed by production companies within the straight adult film industry and are marketed towards a straight male audience.

[1] Within the dataset, there is a sizeable population of men who worked primarily with women in the straight industry, but filmed a few solo masturbation scenes with a gay production company targeted towards a gay male audience.

I also include a variable for the year the performer starts their career. This is an important control variable due to the recent variability of the adult film industry given the growth of the industry through technological advancements that occurred with online pornography in the late 1990s through early 2000s, and the more recent contraction of the industry due to free online pornography (Abbott 2010; Tibbals 2012).

Model

Dependent count variables, such as number of films performed in per year, are best modeled using either a Poisson distribution or a negative binomial distribution (Long and Freese 2006). Since my dependent variable is a count that is overdispersed (mean=.998, SD=4.78), it makes sense to use a negative binomial regression to estimate my results. Due to a non-linear relationship between career tenure and number of films made, I include splines in my analysis with knots at years two and four. These knots allow for a nonlinear relationship where the predicted number of films a performer creates increase their first years in the industry, but may decrease as careers progress.

Interviews

I also conducted 38 open ended in-depth interviews with industry stakeholders in the gay and straight California adult film industries between 2013 and 2016. I interviewed performers, directors, producers, as well as people working in other roles within the industry as described in Table 1. It is common for those involved in the industry to work in multiple roles, such as performing, directing and producing, and several respondents had worked in various roles within the industry. The year respondents entered the adult film industry are indicated in Table 1. By speaking to

members of both the gay and straight adult film industries, I am able to compare the experiences and strategies of people in both industries.

I initially contacted respondents through email, and then asked respondents for referrals for other people in the industry I could speak to. Many respondents said they only felt comfortable sharing their contact information with me and speaking with me if another person within the industry vouched for me. This was due to concerns about stigmatization and unwanted correspondence. Due to the fact that this is a referral sample, these interviews do not represent a full population of sex workers or adult film performers and cannot be used in a statistical sense to generalize demographics. Rather, I use the interviews to identify common discourses and strategies regarding careers and labor decisions within the California adult film industry. To protect anonymity, I use pseudonyms throughout the paper, and I leave out any information that could be used to identify respondents.

I conducted the interviews either in person or over the phone, depending on availability or the respondent's preference. Interviews lasted about an hour, with the shortest interview lasting 30 minutes and the longest interview lasting three hours. Before each interview, I provided respondents with a study information sheet explaining the purpose of the project, and I received verbal consent to conduct and audio record the interview. Respondents had the option of ending the interview at any time.

Results

I combine both the quantitative and qualitative results in this section in an effort to present the data in the most easily digestible way. I begin by discussing the non-parametric descriptive statistics of the quantitative data. I then situate these non-

parametric statistics with the qualitative interviews in the context of each set of performers: 1.)Women in the straight adult film industry, 2.) Men in the straight adult film industry, and 3.) Men in the gay adult film industry. I then present my negative binomial regression model presenting the predicted count for films made by industry tenure for each set of performers.

Descriptive Statistics

Through existing literature, it is clear that women in the straight adult film industry—working as aesthetic laborers—are paid about twice as men much per scene compared to men in the straight industry (Tarrant 2016; Voss 2015). In addition, men in the gay adult film industry make as much per scene as women in the straight adult film industry (Escoffier 2003, 2007). It is less clear what these careers actually look like in terms of trajectory and volume. This aspect is important, however, since a higher income per scene means little if there are fewer filming opportunities during a comparably shorter career. By looking at Table 2.1, we can begin to get a sense of what the first eight years of a performer's career typically looks like.

Table 2.1: Descriptive Statistics of Total Films Made During First Eight Years

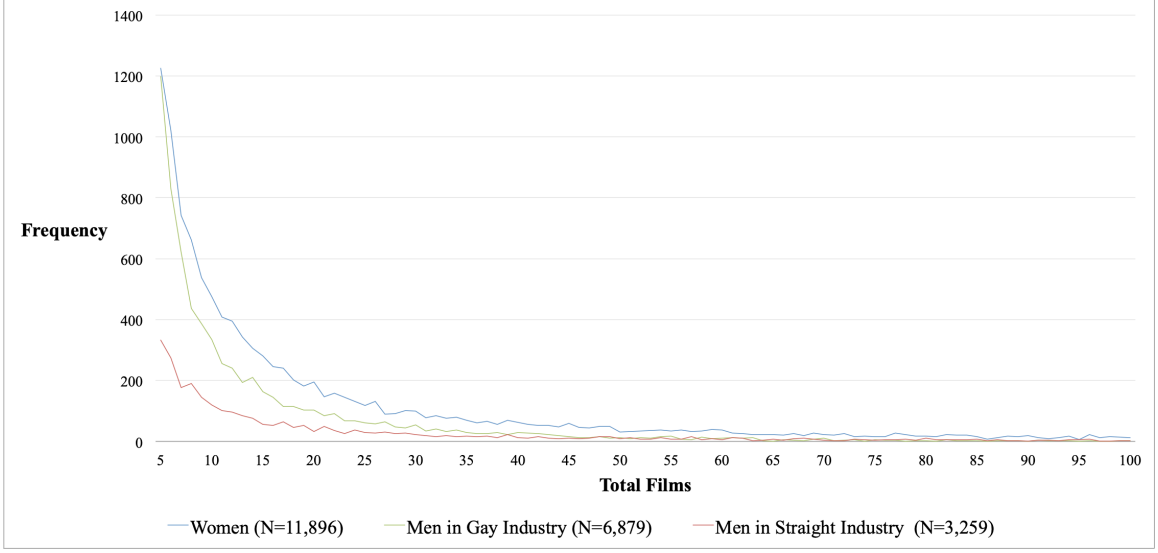
	N	Mean Number of Films	Standard Deviation	Min / Max
Women	11,896	33.4	51.6	5 / 637
Men (Straight Industry)	3,259	56.2	115.9	5 / 1552
Men (Gay Industry)	6,879	15.8	18.9	5 / 380

Careers beginning between 1970 and 2009 with five or more films in first 8 years

Amongst performers who performed in at least five films in their first eight years in the industry, women performed in a mean of 33 total films over an eight-year period, whereas men performed in a mean of 56 films over an eight-year period. Men in the gay industry performed in fewer films, with a mean of 16 total films. These initial figures indicate that the average man in the straight industry performs more than the average woman or man in the gay industry. However, this distribution has an extremely long right tail, as evidenced by the large standard deviation across performers and the range between the minimum number of total films and the maximum number of total films.

This right tail is apparent in Figure 2.1, which presents a frequency distribution of total films of perfomers in their first eight years in the industry. The X-axis of Figure 1 is cut off at 100 for aesthetic reasons, but the right tail for each category continues until the max value indicated in Table 2.1.

Figure 2.1: Frequency Distribution of Performers by Total Films Made
Careers with Five or More Films in First Eight Years



The modal number of films made by each set of performers in this sample is 5. This is the lower bound of number of films made since my sample is defined as performers who have made 5 or more films. This superstar distribution, where most performers appear in a small number of films, and a small number of performers appearing in a large number of films is typical of cultural industries more generally (Menger 1999; Rosen 1983). Most performers, whether it be men or women, perform in very few total films during their time in the adult film industry.

The amount of total films does not tell the whole story however. One must also consider how these performance are distributed thoughout one's career. Figure 2 details the mean number of films performer's appeared in during each of their first 8 years in the industry.

As Figure 2.2 makes clear, the mean women's career is typified by a period of comparatively high filming activity during the first 2 years of the performer's career, followed by a sharp drop in appearances. On the other hand, mean men's career tends to gradually increase and stay relatively stable during the the first 8 years of the performer's career. Men in the gay industry experience a mean career trajectory similar to women with a most filming occuring in the first 2 years of their career, but with less volume in number of films made. However, due to the skewed nature of the data, and the variance in the number of films made, a parametric model will provide more confident prediction on what the typical career trajectories look like for performers.

Negative Binomial Regression

The results of the negative binomial regression are presented in Table 3. Each independent variable shows a significant relationship with the number of films made by

performers. Of particular interest are the interaction results showing that men produce significantly more films for each 1 year increase in career compared to women.

Table 2.2: Negative Binomial Regression of the Determinants of Number of Films Made (N = 176,272)

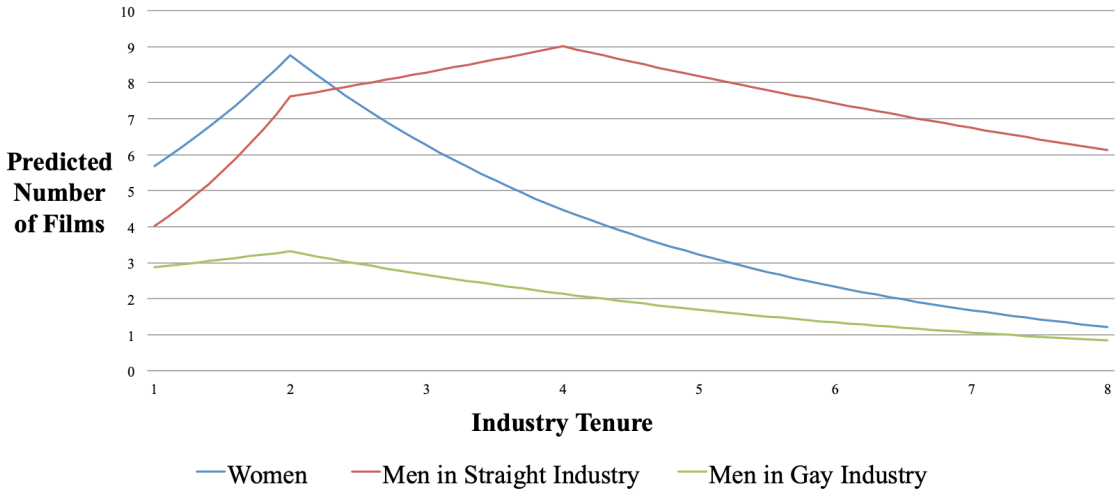
Metric Coefficients	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Year Performer Started……	-.001	-.001	.001 ***	.004 ***
	(.001)	(.001)	(.001)	(.001)
Years 1-2 in Industry……		.199 ***	.161 ***	.432 ***
		(.036)	(.035)	(.021)
Years 2-4 in Industry……		.016	-.007	-.337 ***
		(.083)	(.081)	(.01)
Years 4-8 in Industry……		.186	.075	-0.326 ***
		(.112)	(.109)	(.005)
Worker Type Men in Straight Industry……			.538 ***	-.556 ***
			(.013)	(.074)
Men in Gay Industry……			-.749 ***	-.395 ***
			(.01)	(.058)
Worker Type * Years 1-2 in Industry				
Men in Straight Industry……..				.208 ***
				(.05)
Men in Gay Industry……				-.288 ***
				(.035)
Worker Type * Years 2-4 in Industry				
Men in Straight Industry……				.421 ***
				(.021)
Men in Gay Industry……				.118 ***

				(.017)
Worker Type * Years 4-8 in Industry				
Men in Straight Industry……				.229 *** (.01)
Men in Gay Industry……				.092 *** (.008)
Constant……	3.32 * (1.21)	3.17 * (1.21)	-11.6 *** (1.18)	-7.5 *** (1.13)

*Note: Numbers in parentheses are standard errors. This sample includes careers beginning between 1970 and 2009 with five or more films in first 8 years. The reference category for Worker Type is women in the straight adult film industry. *<.05, **<.005, ***<.001*

In order to better visualize the practical impact of these predicted coefficients on the career trajectories of adult film performers, Figure 3 presents the number of films made by industry tenure as predicted by Model 4 in Table 2

Figure 2.3: Predicted Number of Films by Industry Tenure
Careers with Five or More Films in First Eight Years



Women are predicted to perform in more films than men in the straight industry at the very beginning of their careers net of the year the performer started in the industry, but women's predicted films per year fall below men by year three and continue to decline. Through Figure 3, we see the extent to which women and men experience divergent opportunities in the straight adult film industry. While women typically earn double what men earn per scene throughout their career (Tarrant 2016), their likelihood of staying in the industry for an extended period of time is unlikely. More so, men in the gay adult film industry follow a similar career trajectory as women in the straight adult film industry, and in turn, experience divergent careers from men in the straight adult film industry.

These results raise questions worthy of further analysis. Within the straight adult film industry, why do career trajectories appear to diverge by gender when men and women are working in the same films with the same producers doing the same type of work? More so, why do men's careers in the gay adult film industry appear to more closely rememble the trajectory of women in the straight adult film industry compared to men in the straight adult film industry? In the following section, I use in-depth interview data to flesh the reasons why these divergent career trajectories might occur.

Career Trajectories for Women in the Straight Adult Film Industry

These quantitative results indicate that the mean female performer tends to have a short career with a sharp peak at the beginning of their career would not come as a surprise to performers in the straight industry. In fact, people in the people in the industry have a term for this very occurrence: "getting shot out." This phrase refers to new, popular performers getting a great deal of work filming once or twice at all of the large production companies, but then having trouble finding subsequent work. As Angela, a performer, states:

> "Especially for women, longevity is a hard thing to come by. You get shot out and then fans get bored and the next new 18 year old is on the scene and people move on from you very quickly…Why are they going to hire you when they can hire some new girl?"

Performers, or at least performers who have been in the industry for a period of time, are quite aware that there is a high degree of turnover for women in the industry. There is an emphasis that producers are continually looking for new women to shoot, and it is difficult for women

Travis, a producer and director who began making adult films in the straight adult film industry in 2002, describes his experience with the career longevity of the women hires to perform in his films:

> "In the old days a girl could go two or three years on the circuit and pretty much work two or three years pretty consistently…Now I think the average lifespan of a girl is three or six months."

Even in the best of times, before the decline of adult film productions due to the rise of free online pornography in 2007, Travis states that women's careers typically lasted two to three years.

The reason for this short career trajectory is the industry's emphasis on aesthetics during the hiring process. Directors and producer largely hire women based on what they look like, and this process drives a high degree of turnover in the labor market. Bruce, a talent agent in the straight industry, discusses this process when describing how he decides to represent a new client:

> "What I look for is what I call 'shootable.' If they're shootable in terms of what producers are looking for. Primarily we're looking for a girl that is 18-21, which puts them in the highest bracket of desire and demand for the production companies. I look at their age. I look at their demographics. I look at their geographic location. I look at their aesthetics in terms of how they look, if there are any flaws in their body."
>
> Bruce, Talent Agent

As Bruce mentions, one primary consideration when hiring women in the adult film industry is the aesthetics of performers. These hiring processes are similar to the hiring

processes discussed by Ashley Mears in here analysis of fashion models, and how these aesthetic laborers experience very short careers with extremely high turnover. When the employers are hiring based on looks, they are continually searching for new people to hire. Aesthetic labor is ephemeral.

Career Trajectories for Men in the Straight Industry

Men in the straight adult film industry experience different career dynamics compared to women leading to divergent career trajectories. Bruce, the same talent agent who discussed the importance of aesthetics in deciding which women he chooses to represent, also discussed how he decides which men to represent. As he states:

> "The criteria is much stricter for a guy… They've got to be able to perform. They have to have the ability to maintain an erection for a long period of time, and also be able to ejaculate on call. On cue. On command…If a performer fails the first time, it's difficult to get them into a second production. If he fails a second time, and if there's remotely a third opportunity and he fails a third time, then he's done.
>
> …
>
> A solid male performer in the industry could last 10, 15, 20, 30 years. Eh, maybe not 30 years. 20 years."

Bruce's stated criteria for representing a man is considerably different from his criteria for representing a man. Bruce emphasizes the importance of men's sexual skill, or more specifically, their ability to maintain an erection during a shoot and their ability to ejaculate at the end of the shoot after an extended period of time. Bruce then states that if

man is able to do this, they have the potential to work in the industry indefinitely, whereas if a man is unable to do this, they will no longer be hired.

Bruce's insights highlight a key difference between aesthetic and skill-based labor. Despite the cultural valuation of women in aesthetic labor markets leading to increased earnings, the same dynamics of aesthetic labor markets lead to shorter careers. On the other hand, while men in the straight industry do not experience increased earnings due to the cultural valuation of their bodies, their relatively rare skill allows them to remain in demand for jobs for a longer period of time.

Cari, a director in the straight adult film industry, when she directly compares the career experiences of men versus women in the industry:

> "Guys have longevity. If a guy can do a good job and he doesn't lose himself to drugs or go crazy, then most of them are pretty sound. Guys don't have to worry about getting shot out. The girls, it's kind of sad. I think that it's such a sad reality check when one day you're on the cover of every movie and one day nobody wants to book you and you're begging for work.

Cari highlights the stability men experience as performers in the industry. If a man is able to be reliable to show up, stay off drugs, and perform sexually, they will be able to indefinitely find work. On the other hand, women experience a rude awakening where they go from having a huge number of booking to not being able to find work.

Later in the interview, I asked Cari about her experience hiring new men, and whether or not she would work with men again if they failed to maintain an erection or ejaculate on cue, and her answer was particularly illustrative:

> If it was my first time shooting them, maybe I wouldn't hire them again if they had trouble, but there aren't that many new guys coming in. I reuse the same guys."

Since Cari used the same men over and over again in her films, she wasn't sure how she would react if a man failed to do his job. The idea of a man failing was not familiar to her because she already knows which men perform well, and rehires them repeatedly. Her own confusion illustrates the different hiring process women and men experience in the industry

Career Trajectories for men in the Gay Industry

Men in the gay adult film industry provide a compelling point of comparison to men and women in the straight adult film industry. While men in the gay adult film industry share their gender with men in the straight adult film industry, they share similar career trajectories to women in the straight adult film industry. Michael, producer in both the gay and straight adult film industries explains why this is, stating:

> You can't just throw any average looking guy in gay porn because the customer's like, 'Who's this dog?' But in straight porn the guy is irrelevant. It doesn't even matter. All he has to do is do his job with a hard dick. It doesn't matter what he looks like, just whatever. I would literally cut them out of the shot in straight porn because his face does not matter…Gay performers, we recruit on their looks.

Michael emphasizes that men in the gay industry are hired primarily as aesthetic laborers based on what they look like. It this market, male beauty is cultural valued, and there is a premium put on hiring conventionally attractive men. Michael then directly compares this

hiring process to hiring a man in the straight industry he states that the looks of a man in straight porn is tangential to the shoot.

Like women in the straight industry, men in the gay industry are hired as aesthetic laborers, and this leads to men in the gay industry having short careers. As Jake, a performer in the gay industry, states:

> All the guys who started making movies with me at the same time, not only are they off the radar, people have no idea who they are anymore. And those were the guys who were on the cover of every movie, had their poster up, whatever…they were all gone after like a year and a half.

Even for the most popular and most successful men in the gay adult film industry, these men have very brief careers. Due to the high turnover of the aesthetic labor market, there is a continual search for new performers to take their place.

Discussion

The types of work people do matter, and when different types of work are gendered, these different types of work can lead to gendered outcomes. In the case of the adult film industry, performers do the same job in the same industry while performing different types of work: skill-based labor and aesthetic labor. These differences lead to women in the straight adult film industry and men in the gay adult film industry earning more income per scene, but having significantly more front-loaded and shorter careers.

These findings are applicable to a variety of careers. Future research can look at the ways jobs are separated into different types of work, and then consider how these different types of work may interact with gender leading to divergent earnings or career trajectories. For example, restaurants are typically split into front-of-house and back-of-

house jobs, and it is possible that customer facing front-of-house jobs are characterized by aesthetic labor trends whereas back-of-house workers who do not typically interact with customers follow skill-based trends. Future research can explore how these differences operate in other contexts.

More so, this chapter refocuses how we think about gendered pay differences. The amount women are paid compared to men matters, but these differences in pay must be situated in the overall career trajectories of these workers. Even in instances where women are paid more than men, the career trajectories of the workers may negate the earnings difference by gender. It is also possible that there are situations where women earn both less than men and have shorter careers than men, in which case the negative effects of gendered work is compounded.

In an attempt to focus on differences in career length by gender and sexuality, this paper does not include an analysis of differences in career length by race and gender. This would be an area for future research. Within the straight adult film industry, black women describe having a difficult time finding agents, getting work, and maintaining careers compared to white women working in the industry and black men in the industry (Miller-Young 2014). Race may in fact be another avenue through which embodied work leads to divergent career trajectories. Future research may examine the career trajectories of black men and women adult film performers, and how their career trajectories compare to their white counterparts.

CHAPTER 3

My Body of Work:

Promotional Labor and the Bundling of Complementary Work

Abstract:

What if certain types of work allow workers to earn a higher income when bundled together? Using qualitative interview data on the careers of sex workers in California, this paper argues that workers can attempt to increase overall earnings by taking part in promotional labor: a specific type of labor in which workers strategically bundle complementary forms of work with differing status and income levels to increase overall income. Due to a sharp decline in adult film production beginning in 2007, adult film performers relied on escorting to make up for lower wages and fewer filming opportunities. However, these sex workers still performed in adult films—despite filming being more time intensive and less financially lucrative—to promote themselves as high-end escorts. This paper concludes that promotional labor is a mechanism by which workers and firms in general mitigate labor uncertainty by utilizing the cross-promotional benefits of different types of complementary work.

Introduction

In recent years, there has been a great deal of media and scholarly attention paid to the rise of the "gig economy," and the ways labor is increasingly typified by bundles of low paid and precarious odd jobs (De Stefano 2015; Horowitz 2011). This growing segment of the labor force faces similar issues to the struggles independent contractors in general face in their efforts to make a living through intermittent contracted work (Ashford, George, and Blatt 2007). Given the amorphous schedules, low pay, and few labor protections of gig work, it becomes necessary for workers to combine different jobs and income streams together in order add more hours and to earn a living from these combined wages (De Stefano 2015).

However, what if specific types of work allow workers earn a greater income when bundled together than the sum income of each individual type of work? In this paper, I put forth and analyze a type of labor—which I term promotional labor—to explain how workers strategically bundle complementary forms of work with differing status and income levels. In doing so, I argue that workers can do low-paid work as promotional labor in an attempt to raise overall earnings. In the following sections, I draw from three theoretical research streams on work and labor: 1). The bundling of work, and the process by which certain types of labor and jobs can be strategically bundled together 2). Status and work, and how high-status work can lead to an earnings discount for workers, and 3.) The complementarity of work, and how certain types of labor can actually increase demand and serve as a loss leader for other types of labor. By connecting these three theoretical areas, I demonstrate the different aspects of promotional labor that make it a unique and important type of labor.

I explore the concept of promotional labor through the case of two specific types of sex work: adult film performers and escorts[1]. Beginning in 2007, the California adult film industry experienced a sharp retraction in filming due to the proliferation of Internet adult film piracy and free online pornography (Tarrant 2016). With this technological shock in mind, performing in adult films has become an increasingly "bad job," with lower pay, few work opportunities, and no health insurance or retirement benefits (Kalleberg, Reskin, and Hudson 2000; Tarrant 2016). Working as an adult film performer, however, continued to serve an important promotional role for escorts, and escorts strategically bundled performing in adult films with their escorting work to increase their overall earnings (Berg 2016). By detailing how promotional labor applies to the case of adult film performers and escorts, I build the general case that promotional labor is a useful concept for understanding the strategic labor decision-making processes of non-standard workers, standard workers, and firms.

Bundled Work

Workers do not do not accept jobs, gigs, or tasks randomly, and workers can strategically bundle different types of work together to increase earnings and advance their careers. At their most basic level, jobs are assembled bundles of tasks, and how these tasks become bundled together is contingent on both internal and external organizational pressures (Cohen 2013). With regards to the hiring process for competitive open-ended jobs, such as working in elite high-end restaurant kitchens, the actual role and tasks of the person being hired are negotiated through the hiring process and are

[1] I define escorting as a form of prostitution in which clients contact men or women either through an agency or online postings for sexual services and the person travels to the client's private residence or hotel. While some may look at the term "escort" cynically as a euphemism for prostitution, Weitzer (2009) highlights the high degree of stratification in prostitution and the better wages and working conditions for escorts compared to street prostitutes.

contingent on how the person relates to and fits in with the established group (Tan 2015). More importantly, certain tasks within jobs are more desirable than others, and when good or bad tasks are allocated in systematic ways, this can lead to inequality in how workers experience their job (Chan and Anteby 2015). It not enough to simply consider the process by which certain tasks and jobs get bundled together, but also the differing attributes are inherent to certain tasks, and how tasks with different attributes get bundled together.

With regards to non-standard work—typified as short term work arrangements where the employer has limited control over the employee (Ashford et al. 2007; Broschak and Davis-Blake 2006)—highly skilled workers use non-standard work arrangements as a source of flexibility to build skills in separate areas in order to have consistent income (Ashford et al. 2007; Bailey and Kurland 2002; Evans, Kunda, and Barley 2004). By bundling different types of jobs together with different skill sets, it is possible for non-standard workers to develop a well-rounded "human capital portfolio" (Carnoy, Castells, and Benner 1997), and these workers can actively develop and bundle marketable skills together and earn more than their salaried counterparts (Barley and Kunda 2006; Kunda, Barley, and Evans 2002).

More than simply learning new skills in differing areas and earning more income, nonstandard workers can strategically accept jobs in order to advance their careers. Nonstandard workers, and independent contractors more specifically, have no specific organizational guidance in how to progress in their career, leading to a question on how these workers progress in their careers when continually working with new jobs and new groups of people while being hired for the same skills (O'Mahony and Bechky 2006). To

resolve this career progression paradox, one must understand that independent contractors actively engage in stretchwork, or accepting new work that extends a workers skill in a new direction, in order to develop new skills (O'Mahony and Bechky 2006). Independent contractors can advance their careers by accepting certain types of work that build their skills in specific ways.

While the strategic bundling of work is more obvious in nonstandard work since these workers actively accept disparate short-term jobs in order to build a career, the bundling of work occurs in standard work as well. However, it is not enough to simply understand that workers strategically bundle work, but also the specific and unique attributes that make certain types of work more or desirable than other types of work. More specifically, it is important to understand how the attribute of status, and the differing statuses of jobs and tasks, has important implications for worker compensation when coupled with the ability to bundled jobs and tasks of different statuses together.

Status and Work

Status is a key feature of markets and exchange relationships when the quality of a product or good is uncertain, and consequently high status affiliations are valuable because they serve as a way to signal high quality in uncertain markets (Podolny 2005). For example, wineries see great value in associating with high status appellations—or areas of land known for producing high quality wine—to increase the price of their wines, since there is underlying uncertainty about the quality of the wine for consumers (Benjamin and Podolny 1999). In the world of venture capital, entrepreneurial start-ups sometimes turn down financing offers with better terms in order to accept worse financing offers from high status firms (Hsu 2004). It seems counterintuitive to accept

worse financing offers until one considers that the long-term success of a new start-up is highly uncertain, and associating with high-status venture capitalists is a signal that the entrepreneurial start-up is of high quality (Hsu 2004).

The benefits of high-status affiliations are not limited to firms, and status plays a role in hiring and salaries in labor markets as well. Research also highlights the long term monetary value of status for standard workers when trying to receive raises or move between jobs (Bidwell et al. 2015; Podolny 2005). For example, part of the value for workers at a firm such as Goldman Sachs is the signal that you are a high quality hire at a high status firm such as Goldman Sachs, and the subsequent career advancements to which association can lead (Bidwell et al. 2015). Generally speaking, high status firms can treat their high status as a non-pecuniary employment benefit for workers, and firms can leverage their high status to hire workers (Rider and Tan 2014).

Non-standard workers and independent contractors are well suited to take advantage of high status affiliations. Given the employment uncertainty and employment flexibility inherent in independent contracting, these workers are particularly attuned to finding their next job (Barley and Kunda 2006; Feldman and Bolino 2000). One way independent contractors find work is through the networks in which they are embedded, and scholars have touched on the importance of reputation networks for promoting the work of independent contractors (Bidwell and Briscoe 2009). However, these reputation networks are not as simple as having recommendations that a contractor does a good job, but also the status of previous jobs as a signal of quality (Podolny 2005).

Like standard work, independent contractors know high status affiliations are valuable and are willing to accept high-status affiliations as a non-pecuniary benefit of a

job. For example, in the world of fashion modeling, models, who are a type of independent contractor, accept payment in non-pecuniary forms such as clothing from high status fashion magazines knowing that the real value for the model is the status affiliation by appearing in high status fashion magazine (Mears 2011). Taken to the extreme, workers in high status areas, such as women working in the VIP section of nightclubs, can be compensated simply through the symbolic benefits of participating in a high status work (Mears 2015). In both of these cases, workers are willing to work for little, if any, monetary compensation for the opportunity to be associated with high status work.

Whether it is firms, standard workers, or independent contractors, high status affiliations are valuable as a signal of quality and competence. Lawyers and investment bankers are able to leverage their high status affiliations into career advancement or higher pay (Bidwell et al. 2015; Rider and Tan 2014), and fashion models hope to parlay their work in high status fashion magazines into large contracts with high profile fashion houses (Mears 2011). Importantly, in each of these cases, the status benefits for workers are limited to a specific job when working with firms of different status levels. In addition, we know that both standard workers and independent contractors have the ability to strategically bundle different jobs and tasks together (Cohen 2013; Kunda et al. 2002; O'Mahony and Bechky 2006). Given the ability to bundle work at different status levels, it is also important to consider how these different types of work might relate to one another when combined.

The Complementarity of Work

Complementary goods, or products that increase demand for a second product and vice versa, are a foundational concept in micro-economics for explaining suppliers' pricing strategies (Telser 1979). The presence of complementary goods can shape markets and consumer adoption of products. For example, the success of the VHS standard for videocassette recorders was largely due to the ready availability of videos that could be purchased and played on VHS (Schilling 1998). The availability of a complement can increase the overall desirability of a product since the demand for each product builds off the other.

When a supplier offers complementary products, the supplier can also take part in loss-leader pricing by pricing one product below marginal cost in order to encourage sales of the complementary product above marginal cost (Hess and Gerstner 1987). With regards to supermarkets, managers may use loss leader pricing as a short-term promotional strategy to draw people to the store with the assumption that shoppers will also purchase other products that generate profits (Lal and Matutes 1994). In sum, suppliers of complementary products are able to use strategic pricing as a promotional tool in order to boost sales and profits (Telser 1979).

Different forms of labor can also be complementary. In his analysis of the impact the Internet and music piracy had on the music industry, Krueger (2005) argues that music recordings and music concerts constitute complementary forms of labor for musicians, in that albums increase the demand for live concert performances and live concert performances increase the demand for albums amongst top performers. The illegitimate online reproduction of digital music then forces musicians to make up lost revenue through its complementary non-digital product—live concert performances

(Krueger 2005; Mortimer, Nosko, and Sorensen 2012). Despite the loss in revenue from albums, performers still produce albums to promote their live concert performances.

Broadly speaking, complementary types of labor may offer a unique way for workers to leverage their skillsets and promote themselves. Through promotional labor, in which workers use one form of labor as a high status loss leader to promote their lower status core business, workers may mitigate employment uncertainty by using pricing strategies that promote their work. In the following sections, I explore how an exogenous shock in the form of free online pornography led to a sharp decline in US adult film production, and more importantly, the different strategies adult film performers used to cope with this changing labor market.

Research Methods

The Case

Given the purpose of this chapter is theory building, I use an inductive case design to examine and understand promotional labor in an organizational context (Eisenhardt and Graebner 2007). I use the labor market of sex workers in the California adult film industry as my case. Sex work presents a compelling area to understand how workers strategically bundle together different types of work due to the particularly amorphous structure of a sex worker's career. Sex workers rely on a variety of labor strategies to manage the extreme precarity of making a living from sex work (Berg 2016; Escoffier 2007), and these efforts demonstrate labor strategies that may be more subtle in more conventional contexts. More so, there are multiple different types of sex work that can be bundled together, and while sex work is, overall, considered very low status work, there is a high degree of status stratification between different types of sex work (Weitzer

2009, 2010). With regards to different forms of prostitution, escorting is safer, higher paid, and affords more independence to workers compared to street prostitution (Weitzer 2009). In addition, adult films historically provide a level of fame and income that do not exist in other types of sex work (Abbott 2010), although this may be changing with the recent declines in production (Tarrant 2016).

Sex work is an example of nonstandard work that frequently takes the form of independent contracting. Whether it is performing in adult films on a project by project basis or working as an escort with an amorphous clientele and schedule, sex workers are often hired for extremely short-term work arrangements with no employment benefits (Abbott 2010; Bernstein 2007; Tarrant 2016). This short-term project based independent contracting in the adult film industry is similar to the labor arrangements in other cultural industries such as Hollywood (Bechky 2006; Faulkner and Anderson 1987; Menger 1999, 2006). Overall, sex work presents a compelling case of workers using a variety of strategies to bundle together different work with different attributes in order to make a living.

There are two general career arcs within the industry: 1). Performers who are looking for quick money are only in the industry for a short period of time, and 2). Performers who take part in certain strategies to lengthen their careers (Abbott 2010). Performers who seek longer careers must often make connections in the industry by signing with an established agent and begin working for more prestigious companies to establish their legitimacy as a serious performer. With regards to earnings, women typically earn $300-$1000 for an individual scene, depending on the status of the studio and the sex act performed, while men typically made half that amount per scene (Abbott

2010; Snow 2013; Tarrant 2016). Men in the gay adult film industry typically make a similar amount per scene compared to women in the straight industry, there are fewer opportunities to perform in the gay industry (Escoffier 2007). These men then tend to take part in a network of complementary sex work such as stripping and escorting to earn a livable wage (Escoffier 2007).

A great deal has changed in the adult film industry since Escoffier's (2007) analysis of networks of sex work. When Escoffier (2007) was conducting his work, the adult film industry was in the midst of huge growth as online pornography became common through the late 1990s and mid-2000s (Voss 2015), but beginning in 2007, the adult film industry saw a large decline in both revenue and production as free online pornography became common (Attwood 2010). At the same time, these technological shifts decreased the barriers of entry to escorting. In escorting, both male and female escorts increasingly rely on the internet to find clients and advertise their services (Cunningham and Kendall 2011). This shift towards escorts using the Internet not only makes it easier for researchers to examine how escorting works (Logan 2010), but it makes it easier and less time consuming for people to work as escorts (Cunningham and Kendall 2011; Weitzer 2009), and for escorts to more effectively advertise exactly what services they offer for what price (Logan 2016). Technology has made escorting much more efficient.

Data Collection

Between 2013 and 2016, I conducted 38 open ended in-depth interviews with industry stakeholders in the gay and straight California adult film industries. I interviewed performers, directors, producers, as well as people working in other roles

within the industry as described in Table 1. It is common for those involved in the industry to work in multiple roles, such as performing, directing and producing, and several respondents had worked in various roles within the industry. While the focus of the study is on the labor decisions of sex workers, my interviews with producers, directors, and other organizational actors were necessary to bring diverse perspectives in the organizational hierarchy to further validate and reinforce the statements by the sex workers (Eisenhardt and Graebner 2007). In addition, respondents in other roles within the industry tend to have longer careers within the industry, and were able to provide first hand accounts of changes they observed over time. The year respondents entered the adult film industry are indicated in Table 1. By speaking to members of both the gay and straight adult film industries, I am able to compare the experiences and strategies of people in both industries.

I initially contacted respondents through email, and then asked respondents for referrals for other people in the industry I could speak to. Many respondents said they only felt comfortable sharing their contact information with me and speaking with me if another person within the industry vouched for me. This was due to concerns about stigmatization and unwanted correspondence. Due to the fact that this is a referral sample, these interviews do not represent a full population of sex workers or adult film performers and cannot be used in a statistical sense to generalize demographics. Rather, I use the interviews to identify common discourses and strategies regarding careers and labor decisions within the California adult film industry. To protect anonymity, I use pseudonyms throughout the paper, and I leave out any information that could be used to identify respondents.

I conducted the interviews either in person or over the phone, depending on availability or the respondent's preference. Interviews lasted about an hour, with the shortest interview lasting 30 minutes and the longest interview lasting three hours. Before each interview, I provided respondents with a study information sheet explaining the purpose of the project, and I received verbal consent to conduct and audio record the interview. Respondents had the option of ending the interview at any time.

During these semi-structured interviews, I asked respondents about the impact of piracy on the industry, how they view escorting, and the motivations performers have to escort. Specifically I asked if they have witnessed a change in the amount of escorting since entering the industry, their own opinions about escorting, and reasons why they believe performers choose to escort. In order to not lead responses, I did not bring up performers using adult films as a promotional tool unless the respondent mentioned it, although every performer independently mentioned the promotional aspect of adult films. I conducted these interviews with members of the gay and straight industries, and both men and women who escort. Throughout the interviews, there were overwhelming similarities in the reasons members of the gay and straight industries gave for escorting.

Data Analysis

I transcribed and analyzed my interviews using the qualitative data analysis software Hyper Research. I analyzed and coded the data using an iterative process going between the literature and the transcripts, identifying key themes in the ways respondents described their work and labor decisions. Through the coding process, common discourses regarding respondents' labor experiences emerged, and I used these similarities to identify general concepts from the interviews. I then identified links

between these concepts, and abstract theoretical themes discussed in the literature that relate to organizational labor decisions. The results of this coding process are located in Appendix 2, with representative quotes included to show how respondents discussed these concepts. These representative quotes in Appendix 2 are in addition to the quotes included in the text in order to provide a more comprehensive picture of respondent responses.

There was one methodological difference when conducting interviews between the two industries. Specifically, women, men, and director/ producers in the straight industry were more hesitant to talk about escorting. All respondents in the straight industry talked about how common escorting is, but they also talked about how people look down upon and stigmatize women for being escorts. On the other hand, escorting within the gay adult film industry seemed much more accepted, if not celebrated (for example, "The Hookies" are gay escort awards and closely tied to the gay adult film industry), and this came through in interviews as performers talked at length and in detail about their own experiences escorting. For the purpose of this paper, this uneasiness towards escorting led to people in the straight industry to talk about escorting in more hypothetical terms, even if the performer was in fact an escort or had friends who escort. I further analyze these differences in response later in the paper.

The Internet and Bundled Sex Work

The California adult film industry experienced a tumultuous beginning to the 21st century. Initially, online pornography led to an enormous increase in adult film production, and there was a feeling of prosperity and growth in the industry as producers

began to take advantage of the Internet as a medium to sell their product (Tarrant 2016). Michael, a producer and director who began filming in the industry in 1999 states:

> There was so much money to be made in the early 2000s. You could throw up a picture of a naked girl on the Internet and make money. Now there's so much free content…it's really hard now.

There was a veritable gold rush in the pornography industry in the early 2000s as the Internet made much easier to distribute and sell pornography.

Websites subsequently began offering free online content, and production plummeted beginning in 2007. Diane Duke—the former head of the adult film industry trade group The Free Speech Coalition—estimates that industry-wide revenues decreased by 50% between 2007 and 2012 (Tarrant 2016). In addition, every respondent I spoke to detailed the negative impact free online pornography and the illegal online reproduction of adult films had since 2007. Sean, an escort and performer in the gay adult film industry describes this phenomenon stating:

> The Internet has made viewing porn much easier, but it has also made being able to steal porn much easier. Porn DVDs used to be priced high … now you can join, for 10 dollars a month, a plethora of websites and have an unlimited supply of porn at your fingertips, as well as free sites… The Internet has been, essentially, what killed the porn industry.

When I asked respondents what they thought the biggest challenge facing the adult film industry was, every respondent in both the gay and straight industries talked about the decline in work due to free Internet pornography.

This technological shift creates a paradox for the industry. While more people than ever are viewing pornography, fewer people than ever are paying for pornography (Tarrant 2016). Like other creative industries such as traditional film and music, adult films are an infinitely reproducible digital good, and the Internet has made it essentially costless to copy and transmit cultural goods online (DiMaggio et al. 2001). More so, it is difficult for adult film performers to switch careers due to the stigma performers experience for having been an adult film performer (Tarrant 2016). This creates a tension within the adult film industry with performers seeing fewer filming opportunities with lower pay, in addition to possessing a skillset that is not easily transferrable to a more traditional labor market.

It is then no surprise that adult film performers might leverage their nonstandard flexible work arrangements to bundle different types of work together to keep their earnings steady in the face a sharp decline in production. It would make even more sense for performers to adopt a type of sex work that is not infinitely reproducible through technology—paid sexual relations in person on location as an escort—in order to supplement their adult film income. As Holly, a performer and escort, states when asked how common escorting was amongst women in the adult film industry:

> Escorting's what gets the girls through…I'd be more surprised when a girl doesn't escort. For most girls that get into this business, it's not a matter of who's doing it and who's not. It's a matter of when.

Whereas the market for adult films has diminished, the market for escorts has remained stable. Unlike films, a live experience cannot be copied or stolen. This distinction is important, and is applicable to other industries as well. As the marginal cost of copying

and transmitting digital creative goods approaches zero due to technological advancement, and the revenues from these products then becomes lower, workers may invest more time and effort into bundling their work with live labor that is comparatively scarce since it can only be experienced in person.

Status, Escorting, and the Adult Film Industry

While performing in adult films and escorting are both types of sex work, it would be inaccurate to assume that people who work in one necessarily work in the other. In fact, escorting has traditionally been stigmatized within the adult film industry, and it is common for performers to engage in boundary-work in an effort to enforce status differentiation between the two types of sex work. Producers in the industry since before 2007 speak in detail about these differences, with Travis, a producer in the straight industry since the early 2000s, stating:

> When I first got in the business if you asked a girl 'Hey, do you escort? Do you Strip?' They were upset. They'd say 'F you, I'm a porn star, not a hooker.' … Now it seems to me that it's porn and escorting. The reason they do it is because the business got creamed and a lot of the work has dried up.

When it was relatively easy to make a living by simply performing in films, escorting was viewed as an unacceptable or low status way to make a side income. This leads to tension amongst sex workers, since, on its surface escorting and adult films are both types of sex work. As Diana, a performer, states: "The escorting issue frustrates me because you would think as an industry that is always stigmatized, those within the industry wouldn't stigmatize other types of sex work, but they do." Within the straight adult film

industry, there was, and still is, active status differentiation and boundary-work to distinguish certain types of sex work. In addition, escorting—a form of prostitution—is illegal. Moreover, performers in the straight adult film industry also view escorting as a potential way for HIV or other sexually transmitted diseases to enter and spread within the industry (Schieber 2017). Whereas women adult film stars once viewed escorting as low status work not worthy of their time for these reasons, escorting has become increasingly necessary to make a living despite the stigma.

In contrast, escorting has always been relatively accepted within the gay adult film industry compared to the straight adult film industry. This is because men in the gay adult film industry have significantly lower incomes compared to women in the straight adult film industry, and it was always necessary for these men to make an income outside of performing (Abbott 2010; Escoffier 2007). Adam, a performer in the gay and straight industries, talked about how escorting has historically been a norm in the gay industry, and how this differs from his experiences in the straight industry:

> Escorting was much more of a norm on the gay side. It's actually celebrated to escort. Nobody sees it as a bad thing or a controversial thing. On the straight side it's become a lot more normal now.

However, even with this comparative acceptance of escorting with in the industry, performers still talked about how escorting is viewed as lower status work compared to performing in films. Samuel, a performer and escort in the gay adult film industry, talked about the relative acceptance of escorting in the gay adult film industry, but also the status differentiation between escorts and adult film stars, stating:

> There's a difference between if you're a porn star and escort or if you're just a porn star…I have friends in the industry with the mentality that they would never escort, that it's beneath them.

Even though escorting is more common and accepted in the gay adult film industry, there is still status differentiation between the two types of work. Within the field of sex work, there is a level of glamour and fame afforded to adult film stars that is not afforded to escorts.

Throughout the interviews with respondents from both industries, it was striking the extent to which women performers were guarded about talking about escorting and spoke about the stigma women face amongst peers in the adult film industry when working as escorts, whereas male performers in the gay industry talked at length about the acceptability of escorting. This led to performers in the straight adult film industry speaking about escorting in more guarded and hypothetical terms. Joe, a performer and escort in the gay industry, spoke about these differences in gendered terms, stating:

> I think sex in general is different between men and women…There's even more of a stigma for women who escort because women aren't even allowed to enjoy sex in our society, our culture. So I think women keep it even more on the down low.

As Joe walks us through, it is possible, if not likely, that these differences in acceptability and stigma are due to broader cultural assumptions about gender and sexuality, and the result of the persistent sexual double standard experienced by men and women in the United States (Hamilton and Armstrong 2009; Risman and Schwartz 2002). Due to cultural expectations, women are concerned about being labeled as sexually promiscuous

whereas men are, to some extent, expected to be sexually promiscuous (Hamilton and Armstrong 2009).

The status differentiation between performing in films and escorting is important because it, in part, drives the desirability of these two jobs. One explanation for why adult film performers continue making films despite the state of the industry is that adult films do, in fact, give performers a level of fame—if not notoriety—that is unachievable in other career paths. If a person wants to be known for something, even if that something is commonly stigmatized, being an adult film performer offers that path. Escorting does not. However, this is not simply a story about status, and in the following section I will unpack the financial considerations that make performing in adult films a lucrative option when bundled with escorting.

Sex Work as Promotional Labor

Escorting and adult film performances are not simply two separate jobs that exist in a vacuum, but are in fact complementary forms of work that increase demand for each other. Specifically, if a person is a famous porn star, they are in higher demand and can charge more money as an escort. In turn, working in adult films offers performers two types of compensation: financial and promotional. Matt, a performer and escort, talks about the second benefit, stating with regards to filming:

> It keeps my name prevalent, front page, and it keeps people seeing my body and my work. It's an excellent way to market yourself, and you don't have to do any advertising because the studio does it for you.

For Matt, the advertising from films is a direct—non-pecuniary—benefit from performing in the films. The actual payment received for appearing in the film is an

added benefit on top of the promotional benefits of the work. In this regard, the decrease in earnings from films due to the proliferation of free online content is palatable for performers because performers still receive the promotional benefits from appearing in a film.

As the Internet became a destructive force for adult film producers and performers, it led to a boon for escorts, making it easier to find clients and advertise oneself. With regards to male escorts, Rentboy.com was a common website for escorts to advertise themselves to potential clients until the website was shut down in 2015, and escorts subsequently moved on to using other websites (Logan 2016). Sean, an escort and adult film performer who no longer appears in adult films, talked about how he still uses his adult film star pseudonym to make searching for him on the Internet easier, stating:

> I still use my stage name as well as pictures from scenes on my Rentboy profile. You're able to cross promote if you put a stage name and people are able to Google you and are able to see videos of you. A video is an affirmation that the person that you're looking at is the person that you're going to get.

Not only does being an adult performer increase the perceived status of the escort, but films serve as a prism through which consumers can observe the underlying attributes of the person they wish to hire (Podolny 2005). Escorting is a market typified with asymmetric information, and escorts who share more information about themselves in their advertisements—such as pictures of their face—are able to charge significantly more than escorts who do not share any such information (Logan 2016). In uncertain markets, such as escorting, where it is difficult to ascertain the quality or reputation of the

escort being hired, promotional labor in the form of professionally produced pornography provides an avenue to establish one's legitimacy or quality to potential clients. Generally speaking, promotional labor is one solution to information asymmetries for non-standard workers since clients have access to examples of the workers previous jobs in a complementary field.

It is difficult to ascertain the exact amount performers who escort are able to increase their escorting rates due to performing in adult films, but respondents stated that the increase is considerable. Male respondents who worked as escorts consistently stated that performing in adult films roughly increased the amount an escort earned by $100 per hour—from about $200 per hour for non-performers to $300 to $400 per hour for mainstream performers. These hourly rates are in the range of Logan's (2016) analysis of Rentboy escorting data, although his analysis does not cover differentiation in rates by adult film performers. Respondents in the straight adult film industry described a significantly less structured market for women performers, where performers find escorting clients through their adult film agents, and typically charge $800-$2000 per hour. However, very popular performers might negotiate extremely high amounts—in the tens of thousands of dollars—to travel to a client's residence for a weekend trip or longer.

More than simply increasing escorts' hourly rates, adult films also make it easier to find clients, and increase the opportunities for an escort to have clients in a larger geographic area. Samuel, an escort who started performing in films later on, describes his increased opportunities after he started performing:

> I travel a lot more. A regular escort probably makes most of their money locally…I get offers from people in Minnesota or Kansas, and they would

> have never known who I was, they would have never researched who I was, except they knew I was in porn. And so they'll fly me out. I cast a wider net.

In Samuel's case, he saw his client base grow to include a much wider geographic area once he started performing in films. The benefits of taking part in promotional labor are not limited to the hourly rate increase for ones labor, but also having increased opportunities from clients seeking out ones labor.

In a way, promotional labor acts as a way to brand ones labor. Thomas, a lawyer who represents women performers and escorts in the pornography industry, discussed how more famous female performers sometimes escort under pseudonyms in order to purposefully charge *less* money. This is in order to preserve their higher status porn star name for people who infrequently pay extremely high premiums to have sex with a porn star, but to still have regular lower priced bookings under pseudonyms detached from their porn star status. Essentially, adult film stars are able to practice price discrimination by marketing and branding themselves at different price points as a brand name versus generic escort. While only one respondent mentioned this practice, it highlights the subtle ways promotional laborers strategically brand themselves and charge clients.

One group is missing from this discussion of adult film performers escorting: male performers in the straight adult film industry. While people in the straight industry talk about rumors of male performers escorting with other men, and it is possible—If not likely—that male performers escort with men under pseudonyms, it is extremely stigmatized for a male performer in the straight adult film industry to work as a gay escort. This stigma is due to the perceived risk that a male performer working as a gay

escort could become HIV positive and then put women performers in the straight adult film industry at risk of acquiring HIV (Schieber 2017). More so, if male performers in the straight industry do in fact escort under pseudonyms, then the promotional benefits of being a named porn star would be largely negated. While it might be possible that some male performers escort with women, respondents indicated this type of market does not exist.

While this paper focuses on the relationship between performing in films and escorting, there are other forms of sex work that can be bundled together for promotional purposes. For example, through the 1990s, with the rise of home video formats and more accessible pornography, adult film performers took advantage of their relative fame by travelling to different cities and working as "feature-dancers" for strip clubs (Escoffier 2007). Aaron, a director and producer in the straight adult film industry since the early 1990s, states:

> In the 90s there were girls who would do free boy/girl scenes for a box cover because that box cover was what got them feature-dancing gigs. All the club owners back then, their big question was 'How many box covers does she have?' That would determine her price as a feature-dancer.

During this time period, performers would accept little or no payment in order to be put on the box cover of the movie being made since box cover appearances translated into higher rates when being hired as a "feature-dancer" at a strip club. More recently, the market for feature dancing has declined, but adult film performers now work as web cam models as a way to supplement income. It is common for performers to use their status as an adult film performer to increase their popularity, and earning, through camming.

In each of these examples—escorting, exotic dancing, or camming—adult film performers bundle in work that is a live experience. This is not a coincidence. As opposed to an adult film that can be re-watched indefinitely, there is a natural scarcity to live work since it is location or time dependent. Even with the example of web-camming, where a person may be able to entertain many people online, camming has an interactive live component where the worker engages in real time with the people watching. In each of these instances, adult film performers are able to build a brand and solidify their reputation using their labor as a porn star, and then utilize this brand and reputation to build a clientele or charge more money in more personal and less reproducible forms of labor. These underlying characteristics of sex work, in which complementary live forms of work can mitigate low wages from labor that is infinitely reproducible through technology or the Internet, has important implications for other types of labor more generally.

Discussion

As changes in technology make it easier for workers to bundle odd jobs in uncertain labor markets, it is important to understand how different types of labor interact with one another when bundled together. More so, it is important to understand the strategies workers may use to maximize their earnings through bundled work. While sex work is an unconventional case to examine broader labor practices, the unstructured nature of sex work and independent nature of sex workers—in addition to the technological shifts shaping the industry—make sex work an ideal lens through which to study how workers make strategic decisions about bundling certain types of work. Through these interviews, it is clear that sex workers utilize their flexible independent

contractor status to strategically choose to bundle certain types of work in order to increase their earnings. Promotional labor serves as a useful theoretical concept to explain the process by which workers strategically bundle these specific jobs together.

The decline of the adult film industry through the late 2000s, and the ways performers coped with this decline, is partially a story of a technological shock making the distribution of adult films much easier, but making remuneration through adult films much more difficult. Generally speaking, as technology makes digital cultural goods infinitely reproducible and transmittable, cultural producers are forced to rely on new strategies and avenues to be compensated for their work. Promotional labor is one such strategy. By relying on income from live—in-person—performances that cannot be reasonably reproduced through technology, but by still using digital complements to promote these live performances, cultural producers leverage their complementary skillsets to maintain or increase their income.

While the Internet makes bundling promotional media content with other types of work easier, promotional labor is not unique to media performances or to work facilitated by the Internet. Many types of labor necessitate face-to-face interaction with specific clients, and these types of work can be bundled with high status promotional complements to mitigate the uncertainty of attracting new clients. For example, lecturers or adjunct faculty members sometimes use their position as a part-time instructor at a high status university or in a high status professional school to promote themselves and acquire clients in their private sector work (Johnson 2015; Rose Guest Pryal 2015). With regards to law, pro bono litigation is not simply an altruistic act to help those in need through free legal services, but is also seen as a "source of professional legitimation" that

may attract other clients (Cummings 2004: 34). Few authors who self-publish books ever sell enough copies to make back their initial investment (Clark and Phillips 2014), but a dietician or consultant may be able to garner more in-person clients if they can claim to be a self-published author. These workers bundle together high status, mass-audience, promotional work with their in-person, and private, client-based work to take advantage of the complementary nature of the two forms of work.

However, not all bundles of gig-work are promotional labor. If a person drives for Uber and delivers packages for Amazon while authoring a book, there is no complementary relationship between the types of work that increases demand for the other, and it is simply a bundle of jobs. Promotional labor is not a synonym for gig-work, but a specific instance of gig-work where workers are able to take advantage of the specific characteristics of gigs that relate to one another. Future research may further elaborate on other ways specific types of gigs interact when bundled together given the increasing prevalence of independent gig-type work.

With regards to standard work, as researchers focus on job assembly processes (Cohen 2013; Tan 2015), it is important to understand the specific characteristics of certain tasks that make up jobs and how specific tasks relate to one another. By focusing in on the status characteristics of certain tasks, and the ways certain tasks might be complementary of one another, one can better understand the incentives that may guide how workers try to bundle certain tasks together. Assuming there is status differentiation between certain tasks within a firm (Cohen 2013), one might imagine workers strategically taking on certain high-status tasks that are not part of their original job description with little or no increase in compensation in the hopes that this labor may lead

to upward mobility within the firm or increased opportunities to move to a new firm. Future research may analyze the status stratification of tasks within jobs, or the other characteristics of tasks more generally, and whether or not there are differences in compensation or competition for workers to strategically take on certain tasks.

Promotional labor occurs at the firm level as well. For example, the large accounting firm PricewaterhouseCoopers experienced an extremely public embarrassment at the 2017 Oscars when two of their accountants handed the wrong envelope to the presenters for the best picture award, leading to the wrong movie being announced as the winner (Lang and Stedman 2017). It seems strange that a major accounting firm handles the vote tallies for an awards show in the first place, except that PricewaterhouseCoopers receives reputational benefits from being tied to a high status and highly visible event such as the Oscars. As the New York Times stated in an article after the incident, "And the Oscars, while not PricewaterhouseCooper's most lucrative client, is perhaps its most important. The firm leans on its long history as Hollywood's chief vote-counter to enhance its appeal in efforts like business development and recruiting" (Gelles and Maheshwari 2017). Since the purpose of having the Oscars as a client is promotional and not financial, the highly visible blunder is that much more damaging to the firms reputation. Future research may further examine the risks and benefits of taking on clients for purposes of promotional labor to attract more financially lucrative clients.

Promotional labor is an important concept because it builds on the understanding that workers or firms passively find work by being embedded in reputational networks by taking into account the status benefits of different types of work when bundled together.

In each of these instances of promotional labor, workers and firms use complementary skillsets to bundle and promote different aspects of their work. While the promotional form of work is low paid, it is higher status. The worker or firm can then leverage this status into higher paid but lower status areas of work, such as finding and maintaining regular clients, teaching lessons, or conducting live performances. While there are a variety of reasons a worker may voluntarily partake in lower-paid work, promotional labor provides one explanation for how lower-paid work can counter-intuitively lead to increased earnings for a worker or firm.

CHAPTER 4

Money, Morals, and Condom Use:

The Politics of Health in Gay and Straight Adult Film Production

Abstract

This paper compares condom use between the gay and straight California adult film industries and examines the culturally embedded decision making processes that affect the use of condoms in adult films. Drawing on in-depth interviews with people in the adult film industry, I argue that those within the gay and straight adult film industries utilize condoms and HIV testing as strategic actions motivated by two separate institutional logics. Within the straight industry, I find that a logic of profit maximization motivates HIV testing with the effect of identifying and quarantining HIV positive performers. Those within the straight industry then strategically justify non-condom use stating condoms are painful and condom use is an issue of performer's choice. Within the gay adult film industry, I find that a logic of civil rights and solidarity motivates condom use by implicitly avoiding identifying and stigmatizing HIV positive performers through mandated HIV tests. Ironically, performers in the gay adult film industry also strategically use condoms to manage their reputations and stigma by signaling to consumers that they are not HIV positive. In sum, these findings highlight the important ways people strategically rationalize and justify organizational health policies and practices while motivated by shared cultural schemas.

Introduction

In August of 2013, Cameron Bay, a female adult film performer, tested positive for HIV during a routine HIV test. The Free Speech Coalition, the largest adult film industry trade association, immediately called for an industry-wide moratorium on filming in California. The Coalition then began testing performers who had recently worked with Bay for HIV (Lovett 2013; Sewell 2013). No performers who had worked with Bay on set tested positive for HIV, and the Free Speech Coalition lifted the filming moratorium after two weeks. A few weeks later it was revealed that Cameron Bay's boyfriend Rod Daily, a performer in gay adult film industry, was also HIV positive (Lovett 2013). Perhaps surprisingly, Rod Daily's HIV-positive status caused no such alarm or halts in production in the gay adult film industry, raising the question: Why were these responses to the same health concern so different?

The straight adult film industry and the gay adult film industry are located within the same broader industry, but they have historically been separate in terms of production companies and performers (Weitzer 2010; Thomas 2010). From the 1970s through today the straight industry has centered in Southern California, while the gay industry has centered in San Francisco (Thomas 2010; Tibbals 2012). Even as gay and straight production companies have become subsidiaries of larger companies through the late 2010s—most notably under the pornography conglomerate MindGeek—the gay and straight industries largely remain separate in terms of production (Mann 2014; Wallace 2011). While some male crossover performers appear in both straight and gay films, crossover performers from the gay industry are stigmatized within the straight industry

due to the perceived risk that they could introduce HIV into the straight industry (Tarrant 2016).

During the late 1980s and early 1990s, HIV became a growing concern for both the gay and straight adult film industries as a number of performers became infected with HIV and died from AIDS (Burger 1995). In response, each industry adopted self-enforced health policies to mitigate the risks of occupational sexual activity (de Cesare 2005). The gay adult film industry primarily required condom use when filming anal sex, and the straight adult film industry relied on mandatory testing for HIV before filming to prevent the introduction of HIV into the industry (Tibbals 2012, Tarrant 2016).

Although there is epidemiological work analyzing the differences in condom use between the gay and straight industries (Grudzen et al. 2009; Grudzen and Kerndt 2007), "in-depth sociological work on the porn industry and its workers is almost non-existent" (Weitzer 2009: 216). Specifically, previous studies have not yet explained why such different health practices between industries exist and persist over time (Tibbals 2012; Voss 2012; Weitzer 2010). In this paper, I examine and explain these differences. Sociologists have, however, highlighted the link between culture and action with regards to health practices in *interpersonal* relationships (Tavory and Swidler 2009). Building on this insight, here I analyze the cultural motivations and justifications that can lead to culturally embedded *organizational* health practices.

A few points of clarification are necessary. My discussion of gay adult films refers only to adult films involving men having sex with men. In addition, my discussion of straight adult films refers to films involving sex between men and women. This decision is based on the relevance of safe sex to these two industries. For instance,

although films produced in the straight industry and marketed as straight frequently include "girl on girl" scenes, these are understood to be "safer" and are peripheral to discussions about condom use and HIV transmission. I use the terms "gay" and "straight" industries since these are the terms used both within and outside of the adult film industry to label these two industries, but not necessarily performers within the industries. In my decision to focus on the two largest segments of adult film production, the gay and straight industries, I bracket off an analysis of condom use in smaller sub-sections of the adult film industry (e.g. queer pornography and fetish pornography).

Culture and Condom Use

Sociologists have grappled with the "duality" of structure and action and the question of whether broader cultural values determine action or action constitutes culture (Giddens 1979; Sewell Jr 1992; Swidler 1986). Vaisey (2009) describes the difference between structure and action as a question of cultural motivation versus cultural justification. Vaisey (2009: 1687) argues, "Actors are primarily driven by deeply internalized schematic processes, yet they are also capable of deliberation and justification when required by the demands of social interaction." Individuals can formulate post hoc rhetorical justifications for action, and perhaps even shape the direction of broader culture over time; however, underlying cultural schemas primarily motivate individual's actions.

Tavory and Swidler (2009) highlight this dual relationship between culture and action in their study of condom use in rural Malawi. They find that condoms occupy a complex semiotic space in which individuals actively signify intimacy and commitment though shared understandings of condom use. The relationship between non-condom use

and intimacy is so powerful that it motivates Malawians to eschew condoms even when they are directly at risk of acquiring HIV from their romantic partner. In addition, men can strategically utilize these meanings to justify non-condom use in relationships when they do not want to use condoms (Tavory and Swidler 2009). In sum, interpersonal sexual health decisions can be embedded in cultural motivations and justifications as opposed to pragmatic health considerations.

This focus on cultural meaning and health in interpersonal relationships, however, leaves open the question of how cultural meaning may impact health decisions in a rationalized organizational setting such as the adult film industry. Previous research on adult films has focused on the social or psychological effect of pornography on those who consume pornography and how images in pornography are reflections of society and culture, while the organizational aspects of the industry have been given less consideration (Voss 2012). That is, pornography is often examined from the perspective of media effects or cultural studies but rarely from the production of culture perspective. The production of culture perspective attempts to explain the creation of cultural objects as an agentive process by focusing on the systems in which they emerge (Peterson and Anand 2004). To analyze the motivations and justifications behind health decisions in the adult film industry, I must examine the context behind the sex being depicted on screen and the process by which these depictions originate and evolve. In the following sections, I begin with an overview of the history of safe sex in gay and straight adult film industries, and I then explore how cultural motivations and cultural justifications may conceptually relate to these two histories.

The Origins of Health Policy in the Adult Film Industry

Cultural schemas are historically embedded, and present day interpretations of meaning and practice are contingent on past events (Sahlins 1981). The emergence of HIV as a public health crisis in the late 1980s served as a historical turning point in the way people think about safe sex—especially in the gay adult film industry (Warner 2000). Despite the discovery of HIV in 1981, the industry did not adopt comprehensive safe sex measures until 1987 (Burger 1995). During the interim period between 1981 and 1987, the industry was in a state of denial and confusion regarding the reality of HIV, even as AIDS wreaked havoc on performers (Burger 1995). Concurrently, the nationwide politicization of the AIDS crisis further stigmatized and blamed individuals infected with HIV (Epstein 1996). The adoption of condoms by producers in 1987 occurred as condoms became a point of emphasis for AIDS advocacy groups promoting safe sex education, and activists saw an opportunity to use adult films to educate individuals on safe sex practices (Crimp 1987; Dean 2009; Thomas 2010). With this emphasis on promoting safe sex, by the mid 1990s most actors used condoms when performing anal sex on screen (Thomas 2010).

Towards the end of the 1990s a genre called "barebacking" emerged in which gay anal sex was filmed without the use of condoms (Dean 2009; Shernoff 2006). Barebacking departed from the norm of condom use in the industry, and it represented a meaningful shift away from the impact of AIDS on the industry. Bareback videos first arose in 1997 as treatments for HIV became more effective and performers felt increasingly comfortable performing without condoms (Thomas 2010). However, there is often an assumption that performers who bareback are already HIV positive and thus not susceptible to HIV infection from participation (Thomas 2010).

Today, bareback pornography is common along with an increasing acceptance of bareback sex in gay sexuality as a whole (Davis 2015; Dean 2015). Recently, the politics of bareback sex has become inextricable from the use of pre-exposure prophylaxis medications, or PrEP. In 2012, the Food and Drug Administration approved the use of Truvada as a preventative daily pill to reduce the likelihood of sexually acquired HIV (U.S. Food and Drug Administration 2012). Viewed by some as an "invisible condom," Truvada occupies a complex space in gay sexuality since it breaks down the binary of HIV positive and negative and raises new questions about the acceptability of eschewing condom use (Dean 2015). By examining the cultural impact of Truvada on the gay adult film industry, I may be able to extrapolate some cultural meanings afforded to Truvada within gay sexuality as a whole.

On the other hand, the history of health policy in the straight adult film industry largely begins in 1998 with a string of HIV cases caused by one male performer (Slater 1998). While it was common for performers to test for HIV before this outbreak, and there were rumors about HIV transmission occurring on set prior to 1998, this incident spurred the industry to establish procedures to mitigate the risk of HIV transmission between performers (Sauerwein 2001). Sharon Mitchell, a performer turned industry health activist, founded the Adult Industry Medical Healthcare Foundation (AIM) in an effort to establish centralized testing protocols to prevent the spread of HIV within the industry (Grudzen and Kerndt 2007; Madigan 2004). Under these guidelines, performers were required to provide proof of a negative HIV test within the past 30 days before filming, which was tightened to 14 days in 2012 (McNeil 2012).

This HIV outbreak in 1998 also prompted many producers to require the use of condoms on set in addition to testing (AVN 1999; Slater 1998). These precautions were short lived, however, as companies returned to allowing performers to choose whether or not they used condoms as producers feared condom use would hurt sales (Garthwaite 2003). Regular HIV testing instead became the accepted mode of HIV prevention within the straight industry; by 2003 AIM estimated that 95% of adult performers in the industry received monthly HIV testing (Garthwaite 2003).

In 2004, health policy took on renewed importance when a male performer tested positive for HIV, and three actresses who had worked with him subsequently tested positive (AVN 2004; Meyer 2004). After a brief period of increased condom use on set, a majority of production companies once again returned to a "condom optional" policy after the incident (Houston 2005). The industry remained this way until the passage the County of Los Angeles Safer Sex Act, or Measure B, in 2012 (Birkhold 2013). Measure B requires adult film productions in Los Angeles County to obtain a permit and follow workplace bloodborne pathogen protocols; moreover, and most controversially, the measure mandates the use of condoms during vaginal and anal intercourse. While the long-term impact of Measure B is still unknown, the straight adult film industry as a whole has largely continued to avoid using condoms on set by filming without permits or filming outside of Los Angeles County (Verrier 2014).

The two predominant forms of safe sex policies in the adult film industry present two fundamentally different approaches to HIV prevention. On one hand, the straight adult film industry currently uses a system of testing in which performers are tested every 14 days for HIV and other sexually transmitted infections (McNeil 2012; Tibbals 2012).

On the other hand, the gay industry is divided between condom only productions and bareback productions with no standard overarching health policy (Thomas 2010). In addition, whether or not productions in the gay industry require condoms, required HIV testing by producers is sporadic (Thomas 2010).

Motivations and Justifications for Institutional Condom Use

The institutional logics perspective helps explain how culture may motivate these differing safe sex practices within the adult film industry. This perspective focuses on the relationship between society and culture within institutions (Friedland and Alford 1991), arguing that people and institutions are aware of broader cultural schemas and take these schemas into account in their organizational decision making (Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury 2012). With regards to the AIDS crisis, Healy (2010) demonstrates how differing institutional logics can also motivate differing reactions from similar organizations. The reactions of blood and plasma donation organizations to the AIDS crisis were partially contingent on the competing logics of profit maximization and moral altruism. In this section, I explore the history of quarantine and containment in relationship with HIV and how this history may motivate acceptable organizational health practices within the adult film industry.

Quarantine and containment as a public health practice was historically used to protect the larger population from an afflicted few by separating out afflicted populations (Bayer 1991). The testing system in the straight industry— in which HIV positive performers are identified and removed from the performer pool— represents a localized form of institutional quarantine and containment. However, systems of quarantine can also be used as a method of bodily control over others in the form of social exclusion

(Foucault 1977) and as a justification for socially dominant groups to identify and relocate lower status groups (Cappon 1991). Throughout the 1980s and 1990s there was a concern that testing and quarantine could be used as an excuse to infringe on the civil rights of gay individuals (Bayer 1991). These concerns led to the concept of "HIV exceptionalism" in which the rights and privacy of those with HIV was respected (Bayer 1991), and AIDS advocacy groups were able to stymie quarantine efforts by educating the public about how HIV spreads (Epstein 1996). Even today, laws requiring individuals to disclose their HIV status to sexual partners can be a source of social control over HIV positive individuals (Hoppe 2013). In this regard, condom use in the gay adult film industry may be motivated by an institutional logic of civil rights and solidarity in an effort to avoid ostracizing HIV positive performers through quarantine.

This threat of bodily control through quarantine and social exclusion is less applicable to the straight adult film industry without the shared history of the AIDS crisis. Scholars contend, however, that bodily control in the straight adult film industry still happens through a separate process: the subjugation of women through extreme sex acts to maximize profits (Dines 2010; Dines, Jensen, and Russo 2013). One criticism of this literature is that it is lacking in empiricism and fails to take into account the actual experiences of performers within the industry (Weitzer 2009, 2011), and these critiques are hotly debated (Watson 2012). I examine one small part of this debate. Specifically, to what extent is non-condom use driven by a logic of profit maximization at the expense of the choices of women within the straight adult film industry?

While the institutional logics perspective focuses on cognition and how broader culture can motivate organizational practices, it is important to theorize how individual

people may draw from these logics to justify empirical strategic action (Vaisey 2009; Swidler 1986). Individuals use frames, or schemas of interpretation, in order to make sense of the world around them (Goffman 1974). With regards to organizational interactions, people act strategically with a mutual understanding of these frames and what constitutes acceptable practices (Fine 1984; Fligstein and McAdam 2012). Returning to Tavory and Swidler (2009), condoms can be strategically used by individuals as objects of expressive meaning.

Given the logic of solidarity and civil rights within the gay adult film industry that seems to motivate condom use in response to the AIDS crisis, this paper examines how performers might use condoms to affirm these historical cultural norms. Moreover, this paper examines how individuals may strategically negotiate this logic to justify the increasing prevalence of bareback pornography. On the other hand, the straight adult film industry has historically relied on the self-imposed testing standards discussed above. Measure B, however, departs from this history of self-imposed health practices (Birkhold 2013), and performers, directors, and the media within the straight adult film industry have presented themselves as uniformly against governmentally regulated condom use (Hymes 2012; Kernes 2012; Stoya 2013). Given these strong stances against regulated condom use, this paper examines the motivations behind this stance and queries how performers and producers in the straight industry might use certain rhetoric to further justify non-condom use when producing adult films.

Methods

To investigate this question regarding the cultural motivations versus the individual justifications for institutional condom use, I draw on 38 in-depth interviews

conducted from 2013 through 2016 with individuals involved in the California adult film industry. These semi-structured interviews asked questions regarding attitudes towards health practices within the adult film industry, including personal opinions on condom use and testing for sexually transmitted infections within the industry. These interviews touched on many other aspects of working within the adult film industry, but for the purposes of this paper, I am drawing from the data related to health and safe sex practices within the adult film industry.

The majority of respondents are performers and directors/producers within the adult film industry, but the sample also includes individuals involved in other aspects of the field as detailed in Appendix 1. It is common for those involved in the industry to work in multiple roles, such as performing, directing and producing, and several respondents had worked in various roles within the industry. The performers and producers offer first-person accounts of their decisions to utilize safe sex measures, and individuals who have worked in both industries provide a comparative perspective on attitudes in each industry. See Appendix 1 for a list of respondents.

I conducted the interviews either in person or over the phone, depending on availability or what the respondent felt most comfortable with. Interviews lasted around an hour, but ranged from 45 minutes to three hours. Before each interview, I provided respondents with a study information sheet explaining the purpose of the project, and I received verbal consent to conduct and audio record the interview. Respondents had the option of ending the interview at any time.

After transcribing the recorded interviews, I re-read the transcripts and I identified themes and topics that repeated throughout. Some of these themes were specifically

guided by questions from the onset, such as opinions towards Measure B and mandated condom use. Other themes, such as whether or not performers feel like they have actually had a choice regarding condom, or the prevalence of Truvada within the gay industry, emerged as I conducted the interviews. I hand coded the transcripts with these themes and topics, allowing me to compare and contrast the different ways respondents talked about these topics.

It became clear early in the project that there was a normative pressure within the straight industry to repeat an accepted discourse against mandated condom use. Respondents who were in favor of increased condom use within the industry expressed concerns about their anonymity and repeatedly made sure I would not reveal their identities. These respondents said they would receive condemnation within the industry if their opinions and names became public. As Mike, a director and producer in favor of condom use stated in his interview, "That's why I'm flapping my mouth, because I know it's anonymous. Because if I were to say this on the record, they would lynch me."

Given the pressure respondents in the straight industry said they felt to hide potential support for condom use, I found that in-depth interviewing coupled with promises of anonymity was the most effective methodological tool to identify attitudes towards health within the industry. A textual analysis of media articles would largely reiterate the accepted discourse the industry presents to the public, while ethnography or focus groups would be at risk of only examining the opinions those within the industry feel comfortable sharing around their peers and employers. Respondents within the gay industry were less concerned about potential backlash from peers, and no respondents in

the gay industry expressed reticence regarding their opinions on health within the industry.

I initially contacted respondents through email, and then proceeded with snowball sampling. Many respondents said they felt more comfortable sharing their contact information with me and meeting with me if another individual within the industry vouched for me. This was due to concerns about stigmatization and unwanted correspondence. Due to the relative small size of my sample, I cannot generalize the findings to make specific claims about demographics, attitudes, or trends within each industry. Rather, I use the interviews to identify common discourses regarding safe sex within the California adult film industry. To protect anonymity, I use pseudonyms throughout the paper, and I purposefully leave out any information that could be used to identify respondents.

Condoms in the Straight Adult Film Industry

Condoms and the Market for Adult Films

As detailed in the history above, condoms in the straight adult film industry are a contentious issue, and this was evident in my interviews. The most common response for why condoms are not used in straight adult industry is because using condoms will hurt film sales. As Holly, a performer, stated when asked why the industry does not use condoms:

> They think it doesn't sell. You know, condoms in porn don't sell. I don't know if it sells or not, but that's the biggest thing you'll hear all the directors saying. We don't use condoms because it's not going to sell. You

> know, this is our livelihood. Why would we want to make content that's not going to sell?

All interviewees reiterated the trope that condoms would hurt the bottom line of production companies, and that this belief drove resistance towards condom use.

Respondents also explained that consumers do not want to see condoms in adult films because condoms ruin the fantasy of the depiction of sex. As Adam, a performer, stated in his interview:

> It's the fantasy. To see a condom is just to ruin the fantasy. That's part of reality. Porn is fantasy, so in fantasy these borders don't exist. You know, it should be escapism. It has nothing to do with the real world.

Respondents in the straight industry stated that consumers do not want to see condoms in their pornography, and it is too difficult to sell adult films that utilized condoms because condoms ruin the fantasy porn sets out to create. This belief that condoms hurt sales sets the background for how those within the industry talk about and use condoms.

Condoms as Painful

In addition to talking about condoms hurting sales, those within the industry also argued that condoms are simply too painful when used in a scene. As Angela, a female performer, told me:

> They destroy my insides. I get absolutely destroyed …so, besides the inconvenience and having to change the condoms and deal with them, they really, really tear up my insides.

Diana, another female performer, described her own difficulties when using condoms during shoots and the skepticism those outside the industry might have for these problems:

> Not only are condoms breaking but we're also getting friction rash…I've had to cancel scenes because I'm just torn apart and I can't work the next day. And also, anally, condoms are very rough. So that too, it just tears you apart. It's very difficult.

The predominant discourse within the industry is that condoms are used for such long periods of time in adult films that they cause pain and injuries for women.

However, it is important to note that this view of condoms as injurious was not as salient to some respondents. Elizabeth, a female performer who had worked with condoms on set, downplayed the pain condoms cause:

> I can definitely tell when a guy is using it (a condom) and when he's not, and I prefer it when he's not, but it's very minor.

Jessica, another female performer, talked about how she did not experience pain when asked if condoms hurt to use in scenes:

> Not really. I mean you need a little more lube because the condoms dry out a little bit, but I didn't really think that it interrupted the flow of the scene or chemistry.

And Jessica went so far as to state her unequivocal preference for using condoms:

> David: Did you ever want to work with condoms?

> Jessica: Oh yeah. I would have asked for one every time. Every time I would have asked to work with a condom, but you will not get hired again if you ask for one.

In addition, respondents talked about how the industry uses this rhetoric of pain to justify non-condom use and how they feel pressure to repeat this discourse. As Holly stated with regards to condoms being painful:

> This is a good thing that this is anonymous. Me personally, I think that it's a cop out. I think that the industry is coming up with really bad excuses as to why they don't want to use condoms, and I think that that's what the female performers are saying. Anal sex and condoms hurting, I could see that…However, I would much rather use a condom if it meant it was going to protect me from a certain amount of risk.

Holly argues that people within the industry use the alleged pain caused by condoms as a post-hoc justification to push non-condom use.

With regards to men, both male and female performers talked about the decreased sensitivity caused by condoms for men in tandem with the pressure for men to be able to maintain an erection and ejaculate on time during a shoot. Michael, who has produced and directed films in both the straight and gay industries, put this bluntly, stating:

> In straight porn if a guy can't stay hard and come within three minutes, he's out of there. He doesn't work anymore. We have to like motion over (makes gesture pointing to a wristwatch) now, and if he doesn't do that on camera without a cut, you're not working again buddy, you're done. I mean, more or less, I'm exaggerating.

Since there is so much pressure for men to maintain an erection and ejaculate on cue, and using condoms makes this job more difficult, I found no evidence of male performers supporting increased condom use.

Furthermore, interviewees who deemphasized the pain caused by condoms emphasized that they felt uncomfortable making their voices heard. Michael, a producer and director in both the straight and gay industries, highlighted this normative pressure when asked what he thought of condom use in the straight industry:

> Off the record, I think they're very important. I think if it were up to me and I could regulate the whole thing, I'd make the entire industry condom…I can't go on record and say that because people will be like 'Oh my god, you're the devil,' you know?

And in response to the argument that condoms are too painful during filming, Michael stated:

> No, that's a lie. People are saying that, that's just crazy. It doesn't feel like anything. Painful? What causes pain? The rubber itself? Then put some lube on it.

While Michael felt that condoms should be used and used condoms successfully when filming anal sex in the gay industry, he felt uncomfortable making this opinion known to colleagues in the straight industry.

Condoms as a Choice

Given these problems condoms cause for performers, respondents argued that it should be the performer's right to decide whether or not they use condoms based on their own experiences with condom use. These arguments draw from a rhetoric of deregulation

with respondents arguing that non-condom use should be protected under the First Amendment and the government should not regulate what enters performer's bodies. Angela elaborated on this issue of choice when she stated:

> I do not think that the government should regulate whether or not we get to wear condoms. I do not think that companies should mandate whether or not we get to wear condoms. I think it needs to be performer choice, and I think that the female performer and the male performer who are doing that scene that day should be able to have a conversation about whether or not they want to use a condom.

Multiple interviewees stated that performers always have a choice to use condoms, and it is up to the performer to decide what they prefer.

However, this rhetoric of choice creates a paradox for women. While any performer can hypothetically choose to work with condoms, there is a widespread belief that women with a reputation for requiring condoms are not hired. In addition, since it is assumed that condoms will make men's jobs more difficult due to decreased sensitivity, the onus of choice is put on women. Michael corroborated this reality women face when asked if he would hire women if they insist on wearing condoms:

> It's like, mmm bye. We'll replace you today because you're not that cute…if you say you're condom only, you're out of here. You're done.

Kelly, a makeup artist in the industry, talked about performers being sent home from shoots if they requested condoms, stating:

> If you had a girl who insisted on condom only she was just sent away—plain and simple.

Holly explained her concerns about what would happen if she chose to work with condoms:

> They want it to be the performer's choice, but the reality of the situation is that if they made it the performer's choice and I were to go on set and be like 'I want to use a condom today,' they would send me home and they would call somebody that wasn't going to use a condom.

If women such as Holly are concerned they will not be hired or not get work if they insist on using condoms, then they actually have little choice in the matter. When asked about her opinion on Measure B, Rachel, a performer, outright refused to give her opinion, leading to the following exchange:

> David: And then what's your opinion on the passage of Measure B?
>
> Rachel: I'd prefer not to comment on that one.
>
> David: Everything's anonymous.
>
> Rachel: No comment on that one (laughing).
>
> David: What do you think are general performer's opinions?
>
> Rachel: (Shakes head)
>
> …
>
> David: Is there anything you can say about Measure B? Has there been a change from it? Have you seen people move out of LA?
>
> Rachel: No, no, (laughing).
>
> David: I didn't know it was such a controversial topic.
>
> Rachel: No, it isn't. I'm just not sure how I'm supposed to respond to it.
>
> David: You're not supposed to respond to it any way.

Rachel: I feel like I should ask how I should respond to it.

David: You should respond to it how you really feel.

Rachel: No, I shouldn't. I've already responded a little bit, (Whispering) I'm supposed to respond to things very positively… It's a very good industry.

David: Are there any improvements that could be made?

Rachel: I have no comment on Measure B. Next question.

While Rachel did not directly comment on Measure B, her hesitancy to do so highlights the pressure performers feel to repeat what they think they *should* be saying. After this exchange, Rachel texted a person at the Free Speech Coalition to ask what she should say and the person simply told her to stop talking to me about Measure B.

It is not within the scope of this paper to determine to what extent condoms actually cause pain for performers: the actual occurrence of pain is beside the point. Due to this motivating logic of profit maximization, women within the industry who experience pain are open about it and feel comfortable justifying non-condom use. More importantly, however, women who do not experience pain or who prefer to use condoms remain silent because they worry they will no longer be hired if they speak up.

In addition, people within the industry argue for non-condom use with an anti-regulation rhetoric of choice regarding condoms. However, this argument sets up a false dichotomy for women performers within the industry. From the women's perspective, the actual options are choosing to work without condoms or choosing to no longer work at all. This absence of choice—especially when the rhetoric of the importance of choice is so common—lends credence to the argument that the rhetoric of choice is simply a

justification for condom use, not a motivating factor. I conclude that people within the straight adult film industry strategically use both a rhetoric of pain and a rhetoric of choice as post-hoc justifications for the underlying logic that condom use decreases film sales.

Condoms in the Gay Adult Film Industry

Morals versus Markets

Perhaps the most notable difference between the straight and gay California adult film industries is the relative acceptance and promotion of condoms within the gay industry. Respondents described how they make sense of their roles as advocates for safe sex and HIV prevention while also acknowledging the increasing production of bareback pornography. As Adam, a performer who has worked in both the straight and gay industries, stated with regards to safe sex, "The gay side is seeing morals and the straight side is seeing money. Strapping on a condom—it's the moral thing to do." Adam went on to say:

> It was always the norm. Using a condom in porn was always the norm.
>
> Nobody ever complained about it… It's just the way it is.

Respondents continually talked about the use of condoms in moral terms as the right thing to do.

Interestingly, this commitment towards condom use is inseparable from a *lack of* HIV testing. The gay adult film industry has historically not mandated HIV testing in an effort to avoid stigmatizing performers that are HIV positive and prohibiting them from performing. Joseph, a performer, explained this argument stating, "If we test, we're going to find out a lot of our guys are HIV positive, and if they're HIV positive, we can't use

them because they're a liability." As opposed to the straight industry where the goal is to actively identify and remove HIV positive performers from the industry, those within the gay industry are particularly sensitive to excluding performers who are HIV positive. As Matthew, a performer, stated in this exchange:

> David: Why don't you think there's more testing?
>
> Matthew: I think because a lot of performers in the gay industry are positive, or a lot of people don't feel morally correct asking people to disclose that information.

Michael talked about the problems that occur when performers require their scene partners to be tested:

> He wants to require his scene partner to be tested, and he requests 'I want to work with so and so, can he get tested?' Great, he goes and gets his test. We have it all scheduled. He tests positive for HIV. Guess what? Suddenly you can't work together. You just outed yourself by getting a test.

Respondents also talked about a situation in which a high-profile studio decided to require HIV tests before filming. Once the studio started testing, performers and consumers realized which performers were HIV positive because the studio no longer hired certain performers. Condoms implicitly allow HIV positive performers to work within the gay industry without revealing their HIV status to others.

Respondents also discussed recent trends towards bareback scenes and the historical relationship between HIV and condom use. Samuel, a performer, described these trends as follows:

> I think for a long time HIV was viewed as almost like a gay disease, and that's how you get it, and I feel like a lot of the older bigger studios kind of made a commitment to condom use to promote a certain type of message.

Many within the gay adult film industry feel a personal obligation to promote condom use, but this is increasingly difficult given consumer demand. As Joseph stated regarding recent trends regarding condom use when filming:

> They have to provide a product that people want to see. Nobody wants to see anyone wearing a rubber, condom, in porn. It ruins the fantasy. And so slowly that's changing…studios are so broke that they're having to give up that moral obligation they feel to the community and provide them with a product they actually want to see.

In many ways, the gay adult film industry faces similar issues as the straight adult film industry regarding condom use. However, there is a tension within the gay industry between the potential financial benefits of filming without condoms and the moral obligation older studios feel to advocate safe sex.

Choosing Condoms

Despite respondents talking about the increasing prevalence of bareback sex, multiple respondents I spoke to had never filmed bareback pornography. Interestingly, these performers deemphasized the health risks associated with bareback sex but talked in detail about the stigma associated with filming bareback pornography. As Samuel, a male performer, stated in his interview when discussing why he chooses to only film with condoms:

> On some level I'm worried about health issues. There is also a stigma still there. It's an added level of stigma… the problem is the general assumption that once you start doing condomless porn you're automatically, it's almost as if you've said to you're audience 'I'm positive.'

Samuel believes there is an additional stigma associated with filming bareback pornography, and he emphasizes that others will assume he is HIV positive if he chooses to film bareback. Matthew, another male performer, reiterated this relationship between filming bareback and perception, stating:

> Why would I jump over to the bareback industry now and promote that I'm okay with that?…It's not because I think I'm going to get AIDS or HIV…As an actor or performer, I feel like it's much more responsible to continue to push safe sex as something that's sexy.

Given the choice, Matthew preferred to keep an image as a performer who advocates for condom use.

Historically, bareback studios were viewed as less prestigious; the more prestigious condom-only studios often refused to hire performers who had filmed bareback scenes. As Joseph stated:

> I was just told when I entered the industry that if you do bareback you'll be blacklisted from a lot of studios and that's sort of changed. I'm not opposed to doing bareback…I guess I've just worked consistently with enough condom studios that there's a part of me that's hesitant to cross over 'cause maybe these condom studios won't use me anymore.

As more high-profile studios begin to film bareback scenes, the stigma associated with filming bareback seems to be fading. Sean, a performer, explained how opinions regarding bareback sex have changed since he started in the industry in 2008:

> In the industry there's a negative connotation with bareback sex… There's a negative connotation that when somebody is willing to have bareback sex that they're sort of automatically HIV positive, or it's something that they do everyday in their daily routine… It's becoming less and less negative as more mainstream websites are all going bareback.

As more mainstream studios film bareback scenes, Sean talks about how the stigma associated with bareback sex has decreased.

These comments highlight an implicit tension within the industry. On one hand, performers express feelings of solidarity with other performers who are HIV positive, stating that HIV positive performers should not be excluded from the industry. On the other hand, performers state that they choose to film with condoms to avoid being labeled as HIV positive and to film with more prestigious studios. As such, condom use is not simply motivated by historical schemas of solidarity and civil rights emerging from the AIDS crisis; stigma and reputational management also play a significant role in the ways performers strategically choose to use condoms.

Condoms as Painful

Given how many performers within the straight industry said their decision to not use condoms was because condoms are painful, especially during anal sex, I asked members of the gay industry if the pain caused by condoms during anal sex influenced their decision to use condoms. Multiple respondents expressed confusion in response to

my questions regarding condoms as painful, and only understood the question after I explained the pain performers in the straight industry talked about when using condoms during anal sex. When I asked Sean, a performer, what it was like to use a condom when filming he responded:

> A condom's a condom. Sex is sex. Obviously filming a scene where you're with somebody for 6 or 7 hours in different positions and camera angles is different, but a condom's a condom.

And when I explained that performers in the straight industry talk about experiencing pain from filming anal sex with condoms, Sean responded:

> I've never had, I've never had a condom, I mean, there's times when I've been uncomfortable but it's probably because of the performance and not because of the condoms. That's the first I've ever heard of people having problems with condoms or condoms causing pain.

When I asked Samuel, a performer, about his experience with condoms causing pain from filming, we had the following exchange:

> Samuel: I don't feel like it hurts during filming. No, I don't feel like that's an issue.
>
> David: Have you ever heard of performers on the gay side complaining about condoms hurting at all?
>
> Samuel: Not really…if you're working for a condom company you have no say. It doesn't matter if you complain. It's just not that big of an issue, like you know what you're getting yourself into before you even start shooting, you know?

While these performers talk about experiencing some discomfort from condoms, they also emphasize that this discomfort is not an issue.

With that being said, Joseph did talk about experiencing pain and chafing when using condoms during shoots. With regards to the issue of condoms causing pain, Joseph stated, "I think people really had this mindset that it's more important that we advocate safe sex…but it does hurt for men, and I haven't heard a lot of men complain about physical discomfort, but it's an issue for me and I know it's an issue for some." The common understanding that the industry promotes condom use offsets whatever pain condoms cause for performers.

Whereas members of the straight industry use the pain caused by condoms as a justification for their logic of profit maximization, those within the gay industry do not speak of pain caused by condoms; condoms as painful is not part of their cultural toolkit. With no reason to justify non-condom use with a rhetoric of pain, those within the gay industry treat any discomfort caused by condoms as secondary to other motivations for condom use.

In the opinion of the respondents, one recent development that has, in fact, influenced condom use in the gay industry is Truvada. Truvada use is popular with every respondent mentioning how common it was. Joseph talked about how he thinks Truvada has changed attitudes towards bareback sex, stating:

> It's very big in the gay porn industry right now because it's this pill that people are taking. You take it if you have HIV and guys are taking it now as preventative… people are looking at it as just a free pass to go out and

have irresponsible reckless sex, and that may be the case in some situations, but at the same time it's completely going to change HIV.

Truvada has given performers increased control over their risk of acquiring HIV, but performers also talked about a possible false sense of security by trusting that others are following the Truvada regimen. However, by trusting Truvada, performers are able to perpetuate this logic of civil rights. Truvada is important not simply because it prevents the spread of HIV; it prevents the spread of HIV without having to reveal one's HIV status.

Condoms have multiple cultural meanings within the gay industry separate from the straight industry. First, condom use is motivated by a commitment made after the AIDS crisis to promote safe sex practices. Condoms within gay pornography allow performers to perform without revealing their HIV status and avoids excluding HIV-positive performers. This is consistent with the position that it is morally questionable to quarantine men who are HIV positive, as the straight industry – through its practice of HIV testing – does. Yet, ironically, condoms also serve as a status symbol among performers in that bareback studios are seen as less prestigious compared to condom only studios. With regards to reputational management, performers can also perform with condoms in order to avoid being labeled as HIV positive.

Discussion

Cultural sociology has a tradition of explaining how supposedly rational decision making is culturally embedded and how culture interacts with what constitutes acceptable decisions (Zelizer 1978). Building on research on the dual nature of culture (Vaisey 2009; Swidler 1986) and on the cultural meaning of condoms (Tavory and Swidler 2009), I

have highlighted the complex cultural motivations and justifications that can influence organizational health practices. If one were to focus singularly on epidemiological or legal concerns regarding health risks associated with condom or non-condom use, one would risk ignoring the multifaceted cultural and economic dynamics that go into decisions to use or not to use condoms in the adult film industry.

With regards to the straight adult film industry, I conclude that the primary motivation for non-condom use stems from an institutional logic of profit maximization. In turn, members of the straight industry utilize a rhetoric of pain and a rhetoric of choice as post-hoc justifications for non-condom use. Subsequently, performers in support of condom use keep their opinion silent out of fear of not getting hired. Privately supporting increased condom use while publically remaining silent is an example of preference falsification, defined as "misrepresenting one's genuine wants under perceived social pressures" (Kuran 1997: 3) This preference falsification in the straight industry results in a largely unanimous public face against increased condom use while privately the issue is more contentious.

One important policy implication of this research is acknowledging this preference falsification and knowing that those who want to use condoms are reluctant to share their opinions. This is gendered, as the onus of choosing to work with condoms is placed on female performers, who are both more physiologically vulnerable to contracting AIDS and other STDs in a heterosexual sex act (Nicolosi et al. 1994), and also rightly fear they will not get hired if they insist on condoms. With that being said, it is possible that the idea of a man insisting on condoms in the straight industry is so

unusual, and male performers are viewed as so replaceable, that requests for condom use from men are not taken seriously or treated as nonexistent.

Within the gay adult film industry, the moral concerns emerging from the AIDS crisis did initially motivate condom use. In articulating these moral concerns, the men I interviewed evoked a form of solidarity among gay men in the industry and gay consumers of pornography. Indeed, it is possible that these commonalities amongst gay male performers and consumers – in contrast to the differentiation between male consumers and female performers in straight porn – facilitates this solidarity and sense of morality in the first place. Returning to work on the power differentials between men and women in pornography (Dines 2010; Dines et al. 2013), these findings indicate that male performers in the gay industry are afforded a level of respect for their individual choices that are not afforded to female performers in the straight industry. Within the straight industry, women's choices regarding condom use are secondary to concerns about profits and male consumer preferences for certain fantasies. Future research may examine what impact lesbian films— in which women are not exposed to the same safe sex choices and HIV risks— have in how women think about their own health and safety and career choices while filming.

While performers in the gay industry use moral arguments to justify condom use, the motivation behind condom use has become increasingly muddled. Some performers outlined their motivation to use condoms as an issue of status, in that higher profile studios tend to be condom only. Performers also talked about being motivated by reputational management in an effort to prevent audiences from assuming they are HIV positive. Interestingly, the pain caused by condoms during anal sex neither served as a

motivation nor as a justification for non-condom use. In addition, by largely eschewing required testing, an implicit motivation for condom use is protecting the civil rights of performers by not forcing them to reveal their HIV status.

Future research may further examine the role of consumers in the health practices of adult film production. For producers and performers in the straight industry, it is taken for granted that condoms will ruin the sexual fantasies of consumers, but research has in fact indicated the important role of fantasy for those who consume pornography (Barker 2014). There is also a historical educational basis for condom use in the gay industry in light of perceived consumer pressure, and this history is important in light of increasing awareness of the sex education role pornography may play, purposefully or not, for consumers (Albury 2014). While this paper focuses on how and why producers and performers choose safe sex practices, future research can bridge these supplier justifications with the actual demands of sexual fantasy or educational value from consumers.

This paper has practical implications. For instance, the history of quarantine and containment and HIV policy has made mandatory testing protocols unpalatable among gay performers. This is unlikely to change and highlights how successful regulations for the California adult film industry need to be flexible. In addition, excluding performers based on HIV status—as is common in the straight industry—falls within a legal grey area. According to Deborah Gold, the former Deputy Chief of Health with Cal/OSHA, HIV positive performers are protected under the Americans with Disabilities Act and employers need to demonstrate there is no reasonable method—such as condom use—to avoid excluding HIV positive performers (Gold 2015). While no HIV positive performers

have sued a producer for discrimination (Gold 2015), producers in the gay industry may avoid testing out of concern that they could be held liable under these laws.

At the same time, there are important changes afoot. Notably, Truvada now provides protection against contracting HIV from having sex with a person who is HIV positive (Dean 2015). By asking about a performer's Truvada status—as opposed to HIV status—producers and performers alike can avoid requiring performers report their HIV status. Future research may examine whether or not Truvada has this same avoidance role in interpersonal gay sexual relationships.

This paper also builds on previous work on cultural sociology and health. By parsing out some possible motivations and justifications for condom use in both the gay and straight adult film industries, this paper has highlighted how cultural schemas can impact institutional health practices. While these health practices were culturally embedded in overarching institutional logics, people within each industry used justifications strategically to make sense of these institutional logics. In this regard, health practices within organizations are not singularly utilitarian choices made to protect one's health but can be strategic actions by which people within organizations signify and extract meaning. One can imagine cultural factors interacting with health and safety practices in multiple organizational settings, such as injury prevention in professional sports or even industrial settings such as the use of hard hats or gloves in construction. For example, whereas concussions may have once been an accepted part of American football, they are increasingly receiving attention as a serious medical concern within the sport. Future research may analyze these health policy transitions from a cultural perspective. In sum, this research demonstrates how it is not enough to treat certain health

or safety decisions as simply the best or correct, as one must also consider the broader cultural motivations and justifications for organizational health decisions.

CHAPTER FIVE

Conclusion

As outlined in through this dissertation, my analysis of the California adult film industry touches on multiple points of interest within sociology. At a basic descriptive level, the adult film industry consists of contingent and precarious laborers trying to make a living while doing a job with health and safety risks. This dissertation takes these aspects of the adult film industry and builds on research in areas spanning from culture and health, to work and organizations, to gender and sexuality. From this perspective, the adult film industry is not so strange, but similar to and applicable to many different areas of our social world.

This dissertation approaches the adult film industry from the production of culture perspective (Peterson and Anand 2004). As opposed to focusing on the meaning and reception of the cultural products being produced, there is a great deal one can learn by examining the processes involved in the production of cultural objects (Griswold 2012). This dissertation departs from previous research that focuses on the reception and effect of pornography as reflections of society and culture (Voss 2012) by shifting attention to organizational aspects regarding the contexts in pornography is produced (see also Berg 2016; Tarrant 2016). Each chapter in this dissertation reveals a particular dimension of the adult film industry that builds on sociological research

Chapter Two finds that women and men in the gay adult film industry experience very different career trajectories compared to men in the straight adult film industry. The strength of this chapter however, is not that this is a difference driven by gender or sexuality, but a difference by the type of work these workers are hired to do. Whereas

women in the straight adult film industry and men in the gay adult film industry are hired as aesthetic laborers, as demonstrated by the interview presented in the chapter, men in the straight adult film industry are hired as skill-based workers. By comparing these different groups of workers by gender and sexuality, I am able to tease out a comparison of workers in the same industry who are hired to do different types of work.

This comparison proves illuminating. In Chapter Two I find that the workers working as aesthetic laborers—women in the straight adult film industry and men in the gay adult film industry—have short careers that peak in their second or third year in the industry. The amount of films these performers make after their third year in the industry then drops precipitously. For men in the straight adult film industry, their careers peak later and they tend to have longer careers. These findings add to previous work by demonstrating that while women in aesthetic labor markets may earn more than men, their careers may be much shorter.

Chapter Three finds that precarious and contingent workers can, in specific circumstances, strategically bundle together complementary forms of work to increase earnings. This chapter develops the concept promotional labor to explain this strategic process, and describes in detail how sex workers employ these strategies in their own work. Specifically, men and women continue to work as adult film performers, despite the industry becoming less lucrative, in order to promote themselves as high profile escorts. By bundling these two types of work together, sex workers are able to charge more as escorts and earn more than if each type of work were done individually. Chapter 3 concludes by considering how promotional labor is generally applicable to multiple areas of contingent work, with sex work being only one particular example.

Chapter Four explores how occupational health practices can be culturally embedded, and how different parts of the same industry can approach the same occupational health concern with different health standards and practices due to differing cultural understandings of the health concern. The California adult film industry present a unique field to understand occupational health regulations since the industry is divided by sexuality. There is a straight adult film industry and a gay adult film industry with little overlap. More so, the straight adult film industry adopted a HIV prevention policy of testing and quarantine, where performer undergo regular HIV tests, and if they test positive, they are removed from performing. However, the gay adult film industry requires condom use to prevent on-set HIV transmission, and does not require testing.

These differences in health policy have a cultural basis. Members of the gay adult film industry are particularly wary of requiring people to reveal their HIV positive status, potentially leading to further stigmatization, and are comfortable relying on a "Don't ask, Don't tell" policy with regard to HIV status. Without this shared history of the HIV crisis, members of the straight adult film industry have few qualms about requiring HIV tests and removing performers who test positive. This comparison between the gay and straight adult film industry provides a unique and fascinating comparison on the development of an organizational health policy through a cultural lens.

This dissertation also lays the groundwork for future research. With regards to Chapter Two, it is possible, if not likely, that these differences in career length by type of work apply to other areas of aesthetic versus skill based labor. While adult film performers are at the extreme end of being hired based on aesthetics, other jobs—particularly service industry jobs—take embodied attributes into account through the

hiring process. It is possible that career and wage differences exist in these other types of embodied work that are less of an extreme than the adult film industry. Future research can examine how different embodied versus skill-based jobs matter in terms of wages and career longevity.

The concept promotional labor described in Chapter Three can be explored in a variety of contexts, and serves as a useful explanatory concept for the ways workers in the gig economy string together work. In specific circumstances, workers can strategically make gig-work work in their favor. Future research can explore how people bundle different types of work and tasks together in advantageous ways.

Finally, Chapter Four pushes us to understand organizational health practices as a culturally embedded institutional process, and not simply a rational set of best practices meant to efficiently prevent disease. The case of HIV prevention in adult film production highlights the culturally path-dependent nature of HIV preventions strategies, and the reasons why specific prevention strategies might be acceptable to one group but unacceptable to another. Future research can further examine how organizational health policies become accepted or adopted through this cultural lens.

Once again, the adult film industry is strange but instructive. By focusing on a few of the many sociologically notable aspects of the industry, this dissertation builds on a variety of areas of important sociological research. As workers in general find themselves in unstable careers, in contingent work, or under confusing regulations, it is worth taking a step back and understanding how workers and industries have already managed these conditions over time. The strangeness of the adult film industry provides one unique lens to better understand these aspects of our social world.

APPENDIX 1

Table A.1: Respondent Information

Name	Profession(s)	Industry	Sex	Year Entered Adult Film Industry
Holly	Performer / Escort	Straight	Female	2011
Rachel	Performer / Director	Straight	Female	2007
Elizabeth	Performer	Straight	Female	2013
Diana	Performer	Straight	Female	2010
Angela	Performer	Straight	Female	2012
Julie	Performer	Straight	Female	2012
Heather	Performer	Straight	Female	1997
Erica	Performer	Straight	Female	2009
Jessica	Performer	Straight	Female	2013
Christina	Performer / Escort	Straight	Female	1984
Megan	Performer	Straight	Female	2012
Lily	Performer / Escort	Straight	Female	2010
Chase	Performer	Straight	Male	1992
Patrick	Performer	Straight	Male	1972
Craig	Performer	Straight	Male	2012
Tim	Performer	Straight	Male	2012
Nick	Producer / Director	Straight	Male	1987
Nate	Producer / Director / Performer	Straight	Male	2001
Cari	Producer / Director	Straight	Female	2011
Travis	Producer / Director / Performer	Straight	Male	2002
Aaron	Producer / Director	Straight	Male	1994
Kelly	Makeup Artist	Straight	Female	2005
Thomas	Industry Lawyer	Straight	Male	2004
Joshua	Industry Journalist	Straight	Male	2002
Bruce	Performer Agent	Straight	Male	1998
Ryan	Film Crew	Gay and Straight	Male	2010
Michael	Producer / Director	Gay and Straight	Male	2003
Adam	Performer / Director	Gay and Straight	Male	2007
Kevin	Producer / Director / Performer	Gay	Male	2003
Matthew	Performer / Escort	Gay	Male	2008
Joseph	Performer / Escort	Gay	Male	2010
Samuel	Performer / Escort	Gay	Male	2007
Sean	Performer / Escort	Gay	Male	2008
Will	Performer	Gay	Male	2011
Jake	Performer / Escort	Gay	Male	2008
James	Public Health	N/A	Male	N/A
Gregory	Public Health	N/A	Male	N/A
Andrea	Public Health	N/A	Female	N/A

APPENDIX 2

Interview Questions

1. Can you tell me about how you became involved in the industry?

- **Condom Use**

2. What do you think are some of the main challenges facing the industry today?
3. What do you think of testing (condom use) within the industry? Do you think it's enough? Do performers you speak to think it's enough? What's your experience like using the testing services?
4. What do you think of condom use within the industry? What are some pros and cons of condom use when actually producing movies? Do you ever feel pressure to not use condoms when filming?
5. Do you think condoms are accepted in the straight industry?
6. How effective do you think the past system of self-regulation was? Do you think the industry needs more regulation?
7. What do you think drives condom use?

a. What do you think viewers want to see?

- **Escorting**

1. What do you think of escorting within the industry? Why do you think people escort
2. Do you see a lot of performers escorting on the side? How prevalent is this?
3. Do you think escorting is accepted within the industry?
4. Have you seen an increase?

- **Gay Industry /Straight Industry (**Depending on the industry the person is based

in)

1. Do you know anything about the gay/straight pornography industry? What do you think of the gay/straight industry? What are some similarities and differences between the gay and straight industries?

b. How prevalent are crossover performers? How do people in the straight industry feel about the gay industry?

c. Why do you think condoms have historically been used in the gay industry?

d. Why aren't they seen as painful compared to the straight industry?

- **Measure B**

1. What is your opinion of the passage of Measure B?
2. Has your opinion changed over time at all?
3. What do you think are the opinions of Measure B within the industry?
4. What do you think will be the effect of Measure B within the industry?
5. What do you think will be the effect of Measure B outside of the industry?
6. Why do you think Measure B passed? Why do you think Measure B was so contested?
7. Do you think Los Angeles will continue to pass regulations regarding the pornography industry?
8. What arguments are there for Measure B?
9. What arguments are there against Measure B?

- **Pornography Industry in General**

1. What was it like telling your family and friends that you're involved in the adult industry?

2. What do you think makes a good adult performer?
3. Is there anything you think I should know about the industry that I do not already know?
4. Do you know anybody else that might be interested in being interviewed for this project?

APPENDIX 3

Table A.2: Additional Quotes of Themes and Concepts on Promotional Labor

Theme	Concept	Representative Quotes
Bundling of Work	The Rise of the Internet and the Decline in Production	"There's a huge proliferation right now of illegal downloads of porn. It's so prevalent. It started in late 2008 and it's still going strong 'till this day. I mean, god knows how many porn tube sites are out there, they can just watch everything for free, people are going through torrents, so basically the biggest thing is trying to stay alive … The ones that are prospering the most are the Internet based sites that have been around are being much more tech savvy. The original DVD stalwarts of the day are kind of taking a dip, some have not really acclimated but some are actually joining forces with Internet based companies and trying to see how they can get their stuff out there" (Adam, Performer / Director). "I'm seeing a lot more desperate behaviors on my sets because in the old days people could maybe miss work on Monday and not really worry about it because there was always a scene on Tuesday and another scene on Wednesday, and another scene on Thursday, and 2 scenes on Friday...Now there's no work. In the old days, a girl could go 2 or 3 years on the circuit and pretty much work 2 or 3 years pretty consistently and make 10 to 15 thousand a month. Now I think the average lifespan of a girl is maybe 3 to 6 months" (Travis, Director / Producer / Performer).

	"I mean, the industry, production has shrunk so much. At one time, there were probably 200 plus shoots going on in the San Fernando Valley a day. Now it's less than 50. Production has dramatically downsized, and so models have a lot more opportunities to engage in more risky outside industry sexual practices than they used to" (Nate, Director / Producer / Performer).
Bundling as Necessary to Make Ends Meet	"I feel like if you do porn and you don't escort then you're very, I'm trying to think of the right words so I don't sound like a dick. I think you're fucking stupid. The people who perform and don't escort are really, really spoiling an opportunity to make a lot of money. I make way more money escorting than I do in porn, like three times more money. I feel like it's financially irresponsible to not embrace that I can make that much money and not go for it" (Matt, Performer / Escort). "Escorting is very prevalent. In fact, one of my old friends that I used to shoot, she says that she makes most of her income through her clients" (Cari, Director). "Escorting is easier and you're getting the same if not better money. A lot of the girls in the industry are extremely sexually active and a lot of them will do a scene and then they'll go see a client and make like $3000 in a day. It's crazy. So if you have the body and mentality where you're very sexually active, and your body can have lot's of sex, it seems like a good idea" (Jessica, Performer).

Status and Work	Status Differentiation Between Types of Work	"A lot of performers are really successful in the industry and they also escort, but it serves as a stigma where it's like, 'Oh, she's not doing well enough in the industry so she's escorting now.' It's like the performer is downgrading, but it's really not the case and that's not how I think it should be looked at." (Diana, Performer). "I think some performers see escorting as crossing another boundary, another level. So, it's a way for certain guys, in their eyes, to retain some sort of integrity or validation or whatever. I don't know what they're holding onto, but it's a way to sort of separate themselves from the rest of the guys who do it" (Samuel, Performer / Escort). "I think people in the industry look down on it or make girls feel bad about it or make them feel dirty about the whole thing, which I think is ridiculous because it's virtually the same thing as a shoot, just no cameras involved" (Holly, Performer/Escort).
	Changing Acceptability of Escorting	"The older women, from what I see, look down their nose at escorting. They say, 'I would never do that'" (Thomas, Lawyer). "I've seen a dramatic increase in escorting over the years. It used to be, 5 or 6 years ago, girls would be like, 'That girl does privates? I don't want to work with her.' The attitude has completely changed. I think a lot of it has to do with the fact that most girls that get in the industry now don't get in strictly to shoot scenes. A lot of them are already escorting by the time they get recruited off of websites such as Backpage or other escorting sites, and they see this as a was to enhance their escorting careers.

		Again, with the downsize in production, that's what's happened" (Nate, Director / Producer / Performer).
		"Back then, you didn't have the females escorting the way they do now, and people in the industry tended to stay together more because every time you have sex with someone outside the industry you run the risk of bringing and STD into the industry and giving it to everyone else. Back then everyone was so tight knit we were much more conscious of our behavior outside the industry than people are now" (Aaron, Director/Producer).
Complementary Work and Promotional Labor	Using Complementary Work as Promotion	“Porn is marketing. You have a huge audience. People want to see you. People want to touch you. It’s a way to market your self. The bigger the porn star you are the more you get to charge as an escort” (Samuel, Performer / Escort).
		"I realized the escorts that did porn were

		the one's making more money, so I contemplated going into porn for about a year…So basically, you do porn to advertise, to promote your services as an escort" (Joe, Performer / Escort).
		"It's a big financial thing. I've had guys willing to pay $10,000 for an hour! To have sex with me! So I think financially it's a very, very, easy way to make money, and there's some girls who do porn just to say they're a porn star so they can charge more when they escort" (Angela, Performer). "Now the girls use movies to get a higher rate escorting. You can charge a guy $1000, $1500 bucks an hour, I don't even know what the rates are, but if you're making that same amount of money to show up for 8 hours on a set, you're going to escort" (Chase, Performer).
	Increased Earnings and Client Opportunities Due to Promotional Labor	"My rate for escorting is $400 an hour. I have friends that don't do porn and they escort and they can only get $200, $225 and hour. People will pay me $400 because they've watched me in their house 100, 200 times and they dreamt and had fantasies about me and they'll pay me money to see them because they know that I' a huge fantasy to them" (Matt, Performer / Escort). "You may not be making more per hour or per client, but you'll have more options for clients, and you can charge a little bit more. Your status will be raised; you'll be more like a celebrity. You're more well known, you're more of a name, and the idea of spending an hour or a night with a porn star is a lot more

		thrilling than spending a night with a guy nobody's ever heard of" (Joe, Performer / Escort).
		"There's really a sense in porn that 'This is an advertisement' now. This is a change to the industry though. This is a new format. Everything changed so quickly that the girls who weren't already escorting did it because they had to…If you get your name out there, then you're a porn star. So instead of just being a hooker that can get 3 or 4 hundred dollars, or even a high priced escort that could get maybe $1500, you can now get 5 to 10 thousand dollars" (Kelly, Make Up Artist).

APPENDIX 4

Table A.3: Additional Quotes of Themes and Concepts on Condom Use

Theme	Concept	Representative Quotes
Straight Industry	Condoms and the Market for Adult Films	"Viewers, buyers, renters- they want to see raw, something raw. They don't want to see a polished thing, but something that's supposed to be a fantasy, and it (condoms) kind of ruins the fantasy" (Chase, Perfomrer / Director)
		"I mean, most people really want to believe the illusion of the sex that happens in porn, and a condom doesn't really create that illusion. It kind of pulls you out of the moment when you see it. I mean it's jarring to see in any scene" (Cari, Director).
		"There are many reasons why companies don't want to use condoms. They worry about profits and that people don't want to watch condom porn. If all porn was condom more people would be like 'Okay, fine, I don't have much of a choice.' Where if there's one company or two doing non-condom porn, then people have a lot of other options" (Diana, Performer).

Condoms as Painful	"Condoms aren't designed for our industry quite frankly. They break, they're not designed for anal play, they're not designed for more than anywhere from 3 to 13 minutes of use. On a typical shoot we go through anywhere from 8 to 10 condoms per male performer and they do break and they do rip and they're not perfect, that's why we need the testing element added as well for safety" (Nate, Producer and Director). "There are these groups of people who are trying to regulate the industry that they have no understanding of. They have no understanding of how the content's made. They have no understanding of how it's filmed. So they can only use their own points of reference which is sex in their personal life which is sex at home or I wear a condom when I go out and meet someone at a bar, therefore it must be safe. Yea, if scenes were 5 or 6 minutes long. And if the person you were engaging in sex was fully lubricated or excited and there was chemistry. That's not what happens on set" (Thomas, Industry Lawyer).
Condoms as a Choice	"I get lots of performers that say 'I would like to use a condom but if I do they're not going to hire me, I've got no choice in that matter.' I get that, and that's why a lot of people in the industry hoped for the condom law. They wanted it to pass and they wanted it to be enforced. I can't tell you how many girls, and it's always the girls, it';s never the guys, although there are some guys, but it's usually the girls, but I can't tell you how many have told me you, 'God, I want to use a condom, but I can't.' So if they just use condoms that'll be good (Aaron, Producer and Director). "I would really like to see it be a performer's choice completely… I think that if a performer says I don't want to work with a condom, I have a latex allergy, I have to shoot so many scenes, I don't want to be sore, then she should be able to shoot for producers that want to shoot content without condoms" (Thomas, Industry Lawyer).

		"I think it's a matter of choice. Choice between the production company and a performer… so production companies have a choice whether they feel that's how the production, that's how they want to do their production for various reasons. Likewise, performers have a choice in the industry to use condoms or not use condoms" (Bruce, Talent Agent).
Gay Industry	Condoms and the Market for Adult Films	"I mean, I don't think there's anybody that enjoys putting a condom on and having sex…I feel like you either put yourself through it and do it because you know it's the right thing to do or you just don't do it" (Matthew, Performer). "When condoms first started it was right around the AIDS and HIV breakout and it was a way to sort of send this media message out that we need to be safe … I think for a long time it (HIV) was viewed as almost like a gay disease, and that's how you get it, and I feel like a lot of the older bigger studios kind of made a commitment to condom use to promote certain types of message. I think that it worked for a while, but we've moved into a different stage where HIV is no longer a death sentence … Gay guys were afraid to have sex without condoms, and we're not at that stage anymore, and the non-condom use is eroticized again" (Samuel, Performer). "They have to provide a product that people want to see. Nobody wants to see anyone wearing a rubber, condom, in porn. It ruins the fantasy. And so slowly that's changing. I think it's becoming, one of the main things is that studios are so broke that they're having to give up that moral obligation they feel to the community and provide them with a product they actually want to see… I think it's a thing of the past, I think that we need to, we need to look at them again. I think that models should have that option, but the thing is, I don't want to see someone wearing a rubber in my fantasy, and I don't put condoms on in my fantasy. I hate even putting them on in my personal life. So

	why would I want to see that in a fantasy?" (Joseph, Performer).
Condoms as Painful	"The pain of using a condom I do not understand…I mean, I hear somebody like bitching about having a condom on for 6 hours, like 'Oh this is so sore, oh my god, can we just bareback,' kidding around or whatever, but at the end of the day we know what the rules are and we know what's best for us" (Matthew, Performer).
Condoms as a Choice	"When I first started doing gay porn…my agent was like don't ever do a bareback scene, I will never shoot a bareback porn scene, and if anybody ever asks you to do it don't do it. For you, for your health, for your image, for everything, that's what we do here" (Matthew, Performer).
	"It used to be that bareback studios were all small and seedy, not very professional. The models looked gross. The people who were running the studios were skeezy or whatever. I think that used to be the stereotype, but that's changing" (Samuel, Performer).
	"I would never shoot gay porn without a condom because I don't want to be blacklisted, because it sends the wrong message to the gay community saying that this is fine" (Michael, Producer and Director).
	"In the industry there's a negative connotation

with bareback sex. In the straight world it's seen as okay because it's guys and girls and that';s how babies are made, that's how we all got here, from unsafe sex. In the gay world, because of HIV, there's a negative connotation that when somebody is willing to have bareback sex that they're sort of automatically HIV positive, or it's something that they do everyday in their daily routine" (Sean, Performer).

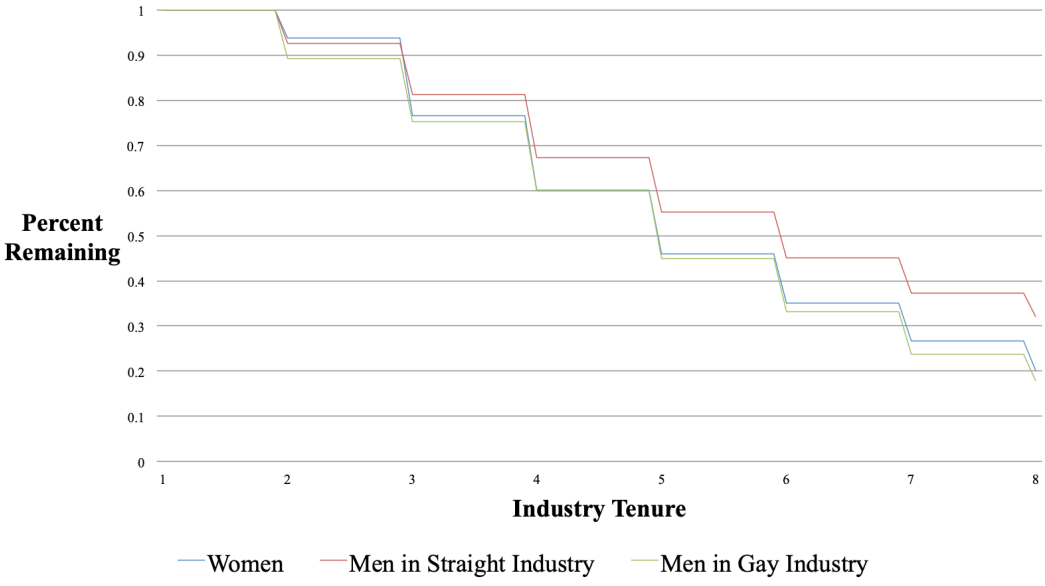
APPENDIX 5

Survival Analysis of Performer Career Trajectories

While the primary analysis of Chapter 2 uses a negative binomial regression to model the career trajectories of adult film performers, it is also possible to examine these career trajectories using a survival analysis. Specifically, we can look at the rate performers tend to drop out of the industry by gender/industry. In the below analysis, we see trends that resemble the results found in the negative binomial regression in Chapter Two. Specifically, fewer women drop out of the industry in year 2 than either group of men. However, the number of women and men in the gay industry dropping out of the industry increases rapidly from year three onward, with a higher percentage of men remaining in the industry long term.

These results are consistent with the evidence presented in the regression in Chapter Two, and provide further evidence the men in the straight adult film industry have longer careers than other groups of performers. I did not include this analysis in the body of the chapter because the regression does a better job showing the volume of films made, and not just career length. By using the regression results, we not only see that men in the straight industry tend to have longer careers, but their careers also tend to peak later than other groups of performers.

Figure A.1: Survival Analysis of Industry Careers by Worker Type
Careers with Five or More Films in First Eight Year



APPENDIX 6

Negative Binomial Regression of Performer Trajectories in Gay Industry by Sex Act

While gender plays less of a differentiating role in the gay industry compared to the straight industry—since only men are performing[1]—there has been a historic differentiation between tops (men performing penetrative anal sex) and bottoms (men performing receptive anal sex) (Escoffier 2003; Thomas 2010). In addition to the broader cultural meanings ascribed to these acts, in which bottoms are viewed as more submissive and tops are viewed as more active (Hoppe 2011), tops have historically tended to earn more than bottoms in the adult film industry (Escoffier 2007) . This is due to the fact that tops need to be both conventionally attractive and also be able to maintain an erection and ejaculate when necessary (Escoffier 2007). This dynamic brings up an interesting comparison to the straight industry, in that it is possible bottoms experience similar to careers to women in the straight industry, and tops experience similar careers to men in the straight industry.

In the following analysis, I tease out this distinction by breaking the population of men in the gay industry into 4 groups: Versatile, Primarily Bottom, Primarily Top, and Neither. While the negative binomial regression in Table A.4 shows each of these sub-categories as having a significant effect on number of films made, I am most interested in comparing the career trends of each sub-group as seen in Figure A.2. Figure A.2 makes it clear that performers who are versatile tend to make more films than performers who are primarily tops, who tend to make more films than performers who are primarily bottoms. However, the actual career trajectories are very similar. If the same career mechanism for

[1] For a discussion of how sexuality relates to "gay for pay" performances, in which ostensibly straight men perform in gay films, see Escoffier (2003).

men in the straight industry was at play for tops in the gay adult film industry, we would expect the careers to be longer and to peak later in the career. This is not the case.

Table A.4: Negative Binomial Regression of the Determinants of Number of Films Made by Sex Act (N = 176,272)

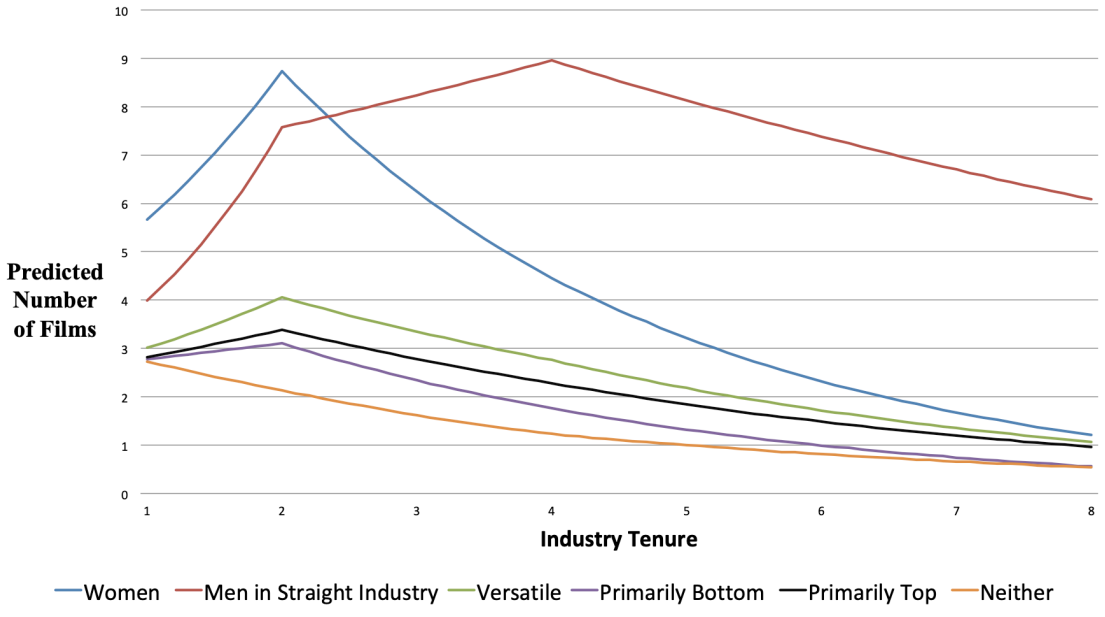
Metric Coefficients	Negative Binomial Regression	
Worker Types		
Men in Straight Industry……..	-.561	***
	(.074)	
Versatile Performers……	-.500	***
	(.082)	
Primarily Bottom……	-.391	**
	(.113)	
Primarily Top……	-.448	***
	(.104)	
Neither……..	-.05	
	(.105)	
Years 1-2 in Industry……	.432	***
	(.021)	
Worker Type * Years 1-2 in Industry		
Men in Straight Industry……..	.209	***
	(.045)	
Versatile Performers……	-.133	**
	(.051)	
Primarily Bottom……	-.321	***
	(.069)	
Primarily Top……	-.25	***
	(.064)	
Neither……..	-.68	***

	(.065)	
Years 2-4 in Industry……	-.337	***
	(.01)	
Worker Type * Years 2-4 in Industry		
Men in Straight Industry……..	.421	***
	(.021)	
Versatile Performers……	.144	***
	(.017)	
Primarily Bottom……	.054	
	(.033)	
Primarily Top……	.14	***
	(.03)	
Neither……..	.061	*
	(.031)	
Years 4-8 in Industry……	-0.326	***
	(.005)	
Worker Type * Years 4-8 in Industry		
Men in Straight Industry……..	.229	***
	(.01)	
Versatile Performers……	.089	***
	(.012)	
Primarily Bottom……	.04	*
	(.017)	
Primarily Top……	.111	***
	(.015)	
Neither……..	.121	***
	(.016)	
Year Performer Started…….	.003	***
	(.001)	
Constant……	-5.06	***
	(1.13)	

*Note: Numbers in parentheses are standard errors. This model includes data on the first 8 years of adult performer's careers.***p<.001 **<.01 *<.1*

Figure A.2: Predicted Number of Films by Industry Tenure and Sex Acts

Careers with Five or More Films in First Eight Years



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