

İSTANBUL BİLGİ UNIVERSITY  
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Witnessing Desire: New Media and Shifting Sexual Experiences (Among Youth)

Ihsan Can ASMAN

114697017

Asst. Prof. Sezai Ozan ZEYBEK

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İhsan Can Asman

114697017

Tez Danışmanı: Yrd.Doç. Sezai Ozan Zeybek .....

Jüri Üyesi: Doç. Cem K. Özatalay .....

Jüri Üyesi: Yrd.Doç. Meltem Yılmaz Şener.....

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>INTRODUCTION</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>CHAPTER 1: PROLIFERATION OF HORNINESS</b>	<b>10</b>
What is pornography? A brief look at the pornography quarrel	11
The sexual script theory: Social constructionism meets with sexuality	18
SST and the pornography: Escoffier's "Scripting Sex"	22
Cyber sexualities	25
<b>CHAPTER 2: IT IS THEIR TURN: BEYOND WANKING</b>	<b>29</b>
Interviewees talk	31
Who to love, who to "shag"	42
Breathing spaces for perversion	50
- Different strategies	51
- Libidinal everyday life	55
- Gendered feelings about pornography	60
- Borderlines of breathing spaces	66
<b>CHAPTER 3: PORNOTOPIA, A DREAM YET TO BE ACTUALIZED</b>	<b>69</b>
Commodification of (cyber) sexualities and a synoptic of porn tube sites	70
Starbucks-like pornography	72
"Soulless" Wal-Mart of porn: MindGeek	77
Unwaged labor in its new "cyber" mold: World of DIY porn producers	84
Concluding remarks	93
<b>CONCLUSION</b>	<b>95</b>
<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY</b>	<b>102</b>
<b>WEBOGRAPHY</b>	<b>106</b>
<b>APPENDICES</b>	<b>107</b>

## **ABSTRACT**

This thesis is essentially about the contemporary Internet pornography and its effects to a specific group of people's perception of sexuality in Turkish metropolises such as Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir. Online pornographic material does not correspond to a monolithic area if compared to past. Thereby it can be said that in this text, a new field is being inspected where common objections and perspectives are tougher to apply while new approaches are necessary to take hold of.

On the other hand, another scheme of analysis is constructed, which does not supersede with the other one that contains the query of how users are being related with the product that they watch and consume. This new scheme, through making possible to investigate the production processes of pornographic material, discusses how sexual practices are being commodified in online environments, if there is any exploitation within production and distribution and continuities/discontinuities between this new digital world and conventional economical industries.

It is true that contemporary Internet pornography has all failures of sexism and capitalism. On the other side, it also carries new possibilities for sexuality: It is not only making certain positions upside down on the sexual hierarchy, it also opens door for new sexual practices.

Keywords: porn, sexuality, queer, Web 2.0, capitalism, digital labor

## ÖZET

Bu çalışmada esasen, günümüzdeki İnternet pornografisi ve onun İstanbul, Ankara ve İzmir gibi Türkiye metropollerindeki spesifik bir grup insanın cinselliğe dair algısına etkileri inceleniyor. Çevrimiçi pornografik materyalin bugünkü şekilleri geçmiştekine kıyasla o kadar da yekpare bir alana tekabül etmiyor. Dolayısıyla denilebilir ki bu metinde, bugüne değin pornografiye yapılan bilindik itiraz ve bakma şekillerinin güçleştiği ve farklı yaklaşımlarla analiz etmenin elzem olduğu bir mecra ele alınıyor.

Öte yandan söz konusu pornografik materyalin üretimine ilişkin de, kullanıcıların izledikleri materyalle nasıl ilişkilendiği sorgusunu içerisinde barındıran ilk analiz kümesini ilga etmeyen, farklı bir analiz kümesi daha oluşturuldu. Bu yeni analiz kümesi pornografik materyalin üretim süreçlerine detaylıca bakmayı mümkün kılarak, çevrimiçi ortamda cinsel pratiklerin metalaşmasını, üretim ve dağıtımına içkin emek sömürsünün olup olmadığını ve bu yeni dijital dünyanın geleneksel sektörlerle farklılık ve devamlılıklarını tartışıyor.

Evet, günümüz İnternet pornografisi cinsiyet ve kapitalizmin her türlü marazasının görülebildiği bir yer. Öte yandan cinsellikle ilgili yeni olanaklıklar açabilme potansiyelini de barındırıyor: Cinsellik hiyerarşisinde eskinin belirli konumlarını tepetaklak etmekle kalmıyor, bir yandan da yepyeni cinsel pratiklere kapı aralıyor.

Anahtar kelimeler: porno, cinsellik, queer, Web 2.0, kapitalizm, dijital emek

## INTRODUCTION

A review<sup>1</sup> published by Pornhub.com, the largest pornography site on the Internet, reveals that people watched over 4 billion hours of porn in 2015 solely via Pornhub. Again, in 2015, the site was visited 21.2 billion times. In 2016 these numbers went up: 23 billion visits and 4.3 billion hours by 64 million visitors per day<sup>2</sup>. These statistics show that porn is central to modern quotidian life. This work, at first glance, is about watching and sharing the cyberporn<sup>3</sup> that is inherent to the routine of many people. However, more profoundly, it is about how this multilayered experience shapes sexuality itself by contesting its limits. On the other hand, it does not claim that this “shaping and contesting of sexuality’s limits” leads to an actualized utopia; on the contrary, contemporary cyber/Internet pornography also contains many failures of capitalism and (hetero) sexism. Therefore, I also intend to explore these failures within this work.

Moreover, in a broader sense, this work is an assessment of the impossibility of a single, monolithic understanding of pornography: As Sousanna Paasonen underlines, ‘online porn has meant unprecedented visibility of sexual subcultures, diverse sexual preferences, niches, and tastes’<sup>4</sup>. With the emergence of new media technologies and websites, i.e. Web 2.0<sup>5</sup> layouts and therefore Porn 2.0<sup>6</sup>, these

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<sup>1</sup> <http://www.pornhub.com/insights/pornhub-2015-year-in-review> Last accessed: 19.03.2017

<sup>2</sup> <http://www.pornhub.com/insights/2016-year-in-review> Last accessed: 19.03.2017

<sup>3</sup> Pornography, which is accessible through the Internet. In this work, unless mentioned otherwise, I use the terms cyberporn, online porn, Internet pornography and other similar terms interchangeably.

<sup>4</sup> Sousanna Paasonen, “Online Pornography: Ubiquitous and Effaced” in *the Handbook of Internet Studies*, (Handbooks in Communication and Media), ed. by Mia Consalvo and Charles Ess, 406-424. Blackwell Publishing, 2013.

<sup>5</sup> Web 2.0 is an umbrella term that describes World Wide Web websites that underlines user generated content, ease of use –even for non-expert users- and interoperability which means co-usage of a website by numerous electronical devices such as mobile phones, smart TV’s and other operating systems other than Windows. The term was first coined by Darcy Dinucci, an electronic information design consulter in an article called “Fragmented Future” in 1999. In addition, Web 2.0 does not refer to any technical specification or an update, it is simply a change in the way how websites are to be designed and used.

once invisible sexual practices have been introduced to new audiences. As Micheal Zimmer -while remaining critical about it- pointed out, the Web 2.0 has come up with possibilities and promises:

Web 2.0 represents a blurring of the boundaries between Web users and producers, consumption and participation, authority and amateurism, play and work, data and the network, reality and virtuality. The rhetoric surrounding Web 2.0 infrastructures presents certain cultural claims about media, identity, and technology. It suggests that everyone can and should use new Internet technologies to organize and share information, to interact within communities, and to express oneself. It promises to empower creativity, to democratize media production, and to celebrate the individual while also relishing the power of collaboration and social networks<sup>7</sup>.

The Web 2.0's layout ensured certain fundamental changes in the usage of the World Wide Web, such as interaction, user generated content and eased self-expression with wider parties' involvement. Pornography was not out of this process and Porn 2.0 had become an important cornerstone: User generated porn that has been associated with verified amateur accounts within porn tube sites, eased self-erotic expression through tumblr accounts, etc. As Henry Jenkins indicated, even though user generated porn existed long before the emergence of it, Porn 2.0 considerably complicates common objections towards mainstream pornography, such as the objectification of women<sup>8</sup>. In light of these developments provided by the 2.0 generation, it has become more difficult than ever to label porn as a monolithic product of "male voyeurism" or of "the rape theory" as many groups are involved in porn production in different ways. To that relation, in this thesis, I question how contemporary online pornography, which is very different in its depiction of various sexualities than the older pornography, affects individuals/viewers with different sexual identities and orientations within

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<sup>6</sup> Porn 2.0 is named after or/and regarding to Web 2.0. It simply refers to porn sites which promote Web 2.0 specificities which are outlined above.

<sup>7</sup> Micheal Zimmer, Preface to 'Critical Perspectives on Web 2.0', *First Monday, Volume 13, Number 3*, 2008 <http://journals.uic.edu/ojs/index.php/fm/article/view/2137/1943> Last accessed: 07.06.2017

<sup>8</sup> Henry Jenkins, *Porn 2.0*, 2007 [http://henryjenkins.org/2007/10/porn\\_20.html](http://henryjenkins.org/2007/10/porn_20.html) Last accessed: 07.06.2017

specific social cohorts in Turkey’s metropolises. How is contemporary porn perceived by members of these particular circles? In brief, this dissertation aims to reveal the existence of a - supposedly- helping hand, from an “unexpected spot” such as pornography. I call it unexpected because pornography, which was once associated solely with male domination and misogyny, here, shatters and dismantles certain rooted norms that are built upon sexualities in a hypothetically patriarchal society.

Yet, importantly, while acknowledging Porn 2.0’s capacities of deferring sexual norms, this work does not intend to abolish or render invisible serious questions around the production process within Porn 2.0 (at a broader scale, all 2.0 systems) and the commodification of sexualities. In what ways do Porn 2.0 and the whole Web 2.0 mentality in general, despite all promises that they carry, reproduce patterns of exploitation and accelerate the commodification of sexualities in the digital world? Since rhetorics that surround 2.0 systems promote user-generated content, how do capitalists take advantage of this specific labor’s costlessness and productivity? These are several central questions along with many others that this work tries to revive. Therefore, this thesis aims to crystalize main fault lines of capitalist production relations within emergent 2.0 networks.

Naturally, some objections can be made apropos of the precedence and priority of such dissertation, particularly in Turkey, a country where a myriad of problems dominate the social agenda such as violence towards women, ethnical and sexual minorities, etc. In fact, this is a well-known debate, mostly around the political primacy within social movements. Several queer scholars in Turkey have already pointed out this problem<sup>9</sup>. What is at stake here is an inquiry around the power’s ways of execution. In Foucault’s reading, power does not have an inner essence and is not a mysterious concept, waiting to be unpacked. One of the most

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<sup>9</sup> Tuna Erdem, “Hizadan Çıkmaya, Yoldan Sapmaya Dair” in *Cinsellik Muamması*, ed. Cüneyt Çakırlar and Serkan Delice (Metis Yayınları 2012), 60.

Begüm Başdaş, “Locating ‘queer’ politics within social movements in Turkey” *Regional Network Against Homophobia: Lgbt Network in Middle East, Balkans, Caucasia*. (2011)

characteristic features of power is an individual's capacity to determine the behaviors of others<sup>10</sup>. Individuals' behaviors are being shaped by certain normative techno devices, i.e. by conduct of conduct<sup>11</sup>. According to Foucault, it can be said that there should be no difference of priority when it comes to social inequalities; sexual inequalities<sup>12</sup> should also be considered important, for instance compared to gender inequality, as they are all formed by normative techno devices at the macro level. Then, different social inequalities cannot be prioritized one over another: they are always interlinked. Furthermore, Gayle Rubin underscores the importance of studying sexuality especially in times of great stress:

To some, sexuality may seem to be an unimportant topic, a frivolous diversion from the more critical problems of poverty, war, disease, racism, famine, or nuclear annihilation. But it is precisely at times such as these, when we live with the possibility of unthinkable destruction, that people are likely to become dangerously crazy about sexuality. Contemporary conflicts over sexual values and erotic conduct have much in common with the religious disputes of earlier centuries. They acquire immense symbolic weight. Disputes over sexual behavior often become the vehicles for displacing social anxieties, and discharging their attendant emotional intensity. Consequently, sexuality should be treated with special respect in times of great social stress.<sup>13</sup>

Following this line of thinking, I believe that in contemporary Turkey, it has become even more crucial now than ever to study social outcomes of online pornography. Turkey is living in times of great social stress: Ongoing war in

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<sup>10</sup> Michel Foucault, "Özne ve İktidar", trans. Işık Ergüden and Osman Akınhay, Seçme Yazılar, (Ayrıntı Yayınları, 2014), 55.

<sup>11</sup> Id, "*Dits et écrits IV*" (Paris: Gallimard 1994), 237.

<sup>12</sup> Gayle Rubin was among the firsts who made a call for a radical sex theory to lay bare the sexual inequalities. In her own words: "A radical theory of sex must identify, describe, explain, and denounce erotic injustice and sexual oppression. Such a theory needs refined conceptual tools which can grasp the subject and hold it in view. It must build rich descriptions of sexuality as it exists in society and history. It requires a convincing critical language that can convey the barbarity of sexual persecution." "Thinking Sex: Notes for a Radical Theory of the Politics of Sexuality" in *The Lesbian and Gay Studies Reader*, (New York: Routledge 1993), 149.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid. 143.

Kurdish cities in the country, northern Syria and Iraq; ever growing violence towards women, children and animals, both physically and sexually, and so on. In addition to these murky facts, as portrayed by Rubin, people have become dangerously “crazy” about sexuality. Therefore, I suggest the following idea: the unraveling of divergent usages and mediations of online pornography, a realm that does not easily adhere to the borders of class, race, gender and sexual classifications when it comes to its reception, could provide potential solutions for dealing with the profound problems that I outlined above. More importantly, I want to remind once again: Contemporary pornography is not a medium where debates solely around sexual inequalities become apparent, it harbors other types of social inequalities too, in accordance with Foucault’s referred conceptualization. In short, the deprioritization and trivialization of the works on online pornography is a misapprehension. One of the main goals of this dissertation is to deal with this misapprehension and to prove otherwise.

I want to say a final word on Turkish context. Even if it is now harder to pursue scientific labor than when I first started to conduct this research, I hope that this limited research work will contribute to later work on online porn’s status and effects within society in Turkey or/and in any other part of the world.

### **General formation and methodology**

In this thesis, I aim to analyze contemporary online pornography through two different schemes of analysis that do not supersede one another: The first one is to investigate whether online porn has an alterative influence on sexual norms within certain social circles in Turkish metropolises. Second is to explore capitalist production relations within Porn 2.0 and in general 2.0 networks in the contemporary neoliberal scenery. All the aims, which are built through these two distinct schemes of analysis, this work tries to achieve are spread through the following chapters.

In the first chapter, I will introduce the cornerstones of pornography’s theoretical discussion in western academia through the introduction of a selected anthology

of porn studies along with a brief historic outlook of the pornography debate. After, I will argue in detail, that Simon and Gagnon's sexual script theory is still very useful for understanding how "sexual" is socially constructed. Indeed, their theory will be put to use numerous times throughout this research. Also, I will introduce some cyber sexualities that will give an initial idea of how certain recent sexualities are being constructed online and what potentials they might have.

In the second chapter, I am putting forward the interviewees' testimony. In relation to multilayered execution of scripts, I am tracking the interviewees' testimony and treating them as part of their sexuality, with reference to Plummer, to reveal how sexual norms deterred through their porn consumption. The interviewees, some directly through their queerness, some more indirectly through their sexualities' dissidence, complicate long-known objections to pornography, namely accusations of misogyny or through the monolithic perception of pornographic content, while manifesting how online porn can shape sexuality and even contest its limits, in being a major script provider. In this third part, I also trace neoliberal reflections on individuals, namely the problems around the (sexual) self and certain faults arising from gendered facets of online pornography.

In the final chapter, I move beyond the interviewees to investigate issues of commodification and exploitation within 2.0 systems to illustrate that this new medium is not a utopia. In relation to this, I am shedding light on the monopolization of porn tube sites, mostly under MindGeek's dome, which overtly beacons how deceptive 2.0 systems' promises generally are by over-emphasizing user generated content or creating affective meanings around "do-it-yourself" slogan. This chapter also explains how (cyber) sexualities are recently commodified within the Internet. To that extent, I draw attention to the ephemerality of sexual commodities, along with branded offering strategies led by porn tube website brands and structural specificities of Internet. These brands and specificities make the Internet one of the most convenient spaces to execute new financial capacities that Saskia Sassen pointed out, to provide a more

sophisticated understanding of this recent commodification. Finally, I am exploring how labor connotes in 2.0 systems through an in-depth look to the concept of digital free labor.

Then there are my choices concerning informants and my methodology. How did I determine the informants and through which methodological tools I am trying to understand the topic? The first problem was the identification of a meaningful study sample. Cyberporn's widespread circulation and its transcendence regarding race, class, gender and sexuality limits in its reception were the major obstacles. Yet I decided to verify whether there was any significant correlation between watching porn and specific socio-economical traits, such as class and gender through a multiple-choice survey on Google forms as a pilot study. More than 400 persons filled my online forms with multiple-choice and "fill in blanks" questions. Even though I used social media sites such as Facebook, much of the data came from the site called Ekşiduyuru, a multipurpose announcement site addressed mainly to Ekşisözlük<sup>14</sup> writers but that is also open (visible) to the non-members. While studying results, I noticed that it was not possible to clarify and define my sample because of the large scale of the existing universe<sup>15</sup>.

Hence, I opted for a different strategy: I reached people that I could, of course who were consistent with the commonalities that I outlined and through their personal traits I straightly re-defined my sample. Yet one of the most important questions raises here: How did I reach these people? I have mainly used snowball

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<sup>14</sup> An interactive popular Internet dictionary in Turkish

<sup>15</sup> However, there were some significant commonalities within these results. First, gender and sexual orientation difference among the porn viewers were respectively %65 (male) to %35 (female) and %85 (heterosexual) and %15 (other). Respondents were predominantly (%81) university students (undergraduate, Master and Ph.D.). Another important indicator was the fact that %80 of the respondents who said that they routinely watch porn were between 18 and 30. Finally the porn viewers were mostly (%85) from the biggest cities (respectively İstanbul, Ankara and İzmir) and their monthly income was often (%70) above the minimum wage. I should also note that although the respondents who filled my questions, there were also some who viewed but preferred not to answer. <sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> of people who viewed my questions did not answer them.

sampling method as it is often proved to be instrumental for the hidden populations such as mine, which are difficult for researcher to access. While using this method, I specified an important criterion: Willingness for talking/discussing about online pornography and necessity of being an active pornographer who watches porn at least once in a week.

Thus, through my initial contacts I started to talk to people, who are mainly university students, reside in Istanbul, Ankara and İzmir and are 20 to 30 years of age. People whom I talked with have some common traits: For instance, they all know the basics of computer use and the Internet. Majority of them can speak at least one foreign language and studying or working in private universities. Even some of them grew up in cities other than Istanbul, Ankara and İzmir; they have all ended in one of these three major cities, often for their undergraduate studies. Although there are some slight differences of social traits among them; it can be said that the informants, at the end, are socio-economically privileged and their cultural capital promotes them a certain level of social mobility, status and power. In sum, I aimed to amass a meaningful sample group that was apt to demonstrate cyberporn's changing and shaping effects on sexualities.

For most of the time I conducted qualitative, semi-construct interviews, while for some exceptional cases I conducted non-structured interviews, with 14 people (7 women, 7 men) in total. I conducted these interviews in a variety of instances: Sometimes I found myself discussing porn in a university cafeteria, drinking a cup of coffee at the same time. In that particular instance, the university cafeteria, as an area where there is a never-ending people flow, provided me many contacts in one day. While we were doing interviews, some others also volunteered for the following interviews. Additionally, I conducted interviews via Skype. There were also people that I did interviews more than once. Again, there were some people that I both talked in real life and on Skype. Most of the time they seemed in ease in revealing their "intimal" stories and nothing unexpected happened in terms of "discomfort". However rarely, I also realized that a little few of interviewees did prefer not to show their faces while talking via Skype.

Then, I have been careful to give voice to the people who do not define themselves as “heterosexual”. As reader will see, among the interviewees there are some who did not prefer to define his/her sexual orientation or identified him/her as queer or gender fluid.

Finally, I also want to underline a significant distinction between the data which came from the interviewees and the other data that I used for the third chapter. For the third chapter, which focuses on online porn’s production I could not have the sufficient time to talk with porn producers although they do exist in a small-scale in Turkey. Instead I have surveyed online discussions in social media, testimony of some porn producers and actors/actresses which are already registered on the Internet. By these means, I endeavored to assess the exploitative production dimension of cyberporn in the Porn 2.0 layout.

## CHAPTER 1

### PROLIFERATION OF HORNINESS

“Watching porn is thought-provoking and mind-clearing. It’s like going to the art museum, viewing the masterpieces just before you start drawing.<sup>16</sup>”

Burcu, Undergraduate media and visual arts  
student, Heterosexual

Online pornography affects ways of having sex for many people. However, pornography is not the sole “source of effect”. There is a myriad of variants that shape, form and determine our sexual identity, our sexual tastes, i.e., what we like, what arouses us or who we would like to fuck, who we would like to be fucked by etc. It is even possible to dare to expand ‘our shaped, formed and determined things’ concerning sexuality, in a more provocative way as the following: Why would some people like to fuck a carboy or be fucked by it? In fact, it is impossible to name all shaped, formed and determined things concerning the human sexuality in a single phrase. Nevertheless, it is possible to explain how they come into existence or cease to exist, since what is sexual is also an inquiry of what is social. This is exactly what I am going to do in the present and the following chapters within the scope of pornography.

Yet, first, I am eager to clarify my personal positioning and point to some theoretical discussions through a reading of porn literature. In consideration of the burgeoning Internet pornography, I believe that we might be facing the dawning of new potentialities, emergent subjectivities alongside limits/borders. Long-known common objections to and perusals on pornography, whether significant or not, have a great potential of missing these emergent issues. Therefore, in this chapter, I will initially introduce some of the core works on pornography in western academia that marked a cornerstone for undoing these long-known objections. Through this intervention, I will trace the limits of classical objections

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<sup>16</sup> In Turkish: Porno izlemek bir yandan kafa da açıyor, zihni berraklaştırıyor; tıpkı resim çizmeden önce müze müze gezip masterpieceleri incelemek gibi.

and question in what ways they can become misleading and restraining, when it comes to understanding new potentialities and subjectivities. Also, this part will offer a brief, historic outlook of pornography mainly in the western world. Then, I will underline two distinct schemes of analysis, namely the production process in which an economic product gets its final form and individuals' ways of relating to that specific product. I will also explain how I will deal with these two distinct schemes. Later, I will go over the sexual script theory of Simon and Gagnon, which I hope will clarify how "what is sexual" is being socially formed, shaped and constructed. For a better explanation and relate it with our case, I, afterwards, will be addressing at an application, successfully executed by Jeffrey Escoffier, of sexual script theory on the pornography. In the final part of this chapter, reader will find a brief introduction to the cyber sexualities in which a locus of new (positive and negative) possibilities crawl out.

### **What is pornography? A brief look at the pornography quarrel**

Initial heated debates on the pornography were mainly held in western feminist circles during 70's. Sex negative fractions were mostly the dominant side within these debates. Robin Morgan' "notorious" feminist dictum was discursively influential: 'Pornography is the theory; rape is the practice<sup>17</sup>.' In full contrast with this ambiance, in which sex negative feminists were repelling the sexual activity almost for everyone, there were also scholars who were appropriating lust and desire without referring to the lexicon of sex negative fraction. One of the firsts was Angela Carter, who laid claims to all sexual squalors of famous French philosopher Marquis de Sade and appraised his "on the line" literal pornographic content with a feminist approach<sup>18</sup>. In Sade's work, there were many passages that Andrea Dworkin and Robin Morgan would dismiss immediately as "disgusting"; but Carter saw a liberating potential, controversially for women, within Sade's corpus.

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<sup>17</sup> Robin Morgan, "Theory and Practice: Pornography and Rape", in *Going Too Far: The Personal Chronicle of a Feminist*, 1974

<sup>18</sup> Angela Carter, "*The Sadeian Woman and the Ideology of the Pornography*." (Pantheon Books, 1978)

To borrow from her:

Sade remains a monstrous and daunting cultural edifice; yet I would like to think that he put pornography in the service on women, or, perhaps allowed it to be invaded by an ideology not inimical to women<sup>19</sup>.

Carter's work was a significant cornerstone for the pornography quarrel when compared to the constant denouncements around sexualities' "pure evilness" that were very prevalent at that time. Linda Williams, another pioneer feminist and a media scholar, followed Carter's significant lead. This lead has become a real breakthrough in Williams' "Hardcore: Frenzy of the Visible". Majorly difference from Carter's work, Williams has studied hardcore pornography and provided a general outlook on its historical development. In my opinion, Williams had accomplished two major things that deterred the mainstream sex negative feminist discourse, which had been very firm to all kinds of pornography: First, she demonstrated the impossibility of assessing pornography as a monolithic entity, whereas it is a makeup of various "coinciding elements" such as sexual fantasy, genre, culture and erotic visibility<sup>20</sup>. She then lay bare that hardcore pornography is not only about sexuality itself: it is a phenomenon that should also be considered in terms of gender. She explains this gender issue through the assumption that 'consumers already have gender':

Pornography as a genre wants to be about sex. On close inspection, however, it always proves to be more about gender. The raw materials of sexual difference are dramatically at play in pornography, but they take on meaning only because consumers already have gender: they have, in effect, been engendered in discourse<sup>21</sup>.

Although Williams points to hardcore pornography's gendered configurations, for her it is also possible to extract "feminine pleasure" from a product that had been designed and made essentially for a male audience. She claims that the

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<sup>19</sup> Carter, "The Sadeian Woman", 37.

<sup>20</sup> Linda Williams, "Hardcore: Power, Pleasure and the 'Frenzy of the Visible'", (University of California Press, 1989), 270.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid. 268.

potentiality of different discourses on sexuality or in other words, different sorts of speculations about certain sexual acts that are widely present in hardcore pornography, result with the implantation of perversions<sup>22</sup>. Thus, the hierarchies governing oppositions or binaries such as male/female, sadist/masochist, active/passive and subject/object tend to break down<sup>23</sup>. In a way, according to her, the tendency to see and to know “all pleasure” opened a door for a much more diverse audience to hardcore pornography. For instance, she accepts the fact that lesbians’ presence in mainstream pornography primarily aimed toward a heterosexual male audience satisfies, a generic appetite for them. No matter what economical goals of porn producers were at stake, this controversial presence of lesbians had led to the proliferation of non-phallic representations in male hardcore pornography. Similarly, she finds a potential revelation of female pleasure in money shot<sup>24</sup> scenes.

Shedding light on these unexpected results or receptions of hardcore pornography is what Williams has reminded us from Stuart Hall<sup>25</sup>: Coding a message can control its reception but not strictly. Every communication stage is relatively autonomous from the other. In short, Williams exposed that even misogynistic hardcore porn, via social, cultural and historical transformations, and because of the relative autonomy of communication process, can cause an implantation of perversions within viewers’ quotidian.

Following Carter and Williams’ contributions, in the late 90’s and early 2000’s an unusual climate sprung due to diversification of categories in pornography along with technological developments. Some threads of this climate was defined earlier by Williams as ‘for better and for worse, our “speaking of sex” is now much more diverse’, i.e. the fact that women, LGBTI people, fetishists, sado-masochists and

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<sup>22</sup> Basically the reverse of the “The Perverse Implantation” which means the narrowing of western sexuality to the lines of forming a heterosexual couple. For further information, see: Michel Foucault, *History of the Sexuality, Volume 2*.

<sup>23</sup> Williams, “*Hardcore*”, 273.

<sup>24</sup> An acronym for male ejaculation scene in pornography.

<sup>25</sup> Stuart Hall, “Encoding, decoding” in *Media and Cultural Studies*. KeyWorks Revised Edition, (Blackwell Publishing, 2006)

other people from diverse communities were also being included to the pornography audience<sup>26</sup>. In addition, technological advancement has accelerated more than ever-in the mid-90's: For example, with the popularization and proliferation of hand camera technology, people started to shoot their own hardcore pornographic videos. Meanwhile, the quick adaptation of World Wide Web to our lives also made easier the circulation of pornography and provided free access to pornography for the masses<sup>27</sup>. All things considered, the domestication of pornography was not surprising<sup>28</sup>.

All these rapid changes within the Internet technologies and sexual dissidents / minorities' induction to the general pornography audience have made it even more difficult to define Internet pornography as a single self-proclaimed entity. Even though misogynistic pornographic content is still endemic, a completely "other" and "new" pornographic corpus remains above the fray. Contrary to this diversified corpus, one of the common problems to solve in some pornography analyses (against or on behalf of) is the tendency towards essentialism and avoiding the genuine range of pornographic content. Feona Attwood rightly underlines this common avoidance where she compares three different accounts on pornography:

For Dworkin, all pornography objectifies women and everything that objectifies women is pornography. According to Kendrick, all sexual representations which are subject to regulation become pornography, and all attempts to regulate pornography are an exercise of power over powerless groups, including women. For Kipnis, pornography always transgresses dominant norms of sexuality and gender, and whatever is sexual and transgressive is pornography. Little attention is given to the range of texts or practices, which may constitute the representation of sexuality at any given point, or to the contexts in which sexual representations are produced, circulated, consumed, debated, or regulated. Because of this, the positions

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<sup>26</sup> Williams, "Hardcore", 275.

<sup>27</sup> Susanna Paasonen, "Online Pornography", 424.

<sup>28</sup> Jane Juffer, *At Home with Pornography: Women, Sex and Everyday Life*. (New York University Press, 1998).

taken by these theorists appear to cancel each other out in terms of their usefulness for discussing the political significance of sexual representations, and they are limited in terms of their application to a wide range of examples.<sup>29</sup>

In short, the most problematic trait of mainstream sex negative standing and some other porn accounts was/is its reductive interpretation of pornography in that it excludes the possibility of other sexual representations. As shown, these essentialist accounts of pornography have been and are still being challenged by various scholars.

Moreover, in recent times, the rapid growth of the sex industry<sup>30</sup> and with it, the hardcore porn industry within Internet in United States has created new concerns. Firstly, the mainstream sex and porn industry, in a large part, stand upon the misogynistic hardcore porn or at best, to the affiliated content, therefore this substantial growth and its ambiguous effects should be critically approached. Another significant concern related to the former, is that even within porn industry's kinkiest<sup>31</sup> facets, there is a strong logic that reproduces mechanisms of neoliberal economy. Many scholars defend these ideas, mainly in U.S. naturally, if the size of porn industry and neoliberal framework of the country are both considered. Of course, these arguments and major point of views are very

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<sup>29</sup> Feona Attwood, "Porno and objectification" *Re-reading "the picture that divided Britain" Feminism, Objectification, and Pornography Feminist Media Studies* Vol. 4, No. 1. (2004): 10.

<sup>30</sup> Surprisingly, conventional adult industry was downsizing in this period. I narrate this process in detail in Chapter 3.

<sup>31</sup> Kink is an umbrella term used to describe a wide range of sexual activities that are considered to be unconventional or unorthodox. While BDSM is one of the first things that springs to mind when someone hears the word kink, it's far from the only kinky practice out there. Sexual acts such as spanking, tickling games, dripping candle wax on the skin, participating in orgies, swinging and role-playing etc. are also often considered to be kinky, as are some unusual sex positions or usage of sex toys. Anything not kinky is said to be vanilla. See: <https://www.kinkly.com/definition/683/kink> Last accessed: 31.05.2017

Also for a further reading on kinky porns' evolution as a subculture and also its proliferation as mainstream, see: "Grant Kien, BDSM and Transgression 2.0 The Case of Kink.com."

important and should not be underestimated, mostly when we think of neoliberal conjuncture and its eclectically functioning faces.

One of the most prominent advocates of this neoliberal critique is Stephen Maddison. In his article “Choke On It, Bitch!” he criticizes Linda Williams from some interesting aspects: While accepting that there had been major economic and technological shifts, Maddison points out the neoliberal mechanisms that execute within all these developments. For him, in the U.S., silence or indifference toward the emergence of different sexualities and the pornophication of public sphere, if compared to its older stances, is only because of the capitalist growth that swallowed the porn and sex industries. Maddison also insists that hardcore pornography (he often names it as “sexist”) does not include pleasure as a function of the political struggle but it presents pleasure as a “consumer choice”<sup>32</sup>. While hypostatizing and appraising “altporn”<sup>33</sup>, he explains this factuality in terms of neoliberalism and customer choice<sup>34</sup>. He says:

The enthusiastic engagement with altporn represents a circling of the wagons, and signifies the extent to which pro-porn positions necessarily mediate the hostility of radical and anti-porn feminisms, and right-wing anti-feminist and anti-gay activism, at the same time as acknowledging the seemingly unassailable power of capital and business. The effect of this set of mediations is an over-emphasis on agency, a preoccupation with classification that strives to identify the breakthrough artifact in the midst of unruly choice and segmentation, and an over-investment in the possibility of technological democratization. (...)The celebration of choice,

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<sup>32</sup> Stephen Maddison, “Choke On It, Bitch!” in *Mainstreaming the Sex*, ed. Feona Attwood, i.b.tauris publishing co ltd, 2009, 43.

<sup>33</sup> Alternative porn (also known as alt-porn, altporn, alternaporn, or simply alt), a shortening of "alternative pornography", tends to involve members of such subcultures as goths, punks, emos, scenes, skaters or ravers and is often produced by small and independent websites or filmmakers. More on Wikipedia:

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alt\\_porn](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alt_porn) Last accessed: 31.05.2017

<sup>34</sup> Maddison, “Beyond the Entrepreneurial Voyeur? Sex, Porn and Cultural Politics” in *New Formations 80/81: Neoliberal Culture*, Autumn/Winter 2013

[https://www.academia.edu/12175422/Beyond\\_the\\_Entrepreneurial\\_Voyeur\\_Sex\\_Porn\\_and\\_Cultural\\_Politics](https://www.academia.edu/12175422/Beyond_the_Entrepreneurial_Voyeur_Sex_Porn_and_Cultural_Politics) Last accessed: 03.04.2016

even where that choice offers apparently ethical forms of commodity, works to re-confirm the logic of neoliberalism<sup>35</sup>.

Here, I believe, we have to cross a line between two different schemes of analyses in porn studies. What Maddison tries to highlight are neoliberal mechanisms that underlie the process of putting different sexualities and various pornographies on the neoliberal showcase. Pornographic production processes, different forms of exploitation in the unexplored context of Porn 2.0 and non-standardization of digital markets, without a doubt, should be carefully analysed. In Chapter 3, I will try to enucleate these contested grey areas. This scheme of analysis, which focuses in a more dedicated way to the production process, is different from defining new ways of relationships and actions that emerge within Porn 2.0 context. Of course, this second scheme of analysis does not abolish critics on the relations of production within Porn 2.0; it merely focuses on how sexual norms were changed, differed and accentuates novel ways of relating and new forms of sexualities that exist within the virtual worlds.

In addition, there is always a risk of falling into an over-generalization of a self-evident neoliberalism, which can lead to overlook numerous specificities. As illustrated in various works, there is no single definition or meaning of neoliberalism, as it has particular implications in different contexts. While having numerous common features by which we can give neoliberalism a provisional conceptual identity, neoliberal mechanisms operate eclectically. To evoke Hall:

What, then, is ‘the neo-liberal conjuncture’? The term ‘neo-liberalism’ is not a satisfactory one. Its reference to the shaping influence of capitalism on modern life sounds anachronistic to contemporary ears. Intellectual critics say the term lumps together too many things to merit a single identity; it is reductive, sacrificing attention to internal complexities and geo-historical specificity<sup>36</sup>.

For instance, Turkey, where my case took place, is not a “self-evident neoliberal-western” context in the first place. As Serkan Delice pointed out, much like Hall,

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<sup>35</sup> Maddison, “*Beyond the Entrepreneurial Voyeur*”, 15.

<sup>36</sup> Stuart Hall, “the Neoliberal Revolution” *Cultural Studies*. 25:6(2011): 706

the formation of sexual identity beneath the flow between global-local is a very complicated one and reaches far beyond from this glib binary<sup>37</sup>. There is no possible way of presuming a spatial or temporal dissimilitude between West and East, or between global and local scales. As he indicates, sexualities form simultaneously; thus, they loom in a relationality that we should approach carefully<sup>38</sup>.

Maddison's cautions and sceptical standing against the appropriation of altporn and new facets of online pornography are very important: they offer us some useful concepts to investigate production relations within Porn 2.0. The concepts that he is articulating, such as immaterial labor<sup>39</sup>, will be discussed in Chapter 3. For now, I will remain on the question of "how people relate to the product", therefore empowering effects of Internet pornography for sexual dissidents and minorities while leaving the second scheme of analysis aside until Chapter 3.

Of course, the question of individuals' relation to the product entails a further question: How are people directed and conducted when they want to have sex? What determines their "turn-ons"? Thankfully, John Gagnon and William Simon's theoretical support provides us with an answer on this matter.

### **The sexual script theory: Social constructionism meets with sexuality**

Being capable of accepting that human sexuality is socially defined and patterned, rather than being just another type of mammalian behavior<sup>40</sup>, is a very modern concept. John Gagnon and William Simon, while working under the umbrella of the Kinsey Institute, reconciled Alfred Kinsey's views on sexuality with social constructionism<sup>41</sup>. As Micheal Kimmel points out, Kinsey's understanding of sex

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<sup>37</sup> Serkan Delice, "Zen-Dostlar Çoğalıp Mahublar Azaldı" in *Cinsellik Muamması*, ed. Cüneyt Çakırlar and Serkan Delice, (Metis Yayınları, 2012), 336.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

<sup>39</sup> Immaterial labor is a contested concept. More will be explained in Chapter 4, but I want to underline that I will prefer using "digital free labor" instead of immaterial labor.

<sup>40</sup> Micheal Kimmel "John Gagnon and the Sexual Self" in *The Sexual Self: The Construction of Sexual Scripts*. (Vanderbilt University Press, 2007)

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

was ‘hardly about human males and females but rather about the specific activities of specific groups of gendered people in a specific location<sup>42</sup>’. On the other hand, Gagnon and Simon’s reconciling work had created a paradigm shift within the study of sexuality. They claimed that sexuality was one of the constituent components of the modern self. Although various scholars such as Kinsey and Sigmund Freud studied sexuality during the 20th century, it was often considered peripheral to the identity. In other words, it was not thought to be a central block of the subjectivity. It was studied either biologically [Kinsey school] or understood as pre-historic [Freudian school]. For a long time, sexuality, primarily, was a concern for criminology and in reality; Kinsey’s approach to the human sexuality as if it was a zoological behavior, was mainly an attempt to normalize this “fearful sexuality”. On the other hand, Freud defined sexuality as a *sui generis* concept and claimed that it had existed even before the emergence of society<sup>43</sup>. As a result, for a quite some time, human sexuality was never conceived as a social phenomenon. As Kimmel underlines:

Sociologists, it turned out, avoided talking about sex because they were as moralistic and prudish as the society they studied. A sociologist of sex occupies the same status position in sociology as sex worker in the larger society: a reminder of the seamy unpleasantness of the bodies to which our minds happen to be connected<sup>44</sup>.

It is not an overstatement to say that sexuality’s introduction within sociology was made by Gagnon and Simon. Indeed, they were the first to conceive sexuality as a social phenomenon.

Even though sexuality perceived within the field of criminal sociology back in the early days of Chicago School, this common understanding later had concluded in a way that sexuality started to be considered as an important component that has a constitutive role in making the self / identity. John Gagnon, as a researcher at the University of Chicago, naturally benefited from the notion of career, which

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<sup>42</sup> Kimmel “*Gagnon and the Sexual Self*”

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*

extends to vast and multi-layered areas / dimensions of the social world. In a way, sexual dissidents' "criminalistic" portrayal paved a way for Gagnon's usage of "career" concept within the field of sexuality, since it was a handy theoretical framework that helped to understand structured patterns of criminal behaviour. This conception of sexuality offered 'a normative structure to the non-normative and seemingly unstructured conduct'<sup>45</sup>. In addition, Gagnon's specific usage of the word 'script' was not a mere coincidence. Just like the backstage / front stage conceptualizations of Erving Goffman, another Chicago school sociologist, script was related to the dramaturgy for similar reasons. The theory was taking hand from the symbolic interactionism that is, in their words, is 'a perspective that examines social life primarily as a communicative process'<sup>46</sup>.

For Gagnon and Simon, scripts are key to understanding the formation and the production of any type of social behavior<sup>47</sup>. Individuals' engagement in social life, along with peculiar behaviors, realizes in three distinct levels: Cultural scenarios, interpersonal scripting and intrapsychic scripting<sup>48</sup>. These scripts have particular ways of being executed in different social settings and their implication also varies according to each individual. Cultural scenarios are narratives by which an individual interprets prescribed traits for 'various social, gender and occupational roles, class and racial identities, sexual beliefs, popular cultural ideals and symbols, and social values and norms'<sup>49</sup>; thus, they determine all that create a social coherence (in the Durkhemian sense of the word). Then interpersonal scripts come. These interpersonal scripts put a strong emphasis to the agency. Drawing upon the cultural scenarios, these scripts are being shaped within the interactional patterns embedded in individuals' everyday life and are directly related to the presentation of the self. Intrapsychic scripts are, in Gagnon and

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<sup>45</sup> Kimmel "Gagnon and the Sexual Self"

<sup>46</sup> John Gagnon and William Simon, "Sexual Scripts: Permanence and Change" *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, April Volume 15, Issue 2(1986): 104

<sup>47</sup> Ibid.98.

<sup>48</sup> Jeffrey Escoffier, "Scripting the Sex: Fantasy, Narrative and Sexual Scripts in Pornography" in *The Sexual Self: The Construction of Sexual Scripts*, ed. Michael Kimmel, (Vanderbilt University Press, 2007), 62.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid.

Simon's words, 'a historical necessity as a private world of wishes and desires that are experienced as originating in the deepest recesses of the self must be bound to social life<sup>50</sup>'.

These different aspects of everyday social behaviors' production, while being different in various social settings, are also interconnected and function reciprocally. For instance, cultural scenarios provide basic guidelines for individuals' improvisations in the midst of their daily interactions with other people. On the other hand, intrapsychic scripts can lead and guide individuals throughout their quotidian routines and reveal alternatives via overlaps with interpersonal scripts. This ensures congruency between societal belongingness and the unique, private world of sexual wishes and desires of the individual, mostly in societies where cultural scenarios lose their cogency. While mentioning societies where 'cultural scenarios lose their cogency', it would be wise to unpack this question: where exactly do modern societies stand for Gagnon and Simon?

Indeed, they have a twofold classification of the society: There are paradigmatic societies where common shared values are more grounded and there are post-paradigmatic societies where the structure of a given society is very complex and wherein this so-called complexity is endemic. These post-paradigmatic societies are the counterpart of postmodern societies in their thinking. Moreover, in post-paradigmatic societies, the construction of self is much more complicated and deserves a more sophisticated look than the one in the paradigmatic societies. To invoke them:

Where complexities, conflicts, and/or ambiguities become endemic at the level of cultural scenarios, much greater demands are placed on the actor than can be met by the adaptive possibilities of interpersonal scripts alone. The need to script one's behavior, as well as the implicit assumption of the scripted nature of the behavior of others, is what engenders a meaningful "internal rehearsal in the first place," an internal rehearsal that can become significantly only where alternative outcomes are available. Intrapsychic

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<sup>50</sup> Gagnon and Simon, "*Sexual Scripts*", 100.

scripting, in other words, becomes a significant part of the self-process in proportion to the extensity and intensity of the internal dialogue. It is this that creates fantasy in a very rich sense of that word: The symbolic reorganization of reality in ways that make it complicit in realizing more fully the actor's many-layered and sometimes multivoiced wishes<sup>51</sup>.

Simon and Gagnon are talking about an internal rehearsal, which should strengthen or engender a “self”. This internal rehearsal, in order to function and to accelerate, absolutely needs alternative outcomes. These alternative outcomes can come and flow from anywhere: The behavior of others, dissimilar cultural scenarios, separate experiences with different people can all effect this internal dialogue without ceasing and these diverse encounters can substitute in place of weakened cultural scenarios. More surprisingly, 30 years after Simon and Gagnon wrote this article, we are faced with an infinite flow of these alternative outcomes. These outcomes often come by means of certain developments that mainly effect the technology of production and distribution, which were impossible to imagine or anticipate 30 years ago and due to some political achievements that were granted by some pioneer feminist and queer scholars who came from famous debates (for instance Sex Wars) that divided the academia.

### **SST and the pornography: Escoffier’s “Scripting Sex”**

As underlined earlier in this chapter, sexual script theory has a large field of application. Actually, several scholars had already elaborated the theory based on pornographic narrative and experience. One of the most important scholars engaged in this toilsome and sophisticated labor, is Jeffrey Escoffier. In his thought provoking and vanguard work, “Scripting the Sex: Fantasy, Narrative and Sexual Scripts in the Pornography”, he explores and tries to illustrate the different and complex ways by which mechanisms of sexual scripts operate constantly within pornography.

According to Escoffier, pornography includes two distinct forms of the “script” within itself: Firstly, there are general scripts in pornography that are literally the

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<sup>51</sup> Gagnon and Simon, “*Sexual Scripts*”, 99.

real film scripts. These real scripts are organized and written as “plots”, “directs” or “choreographs” in order to animate sexual performances and scenes of sexual action, thus a successful eventuation of the fantasies. Secondly as theorized by Gagnon and Simon, there are sexual scripts that function as figurative and metaphorical tools that impinge on the daily life of individuals’ and determine their habits and behavioral changes. Their influence on pornography is evident in many instances: Performers’ creative, spontaneous, quick decisions, their imagination capacity for being erected etc.

As expected, the functioning of these scripts is very complicated; thus, this entangled process involves a large number of social actors and changeable. For instance, it is not only the performers who are in question, but also the director of a pornographic movie or the creator of other types of pornographic content, such as three-minute long footage in a tumblr post. Then there is the person who holds the camera, contents’ setting can be all-important and in fact, for Escoffier, they should be.

Let me be more specific about what I intended to reinvigorate as an idea: Imagine that you are a male pornographic actor. As opposed to a theatre actor, you need an erection to be capable of vitalizing the mise-en-scene. It is one of the most salient traits of the pornographic exposure. You have to engage in some scripting since the “show must go on”, i.e. you cannot get away with it by solely acting. There are undeniable physiological necessities and requisites from which the performer cannot simply escape. As said, these necessities require a full implication of scripts. Of course, this is only the one narrow aspect of all what is going on, during the entire production process of porn. In addition, along with sexual scripts of actors and performers, directors’ interpersonal and intrapsychic sexual scripts and the prevailing cultural scenarios feed the real film scripts<sup>52</sup> for them. Setting, clothing, arrangement of technical issues such as light, angle of camera etc.

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<sup>52</sup> Cultural scenarios can also be termed as “sexual cultural scripts”. See: Michael W. Wiederman “Sexual Script Theory: Past, Present, and Future” in *Handbook of the Sociology of Sexualities*, ed. DeLamater, J.;Plante, R.F, (Springer, 2015), 8.

everything that is need to set up a fantasy and desire universe is also being transport by the intrapsychic scripts of camera holders and other staff. Then, there are interpersonal scripts that wander in midst of the director, the performer, other staff and lastly of the viewers. Pornographic categories are always aimed toward a certain audience. Therefore, it is an entity of multi-layered relations, which are at stake between many aspects such as viewer-performer, viewer-director, performer-performer, and performer-director. Here I would like to give an example of the viewer-director relation: The viewer can control the final (edited) version of the director's product. Hence, he or she can intervene to its final version in plenty of ways: fast-forwarding, pausing, slow motion replay, for instance.

In short, pornography is always emerging as a phenomenon that is subjected to all wider effects—created by cultural scenarios, interpersonal and intrapsychic scripts on the part of different actors and variants. Escoffier summarizes this process as in the following paragraph:

Thus, in porn films, sexual scripts operate on many different levels most importantly, each of the participants' conduct on the set is guided by their own scripts. In addition, the film itself is the product of a formal (or not so formal) film script, but it also shaped by the director's choreography (and direction of the performers) of the sexual action implied or explicitly included in the script; by each performer's enactment of the sexual action (in the film script as choreographed by the director) and the scripts dictated by their own sexual fantasies; and, last but not least, by the film's editor who (with or without the director) assembles the final print of the film<sup>53</sup>.

Besides, what Escoffier did in this work does not include all those amateurish and kinky works that mark the trivet of the Porn 2.0 era. Scope of his work lasts until the borders of the commercialized porn, no matter if it is mainstream or kinkier porn. Unlike the ones that are referenced in his work, many recent porn videos are

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<sup>53</sup> Escoffier, "*Scripting the Sex*", 65.

shot without a director or a studio crew. By means of the new technology, the very content and format of pornography are changing. Mismatches, discontinuities and inconsistencies of sexual scripts in the post-modern societies and the distinct position of Porn 2.0 layout in the midst of the incongruity of various scripts, oblige us to interrogate changing facets of what the sexual has become nowadays. These dazzling changes have very distinct and unique reflections and outcomes in many cases. In the following part, I will try to exhibit some of them and give an idea about current cyber sexualities. As it will be shown, we have overreached what pornography was once by very far. Moreover, this brief introduction of cyber sexualities will be an “associative linking” with the introduction of this chapter, where I underline that we might be at dawn of new potentialities and subjectivities.

### **Cyber sexualities**

For a long time, with good reasons, sexuality has been thought and considered in terms of the embodiment. Nevertheless, this mentality remains incapable for understanding current sexualities. As Ken Plummer rightly remarks, there are rising new modes of disembodied sexualities swarm around computer users within the multifarious worlds of cybersex, such as telephone sex, online porn, sex chat rooms, virtual realities etc.<sup>54</sup> Even though these shaded areas are often associated with masturbation, solitariness and isolation<sup>55</sup>, there is evidently more to these to discover and understand.

Of course, these new modes of disembodied sexualities are not detached from embodied experiences. Janne Bromseth and Jenny Sundén argue, as essentially different from Web 1.0 context which can be pictured by hypertext fiction, namely by MUDs (multi-user dungeons) and MOOs (object orientated MUDS), Web 2.0, propounded a “culture of profiling” which necessitated a convincing

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<sup>54</sup> Ken Plummer, “Queers, bodies and postmodern sexualities: A note on revisiting the “sexual” in symbolic interactionism” in *The Sexual Self: The Construction of Sexual Scripts*, ed. Michael Kimmel, (Vanderbilt University Press, 2007), 25-26

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

consistency between the virtual and material selves of an individual<sup>56</sup>. Even in Web 1.0 contexts, this expectation was overtly present<sup>57</sup>. Subsistence of these multiple selves in the vicinity of the Internet and all of the cyber worlds within it, while disintegrating the Cartesian self, called for semi sensual and semi virtual pleasures simultaneously. Thus, “what have been tried” morphs into an experience unlike any other, which could only be lived in a third realm wherein one could find nothing similar, neither from the real life nor from the virtual one<sup>58</sup>. As a result, the line between what is real and virtual becomes more and more uncertain. Consequently, without attracting a great deal of attention, these polymorphic sexual desires and experiences proliferate day by day.

As noted above, online pornography (both the mainstream and the amateur facets of it) is one of the central loci where these new-fangled cyber sexualities sparkle. World Wide Web, in providing access to anonymity, destabilizes or at best, transforms all existing executions of sexual scripts. In addition to anonymity, technological achievements also generate sexual supplements that could not be anticipated before. Let us imagine some fomenter circumstances which are possible today: Through the Porn 2.0 layout you, just like in other social media platforms, can contact and interact with other people, probably with whom your sexual tastes and specific niches would intersect. You can chat with them, like the videos they have shared; you can meet with them in real life and have sex or cybersex with them<sup>59</sup> without leaving your room. Better still, you can do all this at once by means of mobile phones, webcams and sex devices.

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<sup>56</sup> Janne Bromseth and Jenny Sundén, “Queering Internet Studies: Gender and Sexuality” in *The Handbook of Internet Studies (Handbooks in Communication and Media)*, ed. Mia Consalvo and Charles Ess, (Blackwell Publishing, 2013)

<sup>57</sup> One of the most common start-up question in mIRC rooms was ‘ASL?’ aka ‘Age, Sex, Location?’ during the 90’s.

<sup>58</sup> Slavoj Zizek, *The Plague of Fantasies*. (Verso, 2008), 179.

<sup>59</sup> In fact there are plenty of choices for having cybersex. You can do it only by texting messages and trust on the co-imagination of yourself and your partner. Or you can do it with teledildonics which are a combination of hardware and software that connects your sex toy to the Internet for someone else to control. For further information, See: Regina Lynn, “Sex Drive: Where Sex and Tech Come Together” in *Click Me: A Netporn Studies*

I want to cite a final example from one of the informants. She explains in every detail, how being a pornographer or even a modest porn watcher can meant socially in actual Porn 2.0 era, in Turkey:

‘Even though I cannot know how you rate it; I believe that I am a firm blogger. They are good places to form a community. I do not follow pornographic persons solely via their films that they shot; I also follow them on sites such as Twitter, even for some I have found the chance to meet with them. For example, there was one woman who shot porn in Turkey and who was also the flat mate of a friend of mine. They were honest persons who were doing the right thing. By following them I am learning their general mentality and therefore I can put my trust in their subsequent posts. In this sense, watching porn becomes a different kind of experience for me<sup>60</sup>.

Eda, Undergraduate philosophy and media student, Gender  
fluid

In fact, since the beginning of the Internet, as shown by various examples within the Web 1.0 and 2.0, cyber sexualities have been proliferating. I prefer to name this long process-“proliferation of horniness”. As shown, there are different types of examples in need of an intensive investigation.

I believe that what happened in the last -approximately- 30 years is encouraging; however, this thrilling pervasion of horniness comes up with some serious academic uncertainties. First, as many scholars have already pointed out, Foucault’s oppositions to a repressive hypothesis of sexuality should be re-visited through emergent forms of sexualities and pornographies. Concepts such as “the democratization of porno”, “pornotopia” and “liberatory facets of pornography” should be revamped, in terms of the productivity of power. To plunge all these

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Reader 2007. Also an example for a commercial teledildonics website:

<http://www.lovense.com/> Last accessed: 31.05.2017

<sup>60</sup> “Biraz daha kullanıcıları nasıl rate ediyorsan ama sadık bir kullanıcıyım blog takip edimi konusunda. Bir nevi community oluşturmak için elverişli yerler. Pornografik insanları, sadece oradayken tanımıyorum, twitterdan takip ediyorum bazılarıyla tanışmışlığım var. Türkiye’de mesela porno yapan bir kızla benim kız arkadaşım ev arkadaşıydı. Doğru işler yapmaya çalışan dürüst insanlardı. Takip ederken o insanların mentalitelerini daha iyi algıladığım için sonradan koyacakları contente de güveniyorum öncekileri de bildiğim için. Bu anlamda bir deneyime dönüşüyor benim için.”

concepts and debates on pornography to the discussion of repressive theory, comes up with a large potential to test the Foucault's oppositions to the hypothesis against the atrocity of time by which we have witnessed myriad of conversion and transformations concerning our sexualities in recent years. In a similar line of thinking, there is a need that its effects on the 'various universes of possible discourses', should also be interrogated in more intrepid ways. I, for this work, have volunteered for this task for the doxic lines of some fragments in the Turkish society; however, more has to be done in order to make something out of these stunning changes.

In this chapter, I have tried to provide an outlook on some cornerstones of the pornography debate while making clear how sexuality is constructed socially. I also aimed to fascinate the reader by denoting the exact and exciting point in which our current (cyber) sexualities have manifested and spread. In the following chapter, I will give voice to the interviewees and to concretize what all these theories imply for empirical works.

## CHAPTER 2

### IT IS THEIR TURN NOW: BEYOND WANKING

Why do people look at pornographic images or videos? Why do they click and watch it night and day? What do they expect to find in it or do they really expect to find anything? Do they just watch it for masturbating and blowing off steam or do they intend to learn from it? Is it an educational video course that a curious 13 y-old adolescence keeps watching with wonder? One can easily multiply these questions and there would be eventually multiple answers to them. One of the interviewees has constantly told me throughout my research, that ‘pornography has always been a “pallet” for him, in order to color his never-ending fantasies and acquire some specific sexual niches<sup>61</sup>’. Then which one: A pallet, a teacher, naïve adolescence’s game or a trivial masturbation tool?

Thus far in this work, I have tried to illustrate how Internet pornography is being debated by various sides on the topic, to show how sexualities form socially and that we are facing with new ones. Also, there are certain subjectivities that appear from or by means of Internet pornography. In respect to this, one -but not the last- of the aims of this work, is to show how certain norms concerning sexuality have changed and are still changing within some social segments in Turkey, mainly in its metropolises. Therefore, in this part, I want to give a voice to the interviewees and to demonstrate through their personal experiences that had been considered “deviant” before them has become normal. Their confrontation with Internet porn and their divergent uses of it have a lot to disclose about “normal” borders of sexuality. Different understandings and experiences of pornography prove that strict lines between what is deviant and what is normal differ, become uncertain, redrafted and even reconstructed according to time and space. The informants through their narratives reveal once again, what was considered “perverted” for their parents is now becoming something to be “embraced” and “sought” for them. However, as I will illustrate, this is a complex process.

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<sup>61</sup> Cankut, Undergraduate cinema student, Heterosexual

In this chapter, I will draw a frame around how sexual norms have changed for some in the last 20-30 years in Turkey. Specifically, I will be highlighting some fundamental discussions that are triggered by pornography itself. To begin with, the interviewees have showed me that talking about pornography can shape the nature of a relationship with someone else. It can erotize this relationship or it can reveal feelings of disgust towards that social bonding. Interviewees have also showed me that the relationship can be altered through bodies. Some noises, some gestures can encode the body very differently than its “normal” encoding; it can easily transform a forbidden body to a desired one. In relation to that, I will first discuss this “nature of a relationship”. Then, I will lay emphasis on the notion that being a porn viewer is a gendered experience. This is where I will try to trace asymmetrical formation between genders. As readers will see, being exposed to sexually explicit material varies enormously between two genders. Moreover, throughout the chapter I will be exploring the lines of sexualization within public and private spheres.

Apart these discussions, there will be also main titles. Under the first title, I will be addressing essential questions, such as “how people were convinced to set up pornography, as their major script provider?”, “who or what has forced them to seek other script providers like pornography rather than default ones such as family, tradition etc. (i.e.: what scripts were not working for them and why?)”. Under the second title, I will be investigating how sexuality has become an essential part of their individual self and partner choices related to that? How did the sexual-self find a proper place to fit in individuals’ modern life projects? How do people produce their sexualities, step-by-step, similar to a professional career? And under the final title, I will be talking about gaps that I name “breathing spaces of perversity”.

Finally, before giving the floor to the interviewees, I am eager to underline how I am treating them, in other words how I interpret “what people have told me”. According to Ken Plummer, sexual stories that are told to the researchers and to other people in general, are not mere thematic reflections of story tellers’ sexual

lives or simple languages, texts or even discourses; rather, they make a constituent part of their sexualities, they are developed, get meaning within everyday life and various social interactions<sup>62</sup>. As Plummer conveys from Patricia Ticineto Clough, ‘all factual representations of empirical reality, even statistical representations, are narratively constructed’, so individuals’ small talks are also ‘social actions embedded in social worlds’<sup>63</sup>. Therefore, while listening and interpreting them as my primary data, i.e. ‘a discourse that stems from a collective work of opinions’, I also appraise them beyond this definition. I take these talks and stories as a significant part of their sexuality and treat them as social actions. Through this undertaking, I aim to crystallize sexual scripts’ multi-layered routes of execution and their contested, negotiated and clashing facets.

### **Interviewees talk**

When we try to have a general outlook on the sexuality within the social segments of the informants, “doubt” is the first word that comes to the mind. Indeed, it is possible to trace some post-paradigmatic change courses that Simon and Gagnon mentioned within these cohorts. Already, the cultural sexual scripts that ought to provide necessary instructions, by which individuals would sufficiently make sense of their specific sexual roles and meanings ascribed to their according behaviors<sup>64</sup>, fail to furnish basic guidelines for the people to whom I talked. They still have doubts on the informations’ authenticity that comes from those guidelines. They often told me that in their initial years in high school and university, they had felt a lot of confusions about their sexuality. From what they told me, it is possible that the confrontations they have experienced due to Internet pornography in their lives, opened a door for them to modify and alter their obtained “course of action” set about sexuality. In other words, besides the cultural scripts that have always been interrogated, their interpersonal and intrapsychic scripts have also been enacted by a tremendous number of

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<sup>62</sup> Ken Plummer, “*Telling Sexual Stories*”, 15-16.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

<sup>64</sup> Wiederman, “*Sexual Script Theory*”

determinants that flow in the plurivocality and versatility of high school, university campus and in general within the metropolises where they live and have mobility.

Briefly stated, in a post-paradigmatic society the interviewees were befuddled at the beginning. They were forced to limit their sexual behaviour at first, mainly because of what they have encountered and also because of those that they could not have encountered, in terms of sexuality within their family, i.e. the domestic milieu/mahram<sup>65</sup> and other social milieus within the public sphere, such as public transportation, school etc. “Absence” and “silence” were among the most common words that I heard during my interviews. These two words have spread literally to every aspect of their sexuality and sexual self, including the non-existence of a sexual education, made things extremely difficult and inextricable. The existing cultural scripts they have been subjected to throughout their lives, depicted sexuality as something shameful to be avoided. Therefore, these concepts of absence and silence, which have been engraved on the minds of the interviewees, remained throughout the development of their sexual self and also forced them to play the roles that were provided by the prevailing scripts, in the shades.

Here a memory with a lovebird serves as an example:

“I suppose that I do not discuss this topic with my mother and my family in general. I have a small example for you: Back in my childhood, we used to have a lovebird. The bird was always masturbating on my daddy’s hand and this made all of us laugh. When I first used the word “masturbation” next to my dad, he reacted very strongly. After this reaction, I clearly understood that I couldn’t be open with this topic within the family. You know, everybody sees it, laughs about it and we all know what it is but we cannot use that word. This event has

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<sup>65</sup> Nilüfer Göle uses this concept with relation to the secrecy, the family life, the space of women and also to what is forbidden to the stranger’s gaze. For further reading, see: *Modern Mahrem: Medeniyet ve Örtünme*. (Metis Yayınları, 2010), 20.

made the limits clear for me on the topic. Since then, I have never discussed sexuality with my father.”<sup>66</sup>

Başak, Undergraduate philosophy student, Undefined

Another example is Orhan’s<sup>67</sup> saying about the babies:

“School does not have a proper sexual education and do not families speak about the topic. The boy turns fifteen and his uncle takes him to the brothel. This country is that kind of shit pit. (...) Let me tell you something: For a long time, approximately till the end of my secondary school, this was my sole perception on childbirth: Men put their penis on women’s vagina and they piss in it. It is a shame that we can’t learn these things. My family never told me anything and they wouldn’t do it any other time. It is very funny and ludicrous; I am homosexual but nothing would change if I were straight. In my whole life nobody came to speak with me. My dad didn’t bother to explain. He didn’t say me: “Look, you are entering a different period; you will have some new expectations etc.” I knew nothing at all back then<sup>68</sup>.”

Like the others, Ahmet<sup>69</sup> also tells that “in Turkey, families are often cannot make peace easily with their kids’ sexual identities”. According to him, this is essentially due to the homophobic family structure that has permeated Turkish

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<sup>66</sup>“Sanırım annemle, ailemle konuşmuyorum bu konuyu. Aklıma küçük bir örnek geldi: Bir kuşumuz vardı muhabbet kuşumuz ve babamın elinde sürekli mastürbasyon yapıyordu; biz de bu duruma çok gülüyorduk. Babamın mastürbasyon kelimesini kullandığımda verdiği tepkisinden sonra, bu konuda ailemle konuşulamayacağını anladım. Hani hepimiz gülüyoruz, ne yaptığımızı biliyoruz ama mastürbasyon kelimesini kullanamıyoruz. Orada o kadar çok şey vardı ki, bu tamamen gözümüzün önünde bir şey, ben daha çocuğum ve ben bunu bu kadar anlatabiliyorum aileme diye kodladım herhalde çocukluğumda kafamda. Babamla o günden bu yana kadar seksle ilgili bir şey konuşmamışım.”

<sup>67</sup> Ph.D. candidate, Gay

<sup>68</sup> “Ne okullarda doğru dürüst bunun eğitimi var, ne de aileler konuşuyor, anlatıyor. 15 yaşına geliyor erkek çocuk, dayısı amcası babası gidiyor çocuğu kerhaneye götürüyor yani böyle boktan bir ülke. (...) Ben uzunca bir süre, ortaokul ikiye kadar, bebeklerin nasıl olduğunu şöyle biliyordum: Erkekler kadınların içine penislerini sokuyorlar ve işiyorlar. Çok yazık diyorum çünkü gerçekten öğrenemiyoruz bir şeyleri. Ailem hiçbir şeyi anlatmadı anlatmayacaktı da. Bak çok komik, ben eşcinselim ama straight olsam ne değişecekti, ne olacaktı? Benim hayatım boyunca bana kimse gelip bir şey konuşmadı. Babam oturup açıklama yapmadı. Gelip yanıma böyle bir döneme giriyorsun, artık farklı isteklerin olacak falan hiçbir şey konuşmadılar. Hiçbir şey bilmiyordum o zamanlar.”

<sup>69</sup> Graduate media studies student, Gay

society. He explains why he cannot talk with his sister about his pornographic preferences, his sexual life etc.

“But I won’t go and talk about my sex life, what genres of porn I watch; you know, any topic like that, with mom and dad, even not with my sister. My sister and her family know that I am a homosexual but even with them, I never discuss this matter of pornography<sup>70</sup>.”

His remarks are important for two reasons. First, they clearly show us the boundaries of the capacity to talk about pornography and sexuality in general. Furthermore, they suggest that, particularly for this case, despite the willingness to understand homosexuality, topics such as pornography and details of other desires associated with homosexuality are often avoided by his sister and her family. Crossing these lines and raising the voice of desires always exposes risk to the nature of the relationship: Either they eroticise it or make it disgusting. “Crossing the lines” brings us back to the discussion on the tension between the mahram and the public. Mahram, according to Nilüfer Göle, functions in two dimensions: It does not only include privacy and in a way, domesticity that is confidential to an individual; but it also contains what is socially forbidden<sup>71</sup>. Therefore, major sexual scripts that are vastly present in society, preach individuals to desexualize all aspects of their behaviors (such as chatters, gestures and the other traits of corporality) within a relationship, unless it is a private relationship belonging to the mahram. All relations are in “danger” of being eroticized or tainted, if they are violated by carrying “what is sexual” out of the mahram.

However, as said before, family is only one facet of those sources by which one can receive cultural scripts, among the others that force people to play their “sexual” roles beneath the shadows of the mahram, through the feelings of absence and silence. In addition to these feelings, which become constant since

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<sup>70</sup> “Ama gidip de benim seks hayatımı, nasıl pornolar izlediğimi, bu minvaldeki konuları annemle-babamla konuşmam, ablaamlarla bile ki onlar eşcinsel olduğumu biliyorlar, aile yapısı homofobik, çok çabuk barışamıyor anne babalar çocuklarının cinsel kimliğiyle ama ablaamlar gibi toleranslı insanlarla bile bu porno meselesini konuşmam.”

<sup>71</sup> Göle, “*Modern Mahrem*”.

the earlier stages of adolescence mainly in domestic and education circles, the informants were and still are constantly being warned, audited and controlled by the other actors within the different dimensions of public sphere whenever they tried and try to play their sexual roles overtly, even if they were/are having some segments of privacy. For instance, Ceylan<sup>72</sup>'s boyfriend was bawled out by his whole neighborhood because he and Ceylan had noisy sex during the Ramadan in sahur time.

Ceylan's case gives us the chance for enlarging and deepening the discussion above, concerning the relationships. Ceylan and her body, which were encoded as "a neighbor" and a "sister (bacı)" to some extent, had breached their 'natural' frontiers and thus, they have become someone/something to be desired. Just as speaking of sex makes a relationship erotic or something to be disgusted by, a body which makes 'horny' noises during Ramadan, which overflow "four walls" of the household, turns to something else, and thus the noise attached to that body, transforms the relationship between Ceylan, her boyfriend and the neighborhood profoundly; it provokes various feelings such as anxiety, anger and sexual yearning simultaneously.

Constant constraints occur regardless of sex and sexual orientation. As a heterosexual male, Barış<sup>73</sup> was also subjected to the "a kind of" oppression. In addition, this time he was alone:

"I was in a rehab center a while ago. Back there, there was no Internet or other source for masturbating except the newspapers' back. You know those celebrity photos, in which you can find a very little and limited visual of their legs and asses. I was wanking to those. I told this to a friend and he told the person in charge. This turned out to be a mistake. That man in charge was a religious guy. After he figured out what had happened, he forbade buying newspapers.<sup>74</sup>"

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<sup>72</sup> Undergraduate history of art student, Barista, Bisexual

<sup>73</sup> Undergraduate cinema student, Heterosexual

<sup>74</sup> "Ben zorunlu olarak iki ay boyunca bir şey şimdi gerek yok ne olduğunu söylememe, tanımadığım insanların olduğu bir merkezde kaldım. Orada başında da dini bir adam var. Dinine bağlı falan. Sonra tecavüzden yargılandı, yargılanıyor. O evde, o merkezde ben

The parts that I quoted so far, of course, are examples of very direct interventions. On the contrary, there are also many examples in which actors find themselves in very unpleasant situations or feel that they are mentally chained; in other words, they were restrained more indirectly. These indirect pressures often come from close ones that social actor knows very well and from the same circles in which they wander, such as colleagues, schoolmates or best buddies, in the shape of advice or silly jokes:

“For instance, the fact that I am using tinder is normal and I believe that its usage by both sexes should be considered as a normal thing. However, there have been some guys that I had to talk to because of this. Moreover, these guys are the types who you can call “modern”. For them, when they use tinder it’s O.K, but when I, as a woman, use it, their two different worlds fall out with each other. I am his normal and neat girlfriend that he can talk to, you know? So they say “You are using tinder too?”, “How can you do that?”, “So you seek a one-night stand?” “These guys do not care about you; you know?” These questions are insulting and humiliating. I also do not care about those guys with whom I sleep; maybe this is exactly what I’m looking for. As I said these guys call them modern. They accept that you can lose your virginity, you can have sex before marriage but they want that you remain monogamist and that your relation lasts long. Being sexually active as a woman is something that shocks them. They cannot accept it; they find it strange and dangerous. They cannot associate that persona with me<sup>75</sup>.” Derya, Undergraduate international relations student, Heterosexual

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artık ihtiyacımı artık gazetenin arka sayfasındaki, azıcık bacağı gözüken, azıcık poposu belli olan kadın fotoğrafına bakarak 31 çekiyordum. Bu anlaşılınca, bunu daha doğrusu biriyle paylaşınca biriyle, eve gazete alınmamaya başladı. O eve gazete girmedi, yasaklandı. Rehabilitasyon merkezi gibi bir şeydi. İki sene önce oldu bu olay.”

<sup>75</sup> Mesela tinder kullanıyor olmam bence çok normal bir şey ve kullanması da her iki cinsin normal şeyler hani mesela bunun yüzünden tartıştığım hani normal erkek arkadaşlarım falan oldu yani. İşte çünkü onların dünyasında o kendisi de mesela tinder kullanıyor, bazıları benim de kullandığımı düşündüğünde iki dünyası bir araya giriyor gibi. Ben onun konuşabileceği normal bir kız arkadaşım ama aa sen de mi tinder kullanıyorsun, nasıl bunu yaparsın, nasıl yani tek kişi ilişki de yaşar mısın diye hani böyle itham edici ve böyle küçük düşürücü falan şeyler söylendiği birkaç kere oldu, bu tür hani. Daha çok şey, bu arkadaşlar da modern diyebileceğim insanlar, tabii ki onlar için kadın evlenmeden ilişki yaşar, seks yapar, bekâret çok önemsizdir falan ama düzgün bir ilişkin olsun, tek eşli ol, uzun ilişkin olsun falan gibi yine de cinsel olarak aktif olarak bildiğin arkadaşlarını gene de öyle geleneksel bir şeye koymak istiyor, tek gecelik ilişki yaşıyor oluşumu, bu kadar cinsel olarak aktif oluşumu ya da en azından onlar kadar aktif oluşumu

This quote also successfully reveals once again the obvious asymmetry between women and men in terms of sexual roles. Men seem to be sole discursive determinants of this subject. They have unlimited access to premarital sex; in other words, they have the right to make mistakes when it comes to one night stands; moreover, it is not seen as a mistake but a “score”. Meanwhile, they also have the right to protect and save “the girls they like” from the potential dangers of being victimized of a man hunt that they have a familiarity in first place from a lustful world where they know very well of being a man. Similarly, Gül Özyeğin has investigated this asymmetric formation of sexual experiences between men and women among the Turkish youth. According to her, upwardly mobile educated young Turkish women construct shifting identities, in order to navigate their desires in relation to virginity, in the midst of the tension between their own sexual deeds and expectations of society (family, men and peers)<sup>76</sup>. Despite Özyeğin’s case in which the loss of one’s virginity or having premarital sex had become more “acceptable” in a long relationship where love and fidelity coexist; in Derya’s case, even this accurate and relatively secure position within the lines of a love fuelled relationship are challenged and denied by her. However, the discursive control and restriction of casual women sexuality is still very present.

It is also possible to raise examples of these indirect interventions that create some resistance and protestation, in spite of the gender asymmetry. For instance, Barış was being mocked by some of his friends because of his “anal addiction”:

“I have this addiction to anal sex. When I reveal this to my friends, from time to time, there can be some reactions like “If you like it that much, maybe you are a gay?”. Of course they are not serious but this is not also a basic nonsense. In their

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garip ve tehlikeli buluyorlar ve böyle daha farklı sıfatlara belki ilişkilendiriyorlar falan, o personayı yakıştıramıyorlar mesela.

<sup>76</sup> Gül Özyeğin “Virginal Facades: Sexual Freedom and Guilt among Young Turkish Women”, 2009, *European Journal of Women’s Studies*, 1350-5068; Vol. 16(2): 103–123; 101761, 113.

perception if I like the asshole, I can also like a man's hole as it's also the same organ in males. I don't like this<sup>77</sup>.”

These multifarious interventions make clear the gendered dimensions of sexual acts including pornography. Derya's and Barış's sayings are both fed by certain gender stereotypes. Derya is violating the “free but monogamist” woman persona, while Barış is moving beyond the lines of conventional intercourse. In brief, what is learned during childhood continues throughout one's life, mainly by means of the endless control in the public sphere. Although this ceaseless and intense control is present regardless of gender, it also differs and takes shape asymmetrically, parallel to the gender variations.

In such climate, the informants have started searching for other ways to access sexuality and sexual knowledge. Of course, as it can be expected, pornography has become the primary and major source of sexual knowledge for the interviewees. It was a useful substitute to the absence and silence that they had perpetually been feeling. Besides, it was something accessible even in their mahram. Generally, pornography was discovered long before the first sexual encounter. Yet, even though they were a minority within the interviewees, among the female interviewees there were some who discovered porn after having had their first sexual encounter. In these cases, actors have had some uneasy sexual experiences in which they have felt no enjoyment at all. In the midst of an obscurity where sexuality was declared null and void, Internet pornography was emerged as a guiding light, regardless of whether it was before the “first time” or afterwards. For instance, Başak says that she started to explore Internet pornography because of what she had been through. She did not accept the fact that she does not get pleasure from the sex itself.

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<sup>77</sup> “Ben anal sekse düşkünlüğümden bahsettiğim bazı arkadaşlarım, genellikle yarı yarıya böyle bir tepki geliyor. Eğer göte bu kadar meraklıysan eşcinsel olabilir misin diye şakalar yapılabiliyor. Neden ciddiye aldın diye sert bir tepki geldi. Algılarında anal seks erkekte de aynı organ olduğu için, göt deliğinden bahsediyorum, öyle bir çağrışım yapıyor.”

“There was no one to ask in fact. The guy who I first slept with wasn’t really an elucidator type. (...) Something was wrong; sex was too boring for me. I kept saying to myself that it should also have been delightful for me. This is how I started to watch porn<sup>78</sup>.”

Some of the informants have also developed different strategies in order to learn about sexuality and sex itself, before watching porn. Certain had observed the people around them, their chatting, the corporal gestures which they were keeping reflecting outside:

“In fact, I did not learn sexuality through talking I guess. I observed my surroundings, such as people’s actions and their chatters, I figured out certain things like this. Then curiosity came, there were erotic channels on the TV. I watched some of them and also, with the development of the Internet, I searched by myself for porn in order to learn. I don’t know how old I was but it’s certainly not something recent. Of course, I was curious about what was going on. I wanted to learn sexuality<sup>79</sup>.”

Merve, Ph.D. candidate, Researcher and Teaching Assistant,  
Bisexual

But sooner or later porn entered their lives. After having been kept in the dark for a long time, these people literally found a real getaway:

“In Turkey porn provides you with an escape. That’s for sure. You can’t talk sexuality with your family; they have no idea about what is going on. Then porn comes and offers you some new ways to deal with those anomalies that you are feeling all

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<sup>78</sup> “Etrafımda da sorabileceğim birileri yoktu açıkçası. İlk yattığım adam da, ilk sevgilim de hiç bu konuda böyle bilinçlendirici vs. davrandığını düşünmüyorum. Onun için, zaten yaşça büyük ve deneyimliydi ama hiç bana öğretmeye bile kalkışmadı mesela sonuçta ilk defa yaşadığım bir şey, sadece onun çerçevesinde olupbitti ve ben de uzun bir süre kafamda seksi öyle bir şey diye kodladım. Ama bir şeyler yanlıştı, seks benim için de zevk alınacak bir şey olmalıydı. İşte porno izlemeye böyle başladım.”

<sup>79</sup> “Yani ben cinselliği çok fazla konuşarak öğrenmedim sanırım. Etrafımı gözlemleyerek, insanların hareketlerinden, konuştukları şeyleri dinleyerek, bir şeyler falan “figure out” ettim biraz. Ondan sonra merak ettiğim için, televizyonda falan erotik kanallar vardı. Biraz onları izleyerek, sonra da Internetin gelişmesiyle birlikte, kendim arayarak porno izleyerek, kaç yaşından itibaren bilmiyorum ama o kadar yeni bir şey değil. Merak ediyordum tabii ne olup bittiğini. Cinselliği öğrenmek istiyordum.”

the time. You master those ways in discreet and then you learn sexuality<sup>80</sup>.”

Ataol, Undergraduate media and communication student,  
Heterosexual

As M.S Weinberg and C.J. Williams underline, pornography is an essential source through which individuals can attain or modify sexual scripts<sup>81</sup>. However, as they quoted from Gagnon, acquiring scripts is not a mere automatic process. First and foremost, social actors should be convinced by the content in order to make these scripts “work”. As I emphasized earlier, the individuals whom I talked with throughout my research, are people who were not obviously convinced of the prevailing cultural scripts that they have been subjected to in Turkish public sphere, in the domestic/ private spheres or in their mahram<sup>82</sup>. So how did they become convinced by what they saw in the Internet pornography? Here I think that two notions, “anonymity” and “lustfulness of the openness” are important because while dealing with the emergent “anomalies” that they have been discovering in or on their bodies “alone in the dark”, they have also figured out that what is in crystal clear was lustful. What they used to know as forbidden was on the scene and it was hot. Indeed, the content they were enjoying was a good convincer. Therefore, they did not doubt it. Derya, along with many other people, had been through this. Still, she was filled with feelings of shame back then but the intense pleasure that she experienced and the anonymity that left her alone with her desires, encouraged her to continue watching pornography:

“My confrontation with pornography was not due to a deep research. I was eleven and I found my brother’s porn collection by chance. I watched some movies from the collection and I realized how much I enjoyed it, how pleasurable it was. Since then, I started to watch porn willingly. When I was 11-12 of course, it was a total shame for me, I was masturbating with all

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<sup>80</sup> “Türkiye’de porno sana bir kaçış sağlıyor, burası kesin. Ailenle cinsellik konuşamazsın, sana ne olduğunun farkında bile değiller. O sırada porno geliyor ve senin yaşadığın gariplikleri kendi meşrebince açıklıyor, yeni yollar öneriyor bunlarla başa çıkmak için. Sen ise, gizlilik içinde bu yolları öğreniyor ve cinsellik hakkında bilgileniyorsun”.

<sup>81</sup> Weinberg, M.S., Williams, C.J., Kleiner, S. et al. Arch Sex Behav (2010) 39: 1389-1391

those feelings of taint back then. After I became an adult, I mean after 18 slowly those feelings started to disappear. After my initial sexual encounters, they were totally gone<sup>83</sup>.”

Orhan also experienced a similar process. He first learnt of the existence of Internet pornography and its primary usage [masturbation] from his friend circle. He then gradually discovered other kinds of porn, such as gay porn. His introduction to Internet pornography also meant an introduction to the homoerotic possibilities<sup>84</sup>. So, he kept watching.

It is possible to multiply these examples from the informants. What is common in all their stories, being a pornographer and a porn consumer, i.e. the content that they were exposed in, what they have been consuming were hot and anonymous. Due to these, later on, their real life experiences became related with what they had watched previously. Put differently, what they watched initially, deeply affected their sexual orientation and niches. In brief, this interactive and introspective process made things extremely easy in terms of convincement in order to make scripts work.

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<sup>83</sup> “Sanırım biraz benimki kendim araştırarak bulmamıştım, 11 yaşında falan abimin porno arşivini bul muştum bilgisayarında tesadüfen karşılaşmıştım. O zaman böyle izlemiştim ve böyle zevk aldığımı fark etmiştim izlerken. Ee, daha sonrası kendi isteğimle 11 yaşından sonra. Girmeye başladım sitelere. Ha küçükken daha ergenlik başında 11-12 yaşında baya utanarak izliyorum, utanç içinde mastürbasyon yapıyordum. Daha sonra reşit olduktan sonra bunu aştım, ilk cinsel deneyimimden falan da sonra tamamen kayboldu o his.”

<sup>84</sup>“İlk pornoyu gördüğümde altıncı sınıftaydım yani ortaokul bir. Bir arkadaşımın babasının pornoları varmış PC’de. Aa size de göstericem diye bize de gösterdi. İlk altıncı sınıfta gördüm ve iğrendim. En büyük korkum benim de penisim bu kadar büyük mü olacak şeklindeydi. Ondan sonra yedinci sınıfta şey olmaya başladı. O zaman CD değiş-tokuşları başladı. Üyelikli falan o zaman porno siteler. O dönem Internet çok iyi değil. Ki üye falan olamıyorsun; ancak CD dolaşır arkadaşlar arasında. Onlardan alıyorduk herkes bir tane CD alıyordu sonra başkasına götürüyordu o şekilde sende bir arşiv yapıyordun. Ben de o şekilde baya bir arşiv yapmıştım, koleksiyonuma eklemiştim. Ama bunlar hepsi straight porno tabii. Gey pornolar yok. Ne zaman ki ben yavaş yavaş Google’den geylik nedir, gey seks nedir bunları böyle araştırmaya başladım, o zaman böyle farklı farklı siteler gelmişti. Hatırlamıyorum isimleri ama bir tane sitede şey vardı: 1 dk’lık videolar indirebiliyordun. Ben ilk oradan öğrenmeye başlamıştım. Yani yedinci sınıfın sonu, sekizinci sınıfın başı bunların olduğu. (...) İlk cinsel deneyimim 8.sınıfın sonunda ama benim homo-erotizm ile tanışmam Internet üzerinden, gey pornosuyla yani başlamam 7.sınıf. Yanlış hatırlamıyorsam yani. Çünkü zaten az çok öğreniyorsun, böyle olmuştu evet.”

### **Who to love, who to “shag”?**

However, this process of convincement by certain scripts is never fully completed; on the contrary it is an ongoing, never-ending process, as the interviewees are always looking for new sexual possibilities. They clarify in numerous instances that they keep seeking improvements in their sexual lives. In a way, while they are engaging in some sexual practices, they are also seeking unique things to try. However, before surmount to that, I also want to explain in detail how individuals are choosing and classifying their partners. This is an important aspect of social interaction that gives us a different perspective to study contested thoughts of individuals of their own distinct sexualities and their search for various improvements, thus understanding the nature of the social interaction. This perspective, naturally, also gives us clues as to why the informants were always seeking new things to try. That is why in this part, I will talk about how sexualities become individualized, put different, a goal that have become “should fragmentarily be achieved” in recent times.

Let us start with effects of hyper-modernity on sexuality: Eva Illouz proposed that hyper modernity<sup>85</sup> was an intense marking point for the radicalization of various social dispositions, the modification of the romantic heterosexual love culture of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and gender identity economy. According to her, heterosexual romanticism includes two important cultural revolutions that emerged from hyper modernity: First of all, individualized life styles and life projects had emerged and secondly the romantic relationships had absorbed the prevailing economic models. For Illouz, as a result, sexuality -which is an intrinsic part of a romantic relationship- had become immune to the “moral values” and took a big part in individualized life styles and life projects<sup>86</sup>. Yet this was due to a thornier and complex process. By the 20<sup>th</sup> century masculine hegemony within the household had dramatically regressed. In the pre-modern West, men were situated in three

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<sup>85</sup> Illouz defines this stage as the time period which follows World War I.

<sup>86</sup> Eva Illouz, *Aşk Neden Acıtır: Sosyolojik Bir Açıklama*, trans. Özge Çağlar Aksoy, (Jaguar Kitap, 2013): 24-26.

main spheres: household, work place and homosocial spheres where strictly inaccessible to women. For Illouz, men due to feminist claim on household and work place and step down of homosocial spaces in 20<sup>th</sup> century, had to reformulate the socio-economic logic which he once had in a different realm: Realm of sexuality<sup>87</sup>. Thus, sexuality had become a competitive field where men and women, along with their different sexual orientations and preferences, started to develop and apply discrete strategies, make investments and maintain negotiations. Henceforward, a decent sexual life is equal to happiness, success and excellence. It is also an outcome of self-worth and accomplished insight.

Among the informants I came against to a similar stance. Their sexuality was an important constituent of their selves. The sexual practices that they engaged in and their efforts to improve their sexual life are all promoters of who they are in reality. Orhan defines this very clearly:

“In fact, sexuality is one of the most important elements in my life. (...) I see it as relaxing, also when I do it, I am also doing sports I know it. In brief there are many aspects, even some that can be traceable since my childhood. As I said, I am sexually active since I was 13. I accepted my identity through it. I mean, if I didn't have my sexuality, probably I would never identify myself as a gay and I would never have been aware of LGBTI/gender issues. Also even when I draw, there are lots of sexual references. In sum, sexuality is essential in my life<sup>88</sup>.”

There are also other informants who claimed that their sexualities play a fundamental part in the formation of their identity:

“Sexuality is physical and lingual freedom for me. I know, I should explain that “lingual” in more detail: Maybe I can name it as a freedom of expression. It's where you put yourself as a

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<sup>87</sup> Illouz, “*Aşk Neden Acıtır*”, 128.

<sup>88</sup> “Aslında cinsellik benim hayatımın en önemli elemanlarından bir tanesi.(...) Rahatlatıcı olarak görüyorum cinselliği, bir yandan spor yapmış oluyorum bir sürü aspect var ve çocukluktan beri 13 yaşından beri hayatımda olan bir şey cinsellik ve bir yandan kimliğimi onun üzerinden kabul ettim. Yani cinselliğim olmasaydı muhtemelen kendimi gey olarak tanımlamazdım ve LGBT/gender meselelerine bu kadar duyarlı olmazdım. Çizdiğim zaman sürekli cinsel referanslar var ve hayatımda büyük yer tutuyor. Benim için cinsellik olmazsa olmazlarımdan bir tanesi.”

human-being, impulsively and physically and the way that you carry it out while abrogating all taboos that you have. Although I am saying so, I have also my own taboos and I am challenging with them<sup>89</sup>.”

Eda

“It [sexuality] does not have a single definition to me but it definitely has an important place in my life. I’m still trying to explore it. I experienced my first sexual encounter when I was 17 and yes, since then I’m always trying to learn more. I’m trying to adapt new things, yes, it is very important to me. (...) It has a meaning that changes through time. It is way more normal than it used to be. How can I get more pleasure? It is still an unexplored area for me. I have a lot to do, still. I’m questioning monogamy etc. in my mind but meanwhile I’m scared that I would never find a suitable partner for my desires that I keep thinking of. As you see, sexuality has many meanings for me<sup>90</sup>.”

Derya

Love and ideal suitable partner also emerged as key concepts. Before starting the interviews, I was also wondering how the informants would differentiate love and sex. Or would they define a difference in the first place? As underlined by Illouz, love is an experience of modernity. Two competences of modernity; rationalism and autonomy are always being used by individuals when it comes to choosing the “ideal partner”. This choosing process takes shape by ecology of the choice. Essentially, it was the social circle that pushed individuals to make definite (partner) choices in the pre-modern era. However, the social changes that have

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<sup>89</sup> “Cinsellik fiziksel ve dilsel özgürlük benim için. Belki dilseli daha açmak gerekir. İfade özgürlüğü ve fiziksel özgürlük diyeyim. Senin kendini bir insan olarak, nereye koyduğun, en azından dürtüsel anlamda ve bunu fiziksel olarak, kendini bütün bu tabulardan nasıl soyutlayıp gerçekleştirebildiğin. Özgürlük diyorum ama benim de çok ciddi tabularım var.”

<sup>90</sup> “Tek bir anlam ifade etmiyor aslında ama yani önemli bir yeri var hayatımda. Ve hala keşfetmeye çalışıyorum onu da yani 17 yaşında ilk birlikteliğim oldu, evet, ondan beri de öğrenmeye çalışıyorum yani. Yeni şeyler denemeye çalışıyorum, önemli bir şey benim için cinsellik. Zamanla da değişen bir tanımı var gibi. Şu an çok daha normal, daha çok nasıl zevk alabilirim, keşfedilmemiş bir alan gibi daha çok, bunları ifade ediyor. Daha çok yolum olan bir alan, bir yandan tabi şeylerle, hani ben çok daha özgürlükçü hissediyorum cinsel anlamda yani tek eşliliği vs. sorguluyorum ama o kafa yapısında bir partner bulabilir miyim, o endişe de var. Cinselliği biraz şey, diğer insanları da düşünüp, erkek tarafını, onlarla aynı noktada mıyım? Biraz kafa karıştırıcı şeyler de çağırıyor, ben farklı mıyım gibi. Birçok anlam yani, ilk aklıma gelenler bunlar.”

occurred in the midst of hyper-modernity also led to a change in the choice of sexual partners. The reciprocal influence between casual and long-term partner ecologies of the choice are due to the intertwinement of several economical and emotional mindsets<sup>91</sup>. Thus I find it very important to convey here how the informants define love along with their sexuality and how they treat distinctly or in very similar ways when they have experiences related to these two concepts.

Firstly, there is always a distinction between intercourse and love. For the majority of interviewees whom I talked with, there are important differences between the partners they choose in order to satisfy their urgent needs and the ones they want to be in love with.

“If you ask whether I am always fucking with guys who I love most or not, my answer will be, of course, no. However, for me - I am saying this in its most idealized form - in the intercourse, there should also be emotions such as love, respect and compassion. I mean these types of feelings should be in motion too. For me this is the most ideal form of “uniting”, “merging in one”. But there is always this dimension of “need”. Therefore, you can satisfy this need through one night stands etc.<sup>92</sup>”

Ahmet

“Love and sex; I believe it is marvellous and splendid when this two comes together.<sup>93</sup>”

Başak

“Love is complicated but I can try to define it: Love is something that you feel towards someone who you enjoy being with, whose tastes you respect and something that makes you feel excited all the time. I am not sure how long this excitement can last of course. But I’m pretty sure that it makes you really excited, at least in the beginning. I do not think that it is miraculous nor for once. You can

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<sup>91</sup> Illouz, “*Aşk Neden Acıtır*”, 28.

<sup>92</sup> “Hani hep mi sevdiğin erkeklerle gönül bağının, gönül birliğinin olduğu erkeklerle mi birlikte oldun desen, buna hayır diyeceğimden kendimle çelişmek istemem. Ama evet, burada kast ettiğim, cinselliğin idealize haliyle söylüyorum o öyle bir birleşme, için içinde duygusallık da, sevgi de, saygı da, şefkat de bu tip duyguların da harekete geçmesi, olması gerekiyor. Bunu kastediyordum bir olmaktan, birleşmekten ama tabii o ihtiyaç kısmıyla ilgili, kişi one night standler de var sonuçta, kişi günlük gecelik ihtiyaçlarını da başkalarıyla karşılayabiliyor tabii. Yani anlatabildim mi bilmiyorum ama?”

<sup>93</sup> “Aşk ve seks, ikisi bir araya gelince bu muhteşem ve harikulade bir şey”

fall in love at any time and more than one. But the difference between this feeling and the feeling that you have for other ordinary people is the fact that you are enjoying his/her company the most. It is something that you have for whom you can satisfy so many things in your life<sup>94</sup>.”

### Derya

The co-existence of love and sex is something ideal, a goal that the informants want and try to achieve in their own lives. However, there are many reasons that it does not move beyond being a “wish”. To make this idealized “dream” come true is often difficult. There is more than one reason and these reasons always intertwine with rationalism and autonomism. As Illouz underlines, there is a hierarchy of rational thoughts and emotions in hyper-modern societies<sup>95</sup>. In such a hierarchy, emotion is often positioned below. Therefore, lots of disaccords can occur when it comes to making choices in real life. For example, let us take the notion of time. Time can be a provider of experience. If you have enough time, you have a chance to learn and experience more. If you have time, you can make rational and emotional choices at the same time. Yet this is something that the informants do not have. This is how Eda relates time, sex and love:

“I think that sexuality in which love is present, is not solely composed of having sex. It revolves around it but even you can understand or communicate with that person from the way of how he or she sniffs you. If your sexuality is filled with love, sex somehow disguises itself. Ornaments show up, sex becomes best than ever but as it merges to everything around that relationship, you can barely notice it. I guess this is something that you can acquire with only one person. I mean, to have sex with 200 guys once does not give you the same experience that you can gain with having sex with one guy for 200 times. The most ideal option is to have sex with 200

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<sup>94</sup>“ Ya evet, o da karışık bir şey ama sanırım şey. Birlikte olmaktan çok zevk aldığım, çok ilgi duyduğum onun hayatına zevklerine, heyecanlandıran aynı zamanda. O heyecan tabii ne kadar sürebiliyorsa tabii. Başlarda çok heyecanlı olduğum en azından bir şey, ama hani mucizevi bir şey gibi de değil aklındaki, bir kere olur, aşk bir kere olunur falan gibi de düşünmüyorum. Her an da olunabilir, sürekli de olunabilir. İnsan hayatında çok fazla da olabilir. Ama diğerlerinden farkı, bu insanı diğerlerinden farklı kılan, işte çok zevk aldığım birlikte olmaktan, çok fedakârlık yaptığım biri. Birlikte vakit geçirmekten zevk aldığım.”

<sup>95</sup> Illouz, “*Aşk Neden Acıtır?*”, 42.

people 200 times each; but physically I do not believe that I have that much time. Everybody can be a good beginner in these topics. If you count on someone enough, if you spare him or her the sufficient time and if you are 100% sure of your orientations and emotions, then sexuality transforms into a journey from a mere experience<sup>96</sup>.”

Furthermore, the interviewees do not have sex with everybody or always with random individuals. There are a lot of criteria that they expect from the people who choose to live this with them, to must fulfil. They define themselves as autonomous and as mentioned, they are trying to be rational in their choices. In relation to this, they can also choose to pick their partners randomly when their sole intention is to have an entertaining night; but when it comes to someone important, various criteria come to front:

“For sex, I do not bother with his political view, the social milieu in which he was raised, his social class, his skin color, his height, his penis size etc. I got horny at that moment, is my libido peaking? Unless he is ultra-dumb, I can fuck with anyone. I do not ascribe lots of meaning to fucking. When my libido is high, I get such signals: Goodly-eyes, surfing on tumblr, digging sex blogs out... Then I say to myself: Look bro, you have to have sex. At that moment I am not selective. I do not bother whether he is handsome, performs art or does social science etc. or not. As I said, there are two fields for me, in my brain: Field of love and field of fuck. Therefore, contrary to the field of fuck, when I want to relate with someone emotionally, I become very selective. I want him to be handsome, to dress well, I do not mean that he must wear Chanel but he should have a style, I want him to have some sense of aesthetics, to have some knowledge on arts etc. I have

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<sup>96</sup> “Bence aşkın olduğu bir cinsel hayat seksten ibaret değil, onun etrafında dönüyor ama birisinin beni nasıl kokladığından bile aslında onu anlayabiliyorsun. Eğer ki cinsel hayatın aşk doluysa birisi içindeyken galiba seks kendini zaten göstermemeye başlıyor. Başka şeylerle süslü oluyor, seks de her zamankinden iyi oluyor ama etrafındaki diğer şeylerle tam bir bütün haline geldiği için çok da fazla sekse bakmıyorsun. Bir de biraz tecrübe tek kişiyle edinilen bir şey galiba. Yani 200 tane erkekle 1er kez yatmakla, bir erkekle 200 kere yatmanın aynı cinsel tecrübesi yok. Tabii ideali 200 kişiyle 200 kez yatmak oluyor tabi ama fiziksel olarak öyle bir vaktim olduğunu sanmıyorum. Herkes iyi bir beginner olabilir o konularda. Birine yeteri kadar güveniyorsan, yeteri kadar vakit ayırıyorsan veya kendi hislerinden yöneliminden yeteri kadar eminsen cinsellik böyle daha bir tecrübeden yolculuğa dönüşüyor bence o güzel bir şey.”

a one-person quota for an emotional relationship; therefore I should make tiny decisions to be selective<sup>97</sup>.” Orhan

Of course, each person has a difference sense of rationalize. For instance, if we turn back to Eda, she has some pre-cautions when she has group-sex. Her quote, along with others, also shows that ecology of choice is a gendered process:

“Sex has to make you vulnerable but at the same time, it is a state where you are open to the abuse: For instance, group sex. You can go over the place with all your sensuality but a person who joined the event can talk behind your back, such as “I fucked that girl so hard dude”. This is something that sullies your experience. For these cases, I can become very selective in order to avoid it from turning into something shitty. I can do whatever I want, but I must do this with persons that I can count on. The persons who will stop immediately at the moment that you do not want to go on<sup>98</sup>.”

In brief, as being another realm where the tension between constraints and sexuality that they learnt from the Internet pornography are present, the informants’ interactions with other social actors in their cohorts are also very

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<sup>97</sup> “Seks için gerçekten, politik görüşü nasıldır, işte hangi sınıftan geliyordur, ten rengi nedir, boyu nedir bunlara takmamaya başladım. Penis boyu nedir, işte bu tarz şeylere çok bakmıyorum. O an mesela çok mu tahrik olmuşum, libidom tavan mı? Applicationları açıyorum kim olursa, çok geri zekâlı bir tip olmadığı sürece yatabiliyorum. Cinselliğe çok da anlam yüklemiyorum. Çok mu azdım, libidom mu yükseldi. Tumblr’da, seks bloglarına bakıyorum, dışarı çıktığımda birilerini kesmeye başlıyorum. İşte bunlar hep sinyalleri veriyor bana “senin seks yapman lazım” diye. O kişi için çok selektif olmuyorum, yakışıklı olsun, sanat yapsın, sosyal bilim yapsın vs. O iki alan dediğim şey var ya bununla çok alakalı. Duygusal birine bağlanmak istediğimde inanılmaz seçici oluyorum. Bu hem bedensel sermaye anlamında, benim yakışıklılık kriterlerime göre hem yakışıklı olsun seksi olsun, iyi giyinsin, yani Chanel giysin değil de tarzı olsun. Böyle estetik bir zevki olsun sanattan anlasın falan filan, onda çok seçici oluyorum çünkü duygusal alana bir kişilik kontenjanım var o yüzden o kişi benim için en iyilerden biri olsun diyorum. Erotik ve cinsel anlamda niye ince eleyip sık dokuyorum, çünkü bu muhtemelen seçeceğim kişi tek eşli olacak, madem tek eşli olacağım bu kişiyle o zaman cinsel açıdan olabildiğince iyi olsun diye arıyorum ama buna rağmen cinsellik sorun çıkarıyor çünkü ben cinsel bağlamda tek eşlilikte sorun yaşıyorum.”

<sup>98</sup> “Seksün biraz da seni vulnerable yapması lazım ki o da çok kolay suistimal edilebilecek bir durum. Mesela bu grup sekslerde. Sen oraya tamamen duygusal, sensuel bir şekilde gidersin ama olaya katılan başka biri işte der ki ‘şu kız siktim ehöe’ diye gider. Senin tecrübeyi kirleten bir şey. O tip durumlarda çok rahat değilim. Grup sekslere karşı değilim, deneyimlemeye karşı değilim ama yani eğer ki kötü bir şeye dönüşülebilecek bir tecrübeyse eğer çok daha detaycı oluyorum. Her şeyi deneyebilirsin etik olarak uygunsuz senin için ama önemli olan, denemeden bilemeyeceğin.”

crucial to understand how sexual norms change, transform and also the numerous ways for scripts to being put on work. As shown, ecologies of choice are often determined by rationality and autonomy. The profound mismatches between large-scaled social constraints due to a patriarchal society in which being sexually overt is forbidden or at best restricted, and sexual scripts that had been acquired by the Internet pornography, become sharp in the midst of various actors' social interaction. Being rational and autonomous is an important strategy within the interactions of social actors. As we are talking about sexuality, this ceaseless interaction does not only occur in the public sphere, but also moves beyond it to the bedroom as we can observe above.

To conclude, the informants, either we name the society in which they live as post-paradigmatic or hyper modern society, have dealt with their sexualities differently than their parents and embraced it affirmatively regardless of the multifaceted constraints that they have had to face within their society. Meanwhile, I observed that they experienced tension when choosing suitable partners or some deeply rooted confusion they had to deal with when it came to categorizing them. In relation to all these, the cohorts that they dwell or wander and where individualized life styles and life projects are preeminent and also immune to the preponderant cultural scripts, together with the ease that comes from consuming Internet pornography, ensured the suitable environment in which they can engage in very distinct sexual practices that have been labelled "abnormal", "deviant" and "perverse". It should not be forgotten that this environment is also a must for the competing sexualities. However, the confusion that they are experiencing with their partner choices and the indirect intervention from their close-ones prove that, even these cohorts are not free from the fundamental tensions which are at the core of their sexuality.

In the last part of this chapter, I will try to trace and relay their "marked" sexualities and also the dialogue between them and their consumption of Internet pornography. I will also show how this acquired knowledge and sexual desires can be negotiated more easily within their cohorts via certain gaps.

### **Breathing spaces for perversion: A possibility created by the dialogue between porn consumption and personal perversion**

Thus far in this chapter, I have tried to introduce the informants and portray what they have been through by giving them the floor. At first glance, they can be seen as oppressed individuals in a patriarchal society. However, in a more detailed look it can be also seen that they are urbanites that belong to the middle class and this “privileged” socio-economical position gives them the opportunity to wander in certain social milieus, where they can become relatively immune to the large-scaled restraints and compete their sexualities. Yet I can say that the major relief for being capable to explore sexuality, in the presence of these large-scaled restraints, stems from pornography consumption. Internet pornography, with its anonymity, ensures the minimum freedom of exploration in the patriarchal society where they live. It is an endless source of different types of fantasies and possibilities to discover without being “seen” or “judged” according to most of the interviewees. If we consider the fact that even those social milieus can contain interferences that I named as “indirect interventions” earlier in this chapter and mismatches because of the ecology of partner choice, it would be lot easier to understand porn’s relieving function more specifically. Therefore, I want to highlight how the informants narrate this dialogue between their porn consumption and their personal perversion. By the way, I want to note that I am using word “perversion” in an affirmative sense<sup>99</sup>. Also as I said at the beginning, I treat our talks with the informants as tantamount to their social actions. So these semi-constructed interviews are also a part of their scripts’ contestation, thus a true meeting with them for the reader. Additionally, they give us the specifics of strategies they use in numerous interactions.

Furthermore, as F. Atwood notes, until recently, ‘the focus of research into pornographic consumption has been on “effects”, to investigate, for example, whether pornography causes violence or results in callous attitudes towards

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<sup>99</sup> From my queer theoretical perspective, I appraise the word.

women<sup>100</sup>'. According to her, this approach has a very narrow focus as it leaves serious gaps on the understanding of pornographic consumption. She also adds that this focus and respective methods seem to be problematic because they usually do not take into consideration the individuals' actual conditions in which they consume pornography. Saying that media texts (including pornography) have effects on the audience is a simplistic view and leaves the obtained data in a raw state<sup>101</sup>. Beyond a one-sided interaction between the text and the consumer, media texts can be put to use in very distinct ways by their consumers. This part aims to portray these multiple usages and to overcome this simplicity and rawness by flashing certain strategies of the interviewees. These strategies prove once again that media texts' effects can vary and have very diversifying consequences. They, again, while shedding light on media texts' individualized differentiation, also give prospective ideas about potential pornographic embodiments and the 'queerness' of current pornographies.

### **Different strategies**

Take the example of Merve's hand job practice:

"In fact, there can be two options. [I asked her if she has ever applied a sexual practice that she learnt or saw from pornography in her real life]. First the porn videos that I wonder and open with curiosity and the second, the ones that I believe can arouse me physically. The first one, I do not watch for masturbating, I watch it for learning. For instance, there was this video where the guy was laying down in a flat field and woman was performing a hand job on him. It was too long but I watched it until the end. Of course, as I do not have a penis I cannot know exactly but there were things that I had learnt from my experiences. Anyway, I counted on woman's knowledge and I memorized all that I saw in that porn. I was wondering the possible response that I will get. I should say: it was wonderful!<sup>102</sup>"

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<sup>100</sup> Feona Attwood, "What Do People Do With Porn?" *Sexuality and Culture*. Spring, Vol.9, No.2. (2005): 67.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid.70.

<sup>102</sup> Mesela, yani hiç böyle bir böyle seveceğimi düşündüğüm, beni fiziksel olarak arouse edeceğini düşündüğüm şeyler, bir de merak edip açıp izlediklerim var. Onu masturbasyon için izlemiyorum, nasıl oluyor, neler oluyor orada diye. Bir şey izlemiştim mesela, adam yatıyor düz bir yüzeyde kadın da handjob yapıyor ona. Çok uzun ama anlamaya

I also once again, want to quote Burcu's statement that I have used in the beginning of the second chapter of this work:

“Watching porn thought-provoking and mind-clearing. It's like going to the art museum, viewing the masterpieces just before you start drawing.”<sup>103</sup>

In my opinion, these citations can be interpreted as such: The informants are using and consuming the Internet pornography in plenty of different ways. Interestingly, some of them are approaching Internet pornography in the same way that a true-hearted cinema audience would approach golden classics or in the similar sceptical way that a faithful literature reader would approach a new best-seller book. Or some will take it as a guidebook that they even still use in their sexual maturity. Moreover, there is a common line that emerges within the talks of all the interviewees. Let us listen to Orhan's summary on that. He explains why he ceaselessly watches porn and the relation of this consumption with his perversion:

“As I said we will be always watch porn because it is a fantasy construction, it is a setting where the fantasies are being produced and circulated. For instance, today you can say that your fantasy is licking women's feet but two days after you will be searching for something totally new. And the most comfortable setting that can provide you with this is Internet pornography<sup>104</sup>.”

Indeed, the Porn 2.0 layout provides this setting or as Orhan propounds, it is the setting itself. It gives them the opportunity to discover new sexual possibilities; it forms, reshapes, reproduces, manipulates or even modifies sexual tastes, as it can reproduce gender binaries, it can also dismantle them. With its endless options in

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çalışmışım izlemiştim sonuna kadar. Penisim olmadığı için bilmiyorum, tabii ki kendi deneyimlerimden az çok biliyorum, neresi nasıl hissettirir falan ama orada böyle, herhalde o kadın biliyordur bunları yaparken gibi düşünüp onları bir ezberlemiştim. Yani bunları aklımda tutum, bir kere de deneyim ne olacak, nasıl bir cevap alacağım diye. Sonra da deneyip çok da güzel bir cevap almışım. Harikaydı!

<sup>103</sup> “Porno izlemek bir yandan kafa da açıyor; tıpkı resim çizmeden önce müze müze gezip masterpiece'leri incelemek gibi.”

<sup>104</sup> “Ama dediğim gibi porno izlemeye hep devam ederiz çünkü o biraz da fantezi inşası, fantezilerin sürekli üretildiği ve sirküle edildiği bir ortam. Bugün sen atıyorum sadece fantezin olarak ayak yalamayı söyleyebilirsin bunu yaparsın, bunu izlersin iki gün sonra yeni bir arayışa geçersin ve sana bu yeni arayışını en rahat sağlayacak mecra Internet pornosu yani.”

number, there is not only one way of to use it. Efe<sup>105</sup> emphasizes the cumulative dimension of his sexuality and the effects of pornography on his sexuality:

“At the end, my sexual memory is a cumulative one. In that sense, porn is not just a single, played out experience. It forms your actual sexuality; it combines itself with your true-life experiences. All these pile up and they are stored in your memory somehow. What I will live sexually is a part of what I lived before. And porn is certainly a tool of that<sup>106</sup>. “

Let us also look at what Eda said when I asked her if she ever learnt something from her pornography consumption.

“There were some kinks that I had already seen in pornos. Those were kinks I never had the chance to try just after seeing it in porn. However, with time, those kinks happened to me spontaneously and I did not feel out of them because I had already the familiarity thanks to porn<sup>107</sup>.”

Then she spoke about kink porn in general, which I also find very interesting:

“There is no possible way to imitate kinks. These are very specific sexual orientations. If you try to imitate them, probably even for a normal cinema audience it would appear as fake, so ridiculous. If you can record two persons (or more) who are sharing the same kinks, it will be very sexy. At the end, you will be downloading the pure “desire”. For a person who knows what he or she is looking for, the kink material on the Internet is awesome<sup>108</sup>.”

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<sup>105</sup> Undergraduate law student, Heterosexual

<sup>106</sup> “Sonuçta cinsel hafıza kümülatif bir hafıza ve porno da bu anlamda tek bir deneyimden oluşmuyor. Şu anki cinselliğini oluşturuyor, yaşadıklarını, çocukluğunda hepsi var mesela. En küçüklükten beri hep bu deneyimler birikiyor ve bu senin hafızana bir şekilde kaydediliyor. Ve evet bunlar senin cinsel hafızanı oluşturuyor. Cinsel ne yaşayacaksam, daha öncekiler de porno dahil bunun bir aracı.”

<sup>107</sup> “Pornodan aşına olduğum birtakım gerçek değil ama ufak kinkler vardı mesela. Kinky hareketler vardı ama hiç fırsatım yoktu denemeye ama mesela başıma geldiği zaman spontane bir şekilde yadırgamadım çünkü zaten familiar olduğum bir şeydi porno sayesinde. Benim seks hayatımı kolaylaştırdı bir anlamda”

<sup>108</sup> “Kinky şeyler taklit edilmesi imkânsız şeyler. İyi bir kinky bulamadım şu an ama tüylerden ya da gıdıklanmadan turn on olmuyorsan eğer, oluyormuş gibi göstermenin cidden bir yolu yok. İstedğin kadar rol yap. Çünkü kinkler o kadar spesifik cinsel yönelimler ki bunları taklit etmek çok zor. Birisi onu taklit etmeye çalışınca çok sakil duruyor bir sinema izleyicisi olarak dahi ikna olamıyorsun. O zaman da tadı kaçıyor işin. Ama mesela hakikaten aynı kinky duyan iki insanı oraya koysalar o zaman bu gerçekten çok seksi bir şey. Çünkü zevk indiriyorsun.”

Başak also tells that she acquired her bisexual and “sex with ice” desires from Internet pornography.

“For instance, I did not initially realize how much it could be wonderful to have sex with a woman when I first slept with a woman. I have already seen it in porn and I was very impressed. Similarly, I saw ice sex in pornography, and then tried it on real life. It was marvellous<sup>109</sup>.”

Ataol’s appropriation of his maledom<sup>110</sup> fantasies was also related to his porn consumption.

“Hmm there is this abusive brutal porn stuff. Whoever you ask about it, at least in my own circle, all women, mainly those associated with feminism<sup>111</sup>, would oppose to it, they would have a negative view of it. Before, I was doing the same; I was repressing this fantasy of mine. I kept saying “I can’t watch these; it is just not proper”. But lately, after have watched more and more brutal porn, I understood how abusively porn portrays women as a supporting player in sex and I realized that is the way I like it: “Slavery of women in bed”. I like this thinking. But of course, you can’t speak about it everywhere.”

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<sup>109</sup> “Mesela bir kadınla sevişmenin güzel olabileceğini, ilk bir kadınla seviştiğimde düşünmedim. Öncesinde de izlediğim bir şeydi ve etkilendim. İlk bu geldi o yüzden bunu söyledim. Ya da mesela sıcak ve soğuk, mesela buz, buzun sekste kullanılması kesinlikle bence bu da pornoda gördüğüm ve deneyip çok beğendiğim bir şeydi.”

<sup>110</sup> This term refers to BDSM activities and other types of sexual relations where the dominant partner is male.

<sup>111</sup> Consensual exchange of power for pleasure is very common in various sexual practices, mainly within the BDSM framework and as discussed earlier in this work, it has to be analyzed with particular theoretical tools different than that provided by Gender theory, such as the ones provided by Queer theory. I would also like to attach one of Michel Foucault’s interviews here, where he comments on S/M practices: “One can say that S&M is the eroticization of power, the eroticization of strategic relations ... the S&M game is very interesting because it is a strategic relation, because it is always fluid. Of course there are roles, but everyone knows very well that those roles can be reversed. Sometimes the scene begins with the master and slave, and at the end the slave has become the master. Or, even when the roles are stabilized, you know very well that it is always a game; either the rules are transgressed, or there is an agreement, either explicit or tacit, that makes them aware of certain boundaries. This strategic game as a source of bodily pleasure is very interesting.” See: Jet Moon and Alex Woodland ‘Sınırdasodomazoşizm, Cinsiyetin İçine Etme ve Sınırlara Hayır Politikalarıyla İlişkileri’ in *Queer Tahayyül*, ed. Sibel Yardımcı and Özlem Güçlü, (Sel Yayınları, 2013), 296.

As we can see from Ataol's case once again, the perversion in socio-economically privileged cohorts is not always accepted or easily embraced. Yet, the informants can personally accept and spread their horniness and perversion in many manners due to pornography. As shown in the examples above, the perversion can remain disguised because of the accusations for reproducing the gender binary but it can also show up as a "freaky kink" which can totally dismantle this binary. What is common, in all these sayings, is that pornography is an essential ease and appears as a motivational pattern. Eda puts it as such:

"Kink material is also good for a feeling of community. It proves to you that you are not alone and you are not a freak."

Even if watching porn does not always establish a feeling of community for the social actors; it can certainly create gaps that I will refer to as "breathing spaces for perversion", by which social actors can express the value of their own desires against the constraints, outside of their mahram. They do not have to talk about it; they can live it in shadows as it has been taught. However, as not all dimensions of social interaction are fully constructed, due to the relative comfort granted by their cohorts, they can use their knowledge and claim that their desires were acquired from pornography.

### **Libidinal everyday life**

There are further instances in which interviewees' actual life and their pornography consumption commingle within these breathing spaces, came to front many times during the interviews: Perceiving pornographic content as a part of his/her quotidian, watching porn with special partners etc. Here, interviewees have been co-experiencing their material real world occurrences with pornographic configurations on which I focus as they reveal how breathing spaces function. In such instances, it is often hard to distinguish the lines between virtual and real lives. They might also give some initial ideas about how future pornographic embodiments can occur.

In Web 2.0 era, pornographic content can trickle out of anywhere: It can be found on porn tube websites, namely: Pornhub, Xvideos, Youporn and Xhamster. It can also be found on blogging media such as tumblr. This variation in appearance gives birth to many tenancies in pornographic content. How Eda gathered things together in her tumblr account is a solid example of this tendency. As her case suggests, pornography can become an actualization in one's own life:

“I can access much pornographic content through my tumblr account. There are certain blogs that I personally follow. (...) In general, I prefer no big back-stories. In fact, I want to witness desire directly. I want to watch desire. You can always find narrative somewhere else. To me, in order to live eroticism in a healthy way, porn, literature and other media stuff should interfuse. In my life I want to actualize such ambiance. In tumblr, with porn blogs I also follow other stuff. If you look at my tumblr account you will see a poem at the top, then you will find a scene from Hunger Games, then pornographic content and the bottom you will find a cake recipe. Hence I introduce eroticism in my life in a mixed way. In this way, I can find the desire in porn<sup>112</sup>.”

Orhan has also placed pornography in a central place of his daily life. He explains that this positioning is mainly due to his changing views on masturbation. He asserts that masturbation is some sort of autonomous form of desire:

“My thoughts on masturbation have changed. Before it was like ‘I can't have sex therefore I am masturbating’ but now, I see masturbation as a different category of desire. It's not something secondary or tertiary compared to having sex but it's another form and shape of desire. From time to time, I even like it more (than sex). I know myself better than anyone; I am the one who knows

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<sup>112</sup>Genellikle benim tercih ettiklerimde(porno), büyük bir background story olmadan falan ben aslında direkt haza tanık olmak istiyorum, haz izlemek istiyorum. Erotizmi sağlıklı yaşayabilmek için bence, pornoyla edebi şeyleri veya işte medya şeylerinin karışması gerekiyor zaten. Hani o yüzden şöyle bir pozisyonda, kadın da ne kadar dayanıklı çıktı. Lords of the Ring'in remake'ini yapıyoruz şeklinde şeyler beni ilgilendirmiyor. Narrative'i başka her yerde buluyorsun zaten Ben de zaten kendi hayatımda öyle bir ortam yaratmak istiyorum. Tumblr'dan porno bloglarının yanından başka şeyler de followluyorum. Mesela tumblr hesabımda iniyorsun yukarıdan aşağı, başta bir şiir, sonra hop Hungergames'ten bir kare sonra bir porno içeriği bu şekilde. Aşağısında kek tarifi, dolayısıyla çok kaynaşmış bir şekilde erotizmi hayatıma sokuyorum. O da beni çok daha iyi hissettiriyor. Haftada x saati buna exposed olmaktansa. Ama bu şekliyle pornoda hazzı da bulabiliyorsun.

what exact points give me pleasure. When I masturbate there is always porn open in the background. In that manner there isn't a direct relation between watching porn and having sex for me. There is no such thing as 'when one adjusts the other one diminishes'. There is not a "cause and consequence" relation between them. One is not an alternative to the other. For instance, every day I also watch TV shows, while I am eating my dinner I am watching a TV show and before going to sleep I masturbate<sup>113</sup>."

Combining pornography with quotidian habits and even with personal niches brings out some distinct usages of sexually explicit content. Let us stick with Eda to see how she uses pornography in various instances. For example, she is very meticulous when she chooses a convenient pornographic content for special occasions:

"Sometimes I watch porn with my partners. Yet, it has to be something well-selected. Because of my social awareness issues I don't enjoy all types of porn. For my enjoyment, it has to be me who chooses the porn for this kind of event<sup>114</sup>."

Ataol also likes turning pornographic content to a practice that is co-lived and thus an embodiment:

"I live pornography extremely freely. I used to have experiences such as watching pornography while masturbating side by side with my ex-girlfriend. In a 6-month period we had organized such events 3-4 times. We were masturbating together. Aside

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<sup>113</sup> Mastürbasyona bakışım farklılaştı. Eskiden seks yapamıyorum o yüzden mastürbasyon yapayım oluyordu ama şimdi mastürbasyonu farklı bir haz çeşidi olarak görüyorum. Seksin ikincili, üçüncülü değil bu tamamen zevkin farklı bir boyutu ve şekli. Zaman zaman daha çok seviyorum, kendimi en iyi tanıyan benim, hangi noktalardan daha çok zevk aldığımı bilen benim. Dolayısıyla da mastürbasyon yaptığımda da porno her zaman açık oluyor. Pornuyla cinsel hayatımla ilgili çok da bir ilişki yok. Doğrudan bir ilişki yok. Biri artınca diğeri azalıyor, diğeri azalınca o artıyor falan yok. Neden-sonuç ilişkisi yok. Birbirinin alternatifi değil. Ben her gün dizi de izliyorum, yemek yerken dizi izliyorum yatmadan önce de 31 çekiyorum. Ama kesinlikle ah seks yapamadım, bari mastürbasyon yapayım o yüzden de porno izleyeyim değil.

<sup>114</sup> Evet, ara sıra izlemişliğim var bence iyi seçilmiş bir porno olması gerekiyor. Yani dedim ya sosyal birtakım farkındalıklar yüzünden her türlü pornodan keyif alamıyorum o yüzden benim keyif almam için benim seçmem lazım sanırım.

from my girlfriends, I like sending a video that I really enjoy to my friends. Like I am saying ‘enjoy it’ to them<sup>115</sup>.”

Demet<sup>116</sup> is also used to experience these types of pornographic communions with one of her partners. With remarkable differences from her pornography experiences alone back in her family-house, she notes, while explaining her recent disinterest in pornography, where her ways of watching pornography have differentiated after moving in a student house:

“I have moved to a new house 3-4 years ago. I was staying alone in my room when I was living with my family. Of course I could watch pornography in my new home too, but my time spent on the computer had significantly decreased. There might be a disinterest I admit, but I think this was mainly because of having a common area in student houses (...) In fact we also watched porn with my flat mate. My flat mate was a male; in fact we had sex sometimes. There were times that we watched it for ‘us’ and there was a period that I was trying to write about pornography as a genre<sup>117</sup>.”

Just like them, Orhan also watches porn with his “special” partners<sup>118</sup>. Aside from watching porn with his partners, there is another and even more remarkable strategy that put in use by him:

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<sup>115</sup> Pornoyu baya özgür yaşıyorum, eski sevgilimle porno açıp, ikimizin de yan yana mastürbasyon yapma deneyimlerimiz vardı mesela. Beş altı ay içinde üç dört kere böyle event yapmıştık. İkimiz de yan yana mastürbasyon yapıyoruz. Sevgiliden sonra arkadaşlar arasında da güzel porno izlemişsem link bile gönderiyorum. Takıl sende falan gibisinden.

<sup>116</sup> Undergraduate cinema student, Bisexual

<sup>117</sup> 3-4 sene önce üniversite başlangıcındaydım. Ben eve çıktım aslında 3-4 yıl önce. Çünkü aile evinde hani tek başıma kalıyorum odam tek başına. Tabii ki ayrı yaşadığımda da porno izliyordum ama bilgisayarla geçirdiğim vakit az oluyordu, tabii ki odamda izleyebilirdim biraz ilgi kaybetme durumu var ama ortak alan faktörü önemliydi. Ev arkadaşımınla birlikte de izliyorduk o dönem ara ara. (...) Şöyle benim ev arkadaşım erkekti ve benim ara ara birlikte olduğum bir insandı ama onla kendimiz için de izlediğimiz oldu, ne bileyim önceden izlediğimiz falan, onun dışında falan benim biraz bölümle de alakalı janr olarak hakkında bir şeyler yazmaya çalıştığımda olmuştum beraber izliyorduk.

<sup>118</sup> Oluyor aslında. Bunu derken yalnız derken partnerleri katmamıştım. Partnerlerle. Şeylerle izlemiyorum, sadece seks yapmak için bulduğum, one night ya da sex friend, fuck buddy’lerle bunu yapmıyorum. Ama ilişkim olduğumda, biriyle ciddi olduğumda onunla zaman zaman, hem birbirimizi şey yapmak için, seduce etmek için hem de eğlence için de. Fantezi olarak da. Porno izleyerek seks yapmak. Öyle şeyler oluyor.

“Generally, it happens like that – yes I can tell it – let’s say that two days earlier I’m on a date with someone, and I say “let’s meet Wednesday at 8 o’clock”. Our goal is obvious: having sex. I am arranging this date on Monday but later I won’t have that libido I had back on Monday. Yet, the date is given and I’ll meet with that guy. So it’s like preparing me to the rendezvous. Instead of watching porn (in video form), I open my archive or look at tumblr so when the guy shows up, I would become sufficiently aroused.”

Watching porn with partners is salient among the interviewees, if not common. Half of the interviewees have expressed that they rarely or often watch porn with some of their partners. Besides, mingling–pornography with other habits and niches of personal life produces even more strategic usages. Interchanging emotional and sometimes “physical” burdens of the real life is an interesting instance of these strategic uses. For instance, Başak states that she watches more pornography when she is not satisfied with her present partner. For her, being sexually active does not take the place of pornography of the all-time. In a way, it is like Orhan’s definition of pornography and masturbation as another dimension of desire, yet it has its own specificities:

“Essentially my consumption of pornography and my sex life relate somehow. When I am not satisfied with my ongoing sexual relationship, I watch a lot of porn. When I am satisfied with my relationship, I mean when I am with persons who are more sexually attractive to me, I like concretizing what I see in pornography. For instance, I already told you that I like public category most and I had a partner with whom I was making love in public. That was very exciting<sup>119</sup>.”

Apart from physical burdens, in some instances, there are also some emotional outcomes to watching pornography for the interviewees. While I was recording

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<sup>119</sup> Esasında ilişkiliniyor. Cinsel ilişkimde tatmin olmadığım da porno izlediğim oluyor. Aktif olup da hoşlanmadığım bir aktiviteyse bu çok izliyorum mesela.(...) Sanırım cinsel anlamda daha beğendiğim partnerlerle birlikte olduğumda daha renkli bir cinsel hayatım oluyor ve pornoda gördüğümü gerçekleştirme imkânı buluyorum. Yani mesela Public’ten hoşlandığımı söyledim, dışarda sevişmekten çok hoşlanırdım dışarıda seviştiğim bir sevgilim vardı ve baya heyecanlıydı.

those outcomes, I have once again realized how these can be experienced according to an apparent gender asymmetry.

### **Gendered feelings about pornography**

From difference than strategies that are put forth for pleasure enhancement and patching sexual dissatisfactions in breathing spaces, personal emotional burdens can also force individuals for some further solutions. In the interviews that I conducted, I noticed an apparent distinction between heterosexual males and females with various sexual orientations. Most of the heterosexual males I interviewed have expressed that sometimes they watch pornography in order to deal with daily stresses or problems that they have encountered with women. On the other hand, women have often dealt with emotional feelings because of their identity values. This contradiction between heterosexual males and all other females revealed that the emotional dimension of watching pornography is also significantly gendered. While heterosexual males could put a strategic value on the sharply gendered pornographic content for coping with emotional burdens of real life, yet for females I did not come to a similar stance.

For heterosexual males' emotional engagement through pornography, Barış's solution for coping with break ups appears as an explanatory example. He explains that he keeps searching for bodies similar to his ex-girlfriends' body in pornography just after they broke up:

“It [my pornography consumption] increases extremely during the separations. If it's a fresh break up, during that time I search for a body similar to my ex-girlfriend's. I become stuck to the bodies that exactly look like to the person who I broke up. I strive hard till I find that body<sup>120</sup>.”

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<sup>120</sup> Ayrılık dönemlerinde benim çok artıyor mesela. Çok artıyor. Daha taze ayrılmışsam, bir de benzerini falan da arıyorum o dönem. Ayrıldığım kişilere benzeyen vücutlara çok tutuluyorum, onu bulana kadar da çok uğraşıyorum.

Serhat<sup>121</sup> thinks that pornography provides him a strategic advantage against women:

“In fact, during the periods that my self-confidence is low I tend towards watching pornography more. (...) I think my sexuality goes parallel with my ego. Think it like this: When I’m sleeping with a woman for a while and if I start having feelings for her, I am giving myself to her too much. I am setting my life on her. This creates anxiety inside me. That’s why I don’t prefer directly having sex, I have a constant fear about this. For instance, I like the doggy-style position and the only reason for this, is the fact that I don’t trust women and I don’t want to make eye contact with them. If I have increased sexual deeds and if I have strong feelings toward that woman, according to the case, I mean the quality of the conversation with her, I feel pressed for acting more cautiously and prudently; I am trying to analyse her. For being advantageous in these tasks, instead of texting her, I watch a porn and make a strategic use of it<sup>122</sup>.”

Cankut, on the other hand, uses pornography to dealing with daily stress. When he becomes stressed, he opens porn and masturbates:

“I masturbate when something negative occurs during the day. Pornography and masturbation is like a cigarette for me that you light up in times of stress. Or when I lose something... This makes me stressed and I hurriedly masturbate<sup>123</sup>”

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<sup>121</sup> Undergraduate electric engineering student, Heterosexual

<sup>122</sup> Özgüvenimin düşük olduğu dönemlerde çok fazla yöneliyorum pornoya. (...)Cinsellikle egom çok paralel gidiyor galiba. Yani şöyle düşün: genel olarak ben bir kadınla yattığım zaman, bir süre boyunca, ona karşı duygu da beslemeye başlarsam kendimi çok teslim ediyorum, hayatımı onun üstüne kuruyorum. Bu bende bir korku, direkt sevişmeyi tercih etmiyorum, kaçıyorum bir korkum var. Ben mesela doggy çok seviyorum, bunun tek sebebi kadınlara güvenmemem onlarla fazla göz teması kurmak istememem bile olabilir. Çok cinsel isteğim varsa, bir şeyler de hissediyorsam duruma göre karşı tarafla yaşadığım muhabbet, diyalog, kadınla tanıştığımda daha tedbirli ve çözümlenmeye yönelik davranıyorum ve o kadınla yatmak istemiyorum. Avantaj sağlamak için bu yolda porno izliyorum falan ve sonra da uyuyorum gece mesaj atmak yerine. Stratejik işlevsel bir şeye dönebiliyor.

<sup>123</sup> Gün içinde olumsuz bir şey yaşadığımda da oluyor. Hani sinirli stresli bir durumdan sonra da sigara yakarsın ya bende de porno ve masturbasyonda bu oluyor. Yani bir şeyi kaybettiğimde mesela, kompleks yapıyorum, sürekli kaybediyorum unutkan bir adamım ve apar topar masturbasyon yaptığım oluyor.

As mentioned above, contrarily to the heterosexual males that I have interviewed, female interviewees' emotional feelings that revive during their pornography session, often results from contents' contrariness to their identity values, self-esteem and sometimes apparent exploitation within the pornography sector. They also do not tend to solve their real life emotional conflicts through watching pornography. Heterosexual men carry their problems and emotions "straight" into the pornography and care less about titles such as "exploitation", "self-esteem" than do women; problems of women are the outcomes of pornographic content itself. Derya explains how mainstream, industry based porn negates her personal values and describes her guilt when she watches these kinds of porn:

"In the last two years, I began to read on the porn sector and thought about it. I go in (mainstream porn sites) less and when I do, I feel guilty. It is because of the industry itself, the work conditions of men and women. When I became aware of it, I began researching for stuff like feminist porn and softcore erotic films.

Me: Do you feel in discrepancy? As you are watching mainstream porn, in a way you keep doing it.

Derya: Yeah, there are too many of them, I can't escape. I know that it will be tough to make time to find others. I would need to do more digging. Yes, in that sense I feel that I am in discrepancy, I want to watch less porn. Sometimes if it comes I watch it, I keep saying to myself to watch it less, that I don't want to contribute to its reproduction but at the same time, I'm trying to change my habits. (...) I usually use online streaming sites but sometimes I also look at tumblr accounts but in general this is a male-dominated sector, this is why I say feminist porn etc., even in those pornos I find little feminine pleasure. (...) After all, there is a sex incident on these videos and it can be said "pleasurable" to watch it. Also I am trying to watch female masturbation videos. She is doing it herself, I can empathise with her or for instance, when I was littler, lesbian porn seemed more soft-core to me. When I was little other hardcore shots seemed terrifying to me. I even think that they negatively affected my psychological status. Of course today, I don't say watching mainstream porn doesn't give me pleasure, that it does

nothing to me but I feel guilty afterwards, I keep saying “maybe I should have done more research<sup>124</sup>.”

Similarly, Eda also has troubled feelings on pornography in general:

“While watching porn, it’s very difficult to shut down some of my perceptions. Porn is a field in which exploitation and many wrong things come into front. In that manner, there is a level of difference for taking pleasure from porn between being somebody who has a biological body and somebody who had already thought on these topics. (...) First of all, I belong to the group that is most exploited in porn movies and products. I don’t believe that these are being made for me. In reality, it’s for white straight males. There is an incredible area of gay porn that I sincerely respect but porn; in general, made for the enjoyment of a group, that creates problems for me. You can consume it just like you listen to a terrible but catchy song or watch a poor-quality TV show. So yes, you can enjoy it but you shouldn’t really think about it<sup>125</sup>.”

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<sup>124</sup> Son 2 senedir porno endüstrisi hakkında okudum ve düşündüm ve şu anda da daha az giriyorum ve girdiğimde de biraz suçluluk duygusu oluyor, endüstrinin kendisinden, kadınların çalışma şartlarından ya da erkeklerin de öyle, biraz haberdar olmaya başlayınca, daha çok şeyleri araştırmaya başladım işte feminist pornolar, ya da erotik filmler. Biraz da onlara ilgi duymaya çalışıyorum, etik bulmuyorum.

Ben: Kendini çelişkide mi hissediyorsun? O endüstriyel pornoyu izlediğine göre bir şekilde izlemek de istiyorsun?

Evet, çok fazla var, kaçamıyorum ondan. Onun dışındakileri bulmak zor ve zaman alacak. Araştırma yapmak gerekecek falan. O konuda evet çelişkide görüyorum, daha az izlemeye çalışıyorum. Hani aramadan önüme çıkan izliyorum bazen, keşke daha az izlesem de buna katkıda bulunmasam diye ama değiştirmeye çalışıyorum o konudaki tercihlerimi. (...)Ya evet, sonuçta bir seks durumu var ve hani onu izlemek yani zevk verici denebilir. Ya da daha çok şeyleri tercih etmeye çalışıyorum masturbasyon videolarını kadınların falan. Kendi yaptığı, biraz daha duygudaşlık kurabildiğim bir şey oluyor ya da bazen şey yapıyordum, küçükken lezbiyen pornolar daha soft bir sevişme gibi geliyordu. Diğer hardcore sevişmeler küçükken korkutucu geliyordu. Psikolojimi de bozduğunu düşünüyordum, o yüzden lezbiyen pornolar daha soft bir sevişme olduğu için onları tercih ediyordum önceden. Evet dediğim gibi hiç zevk vermiyor bu ne ya demiyorum ama hani izledikten sonra da keşke şimdi biraz daha baksaydım, ya da hiç izlemeseydim aklıma geldiğinde öyle kötü hissediyorum.

<sup>125</sup> Birtakım algılarımı izlerken kapatmam çok zor. Porno sömürünün, birçok yanlış şeyin bir anda gösterime girdiği bir alan. Dolayısıyla biyolojik bir vücudu olan birisi olarak keyif almak ve birtakım şeyler üzerine düşünmüş biri olarak keyif almak çok farklı şeyler. (...) Birincisi pornografik filmlerde ve ürünlerde, en çok sömürülen gruba aitim. İkincisi benim için yapıldığını sanmıyorum pornoların. Gerçekten beyaz, straight erkekler için yapılıyor çok büyük olasılıkla. Müthiş bir gey porn bölgesi var ona çok saygı

It is possible to multiply these examples of troubled feelings shared by a majority of female interviewees. Although the intensity of emotional reactions differs, their presence haunts female interviewees' narratives. Again, this presence signals the reciprocity between real life and the virtual world of Internet pornography. It also marks a significant moment when societal constraints attempt to capture the breathing spaces through emotions. Female interviewees are first-hand victims of vast sexual violence in Turkey. Even though it is not possible to draw strict conclusions, I believe that their exposure to the ongoing and accelerating violence, to a greater extent than heterosexual men, plays an important role. Traces of the violence are often being unfolded in their narratives:

“In terms of perversion, as a woman who has been harassed many times, I don't think that it's logical to reflect your inner desires, fantasies outside this much. When I think on your research, I can't say a thing to the porn industry, as it is done in economical purposes or I don't know, like feeding a fantasy, so why would I call the man who is outside as “pervert”? But at the end, these are my judgments, which neither my family have gone beyond<sup>126</sup>.”

Başak

“I have never been judged because of my sexual orientation but there are some difficulties that arise from being a woman. I won't classify them as ‘reaction’ but there are general things that I have to go through.

Me: Like what?

I mean, in fact, I belong to a cultural level, which makes me think that I'm lucky. My friends, my network took shape according to

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duyuyorum, harikulade işler yapıyorlar ama orijinal olarak benim başıma bir sürü iş açan bir insan grubunun benim ait olduğum bir grubu kullanarak keyiflenmesi için yapıyor. Yani kötü bir diziyi veya korkunç ama çok akılda kalan bir şarkıyı izler/dinler gibi keyif alabiliyorsun.

<sup>126</sup> İşte ya sapıklık açısından çok tacize uğramış bir kadın olarak açıkçası bir fantezini bu kadar dışarıya yansıtmamanın özellikle toplumsal anlamda, dışarda sokakta yani çok mantıklı olduğunu düşünmüyorum açıkçası. Hatta senin tezinle ilgili kısım sanırım porno sektörüne de hiçbir şey diyemiyorum mesela çünkü orada bir sapıklığı besliyor olmanın esasında iş amaçlı ya da ne bileyim bir fanteziyi besleyebilecek amaçlı yapıldığında pornocuya sapık diyemeyeceğime göre dışarıdaki adama niye sapık diyebilirim onu düşünüyorum. Ama işte tam kesin bunlar da benim yargılarım işte, ailemin de aşamadığımı düşündüğüm şeyler.

it. Yet, there are some things that I feel more than my brother. Like I should be more ‘home-orientated’ and I shouldn’t be a carrier-orientated person. But as I said, I am luckier than most of the people I’ve met. (...) Then there are these explanations to certain questions like: “Where was I?” – “What did you do?” – “Where were you?”, etc. Having a difficult time to get out late at night, feeling threatened when you walk alone outside... See? Typical things when living in Turkey...<sup>127</sup>”

Derya

Being woman, no matter the sexual orientation, can have many different meanings as shown in this and previous parts. In spite of outsider feelings and harsh real life memories, most of the women I talked for this research somehow still continue to watch pornographic content, one way or another. While some prefer niche and customized content via tumblr, other watch mainstream heterosexual porn without investing time but just for masturbating and pleasure, despite of their dislike. There were even some interviewees who did not have the habit of watching more female friendly content such as feminist porn. These women, with their personal complaints, with their “embodied” achievements that increase their personal empowerment and finally, via their personal reactions to the content and willingness for finding “better porn”, exhibited promises that are present in today’s Internet pornography. Even though it is not an explicit strategy – at least they do not utter such definition – women’s most marked strategy in order to cope with emotional burdens, is their meticulousness in searching for better and more

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<sup>127</sup> Yani cinsel yönelimim yüzünden tepki almadım ama kadın olmanın getirdiği bazı zorluklar var ama onlar da bir tepki olarak değil, genel olarak yaşadığım şeyler var.

Bahsetmek istersen?

Yani ee, aslında oldukça şanslı bir kültürel seviyedeyim, hani arkadaşlarım vs. ona göre şekillendi. Fakat yani mesela abime kıyasla bazen hissettiğim oluyor. Yani benim daha kariyer odaklı olmamam gerektiği falan gibi, daha çok evde kalmaya yönelik. Ama diğer tabii gördüğüm insanlara kıyasla oldukça avantajlıyım. Başka da, yani çok direkt aklıma gelen şeyler değiller ama yani belki böyle romantik ilişkilerimde belki şeyini görmüşümdür, ayrımcılığı falan. Sürekli olarak bir şeyleri açıklamak zorunda kalmam, neredesin ne yaptın falan. Akşam dışarı çıkmakta zorlanmakta, tek başına yürümekten tedirgin olmak falan, hani Türkiye’de yaşamının getirdiği şeyler daha çok.

pleasurable pornography. Although heterosexual men have some more gendered strategies, as seen by numerous instances, men are not completely foreign to this process. Especially, homosexual men and other men who could be considered within the lower stages of sexual hierarchy tend to seek pleasures and desires beyond conventional intercourses and they too, often contradict with certain gender roles that are being imposed onto them; they play an important role within the process.

### **Borderlines of breathing spaces**

Finally, I want to note some other borderlines of the breathing spaces. These were essentially revealed during the interviews when I asked interviewees if they could talk about sexuality and pornography with their families, friends and other people they are close to them. I should also emphasize that these spaces get narrower when it comes to talking with their parents; as their families are not as much as dwelling in the informants' cohorts such as the university campus or other various social spheres. Let us look at Derya and Barış's ambition for speaking about her pornography habit and in general, sexuality with other people:

“I can speak with my close girlfriends and the people whom I am certain won't judge me. Sometimes I even talk with the ones who will judge me, who I do not know that well because this is a taboo among women. Even inside of us, it's a taboo! “Gross, you are masturbating?”, “You are watching porn?”. Maybe not specific to the porn, but especially when it comes to the masturbation, I want it to become broader and something more representable. For that reason, I am trying to talk of these topics as much as possible. In addition, my male friends also have this taboo: “Women masturbate?” “Women watch porn?” “We are more informed on this” etc. It seems to me that they are trying to capture, conquer this field and I am coping to show that this is wrong; I am saying: “no this is bullshit, we have same amount of libidos”. However, I cannot talk about this with my mom for example. I do not know if I cannot but certainly that is something that I won't do<sup>128</sup>.” Derya

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<sup>128</sup> “Güvendiğim kız arkadaşlarıma, yargılamayacağını bildiğim insanlarla konuşurum. Hatta yargılayacağımı bildiğim, o kadar da çok iyi tanımadığım insanlarla da bu konuyu konuşurum çünkü biraz şey yani hani bunu duyduğum zaman biraz şey yapıyorum, ay porno mu, ay iğrenç, aa mastürbasyon mu, siz mastürbasyon mu yapıyorsunuz? Kadınlar

“I talk about this topic in a way that will certainly disturb people. I am a man who enjoys others’ discomfort. For instance, next to Kemalists I love to say “screw Atatürk” even if I’m not against him. I only hate, unconsciously made apotheosis. In a similar vein, I do the same thing when I am talking about sex. It was the same mentality when I texted that girl. [At earlier parts of the interview, Barış told me that once he had texted a girl as such: “I want to lick your asshole.”] Girl and I are aware of something very clearly: We are talking to each other, I am trying to forget someone, and she is doing the same. Meanwhile we are looking for pure sex. We have already kissed each other. The only thing that we couldn’t achieve was having sex. My openness here contains the same critic that I am doing for Kemalists. What I intended to do back then was not an emotional making love, it was a pornographic, senseless fuck: Like my desire for licking her asshole. Through this anecdote I can say to you: Yes, I can talk on this topic with anyone. The sole exception is my family. I cannot talk about this with them. I cannot say: Look pa, I found this hunky-dory porn yesterday<sup>129</sup>.” Barış

Families are a good example of the fact that these spaces are not always within reach and or usable in every instance. Also, as seen with Derya’s case and the emotional burdens that occur because of watching porn, they are not gender-

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arasında bir tabu, kendi aramızda bile bir tabu. Porno özelinde değil ama mastürbasyon özelinde daha yaygın olmasını ve daha anlatılabilir bir şey olsun istiyorum. Bu yüzden mümkün merteye kadınlar karşısında bunu konuşmak istiyorum. Ama hiç giremeyeceğim kadın arkadaşımınla çok konuşmuyorum. Öte yandan erkek arkadaşlarımda da aynı tabu var, kadınlar mastürbasyon mu yapar, porno mu izler, biz bu konuda daha bilgiliyiz gibi? O alanı ele geçirmeye çalışıyorlar gibi geliyor bana ve ben bunun yanlış olduğunu göstermek için, hayır öyle bir şey yok, aslında aynı derecede libidolarımız var bizim de, bu şekilde, kendi isteklerimiz var falan gibi bu sohbetleri etmekten de arkadaş çevremde, şey bulmuyorum, çekinmiyorum.”

<sup>129</sup> “Ben bunu insanları rahatsız edecek şekilde söylüyorum. Ben insanların rahatsız olmasından zevk alan bir adamım. Kemalistlerin yanında ağzına sığayım Atatürk’e falan demeyi seviyorum, ona karşı olmasam da. Ona duyulan bilinçsizce saygıyı eleştirme, ona tepki gibi yapıyorum bunu. Bilinçsizce Atatürk örneğini o yüzden veriyorum, bilinçsizce ilahlaştırma, ona benim verdiğim bir tepki gibi oluyordu bu. Aynı şekilde sekste de bunu yapıyorum, o kıza attığım mesaj da bu. Kızla ikimiz şunun gayet farkındayız: Birbirimizle konuşuyoruz, ben daha birini unutamamışız, bir yandan sadece cinsellik arıyorum, öpüştük yakınlaştık. Sadece sevişemedik, onun üstüne attığım bir mesajdı. Bu netlikte de aynı eleştiriyi barındırıyor. Gerçekten yapmak istediğim şey, aşk dolu duygu dolu bir sevişme değil, gerçekten pornografik, daha duygusuz, açıkça göt deliğini yalamak istemek gibi. Benim buradan yola çıkarak söyleyeyim, konuşmadığım kimse yok. Hatta zaman zaman rahatsız edici olması dileğiyle yaptığım, karşımdakinin utanması bile hoşuma gidebiliyor konuşurken. Bir tek aileme yapmıyorum. Ailemle bunu konuşamam. Bak baba şöyle bir porno var muhabbeti yapmadım hayatımda hiç.”

neutral. Gender asymmetry clearly creates tensions in these spaces. Heterosexual men usually claim the expert role and are opposed by other groups such as heterosexual women and other queered sexual identities.

Yet in spite of their shortcomings outlined above, breathing spaces of perversion are still very useful within social interaction: They provide and ensure an environment where sexual norms can be contested and even lead to pornographic embodiments. Of course this state of contestation and pornographic embodiment plays a decisive role in the transformation of sexual norms.

In this chapter, I intended to give a voice to the interviewees and to instantiate Porn 2.0's influential impact on sexual norms within some cohorts in metropolises of Turkey. In the following chapter, however, I will be focusing on capitalist forces that operate beneath 2.0 systems. While being forceful through constructing a new sexual regime among many cohorts in globe, Porn 2.0 also reproduces some notorious failures of capitalist mindset in digital worlds.

## CHAPTER 3

### **PORNOTOPIA<sup>130</sup>, A DREAM YET TO BE ACTUALIZED**

“The Internet has become a simple-to-join, anyone-can-play system where the sites and practices of work and play increasingly wield people as a resource for economic amelioration by a handful of oligarchic owners.<sup>131</sup>”

Trebor Scholz<sup>132</sup>

Thus far I have tried to describe and depict the contemporary pornography, with emphasize on its content’s relative variety and the involvement of wider audiences. It is very disparate than the common pornography that was always thought as misogynist and heterosexist, or in other words, in which simply “men fuck women”. Yet, this should not be understood as the contemporary online pornography that provides a vast space for different desires and pleasures alongside sexual minorities in its depiction, is deprived of certain constraints or is a perfect actualized utopia. Despite its positive and liberatory facets, Porn 2.0 is not a “liberated” playground – a pornotopia. On the contrary, capitalist mechanisms that deeply pervade this digital conduit open the way for exploitation while also providing certain invisibility to the political and economic forces that ceaselessly function beneath the Internet pornography.

In this chapter, I will explain why contemporary porn cannot be considered a sort of pornotopia. Yet in a more profound sense, I will trace the flow of money, I will briefly try to unpack how the monopolization of the leading porn tube websites (and enterprises behind them) pose fundamental problems for pornographic production and also mark diverse inequalities that vastly limit productive

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<sup>130</sup> Pornotopia as a term was first coined by scholar Steven Marcus, who is also the writer of “Other Victorians”. Here I use it in its broadest sense, as a perfect actualized utopia in which all kinds of pornographies reign.

<sup>131</sup> Trebor Scholz, introduction to *Digital Labor: The Internet as Playground and Factory*, (Routledge, 2013)

<sup>132</sup> Associate Professor for Culture & Media at The New School in New York City

voices<sup>133</sup>. In other words, I will investigate this monopolization that has established a status quo by which the means of distribution determine the direction of the flow of money or simply, gaining profits, despite technological advancements that facilitated porn production of ordinary individuals via the non-necessity of a tremendous capital investment.

Then I will conduct a theoretical discussion around the question of free digital labour that is often labelled as self-expression or amusement through some discourses that flatter the idea of users' free contribution to a product. While exploring the contested nature of free digital labour, I will also highlight some new explanations of labour and alienation that could guide us via the realms of virtual worlds, especially in 2.0 systems; which might make you want to revisit the classical previous Marxist conceptualizations.

### **Commodification of (cyber) sexualities and a synoptic of porn tube sites**

Karl Marx, in his famous work "Wage Labour and Capital", just before touching upon commodification, gives a very interesting and attention-grabbing example of Negro slave by asking, "What is a Negro slave?" To borrow from him:

A Negro is a Negro. He only becomes a slave in certain relations. A cotton-spinning jenny is a machine for spinning cotton. It becomes capital only in certain relations. Torn from these relationships it is no more capital than gold in itself is money or sugar the price of sugar<sup>134</sup>.

As is seen from Marx himself, the most apparent trait of capital is its relationality: Capital is 'therefore, not only a sum of material products; it is a sum of commodities, of exchange values, of social magnitudes'<sup>135</sup>. Commodification, in its basic explanation, is the emergent economic enunciation (or more simply, productionalization) of human actions, bodies or/and any other object/subject that

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<sup>133</sup> Tiziana Terranova, *Network Culture: Politics for the Information Age*, (Pluto Press, 2004), 77.

<sup>134</sup> Karl Marx, "The Critique of Capitalism: Wage Labour and Capital" in *The Marx-Engels Reader*, ed. R.C. Tucker, NY: W.&W. (Norton Company, 1978), 207.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid*, 208.

were not a part of conventional trade or economic exchange before. To say more clearly, it is re-defining and giving new meanings to the actions, bodies and other object/subjects within the realm of capitalist economy.

Sexuality, various sexual practices and desires were not and still are not out of this process of finding meaning within capitalist production relations. Additionally, Marx himself contemplated on one of the most salient forms of sexual commodification, prostitution. Yet in some interesting aspects, Marx's approach to prostitution was questioned by some of the queer scholars<sup>136</sup>. According to Roderick Ferguson, Marx finds dehumanizing effects of capital, none better than female prostitute: For Marx, prostitution complicates certain undeterred relations. These undeterred relations with other humans, with one's self and with nature are being suggested primarily because of man's essence in heteropatriarchy, and prostitution is a fundamental menace to them<sup>137</sup>. This theoretical charge around heteropatriarchy towards Marx, puts in a very clear way that concerns around commodification of sexuality could not have been untied or explained entirely, lots of discussions via much different grounding have continued after then. Just like the 20<sup>th</sup> century and also in the present century, different disciplines within social sciences have continued to investigate the commodification of sexuality. For instance, Eva Illouz -while confining her comments to US culture- describes how the commodification of sex and sexuality took place:

The cult of beauty, and later of fitness, and the definition of masculinity and femininity in terms of erotic and sexual attributes were relentlessly promoted by the cultural industries and had the effect of progressively transforming sexual attraction and sexiness into positive cultural categories in their own right, making sexual desirability one of the central criteria for choosing a mate and for shaping one's own personhood. The commodification of sex and sexuality – their penetration into the very heart of the capitalist engine – made sexuality into an attribute and experience increasingly detached from

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<sup>136</sup> Roderick A. Ferguson, introduction to *Aberrations in Black: Toward a Queer of Color Critique*, *Critical American Studies*, (University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis: London, 2004), 7-9.

<sup>137</sup> Ibid.

reproduction, marriage, long-lasting bonds, and even emotionality<sup>138</sup>.

As it seen, it can be said that sexuality and sexual practices/desires are not recently commodified, yet what I intend to depict in this part is that there are several novelties, i.e. shifts and discontinuities, along with continuities, particularly when it comes to the Porn 2.0 medium. Despite these novelties and transformations, relationality that gives sense and life to capital, as Marx detected, still directs online commodified sexualities.

### **Starbucks-like pornography**

Interestingly, not all the communicational capacities of Internet technology and related different sexual practices have loomed within 2.0 systems; several of them also existed long before the emergence of the Web 2.0 and even managed to remain “non-commodified” back then. One of the most note-worthy is real core<sup>139</sup> pornos that were popular in some circles during in mid-late 90’s and early 2000’s in Europe. Sergio Messina, who coined the term “real core”, explains real core as the following:

“Real core seems to be more satisfactory than porno because it is not passive, it is interactive. (...) A woman posts her picture, some guy downloads it, prints it, cums on it, take a photo of the results -the tribute- and posts it back into newsgroups. She gets comments, requests to wear specific items- her home suddenly becomes public. (...) You do not do this with just any image: Tributes tend to involve portraits of faces. And there are often specific requests for tributes. What a digital, complex, multi-stage way to please each other! Real, then virtual, then real again (and sticky), then virtual again, then sticky again...”<sup>140</sup>,

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<sup>138</sup> Eva Illouz, *Why Love Hurts: A Sociological Explanation*, (Polity Press, 2012), 45.

<sup>139</sup> The term refers both to how porn is made, with simple cameras and a documentary style, and how it is distributed, mostly for free, in web communities or Usenet newsgroups. For further information:

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Amateur\\_pornography#Home\\_movies\\_and\\_videos](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Amateur_pornography#Home_movies_and_videos) Last accessed: 31.05.2017

<sup>140</sup> Mark Deny, “Naked Lunch: Talking Realcore with Sergio Messina” in *Click Me: A Netporn Studies Reader*, ed. Katrien Jacobs, Marije Janssen, Matteo Pasquinelli, (Institute of Network Cultures, 2007), 28-29.

Obviously, real core pornography was one of the most remarkable concretizations of utopian prospects through Internet of some media scholars such as Richard Barbrook. As Tiziana Terranova conveys from him, ‘pointing to the world of discussion groups, mailing lists and the distributed learning of programmers, he suggested that the Internet was far from simply being a new way to sell commodities. The predominance of relationships of collaboration across distance and exchange without money suggested that this was a practiced relationship with a viable and alternative political and economic model<sup>141</sup>.’ Barbrook indeed saw an anarcho-communist aura within the Internet, and the real core’s tributes were in a sense, converging with this aura through a gift economy. Tributes are a significant part of real core porn: they provide an excellent example for semi sensual and virtual pleasures that I indicated in previous chapters, while being interactive and “free”.

Yet real core and some similar “due to the Internet” sexual practices and desires were in the scope of some minority and niche communities and these practice and desires were not “wontedly commodified”, as they were depending on an exchange via desire rather than money, back then. Real core pornos were not price estimative products; they were manufactured within these circles just for fun, pleasure and reconnaissance. However, just like the other ‘collective imaginations’ within the Internet such as unbeknown subcultures, underrated niche tastes and aesthetically shaped zealous anticipations of some minorities, most of the cyber sexualities like real core partook within the capitalist locus, i.e. became commodified. Still, this is a mutual partaking that does not mean that capital has descended on the authentic culture. In Terranova’s words:

Rather than capital ‘incorporating’ from the outside the authentic fruits of the collective imagination, it seems more reasonable to think of cultural flows as originating within a field which is always and already capitalism. Incorporation is not about capital descending on authentic culture, but a more immanent process of channelling of collective labour (even as cultural labour) into monetary flows and its structuration

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<sup>141</sup> Terranova, “*Network Culture*”

within capitalist business practices. (...) The fruits of collective cultural labour have been not simply appropriated, but voluntarily channelled and controversially structured within capitalist business practices. The relation between culture, the cultural industry and labour in these movements is much more complex than the notion of incorporation suggests<sup>142</sup>.

Terranova argues that this channelling and structuration between cyber collective imagination and the capitalism in post-industrial societies has changed the status of commodities that she qualifies as “ephemeral”.<sup>143</sup> In this line of thinking, commodity is not a finished product; rather it is a process while being ephemeral. Contrarily this ephemerality demands a non-stop, collective online labor that is, at the same time, updateable. Terranova explains it as such:

The digital economy, then, challenged the postmodern assumption that labour disappears while the commodity takes on and dissolves all meaning. In particular, the Internet foregrounds the extraction of value out of continuous, updateable work and is extremely labor-intensive. It is not enough to produce a good web site; you need to update it continuously to maintain interest in it and fight off obsolescence<sup>144</sup>.

Therefore, the animation of commodity and the continuousness of online collective labor is core to the digital market. Porn tube websites, as it will be addressed in following paragraphs, are relying on these ephemeral commodities. They heavily depend on perennial efforts of encoders, programmers and uploaders in order to monetize their traffic and remain “popular”.

Following the merge of collective imagination or “hive mind” with capitalist mindset, 2.0 systems have also introduced efficient themes such as community based socialization and self-valorisation through identities to the market. In this manner, Porn 2.0’s dazzling capacity to transform ephemeral sexual commodities to “branded offerings” is note-worthy. Yet before going further and insisting on my argument, I want to clarify the term “branded offering”. According to Celia

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<sup>142</sup> Terranova, “*Network Culture*”, 80.

<sup>143</sup> Ibid. 90.

<sup>144</sup> Ibid.

Lury, ‘the brand, a medium of exchange between company and consumer, has become one of the key cultural forces of our time and one of the most important vehicles of globalization.’ To clarify how the brand functions and comes with an offering in reality, she gives a precise example of Starbucks’ business success:

(...) However, coffee consumption began to fall in the mid-1960s. By the late 1980s, about half the US population over the age of 10 did not consume coffee at all, and coffee consumption had fallen behind that of soft drinks. But over the same period, a specialty coffee market began to develop, although no one single company dominated the market. In this context, the aim of the soon-to-be Starbucks CEO Howard Schulz was to transform coffee from a commodity (‘something to be bagged and sent home with the groceries’) into a branded offering that consumers associated with (consistent) quality, service and community. In undertaking this transformation, he sought to bring about a reorganization of the market corresponding to a shift from a commodity market to a brand market. This involved the reframing of the market in terms of consumer preferences as identified in marketing research.<sup>145</sup>

What Lury underlines here is Starbucks’ success in turning a commodity (coffee) into an offering that people can not only associate with a guaranteed service and quality but also with a salient life style within a community that can easily be concretized by Starbucks branches’ location, interior design etc. There is a similar stance in porn tube sites (which also function as social network sites). Moreover, it is not only that they are carrying digital desires/pleasures to the new communities and audiences; but they are also cataloging the existing desires and pleasures of the real world via social/political identities and life style choices. Typical “categories” layout of porn tubes site brands such as Pornhub, Xhamster and Xvideos openly exhibit “cataloging”: For instance, while titles like ‘female choice’ or ‘for women’ and gay categories relate with certain gender identities, other titles like “cosplay”<sup>146</sup>, “parody”<sup>147</sup>, “virtual reality”<sup>148</sup>, “cartoon”, “hentai”

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<sup>145</sup> Celia Lury, *Brands: The Logos of the Global Economy*, (Routledge, 2004), 23.

<sup>146</sup> Cosplay: Cosplay a contraction of the words costume play, is a performance art in which participants called cosplayers wear costumes and fashion accessories to represent a specific character. As a pornographic subgenre, it is basically depiction of performers with cosplays. Its content resembles parody category; yet this specific title directly

also cite other online subcultures in which we can name different geek and gaming subcultures. In fact, these characteristics around identities and life style preferences are one of the prominent reasons why many define porn tubes sites within the 2.0 networks. Most of the social networking sites that emerged within the advent of Web 2.0 lean on “networked individualism” that eases each person to centralize his or her own personal community and promoting persons to share their personal information and interests in the middle of vast cyber sea of Internet<sup>149</sup>.

These categories and the standard layout alongside the material from the interviews I have conducted, suggest that Internet pornography’s enlargement to the different and larger circles had been eased through this direct addressing to the life styles and identities. Yet there are more concrete examples of Starbucks-like offering strategies within contemporary Internet pornography. As a convenient example, one of the most visited porn tube site, Pornhub, comes with several major similarities with what Lury saw in Starbucks’ major impact on coffee marketing. Their effort to introduce quality curation, “PornhubSelect”<sup>150</sup> within the website in 2013, was first remarkable indicator. The site has summoned ‘porn connoisseurs’, much like their fine art counterparts in museums and art galleries, in order to catalogue exclusive content for the viewers. Besides its efforts to strengthening its association with service and quality, Pornhub also maintained

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addresses to certain subcultures whose sources for performing include comic books, manga/animes and video-games.

<sup>147</sup> Parody porn is a subgenre in which viewer can find performers having sex within the costumes of famous Marvel and DC Comics characters such as Spider-Man, Deadpool, Batman, Harley Quinn along with costumes and settings of popular movie/video-game with cross-references such as “Lord of the G-strings”, “Metal Rear Solid”, “Ten Inch Mutant Ninja Turtles”. For further information: <http://www.pornhub.com/video?c=201> Last accessed: 31.05.2017

<sup>148</sup> This is one of the most recent porn subgenre. One should have a virtual reality (VR) headset for being able to watch it. This reddit post gives a slight idea of its usage: [https://www.reddit.com/r/Vive/comments/4eicky/so\\_i\\_tried\\_vr\\_porn\\_last\\_night/](https://www.reddit.com/r/Vive/comments/4eicky/so_i_tried_vr_porn_last_night/) Last accessed: 31.05.2017

More: <https://www.extremetech.com/electronics/222390-is-vr-porn-worth-it-heres-how-to-find-out-for-yourself> Last accessed: 31.05.2017

<sup>149</sup> Nancy K. Bayrn, “Social Networks 2.0” in *Handbook of Internet Studies*, 385-386.

<sup>150</sup> <http://www.pornhubselect.com/> Last accessed: 31.05.2017

some important strategies for increasing the community feeling and sense of awareness among its viewers and in general, in the U.S. society with several reputed campaigns such as “Boob Bus”, “Save the Boobs” which were aimed to raise awareness about breast cancer or “Pornhub Gives America Wood”, an environmental campaign that sought planting trees all over the country and recently, “Save the Whales” campaign<sup>151</sup>.

In summary, with Porn 2.0, we have witnessed some major shifts and transformations in the marketing and distribution of pornographic material that are very much akin to the transformations and shifts coffee consumers witnessed in the 80’s and the 90’s via Starbucks’ branded offerings. More importantly, sexual commodities in these systems are ephemeral rather than being completed/constant. In addition, digital market conditions in terms of various positioning within production and distribution processes (including main pornography distribution channels) are structurally innovative, adaptive and loose (which can also explain the ongoing subsistence of anarcho-communist anticipations from the Internet). The circumstances of distribution that originate from this structural innovativeness, which I will discuss in detail in the following part, adaptiveness and looseness pose some weighty problems and raise questions around exploitation, digital and free labor and in general, force us to re-think how labor connotate in 2.0 networks. On the other hand, the fact that these structural specificities of the Internet have coincided with the adult industry’s controversial monopolization should not be overlooked. Moreover, unpacking this monopolization would help in providing us with more detailed explanations to the questions around these issues that I outlined above. That is why in this part, I will focus on MindGeek’s monopolization of the pornography market.

### **“Soulless” Wal-Mart of porn: MindGeek**

One of the most calculable and visible effects of Porn 2.0 was the clear downsizing of the conventional adult industry itself in USA. According to the

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<sup>151</sup> All Pornhub “care campaigns” are accessible through this link: <http://www.pornhub.com/cares/> Last accessed: 31.05.2017

reports, between 2008 and 2013 the sale of pornographic DVDs had dropped by 80%. Another projection, made by Fox News in 2013, concludes that the porn industry's value had dropped by 66% since the early 90's. Likewise, New York Magazine in 2011 underlined that even porn makers who distribute their product via Internet received only 20% of what they had expected to earn<sup>152</sup>. Despite this definite degrowth and closure of many studios in Los Angeles, the city once considered the hub of the pornography sector, studios that have remained beneath the corpus of an IT company called MindGeek (previously Manwin) were not effected by the industry's remarkable downsizing. It can easily be said that MindGeek is the company that destabilized the pornography industry but meanwhile achieved its own immunity as it holds 8 of the 10 most visited porn tube sites of the Internet<sup>153</sup>.

Bonnie Ruberg explains this process of destabilization in the following:

Pornhub NETWORK, the conglomerate that reportedly owns eight of the top 10 currently most-trafficked tube sites, has built a 'porn monopoly' valued in the billions – although its parent company MindGeek has faced criticism for undermining its own business model by destabilizing the adult industry, whose videos still make up sizable percentage of its content.<sup>154</sup>

MindGeek not only owns the most known and visited porn tube sites that nearly makes up the whole main body of Porn 2.0, but also harbors some of the most acknowledged porn studios such as Brazzers, Babes.com, Digital Playground, Reality Kings etc. In short, the rise of Porn 2.0 and the destabilization of the conventional adult industry coincided with MindGeek's monopolization of the porn industry. However, this monopolization has strong ties with the non-standardization of the Internet, i.e. practical difficulties in applying rule of law, mainly within the issues of copyright. These difficulties facilitate the formation of an exploitative environment where unpaid, under waged immaterial labor is

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<sup>152</sup> Bonnie Ruberg, Doing it for free: digital labour and the fantasy of amateur online pornography” *Porn Studies* 3:2, 147-159 (2016): 150.

<sup>153</sup> Ibid.

<sup>154</sup> Ibid.

endemic. To this end, Ruberg defines the modus operandi of contemporary pornography as ‘the production of content through the unpaid labour of amateurs, along with the underpaid labour of pirated professional porn<sup>155</sup>.’

Before moving on to the main discussion of this chapter, where I dig into digital free labor; I also want to unpack some further details about the non-standardization of the Internet and other certain “negative” effects of MindGeek’s monopolization through a witnessing of a person who is actually a laborer in Porn 2.0 medium. As will be seen, Internet’s structural characteristics can facilitate the avoidance of legislative cautions or in more concrete words, standardization measures which normally serve to implement and develop technical presets for everybody who are involved in the process such as producers, distributors and some other third parties, in order to ease the sale of a given entity. A porn producer, an actress and a site owner, Siri,<sup>156</sup> explain in a very clear way on the website Quora, that major porn tube sites are bypassing judicial barriers and profits of legal gaps because of the Internet’s structural fluidities. Her testimony also expounds on porn piracy and the problem of copyright infringement that are common within the Porn 2.0:

“MindGeek's goal is to own as much of the porn industry as possible, and so far they're pretty successful with that. Every porn performer who wants to be successful must work for MindGeek-owned companies -- they're the biggest and highest-budget companies. At the same time nearly every performer dislikes MindGeek-owned companies on some level, because they are the soul-less Wal-Mart of porn. (...) It's very hard to find any revealing information about other tube sites such as Xhamster and Xvideos. Xhamster has an address in Cyprus, which is where many porn tube sites/piracy and torrent sites will register their business if they want to infringe on copyright law while making it very hard for the copyright holders (who are often in the United States) to sue the company. A whois<sup>157</sup> search of Xvideos reveals that the domain is registered in Prague, Czech Republic.

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<sup>155</sup> Ruberg, “*Doing it for free*”

<sup>156</sup> <https://twitter.com/siripornstar> Last accessed: 31.05.2017

<sup>157</sup> Domain questioning websites where you can learn anything about a specific domain such as where its IP is registered, it is owned by who etc.

While there are a number of legit adult studios producing porn in Eastern European countries, they are more so a hotbed of porn piracy and copyright infringement. From personal experience I know how hard it is to get my copyrighted content removed from tube sites - even the purportedly "legit" ones that porn magnate MindGeek owns still force copyright holders to jump through hoops to get our content removed from tube sites<sup>158</sup>."

As Sira's sayings support, the potential sale of pornographic content is already "securitized" whether the producer is involved or not. Here I use the word "securitize" in reference to Saskia Sassen and her recent work "Expulsions". Sassen for being capable of highlighting the epoch-making characteristics of current capitalist relations' systematic deepening, points out two important and profound shifts that occurred during the 80's (while noting that those shifts highly occurred within their specificities in their own locality, depending on country or region). The first one is the material advance of the world's developing countries into extreme zones for key economic operations such as the outsourcing of manufacturing, services, clerical work, and low-cost work force alongside the perception of global cities as "strategic spaces for economic development". The second one is the newly emerged financing capacities within the actual capitalist relationships, which are at the same time related with advances in electronic networks<sup>159</sup>. "Securitizing" is, in a sense, the trademark of those recent capacities. In her words:

"Finance needs to be distinguished from traditional banking. Traditional banks sell money in their possession. Financial firms sell something they do not have, and therein lies the push to be far more innovative and invasive than traditional banking. *In this regard finance can be thought of as a capability to securitize just about everything in an economy and, in doing so, subject economies and governments to its own criteria for measuring success. Securitization involves the relocation of a building, good, or debt, into a financial circuit where it becomes mobile and can be bought and sold over and*

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<sup>158</sup> <https://www.quora.com/Who-owns-and-operates-major-porn-tube-sites> Last accessed: 31.05.2017

<sup>159</sup> Saskia Sassen, *Expulsions: Brutality and Complexity in the Global Economy*, (Belknap Press, 2014), 9.

*over in markets near and far.* In the past two decades finance has invented often very complex instruments to securitize extreme instances of familiar items— not just high- grade debt but also used- car loans and modest municipal government debt. Once an input is securitized, financial engineering can keep on building long chains of increasingly speculative instruments that all rest on the alleged stability of that first step. This is, then, a very special, distinctive, and often dangerous capability<sup>160</sup>.”

These new financing capacities, which Sassen defines as epoch-making, in my opinion operate no better place than Internet. Siri’s testimony also puts it straight. Here, distributors of pornographic content or more precisely, investors do not have to adapt to governments’ specific legal measures or have to reconcile with them. Different calibers concerning relocation of goods in different geographies or subjecting economies within Internet, for instance, IP addresses of Xhamster and Xvideos, which are registered respectively in Cyprus and Czech Republic, are endless in number and in fact, innovative, adaptive and loose in practice. Although different legal measures can be brought into force to online distribution by governments or other legal authorities, through the Internet service providers<sup>161</sup> that sell Internet as a product in the first place. Hence, there is a myriad of ways to securitize pornographic “goods”. Virtual Private Networks<sup>162</sup> make a convenient example. With different payment options (they even offer free VPN versions), they promise a browsing experience that is immune to governmental or other interferences. This is a twofold process as it can be seen: It works both for potential customers (users who will use VPNs in order to avoid limits imposed by regional authorities or governments) and distributors (who register their domain in different geographies such as Cyprus where legal systems operate differently to those in the U.S) Furthermore, in pornographic production and distribution via Internet, it is also possible to mark some speculative instruments, which Sassen

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<sup>160</sup> Sassen “*Expulsions*”, 118. Emphasis is mine.

<sup>161</sup> Situation in Turkey is a good example of this. Government through ISS’s, seriously inhibits pornographic contents’ distribution.

<sup>162</sup> It is a network architecture that allows different networks to commingle through opened IP tunnels. This is how a user who is located in Turkey can join a network in Romania anonymously.

mentioned, in function. The most apparent ones are around website trafficking, such as domain parking<sup>163</sup> and domain name speculation<sup>164</sup>. Just like the examples that Sassen gives of household, mortgage and other speculative financing means, the speculations around domain operates in a similar way. Moreover, if one considers the fact that pornographic websites are responsible for at least 30% of all Internet trafficking<sup>165</sup>, the significance of the speculative instruments becomes even more apparent. Considering all these, MindGeek's setup demonstrates clearly along with other "play makers" like Xhamster and Xvideos; although porn producers, who possess required means of production, do not necessarily make profit from their production, surplus values of ephemeral commodities are often guaranteed. By the way, "not necessarily" does not enough to cover the exact truth, as producers are usually left unpaid or like Sira's case proves, they are struggling with copyright infringement. It is also common that a pornographic content is redistributed more than once in different names without the producers' knowledge.

To summarize, within porn distribution, there is a finance-capitalist rationale in place similar to Sassen's explication. In Porn 2.0, the capital is speculatively being accumulated through distribution, i.e. trafficking, which is the main way for making money through different digital advertising models such as pay per click<sup>166</sup> or generally by display advertising<sup>167</sup> and transmitting the data (or

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<sup>163</sup> Domain parking refers to the registration of an Internet domain name without that domain being associated with any services such as e-mail or a website. This may have been done with a view to reserving the domain name for future development, and to protect against the possibility of domain theft (cybersquatting). Wikipedia: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Domain\\_parking](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Domain_parking) Last accessed: 31.05.2017

<sup>164</sup> Domain name speculation is the practice of identifying and registering or acquiring Internet domain names as an investment with the intent of selling them later for a profit. Wikipedia: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Domain\\_name\\_speculation](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Domain_name_speculation) Last accessed: 31.05.2017

<sup>165</sup> Even if it is hard to precisely detect, according to a survey led by extremetech.com, each porn tube site makes %2 of all trafficking and all porn sites makes %30 of all Internet trafficking in total. For further information: <https://www.extremetech.com/computing/123929-just-how-big-are-porn-sites/> Last accessed: 31.05.2017

<sup>166</sup> In this online advertisement model, advertisers pay the publisher pays when ad is clicked.

digitalized ephemeral commodities) to the users. This is how capital is securitized by means of distribution. Also, this distribution is very demanding in terms of recruitment and brings up once again the ephemerality of sexual online commodities: Being able to upload, stock and carry large amounts of data and the management of online advertising is very expensive and requires many laborers. For instance, in order to run a porn tube site, the owner or investor of the website must hire many encoders and programmers along with experts who monitor the money traffic to ensure the return on investments. Thus, the Porn 2.0 promise that “everybody can shoot porn” is not often entirely explained. Of course everyone can shoot porn but only some specific individuals who invest money on distribution will make money from it. This promise within Porn 2.0 mainly but in general in all 2.0 systems, in a way, provides a free work force and thus accumulates capital with their monopolization of distribution, concretized primarily by MindGeek corpus. In short, it can be said that the ephemeral state of commodities and the structural specificities of the Internet, essentially necessitates the capital turns back to the investors and capitalists. In this so-called “securitized” environment, copyright laws become a trivial subject for investors and money continues to flow towards them. This is why within the Internet, where myriad of networks of distribution reign, production can become literally nothing and monopolization fundamentally marks capitals’ accumulation.

To summarise, despite technological developments that expedited porn production of casual porn makers via the non-necessity of a serious capital investment, the monopolization of pornography in Porn 2.0 by MindGeek have established a status quo by which the means of distribution determine the direction of money flow or simply, gaining profits.

In the following part, I will theoretically engage with the concept of digital free labor that inherently reinforces and thus, reproduces the exploitive structure of status quo that is established by MindGeek in the Porn 2.0 medium. On the other

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<sup>167</sup> This includes functionment of cookies which track users and define their interests in order to decide which advertisement to display when they are online.

hand, I will not limit myself to DIY<sup>168</sup> porn production or to digital free labor in pornography in general; I will also discuss certain examples from other 2.0 systems.

### **Unwaged labor in its new “cyber” mold: The world of DIY porn producers, modders and fan art creators**

In this part, for a little while I will urge you to think “unwaged or underpaid labor” out of accustomed schemes. I am aware of its difficulty, as I will try to make you imagine something other than these following instances: For example, a type of exploitation by which ill-conditioned miners are being killed under the ground in so-called third world countries or rhetorical appearances of “zombified” white-collar workers whose only function is nothing but to work in an office from 8 to 5 in an endless routine. Specifically, I will introduce you to a less known world of video game modders and fan art creators alongside DIY porn producers, where dense exploitation made evident by digital free labor also exist: maybe not deadly in the same ways as miners’ work conditions but as severe and desperate as white collar workers’ boredom. In this work, introducing modders and fan art creators has its reasons. Firstly, I want to show you that DIY porn producers are not the only ones that are ceaselessly exploited and secondly, that the exploitation is also varied and common within the 2.0 networks. In addition, the DIY concept is not limited to porn production; it applies to several fields where “original user content” production is promoted and encouraged. Nevertheless, in order to compare and discuss new facets of exploitation, it is essential to know how this term is handled theoretically.

While Marx was construing the fundamental traits and reasons of why ‘the whole of society fell into two classes’ in his famous series of notes “Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844”, he specifically laid stress on the term “alienation”. He claimed that alienation occurs when the workers’ labor and its product would confront them ‘as something alien, as a power independent of the

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<sup>168</sup> Do it yourself. Also other titles such as indie porn, amateur porn are being widely used for its porn versions.

producer' or more precisely which 'exists outside of them, independently, as something alien to them and that it becomes a power on its own confronting them'<sup>169</sup>. In short, for Marx, alienation provides the suitable environment for the accumulation of wealth by a small number of capitalists, i.e. consolidates property owners' richness and turns the worker into an animal by putting him/her in a condition in which he/she only feels free when he/she is active in his/her animal functions such as eating, drinking, procreating etc.<sup>170</sup>. In his later works, he abandoned the term "alienation" for "commodity fetishism" instead; yet still, the recent term also serves to elucidate that political economy shadows the subjective nature of economic relations and attributes them objective values. In his words,

The commodity-form, and the value-relation of the products of labour within which it appears, have absolutely no connection with the physical nature of the commodity and the material relations arising out of this. It is nothing but the definite social relation between men themselves which assumes here, for them, the fantastic form of a relation between things<sup>171</sup>.

Thus far I put the emphasis on how alienation and/or commodity fetishism impact on the workers, yet the abstraction of labour from the product also influences the consumers. Susan Willis explains this as a process of abstraction:

The abstraction of labor which is the real basis of the fetish quality of commodities, is not something we as consumers can directly grasp, rather it enters our daily life experience as the inability to apprehend fully or even imagine non-fetishized use values<sup>172</sup>.

She also explains that Georg Lukács has carried Marx's point of depart in which he indicates that the political economy hides economic relations' subjectivity within the objectivity, and predicated that commodity fetishism is both a

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<sup>169</sup> Karl Marx, "Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844" in *Classical Sociological Theory*, ed. Calhoun et.al (Blackwell Publishing:,2004), 35.

<sup>170</sup> Ibid. 36-37.

<sup>171</sup> Marx, *Capital* (London: Penguin Classics, 1995), 165.

<sup>172</sup> Susan Willis, "*a Primer for Daily Life*", *Studies in Culture and Communication*, (Routledge, 1991), 6.

subjective and objective phenomenon<sup>173</sup>. In his definition of reification, Lukács indicates that ‘once labor power comes into being as the abstraction of human activity, it extends its influence to human qualities and personality’ as well. Such objectification, coupled with the highly fragmented and rationalized process of capitalist production, produces “the atomization of the individual<sup>174</sup>”. If we follow this line of thinking, we do not only acknowledge the subjective dimension of commodity fetishism, i.e. the existence of commodified yet personal experiences, but also the objectivity which deem the individual whose experiences are commodified to an atomized state. However, when it comes to amateur porn producers, modders and fan art creators, it is more difficult to add an outsider power that confronts its creator or modder, and to detach the strong communal feeling which feeds the laborer. As a trademark of late capitalism, free labor of modders, porn producers and fandom creators is a cultural and affective production<sup>175</sup>.

Moreover, earlier Marxist analyses of labour have also been opposed many times in different aspects by scholars when it comes to its theoretical definition of human labor. The first apparent objection to it was through theoreticians’ “humanizing” attributes to the labor itself. This emphasis on labor’s humanization stems mainly from its western ascriptions. One of the firsts was Donna Haraway who read these attributes, along with some feminist circles’ discourses, as totalizing tendencies that would establish nothing but new genealogies. In her words:

Beyond either the difficulties or the contributions in the argument of any one author, neither Marxist nor radical feminist points of view have tended to embrace the status of a partial explanation; both were regularly constituted as totalities.’<sup>176</sup>.

In a similar line of thought, Paul Gilroy was also critical of these humanizing attributes and pointed that Marxism’s prioritization of labor, thus concept of class

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<sup>173</sup> Willis “*A primer for Daily Life*”, 6.

<sup>174</sup> Ibid.

<sup>175</sup> Terranova, “*Network Culture*”, 94.

<sup>176</sup> Donna Haraway, *Simians, Cyborgs, and Women*, (Routledge, 1991), 160.

to the race, was because of the approaches' inherent western-centrism. Yet Gilroy also underlined the importance of artistic expression for the oppressed other. According to him, for the children of slaves, this overemphasis on labor often tinkles as "slavery" and the freedom that Marxist approaches have seen in labor mostly evoked "bondage" in black communities. Artistic expression, on the other hand, provides the necessary means for self-fashioning and communal liberation. To borrow from him:

There is a degree of convergence here with other projects towards a critical theory of society, particularly Marxism. However, where lived crisis and systemic crisis come together, Marxism allocates priority to the latter while the memory of slavery insists on the priority of the former. Their convergence is also undercut by the simple fact that in the critical thought of blacks in the West, social self-creation through labour is not the centre-piece of emancipatory hopes. For the descendants of slaves, work signifies only servitude, misery, and subordination. Artistic expression, expanded beyond recognition from the grudging gifts offered by the masters as a token substitute for freedom from bondage, therefore becomes the means towards both individual self-fashioning and communal liberation<sup>177</sup>.

In fact, there is a similar and recent stance that becomes apparent, through the very perception of digital labor as an artistic expression, among some porn producers that fell to the line of otherness via their queerness and belonging to other sexualities belong to lower classes in the sexual hierarchy. This stance also explains and justifies the affective dimension of production within the 2.0 systems that I outlined above, which complicates earlier alienation and commodity fetishism conceptualizations. In addition, the Internet is a sum of networks where myriad of social, cultural and economic relationships concretize. In relation to this, racial and gender identities "still matters online"<sup>178</sup>.<sup>179</sup> Here, the laborers' product neither exists as an alien entity nor does it ground itself solely on the class

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<sup>177</sup> Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness*, (London: Verso, 1993), 40.

<sup>178</sup> Lisa Nakamura's "Digitizing Race: Visual Cultures of Internet" also provides some interesting outcomes on how race is experienced online.

<sup>179</sup> Jennifer Stromer-Galley and Alexis Wichowski, "Political Discussion Online" in *Handbook of Internet Studies*, 174.

concept. Rather, it becomes a part of the laborers' identity; thus, not only granting its integrity with the creator but at the same time assuring labors' multi-dimensional significance, which depends both on class, race and gender. Porn producer and actress Vex Ashley explains her views on the potentialities of creation and self-expression within the contemporary sexual labor as such:

The craft of producing and performing sex on film has only just begun to become available to a wider range of sexualities, bodies and experiences, too often ignored by the mainstream. This can open up greater opportunities for people to use sex and sexuality creatively, politically and culturally, with greater space for autonomy and self-determination. To eradicate artifice altogether is to give up the idea that ethical sex on film can be anything and say anything more than un-curated documentation. Instead of rejecting fantasy and performance, it can be expanded; more voices, more ideas, exploring the potential of sex on film in both a more realistic and more allegorical way<sup>180</sup>.

Yet promises of artistic production, self-expression and liberation do not supersede the criticisms towards the production's relationship within the capitalist economies. Despite Vex Ashley's example, there are myriad of instances in 2.0 networks where exploitation is vividly present. Let us return to modders and fandom artists alongside porn producers. To begin with, video game modders<sup>181</sup> are, in its basic definition, volunteers who fix software bugs<sup>182</sup> or alter the original version of a video-game by adding new content in it which could be either called partial conversion or total conversion in relation to the contents' alteration level. While they dedicate a considerable amount of time and effort in their work, they usually do not get paid unless the mod itself turns to be a great financial success. Well-known examples of these succeeded mods are DOTA, League of Legends and Counter Strike. Modders' work, as they fix bugs and improve the content quality, in any case positively effects the original intellectual property in financial

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<sup>180</sup> Vex Ashley "Porn – artifice – performance – and the problem of authenticity", *Porn Studies*, 3:2 (2016): 187-190.

<sup>181</sup> For a further reading: <http://firstmonday.org/article/view/2965/2526> Last accessed: 31.05.2017

<sup>182</sup> Wikipedia: A software bug is an error, flaw, failure or fault in a computer program or system that causes it to produce an incorrect or unexpected result, or to behave in unintended ways [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Software\\_bug](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Software_bug) Last accessed: 31.05.2017

terms. The same logic also applies for fan art works. Ruberg states that ‘fan production is considered largely a labour of love; yet affective fan labour has real economic implications: it profits intellectual property holders by expanding interest in their properties’<sup>183</sup>. Then he conveys from Abigail De Kosnik who asks implicitly to discuss whether it is fun or not, unpaid fan art creation should be considered as an exploitation or should it be evaluated as a gift economy<sup>184</sup>. For Ruberg, it should be considered as exploitation as well as for DIY porn production. In his words, ‘it is a mistake to assume that DIY porn, or any form of user-generated contents (no matter how “fun”), does not represent the product of meaningful human labour’<sup>185</sup>. In the same vein as Ruberg, Trebor Scholz also argues that casual digital labor, usually defined as social web behaviour<sup>186</sup>, should be considered as a monetizable labor.

In his words:

This argument is frequently challenged because in opposition to traditional labor, casual digital labor looks merely like the expenditure of cognitive surplus, the act of being a speaker within communication systems. It doesn’t feel, look, or smell like labor at all. This digital labor is much akin to those less visible, unsung forms of traditional women’s labor such as child care, housework, and surrogacy<sup>187</sup>.

All these examples deserve further explanation which would enucleate the affective dimension which both concretize in Vex Ashley’s porn production, just as through work of video game modders and fandom artists. Therefore, I offer to turn recent theories that explain neoliberal mechanisms in contemporary late capitalist societies.

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<sup>183</sup> Ruberg, “*Doing it for free*”, 152-153.

<sup>184</sup> Ibid. 153.

<sup>185</sup> Ibid. 155.

<sup>186</sup> Furthermore, even mere online activity like browsing can generate economic value. Capture of personal information is also used within marketing strategies of many enterprises in digital market. A further reading: Mark Andrejevic, *Estranged Free Labor in Digital Labor: Internet as Playground and Factory*

<sup>187</sup> Trebor Scholz, “*Internet as Playground*”

As Haraway and Gilroy's analyses put forth, earlier Marxist approaches' latent western identification of labor, or to put it differently, "humanization" of labor, is erasing the existence of non-western subjectivities and is far from constructing a unity among the oppressed. Yet more importantly, they do not correspond to the online veracity of late capitalist societies. For Terranova, these various theoretical oppositions to Marxism, and the different attributions to labor and alienation/commodity fetishism within online communities blur the sharp distinction between production/consumption and labor/culture in late capitalist societies and in cyber-worlds. She prefers scratching cyber worlds as entities that constitute conjugateness with the real world rather than being an extension of it. She offers to borrow "society-factory" from Italian autonomists in order to understand this new entity's continuities along with the discontinuities and some fundamental shifts. In her words, to 'map the way in which the Internet connects to the autonomist "social factory", and to 'look, that is, at how the "outer net" – the network of social, cultural and economic relationships which criss-crosses and exceeds the Internet – surrounds and connects the latter to larger flows of labour, culture and power<sup>188</sup>.'

In a similar vein, Stephen Maddison, for exploring chief problems around the digital free labor in contemporary online pornography or to put in another way, the relationship between sex and neoliberal capitalist ideology, suggests to move beyond porn studies<sup>189</sup>. For this, he invokes conceptualizations developed by scholars like Foucault, Lazzarato (just like Terranova) and Lois McNay. For instance, whilst Lazzarato says that 'the organization of labour in neoliberalism works to maximize polarizations of income and power whilst working to prevent these inequalities becoming "irreducible political dualisms": in this way neoliberalism effects depoliticization of labour<sup>190</sup>', McNay emphasizes neoliberalism's features that promote constructing the self as an enterprise<sup>191</sup>. In

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<sup>188</sup> Terranova, "Network Culture", 74.

<sup>189</sup> Stephen Maddison, "Beyond the Entrepreneurial Voyeur?", 106.

<sup>190</sup> Ibid.

<sup>191</sup> Ibid.

McNay's thinking, the organization of self around market logic 'subtly alters and depoliticizes conventional conceptions of individual autonomy' foregrounding choice, differentiation and regulated self-responsibility<sup>192</sup>. Thus, she claims that neoliberal mechanisms operate via the isolation of individuals who are separated from each other because of the maximization of unbalanced inequalities between them. This isolation results in a never-ending loop of "acquisition" and "exploitation" of individual freedoms and digital labor. There are no more classes or other type of solidarities that are fed by a feeling of personal responsibility but only eroding of this feeling and the constant differentiation of "competitors" one from the other in the neoliberal context<sup>193</sup>.

Finally, Maddison comes to a twofold conclusion. Although he mostly dresses these conceptualizations for objecting some optimistic readings made by some porn studies scholars around altporn<sup>194</sup> production, yet I believe, his observations about immaterial labor<sup>195</sup> also apply to DIY porn. To summon him:

These theories of labour and power may help to account for the constrained optimism porn studies writers have exhibited about altporn. On the one hand we can see the work of altporn entrepreneurs as expressions of the post-Fordist multitude: emergent expressions of creativity and sociality, arising from the articulation of communities of interest, where inter-dependence and co-operation is expressed by user-generated content and interactivity in forums, blogs and reviews, as a function of new technological possibilities. On the other hand, we can see altporn entrepreneurs as immaterial laborers for whom the distinction between life and work, and work and leisure, has collapsed, and for whom the opportunity to comply with the requirement to enterprise

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<sup>192</sup> Maddison, "*Entrepreneurial Voyeur*",

<sup>193</sup> Ibid. 107.

<sup>194</sup> Alternative porn (also known as alt-porn, altporn, alternaporn, or simply alt), a shortening of "alternative pornography", tends to involve members of such subcultures as goths, punks, emos, scenes, skaters or ravers and is often produced by small and independent websites or filmmakers. More on Wikipedia:

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alt\\_porn](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alt_porn) Last accessed: 31.05.2017

<sup>195</sup> The term immaterial labor is a contested concept. While it is preferred by some scholars for labor in digital words, labors' extensions to the real-world complicates its "immateriality". Yet digital labor and immaterial labor commonly associated within Internet studies and are used inter-changeably.

themselves arises from an exploitation of their latent immaterial creativity<sup>196</sup>.

Lastly, I want to enlarge Lazzarato's critique on the appearance of a "knowledge class" in post capitalist societies. According to him, one of the most important traits of digital labor is its existence in all classes. Capitalist power structures, particularly in late post-industrial societies, tend to spawn virtual but abundant "potentialities of work" that are not only limited to highly skilled workers but also exist within the "precarious worker" and "unemployed youth". Terranova explains this as such:

In spite of all the contradictions of advanced capital and its relation to structural unemployment, postmodern governments do not like the completely unemployable. The potentialities of work must be kept alive, the unemployed must undergo continuous training in order to be both monitored and kept alive as some kind of post-industrial reserve force. Nor can they be allowed to channel their energy into the experimental, nomadic, and anti-productive lifestyles which in Britain have been so savagely attacked by the Criminal Justice Act since the mid-1990s.<sup>197</sup>

For keeping this monitored work potential alive, those people with necessary skills should find a place to set their potential in: Internet. Therefore, for Lazzarato, when it comes to precariat and unemployed youth, these work potentialities are virtual as they are not active in the real-world like so called highly skilled workers. The fact that there are so called highly skilled workers does not necessarily justify a class category called knowledge class. A substantial part of modders, fandom and porn producers are not "highly skilled" and they do not belong to a knowledge class; rather they are a good example of unemployed or precariat youth.

To conclude, the convergence between capital and so-defined hive mind, paved a way for the neoliberal mechanisms that thus became sharp later on within 2.0 networks. Promises such as community based socialization and self-valorization have successfully commodified the self itself. Blurriness between

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<sup>196</sup> Maddison, "*Entrepreneurial Voyeur*", 107.

<sup>197</sup> Terranova, "*Network Culture*", 83.

production/consumption, labor/culture in an environment where the self is organized around a market logic, thereby resulted with the extensiveness of free digital labor<sup>198</sup> that is, in a sense, present in all classes. As a result, inevitably, while digital labor necessitates a large amount of time and effort with production and some other people outside of this production, hitherto makes incredible high profits for free. This is how exploitation comes to the body in cyber worlds.

### **Concluding remarks**

In this chapter I wanted to analyse new pornographies' economy. From the very beginning of this thesis work, despite the existence of pornotopic and queer promises within, I did not want to conceptualise new pornographies that are abundant in numerous representations as pure freedom. By problematizing apparent commodification of sexualities within Porn 2.0, I believe that I exhibited inequalities, exploitation and privileged parties that complicate the assumed libertarian organization of contemporary Internet pornography along with 2.0 systems in general that are consistently being perceived as feasible setting of unlimited and emancipatory self-expression.

In addition to the above, geographical disparity in online pornography is another important concern that certainly exceeds this humble thesis work but is still worth underlining. Apart from some minor exceptions such as hentai and other specific Japanese porn, pornographic production occurs mainly on North American "soil" and as a matter of fact, in the English language. The domination of North American culture on the circulation of different varied sexualities is striking and should be studied by a serious academic -sociological preferably- labor.

Finally, as Ruberg concluded, the ultimate fate of online pornography is yet to be fulfilled<sup>199</sup>. These drawbacks that I arrayed throughout this chapter can be avoided or better still, ameliorated in the future. Also initial years of the Internet and its

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<sup>198</sup> There are more assessments<sup>198</sup> on digital labor. See: Ursula Huws, *Labor in the Global Digital Economy: The Cybertariat Comes of Age*, (Monthly Review Press, 2014) and Jaron Lanier, *Who Owns the Future*, (Simon & Schuster, 2013)

<sup>199</sup> Ruberg, "Doing it for free", 158.

promises that occurred with possibilities of alternative economies can reappear. I hope that this chapter would stand as a humble contribution to the new pornographies' more democratic future.

## CONCLUSION

In this thesis, I aimed to analyze contemporary online pornography through two different analysis schemes that do not repeal one another. Specifically, one was to detect if online porn has a transformative impact on sexual norms within certain social circles in Turkish metropolises. The other was to investigate capitalist production relations within Porn 2.0 and 2.0 networks in general in the contemporary neoliberal scenery.

Relative to the first one, I have concluded that online porn or more precisely Porn 2.0 has detectable transformative effects for some circles mainly situated within metropolises, on settled sexual norms within the wider Turkish society. The interviewees' testimony exhibited that watching online pornography has become more crucial than all-pervading cultural scripts in shaping and determining people's perceptions of sexuality. Yet it has also been revealed that online pornography is not always immune to gender asymmetry; being a woman or a sexual dissident can still matter online. On the other hand, online porn carries a serious potential for challenging this asymmetry through the variety of its contents. Many interviewees, via their meticulousness in choosing "the right content", have manifested that it is possible to experience less oppressive encounters within Porn 2.0. In addition, as not all the dimensions of social interaction are fully constructed, the breathing spaces that I have defined, which also revive within these non-constructed moments of interaction, ensure the necessary means to the interviewees for blurring, dismantling or shattering sexual hierarchy pyramid's gendered and heterosexist configurations. The findings within this thesis indicate that contemporary online pornography is one of the major sources of these spaces.

Relative to the second scheme of analysis, I have deduced that online pornography is not exempt from capitalist relations. The monopolization of porn tube sites, the new formations of self in the neoliberal scenery, the ephemerality

of sexual commodities and the new financial systems defined by Sassen<sup>200</sup>, all contain and reflect these failures to a certain extent. Here, I find it complementary to once again summon Micheal Zimmer, as I did in my introduction. While giving place to his remarks on Web 2.0, I have already noted that he was critical about the 2.0 epoch:

But Web 2.0 also embodies a set of unintended consequences, including the increased flow of personal information across networks, the diffusion of one's identity across fractured spaces, the emergence of powerful tools for peer surveillance, the exploitation of free labor for commercial gain, and the fear of increased corporatization of online social and collaborative spaces and outputs<sup>201</sup>.

In this work, I addressed these caveats to a certain extent. For this matter, I reasoned that the free labor in 2.0 networks is an effective labor that mainly originates from a marketing logic that flops down on the self. This “free yet effective” labor is often encouraged by an over-emphasized and optimistic discursive affirmation of user-generated content and “do-it-yourself” slogans. In relation to this, I have also screened how previous Marxist conceptualizations of labor fall short in defining the marketing of the self, as they contain western ascriptions that concretize within their humanizing attributions to the labor concept. They fail to detect a conceptual and effective hierarchy between class and race or to say in a more correct way, labor's multi formation for certain individuals or virtual avatars through World Wide Web<sup>202</sup>. Also, I have drawn the conclusion that ephemeral sexual commodities that flutter throughout the Internet, are concretizing the execution of new financial capacities, to borrow from Sassen. In sum, capitalist investors gain capital from Porn 2.0 and in 2.0 systems in general, mainly through the distribution and casual labor of porn actors and actresses, video-game modelers and fan art creators who provide them with free labour.

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<sup>200</sup> Sassen, “*Expulsions*”

<sup>201</sup> Zimmer, “*Critical Perspectives on Web 2.0*”

<sup>202</sup> Here I use virtual avatars basically for anonym users through Internet.

At this point, necessary questions emerge as a matter of fact: What do these results tell us? As I indicated in the first-place, they reassure once again online pornography's centrality to the modern quotidian. Yet more importantly, these results indicate that online pornography is central to rapidly changing perceptions of sexuality. Massive transformations within daily life due to the proliferation of Internet technology marked an important cornerstone in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 21<sup>th</sup>. This thesis flashes one of their many different appearances that vary per different times and geographies.

Also, it should not be forgotten that Porn 2.0 is a *current* paradigm within online pornography. Besides, even for its actual formation, it not easy to come up with strict conclusions on Porn 2.0. It has its disadvantages and failures along with promises and potentials. Moreover, as Ruberg states online porn's destiny, is yet to be fulfilled. In my opinion, it may transform into a medium that constantly reproduce (hetero) sexism and reinforce capitalist rationales more than ever, yet it may also form a capitalist-free, democratic scenery where desires and pleasures would float continually. To that extent, in this research work, I did not intend to picture a story of defeat or a moral condemnation posture that muddies online porn's realities. It was, more likely a story that tells how present was shaped, both in positive and negative ways.

On the other hand, I also want to discuss the future in my conclusion. To me, when one contemplates the upcoming developments that contemporary online pornography would be subjected to along with Internet in general, the importance of the findings of this thesis grows even more. Pornography can become a livable experience in a very near future. Here I am talking about a specific technology: Although I have already underlined several cyber sexualities<sup>203</sup>, I want to point

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<sup>203</sup> In this part I could have also underlined some other future developments on sexuality itself such as sex with robots or teledildonics, yet I wanted to remain solely within limits of online porn and technologies that are presently relating with it. See also: <https://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2014/jun/06/teledildonics-interactive-porn-sex-in-digital-age> Last accessed: 31.05.2017

out something nascent that has spread widely to many different sectors along with pornography during the writing of this work: Virtual reality technology.

### **Virtual reality**

How much and in what ways can a new technology differ from Porn 2.0? As emphasized in this research, Porn 2.0 has been and still is influential in the shaping of sexual norms. However, Porn 2.0 also relies on basic frame changing and essentially promotes the feeling of being outside of the content; more precisely, voyeurism. In other words, in terms of its visual operation, porn tube sites and other pornographic 2.0 systems are similar to the contents of traditional video cassettes and CD's: It is about "viewing" the sexually explicit material rather than "being inside" of it. On the contrary, pornography made by using virtual reality<sup>204</sup> technology has many new commitments. Virtual reality (VR) comes with promises of "being lost in an immersive world", something very much like the virtual world depicted in the 1999 movie "Matrix", where people have the capacity to wander in a virtual world while simultaneously being in the real world physically, using special headsets and seats with high tech. Applications of this technology to pornography are endless.

Moreover, one of the most important objections brought to pornography concerned the point of view, as the camera determines angle by which viewers interact with content. While Porn 2.0's content variety complicates these objections to a certain extent, VR porn will completely dismantle them, as it will allow the "participant" to watch the *mise-en-scène* from any perspective that he/she prefers. Peter Rubin, from Wired, explains this difference in the following:

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<sup>204</sup> Virtual reality (VR) typically refers to computer technologies that use virtual reality headsets to generate the realistic images, sounds and other sensations that replicate a real environment or create an imaginary setting. VR also simulates a user's physical presence in this environment. VR has been defined as "a realistic and immersive simulation of a three-dimensional 360-degree environment, created using interactive software and hardware, and experienced or controlled by movement of the body or as an "immersive, interactive experience generated by a computer. More in Wikipedia page: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Virtual\\_reality](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Virtual_reality) Last accessed: 31.05.2017

No visual technology has ever been so perfectly suited to sexual applications as VR. Yes, video brought sexually explicit content from theaters into homes, but virtual reality promises to eclipse even that shift. Historically, we've found titillation at a remove. In erotic woodcuts, DVDs, even streaming webcam shows, there's a frame—whether a book, a Polaroid border, or a screen—through which we experience whatever it is that turns us on. VR is more than just another iteration. It doesn't just change the frame. VR erases it. It allows us to exist inside the environment. The NSFW<sup>205</sup> possibilities are endless<sup>206</sup>.

VR porn's plights are not limited to camera angles and interactive experiences. In VR porn, robots, mutant aliens, anime/hentai and cartoon characters, in short a myriad of fictive or mechanical, anthropomorphic beings might be accessible for sex. It will be enough to imagine and design something or somebody to have sex with them: a headset display and a controller would put the individual in the generated virtual world and would allow them do anything he/she wants.

Different VR technologies are already being used in different instances: video-games, TV series and educational videos, etc. I have had the chance to try this new technology in the office of a video game magazine, Oyungezer, that I have been writing for in Istanbul. It is true that it is early to make assumptions, but even from my own personal experience I can say that VR, along with other similar technologies that might appear in a near future, carries a great potential for altering the modern quotidian. To that extent, a potential online VR pornography immersed with or even moved beyond the 2.0 mentality would allow researchers to profoundly redefine what is sexual, how scripts operate, etc. Therefore, I wanted to stress its ever-growing presence. In the next part, I want to suggest certain directions for the researchers who would want to study contemporary online pornography.

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<sup>205</sup> Not safe for work. An abbreviation for describing Internet content which can be considered as inappropriate for the typical workplace.

<sup>206</sup> <https://www.wired.com/2015/02/vr-porn/> Last accessed: 03.04.2017

### **Further work in contemporary online pornography**

As I echoed numerous times in this work, there is still much to research within contemporary online pornography. In relation to that, within my research, I came up with two main suggestions. The first one was at the end of the Chapter 1 where I suggested revisiting Foucault's oppositions to the repressive hypothesis of sexuality, through Porn 2.0 and other cyber sexuality potentialities. It can be said that I have partially done this labor through Chapter 3; however, there is lot more to consider. Specifically, if one considers Zimmer's cautions regarding the fracturing of identity across the Web and the emergence of new tools for peer surveillance along with VR pornography/sexuality, it can even be thought as a pressing matter. The second one was in Chapter 3, where I emphasized the need for sociological research on the North American domination of pornographic productions and its potential consequences. In my opinion, it carries much potential for revealing another scene where geographical inequalities are present. Also, some exceptions such as hentai and other specific types of porn that sprung from places other than North America would be interesting to analyze and compare.

In relation to geographical inequalities, there is one more stance that I want to underline: In this work, mostly due to the time constraint, I could not talk with people who produce pornographic content within Porn 2.0 although they do exist in Turkey. However, this was not solely due to time constraints. There is a huge difference when it comes to shooting a porno with a hand camera or mobile phone for a person who is settled in North America and for someone who resides in contemporary Turkey. This reflects on pornographic content itself: In Turkish speaking amateur porn videos, faces are often concealed and minimal conversation is featured, while in English speaking amateur videos, this is not the case. In my opinion, apart from the exploitation of free labor, this dimension of user-generated content should also be researched. This becomes more interesting when online pornographies' anonymity's facilitating aspect is considered in the proliferation of different sexualities.

## **Final words**

This work reveals only a small percentage of personal experiences and capitalist production relations around contemporary online pornographies. For me, it was important to handle this task, as it is often neglected in academic work and almost nonexistent in Turkey. To conclude, I made sure to remain outside of different sides of pornography debate by focusing both on negative and positive aspects, to assure a more unbiased understanding of contemporary online pornography to the reader. Beyond any doubt, pornography will continue to haunt modern quotidian in the future, just as it does in the present.

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[www.xhamster.com](http://www.xhamster.com)

-Youporn

[www.youporn.com](http://www.youporn.com)

-Xvideos

[www.xvideos.com](http://www.xvideos.com)

### ONLINE SEX SHOPS

-Lovense

[www.lovense.com](http://www.lovense.com)

<https://twitter.com/lovense>

### SOCIAL MEDIA

-Tumblr.Inc

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-Reddit

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-Quora

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<https://www.gotinder.com>

### FEE-PAYING PORN SITES

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-Brazzers

[www.brazzers.com](http://www.brazzers.com)

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<https://www.babes.com>

-Digital Playground

[www.digitalplayground.com/home](http://www.digitalplayground.com/home)

-Reality Kings

[www.realitykings.com](http://www.realitykings.com)

### OTHER MEDIA

-Wired

[www.wired.com](http://www.wired.com)

-Extremetech

[www.extremetech.com](http://www.extremetech.com)

-Guardian

[www.guardian.co.uk](http://www.guardian.co.uk)

## APPENDICES

### A- Multiple Choice/Fill in Blank Questions (In Turkish)

## Pornografi Bilgi Anketi

Bu ankettten elde edilecek veriler, bir yüksek lisans tez çalışmasında kullanılacaktır.

\* Gerekli

#### Cinsiyetiniz? \*

- Erkek
- Kadın
- Diğer

#### Yaşınız? \*

- 18'den küçük
- 18-25
- 26-30
- 31-34
- 35-39
- 40 +

#### Medeni durumunuz? \*

- Evli
- Bekar
- Boşanmış/Dul
- Diğer:

#### En son mezun olduğunuz okul? \*

- Üniversite mezunu (Doktora/Tıpta uzmanlık)
- Üniversite mezunu (Yüksek lisans)
- Üniversite mezunu (Normal)
- Üniversite mezunu (Açıköğretim)
- 2 senelik Yüksek okul mezunu
- Lise mezunu

- Ortaokul mezunu
- İlkokul mezunu
- Dięer:

**Lisans düzeyindeki üniversite eğitiminiz ücretli mi, ücretsiz mi yoksa kısmi burslu mu?**

- Ücretsiz, devlet üniversitesi
- %100 Burslu, vakıf üniversitesi
- Kısmi burslu, vakıf üniversitesi
- Ücretli, vakıf üniversitesi

**İşinizi/ mesleğini açık olarak yazabilir misiniz? Ör: İlkokul öğretmeni, kaporta ustası, tapu memuru, emlakçı, özel bir şirkette genel müdür vs. \***

Lütfen büyük harf kullanmayın, Türkçe karakter tercih edin.

**Aylık geliriniz (maaşınız) ne kadar? \***

- 950 TL'den daha az
- 950 - 1199 TL
- 1200 - 1699 TL
- 1700 - 2499 TL
- 2500 - 3299 TL
- 3300 - 4199 TL
- 4200 TL'den çok
- Söylemek istemiyorum

**Hanenizde kaç kişi yaşıyor? \***

- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
- 5'ten fazla

**Ortalama aylık hanehalkı geliriniz ne kadardır? \***

- 1500'den az
- 1500-2999
- 3000-4499
- 4500-5999
- 6000-7499
- 7500'den fazla
- Bilmiyorum
- Söylemek istemiyorum

**Hangi şehirde yaşıyorsunuz? \***

- İstanbul
- Ankara
- İzmir
- Bursa
- Diğer:

**Siyasal yelpazedeki yerinizi aşağıdakilerden hangisi en iyi tanımlar? \***

Birden fazla seçenek işaretleyebilirsiniz.

- Muhafazakar
- Liberal
- Milliyetçi
- Sosyal Demokrat
- Sosyalist
- Ulusalcı
- Çapulcu
- Diğer:

**Cinsel yöneliminizi nasıl tanımladınız? \***

- Karşı cinse ilgi duyarım
- Hemcinslerime ilgi duyarım
- Hem karşı cinse hem de hemcinslerime ilgi duyarım
- Diğer:

**Porno izliyor musunuz? \***

- Evet
- Hayır

**Ne sıklıkla porno izliyorsunuz?**

- Her gün
- Haftada 2-3
- Haftada 1
- Ayda 2-3
- Ayda 1
- Ayda 1'den seyrek

**Porno izlediđinizi etrafınızdakilere -karşı cins dahil- çekinmeden söyleyebilir misiniz?**

- Evet
- Hayır

## **B- Sample interview (in Turkish) - Derya**

ODTÜ’de okuyorum. Son sınıfım, 22 yaşındayım. Uluslararası İlişkiler okuyorum. Antalyalıyım, İstanbul’da liseyi okudum oradan Ankara’ya geldim. Dört yıldır burada yaşıyorum.

**Kendinizi nasıl tanımlıyorsunuz, cinsel kimlik, cinsel yönelim? Ya da başka bir şey varsa?**

Kadın ve heteroseksüel olarak tanımlıyorum.

**Cinsel kimlik, yönelim yahut birtakım fanteziler yüzünden etraftan tepki aldın mı?**

Hayır, yani cinsel yönelimim yüzünden almadım ama kadın olmanın getirdiği bazı zorluklar var ama onlar da bir tepki olarak değil, genel olarak yaşadığım şeyler var.

**Bahsetmek istersen?**

Yani ee, aslında oldukça şanslı bir kültürel seviyedeyim, hani arkadaşlarım vs. ona göre şekillendi. Fakat yani mesela abime kıyasla bazen hissettiğim oluyor. Yani benim daha kariyer odaklı olmamam gerektiği falan gibi, daha çok evde kalmaya yönelik. Ama diğer tabii gördüğüm insanlara kıyasla oldukça avantajlıyım. Başka da, yani çok direkt aklıma gelen şeyler değil ama yani belki böyle romantik ilişkilerimde belki şeyini görmüşümdür, ayrımcılığı falan. Sürekli olarak bir şeyleri açıklamak zorunda kalmam, neredesin ne yaptın falan. Akşam dışarı çıkmakta zorlanmakta, tek başına yürümekten tedirgin olmak falan, hani Türkiye’de yaşamının getirdiği şeyler daha çok.

**Cinsellikten ne anlıyorsun, ne anlam ifade ediyor?**

Tek bir anlam ifade etmiyor aslında ama yani önemli bir yeri var hayatımda. Ve hala keşfetmeye çalışıyorum onu da yani 17 yaşında ilk birlikteliğim oldu, evet, ondan beri de öğrenmeye çalışıyorum yani. Yeni şeyler denemeye çalışıyorum, önemli bir şey benim için cinsellik. Yani bu cinsellik dendiğinde başta bir böyle ilk tanıma, korkutucu geliyordu hani küçükken özellikle ya da ergenliğe girmişken. Çünkü şey böyle bekâretin bozulması, evlilikten önce cinselliğin yaşanması falan bunlar sıkıntılı kavramlar Türkiye’de, dolayısıyla bir git-gel yaşamıştım cinselliği tatmadan önce. Bu birliktelik anlamında tabii yoksa daha evvelden mastürbasyon deneyimlerim vardı. Küçüklüğümden beri ama cinsel birliktelik anlamında başta korkutucu geliyor. Şu an üniversite ortamında artık giderek normalleşiyor, onun verdiği bir rahatlık var başta utanç gibi, korkutucu gibi kavramları çağrıştırıyor. Zamanla da değişen ir tanımı var gibi. Şu an çok daha normal, daha çok nasıl zevk alabilirim, keşfedilmemiş bir alan gibi daha çok, bunları ifade ediyor. Daha çok yolum olan bir alan, bir yandan tabii şeylerle, hani ben çok daha özgürlükçü hissediyorum cinsel anlamda yani tek eşliliği vs. sorguluyorum ama o kafa yapısında bir partner bulabilir miyim, o endişe de var. Cinselliği biraz şey, diğer insanları da düşünüp, erkek tarafını, onlarla aynı noktada mıyım? Biraz kafa karıştırıcı şeyler de çağrıştırıyor, ben farklı mıyım gibi. Birçok anlam yani, ilk aklıma gelenler bunlar.

### **Aşk ve cinsellik bir arada düşünülduğünde ne geliyor aklına? Bu iki kavramı nasıl düşünüyorsun?**

Ya evet, uzun bir süre yani aşkla beraber olması hatta hala bile öyle diyebilirim aşkla beraber daha iyi ya da daha rahat en azından, karşıdakiyle daha aynı noktada olduğun ve beraber bir şeyler keşfettiğin bir alan olduğu için daha güzelleşiyor. Aslında ama yeni yeni onları da sorguluyorum, ikisi farklı alanlar olarak değerlendirilebilir gibi geliyor. Çok hoşlanmadığım, ilgi duymadığım birileriyle de beraber oldum. Çok kötü olanları da vardı, çok iyi olanları da vardı, ikisi illa birlikte olması gereken, olmadığında birbirlerini dışlayan kavramlar gibi değiller şu an pek kafamda. Yani aşk olmadan da gayet güzel bir cinsel birliktelik yaşanır gibime geliyor.

### **Aşktan kastın ne peki?**

Ya evet, o da karışık bir şey ama sanırım şey. Birlikte olmaktan çok zevk aldığın, çok ilgi duyduğun onun hayatına zevklerine, heyecanlandıran aynı zamanda. O heyecan tabii ne kadar sürebiliyorsa tabii. Başlarda çok heyecanlı olduğum en azından bir şey, ama hani mucizevi bir şey gibi de değil aklındaki, bir kere olur, aşk bir kere olunur falan gibi de düşünmüyorum. Her an da olunabilir, sürekli de olunabilir. İnsan hayatında çok fazla da olabilir. Ama diğerlerinden farkı, bu insanı diğerlerinden farklı kılan, işte çok zevk aldığım birlikte olmaktan, çok fedakârlık yaptığım biri. Birlikte vakit geçirmekten zevk aldığım.

### **Sapıklık kavramının sende bir karşılığı var mı?**

Sapıklık biraz şey gibi, kendi başına bir insanın sapık düşünceleri olduğunda direkt olarak sapık demem ama sapıklık şey, karşı tarafın iradesi olmadan bir şeyleri isteyen. İradesini olmamasını isteyen ya da karşı tarafı kendi düşüncelerini eyleme döktüğünde karşı tarafa zarar verebilecek olan düşünceler bana biraz daha sapkın geliyor. Cinsel anlamda sapıklığı soruyorsanız bilmiyorum şu sapıklıktır şu değildir diyemem ama mesela, ne örnek verebilirim, hani pedofili sapkınlık gibi gelebilir. Onunda bir hastalık olduğunu falan biliyorum ama orada tamamen karşında iradesi yok ve sen bundan istek duyuyorsun. O olabilir mesela.

### **Kendinin dışında kalan cinsellikler ya da cinsel kimlikler hakkında ne düşünüyorsun?**

Ya mesela homoseksüellik vs. gibi mi?

### **O olabilir, fetişler olabilir farklı cinsel aktivite olur, yönelim olur zaten hepsi bir yerde aynı yere çıkıyor gibi.**

Hepsi aynı yere çıkmıyor bence. Cinsel yönelimi farklı olan bir insanın hani çok kendimden ayırmıyorum. Aynı cinslerin cinsel ilişkisi ya da olmayışı falan, o konuda bir ayırım yok kafamda. Tabii ki, iki tarafın isteğin doğrultusunda olan her şey cinselliğin içine dâhil ve benim için norma dâhil, normal olarak kabul edilebiliyor. Ben de hani direkt olarak kendi cinsel yönelimimi etiket gibi bana asılı gelmedi sonuçta. Ben de onu

düşünerek keşfederek bulduğumu düşünüyorum. Belki hala biseksüel de olabilirim hala çünkü henüz öyle bir deneyim yaşamadım. Kendimden de düşündüğümde, insanlar keşfediyor, ne istediğini buluyor ya da keşfetmeden bile öyle hissediyor. Bunlarda bir gariplik görmüyorum. Fetişler ya da BDSM ilişki falan, o tür şeylerde, yani ne denilebilir, iki tarafın rızası durumunda cinselliğe dâhil edilebilir, onu değiştirebilir daha zevkli haline getirebilir. Cinsel yönelimlerin dışında diğer fetişler.

### **Porno sitelere girmeye kaç yaşından beri başladın?**

Sanırım biraz benimki kendim araştırarak bulmamıştım, 11 yaşında falan abimin porno arşivini bul muştum bilgisayarında tesadüfen karşılaşmıştım. O zaman böyle izlemiştim ve böyle zevk aldığımı fark etmiştim izlerken. Ee, daha sonrası kendi isteğimle 11 yaşından sonra. Girmeye başladım sitelere. Şu anda son 2-3 senedir biraz endüstri hakkında okumaya başladım. Ha küçükken daha ergenlik başında 11-12 yaşında baya utanarak izliyorum, utanç içinde mastürbasyon yapıyordum. Daha sonra reşit olduktan sonra bunu aştım, ilk cinsel deneyimimden falan da sonra iyice kayboldu o his. Ama son 2 senedir porno endüstrisi hakkında okudum ve düşündüm ve şu anda da daha az giriyorum ve girdiğimde de biraz suçluluk duygusu oluyor, endüstrinin kendisinden, kadınların çalışma şartlarından ya da erkeklerin de öyle, biraz haberdar olmaya başlayınca, daha çok şeyleri araştırmaya başladım işte feminist pornolar, ya da erotik filmler. Biraz da onlara ilgi duymaya çalışıyorum, etik bulmuyorum.

### **Kendini çelişkide mi hissediyorsun? O endüstriyel pornoyu izlediğine göre bir şekilde izlemek de istiyorsun?**

Evet, çok fazla var, kaçamıyorum ondan. Onun dışındakileri bulmak zor ve zaman alacak. Araştırma yapmak gerekecek falan. O konuda evet çelişkide görüyorum, daha az izlemeye çalışıyorum. Hani aramadan önüme çıkanı izliyorum bazen, keşke daha az izlesem de buna katkıda bulunmasam diye ama değiştirmeye çalışıyorum o konudaki tercihlerimi.

### **Pornonun dev bir piyasası olması hakkında ne düşünüyorsun lafı açılmışken?**

Yani çok şeyler Rus kaynaklı siteler, oraları araştırdığımda çok fazla reşit olmayan çalışanların olduğunu gördüm. 16-17-15 falan. Onun dışında ABD'deki endüstriye baktığımda, siz daha iyi bilirsiniz tabii ama, çoğu büyük ve monopol şirketler, çok bir rekabet yok. O yüzden çok kötü çalışma şartları. Günde 3-4 kere film çekimlerine giriyorlar, onun dışında, hani bir de şey durumu da var, çok kolay ve hemen para kazandıran bir sektör. Üniversite masraflarını ödemek için bu işi tercih eden insanlar var, sonrasında bunun pişmanlığını yaşıyor olabilirler, yani çok hani onların çaresizliğinden faydalanan bir sektör gibi. Bu işleri çok sıkıntılı bulunuyorum ve insanların da bunun hakkında çok kafa yormadığını görüyorum ki ben de böyleydim kısa zamana kadar. Bunu da çok sıkıntılı buluyorum.

### **Farklı internet kaynakları, tube siteler, içeriği ücretsiz sunan, daha farklı alternatiflere bakışın ne, tumblr falan?**

Bunu az önce konuştuğum zaten online stream siteleri idi. Hep onları kullanıyorum zaten ama diğerleri hakkında da tumblr hesaplarına çok arada bakıyorum ama çok fazla erkek dominant bir sektör zaten, o yüzden de genel olarak da hani feminist porno dememin sebebi de o, onda da çok az buluyorum ama kadının zevkine yönelik çekimler, senaryolar. Onların dışında, amatör pornolarda da yine aynı şeyi görüyorum. Erkek egemen bir zevk, erkeğin zevki, kadına odaklanması, kadın vücuduna, yüzüne onun dışında hani şey işte, kadın hep bir şeyler yapıyor ya da daha submissive olduğu senaryolar var genelde ya da böyle üvey kardeşime şey yaptım, pizzacı şöyle yaptı falan böyle küçük düşürücü şeyler kadınlar için. Genelde onlar var, amatörlerde de pek böyle bir şey görmüyorum. Belki hani araştırmadığım için.

### **Hani burada sanki iki şeyli bir durum var gibi, hem diğerlerini araştırmak ve bulmak vakit alıyor biraz önüme çıkkanı izliyorum ama önüme çıkanda da içerikle ilgili bir problemim var. Doğru mu anlıyorum?**

Evet öyle. Aslında ben ortalama bir insandan daha çok da araştırma yapmışımdır bu konuda. Çok haksızlık etmeyeyim kendime ama bulamıyorum, çok zor bulamıyorum. Belki daha kolay mıdır bilemiyorum. Ama bana baya zor geliyor, kadınlara yönelik porno bulmak.

### **Ama yani, rahatsız edici içeriğin de yine keyif verici bir kısmı mı var?**

Ya evet, sonuçta bir seks durumu var ve hani onu izlemek yani zevk verici denebilir. Ya da daha çok şeyleri tercih etmeye çalışıyorum mastürbasyon videolarını kadınların falan. Kendi yaptığı, biraz daha empati kurabildiğim bir şey oluyor ya da bazen şey yapıyordum, küçükken lezbiyen pornolar daha soft bir sevişme gibi geliyordu. Diğer hardcore sevişmeler küçükken korkutucu geliyordu. Psikolojimi de bozduğunu düşünüyordum, o yüzden lezbiyen pornolar daha soft bir sevişme olduğu için onları tercih ediyordum önceden. Evet dediğim gibi hiç zevk vermiyor bu ne ya demiyorum ama hani izledikten sonra da keşke şimdi biraz daha baksaydım, ya da hiç izlemeseydim aklıma geldiğinde öyle kötü hissediyorum.

### **Başka hangi kategorileri izliyorsun?**

Başka, yani çok bir kategoriye göre bakmıyorum. Mesela şeyi unuttum böyle ismini de, kamera direkt adamın gözünden kamerayı takıyor o şekilde bir sevişme dışardan bir kamera değil de kişinin kendisinde kamera var. Unuttum ne tür olduğunu da onları izliyorum mesela, başka ya şey stream şeylerinde female choice gibi kategoriler var orada biraz daha soft sevişmeler, erotika gibi şeyler oluyor onları izliyorum ama dediğim gibi onlarda da yapaylık ve böyle zorlama hissini gördüğüm zaman çok tahrik olmuyorum. Öyle bir şey gördüğüm zaman. Onun dışında gey pornolarına bakmıştım üniversiteye, hatta lisedeyken falan böyle homoseksüelliği fark ettiğimde, o zamana kadar gözümüz kör büyüyor ama onları izlemiştim nasıl oluyor falan diye merak etmişim. Erkek

mastürbasyonu videoları oluyor onları tercih ediyorum. Onun dışında da çok bir tercihim yok.

### **Bugüne kadar izlediğin pornolar içinde sana videoyu kapattırarak ölçüde sahnelere denk geldiğin oldu mu?**

Çok oluyor aslında, kadının çok zorlandığı videoları kapatıyorum genelde. Yani işte böyle tecavüze yakın derecede sert ve kadını, gördüğümde hiç zevk almadığını düşündüğüm videoları kapıyorum. Onun dışında rahatsız edici, bu galiba interracial videolarda oluyordu, orada da aşırı bir nesneleştirme hissediyorum siyahiler üstünde, ondan da çok hoşlanmıyorum. Onun dışında BDSM izledim mesela, onlarda mesela çok rahatsız edici görmemiştim. Hani kapatayım falan, onlar kendilerini belli de ediyorlar. Onları tıklamamaya çalışıyorum o yüzden de izledikten sonra şaşırtan, hop bu neydi diyebileceğim spesifik bir örnek gelmiyor.

### **Peki, buradan biraz daha gidelim, daha da farklı porno kategorileri hakkında ne düşünüyorsun? Müslüman, yaşlı ensest vs. gibi**

Eee, bu dediğim 11 yaşındayken, abimin porno arşivinde bir tane hayvan pornosu izlemiştim çok da küçüktüm. O epey rahatsız edici gelmişti ve uzun süre psikolojim bozulmuştu, o yüzden hiç tıklamadım bir daha. Onun dışında yaşlı pornosu işte bu MILF falan bu kategorilere de tıklamıyorum. O konuda gelenekselim sanırım. Farklı şeyler çok izlemiyorum, bu kategorilere ilişkin ve kötü de buluyorum. Yaşlı pornosu değil de hayvan pornosunu oldukça kötü buluyorum.

### **Zaten izlemekten öte genel anlamda düşüncelerini de merak ediyorum bu kategorilerle ilgili. Eklemek istediğin kategori falan varsa da...**

Çocuk pornosuna hiç denk gelmedim ama 14-15 yaşında hem erkeğin hem kadının çok reşit olmadığı videolara denk geliyorum, onları da doğru bulmuyorum. Onun dışında öyle bir doğru bulmuyorum diyebileceğim bunlar var. Hayvan, çocuk vs. Yani cüce pornosu ya da yaşlı pornosunun kendi kitlesinin de olabileceğini düşünüyorum. Bilmiyorum konseptini çok fazla ama yaşlı bir insansam onu izleyebilirim ya da cüceysen. Ama dışarıdan sadece onu çekici bulmak yani hiç düşünmedim hakkında. Ama hayvan ve çocuk pornosu kategorisine göre çok daha iyi skalasında, yukarıdalar, kabul edilebilir skalasında.

### **Rızayla, idrakte alakalı yani?**

Benim en çok tahrik olduğum, karşılıklı rıza, consent görebiliyorsam mesela. O tür sevişmeler daha çok beni tahrik eden sevişmeler ve daha da doğru bulduğum tarzda pornolar.

### **Müslüman pornosu falan?**

Yani evet, Türk pornosu Müslüman pornosu çok fazla denk geldim ama hiçbirine tıklamadım, istemedim tıklamak sanırım. Tahrik olacağımı düşünmedim onlardan. Belki

de bu kültürü tahrik edici bulma fikri de bana rahatsız edici geliyor olabilir. Şeyler de öyle, kızıl saçlı ya da büyük popolu ya da büyük memeli, falan gibi böyle tek tipleştirilen pornolara da tıklamadım. Çok da anlamlandıramıyorum özellikle de insanların sadece kızıl saç, sadece büyük popolu porno izliyor olmasını garip buluyorum. Yani ayıpladığımdan değil de empati kuramıyorum.

### **Niye garip?**

Çok da spektrumu çok geniş bir şey cinsellik, neyden tahrik olacağımız o kadar tahmin edilebilir değil kendi içimizde yaşadığımız. İrade kapsamı geçerli söylediklerimde ama insan neyden tahrik olabileceğini kestiremiyor, bu tür böyle ben şunlardan tahrik olurum, şunlar çok iyi diğerlerinden tahrik olmuyorum bakış açısı çok kısıtlayıcı geliyor. Kadın olarak da düşündüğümde karşı cinsin böyle bir sınıflandırmaya gidiyor oluşu beni rahatsız ediyor. Tek tip kadın kültürüne de katkı yapıyor sanki tek tip güzellik, kadın şöyle olur ya da böyle olur tanımlarına da katkı yapıyor. Erkek egemen bir sektör olduğu için bir kadın olarak girdiğimde, kendimi erkeklerin düşünmediği şeyleri de düşünürken buluyorum. Böyle mi hoşuna gidiyor, böyle mi sınıflandırılıyor, çok mu izleniyor? Onların dünyasına girmiş oluyorum ve kendimi de öyle değerlendirmeye başlıyorum ve bu beni çok rahatsız ediyor.

### **Deminki konuya dönecek olursak, çocuklar yaşlılar vs. ayırıyorsun bir ölçüde onu anladım, aktör olarak özellikle, peki bunların seyirci olması hakkında ne düşünüyorsun? Bir de başka ayrımlar varsa, aktör ve seyirci olmak gibi başka kıstaslar var mı?**

Yani şey, seyirci olarak bütün bu aktörlerin biz seyircilere hitap etmek için bir şeyler yaptığını bize zevk vermek için vs. görüyorum. Ya bu konu hani şey, pornonun hani kendisinin de bu kadar talep görüyor olmasının sebebi de olabilir, size özel bir alan gibi, istediğiniz zevki istediğiniz aktörle alabilirsiniz gibi. Orada hani tahrik olduğum süre içinde, o güzel bir şeymiş gibi geliyor ama mastürbasyonu yaptıktan sonra biraz garip hissettiriyor tabii. Tekrar sektörü düşündüğümde, hani bu acaba ben zevk aldım ama karşımdaki hani bu aktörler zevk alıyorlar mıydı, aslında ben mesela onların zevk aldığını düşünerek zevk aldım ama mesela gerçekten ikisi de hiç zevk almıyorduyorsa, ya mekanik olarak yapıyorlarsa ki bu daha yüksek ihtimal. Bir de çok fazla kendi cinsel birlikteliklerimle pornoyu ayrı şeyler gibi yapıyoruz aslında. Birinde hani dışarıda bir seyirci, diğerinde içindesin. O ayrım da garip geliyor çünkü çok küçük yaştan beri izlediğim için, hani kendi başıma porno izlerken daha çok zevk alabildiğimi fark etmiştim normal seks yapmaya göre. Bu biraz daha sıkıntılı bir durum. Hani bir anda 11-17 yaş arası seyirci olarak kaldığım ve tek başıma yaptığım bir aktivite ev sonra cinsel birlikteliğe geçiyorum ve kendim yapıyorum. Farklı gelmişti ve acaba kendi başına daha mı rahat, daha mı kolay diye düşüncelerim olmuştu. İkinci soru neydi onu unuttum? İkisine de ben gibi cevap verdim ama.

**Bence yeterli. Buradan devam edelim istedim ben. Niye porno izliyorsun, cinselliğinle porno nasıl ilişkililiyor konusunu biraz daha açmak istiyorum.**

Onun üstüne çok düşündüm aslında. Bu bir kurgu ve biz bunun farkındayız mesela. Orada zevk alınan şeyler, orada yapılan şeyler yatak odasında direkt olarak uyguluyor muyum, uygulamıyor muyum? Etkileniyor muyum, etkilenmiyor muyum? Fantezi dünyam geliyor kesinlikle, şu güzel oluyor falan diyorum ama yatak odasında partnerimin onu istemediğini düşünüyorsam ya da ben hani o kadar rahat olamam vs. gibi düşünüyorsam yapmıyorum. O kesin bir ayırım bence. Bir fantezi dünyası geliyor olabilir ama oradan direkt uyguluyorum gibi değil. İkisini farkı dünyalar gibi görüyorum gibi ama sonuçta ilk başta partnerlerimin de çoğu öyle ben de öyle, pornolardan öğrendik sevişmeyi. Ve partnerlerimde bunun izlerini görüyorum, acaba onunla mı ilişkili diye düşünüyorum belki çok direkt olarak konuşmadım ama yani sanki şey pornoların kendisine de hani kadının kendisi erkeğe zevk vermesi gereken bir varlıkmiş gibi, çok bağıyor, inanılmaz falan normal hayatta öyle bir şey yok, öyle bağıarak orgazm olma, çılgınlık atma, öyle 1 saat boyunca performans, ikisi de inanılmaz atletikler falan şu bu. Öyle bir dünya yok ama bazen partnerlerimin onlardan etkilendiğini hissediyorum. Porno yıldızı gibi olma istekleri, o şekilde sevişsem kadını mutlu edebiliyorum falan gibi. Bende de oluyor ama bazen o, o kadınlara öykünme, porno aktörlerine öykünme falan gibi bir durum. Ama hani çok yerleşik bir alışkanlık gibi görmüyorum zaten yapmak istesem de yapmıyorum. Ama zevk alıyorsam bunu herhalde çok belli etmem lazım fikri bana pornodan yerleşmiş bir şey öyle hissediyorum. Sürekli olarak ses çıkarayım gibi başka nerede öğreneceğim pornodan öğrendim diye düşünüyorum.

**Anladım. Hani şey dedin ya, fantezi dünyamı geliştiriyor ama hani yatak odası da ayrı bir yer, her fantezi, her farklı kurduğum fanteziyi uygulamıyorum. Ama hiç iki dünyanın yakınlaştığı, o aradaki sınırın belirsizleştiği durumlar oluyor mu?**

Hani karşımdaki de buna okeyse, öyle zamanlar oluyor. Farklı şeyler denemek gibi, işte ya mesela hani oral seks yapmak o çok içinde olan bir şey. Onu da direkt olarak pornodan öğrendik diyemem içinde sevişmenin ama hani çok farklı pozisyonlar denemek falan karşımdakinin de istediğini, okey diyebileceğini düşündüğümde, pornodan gördüğüm bir şeyi orada da uygulayabilirim. Ama sık olan bir şey değil bu, daha uzun süreli partnerlerimde gördüğüm bir şey bu. Çok tanımadığım vs. bir partnerde onu direkt olarak uygulayamam ya da uygulamam. Ya işte konuşmuştuk ya, aşk ve cinselliğin olduğu, kendimi daha rahat hissettiğim zamanlarda ve karşımdakinin de istediğinden emin olduğum zamanlarda o çizgi bulanıklaşıyor cidden.

**Daha önceden bilmediğin ya da hoşlanmadığın cinsel pratikleri pornoda izlediğinde, fikrinin değiştiği oldu mu?**

Yani aslında çok küçükken beri izlediğim için ben cinselliği pornodan öğrendim. Cinselliğin içine neler dahil olabileceğinin çoğunu görmüş oldum. Bunlar bunlar buna dâhil. Başta böyle düşünüp, aa onlar da mı varmış, bilmiyordum deyip, sonra pornodan gördüğüm bir şey olmadı. Hep tam tersi oldu o yüzden şey, hala pornoda görüp de

uygulamadığım küme daha geniş bir küme gibi. Hayvan pornosu ya da ne bileyim lezbiyen pornosu ya da anal seks, hani BDSM, bu tür şeyler pornoda gördüğüm ama birlikteliğimde yaşamadığım şeyler. Ama yaşayabileceğim de şeyler. Onları da bilmem fena olmadı. Öyle yani şaşırdığım, pornoda görüp aa uygulayım dediğim bir şey.

**İlla uygulamak değil, daha önceden kulağa kötü gelen bir fikrin aa olabirmiş dediğin bir şey.**

Aa evet, mesela küçükken oral seks çok garip gelirdi, nasıl yapılabilirmiş diye düşünürdüm. Ya bana yapılması ya da benim yapmam, ikisi birden, geleneksel bir birleşmenin dışında her şey garip geliyordu, kendi başıma düşündüğüm şeyler değildi. Porno vasıtasıyla onları çok normalleştirdim mesela.

**Peki partnerlerinle, şey dedin, hani benim üzerimde baskı kuruyordu, çılglık atmak olsun daha fazla zevk alıyormuş gibi, daha uzun performans göstermemi beklmeleri falan... Hani hiç oturup konuştuğunuz, birlikte porno tartıştığınız oluyor mu? Onun izlediği farklı şeyler olur, senin izlediğin farklı şeyler olur, karşılıklı tartışıp müzakere edip bunları birbirinize tanıtmamız gibi şeyler.**

Ya onu çok uzun bir birlikteliğim vardı bir tek orada yaşadım bunu. Diğer kısa süreli birlikteliklerimle, aslında ben seviyorum bu konuları konuşmayı partnerlerimle, doğru da buluyorum ama uzun süreli ilişkim dışında bu tür konularda konuşmakta rahatsız olduklarını gördüm erkeklerin. Böyle şey, biraz kontrolü kaybediyorlar gibi, ben de porno hakkında böyle böyle bilgilerine sahibim ya da daha önce böyle şeyler yaşadım demek, modern de olsa bir Türk erkeğinin konuşmak istemeyeceği şeyler oluyor. Kendileri de aşağılanmış hissediyorlar. Ben orgazm olamadığımı söylediğimde, nasıl geliştirebiliriz ya da porno tercihlerimiz. O da endüstri kısmının rahatsız edici olduğunu düşünmeye başlamıştı. O benle paylaşmıştı ben onunla feminist porno paylaşmıştım falan öyle bir alışveriş olmuştu ama bu çok sık karşılaşılan bir durum değil. Baskı kuruyor dediğim şey de “bağıracaksın” gibi değil de benim hissettiğim şey. Benim zevk almam, aşırı zevk almam ve onun bana o aşırı zevki veriyor oluşu erkeklerde çok önemli gibi geliyor. O yüzden bazen partnerimi mutlu etmek için bunu yaparken buluyorum kendimi ve sıkıntılı da buluyorum. Ama sevilen bir partner için de yapılabilir bir şey, ama bütün cinsel ilişki bunun üzerine kuruluysa, ben ona daha çok zevk vereyim, ben öyle görüneyim de sıkıntılı ilişkilerde. Bunun kendisinin de hem porno olmasa da, erkek egemen kültürün bir ürünü ama porno da sanki bunu kemikleştiriyor bence. Bu bütün değişik senaryolar, kadının submissive olduğu, kadının işte her an her şeye okey, sadece zevk vermek için saatlerce oral seks yapar, kadın çok fazla porno var ve bu da bu kültürü baya destekliyor gibi geliyor ve geri dönüşü de cinsel birlikteliklerimde böyle oluyor. Zorlama yaşamadım ama bu konu hakkında böyle hissediyorum.

**Şimdi bu biraz spekülasyon olacak ama diyelim ki tüm porno endüstrisi bu partnerinize önerdiğiniz feminist pornolardan ibaret olsa... O zaman nasıl olurdu diye düşünsek?**

Bütün pornolar feminist olsa mı?

**Ya da onlara ulaşım daha kolay olsa? Çünkü benim bu sohbetta anladığım stream sitelerinde hep bunlarla karşılaştığımız ve kolay bulunamadığı için bir sıkıntı var.**

Yani hani öyle bile olsa bu direkt olarak erkeklerin daha baskın olduğu bir kültürü çat diye değiştiremez. Ama buradan başlamak da, ne bileyim işte yönetmenlerin kadın olduğu, senaristlerin kadın olduğu, kast seçimini kadınların yaptığı pornolar şey gibi hani, o sektörü, kadın kendisi bildiğinden hani çünkü bütün kadınlar öyle sürekli bağırmayacaklarını bilir ve düşünür yatak odasında. Bu yüzden bunu değiştirebilecek pornolar yapılabileceğini ve bunun da erkeklerin fikirlerini biraz da olsa değiştirebileceğini düşünebiliyorum. Çünkü herkes en başta pornolardan öğreniyor cinselliğini, hiç kimse ne olduğunu bilmiyor, tamamen garip kimsenin bilmediği bir alan. Bu şekilde introduce edilse mesela belki bir şeyler değişebilir. Ama tabii dediğim gibi pornonun ve cinselliğin iki ayrı dünya olması durumu var. Oradakini partnerin istemiyorsa yapmıyorsun o senin sadece fantezi dünyanda kalıyor ve o bakıma hani devrimsel bir şey olmayabilir ama şu anki duruma kıyasla daha iyi bir durumda oluruz gibime geliyor.

**Buradan yürürsek, sosyal medya ve internet pornosu böyle bir ikili çıkıyor sanki bundan haberdar mısın?**

Yok değilim, nasıl bir şey?

Hani videonun altına yorum yapıyorsun, üyelik alıyorsun vs. Mesela şöyle de sorabilirim, feminist porno izleyen diğer insanlara ulaşmak ister miydin, ya da deniyor musun?

Aslında bunu bir kadın arkadaşımın duymuştum, o bir arşiv önermişti. Daha geniş bir ağ olsa ya da IMDB gibi siteler olsa daha bilinen iyi olurdu. Başka bir erkek arkadaşım söylemişti, böyle bir site var puanlayabildiğin falan kategorilerine göre, şöyle şöyle iyi şurası kötü falan. Bu daha yaygın bir site olsa, insanlar ne izlediğini bilerek, bir film öncesinde yaptığımız araştırma gibi, karşımıza çıkana direkt maruz kalmak zorunda kalmayız. Bu şekilde bir tavsiye mekanizması güzel olabilir hakikaten.

**Pornoyu ne sıklıkla ve nerelerde izliyorsun?**

Yani çok değişiyor o, bazen bir ay izlemediğim de oluyor ama ortalamada haftada 2 kere, 1-2 kere diyebilirim ortalaması. Onun dışında da daha çok bilgisayarda, odamda, bazen telefonda, bu şekilde. Odada yalnız olduğum zaman, evde, o zamanlar tercih ediyorum.

**Cinsel olarak aktif olduğun dönemlerde porno izleme sıklığının etkileniyor mu, etkilenmiyor mu?**

Emin değilim. Etkilenmiyor da olabilir. Sanırım çok bir değişiklik olmuyor ya. Ama 2 yıldır daha az izliyorum eskiden haftada 3-4 kere diyebilirdim. Cinsel olarak memnun olduğum bir birliktelik olduğunda sadece onu hayal ederek de mastürbasyon yapmak güzel bir şey oluyor ama yalnız olduğumda daha çok tercih ediyordum olabilir.

**Kimlere söyler, kimlere söyleyemezsin? Ne kadarını anlatırsın, ne kadarını anlatamazsın, neden?**

Güvendiğim partnerlerime, uzun süreli ilişkilerimdeki insanlar anlatırım. Güvendiğim kız arkadaşlarıma, yargılamayacağını bildiğim insanlarla konuşurum. Hatta yargılayacağını bildiğim, o kadar da çok iyi tanımadığım insanlarla da bu konuyu konuşurum çünkü biraz şey yani hani bunu duyduğum zaman biraz şey yapıyorum, ay porno mu, ay iğrenç, aa mastürbasyon mu, siz mastürbasyon mu yapıyorsunuz? Kadınlar arasında bir tabu, kendi aramızda bile bir tabu. Porno özelinde değil ama mastürbasyon özelinde daha yaygın olmasını ve daha anlatılabilir bir şey olsun istiyorum. Bu yüzden mümkün merteye kadınlar karşısında bunu konuşmak istiyorum. Ama hiç giremeyeceğim kadın arkadaşımınla çok konuşmuyorum. Öte yandan erkek arkadaşlarımda da aynı tabu var, kadınlar mastürbasyon mu yapar, porno mu izler, biz bu konuda daha bilgiliyiz gibi? O alanı ele geçirmeye çalışıyorlar gibi geliyor bana ve ben bunun yanlış olduğunu göstermek için, hayır öyle bir şey yok, aslında aynı derecede libidolarımız var bizim de, bu şekilde, kendi isteklerimiz var falan gibi bu sohbetleri etmekten de arkadaş çevremde, şey bulmuyorum, çekinmiyorum. Ama mesela anneme falan söylemem, söyleyemem de diyebilirim ama söylemem herhalde onlarla bu konuşmayı yapmak istemem. Ama arkadaş çevremde bir kısıtlama görmüyorum çok ama yargılandığım da oluyor hani tabii bunu konuştuğumda, bir atışmaya varan ölçüde, cinsel olarak aktif olan kadın bazen hani tehdit edici olabiliyor, yargılandığım da oluyor ama yani yargılandığım içinde suçluluk duymak ya da utanıp sustuğum, pişman olduğum olmuyor.

**Başlarda sorduğum soru da bununla alakalıydı biraz, cinsel kimlik yahut yönelim ya da fantezi yüzünden tepki aldığınız oldu mu derken, hani bunu şey gibi de düşünebiliriz, cinsel olarak aktif olmaktan ötürü tepki aldığım oldu mu diye de tekrar sorabilirim. Aklına gelen başka şeyler varsa paylaş lütfen.**

Mesela tinder kullanıyor olmam bence çok normal bir şey ve kullanması da her iki cinsin normal şeyler hani mesela bunun yüzünden tartıştığım hani normal erkek arkadaşlarım falan oldu yani. İşte çünkü onların dünyasında o kendisi de mesela tinder kullanıyor, bir arkadaşım benim de kullandığımı düşündüğünde iki dünyası bir araya giriyor gibi. Ben onun konuşabileceği normal bir kız arkadaşım ama aa sen de mi tinder kullanıyorsun, nasıl bunu yaparsın, nasıl yani tek kişi ilişki de yaşar mısın diye hani böyle itham edici ve böyle küçük düşürücü falan şeyler söylendiği birkaç kere oldu, bu tür hani. Daha çok şey, bu arkadaşlar da modern diyebileceğim insanlar, tabii ki onlar için kadın evlenmeden ilişki yaşar, seks yapar, bekâret çok önemsizdir falan ama düzgün bir ilişkin olsun, tek eşli ol, uzun ilişkin olsun falan gibi yine de cinsel olarak aktif olarak bildiğin arkadaşlarını gene de öyle geleneksel bir şeye koymak istiyor, tek gecelik ilişki yaşıyor oluşumu, bu kadar cinsel olarak aktif oluşumu ya da en azından onlar kadar aktif oluşumu garip buluyorlar ve böyle daha farklı sıfatlara belki ilişkilendiriyorlar falan, yakıştıramıyorlar mesela. Bunları gördüğüm çok oluyor yani.

### **Sence neden böyle bu?**

Bunun kendisinin mesela korumacı bir dille söyleyen erkek arkadaşlarım oluyor. Ya bak sana değer vermiyorlar, ne bileyim ilk günden şey yaparsan şöyle olur böyle olur, biz erkekler ilk günden seks yapan kadınları şöyle görürüz, ben senin iyiliğin için söylüyorum tavırlarından şunu anlıyorum: Herhalde, bana ne öyle görsünler, ben de onu öyle görüyorum zaten ben de duygusal bir şey aramıyorum ki gibi çıkışlarımı anlamlandıramıyorlar. Çünkü hani kadın dediğin biraz daha duygusal olmalı, kendi fiziksel bütünlüğünü koruyor olmalı, kendileri yaptığında, sürekli olarak farklı partnerlerle sevişen erkek olması gereken/normal bir erkek, ama kadın böyle yaptığında sanki hayatında ters giden bir şeyler varmış gibi yani duygusal olması gerek kadının, bu şekilde böyle bir çünkü tek gecelik ilişkinin duygusallıkla hiçbir bağlantısı yok ve kadın bu şekilde sevişemez, bir şeyler hissedebilmeli yoksa günün sonunda kendine yazık eder, daha değersiz hale gelir gibi. Yani bu işte şey konusunda, eğlenilecek evlenilecek kadın ayrımı, hem modern kadın dediğimiz kadınlarda, hem de modern erkek dediğimiz erkeklerde hala var olmaya devam eden bir kavram, güçlü bir kavram. Eğlenilecek kadın, işte böyle âşık olunmayacak, kullanılacak kadın kategorisine girebilecek şeyler yaptığınızda da bu sizin kadın kimliğinizden bir değer götürüyor gibi düşünüyorlar böyle bir kültürün içinde yaşadığımız için.

### **Anladım, son olarak bununla da alakalı, Türkiye’de porno izleyicisi olmak nasıl bir şey? Hem bir kadın porno izleyicisi olmak diye de genişletebilirim.**

Yani evet, farklı sanki azınlıkta olduğumu düşünüyorum. Ama böyle düşünmemin sebebi de konuşmuyor oluşumuz, yani aslında bir baktığımda, ben bunu yapıyorsam benim farklı bir yanımda yok yani niye? En azından çevremdeki kadınlar niye bunu yapmasınlar, yapıyorlardır ama konuşmuyorlar. Bence bu yüzden benim gibi bütün diğer kadınlarda kendilerini azınlıkta hissediyor. Ama tabii bu dediğim üniversite okuyan kadınlar çevresinde, biraz daha modern aile geçmişi olan kadınlar çevresinde, ama geniş şey baktığımda, bütün Türkiye’yi düşündüğüm zaman, gerçekten şey yani bunu gidip Yozgat’ta konuşuyor olsak taşlanacak olma ihtimalimizin %90 oluşu epey korkutucu. Bir erkek olarak porno izlemek Yozgat’ta hala çok, belki biraz daha böyle ailesi tarafından falan şey yapılır, ne yapıyorsun sen, yapma öyle falan gibi, böyle küçük sitemlerde bulunabilirler Yozgat’ta, ama ben böyle bir şey yapsam Yozgat’ta, bu halimle gidiyor olsam oraya, gerçekten orada taşlanacak olma ihtimalim çok korkutucu geliyor. Bu yüzden de hani kendi çevremde, kendi steril çevremde o kadar da kötü hissetmiyor olabilirim hala kötü şu açıdan hissediyorum, dediğim gibi, azınlıkta oluşum, bunları konuşamıyor oluşumuz, hala modern dediğim erkek arkadaşlarım tarafından da cinsel açıdan aktif olmamın bu şekilde yaftalanıyor oluşum, tabii ki benim hayatımı kısıtlayan, bana zarar veren şeyler ama bu steril çevreden çıktığımkı halini düşünüyorum, düşünmek bile istemiyorum. Çok daha korkutucu geliyor.

**Peki, özel hayatın devletler tarafından hem Türkiye’de hem dünyada, takip ediliyor olması seni endişelendiriyor mu?**

Evet, yani bu çok izleniyor oluşu baya rahatsız edici ve mesela hala onun tedirginliğini yaşıyorum. Ne bileyim işte, evde ailemin olduğu, Wifi’den bağlandığımda acaba çıkar mı ki bu, görünür mü ki bu, fark ederler mi bunları diye düşündüğümü fark ediyorum hala. Fakat şey yani, hani ne bileyim şeyden sonra, yasaklanıyor oluşu falan da çok sinir bozucu, tabii ki Türkiye’de çok kolay aşılabilir belki tamam bu yasaklar ama bunun hakikaten aslında başka türlü işte VPN’le şunla bunla giremiyor oluşumuz, yasak oluşu rahatsız edici ve tedirgin edici bir şey. Ama bir yandan bu sektörü de düşündüğümde belki de hani sigara içmenin yasaklanması gibi mi acaba da diyorum. Bu intentionlarla yapıldığını bilsem, bu insanlara zarar veren bir sektör diye açıklama yapsalar daha anlaşılabilir bir şey ama ayıp, namussuz bir şey olduğu için yasaklanıyor oluşu sinir bozucu ve endişe verici. Hani bir yandan benim izlediğimi görecek mi millet, Apple izliyor mu devlet izliyor mu da yersiz bir şey. Buradan bir şey çıkacağını sanmıyorum, daha çok terörle ilgili kaynak ayırıyorlardır herhâlde, ben çıkar mıyım acaba buradan falan diye düşünmüyorum. Ama genel olarak devletin böyle bir politikası olması endişe verici.

**Böyle bir sektör var, stream sitelerde bile adblock kullanmazsanız bile bir alış-veriş söz konusu. Yani bu anlamda pornoya ve genelde de sekse para vermek hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz?**

Yani pornoya para vermekle sekse para vermek baya ayrı şeyler gibi görüyorum. Hani para, bu sektörün kazandırıyor oluşumuzun kendisi kötü günün sonunda. Bu sektörün devamlılığını sağlıyor oluşumuz çok kötü bir şey. Bunun için de kimsenin bunun için hiçbir şey yapmaması, bu sektörün olmaması için geniş çaplı eylemlerin olmaması, ne bileyim böyle bir bilincin oluşmaması falan çok kötü bir şey. Kendim de buna katkı yaptığım için kötü hissediyorum ama sekse para vermenin kendisini daha farklı ve daha direkt olarak yani hani yapıyor oluşum daha garip geliyor çünkü orada da yine bu irade meselesi bana sıkıntı veriyor. Yani onu izliyor olmak ile hani iradesi olmayan birini izliyor olmak ile iradesi olmayan biriyle seks yapıyor olmak ve daha sonrasında da para veriyor olmak biraz daha sıkıntılı gibi. Yani şey gibi bir dünyada, kadınların hani genel evlerde, kendilerinin parayı kazandığını bildiğimiz, çalışma saatlerini kendilerinin belirleyebildiği, düzgün çalışma koşullarının olabildiği bir dünyada, kadın iradesiyle bedenini bu şekilde kullanmak istiyor ve böyle bir para kazanmak istese, bundan emin olsam sıkıntı yok, bu yapılabilir. Bir kadın olarak da bunu yapıyor olması “aa bak kötü yola düşmüş, birileri mi onu zorluyor” gibi bir düşünceyi o zaman düşünmezdim. Ama Türkiye’deki hatta Amsterdam’daki genel ev sektörü bile gene onlar için zorlayıcı, onların içinden çıkamayacağı zorlayıcı bir döngüde olduğunu düşündüğüm için, buna para veriyor olmak, öyle bir ortamda genelde erkekler verdiği için öyle dedim, o da bana rahatsız edici geliyor.