Pornography Production Harm in Sweden: Filmed Prostitution is Inseparable from Non-Filmed Prostitution

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Pornography Production Harm in Sweden:
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Executive summary

In this report we present research evidence that pornography cannot be separated from prostitution or trafficking. We base our conclusion on 105 interviews of women and men in the sex trade - most of whose prostitution was photographed, videotaped, or livestreamed.

We describe the parallels between prostitution, pornography production, and trafficking with respect to methods of recruitment, racism, economic inequality, sex inequality, specific harms perpetrated by pimps and by sex buyers, coercion, and childhood antecedents that increased vulnerability. We describe some legislation that could hold accountable these perpetrators of harm to those whose prostitution is filmed.

In our interviewees' lives, there was no clear differentiation between online advertising for pornography and advertising for prostitution, or between online trafficking and online pornography, or between the between the online and offline sex trade.

What we learned about pornography production harms from our research

50% of our interviewees identified as Swedish. The other half had multi-ethnic cultural backgrounds or identified as migrants from countries other than Sweden. A third of interviewees who were not ethnically Swedish experienced racist verbal abuse related to their skin color or cultural or religious backgrounds.

Interviewees had much sexual and other physical abuse in childhood. A third had been in out-of-home placements such as foster care. More than a third had sexualized photos taken of themselves as children.

What was (not) taught in schools' sex education classes?

Interviewees were taught about male sexual pleasure twice as often as female sexual pleasure. Information about consent in sexual relationships, prostitution, pornography, and sexual violence were not adequately addressed in sex education classes.

Where did prostitution and pornography take place?

Three quarters of our interviewees were prostituted online via webcams or live chats. 81% of the pornography was produced using cell phones. 80% of all prostitution was perpetrated in private homes, hotels, or private parties. Half of our interviewees had engaged in "transactional" or "survival" sex, reflecting their poverty and lack of alternatives.

How many of our interviewees had been raped?
84% of our interviewees had been raped while in the sex trade. Rapists included sex buyers, boyfriends, pimps, pornography fans, pornography producers, pornography actors, and pornography directors. 27% had been prevented from using a condom during the production of pornography, an act that is considered a life-threatening assault by some courts.

What applications were used for advertising, communicating and doing business with pornography sex buyers?
KIK, Snapchat, WhatsApp, Instagram, Facebook, Tinder, and Twitter were the seven most commonly used applications.

What websites were used for uploading nude photos and other pornography?
Rosa Sidan, dating websites (e.g. Badoo and Darkside), PornHub, OnlyFans, and Snapchat Premium were the most commonly used platforms.

Were women and men paid for their pornography?
Half of our research participants *were not paid* after sending their pornography to sex buyers, or weren't paid for uploads to websites. Pornography income is lower than non-filmed prostitution, and non-payment is a common scam.

Are pornpimps understood as individuals who engage in pimping, trafficking and coercive control?
No. Pornpimps tend to be named managers, producers, pornographers, account managers, club owners, protectors, friends, and boyfriends. These corrupt businessmen often gave our interviewees a financial benefit for referring their friends.

Does coercion happen during the production of pornography?
Yes. Three quarters of our interviewees had been coerced to perform what a pornography sex buyer saw. During their prostitution, 64% had been filmed or photographed *without their consent.* During pornography production, 71% were coerced into performing sex acts they did not want to perform.

Is organized crime involved in Swedish pornography production?
Yes. A fourth of our interviewees reported gang involvement. In her pornography production, a woman explained, "A violent man called the shots. He makes money on drugs, weapons, and prostitution. I have never seen *him* do anything but he has great influence over his running boys. He was OG [Original Gangsters]." Other criminal gangs operating in Sweden were Hell's Angels, Eastern European or Albanian Mafias, and Bandidos.

What methods were used to process payment for pornography?
Swish, bank-to-bank transfers, PayPal, Mastercard, and Visa.

What banks transferred payments from for sex acts in pornography and prostitution?
Swedbank, Nordea, Handelsbanken and Skandinaviska Enskilda Banken (SEB) - the four largest banks in Sweden - were entangled and implicated in the transfer of money from pornography and prostitution exploiters to the people whom they exploited.

Does torture take place in the production of pornography?
Yes. Sex acts described in the report that are perpetrated against women in prostitution and filmed as pornography *are the same* as the acts that legally define torture: verbal sexual harassment, unwanted sex acts, forced nudity, rape, sexual mocking, physical sexual harassment, and not permitting basic hygiene.

What are adverse health consequences of pornography and prostitution?

Posttraumatic Stress Disorder
81% of our interviewees were diagnosed with PTSD, an extremely high rate even when compared to combat veterans, battered women, and torture survivors

Dissociation.
Our interviewees had extremely high rates of dissociation, indicating that they felt emotionally and physically overwhelmed. Dissociation is a response to uncontrollable traumatic events in which the mind detaches from one's current emotional or physical state. Dissociation occurs among prisoners of war who are tortured, among children who are being sexually assaulted, and among women being battered, raped, or prostituted.

Injuries from violence and poor physical health
77% of our interviewees suffered head injuries.
Many described lifelong violence, and had suffered extreme violence during prostitution and pornography production.

Are suicide attempts, non-suicidal self injury (NSSI), and dissociation connected?
Yes. Sex as a form of intentional self-harm, prostitution as self-harm, suicide attempts, and other intentional self-harm such as cutting or burning - clustered together. Our interviewees endorsed those harmful behaviors at rates of 63% to 71%. All of the self-harming behaviors were connected with dissociation.

Who are 'porn fans' or 'porn followers'?
An interviewee explained *"I would not call them followers, they are johns and a john is someone who, for example, buys cam."* 54% of our interviewees had been threatened via text and 39% had been doxed (personal information was released to family or employers).

What services did interviewees need?
Our interviewees who were involved in pornography and other prostitution told us they needed individual counseling, peer support, medical care, self-defense training, a home or safe place, legal help, and job training.

How did interviewees assess 9 different services available to them in Sweden?
Interviewees discussed the helpfulness or lack of helpfulness of services they had used, including substance abuse services, unemployment services, physical and mental health services, housing, social services, domestic violence services, and police. These women and men in pornography and prostitution expressed a strong need for coordinated exit services that were less fragmented. They hoped for better inter-agency communication.

Are there legal actions that can be used to hold pornpimps and pornography sex buyers accountable for the harms described here?
Yes. We conclude our report with descriptions of criminal charges and legal actions against perpetrators that are in progress in Canada, France, and the United States.

In this report, we learned from the words of the experts - women and men who have experienced pornography production. Here are just a few examples

"I'm a professional rape victim."

"You get money for having sex, it's as simple as that. The only difference is that one is documented and the other is not.'

"It eats you up from the inside.. . It's like cancer"

When it comes to porn, a lot of people think that there will be a studio. It could just as well be a filmed abuse. The viewer will never know. The viewer could never know if there is a consent. And, even if there was a consent, the consequences are still there."

"The same person who sold me - he was also there to film me. So he was both a pimp and a porn producer, he was a sort of jack-of-all-trades"

"Pornography can haunt you for years. Films can be made public and destroy everything - relationships and jobs."

"[Pornography is] heartbreaking in many ways… You are nobody, a punching machine, a wank glove, but not a human being."

The gay world for guys is so extreme, selling and buying sex, there are no boundaries, it's laughed at if you get drugged into unconsciousness and then get fucked.

Everyone who buys sex is a rapist.

Prostitution taught me nothing about sex but plenty about violent men.

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INTRODUCTION

Today, pornpimps and their academic and legal allies dominate the Internet. In Sweden and elsewhere, pimping, trafficking and purchasing sex are illegal, but if these same criminal acts are filmed then they are not illegal. This is an argument used by sex trade businessmen the world over to evade accountability for prostitution's criminality. From the sex trade survivor's perspective, in real life, the only difference between prostitution and pornography is the camera in the room. Survivors of pornography production have explained this for many years:

> *"Pornography is filmed prostitution"* (Giobbe, 1993)

> *"Pornography is scripted prostitution"* (Lords, 2003)

> *"Pornography is prostitution that is legalized as long as someone gets to take pictures"* (Simonton & Smith, 2004).

> *"You get money for having sex, it's as simple as that. The only difference is that one is documented and the other is not"* (Pornography Production Harm in Sweden conference, 17 October, 2023).

> *"For me it's totally connected, I have a hard time separating them because it's almost always that I meet my clients physically first and then we film what we do and then I sell it to them as porn afterwards"* (Pornography Production Harm in Sweden, conference 17 October 2023).

> *"I'm a professional rape victim."* (Pornography Production Harm in Sweden, conference 17 October 2023).

> *"The same person who sold me - he was also there to film me. So he was both a pimp and a porn producer, he was sort of jack-of-all-trades"* (Pornography Production Harm in Sweden, conference, 17 October 2023).

> *"Pornography is a meticulously planned and executed violation, sourced in an intense hatred of women, like a hate crime"* (Jewell Baraka, personal communication, June 30, 2020).

"What happened to common sense?" asked Roger Young, retired Nevada FBI agent. "The fact that there is a camera filming the prostitution doesn't change the fact of the prostitution. Pornography is essentially a crime scene surveillance tape. You can't say to someone, hey let's go rob a bank but if we film it then it won't be robbery" (Farley, 2007).

Many people believe that pornography is separate from the rest of prostitution. This turns out to be a mistaken belief. In fact, pornography is fully integrated into and usually indistinguishable from other arms of the multinational sex trade. Women in the sex trade move from online locations to physical locations to webcam sessions and then to wherever the sex buyers are located and wherever the pimps send them for example, sports events, sales events/conferences, military bases, escort to street and back again, escort to webcam. A prostituting woman in Sweden explained that she went from her home to the street in order to locate sex buyers whenever her mobile phone stopped ringing (Skarhed, 2010). As is true of other global businesses, there are domestic and international sectors of the sex trade, marketing sectors, and a range of physical locations out of which sex businesses operate. In today's market, sex buyers may pay for a photo or they shoot cell-phone videos with or without permission in the locations where prostitution happens. A sex buyer offered this opinion about studio-produced pornography: *"Yes, the woman in pornography is a prostitute. They're prostituting in front of the cameras. They're getting money from a film company rather than individuals"* (Farley, 2007, p. 147).

The same crimes of violence against women are perpetrated in pornography, prostitution, and trafficking, including sexist verbal abuse, racist verbal abuse, degradation, physical and sexual assault, and acts that are identical to torture as defined by international legal conventions. (Istanbul Protocol, 1999) A survivor of pornography and prostitution described their sameness, explaining that she had been physically hurt, raped on camera, and coerced to do more extreme sex acts on film in exactly the same ways that sex buyers had coerced and harmed her in prostitution (Simonton & Smith, 2004).

Here are five examples of the permeable boundaries that demonstrate the inseparability of pornography, prostitution, and trafficking.

In 2021 a Swedish woman had the courage to report to the police that she had been pimped into prostitution, and that she had been raped many times. The case was heard in Södertälje District Court The pimp, age 49, was arrested and charged with 3 counts of negligent rape (Carlén & Bünz, 2023; Sweden National Law, 2017). In Sweden, negligent rape is sex without explicit consent (Edwards, 2019). The victim had gone with her pimp to the home of a sex buyer. The sex buyer, paid the pimp for the session with the victim. The pimp filmed the session, explaining to both sex buyer and the victim, *"if you film, you are not buying a whore you are producing a movie"* (Police Authority, 2022, p 130). Like other pimps, he was interested in maximizing his profits in the business of sexual exploitation, so he filmed the paid-for rapes and the paid-for abuse, in order to make more money. In the court proceedings, it was revealed that the pimp had a 2018 conviction for possession of 18 child pornography films (Uppsala District Court, 2018). The pimp was convicted of rape and trafficking and sentenced to 1.5 years in prison (Södertälje District Court, 2022). The pimp appealed the court's decision. The rape and pimping charges against him were

dropped in 2022. The pimp and his attorney convinced the Swedish appeals court that he was not a pimp but a pornographer (Svea Court of Appeal, 2022). He also convinced the Court that his victim had consented to the filmed rapes and other violent acts of torture. Like most pimps today, he was a *pornpimp,* a pimp with a camera. *The camera appears to have become a legally fetishized object that transforms acts of contempt and violence against women into a pimp's "free speech."* The implication of this legal decision is clear: if a pimp wants to avoid being charged with the crimes of rape and trafficking under Sweden's current laws – all he has to do is to film his crimes. At that point the crimes will be named "pornography" and declared to be protected speech.

The Svea Court of Appeal agreed with the pimp and his lawyer that the rapes could not be proven *because his victim signed an agreement* to perform certain specific sex acts. This line of reasoning ignored international criminal law in the Palermo Protocol which specifically states that consent is irrelevant as to whether or not trafficking has occurred. The Svea Court stated that "the voluntariness requirement refers to the actual act and not the person's inner attitude." (Svea Court of Appeal, 2022). The Court's reasoning was that if the victim performed a sex act, then it must be voluntary. This circular reasoning seems naïve at best and excludes consideration of the context of the performance of the sex act, which can include psychological and physical coercion and in this case the victim's fear of violent coercion by the pimp who had previously manipulated her into joining his prostitution business. An investigative report was provided to the Court, and in her legal testimony the victim explained that the pimp "managed" the victim by uploading her image to the Rosa Sidan website and also by advertising her for sale for sexual use by sex buyers on the applications Skype and KIK (Police Authority, 2022, p 102).

The agreement that the pimp appears to have deceptively manipulated his victim into signing was a list of acts of torture. In court testimony, the victim has stated that she was so drunk that she could not remember the details of what she signed. Psychologically defeated and intoxicated, she signed an agreement to be tortured and filmed in order to work off a friend's debt to the pimp (Police Authority, 2022, p 106). The victim told the Court that the reason she agreed to debt bondage was to save her friend from suffering what the pimp had planned to do to her (Police Authority, 2022, p 114). The victim's reasoning was that she herself was already a "destroyed" person, and suicidal so it didn't matter what happened to her. She signed a consent to torture - we wonder is that legal in Sweden? - which acknowledged that she was in debt bondage to the pimp for the amount of her friend's debt. Here are some of the torture/sex acts that the pornpimp manipulated the victim into "consenting" to: anal dilation and penetration of anus and vagina with multiple penises, "blood play," "extremely painful" rope bondage, "electroplay"[torture using electric shock], verbal humiliation, blindfolding, whipping, catheters, slavery, and "pain though beating, biting, pinching, using weights, clamps (nipple/vagina), hot wax, violent penetration with objects," "vampirism" (biting and breaking the skin so it bleeds

(Police Authority, 2022, p 6-12). These are acts of torture which are illegal under international torture conventions (Istanbul Protocol, 1999; United Nations General Assembly, 1984; Farley & Kennedy, forthcoming, 2024). Why has a Swedish Appeals Court decided that the victim legitimately signed a contract agreeing to such horrors? The miscarriage of justice in this case shocks any person with common sense and humanity.

Like the Svea Court of Appeal, United States courts have tended to agree that if a rape in prostitution is filmed, then it becomes the pornographer's speech. In the United States there has been one remarkable exception to this trend (US v Marcus). Glenn Marcus ran a torture pornography website. He dominated and coerced a woman to permit pornography of her to be sold on Slavespace.com. She managed to bring charges against Marcus who was her pimp/pornographer/trafficker and torturer. At one point he had stuffed a ball gag in her mouth, sewed her mouth shut and hung her on a wall. Her attorneys used the following definition: *sex trafficking is coercing or selling a person into a situation of sexual exploitation, such as prostitution or pornography.* On March 5, 2007, pornographer Marcus was convicted of sex trafficking in the United States. This legal decision reflects an understanding of the ways in which pornography, prostitution, and trafficking are the same for the person who is being sexually used and harmed for profit. (Sherloc, 2007; Marzuli, 2012).

The convergence of several different sex trade businesses was evident in Las Vegas. Although it looked like a group of small offices from the street, the enterprise blended pornography production and trafficking with escort and webcam prostitution. The pornpimp rented six offices that functioned as Internet pornography businesses, as cyber-prostitution via webcam, and also as an escort agency where women were pimped out via cellphone to hotels (trafficking) and to a legal brothel in a nearby city (Farley, 2007).

A film showed 251 sex buyers humiliating, raping, and torturing Grace Quek (named Annabel Chong in the film). Sex buyers paid to perpetrate life-threatening sexual assaults which resulted in severe physical and psychological injuries (Farley, 2006). The film production of sexual assaults on Quek was stopped after 10 hours because she was bleeding internally. After being edited to 4 hours, the film of the men raping her was named pornography. The film was titled *"The World's Biggest Gang Bang."*

Colombian and Venezuelan women who were pimped in Bogota's prostitution zone lived in overcrowded, overpriced pay-per-day rooms. During the COVID-19 pandemic, webcamming was advertised by pornpimps as a 'privilege' offered to women who could then work from home rather than the streets. In reality, the webcam sites were a solution to the pornpimps' dilemma: how to make money by selling women for sex during a quarantine. Because they lacked Internet skills and access to banking, they were deceived and often not paid by pornography sites. Some women discovered that they had no control over the use and resale of these recorded webcam sessions. One woman

despaired, *"Coronavirus is just another, barely noticeable, danger added to the dangers we face in our daily lives in order to send money to our families"* (Iniciativa Pro Equidad, 2020; Farley, 2020).

Pimps benefit when they can artificially segregate an arm of the sex trade - such as pornography - legalize it, and then mainstream it. Sex trade advocates de-link pornography, prostitution and trafficking because that compartmentalization provides legal protections, thereby increasing profits. Words are used by pornpimps and their allies to camouflage the harm of the sex trade. Strip clubs are named exotic dance clubs or gentlemen's clubs, massage parlors are named health clubs, sugar daddy/baby prostitution is named mutually beneficial dating, and pornography is named "content creation" or "speech" instead of a filmed record of humiliation and torture. And then these de-linked sex trade businesses are legally mainstreamed. 'Freedom of speech' attorneys promote the idea that a film of prostitution is speech rather than a documentation of abuse; they insist that pornography is separate from the same acts of prostitution that are not filmed. The pornographers' free speech argument is a cruel but very profitable lie.

This artificial separation of pornography from the rest of prostitution has gained acceptance among the public, among policymakers, among clinicians and researchers. A Nordic Council of Ministers report noted the parallels between pornography and online pimping: "the commercial sex market has become digitalized, and the number of digital advertisements marketing sexual services has increased dramatically…" and "Contacts between sellers and buyers are established on websites explicitly marketing sexual services as well as on other digital platforms." Nonetheless the report, conceptually separated pornography from "sex for compensation." (Holmstrom et al., 2019).

It's not only the pimp who causes harm to the person who is sold for sex. Sex buyers, including pornography sex buyers, also cause harm; they are not simply "porn consumers." A web-cam prostitution survivor explained that "camming was worse than the rest of the porn industry because we had direct contact with the consumer, people who were often very cruel and demanding by threatening to leave negative reviews and therefore affecting your pay if you didn't perform exactly as they wished" (Anonymous, 2018). In webcamming and in sugardaddy or girlfriend experience (GFE) prostitution, women are distressed by being forced to playact whatever the sex buyer wants, and by having to be nice to abusive men. "The emotional labour that goes into camming is unreal – constantly chatting, trying to be yourself [and] pleasant" (Shehadi & Partington, 2020). In both online and offline prostitution, sex buyers exert psychological control, sometimes with threats of violence if the women don't accede to the men's requests, including requests for performances of specific emotional states. The greater her economic and social vulnerability, the less power she has to say no to any pornography/sex buyer's specific demand.

Previous research on the harm caused by pornography production

According to survivor testimony and other research studies, the harms of pornography, prostitution and trafficking are similar in widely varying cultures whether it's upper class or poverty class, legal or illegal, in a brothel, strip club, webcam, massage parlor, or the street. Symptoms of emotional distress among those in the sex trade are frequent and severe: depression, suicidality, posttraumatic stress disorder, anxiety, dissociation, eating disorders, substance abuse. This extreme psychological distress tells us, like Andrea Dworkin did in 1983, that the sex trade causes profound psychological harm to those in it:

> Her mind is hurt by rape and other physical assault on her body, it fades and shrinks and seeks silence as refuge; it becomes the prison cell inside her...Every invasion of the body is marked in the brain: contusions, abrasions, cuts, swellings, bleeding, mutilation, breaking, burning. Each capacity of the brain – memory, imagination, intellect, creation, consciousness itself – is distressed and deformed, distorted by the sexualized physical injuries that girls and women sustain (Dworkin, 1997, p. 31).

Previous research studies have noted that a majority of women in prostitution have had pornography made of them. 53% of prostituted women at WHISPER had their prostitution filmed by sex buyers or pimps in an era before widespread use of cell phone cameras (Giobbe, 1990). In another study of women who were filmed in porngraphy, 27% had also been in escort and 24% in strip-club prostitution - in the 3 months before the research took place (Javanbakht, 2019). Another research study found that when women and men had pornography made of them, it caused them even more emotional distress than was caused by non-filmed prostitution: those people whose sex buyers or pimps made pornography of their prostitution had significantly more severe PTSD symptoms than those who did not have pornography made of them (Farley, 2007). Gruzden (2011) noted that women who were filmed in pornography had significantly worse mental health and more severe depression than women who were not in prostitution; 50% were living in poverty and 34% had experienced domestic violence. A Swedish study interviewed 9 women who were involved in pornography production and described their mental health problems including anxiety, depression, low self-image, loneliness, panic attacks and suicidal thoughts (Donevan, 2019). Women exploited in pornography are subjected to physical violence during pornography production, and tend to abuse drugs and alcohol (Grudzen et al., 2009). Drug and alcohol use is one way to cope with the traumatic stress of being in the sex trade. A research study found that 70% of pornography actors had used drugs in the previous 3 months (Javanbakht et al., 2017). Pornpimps' refusal to require condom use is a life-threatening norm in pornography producton. Sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) were more likely if the pornography actor was younger, had been

in the sex trade longer, and was filmed more frequently in the past month (Javanbakht et al., 2017).

The extreme harm of pornography may increase the harm of prostitution

Women report coercion and violence by pornography production teams in which "it is just you alone up against a set full of actors, directors, writers, cameramen, stage managers, handlers, and countless others who want a film of actual abuse, rape, humiliation, trauma, and mental despair/fragmentation" (Jewell Baraka, personal communication, June 30, 2020). A woman whose prostitution was filmed at a kink.com production said that she quickly dissociated during a 5-hour torture session during which she was filmed being vaginally tortured and electrocuted. When she went to the bathroom afterwards, she saw other women who had also been bruised and who were bleeding from pornography productions.

Studio pornography productions may last many hours with risks of harm increasing over time (Jensen, 2007). This can be contrasted with for example, a 15 or 30-minute session with a sex buyer in a stripclub or escort agency. Sometimes the abuse is prolonged because of the complexity of producing a scripted and directed film of sexual exploitation and abuse, multiple actors, and re-shooting. And during that time, women experience fear, humiliation and physical pain that requires dissociation to survive, and the additional knowledge that even when the filming is over, a document of that humiliation and abuse continues to exist online. Women in the sex trade usually hope to obtain urgently needed money, and get out as fast as they can. They do not want pornography made of their prostitution with those images infinitely circulating on the web where their children, future employers, and future partners, might view them.

Webcam prostitution has its unique dangers. Women who prostitute online via webcams encounter "privacy breaches, potentially dangerous interactions with clients, and laws that are not designed to protect them" (Drolet, 2020). Many express fear about the lack of privacy in online pornography, with some resigned to inevitable privacy violations (Deliatto & Fenton, 2020). Women fear harassment, blackmail, or being subject to revenge porn if they upload videos to porn sites. Videos are often stolen from porn sites; "The platforms lack security and confidentiality. Anyone can take a screenshot and then share it," one woman said. In 2020, 1.5 TB of women's pre-recorded videos and images were stolen and leaked from the UK porn site OnlyFans (Shehadi & Partington, 2020). Women reported that pimps' siphoning-off their earnings and refusing to remove video clips when asked to (Cole & Cox, 2020).

In this report we present research evidence that pornography cannot be separated from prostitution or trafficking. We base our conclusion on 105 interviews of women and men in the sex trade, most of whose prostitution was photographed or videotaped. We note the essential similarity between prostitution, pornography production, and traf-

ficking with respect to early life history that creates vulnerability, modes of recruitment, racism, sexual violence perpetrated by pimps and by sex buyers, coercion, and economic exploitation. We describe some straightforward legislation that could hold accountable perpetrators of harm to those whose prostitution is filmed.

RESEARCH PROTOCOL

In this research study, pornography was defined as cellphone photos, studio-produced films, livestreamed webcam and computer videos of sexual acts that are produced for the purpose of generating income from sex buyers. Pornography may be produced by third parties such as pimps or pornography distribution sites or they can be produced by the women themselves whose prostitution is filmed.

Ethical approval

Sweden's Ethical Review Authority reviewed our research proposal and approved it under Swedish law (Act concerning the Ethical Review of Research Involving Humans (Ordinance SFS 2007:1069 with Instructions for Regional Ethics Review Boards, Sections 2–3).

Questionnaires

We wanted to learn more about the experiences of women during the production of pornography in studios, and in webcamming, livestream pornography, and nude modeling, among others. We wanted to learn about the complex and camouflaged payments and thefts of money that occurs during the production of pornography, including organized crime involvement in the business of sexual exploitation. We also wanted to assess women's needs and to document their experiences with Swedish social services, health services, substance abuse treatment, domestic violence shelters, rape crisis services, and police services.

We administered five questionnaires: Pornography, Sex work and Prostitution Questionnaire , Childhood Trauma Questionnaire, PTSD Checklist, Dissociative Experiences Scale, and Chronic Health Symptoms Questionnaire.

Childhood Trauma Questionnaire (CTQ) assesses severity of childhood emotional abuse, emotional neglect, physical abuse, physical neglect and sexual abuse (Bernstein, Fink, Handelsman et al, 1994). The validity of the Swedish translation of the CTQ demonstrated favorable results with a Cronbach's alpha of 0.92 (Gerdner & Allgulander, 2009).

Pornography, Sex Work and Prostitution Questionnaire (SPQ) has been previously used in peer-reviewed research in nine countries with women, men, and transgendered people in prostitution and including pornography (Farley et al., 2003). The questionnaire contains structured and semi-structured questions. The test asks about antecedents to sex trade entry, experiences of sexist and racist verbal abuse in prostitution and in porno-

graphy production, physical and mental health problems, substance abuse, and whether the interviewee has been subjected to coercion, intimidation or abuse in the sex trade. New questions about pornography have been added to this questionnaire. These include questions about deception, or coercion into production of pornography, and the nature of sex acts and violence in the pornography. Also included is a needs assessment that asks about positive and negative experiences regarding housing assistance, financial and educational assistance, homeless shelter experiences, domestic violence services, sexual violence services, substance abuse services, medical care and psychological care.

Dissociative Experiences Scale (DES) screens for dissociative symptoms (Carlson & Putnam, 1993). The DES scale measures derealization, depersonalization, absorption, and amnesia.

PTSD Checklist. We used the PTSD Checklist (PCL), a self-report research inventory for assessing the symptoms of PTSD (Weathers Litz, Herman, Huska, & Keane, 1993; Blanchard, Jones-Alexander, Buckley, & Forneris, 1996; Blevins et al., 2015; Wortmann et al., 2016). The validity and reliability of the Swedish translation of the PCL-5 was acceptable. Cronbach's alpha ranged from 0.56 to 0.77 with inter-item correlations ranging from 0.22 to 0.73 (Sveen, Bondjers & Willebrand, 2016). Respondents were asked to rate symptoms of PTSD on a Likert-scored scale with test-retest reliability of .96. Internal consistency as measured by an alpha coefficient was .97. Validity of the scale is reflected in its strong correlations with the Mississippi Scale (.93), the PK scale of the MMPI-2 (.77), and the Impact of Events Scale (.90) (Weathers et al, 1993). The PCL has functioned comparably across different ethnic cultures in U.S.A. (Keane et al, 1996). We measured symptoms of PTSD in two ways. First, using Weathers and colleagues' (1993) scoring suggestion, we considered a score of 3 or above on a given PCL item to be a symptom of PTSD. Scored in this way, these symptoms were used to estimate the presence or absence of a diagnosis of PTSD for each woman. Second, using a procedure established by the authors of the scale, we generated a measure of overall PTSD symptom severity by summing respondents' ratings across all 17 items.

Chronic Health Problems Questionnaire (CHPQ) is a checklist of chronic health problems that have been documented by women in prostitution, and based on previous research findings (Farley, Lynne, and Cotton, 2005).

Recruitment of Interviewees

In social science research on prostitution or other illegal or stigmatized behaviors, researchers agree that obtaining a random sample is impossible. "There is quite simply no such thing as a representative sample of women selling sex" (McKeganey & Barnard, 1996). We sought to locate a diverse sample of women and men who were currently or previously in pornography or prostitution. We used both convenience and purposive sampling. For example, we left our card advertising our research in social service agencies and health-

care agencies where potential interviewees might see it. We posted the recruitment message in Swedish on Instagram accounts of Inte din Hora, Rosa Sidan, and Talita, among others. We asked the advocates who accompanied police to areas of Stockholm known for street prostitution, to hand out our cards. To increase the ethnic and cultural diversity of our sample, we advertised and interviewed research participants in Gothenburg and Malmö, as well as Stockholm.

Have you ever been filmed in sex work or prostitution?
Have you sold nudes, porn, or sex acts on webcam?
International Research Team wants to learn about your experiences.
Anonymous, in-person interview takes about three hours.
You must be 18 years or older.
Central Stockholm location.
We pay 1000 krona for 3-hour interview.
For more information, please call **********

People who phoned the number in the advertisement were then screened for age and involvement in pornography and prostitution. They were provided an appointment time, date, and location for an interview. We conducted interviews at Talita's offices in Stockholm, and also in hotels and coffee shops in Malmo and Gothenberg. None of the research interviews were recorded.

Interviewers were provided several days of training in interview techniques, establishing rapport, note-taking, and questionnaire administration. Interviewers had access to the principal investigator's and project coordinator's cell phone whenever interviews were scheduled

Before the interviews began, each interviewee was given a copy of an informed consent which was read to them and questions about the research were answered. Interviewees were anonymous, and were encouraged to sign the consent form with any name but not their real name. Data was anonymized throughout this research.

The name and phone number of a licensed counselor was provided to all interviewees in the event of emotional stress subsequent to the interview. (Campbell et al., 2019). After signing the researchers' consent form, interviewees were given their own copy of the consent form which contained information about the research, and a phone number that could be called in the event of distress in response to the interview. Interviewees were provided a list of agencies who offer various types of assistance to people in mental health emergencies.

Interviewer Experiences of Conducting these Interviews

When conducting research in the field of sexual violence interviewers inevitably confront it (Stanko, 2017). Researching sexual violence can be stressful (Mattley, 1997; Zurbriggen, 2002; Poole et al., 2004). Training included a discussion of secondary PTSD and symptoms of depression which are not uncommon among sexual violence researchers. We discussed how to prevent stress symptoms during the training.

The interviewers in this study had in common the dedication to end violence and trauma caused by organized sexual violence. In order to conduct the qualitative part of this study it was crucial to ask questions and process in depth details about sexual assaults, severe violence, and life-threatening events experienced by the survivors. Research suggests that sexual violence researchers can be exposed to high levels of trauma details which increases the risk of developing secondary PTSD (Sprang et al., 2023)

Many interviewees had serious mental health problems such as complex PTSD, suicidality, psychosis, mania, and addiction. For many interviewees, talking for 3-4 hours about their most painful experiences, often sharing their experiences for the first time, created an alliance between the interviewee and the interviewer, who then had a unique opportunity to listen and learn from the interviewee. Most interviewers described feelings of deep empathy, but also anger and frustration at their own powerlessness and the barriers to helping the interviewee. Some interviewees dissociated during the interviews, had panic attacks, and some were intoxicated, which required care for the interviewee and a determination about whether the research interview was possible. One interviewer said "She dissociated, zoned out from time to time. Several silences when she slipped away were about unpleasant events and abuse that she doesn't let exist."

Many interviewers felt guilty after the interviews, with thoughts about their own responsibility after hearing about ongoing violence, traumatic stress, crimes that interviewees were subjected to. Some interviewers described changes in how they perceived men. Anger at men's cruelty to women led to questions about their own relationships with the men in their lives. One interviewer said "I find myself having an altered view and perception of men I meet out in public or men who somehow look at me. I find myself glaring at them." And she wondered if he might be one of those men who contributes to the traumatic sexual violence that she heard about from interviewees.

Most interviewers expressed deep frustration, anger and resignation about the fatal flaws in social institutions such as mental health care, police, social services, and addiction services. These social institutions frequently fail to identify and respond to people who are being traumatized by organized sexual violence. "Society had completely let her down, no one reacted and no one cared about the fact that the psychiatrist made her an addict at 18 and forced her into pornography. She told me she needed some form of justice to move on in life, and I sat there feeling so helpless and sorry for the woman, knowing that she may never receive any form of justice in this world. "

An interviewer said "One of the events that will forever remain in my memory is a woman who described a 5-hour gang rape by a large group of men. The anger I feel when she tells this is strong but of course I hide it to listen instead. Despite the fact that she had injuries and films of the rape – she was betrayed by the police who chose not to make a report." The interviewer found this inaction by the police to be incomprehensible. Several interviewers expressed a commitment to act on behalf of all victims of pornography harm. An interviewer who was a health care worker felt guilt and frustration, explaining that "Hearing and learning from these interviewees has left a big impression on me and with that comes a responsibility. It has made me committed to change, and spreading the need [for change] among colleagues in my field."

RESULTS

Demographics

We interviewed 104 people who were involved in pornography production, filmed prostitution and unfilmed prostitution.

Age

The average age of our interviewees was 30, with a range of 18 to 60 years old.

Age of entry into prostitution and pornography

The average age of entry was 19 years (SD=7). The median age was 17 years. The most frequently reported age of entry was 15 which is consistent with a large literature documenting that globally, adolescence is when prostitution starts. Ages of entry into the sex trade ranged from 7 years to 41 years.

Sex and Sexual Orientation

89% (93/104) of our interviewees were women
9% (9/104) were men including one man who identified as a transwoman
2% (2/104) identified as nonbinary or they/them
51% (52/102) were heterosexual.
32% (22/102) were bisexual.
4% (4/102) were homosexual.
13% (13/102) described their sexual orientation as "other," which included pansexual, asexual, and "I don't know."

Ethnicity

We asked interviewees about their country of origin or cultural origin, half (50% 52/105) of our interviewees identified as Swedish. The other half (50%, 51/103) had either multi-ethnic cultural backgrounds or identified as being from non-Swedish countries. Two

interviewees were from each of the following countries: Colombia, Finland, India, Iraq, Kenya, Morocco, Peru, Poland, and Serbia. One interviewee was from each of the following countries: Chile, Georgia, Greece, Ireland, Norway, Montenegro, Romania, Singapore, South Korea, Syria, Thailand, UK, USA, and Venezuela. The following interviewees identified as multiethnic or with mixed cultural/ethnic roots:

Africa/Canada
Chile/Cuba
Chile/France
Finland/Turkey
Philippines/England
Russia/Iraq
Russia/Sweden
Sweden/Chile
Sweden/Finland
Sweden/Iran 2
Sweden/Kosovo
Sweden/Pakistan
Serbia/France
Serbia/Syria

Prostitution and pornography are racialized crimes (Lee, Jay, & Farley, 2021). 34% (17/51) of our interviewees who were not ethnically Swedish had experiences of racist verbal abuse regarding their skin color. Often these experiences were so painful that the women or men could not say the words. One woman spoke of *"Things related to my skin color that I experience as racist, I don't want to name what words."* Women and men were insulted on the basis of Black skin color, or on the basis of being from Eastern Europe, or because they were Latina or Thai or Muslim.

An equal number of interviewees (34%, 17/51) were verbally abused on the basis of their immigrant status or on the basis of their culture or religion.

The ethno-sexualisation of 'other' women may be used to rationalize the objectification and exploitation of women of a different nationality. Other European researchers found that "In the customers' narratives, the young, beautiful and exotic prostitutes were often described as fetishlike objects and were also collected like such objects" (Marttila, 2008, p 43). While Swedish law does not permit categorization of people on the basis of race or ethnicity, in reality, racism is prevalent in Sweden. For example there is a special epithet that is used for people who are immigrants or whose skin is a darker hue than blond, white ethnic Swedes. There are also code words used by the media to refer to people who are ethnically Swedish to differentiate them from those who are from immigrant families. The former is "Swedish," while the latter are referred to as "Swedish citizen."

Prostitution causes exceptional harms to women of color and formerly colonized women in the sex trade (Nelson, 1993; Carter & Giobbe, 1999; Deer, 2010; Butler, 2015; Cowan & Campbell, 1994; West, 2022). Racism is a factor compelling many women's entry into prostitution since they may lack alternatives.

In the United States, the racist behavior of white sex buyers who act as if they are still living on the plantation, can be directly traced back to the attitudes of slave masters and traders who raped and trafficked African women during legal slavery in the US (Nelson, 1993; Baptist, 2014). A parallel colonial attitude exists globally, including in Sweden and can be seen especially clearly when racism is aimed at the descendants of immigrants to Sweden whose skin is darker than the skin of white Swedes.

Women of color and ethnic minorities are overrepresented in prostitution when compared to their representation in many regions' populations. For example, in the United States, Canada, and Sweden: African American women, Aboriginal women, and Roma women are overrepresented in prostitution (Nelson 1993; Farley et al. 2005; BRÅ 2008 cited by Waltman, 2014). In pornography, we see the same overrepresentation of racially/ethnically marginalized women. African American women were represented twice as often in pornography than they were as California citizens (Grudzen et al., 2011). In a study of 15-year-olds in Switzerland, women of non-Swiss origin (most often from Yugoslavia, Portugal, Sri Lanka, Spain, and Turkey) were more likely be sold in the sex trade including pornography (Avderdijk et al. 2019; Margit Avderdijk, personal communication, August 22, 2020).

Pornographers have eroticized racism and monetized slavery in their videos, which Jensen (2011) has described as "the most openly racist mass-media genre in contemporary society." West (2020) deconstructed and critiqued the sexualized racism in pornography that portrays Black women as promiscuous and unrapeable, with pornography titled, "White boys conquering Angry Black Women." Pornpimps have catered to sex buyers' racist demands for pornography that ridicules and exploits the political vulnerabilities of women of color. For example, the 8th Street Latinas pornography website advertised "See hot, brown and young Latinas that will do absolutely anything to get their citizenship!"[1]

Sex buyers seek out racially stereotyped pornography of Asian women who are portrayed as submissive, exotic, or newly immigrated. qualities sought by sex buyers (Asian Women Coalition Ending Prostitution, 2020; Bindel, 2017). PornHub distributes carefully articulated racist pornography and increased the use of anti-Asian racism during the COVID-19 pandemic (Farley, 2020).

1 Retrieved from 8th Street Latinas website http://www.8thstreetlatinas.com/main.htm?id=faxxaff which is itself advertised on other sites such as PornHub and http://travelsexguide.tv/nausa.htm

Antecedents to Pornography and Prostitution

Childhood physical and sexual abuse among women in pornography

The women and men we interviewed for this research had high rates of physical and sexual abuse as chidren. 48% (49/103) of our interviewees were physically abused when they were younger than 18. 75% (79/105) of our interviewees were sexually abused as children when they were younger than 18 years of age. See Table 1.

TABLE 1: Ages when interviewees were sexually abused in childhood

Younger than 5	32% (18/58)
6-10 years	55% (36/65)
11-15 years	79% (60/76)
16-18 years	82% (60/73)

Foster Care

As children, one-third of our interviewees (33%, 34,105) had been in out-of home placement such as foster care. Of those who had been in out of home care, they averaged 3 placements in group homes, orphanages, or foster care. 47% (16/34) told us that they had been abused while in foster care. Foster care is a known antecedent to sex trade entry in many other countries in addition to Sweden (Hounmenou, 2016; Crosland & Dunlap, 2015).

20% of our interviewees had relatives who were also in the sex trade, most often a sister or mother. This suggests the possibility of intergenerational or intrafamilial poverty (Farley, Deer, Golding et al., 2016).

As children, more than a third (38%, 40/106) of our interviewees were photographed when naked and sexualized. Of these, 40% were younger than age 15. 62% were younger than age 18. See Table 2.

Table 2: Early Exploitation in Pornography Production

Age when first photographed/filmed naked, sexualized	
0-5 years	5% (4/76)
6-10 years	3% (2/76)
11-15 years	32% (24/76)
16-18 years	22% (17/76)
Older than 18	38% (29/76)

Almost all (97%) of our interviewees had received an unwanted sexual image at some point in their lives. 75% had been pressured to share a sexual image. 50% had been pressured by someone to watch pornography. See Table 3.

Table 3: First exposure to pornography

Received an unwanted sexual image	97% (101/104)
Pressured to share a sexual image	75% (78/104)
Pressured to watch pornography	50% (52/104)
16-18 years	82% (60/73)

Women and men in prostitution and pornography, are likely to have been sexually abused as children. One young woman explained, "I started turning tricks to show my father what he made me" (Silbert & Pines, 1982, p. 577; *see also* Farley, 2003; Grudzen et al., 2011; Kaestle, 2012; Wilson & Widom, 2010; Simons & Whitbeck, 1991). Among women in the Russian sex trade who had been sexually abused as children, a third had also been filmed in pornography as children. And having entered prostitution as a child made it four times more likely that she would be filmed in pornography (Urada et al., 2019). As Boyer (2008) pointed out, an abused and frightened 15-year-old girl does not have the skills to outmaneuver a 26-year-old pimp who's offering her love, money and housing. The traumatic stress caused by childhood sexual abuse results in mental health problems which leave a persisting vulnerability to sex trade recruiters and pimps.

Topics Covered in Swedish Sex Education Classes

We asked interviewees about their experiences of sex education. Sex education can either normalize prostitution or teach young people about its risks and harms. We wanted to know what topics were taught in their sex education classes. Most (90%, 94/105)) had had a sex education class, and most (90-91%) addressed sexually transmitted infections, and male and female anatomy. Fewer than half (48%) had been taught about masturbation as a normal part of sexuality. While male sexual pleasure was taught 47% of the time, female sexual pleasure was taught much less often, only 20% of the time. The topics of consent (37%), respect in sexual relationships (23%), pornography (23%) and sexual violence (14%) were taught relatively infrequently in sex education classes. See Table E.

We were surprised that prostitution was the least often (5%) topic addressed in Swedish sex education classes. Ahlin and Stigberg (2016) have discussed weaknesses in sex education, specifically mentioning a lack of information about pornography, consent, and sexual violence.

Sex is a topic that even physicians avoid talking about. It is important to change that. A recent medical study found that painful intercourse was rarely asked about by general practitioners, because it was assumed to be about "sex." However, a study of 5500 US patients revealed that 80% of reproductive age women who had painful intercourse *also* had an undiagnosed urinary tract infection (UTI) (Vargas, 2023).

In order of most to least frequent, the following topics were covered:

Table 4: Sex Education Topics

Sexually Transmitted Infections	91% (85/93)
Male anatomy	90% (85/94)
Female anatomy	90% (85/94)
Contraception	84% (79/94)
Condom Use	77% (72/93)
Masturbation	48% (44/92)
Male sexual pleasure	47% (44/94)
Consent	37% (35/94)
Sexual intimacy	34% (32/94)
Sexual orientations and gender identities	31% (29/94)
Abstinence-only	30% (28/93)
Pornography	23% (22/94)
Respect in sexual relationships	23% (21/94)
Female sexual pleasure	20% (19/94)
Sexual violence	14% (13/94)
Prostitution	5% (5/94)

Locations Where Prostitution Occurred

The interviewees had prostituted in many different locations. All of the interviewees endorsed multiple locations where they had prostituted. In today's sex trade, there are many locations where women in the sex trade prostitute at one time or another. We found that it is not possible to separate pornography from prostitution. Interviewees were frequently photographed or recorded by sex buyers' cellphones during what they assumed were prostitution sessions – without their consent.

> *"When I was filmed, I was not aware of it. It's still hard for me to trust others after being filmed like that in secret. It's a disgusting feeling. You feel pissed off about being raped, but knowing that someone filmed it makes the whole thing even more difficult, it hurts so damn much."*

There is an overlap between filmed and non-filmed prostitution encounters. 90-95% of the interviewees described prostitution as taking place on the Internet, or prostitution taking place during pornography production. For almost all of our interviewees, pornography websites are locations where prostitution and trafficking are advertised and where documentation of prostitution is posted. 76% of our interviewees described webcam or live video chat as sites of their prostitution. 80% of prostitution happened in private homes

and 76% in hotels, nightclubs, or private parties. 70% of the prostitution was described as escort prostitution, outcall prostitution, or cellphone prostitution. 64% of prostitution was associated with phone sex lines. Table 5 shows the most-to-least frequent locations of prostitution among our interviewees in Sweden.

A large majority of interviewees created their pornography from their homes (82%, 80/98) and most often filmed with their cell phones 81% (79/98). Today, most of the business of pornography production, uploads, and payments involves use of cellphones.

TABLE 5: Locations of Swedish Prostitution

Internet	95% (100/105)
Pornography	90% (94/105)
Private home or apartment	80% (84/105)
Private parties/hotels/nightclubs	76% (80/105)
Webcam/Live video chat	75% (79/105)
Outcall/Escort	70% (73/105)
Phone sex line	64% (67/105)
Sugar daddy	57% (60/105)
Strip club	26% (27/105)
Bar	24% (25/105)
Street	19% (20/105)
Farm	13% (13/104)
Brothel	10% (11/105)
Massage parlor	9% (9/105)
Sauna	6% (6/105)
Casinos	6% (6/105)
Church	4% (4/105)

More than a third of our interviewees (37%, 38/104) had prostituted in other locations including a car, the forest, a cemetery, in connection with sales of used underwear or used sex toys, in men's offices, gyms, prisons, hostels, public toilets, pornography cinemas, and during tours produced by magazines such as FHM, Slitz, or Playboy. One woman described going on GFE 'dates.' GFE is the sex buyer's purchase of a make-believe relationship, in which the prostituted woman acts out the role of the sex buyer's girlfriend in what is sometimes described as "girlfriend experience."

Transactional sex is a sex act that is performed in exchange for anything of value, for example, cell phone minutes, clothes, concert tickets. Survival sex is sex acts in exchange for food, shelter, or drugs. A majority of our interviewees specified that they had engaged

in transactional sex (60%, 62/105) as a form of prostitution and others named it survival sex (48%, 50/105). These percentages reflect the poverty and the lack of resources of those who are in prostitution and pornography. Women's economic vulnerability functions as coercion into pornography. Homelessness is a primary vulnerability among most (75%) women who are prostituting (Farley et al., 2004). Testimony regarding women's experiences of porn production clarify how poverty pushes them into the arms of pornpimps. One woman explained that she was about to be evicted from her apartment when she saw an advertisement for nude photos: "The owner of the 'nude photo agency' offered me a place to live and a lot of other work if I did film. At that point in my life, I really didn't have any other options" (Simonton & Smith, 2004, p. 352).

Violence in Swedish Prostitution and Pornography

Prostitution and pornography production are associated with extreme physical and sexual violence (Farley, 2017). More than half (58%, 60/104) of our interviewees had been physically assaulted. They were threatened with guns, knives, or other weapons (43%, 45/105). Most - 84% - had been raped, with 45% of those people having been raped more than 10 times. Most often the rapist was a sex buyer (73%) or a non-pimp boyfriend (57%) or a pimp (27%). Our interviewees were also raped by pornography fans or followers, and pornography producers, actors, and directors. Table 6 shows the frequency of rapes in the sex trade and the rapist's relationship to the interviewee.

Table 6: Rape in prostitution and pornography

Raped	84% (88/105)
Raped once or twice	18% (15/83)
Raped 3-9 times	37% (31/83)
Raped 10 or more times	45% (37/83)
Rapist was identified by interviewee as a:	
Sex buyer	73% (60/82)
Boyfriend (not a pimp)	57% (47/83)
Pimp	27% (22/82)
Pornography follower	25% (20/80)
Pornography producer	18% (14/80)
Pornography actor	18% (14/80)
Pornography director	13% (10/80)

Verbal abuse in pornography and prostitution

89% (93/105) were harmed by verbal abuse during the time that our interviewees were in prostitution or pornography production.

86% (89/104) experienced sexist verbal abuse. 34% (17/51) noted harm by racist words that insulted them because of the color of their skin. 34% (17/51) noted harm by words that insulted them because of the country they or their ancestors came from or because of their religion or cultural heritage.

Risks and Harms of Pornography Production

Today, most of the sex trade takes place online, in a process that has been referred to as the "platformization of prostitution" (Samaniego, 2022; Farley, Franzblau, & Kennedy, 2014). While some assume this means that women in the sex trade are somehow "safer," in fact there are the not only same but also new risks involved in this move from the streets to the internet.

In order to sell sex acts today, it is necessary to advertise on social media. But in our interviewees' lives, there was no clear differentiation between online advertising for pornography and advertising for prostitution, or between online trafficking and online pornography, or between the between the online and offline sex trade.

We asked interviewees what applications they used to communicate with pornography sex buyers. Snapchat, WhatsApp, Instagram, Facebook, Tinder, and Twitter were the six most commonly used applications. See Table 7. Many other applications were used, including KIK, Skype, Grindr, TikTok, Reddit, Tumblr, LinkTree, Youtube, Almylinks, Pink, and dating sites such as Badoo.

TABLE 7: Applications used for advertising pornography, webcam, and other prostitution

Snapchat	61% (63/103)
WhatsApp	50% (51/103)
Instagram	35% (36/103)
Facebook	28% (29/103)
Tinder for Escorts	17% (17/99)
Twitter	13% (13/103)

86% (88/102) of our interviewees uploaded nude model or pornography images to a website We asked interviewees what websites they used to upload their pornography. The most commonly used websites in Sweden for uploading pornography were Rosa Sidan, various dating websites such as Badoo, and PornHub, OnlyFans, SnapchatPremium. See Table 8.

TABLE 8: Websites used to upload pornography

Rosa Sidun	58% (47/81)
Dating Websites	42% (36/85)
Pornhub	27% (22/81)
Onlyfans	26% (21/81)
Snapchat Premium	22% (18/82)
MinaNakenbilder	21% (17/82)
Sex tjejer	18% (15/82)
XVideos	18% (14/80)
Scandalbeauties	13% (11/82)
Youporn	13% (10/80)
RedTube	11% (9/80)
Xhamster	10% (8/80)

Other websites used by interviewees included (most to least frequent) XNXX, LiveJasmine, SinfulSisters, NordicFinest, GirlsDoPorn, Playboy, XTube, Sinnergirls, JohanVilde, SexyStockholmEscorts, SexTube, Babes.com, Brazzers, and MyDirtyHobby.

Payment for pornography

In our research interviews, we learned that more than half (56%, 54/96) of our respondents *were not paid* for sending their pornography directly to sex buyers or for uploads to websites. Interviewees were tricked by sex buyers into sending pornography before payment, or they were financially exploited in other ways such as being photographed without consent, being coerced into pornography, or being promised payment by websites that paid them less than agreed, or not at all. Of those who were paid for pornography, 87% (84/97) were paid directly by sex buyers or their pornography followers. Interviewees were also paid by pornography websites (23%, 22/97), pornography producers (21%, 20/97), social media websites (18%,17/97), and pornography directors (15%,14/96). See Table 10.

Other investigations have also reported that income from pornography and webcamming is significantly lower than income from other prostitution; many women were too poor to buy video equipment (France24, 2020). Nonpayment is a common scam in the sex trade. 17% of women in Javanbakht's (2017) research on pornography were never paid for being filmed.

Pimping, Trafficking and Organized Crime in the Business of Pornography

Merly Åsbogård, a member of our research team and a coauthor of this report, has written a book about her life including her pimps and the production of pornography. The soon-to-be-published book eloquently describes the recruitment, grooming and blackmail tactics of a woman pimp who lived in her neighborhood when Merly was an adolescent. She also describes her second pimp – a man who worked in a social services agency where he had access to vulnerable children, pimped them, and facilitated pornography production. Here are excerpts from Merly Åsbogård's book:

> ***Vivian*** *presented her idea as no big deal, it could even be fun. The whole thing would be over in an hour, barely, and no one would ever know. As if it would be the most natural step in the world for her to offer up someone like me. I would sleep with men for money like a whore. I explained that I did not want to. She sounded surprised. I had already had so much sex, how would this be any different? It started to sink in what the generosity of the last few weeks was all about and I felt so stupid. I offered to give it all her gifts back immediately.'How will you explain to your mom and dad that you are giving it all back? Maybe your mom will call me and ask and I will have no choice but to tell them the truth about everything you owe me, all the drinks, cigarettes and parties and how you have been sleeping around.'*
>
> *With the promise that I would only have to sell myself once, I did my best to prepare myself. It all happened so fast. Too fast. The very next day, the meeting with the first customer would take place.*
>
> *The remaining weeks are both sharp and foggy. The next customer was already booked when I was in the shower washing off the first one. Vivian mixed threats with new promises that mixed with my own fear and loneliness. I was provided with a cell phone and the number of customers increased as Vivian's grip tightened. School came second when there was money to be made. I had to skip classes and breaks to meet strangers in parking lots.*
>
> ***Joshua*** *was a celebrity in social services circles. He was the face of the Center, giving lectures. Even though my parents were critical of a 25-year-old showing so much interest in a 14 and soon 15-year-old, his celebrity and eloquence and outwardly very well-behaved life was reassuring.*
>
> *'It is not your fault.' Finally someone who knew, finally someone who understood. He soon wanted to continue the conversation even outside the center. I gave him my home phone number and a time when I knew I would be the one to answer. I told him about prostitution and the men who bought me.*

For a few hours almost every day, I was supported by a man who was able to ease my shame and anxiety. For the first time I was listened to and at the same time I had someone on my side, who saw my sadness and vulnerability.

After a while, our conversations became more and more about my life and his. Who he was and how he viewed life. We planned to meet. I was looking forward to it, for the first time in a long time I had something to look forward to. The assembly hall of the church was full of parents and their children. But Joshua wanted to meet in his hotel room. When I got there he opened the door wearing only underwear and took me by the hand. He did not let go of me but immediately led me to the bed.

I am dominant, Joshua said. I just nodded. Given all the men I had already met, this couldn't get any worse or more violent than with them. 'You like sex, I can see it in you.' He stroked my hair down my neck and cupped his hand around my chin. I didn't know what I liked but I knew what it usually felt like when I had sex. It usually hurts, I said quickly, finding it hard to meet his gaze.

Prostitution had taught me nothing about sex but plenty about violent men.

Joshua changed after the meeting in the hotel room. We went from talking about our lives and experiences to talking almost exclusively about sex. He told me that he saw nothing wrong with selling sex as long as it was good for everyone. He did not defend my old pimp Vivian but said that the job of pimping could be done right and better.

Joshua asked me if I would consider having sex with strange men in front of him. I don't understand, why would I do that? I understood what he meant but I wanted to hear him say it. Would they pay? I couldn't hold back any longer because everything was already so clear to me. I then realized that he was not turned on by voyeuristic sex. He would get nothing out of seeing me with another man unless money was involved. It was painful because even though he didn't break up with me, I wondered how could it be him and me if it meant that he could watch other men having sex with me and for money?

Joshua stood up and glared at me before going to stand by the window. I didn't want to and it seemed to annoy him. When he turned back, it was clear from his eyes and body that his mind was made up. My will meant nothing. He put his hand on my chest and I fell backwards on the sofa. The other hand knocked my leg out of the way and lifted up my denim dress. I tried to push him back with my hands in his chest. Then my temple hurt, he had headbutted me in the side and then pushed my head into the sofa cushion. All my eyes saw were little black and yellow fireworks. 'Shut up bitch. You filthy nigger whore! Shut up!' The insults

slammed into my ear as he got ready.I knew he would hurt me again, he had that look in his eyes. He pulled me up by my hair and led me into the bedroom where he threw me on the bed.

The man who opened the door was in his mid-forties. He called himself Hobson in the chat room. His blond hair had been thinned out in front made a ponytail at the nape of his neck. He had lots of freckles and his body was large and heavy. Joshua shoved me in the back to get me to take the last step into the apartment.

Joshua's orders were clear during the conversation in the car outside before we went in. He explained on the way there that Hobson was a regular. So this wasn't the first time Joshua had sold girls to him. I tried not to think about what had happened to those girls.

Hobson got out a camera and put me on my back and started taking pictures. I squeezed my legs together with my hands on my chest and shook my head. He tried to force my legs apart but I crawled backwards on the bed and managed to back away from his grip. He put the camera down and quickly grabbed my ankle and dragged my body across the bed.

When I came back to my reality, I was lying on my back with a towel under me and my legs spread wide. The shutter of a camera sounded and every now and then I saw flashes. When I tried to get my legs together, I received a hard blow to my inner thigh. When I tried to pull the blanket over, he ripped it from my hand and threw it away. I was a sex doll that happened to have feelings, a brain and a beating heart.

I did not protest. The next day, when I wake up, there is already a new customer booked. And after that another one.

Although it is not well understood: *84% of the time, adult women in the sex trade are under pimp or third-party control* which is the legal equivalent of being trafficked (Farley, Franzblau, & Kennedy, 2014). Pornographers are pimps or traffickers when they physically or mentally control women. Pornography meets the legal definition of trafficking if the pornographer recruits, entices, or obtains women for the purpose of photographing a live commercial sex act. And that is precisely what pornographers do. Pornpimps use social media to recruit young women into pornography production. Pornography can be camouflaged as "modeling." During the COVID-19 pandemic, a pimp recruited unemployed women for a job as 'models' at his porn site (Baah, 2020). The payment of money or goods for naked photos was the most common form of prostitution among a large sample of Swiss youth (Avderdijk et al. 2019).

Pornpimps are not usually named pimps or traffickers, although that is what they do. They may be named managers, protectors, boyfriends, husbands, girlfriends, partners.

We learned in this research, that 44% (31/71) of our interviewees had traffickers or pimps who were involved in the production of their pornography. Sometimes the person who uploaded their pornography was a new boyfriend who they had met online. About a third (35%, 31/89) of our interviewees had an "account manager" whose behavior was that of a pimp. Several women reported that pimps managed their Scandalbeauties.com accounts

Throughout these interviews, it became clear that the role of pornographer and pimp was interchangeable and overlapping. For example, a number of interviewees told us that the person who uploaded their pornography was also involved in other types of prostitution. One woman explained that her pornography was usually uploaded by *"club owners or pimps who own more girls."* The interviewees described pimping organizations and networks, including pimps' ability to place the women in different locations to prostitute, and often filming their prostitution.

Pimps have a flexible business model: a woman in this research study had produced pornography at Playboy Sweden where her pornographer was also involved in the Miss Universe beauty pageant. He pimped/trafficked her to sex buyers.

Pornpimps constantly seek to expand the number of women they exploit for the purpose of prostitution and pornography. 40% of our interviewees (39/97) had been offered a benefit for referring others to a pornography producer. Examples of benefits were fees, free advertising, or a percentage paid for new uploads.

Pornpimps exercise control over their victims by moving them to where profits can be made. Half (51%, 53/104) of our interviewees had been moved to a location for the purpose of prostitution or pornography production. Half of these people had been domestically trafficked within Sweden. Many had also been prostituted outside of Sweden on trips arranged by sex buyers or pimps. Prostitution and/or pornography then took place in 56 different locations outside Sweden, including the following countries: Albania, Austria, Dubai, Denmark, England, Finland, Germany, Greece, Morocco, the Netherlands, Norway, Mexico, Romania, Russia, Spain, Switzerland, Ukraine, USA, Venezuela. The many locations both within and outside of Sweden's borders where interviewees were prostituted, suggests the regular occurrence of the criminal practice of trafficking or pimping.

Most pornography production includes coercion and a lack of consent. Three-quarters (74%,76/103) of our interviewees in this research had been distressed by someone who had coerced them to do what was seen in pornography. While in prostitution, 76% (78/103) were filmed or photographed. Of our respondents who were prostituted, 64% (65/102) *had been filmed or recorded without their consent.* "The issue of consent in pornography is an extremely undocumented and little understood process; therefore, it warrants substantially greater attention" (Guinn, 2006).

An interviewee described events that followed her agreement to perform an act of

prostitution with a sex buyer, who then brought his friends to their session, and filmed her. The sex buyer participated with other men in his gang rape of her. But in addition to being a *torsk*, he was also pimp and pornographer:

> *"It was at a porn cinema where I went to meet a man and he had invited like ten other people there. They gangbanged me and they filmed quite a lot when they had sex with me without me agreeing to it."*

In pornography production studios, 71% (72/102) of our interviewees were coerced to perform sex acts that they did not want to perform. We asked interviewees what methods of coercion were used to compel them to perform these unwanted sex acts. See Table Q.The manipulation and coercion included threats to pay her less if she resisted, verbal abuse that made her feel stupid if she didn't concede, physical threats of harm, manipulating her to drink or drug to the point of intoxication, and physical threats.

Sometimes the organized criminals who produce Swedish pornography used extreme violence to coerce filmed sex acts. One woman had been threatened with *"guns, knives, rifles, dogs, and waterboarding."* Another woman explained,

> *"It was a violent man who called the shots* [in the pornography production]. *He makes money on drugs, weapons and prostitution. I have never seen him do anything but he has others under him, he has great influence over his running boys. He was OG [Original Gangsters]".*

25% (25/101) of our interviewees told us that gangs were involved in their prostitution. 9% (9/96) of the interviewees named specific gangs such as Hell's Angels (most often mentioned), the Albanian or Eastern European Mafias, Bandidos, and Original Gangsters who were involved in their pornography production. Gang members had multiple roles including sex buyers, pimps, stripclub managers and owners, and they participated in or watched pornography production. We suspect that interviewees' reports of gangs is lower than is actually the case. Several interviewees mentioned a fear of gang retribution.

TABLE 9: Methods of manipulation and coercion used against interviewees during the production of pornography

Threatened to pay less	64% (43/67)
Verbal abuse, insults	61% (43/70)
Physical threats	41% (29/70)
Coerced drinking or drugs	40% (27/68)
Threat not to hire again	31% (21/68)
Threat to tell others not to hire	8% (8/65)

In the course of pornography production, some of our interviewees were manipulated

and coerced by threats of doxing. Doxing is a threat that personal information would be publicly leaked and disclosed to family and friends. An interviewee explained, *"They threatened to destroy me if I didn't do what they wanted."*

Women feared sexual violence: *"I was scared. When you are a single woman among lots of men, then you don't dare to back out. It's easier to just do it."* An interviewee explained that she was coerced into performing anal sex because she knew that they would rape her anyway and *"It feels better to think that I´m in on it rather that the fact that they force me."*

TABLE 10: Who Paid for Pornography

Sex buyers/porn followers	87% (84/97)
Not paid at all	56% (54/96)
Pornography website	23% (22/97)
Pornography producer	21% (20/97)
Social media website	18% (17/97)
Pornography director	15% (14/96)

We asked interviewees what payment processors they used. 70% (68/97) of our interviewees used Swish, the most commonly used payment processor in Sweden and other Scandinavian countries and also Eastern Europe and Russia. Paypal was used by almost half (48%, 45/94) of our interviewees, as well as Mastercard (23%, 22/94) and Visa (18%,17/93). Other interviewees processed payments for prostitution and pornography using Discover and Venmo. Four interviewees used Revolut, which an interviewee explained was

> *"…an untraceable bank based abroad. It is also widely used in drug dealing. You kind of don't see deposits and so on in your regular account."*

Another interviewee used Paxum which she described as

> *"…an American bank/service that cooperates with the cam site and the sex industry at large. I have a Paxum debit card which is a Mastercard, and I use it just like any other debit card. From the Paxum account I usually also transfer money to my Swedish bank card."*

TABLE 11: Applications used for Money Transfers to Pay for Pornography and Prostitution

Swish	70% (68/97)
Bank-to-BankTransfer	63% (61/97)
PayPal	48% (45/94)
Mastercard	23% (22/94)
Visa	18% (17/93)

Almost as frequently as they used payment processors, our respondents used bank to bank transfers: 63% (61/97) linked payments for prostitution and pornography to their bank accounts. The four largest banks in Sweden were entangled and implicated in this transfer of money from pornography and prostitution exploiters to the people whom they exploited: Swedbank (24), Nordea (15), Handelsbanken(7), and Skandinaviska Enskilda Banken (SEB) (6). See Table 12.

Table 12: Swedish banks accepting monies for pornography and prostitution

Swedbank	44% (24/55)
Nordea	28% (15/55)
Handelsbanken	13% (7/55)
Skandinaviska Enskilda Banken (SEB)	11% (6/55)

In 2023, the world's largest bank JP Morgan Chase settled a lawsuit brought by victims of pornpimp Jeffrey Epstein for $290 million. A similar financial agreement between JP-Morgan Chase and the US Virgin Islands (where pornpimp Epstein's island was located) was settled for $75 million. "The settlements signal that financial institutions have an important role to play in spotting and shutting down sex trafficking," a lawyer for victims in both lawsuits, said in a statement. (Anand, Nguyen, Cohen, & Stempel, 2023).

DeutcheBank, where Epstein also placed criminally-obtained cash from trafficking victims, also settled a third lawsuit brought by Epstein trafficking victims for $75 million. JP Morgan and DeutscheBank are not the only banks who ignore criminal activity. Banks are in a position to expose scams and suspicious schemes such as money laundering, and could protect victims - if the banks would only speak up. "Instead, it's all too common for these institutions to act as though they're mere conduits for financial transactions, rather than crucial players." (Hiltzik, 2023).

What sex acts were performed in Swedish pornography?

Pornography production results in some harms that are different from non-filmed prostitution. More extreme and more violent acts are often perpetrated in pornography compared to other prostitution, and the pornography production lasts longer than non-filmed paid sexual abuse (Tyler 2015). Women in pornography are regularly subjected to double or triple anal penetration, fisting, and a porn actor moving his feces-contaminated penis from the woman's rectum directly to her mouth. This medically dangerous and psychologically humiliating 'ass-to-mouth' porn was found in almost half (41%) of the pornography reviewed by Bridges and colleagues (2011).

We asked our interviewees what sex acts they were paid to perform in pornography. Almost all (94%) had done nude modeling, a commonly-used Swedish expression that

refers to pornography with or without another person. A large majority had performed masturbation (84%), and three-quarters (75%) performed oral sex. Next most frequent were vaginal sex, bukkake, masturbation with another person, tied up or restrained, anal sex, strangulation, oral sex with gagging, choked, or not smiling. More than one-third of our interviewees (37%) had been filmed as children age 18 or younger who were subject to sex acts with adults. 23% of our sample had pornography made of them when they were age 15 or younger, appearing to "have sex" with adults. This type of pornography is accurately named child rape prostitution/pornography. Interviewees also performed menstrual pornography, crying pornography, torture pornography (30%), ass-to-mouth pornography, being urinated or defecated on pornography, group sex acts, multiple penetration pornography. Two respondents were filmed performing a sex act with an animal. Two respondents had had their images merged with animations or merged with another person's image. See Table 13.

TABLE 13: Sex Acts Performed in Pornography

Posed naked	94% (96/102)
Masturbation	84% (86/102)
Oral sex	75% (76/102)
Vaginal sex	71% (72/102)
Men ejaculated on face (bukkake)	64% (60/94)
Masturbating with someone else	58% (58/100)
Tied up, restrained	53% (53/101)
Anal sex	52% (53/102)
Strangled	51% (51/101)
Oral sex with gagging	49% (50/102)
Choked	40% (41/102)
Not smiling	37% (37/100)
Adult/child sex younger than18	37% (37/100)
Filmed menstruating	33% (32/97)
Crying	31% (31/101)
Tortured	30% (31/102)
"Ass-to-mouth"	28% (28/101)
Urinated on or defecated on	26% (26/102)
Adults having sex (ie rape) of child 15 years or younger	23% (23/99)
Group sex	21% (21/101)
Group sex with multiple people penetrating	20% (18/91)

Interviewees mentioned other types of sex acts in pornography, most often involving bondage, domination, and sadism. For example, an interviewee explained,

"Porn where men want you to hurt yourself or they get someone else to do it. Like cutting myself, someone cutting me, someone burned me, I'm unconscious, or drunk or high. Torture can last for hours, for example strapped to a wall, they do what they want, I don't know what will happen, I have no say"

Women in pornography are often unrecognized torture survivors who have been coerced into participating in the filming of violent sex acts in real time. Specific acts commonly perpetrated against women in prostitution and filmed as pornography are the same as the acts defining what torture is: verbal sexual harassment, unwanted sex acts, forced nudity, rape, sexual mocking, physical sexual harassment such as groping, and not permitting basic hygiene. (Fritz et al. 2020; Shor, 2019; Bridges et al. 2011). [2]

Kink.com is a torture pornography production and distribution company where women and men are filmed for pornography that involves electrical torture to the genitals, extremely painful bondage, whipping, restraint, coerced submission with violence resulting in tissue damage. An observer of a kin.com production said that a pornography scene looked like "genital mutilation" (Prostitution Research & Education, Traffick Jamming blog, 2007, 2008). State-sponsored torture is often protested by liberal social critics yet the identical treatment of women in filmed and non-filmed prostitution is ignored by those same critics. Condemning the United States' tolerance for torture in its 'war on terror,' one journalist noted the "gleeful sadism" of guards at Abu Ghraib. Yet political pundits maintained silence regarding men's gleeful sadistic behavior toward women and men in filmed prostitution that was produced at the torture pornography site (Kim, 2005).

Pornography survivors tell us that the worst part was the humiliation, which is the same protest registered by state-sponsored torture survivors. The physical pain ends, but survivors of torture remain haunted by images of themselves exposed, soiled, splayed, begging, in abject passivity and helplessness. Because women in pornography are coerced into smiling, their abuse is dismissed because they are seen (incorrectly) as having freely consented to torture (Whisnant, 2016). Writing about an Internet site named *Welcome to the Rape Camp*, Hughes (2008) described a US pornpimp who controlled a brothel in Cambodia that advertised "Asian sex slaves used for bondage and humiliation." He filmed alongside sex buyers who sometimes directed extreme violence via web cams. The website produced a live interactive transmission of the torture of women by sex buyers who

2 Istanbul Protocol: Manual on the Effective Investigation and Documentation of Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment [hereinafter Istanbul Protocol], Aug. 9, 1999, available at http://www.unhchr.ch/pdf/8istprot.pdf ("Sexual torture begins with forced nudity, which in many countries is a constant factor in torture situations. One is never so vulnerable as when one is naked and helpless. Nudity enhances the psychological terror of every aspect of torture, as there is always the background of potential abuse and rape or sodomy. Furthermore, verbal sexual threats, abuse and mocking are also part of sexual torture, as they enhance the humiliation and degrading aspects of it, all part and parcel of the procedure.

paid per session for planning.

Fans, followers, and stalkers

Most (86%, 88/102) of our interviewees were followed on social media. We asked research participants to explain what a pornography fan or follower is. They offered the following definitions:

> *"A follower is someone who watches one's porn and follows one's posts and uploads – pretty much everything that is produced with you participating."*

> *"Someone who really appreciates what you upload and who offers different amounts of money to get personalized messages and pictures."*

> *"It's just like a fan following a celebrity. The only difference is that porn fans follow you for sexual purposes."*

A number of our interviewees saw little difference between pornography followers and other sex buyers. *"I would not call them followers,"* one woman said, *"they are johns and a john is someone who, for example, buys cam."*

> *"Johns will be johns. I don't see a difference between people who just want to buy online or who want to meet, really."*

> *"There is no difference between those who buy sex and those who buy pictures/videos. I think those who buy sex also consume porn in some form."*

> *"People who buy photos and videos always want to meet live."*

Our interviewees in the sex trade often felt that their boundaries were crossed or even they were threatened by pornography fans who had paid them for photos, videos, or dates. One woman explained, *"They have a vision of a person who doesn't exist, a character they have become obsessed with."*

What is stalking?

Alice Vachss, a US sex crimes prosecutor, explained, "Stalking is a pattern of behavior that, in context, would frighten anybody with common sense. What's most critical to that definition is that it is a course of behavior not a one-time incident. There is no requirement that the incidents themselves be criminal but the incidents added together must cause fear. For example, someone leaving a package for you on your doorstep is not against the law. But if the "present" is from someone who asked for your address and you re-

fused, the package can be part of a stalking pattern. Stalking is frequent when someone is trying to leave a volatile relationship or escape domestic violence. But regardless of a victim's own behavior, profession, or prior relationship with the person, anyone can find themselves the victim of stalking.

Despite the fact that stalking can cause pervasive terror and profound damage, remedies through US law enforcement and the courts are generally much weaker than they should be and require persistence and often repeated contacts with the police. Generally the most available course is to seek a stalking protective order, violation of which is itself a crime" (Alice Vacchs, personal communication, 23 March 2023)

Table 14: Frequency of contact by pornography fans or followers

Several times a day	53% (46/86)
Every day	9 % (8/86)
Several times a week	19% (16/86)
Once a week	10% (9/86)
Once a month	8% (7/86)

Table 15: Hours per day spent chatting with pornography fans

Less than one hour	26% (23/87)
1-3 hours	41% (36/87)
4-6 hours	24% (21/87)
7-9 hours	3% (3/87)
More than 10 hours	5% (4/87)

Sometimes the fans became stalkers. See Table 16.

"They become a fan because they want to consume more of what you are giving. While I'm doing live stream, I get a lot of questions about sex, I sometimes lie: 'I've had 5 guys at the same time.' The downside is the men that they think we are dating. You have to be careful because those are the type of guys that might go and try to find my address."

"They admire you but they can become like stalkers. Those people are too nosy."

"It becomes like an obsession on their part, they want to be a part of my life. Some may ask if we can be friends, if they can get my number because they want to call and just talk. They usually get very upset if they try to contact me and I don't answer immediately."

"I have been doxed several times, my address is available online. I had a stalker who used to call and send pictures of my apartment to show that he was standing there. It came as a result of someone posting my contact details. For a week or so I was damn scared. I have

no idea who it was. I didn't report it."

Some interviewees were enraged with men who were their pornography fans:

"They get horny when they use people who feel bad, people who aren't well. They know what they are doing. Even though you do receive money, another currency is stolen from you. Also, it always gets worse, the boundaries you set from the start changes. The thought that you can own a person, buy her even though she does not want it. I mean, for me, these are the lowest human beings there is."

"A horny man is the equivalent of a whiny crying baby. It wants what it wants now and it's not going to stop until it gets it now. If you're what it wants, it's crying, begging you…"

TABLE 16: Threats and Harassment in Pornography

Threatened via text	54% (56/104)
Threatened on social media	53% (56/105)
Stalked	40% (40/101)
Doxed (release of personal information)	39% (40/102)
Doxed and subjected to harassment	59% (23/39)
Feared for safety because of doxing	68% (27/40)
Friends or family were threatened	23% (24/103)

During pornography production sessions, women routinely experienced violence that was similar to the violence in prostitution that is not filmed. More than half of our interviewees had been beaten during pornography productions (55%, 53/97). 40% (18/45) of the time, being beaten was scripted or planned. 64% (64/101) were raped as part of the pornography. See Table 17.

Table 17: Rape during production of pornography

Raped once or twice	21% (8/37)
Raped 3-10 times	33% (12/37)
Raped 10 or more times	46% (17/37)

A quarter of our research participants (27%, 23/85) had been prevented from using a condom during the production of pornography, an act that is considered a life-threatening assault by some courts.

Words that describe what pornography and prostitution felt like

We asked interviewees to tell us what 5 words described how they felt during prostitution, and another 5 words that described how they felt during pornography production. Independent coders rated the interviewees' words as positive (*appreciated, happy, relaxed)*; negative (*disgusted, anxious, dirty, disposable);* or neutral (*on-duty, money-driven, it's a job)*. When there was a rating disagreement, a third rater was included. We then counted the numbers of words in each of the three categories, and compared positive, negative, and neutral words describing pornography and prostitution.

Table 18: Positive, negative, and neutral words used to describe pornography and prostitution

	Prostitution (n=92)	**Pornography (n=99)**
Positive words	18%	22%
Negative words	76%	72%
Neutral words	6%	6%
Total words	453	473

The numbers of positive, negative, and neutral words to describe pornography and prostitution were not statistically different ($\chi 2 = 2.99$, df = 2, p = 0.22). Swedish interviewees used similar words to describe pornography and prostitution experiences. This finding suggests that *for the person whose sex acts are being filmed*, the emotional experience of pornography production is very similar to the emotional experience of prostitution that is not filmed. It is another piece of evidence that suggests the relative impossibility separating filmed commercial sex acts from prostitution that is not filmed.

Advocates, policymakers, psychologists, and the public are confused about the similarities and differences between prostitution and pornography.We asked a number of questions about what the emotional experience of making pornography was like. We also asked whether prostitution or "sexwork" (if they used that word) was similar to or different from making pornography. We asked about the similarities and differences between pornography and prostitution. These were thoughtful and enlightening discussions, and interviewees were teaching us what they knew. Because many of these discussions were emotionally painful, we again express our appreciation for our interviewees' candor and their courage. Many of our interviewees were motivated to share their knowledge if it would benefit others.

The emotional experience of prostitution

71% (69/97) of our interviewees described their experiences in prostitution in negative terms. Prostitution usually made them feel like a commodity, or they were numb and had great difficulty feeling any emotions at all, including positive emotions. A minority

of interviewees stated that they liked the fast money and it was fun to meet new people. Here are some of their descriptions of what prostitution was like.

"It's simple: I'm a professional rape victim."

"In prostitution women are not allowed to have an emotional life - you can't cry, you can't speak out, you can't just go home and go to bed. And when you let yourself feel things, you will feel really bad, go into depression and have suicidal thoughts. That's when it's so easy to start using drug and/alcohol."

"You are a sex toy, an object. You have no value. You die a little every day."

"It eats you up from the inside, it does. It's such a damn shame. It's like cancer"

More than half of our interviewees' prostitution was filmed without consent

64% (65/102) of our interviewees told us that they had been filmed *without their consent* during the purchase of sex that had no agreement to filming. Our interviewees' boundaries were routinely overridden, both regarding what sex act was or was not agreed to, how long the prostitution session was to last, and whether or not they agreed to have their prostitution filmed. Many did not agree to being filmed but they were filmed anyway.

"You never know when you're selling sex if you're being filmed."

Without consent, you feel very betrayed, very humiliated and have to maintain a certain role there, but it is easy to just do what is required of you and disassociate so you get out of there as soon as possible.

"I didn't record porn. When I was photographed/filmed, I was not aware of it. The times when I found out that someone was filming secretly, I was hurt. It's still hard for me to trust others after being filmed like that in secret. It's a disgusting feeling. You feel pissed off about being raped, but knowing that someone filmed it makes the whole thing even more difficult, it hurts so damn much. After I learned that I was being filmed secretly, I started receiving customers mostly in my home, or rented hotel rooms to have the opportunity to ensure that there were no cameras.

It's not knowing where the videos are distributed and all the money this person is making on me. With consent I know where they are at least."

A particularly harmful aspect of pornography production, the interviewees told us, is that it is a permanent record of the sex acts performed in prostitution. Thus the uploaded film will follow the person who was filmed forever into the future.

When women's prostitution is filmed, they are distressed by the fact that their pornography may be seen by someone who they did not want to see it. Two thirds of our interviewees (67%, 70/104) were worried that at some time in the future, their family, employer or friends might see their pornography. Our interviewees explained that 38% (38/101) of the time, someone they knew had located and viewed their online pornography. At least a third of the time (36%, 37/103) the women and men were blackmailed by someone who had downloaded their videos.

"Pornography can haunt you for years. Films can be made public and destroy everything - relationships and jobs."

"After porn, you will never have a future because there is evidence out there of who you were. You will always have to face your past."

"When it comes to porn you have more control, at least in the moment. Yet, when you are done filming you lose the control. You never know who's going to see it. In prostitution it is more private, porn is forever."

"Porn is forever, but the objectification [in pornography and in prostitution] is the same. The degradation is the same. There is nothing good about it. When it comes to porn, a lot of people think that there will be a studio. It could just as well be a filmed abuse. The viewer will never know. The viewer could never know if there is a consent. And, even if there were a consent, the consequences are still there."

A number of interviewees told us that they preferred nonfilmed prostitution to pornography production because they assumed that in prostitution there would be no filmed record of the humiliation of prostitution.

'The porn remains almost forever. While the other is gone as soon as you close the door and change the sheets'.

"The difference is that in prostitution, you get diseases and risk your life, but with pictures you risk your reputation and you become very worried."

"Porn is an event that is filmed, which means that it remains after the event ends. Other sex work is moments and then it's over. With porn, it's still there. But they are linked, so

the line between the two is not so clear"

"Prostitution is easier to hide than pornography."

"Porn is more exposing. It gets wider coverage. Traditional sex work is more discreet. It doesn't reach as many people. ."

"Porn is more traumatic because you don't know how this video will trend, it lives on in your mind."

"Porn is for the world, sex work is total privacy. Nobody has to know what you are doing. I only want to be in this (sex work) for a short time, so the world doesn't have to know about this".

Interviewees summarized the emotional experience of pornography production.
70% (68/97) described *pornography production* as a negative experience. This is the same percentage of interviewees - 71% - who described *prostitution* as a negative experience. As in prostitution, many interviewees said that it was necessary to dissociate in order to survive the experience of pornography production.

More than a third of interviewees (39% 38/97) described being dissociated during pornography production; they felt numb, felt nothing, not-there, empty, or shut down. During pornography production if they did not dissociate, they tended to feel overwhelming dissust, shame, anxiety, and fear.

"It is so much dissociation, it's like I´m completely gone while doing it and then I come back half an hour later. I don't even remember what I filmed; it is like a different world."

"You exit your own body to cope with it. I was not aware of what was happening. I dissociated. I was not in my body. It affected all relationships in real life… I had no feelings for others and still have a hard time enjoying sex, intimacy and physical contact. The longer you are in it, the more isolated you become."

"…most of the time I have been turned off and it has been very unpleasant. Not being able to feel anything"

Some interviewees discussed the power imbalance in pornography:

"…it is about one's body and that it is used in an inhuman way. That someone else decides what you should do with your body. It feels like a power imbalance, because they have the

money, they have the power. They know I will do what it takes to get that money. At the same time, it's disgusting because those guys know I would never have been here if they hadn't given me money. They know I don't really want to be here."

"I think that the porn industry conveys that it's empowering, and that you feel power over these men. And maybe it was at first that I thought "haha I'm taking this money from these men…But the reality is that they buy you. So having that confidence but feeling powerless anyway, it's hard. I've watched the debates, and there's always a girl saying she's got power and blah blah. But I wonder how much of that is actually true. It takes a lot to feel like you are in control, because in the end, someone else wants something specific from you and it's very distasteful to do something that someone else is asking for because they want power over you. This is their way of getting power. So to say 'I have power in that situation'- I think you're mostly trying to fool yourself."

"[Pornography is] heartbreaking in many ways…You have no value in yourself but the only value you have is as an object. You are nobody, a punching machine, a wank glove but not a human being."

An interviewee described the downward slide in pornography production from positive at first, to negative

"….I chose it myself but not because I was in a very desperate situation. It's something new and forbidden when you start, but then you feel disgusting and dirty, like a replaceable doll."

Some interviewees described the experience of pornography production as fun and exciting, but with some qualifications:

"…you turn off your emotions and just think about the money and then you get the money in your hand and you get happy, but after that you get anxiety"

"Maybe I feel happy but I'm not really there emotionally."

"It felt good. I got a lot of compliments. But then it also felt perhaps a little shameful."

"I think it's fun. But be prepared that it is very unsafe online, people will want to record you, meet IRL, they will be rude, haggle... You shouldn't do porn if you're sensitive and/or desperate for money while feeling bad - it's not worth it."

"I'm quite focused. I'm neutral. I focus on creating a good product."

Pornography was used as advertising for prostitution.

"Porn shows what you can do and shows your experiences. Can you suck well, masturbate well, can you take the whole thing in your mouth or not, can you swallow. The only thing guys want is for you to blow well. Sex work is more something you just do. You just lie there like a dead body while someone else enjoys it."

There is a lack of public awareness of just what pornography is like for the person who is filmed.

"..people don't realize that coercion and force can be a part of porn as well as prostitution."

"I find porn more offensive and humiliating [than prostitution]. It feels more revealing, more shameful.."

Porn feels more invasive [than prostitution].

Porn is more emotionally stressful

It makes it harder for me to block the emotions. I get closer to the feelings when I have to pretend to have them, it's harder to switch off. I also get more disgusted. When I only meet someone who wants to sleep with me, I think, he just wants to come, and that's it. When it's porn, a scene must be set up for others to watch.

Pornography involves different risks than prostitution but both have negative consequences.

"The risks are different. IRL [in real life] means physical damage. Online means that the images can leak."

Both are about using your body, but IRL you have to put up with another human being, it's a little easier not to have to meet IRL.

"Pornography pictures and videos by yourself are better than being touched and fucked by strangers. If it's only videos or webcam it is less risk, I think." The interviewee here is differentiating videos and webcam that she produces by herself at home from studio produced pornography, where there are multiple men filming and actors engaged in sex acts that are often unwanted and painful.

"In terms of what you do, it's [prostitution and porn] are pretty much the same really.

When you're doing sexwork, you're definitely going to be physically abused and more likely to get STDs and may even get pregnant. When it comes to porn, you're more likely to be blackmailed."

Just by hearing what these men think when they see me online gets me scared and not wanting to meet them, they are so damn unpleasant.

"It is the boundaries that are the difference. What you say yes and no to. If you meet IRL, it is difficult to set clear boundaries.

On the other hand, one woman felt that in prostitution she was in more control than when producing porn:

"I think I prefer sex work because then I have much more control over the situation. I'm simply the one in charge. If someone is filming, I don't feel like I'm in control of what they're filming or what they're doing with it."

Nude model pornography compared to other pornography

85% (89/105) of our interviewees had been photographed as nude models. Many of the women we interviewed felt that "nudes" were different from other pornography. When we asked them to discuss the similarities and differences between nude modeling and other pornography, some common themes emerged. Many suggested that the differences between nude model photos and pornography were differences in the magnitude of exploitation instead of a fundamental difference in type of exploitation:

It feels safer to send naked pictures than to do porn.

It is easier to set boundaries when posing naked than in porn.

Porn is more intrusive.

Porn can be more violent. When you only pose naked, you don't have to be part of the violence. I might have to do things that hurt myself in nude pictures, of course, but you might still have a little more control.

Some interviewees differentiated between nude photos and pornography on the basis of whether the photo was just one person or more than one person:

"When you use your body for money, it's the same regardless of what you do. It's the same vulnerability. But there are degrees in hell of course. If I do it alone, like when posing nude, it's safer than if I'm with another person."

"The nude posing when I was 14 wasn't really porn but still had a sexual purpose behind it. The only focus was on what they wanted to see. I was constantly adapting to what they wanted to see... They just said "I want a picture of your breasts". They asked for it and I did it to make money.

"Nude modelling is easier, there is no touching, you have your body for yourself while porn is the opposite. Then you have no will of your own."

Others felt that the common element in nude photos and other pornography was the payment of money.

"Both are something you do involuntarily. I don't think any girl or boy does it voluntarily. It's about using your body as a tool to make money. You probably do both because you feel really bad and need money. "

Many said there was no difference between nudes and other pornography.

"You get paid to let another person look at you naked for the purpose of their pleasure - this applies to both porn and nude modeling. I think the two are actually the same thing, I see absolutely no difference between them."

"I associate porn with something very raw, the purpose is to make someone come. It something very bodily. Nude pictures and videos feels more aesthetic, like art but yeah, it's not like the johns will hang the pictures on their walls."

"When I did Playboy it felt artistic, I wanted to be a model but it is the same. You think there is a difference in the beginning but it's the same."

"Nudes and porn are the same thing. A man jerks off to nude posing just as he does in front of porn."

"What I sent [uploaded] between 14 and the years after that somehow feels like it was a lot about being objectified. You would always be there for someone else, you were not a person but an object. People took the liberty of saying "that wasn't sexy enough, can you push your breasts up more." It feels disgusting, no one ever cared about who I was."

Many said pornography production and prostitution were the same

"I see no difference. You do the same thing, the only difference is the camera."

"They are very similar - you get money for having sex, it's as simple as that. The only difference is that porn happens on camera."

"The only difference is that one is documented and the other is not."

"For me it's totally connected, I have a hard time separating them because it's almost always that I meet my clients physically first and then we film what we do and then I sell it to them as porn afterwards"

"Both [pornography and prostitution] are equally destructive."

"Everyone who buys sex is a rapist."

Physical and psychological harms resulting from pornography production

Chronic Physical Symptoms

We asked interviewees about their chronic physical symptoms. Over the years, we have asked women in prostitution to describe their health problems. From their descriptions, we created a checklist of items, the Chronic Health Problem Questionnaire constructed of symptoms that they reported. Our research findings support the 2019 Swedish Public Health Authority Report which indicated that women in pornography are frequently in poor health and are financially and socially vulnerable.

77% of our interviewees suffered head injuries, a finding that is consistent with studies of Traumatic Brain Injury among prostituted women (Farley, Banks, Ackerman, Golding, 2018). See Table 19.

Many of our interviewees described lifelong violence. Most of the interviewees had suffered extreme violence during prostitution and pornography production, resulting in serious injuries. Many interviewees did not seek medical care for serious injuries. For example,

"When I was 14, I was locked up in a basement for three days. There I was drugged, exploited and filmed by 4 different men. I got out of there, but had pain all over my body, a lot of pain in my abdomen, but didn't seek help. Neighbors saw that I was injured and askedwhat happened, but I said I got lost in the woods and injured myself that way. However, my family reacted by saying "Oh how dirty you are! Jump in the shower, you stink!"

"It has mostly involved strangulation and being pushed into walls and such. I haven't sought care, but I've certainly needed care."

"[by having sex with buyers] I got lacerations, bruises, bleeding."

"Bruises, scrapes, open wounds, black eyes, scalp wounds from pulled hair. Bleeding from inside the vagina."

"It has been violence to the head, I got concussions a couple of times…"

'It has been related to when I sold sex. A few times they just got angry and hit me."

"The gay world for guys is so extreme, selling and buying sex, there are no boundaries, it's laughed at if you get drugged into unconsciousness and then get fucked."

"The worst is a shoulder injury that I have had problems with for quite some time. I had my arms tied up in a way that made something happen to my shoulder, it's been there for years."

TABLE 19: Chronic Health Problems of women and men in pornography

Trouble concentrating	81% (84/104)
Injury caused by violence?	78% (77/99)
Hit in the head or had a head injury?	77% (79/103)
Stomachache or pain	72% (74/103)
Sex as intentional self-harm	71% (74/104)
Memory problems	70% (73/104)
Suicide attempt	65% (68/104)
Intentional self-harm	64% (67/104)
Prostitution as intentional self-harm	63% (66/104)
Headaches or migraine	61% (63/103)
Muscle aches or pain	60% (62/103)
Constipation or diarrhea	56% (58/103)
Vision problems	54% (56/104)
Neck pain	53% (55/103)
Painful menstruation	52% (50/97)
Eating disorder (anorexia, bulimia, or purging)	51% (53/103)
Allergies	51% (53/104)
Joint pain	50% (51/103)
Rapid or irregular heartbeat	49% (50/102)
Pain or numbness in hands or feet	49% (50/102)
Trembling	44% (45/103)
Dizziness	43% (44/102)
Jaw or throat pain	43% (44/103)
Nausea	41% (42/103)
Skin problems (rashes or itching)	35% (36/103)
Shortness of breath	34% (35/103)
Sweaty hands	33% (34/103)
Colds or flu-like symptoms	32% (33/102)

TABLE 19: Chronic Health Problems of women and men in pornography

Chest pain	31% (32/103)
Loss of feeling on skin	30% (31/104)
Trouble with balance or walking	30% (31/104)
Vaginal pain	29% (29/101)
Pelvic pain	24% (25/103)
Vomiting	23% (24/103)
Hearing problems	23% (24/104)
Muscle weakness or paralysis	21% (22/103)
Pain in breasts	19% (19/100)
Carpal tunnel	18% (19/103)
Asthma	17% (18/103)
Swelling of arms, hands, legs or feet	17% (18/103)
Difficulty swallowing	16% (16/103)

Suicide attempts and non-suicidal self injury (NSSI), including sex and prostitution as self-injury

We asked interviewees whether they had made attempts to kill themselves, and also whether they had deliberately harmed themselves by cutting, burning, and by risky sex or prostitution (Zetterkvist, 2015; Cipriano, Cella, & Cotrufo, 2017). Prostitution and high-risk sexual behavior may be categorized as non-suicidal self injury (NSSI) because they may both be "the intentional choice of an unknown (high risk) or known dangerous sexual partner(s)" (Sprout, 2020).

In our research, sex as intentional self-harm, suicide attempts, other intentional self-harm such as cutting or burning, and prostitution as self harm - -clustered together with our interviewees endorsing those behaviors at similar rates from 63% to 71%. See Table 20.

Table 20. Suicide Attempts and Non-Suicidal Self-Injury

Sex as intentional self-harm	71% (74/104)
Suicide Attempt	65% (68/104)
Other Intentional self-harm	64% (67/104)
Prostitution as intentional self-harm	63% (66/104)

Not all prostitution is NSSI, and some clinicians have questioned the concept. As in earlier research studies, our findings suggest a strong connection between a history of childhood sexual abuse and later prostitution (Abramovitch, 2005; Silbert & Pines, 1981). 75% (79/105) of our interviewees had been sexually abused as children (younger than 18 years). Prostitution can be understood in many instances as a continuation of a lifetime of sexual

and other abuse. Prostitution here is understood not as "sex" nor "risky sex" nor "work," but as sexual abuse which is on a continuum with incest and rape. The 1999 Swedish law on prostitution recognizes prostitution as not only sex-based and gender-based abuse,[3] but also as racist and poverty-based abuse, and we agree. Some observors of sexual self injury or prostituted self-injury are now making the connection between earlier and later sexual abuse in young peoples' lives (Hedén, Jonsson, & Fredlund, 2023).

We suggest that understanding the psychological dynamics of sexual self-harm may be more clinically complex than previously understood. For example, in this research, participants who reported a past suicide attempt or who used prostitution as self-harm, tended to have more dissociative symptoms. We explored the degree of overlap between a past suicide attempt and prostitution as self-harm. 49% (51/104) endorsed both a previous suicide attempt and prostitution as self-harm. Endorsement of a past suicide attempt ($r = 0.25$, $p = 0.01$) or self-harm via prostitution ($r = 0.25$, $p = 0.01$) were significantly correlated with dissociation. Kluft (1990) described the dissociative vulnerability of severe sexual abuse survivors to similarly abusive relationships later in their lives. Schwartz (2000) discussed the ways that survivors are limited in their ability to respond appropriately to relational danger cues, leaving them vulnerable to sex predators.

Global Health Assessment

We asked interviewees to give an overall rating of their health, using a 5-point rating scale. Global health ratings are considered to be an accurate assessment of actual health (Rizzo, Creed, Goldberg et al., 2011). A majority (51%, 54/104) of our interviewees rated their health as fair or poor, suggesting a need for holistic medical and psychological healthcare. See Table 21.

Table 21: Global health assessment:
"In general, would you say that your health is ..."

Excellent	3% (3/104)
Very good	15% (16/104)
Good	30% (31/104)
Fair	38% (40/104)
Poor	13% (14/104)

Posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD) consists of symptoms that occur following a traumatic event. All participants in this research experienced multiple traumatic events, sometimes over the course of their lifetime as well as during pornography production and prostitution. PTSD symptoms include

3 Sex is male or female; a person's sex is binary and not changeable. Gender identity is one's self-identification as male or female. Gender and gender identity are psychological, not biological

1. Reliving the traumatic event(s), also called re-experiencing symptoms or flashbacks.
2. Avoiding things that remind you of the traumatic event(s).
3. Having more negative thoughts and feelings than before the traumatic event(s).
4. Feeling on edge or jittery, also called hyperarousal.

Some of the common symptoms of PTSD experienced by these interviewees, included recurring memories or nightmares of the event, sleeplessness, loss of interest in life, and feelings of numbness, anger or irritability, and being constantly on guard.

The diagnosis of PTSD is a departure from both the biological viewpoint that psychological symptoms are essentially biochemical in nature and the psychoanalytic notion that psychological symptoms result from intrapsychic turmoil. The diagnosis of PTSD requires an external stressor, clearly implying that psychological symptoms result from material conditions that oppress women.

The diagnosis of PTSD alone, however, does not completely articulate the extent of the psychological harm caused by prostitution. Over time, the constant violence of prostitution, the constant humiliation, and the social indignity and misogyny - result in personality changes. Herman (1992) described long-term changes in trauma survivors' emotional regulation, changes in consciousness, changes in self-perception, changes in perception of perpetrator(s), changes in relations with others, and changes in systems of meaning. These personality changes have been called complex PTSD by Herman and others. Describing prostitution, one woman said: *"It's a process. The first year was like a big party, but eventually progressed downward to the emptiest void of hopelessness. I ended up desensitized, completely deadened, not able to have good feelings because I was on 'void' all the time."* Herman saw these symptoms as resulting from subjection to totalitarian control over a prolonged period, and noted that organized sexual exploitation may be one cause of complex PTSD. The violence of pimps is aimed not only at punishment and control of women in prostitution, but at establishing their worthlessness and invisibility (Dworkin, 1997; Patterson, 1982). The hatred and contempt aimed at those in prostitution is ultimately internalized. The resulting self-hatred and lack of self-respect are extremely long-lasting.

81% (85/105) of our interviewees met criteria for a diagnosis of PTSD, an extremely high rate of PTSD. Two-thirds of our interviewees (67%) had severe or very severe symptoms of PTSD. Only 6% of the general population is likely to have PTSD in their lifetime, with 13% women combat veterans diagnosed with PTSD National Center for PTSD (2023). Syrian war refugees who immigrated to Sweden have a 30% rate of PTSD (Tinghög, Malm, Arwidson, et al, 2017). A meta-review of 22 studies found that 75% of the people in those research studies met diagnostic criteria for PTSD in the first month following sexual assault. The authors pointed out that treatment in the first few months after sexual assault is important to recovery (Dworkin, Jaffe, Bedard-Gilligan, Fitzpatrick, 2023). Our interviewees' 81% rate of PTSD diagnosis is in the same range as the 88%

PTSD rate among torture survivors from the Middle East, Central Africa, South Asia, and Southeast Europe (Abu Suhaiban, Grasser, & Javanbakht, 2019).

The most common torture experiences of survivors in Abu Suhaiban (2019) were humiliation and threats, forced to stand for long periods of time, prevented from urinating or defeating, exposed to dirty conditions leading to ill health, deprived of sleep, and deprived of medical care. These torture experiences – and others such as rape, sexual humiliation, strangulation - were experienced by the people in our research, and also by 45 prostitution survivors in a separate study of torture (Farley & Kennedy, submitted for publication). Since so many of those who are involved in the production of pornography have had their experiences of torture filmed (see Table 13) –we think that all services for people in the sex trade should be informed by torture rehabilitation best practices. Physical health care of pornography survivors requires expertise in treating sexual torture victims. Their mental health care requires far more training than what is today casually named "trauma-informed care." Job training will fail unless the provider has expertise with respect to the complexity of the survivor's relationships with pimps and sex buyers and how those abusive relationships complicate relationships with their subsequent bosses. Therapists and physicians must understand the pornography survivor's lifetime of social vulnerabilities, pimps' expertise in brainwashing and behavioral control, the devastating effect of social and institutional victim-blaming in prostitution, and the sequelae of the many traumas experienced by survivors which include extensive physical injuries to the entire body, and psychological symptoms in response to organized human cruelty. If a symptom and its possible origin is not seen or named by clinicians and advocates, then it cannot be treated. Herman (2004, p 1) noted the great difficulty people have in recognizing prostitution, which is "…the reality of sexual violence as exercised by an organized criminal enterprise that operates freely in every community, hidden in plain sight, and to engage with victims who have been systematically reduced to the condition of slavery.". Even in treatment centers, the pornography survivor's physical sequelae of torture may be inadequately assessed and may be dismissed as psychological in origin despite the prevalence of serious injuries such as traumatic brain injury or chronic musculoskeletal pain, which were described by pornography survivors in Table 19 and in many articles (Amris, Jones, & Williams, 2019; Farley, Banks, Ackerman, & Golding, 2018; Farley & Kennedy, submitted).

Dissociation

Dissociation is one of symptom clusters of PTSD. This anecdote from one of our interviewees, explains that connection:

> *"Once, a former boyfriend beat me, and I ended up in shock. I managed to escape the apartment but when I got outside, I couldn't find the subway – even though I traveled by subway pretty much every day."*

"It's not like I think I am several persons or anything, I just feel like I have different lives you know?"

We screened these interviewees' symptoms of dissociation. Dissociation is a "discontinuity in the normal integration of consciousness, memory, identity, emotions, perception, body representation, motor control, and behavior." (American Psychiatric Association, 2013 p. 291). Dissociation is a response to overwhelming traumatic events in which the mind detaches from one's current emotional or physical state; it enables people to adapt and cope with unbearable and uncontrollable traumatic events. . Dissociation occurs during extreme stress among prisoners of war who are tortured, among children who are being sexually assaulted, and among women being battered, raped, or prostituted. One woman explained, *"You make yourself empty inside."*

Our interviewees had very high scores on our measure of dissociation. Their average DES score was 38, which is significantly higher than most other groups of people whose levels of dissociation have been studied. 30% of the time, our interviewees' DES scores were in the range of screening criteria for dissociative disorders.

The dissociation which is a crucial survival mechanism for prostitution was itself originally a survival response to childhood sexual assault. Survivors explain.*"It was easy for me to turn a trick because I could just take myself out – like with my dad. It was like I took myself out of the situation and just focused on something else and it was like I wasn't even there.* Like incest perpetrators, pimps and johns exploit and deliberately encourage dissociation.

"I may have been abused or raped but I forget things…I forget certain events and that's probably because they're not good events. But I could never forget a graduation. I believe that the brain sorts out difficult or traumatic experiences. It's happened many times. So many things my friends have said that I don't remember

"Sometimes I get on the metro and I stay on it until 7 stops past my stop. The conductor comes up to me at the end of the line and has to touch my arm to tell me to get off. I am not asleep, just not there."

"My body has never belonged to me - men took my body away from me."

Needs assessment

We asked interviewees what they needed. Their responses, from most to least frequent were individual counseling, peer support, medical care, self-defense training, home or safe place, legal help, job training, substance abuse treatment, protection from a pimp, childcare, and physical protection from a pornography producer or distributor. See Table 22.

TABLE 22: Services Needed by women and men in pornography and prostitution

Individual counselling	65% (66/102)
Peer support	59% (60/101)
Health care	46% (47/103)
Self-defense training	40% (41/103)
Safe housing	37% (38/103)
Legal assistance	34% (35/103)
Job training	28% (29/102)
Drug or alcohol treatment	23% (24/103)
Protection from a pimp	15% (14/93)
Childcare	7% (5/69)
Protection from pornpimp	5% (5/94)

Service Utilization

In addition to asking women what they needed, we also asked what existing Swedish services they had used. See Table U and the following summary of 9 different types of services used by our interviewees. Interviewees explained the ways in which the services had been helpful or not, and if they had been denied services. Interviewees expressed a need for social support. They wanted social attitudes toward them to change. One woman needed

> *"Someone you can contact when you need to, someone you can do things with – like a big sister. Someone who's there to support you, a place you can go to and stay for a couple of nights, you know, just to get away from it all."*

Some interviewees felt that most services were delivered with a condescending attitude that included victim-blaming. They wanted more comprehensive, non-fragmented social services. They saw a need for healthcare and other service providers to be better educated on the harmful consequences of the sex trade including pornography. Several interviewees wanted more outreach from both social services and the police. At the same time, they understood that 1) the police were under-resourced and that 2) sex buyers are skilled at hiding. They wondered if these were two of the reasons that the many complaints they brought to the police were not investigated even though many interviewees had provided at least some evidence to the police.

Some interviewees yearned for a place where they could openly discuss the sex trade. One woman wished that she had had peer support because her family didn't understand the extreme dangers of the sex trade. She needed *"…someone to tell me that it wasn't OK that I was working at a strip club. I wished they would tell me to get out of that world. They only told me to be careful. I never understood that it could be bad for me."*

Interviewees described pervasive economic stress in Sweden. One woman explained,

> *"And for women, sometimes there's no other way out, no other way to make money really. We're so poorly paid that you can't kind of even work your way up to a good salary the way men can. So there's not the same opportunity to make a good income, and I think that's why a lot of women do it [pornography] as an extra job or are forced to do it as a full-time job…"*

Another woman was anxious about the ever-present threat of losing her Swedish Social Insurance as a result of re-assessment every three months.

Substance abuse programs

Slightly more than one-third 36% (35/96) of these research participants had received drug or alcohol addiction treatment. More than two-thirds (68% (23/34) found the program to be helpful. On the other hand, 18% (14/76) had been denied services at substance abuse treatment programs.

An interviewee commented that her substance abuse program "helped me realize the effect that drugs and alcohol were having on my life (body, mind, finances, friends), and then showed me that there was another way to live."

Some interviewees felt that theirs underlying trauma were not addressed. We note that there are now available manualized treatment protocols for *simultaneously* treating PTSD and addictions, which has proven to be the most effective approach to working with addicted trauma survivors, including survivors of pornography production and other prostitution (Najavits, Gallop and Weiss, 2006; Desai, Jarpaz-Rotem, Najavits & Rosenheck, 2008)

Unemployment services

27% (28/104) of our interviewees had used unemployment services at Arbetsförmedlingen since they had been in pornography or prostitution. 52% (14/27) of those that had used unemployment services said they were helpful. 15% (14/91) had been denied unemployment services.

Health services

88% (92/104) of our interviewees used Swedish health services since they had been in the sex trade. 77% (59/77) of respondents reported that the physical health services were helpful to them. 71% (53/75) found the mental health services to be helpful. 25% (25/99) had been denied Swedish healthcare services.

> *"They fixed me up physically and they offered conversational support. They referred me to the Mika clinic."*

As with substance abuse services, some interviewees felt that there was a lack of expertise in treating traumatized victims of the sex trade. Some felt a condescending or prejudicial attitude by healthcare providers. Others were denied services because they were known to be addicts or had severe mental illness. Surprisingly, several interviewees were denied healthcare because they were viewed as *"too sick to get help."*

Housing

37% (38/104) of our interviewees had experienced homelessness. Only a few, 18% (7/38) had used a homeless shelter in Sweden since entering the sex trade. About half of those using the shelter (43%, 3/7) found the service to be helpful. 36% (5/14) had been denied services at a homeless shelter.

Some women were reluctant to use a mixed-sex homeless shelter because it did not feel physically safe and because there was drug use/dealing in the shelter.

Social Services

More than half of our interviewees (54%, 56/103) received support from Swedish Social Services (Socialtjänsten) since they had been in pornography or prostitution. 63% (34/54) reported that the social services they received were helpful. 36% (35/98) were denied support from social services (Socialtjänsten).

Domestic Violence Services

Considering the widespread violence of prostitution, relatively few of these respondents (17%, 18/103) had received services related to domestic violence since they had been in pornography or prostitution. 63% (10/16) reported that domestic violence services had been helpful. 9% (6/70) had been denied domestic violence services during the time they were in the sex trade.

Police Response

52% (52/100) of our interviewees had reported violence to the police. The violence occurred since while were involved in pornography production or prostitution. More than half (57%, 28/49) of those who had reported violence to the police found them to be helpful. Our interviewees described why they often chose not to report pimping or trafficking to the police. They felt that even when they provided evidence to the police, for example a cell phone with communications between the victim, the pimp, and the sex buyer, and videos of the sex purchase, the police prematurely closed the investigation. In one case, text and videos of a gang rape were shown to the police, who commented that she "seemed to have wanted it."

Services that were especially helpful to interviewees

A number of interviewees mentioned that they received helpful treatment at Mika, suicide hotlines, Novaheuset, Talita, and Big Sister (Föreningen Storasyster).

Some interviewees explained that they were greatly helped by using coordinated social services with multiple agencies involved, for example, financial support, healthcare, and psychological care:

> *"They give me financial support so I don't have to post videos and stuff like that. And I have a trauma therapist that I have started talking to."*

Others spoke of the difficulty they had in accessing services from many different agencies, some of which did not communicate well with each other. The authors of this report highlight the importance of *coordinated exit services* that support survivors of the sex trade, including pornography survivors. Multiagency integration is essential because survivors are overwhelmed and intimidated by the bureaucracies in numerous agencies. Compassionate case managers who are not overworked and NGO advocates who are informed about the multitraumatic nature of prostitution, are essential to helping survivors gain timely access to treatment and manage the social services and healthcare that is available to them in Sweden. Interventions for sex trade survivors would benefit from a recognition of the physical and psychological torture experienced in prostitution.

Many interviewees experienced being "passed around" by various authorities, and many commented on a lack of coordinated services. Members of marginalized populations who do not have comfortable access to social, medical and legal services, require carefully coordinated care. An assigned advocate is necessary to assist sex trade survivors as they navigate the maze of different agencies. A case that was documented two decades ago on the Mexico/United States border noted the many governmental and non-governmental agencies involved in the coordinated care and protection of one young mother in the sex trade and her child. Advocates from a battered women's shelter and from a bilateral victim advocacy agency coordinated victim care with more than 20 other agencies, including municipal police, county police, federal police, a gynecological clinic, a religious charity, Mexican social services, US social services, FBI, immigration agencies in both countries, a criminal attorney, an immigration attorney, a US attorney for prosecution of pimps/traffickers, the Mexican consulate who sought protection for the victim's family who were under threat from organized crime groups, youth special services, a psychologist, a children's hospital, a group home in a second US state where the victim's child was moved because of threats to her life by crime groups, and human rights groups who publicly denounced crimes against the victim ('Sofia,' Ugarte, Zarate, & Farley, 2003, p 151-152).

Unemployment Services

27% (28/104) used unemployment services

52% (14/27) unemployment services helpful

15% (14/91) denied unemployment services

Some of our interviewees were denied eligibility for unemployment because they were undocumented and seeking asylum. In one case, a woman was rejected for assistance because she was viewed as making too much money in prostitution. We note that "making a lot of money in prostitution" should be seen as an indicator of extensive harm rather than a reason to deny unemployment assistance.

TABLE 23: Service Utilization

Service	Used service	Service was helpful
Unemployment	27% (28/104)	52% (14/27)
Health services	88% (92/104)	
Physical health services	77% (59/77)	
Mental health service	71% (53/75)	
Substance abuse	36% (35/96)	68% (23/34)
Homeless shelter	18% (7/38)	43% (3/7)
Social Services	54% (56/103)	63% (34/54)
Domestic violence services	17% (18/103)	63% (10/16)
Reported violence to police	52% (52/100)	57% (28/49)

Conclusions, Legal Proceedings, and Recommendations

This report provides evidence about pornography production, pimps, pornography sex buyers, and survivors of pornography and prostitution whose voices we document. We hope that the information here will validate the experiences of sex trade survivors who often feel alone or shamed by their exploitation and by films of their abuse. In Sweden, as elsewhere, there is a need first of all for acknowledgment of the harms perpetrated during the production of pornography that are described here. Our interviewees estimated that only 12-13% of people who enter prostitution or pornography production have any idea what it will be like. They estimated that 61-71% of people are lured, tricked or trafficked into prostitution and pornography production.

Sweden has convened a task force, *Protection, Support and Care for People Who Have Been Abused During the Production or Distribution of Pornography,* with the goal of better understanding the harms caused by to those whose prostitution is filmed. We share the Inquiry's commitment to the acknowledgment, mitigation, and elimination of pornography production harms. The authors of this report express our appreciation for the Inquiry's work.

In 1977, the Swedish government established the Sexual Crimes Committee which published two reports: Rape and Other Sexual Assault (SOU 1982:61) and Prostitution in

Sweden: Background and Actions (SOU 1981:71). In 1995, a Prostitution Investigation followed (SOU 1995:15). Decades of research by Månsson and other scholars and advocates research was instrumental to the passage of the 1999 law (Månsson & Larson, 1976; Månsson & Soderlind, 2013; Månsson, 2018). Norwegian feminists Hoigard and Finstad significantly advanced our understanding of prostitution with their groundbreaking book *Backstreets* (1986). Olsson (2006) analyzed the 30-year political history of the many government and nongovernment entities in Sweden who contributed to the passage of the 1999 Law, including some contentious meetings regarding the patriarchal structure of prostitution.

Almost 30 years ago, Garb (1995) noted that "prostitution behind a camera is still prostitution, and suggested that with minimal modifications to currently existing laws, rather than profiting from exploitation and trafficking, pornpimps could be penalized for it. Pornography can be understood as a "peculiar kind of prostitution" that has occurred as a result of technological advance (Bailov, Osyantinskiy, & Bulba, 2015). Pornography production can be categorized as either commercial or non-commercial, with similar harms resulting from both (Morita & Norma, 2021)

Waltman (2021) has pointed out that Sweden's 1999 prostitution law easily applies to pornography pimps and traffickers, who are already criminalized not only by several Swedish laws but also by international laws. The definition of trafficking in the United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime (also known as the Palermo Protocol) has become a widely accepted standard and has been used in other international instruments. The Palermo Protocol establishes a method of international judicial cooperation that would permit prosecution of traffickers and organized criminals.

In Palermo's definition of trafficking, whether the victim "consented"or not to prostitution is irrelevant. Trafficking includes abuse of power and conditions of vulnerability as well as the use of force, fraud, or coercion. Article 3 of the Protocol defines trafficking as:

(a) "Trafficking in persons" shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs;

(b) The consent of a victim of trafficking in persons to the intended exploitation set forth in subparagraph (a) of this article shall be irrelevant where any of the means set forth in subparagraph (a) have been used.

The 2021 Swedish pornpimp case described in the Introduction of this report is informative because of its numerous conceptual and legal mistakes. The pimping suffered by the victim falls within both Swedish and international definitions of human trafficking. She was recruited and maintained in prostitution by her pimp under conditions of fraud, deception, and abuse of power. Her vulnerabilities were exploited for financial gain, and she was recruited, harbored, raped, tortured and filmed by means of a combination of threats, use of violent force, addiction, debt bondage, and sophisticated mental coercion. As the United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime states, the victim's consent to these abuses is irrelevant with respect to whether or not she was pimped or trafficked. Derr (2017) documented some useful examples that reflect this overlap between pornography and trafficking. See Appendix A: Organized Crime, the Sex Trade, and Pornography Production.

Pornography producers, pornography agents, pornography managers, and pornography distributors can all be prosecuted for pimping under the 1999 Swedish Law. A 2009 "artist's case" is relevant to prosecutions of pornpimps and sex buyers. A Swedish artist performed a public act and was arrested for the crimes of violent resistance (against a police officer) and dishonest conduct. The Court determined that the fact that these behaviors were also called art (and were filmed) did not permit the artist to evade legal accountability for the crimes. The same should be true for pornography. The fact that sexual abuse and rape is filmed and called pornography should not permit the pornographer or sex buyer to evade legal accountability for other crimes (Waltman 2021, p 324-330)

Holding the pornography sex buyer criminally accountable requires a legal analysis that differs from holding pimps and traffickers accountable. Pornography sex buyers can be held accountable under civil laws that could function as an adjunct to the 1999 prostitution law. Andrea Dworkin and Catharine MacKinnon (1988) proposed compensatory damages for women who prove harm caused by pornography. A Florida/US law holds sex buyers and pimps accountable by making available civil remedies for damages that sex buyers and pimps inflict on prostituted women. Legal definitions of the acts of prostitution in Florida law include pornography production as well as buying a sex act that is filmed. Women who are coerced into the sex trade via the exploitation of their social and legal vulnerability can sue sex buyers and pimps for resulting damages. Coercion is defined in the Florida law as "any practice of domination, restraint, or inducement for the purpose of or with the reasonably foreseeable effect of causing another person to engage in or remain in prostitution or to relinquish earnings derived from prostitution; restraint of speech or communication with others; exploitation of a condition of developmental disability, cognitive limitation, affective disorder, or substance dependence; exploitation of prior victimization by sexual abuse; *exploitation during the making of pornography; and exploitation of the human needs for food, shelter, safety, or affection."* (Florida Statutes, 2006; Minnesota Statutes, 2019; Baldwin, 1993, 2004). A number of cases brought under the

Florida law have been resolved with financial damages awarded to women in the sex trade.

"Pornography consumers" who pay for women to perform sex acts for payment in real time on a webcam are sex buyers under Swedish law. Rosén (2020) observed that pornography that is streamed live on the Internet constitutes the purchase of a sex act as defined under Chapter 6, Section 11 of the Swedish Criminal Code. She pointed out that live pornography is "a temporary sexual relationship for remuneration" even though the parties involved in the temporary sexual relationship are not in the same physical location. Making this same point, Bishop-Royse and colleagues (2021) concluded that

> "..assumptions that trafficking occurs only in scenarios where performers have direct, sex-related contact with clients may not be accurate…while trafficking does take place in situations where performers and clients engage in paid commercial sex, it [trafficking] also occurs in contexts where the performer's interaction is not with a client, but with a media (such as camming and pornography)."

The simplest legal approach to holding pornography sex buyers accountable is to define commercial pornography as prostitution. Terre des Femmes Germany has initiated work on a policy paper that recommends that commercial pornography be defined as prostitution. The Terre des Femmes paper notes that the business of pornography is a system of oppression and sexual exploitation, and states that pornography contributes to the prevention of equality between women and men. Waltman (2012) has also reasoned that purchasing a person for sexual use is simply one form of sexual coercion.

Nonprofit organizations and other groups have spearheaded civil and criminal lawsuits against pornography producers and pornography sex buyers.

Twenty-two women were harmed by pornography producers and distributors at their website, GirlsDoPorn. The successful lawsuit demonstrated the effectiveness of US civil remedies for women exploited in the sex trade. The recruiters at GirlsDoPorn published online adertisements for modeling jobs. The women who responded were lied to, pressured, tricked, deceived and coerced by three pornpimps to perform acts of prostitution that were videotaped and uploaded to the Internet. The women had been promised that the film would not be uploaded to the Internet and that their true identities would not be revealed. They were given several alcoholic drinks before they were pressured and coerced into signing consent forms that were confusing and fraudulent. The women arrived at the pornography film studio, uninformed about the coercive demands the pimp/producers would make on them. Sometimes after extensive travel, they were instructed by pornpimps to either enact prostitution or to leave without being paid. The 22 women brought the following civil charges against the GirlsDoPorn pimps: Intentional Misrepresentation, Fraudulent Concealment, False Promise, False Imprisonment, Sexual Battery,

Gender Violence, Intentional Infliction of Emotional Distress, Misappropriation of Name and Likeness, Negligence, Breach of Contract, Unlawful and Fraudulent Business Practices. Criminal trafficking charges were later added to the civil charges against the pornographers. The 22 women were awarded $13 million in damages against the website's operators (Doe, 2017). One pornpimp fled to New Zealand, seeking to avoid extradition in a country where prostitution is legal.

"Everyone reminded me that you can't rape a porn actress" **(Comment by Soraya, a plaintiff in a legal action against a French pornography website when she attempted to file a police complaint against the men who raped her.)**

Three feminist organizations Osez le féminisme!, Mouvement du Nid, and Les Effrontées alerted French authorities to rape, pimping, and torture of women by pornpimp businessmen from the *Jacquie et Michel* website. In a second case, four pornography producers at *French Bukkake* were charged with crimes. Some charges against the sites' pimps were Money Laundering, Fraud, Illegal Employment, and "releasing/broadcasting recorded images that are a violation of the integrity of the person." (Berger, 2020; El-Khoury, 2020; Osez le féminisme!, 2020).

Investigations of the owners and managers of *French Bukkake* and *Jacquie et Michel* revealed an organized criminal system of rape, pimping, and trafficking. The same pimps managed both pornography websites, used the same actors and the same victim profiles. They used similar recruitment and grooming techniques in their crimes against women whose pornography was uploaded. Only a few dozen producers, directors and broadcasters dominate the French pornography market, and they collaborate with each other. Many women had lodged complaints against various producers, but no one took them seriously before 2020. The complaints had been ignored by the police ("*everyone reminded me that you can't rape a porn actress,*" said Soraya as quoted in *Le Monde*). (Osez le feminism!, 2021)

As of 2023, there are 50 victims/plaintiffs against *French Bukkake* and 7 victims/complainants against *Jacquie et Michel*. The three French national organisations Osez le féminisme!, Mouvement du Nid, and Effronté-es, are civil parties in both of these cases. Ligue des Droits de l'Homme is a fourth civil party in the French Bukkake case.

The French Bukkake website received 280,000 views per month (Folgoas, Gautronneau, & Pham-Le, 2021). The *French Bukkake* case arose from comments on a men's videogames forum which were noticed by the Paris police in 2020. Comments on the website described nonconsent, coercion, and violence. Pascal Aullitrault (aka Pascal OP) and his accomplice Mathieu Lauret (aka Mathadix) were charged with Gang Rape, Aggravated Trafficking in Human Beings, Aggravated Procuring, Money Laundering, Concealed Work, and Distribution of a Recording of Images Relating to the Commission of a Deliberate Attack on Personal Integrity were made. Investigators described a highly organized system of sexual exploitation and rape.

Although promoted by its owners as "amateur," the pornography on the *French Bukkake* website employed men who had performed in hundreds of pornography videos (French High Council of Equality Between Women and Men, 2023; Rees, 2023). In some incidents, subscribers to the *French Bukkake* website were invited to participate in gang rapes which were filmed. In this violent and dehumanizing torment, the victim is offered up to the sex buyers on a pallet like a piece of meat. She is kneeling while a gang of hooded rapists/subscribers/sexbuyers take turns raping her throat with their penises until she chokes. The rapists were invited by the pornpimps to also vaginally rape her. The video finale presented the rapist/sex buyer ejaculating on the victim's semen-covered face. Women were often sobbing during these rape videos. Some women were raped 80 times in 2 hours (DeFoucher, Laurent, & Chapuis, 2021). As of September 2023, 500 men, known to investigators, have accepted invitations to torture women at a bukkake.

The prosecutions have been extensively covered by the French press. This has helped to educate the public about pornography production harm. *Le Monde* published a four-part investigation on the "French Bukkake case," highlighting the complexity and pervasiveness of the crimes: "there is a strong judicial dimension, with some sixty victims. Then there is the social dimension, because these videos are seen by a wide audience, even though they are "rape in disguise," as one actor confessed. Economic, finally, because it plunges into the workings of a low-cost industry that crushes its raw material: young women" (*Le Monde*, 2021)

Le Monde also covered the *Jacquie et Michel* case, quoting the Paris public prosecutor's office which described the pornography website as a "pimping and human trafficking system which demolishes women who are being led into a trap" (DeFoucher & Laurent, 2022). A third news outlet, JDD, gained access to internal documents from *Jacquie et Michel*. JDD described "an organized system with recruiters, executors and sponsors, far removed from the friendly image on which the brand has built its success" (DÁngelo, 2022)

Médiapart published testimony of a victim who detailed the organized system of exploitation used by pornpimps and highlighted the complicity of pornography businesses:"-numerous actors and producers have participated in or covered up, the violence of the two main defendants. An entire industry is exposed." (Bredoux, Kezzouf, & Oberti, 2020)

The victim testimonies in the *French Bukkake* case reveal a well-orchestrated entrapment strategy that has been used by pornpimps elsewhere. Investigative journalists reported that a man known as Julien D. used social networks to target vulnerable, sexually naïve young women in precarious economic circumstances. He gained their confidence using a fake female profile "Axelle." Julian/Axelle persuaded and tricked them into trying "luxury escorting." Their first experience of escort prostitution was often a rape committed by Julien D. himself who posed as a sex buyer. This traumatic experience increased the victims' vulnerability to further harms. A victim of Julien D testified,

> *"Once I've been raped for the first time, you can do anything to my body, it's not a big deal, it's just the way we feel, however dissociated it may be."*

Axelle/Julien, then apologized for the "event," (rape) and offered the women "friendly filmed sex scenes, for highly confidential foreign use, shot in a jovial and amusing atmosphere." Nothing about this description was accurate; several days of horror followed. Pascal OP, manager of *French Bukkake* website, extorted the women's consent to produce a film using typical pimp tactics: he was at first friendly, he recorded them stating their consent. Later the victims were subjected to acts of violence and humiliation which were filmed under threats of death including dog attacks. Despite the women's pleas, their filmed rapes and violence continued for several days. *"I said, 'No I don't want to do this, I can't do it and I'm scared,'"* testified Samira. Pascal instructed her*: "You're going to do it, you're going to be smiling, you have no choice"* (De Foucher, Laurent, & Chapuis, 2021). Thevideos were distributed on various platforms, including *Jacquie et Michel* and *Dorcel Vision*, an on-demand platform for direct to consumer video content. Some women asked the producer to remove their videos (Konbini News, 2020). The pornography producers sometimes extorted payment in exchange for deleting videos. Some of the young women went into debt in order to buy back their videos (DeFoucher, Laurent, & Chapuis, 2021). Although the *French Bukkake* site is now inaccessible, most of the rape videos were sold prior to the closure. They are available on other paid and free websites.

Paris police charged 12 actors and 6 producers with Aggravated Rape, Aggravated Pimping, and Human Trafficking: Matthieu Lauret (aka Mat Hadix), Pascal Aullitrault (aka Pascal OP), Oliver Sweet, Rick Angel, Celian Varini, and Anto Toto are now confronted with 50 victims' testimonies against them. The preliminary investigation was completed in September 2023. The judge ruled that the crime of Rape by Surprise and Constraint and the crime of Recording Images Injurious to Dignity were admissable. Although the judge acknowledged that there was a context of violence and sadism, she rejected charges of Torture and Barbarism which would have permitted a life sentence. Also unfortunately, the aggravating circumstances of Sexism and Racism were not accepted by the French Court. The judge referred the case to the Departmental Criminal Court rather than the Cour d'Assises which hears the more serious criminal cases. An appeal of this ruling has been filed and will be heard in October 2023.

MindGeek/PornHub is a business that is "*awash with criminality* " providing a lesson about organized crime and money laundering

Legal actions are underway against other pornographers. MindGeek, the world's largest pornography business, is headquartered in Montreal and was investigated by Canada after it was charged with operating a criminal enterprise (Lum, 2021) Like other organized crime groups, the owners and bosses at the top of MindGeek's corporate structure carefully avoid public scrutiny. Banking corporations such as JP Morgan Chase which provided startup financial support to MindGeek also seek to avoid publicity (Nilsson, 2020). In the United States 30 plaintiffs have charged MindGeek/Pornhub

with: violations of federal Sex Trafficking laws, Receipt, Transport and Distribution of Child Pornography, Racketeering, Public Disclosure of Private Facts, Intrusion into Private Affairs, placing plaintiffs in "False Light," Common Law Misappropriation of Likeness, Statutory Misappropriation of Likeness, Distribution of Private Sexually Explicit Materials, Negligence, Unjust Enrichment, Unfair Competition, and Civil Conspiracy. The complaint reveals the follow-the-money reasoning in this case: the banking practices of MindGeek/Pornhub included use of banks in Cyprus and Luxembourg. MindGeek owns multiple subsidiaries, for example RK Holdings, and MG Global Entertainment. "MindGeek has incorporated dozens of subsidiaries and sister companies around the world for the purpose of avoiding liabilities and to hide the identity of the entities and individuals behind its corporate actions." MindGeek, according to the lawsuit, comingles assets, with corporate entities treating each others' assets as their own, confusing the records of the different entities, and other organized criminal activities (United States District Court Central District of California, 2021). Sections of the 179-page complaint follow below.

The complaint acknowledges that "Mindgeek is a classic criminal enterprise run, according to those who know it best, just like the Sopranos. The 'bosses' at the head of this criminal enterprise are Mindgeek CEO Feras Antoon and financier Berg Bergmair, representing a group of uber-wealthy owners of the company." The complaint describes classic organized crime activities such as "human trafficking; child pornography; criminal copyright piracy; internet hacking, stalking, and doxing; blackmail and extortion; mail and wire fraud; embezzlement, bank and creditor fraud; tax evasion; and money laundering. The company's top management and shadowy international financiers and their investors are the "bosses" of this Enterprise and, together with their "capos," run its rackets and schemes." "All top executives were members of the Bro-Club, and most Syrian or Lebanese relations of Antoon," according to a whistleblower. These "made" members earned their "bones" not through bona fide skills or credentials, but because they had demonstrated an eagerness to participate in its criminal activities, a paramount appetite for money, and a willingness to participate without objection, inquiry, or disclosure of illicit activities to advance in the organization."

Some people in the organization were afraid. "People were really scared about their lives because the groups providing content for their sites were real pimps. If you are running your own site and you know these pimps might do harm to you, you join Tony Soprano's team. Make less money but no one will shoot you in the street. The "pimps" being referred to were known traffickers in Eastern Europe and Asia from whom the Enterprise and those who typically joined it bought substantial pornography."

"From its inception, MindGeek was awash in criminality. That criminality manifeasted itself almost immediately in law enforcement investigations in Europe and the United States. In the late 2000's, the United States was investigating MindGeek (then

Mansef) for money laundering and arms dealing. In 2009, the Secret Service seized $6.4 million from the company's bank accounts."

"MindGeek's corporate structure was created and maintained to facilitate and mask criminal conduct and insulate the company from criminal and civil culpability. This structure consisted of hundreds of sham shell companies scattered throughout the world. Despite generating hundreds of millions in revenue annually, MindGeek pays effectively no taxes anywhere. Instead, by the time those revenues are funneled through the hundreds of international sham shell companies, the parent company records massive losses, not profits. A whistleblower explained, 'they created companies on a daily and monthly basis and used vendors to launder money and make payments.' An insider explained the process as follows: An obscure affiliate in a low regulatory risk jurisdiction would transfer funds to middlemen/agents who commissioned and purchased cheap pornographic content from human traffickers.The MindGeek payments for this trafficked content would then be "shadow payments" made from one of its obscure sham shell companies to a middleman without any invoice or paper trail."

"MindGeek/PornHub monetizes rapes, revenge pornography, spy cam videos of women showering, racist and misogynist content, and footage of women being asphyxiated in plastic bags. MindGeek and its affiliate 5wPR use investigative firms and "partners" in Eastern Europe to do deep opposition research and investigation of their "enemies" and the immediate and extended families of their "enemies" (United States District Court Central District of California, 2021)."

In conclusion, we hope for an educated public, for the enforcement of existing laws against pornography pimps and pornography sex buyers. We hope for the passage of laws that will end the businesses of sexual exploitation, which is the abolitionist goal in Sweden's remarkable 1999 law on prostitution. But there is a loophole in that law and in all states' prostitution laws - the exemption for filmed prostitution. It is long past time to end pornpimps' and pornography sex buyers' get-out-of-jail-free pass – their impunity - for producing and exploiting the filmed abuse of women and men in the sex trade. Until that impunity ends, we urge advocates, service providers, and activists to educate government and non-government agencies that fund exit services. Pornography survivors need immediate protection from pimps, mental and physical health care, affordable housing, and employment assistance in order to avoid filmed prostitution.

We have presented evidence for the sameness of prostitution, pornography production, and trafficking with respect to antecedent risk factors, recruitment, racism, harms perpetrated by pimps and by sex buyers, coercion, and economic exploitation. We propose a conceptual and legal reconnection of pornography, prostitution, and trafficking which have been described as "gang-rape culture in action" by a survivor (Jewell Baraka, personal communication, June 30, 2020).

The vast inequalities, social injustices, and human rights violations that harm women and men in the sex trade including pornography must be examined, analyzed and rejected. We need to look more closely at the flaws in many social institutions such as use of technology including cell phones, applications, payment processors, websites. And also banks, immigration policies, and even social services and police. We must do more to protect people from the harm of pornography production. They deserve protection, social support, and real alternatives.

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Appendix A.

Additional Information about Organized Crime, Prostitution, and Pornography Production

For 30 years, from 1983-2013, Sergeant Stephany Powell of the Los Angeles Police Department did not receive a single complaint about pornpimps in the San Fernando Valley where most US pornography was produced. The pornpimps rented homes in the San Fernando Valley as temporary film studios. Dr Powell speculates that the reason for this lack of reporting was that victims and their families were threatened with physical violence or death if they exposed the pornography production gangs' criminal activities. Years later, after speaking with Black women whose pimps had transported them to the San Fernando Valley from South Central Los Angeles, Dr. Powell noted the carefully organized collaboration between the Los Angeles-based gangs and the pornpimps in the San Fernando Valley. Pimps transported young women who were under gang control to the pornpimps for filming. The pimps usually remained in the studio while the pornography was filmed, and the pimps, not the trafficking victim, received the payment for the pornography production (Stephany Powell, personal communication October 3, 2023).

The same criminal operations exists today in Europe. Eastern European members of organized crime groups transport young women to pornpimps at MindGeek/PornHub's nearby rented studios in Albania and Romania. The women sit in cubicles in metal buildings large enough to house airplanes; each young woman in her own cubicle with a laptop, performing livestream or webcam filmed prostitution (United States District Court Central District of California, 2021).

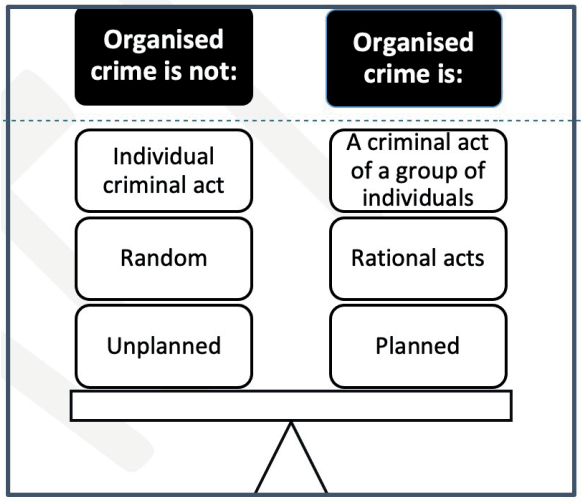
Some think of the sex trade as populated by individual actors: people in prostitution. This perspective proposes that women are "sex workers," who choose to "migrate for sex work' whereas most often they are under the control of pimps/organized criminals. Women in prostitution are almost always motivated by poverty and the need for life's necessities. (Calderaro & Giametta, 2019; Vuolajärvi, 2019). Contradicting the fantasy that those in prostitution freely choose it, there is much evidence for highly organized crime groups as pillars of the sex trade. Organized crime plays a destabilizing role in Swedish culture, as elsewhere (Grillone, 2019; Institute for Security and Development Policy, 2018).

What is organized crime?

Organized crime groups are self-perpetuating conspiracies whose goal is to make money and who are willing to break most laws if that is profitable for them. Organized crime groups are hierarchically organized and consist of poor, working class, middle class, and upper class thugs. They are characterized by fear, corruption, and often virtual legal immunity. Organized crime groups operate like any other business, where a group of 3 or

more people work together with the goal of committing serious crimes such as exploiting others' vulnerabilities in prostitution and trafficking.

Figure 1. Definition of organized crime



Organized crime groups are often highly structured, with specialized roles for each person in the network. Recruiters identify vulnerable victims and use both persuasive romancing and threats of violence to entrap victims into pornography or prostitution. Recruiters often lie about potential jobs. About half of the time, recruiters are women or girls, who might be more accurately be named, "coerced assistant pimps. Other roles in pornography production trafficking gangs include those who advertise sex acts online, those who schedule sex buyers' appointments with trafficked women, those who are drivers or travel agents, and violent enforcers who terrorize the women and keep them under mental and physical control.

The power of organized crime groups is evident in their capacity to corrupt politicians, banks, police, judges, and NGOs. These criminals terrorize victims and witnesses, and the corruption of public servants and financial systems ensures that the most powerful bosses are immune from prosecution. Less powerful thugs take the fall for the more powerful white collar criminals. These operations extend beyond the jurisdiction of a single country to international corporate crime networks.

Hawala, for example, is an informal system that transfers value, or money, without the actual movement of money. Hawala is based on the history and honour of a large network of hawala brokers who operate outside traditional banking systems. It was originally used for legitimate transactions in the Middle East, North Africa, and India, but hawala can also be used for money laundering, tax evasion, or anonymous wealth movement. Hawala has some similarity to US and Italian Mafia crime groups. Hawala operates by handshake and is based on ethnic community bonds. It is used by some organized crime groups in Sweden.

Links between trafficking and pornography production

Derr (2017) has provided evidence linking organized crime networks to pornography production. She interviewed a number of legal and social services experts who shed light on these connections. Here are some excerpts of those interviews:

An adult may start out as a model, be coerced into making pornography, and then engage in sexual acts beyond what she initially understood or agreed to. A woman may be forced into prostitution, and if the encounter is filmed, pornography has just been made using a victim of sex trafficking. A woman may start out in pornography as a consenting actor, and be coerced or threatened to engage in more and more violent and painful scenes as her career progresses. …there is not one clear way by which a person may be sex trafficked in pornography (Derr, 2017).

Technology has changed the face of pornography so drastically that it can be created right in a person's bedroom. In every community I have been to, as soon as they are recruited, they are put online. It allows the trafficker to convince them that what they are doing is not really prostitution. It is harder for cops to find them, and it is cheaper. Pimps know they can set up sex cam sites and make their girls create porn (Derr, 2017).

Another woman told us that there was a gun off camera, pointed at her head, and they were telling her that if she did not make it look sensual, and that she was agreeing to whatever occurred, that they would kill her. And so, she was forced to put on a smile and she was forced to make it sound like, or make it look like, she was in complete rapture and pleasure in what was occurring, so that she would not be physically harmed (Derr, 2017).

Victims for pornography films are kidnapped, bought, or rented for a day from other traffickers (Derr, 2017).

In recent Swedish cases, a woman was promised agricultural work and healthcare by a Romanian organized crime group. In Sweden, she was coerced into begging and prostitution by the gang who took her money, denied her food and housing, and captured her after repeated escape attempts (Aftonbladet 2019).

Like the Romanian crime groups, biker gangs such as Hell's Angels and Bandidos coerced the production of pornography of our interviewees in this research. The biker gangs are internationally organized and sell women for pornography and prostitution in Sweden. Their structure is similar to the other organized crime groups.

In Sweden, porn cinemas and strip clubs deserve special mention as locations where organized crime groups operate. Porn cinemas have brothel rooms that are controlled by pimps and traffickers. The crime groups pimp women to individuals or to groups of sex buyers in the back rooms of the "cinema." They also produce pornography (Göteborgsposten, (2021). Similarly concealed as a legitimate business, the first author observed a multiroom brothel that operated in the basement of a Stockholm stripclub. It appeared to be controlled by a Russian organized crime group.

Recent history of organized crime networks and the sex trade

Crime networks in various regions are created from a combination of economic, geographic, political, ethnic community-based social networks, climate, and religious factors that can be hundreds of years old (Hawala) or relatively recent (Cali Cartel) (Ellis, 2016; Nkwi, 2015). Globalisation and the free market accelerate the business of sexual exploitation - pimping and trafficking - just as they accelerate the growth of legal multinational corporations (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2011).

Among the organized crime groups in Sweden are Nigerian crime groups. Colonization of African nations contributed to the transportation of women within Africa for prostitution - to ensure the supply of women for sexual use by the officials of the colonial governments (Nkwi, 2015). Nigerian trade networks exist today in the form of transnational gangs (Ellis, 2016). Today's Nigerian networks are rooted in the colonial trans-Saharan and trans-Atlantic slave trade. The Nigerian pimping networks are rooted in historical cooperation between colonial marauders of Africa and native Africans who betrayed and captured fellow citizens and sold them to England, Portugal, and Spain. Nigerian slave traffickers recruit, kidnap, enslave, and sell human beings to colonial invaders who on occasion sold them to Swedish citizens (United States Trafficking in Persons Report, 2022, p. 420). The trans-Atlantic slave was facilitated by Swedish shipbuilders and by Sweden's own slave trade in Africa and the Caribbean (Harrison, 2007).

Among the destinations for sex trafficking from Nigeria are Italy (Becucci, 2022; Taliani, 2012), France (Cohen, 2022), the Netherlands (Becucci, 2022; Okojie, 2009), Middle Eastern countries, and Spain (Okojie, 2009; Rodríguez-López, 2022). These countries' geographic proximity to African coasts makes them convenient for traffickers. Nigeria is a transit country for women pimped from other African countries through Nigeria and on to European destinations (Nkwi, 2015; Okojie, 2009; Ugwukah, 2022). Women are transported to Sweden from North Africa via Italy, France, the Netherlands, and Spain.

Nigerian sex trafficking networks operate like other groups that traffic women into prostitution and pornography. They use a motherly woman who controls and emotionally manipulates victims. They use recruiters who persuade, manipulate and "love-bomb" their victims, and who lie to poor women and promise them legal jobs in Europe. Escorts or traffickers accompany the woman on the journey to ensure non-escape until she is broken in by a European-based pimp (Becucci, 2022; Cohen, 2022; Rodríguez-López, 2022). Pimps maximize mental control over their victims by use of culturally-based practices such as love-bombing via the flattery campaigns of sweet-talking Romeo pimps or via Nigerian ceremonies where women are bound to the trafficker and cursed if they break the alleged "consent" to be trafficked (Taliani, 2012; Cohen, 2022).

Women who may know that they are going to be turned out in the sex trade, have no idea just how bad it is really going to be. Even if the debt bondage is paid off to the trafficker, alternative means of living are hard to find. Many trafficking victims suffer

from exclusion, social stigma and trauma both in the new country and the same prejudices when they return home (Taliani, 2012). In order to avoid prostitution themselves, some women may serve their bosses as assistant pimps who recruit new women for prostitution (Becucci, 2022; Cohen, 2022).

In the 1990s, Eastern and Central European and Balkan organized crime groups expanded because of economic, political and governmental instability, unprotected borders, a porous financial system and regulatory and enforcement weakness during the post-communist period (Hignett, 2010; Holmes, 2009; Zhidkova, 2015). In some Eastern and Central European countries, those with influence from the communist era translated their wealth and political power into status in the world of crime (Ivanova, 2012).

Criminal networks from Eastern and Central European were involved in pornography and prostitution, drug sales, smuggling, counterfeiting, and extortion (Zhidkova, 2015). By 2010, most of the prostituted or pornographized victims of organized crime groups in western Europe were from the Balkan countries and the former Soviet Union (primarily Romania, Bulgaria, Ukraine, the Russian Federation and Moldova) but also the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Poland (Hignett, 2010; United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2011).

Latin American organized crime groups have flourished in an environment of corruption, weak enforcement mechanisms, governmental and economic instability, and porous financial systems (Zaitch & Antonopoulos, 2019). The criminal organizations of Latin America tended to specialize in sex and drug trafficking, counterfeiting, smuggling (Kosmynka, 2020) and weapons sold to terrorist organizations (Gonzalez, 2017; Ishiyama, 2022). Latin American pimps have close ties with pimping organizations from the Balkans, Central and Eastern Europe and Asia (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2011). Often, the middlemen in these organized crime businesses are Asian and Eastern Europeans who live in South America (Kosmynka, 2020; United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2011).

South American pimping organizations operate with flexibility. In Colombia, for example, crime groups recruit women in extreme poverty and they rely on victims' families to help them coerce impossible choices between prostitution at home or drug dealing in other countries (Castillo-Algarra & Ruiz-García, 2022; Correa-Cabrera & Schaefer, 2022). In this 'poverty prostitution," economic precarity and undocumented legal status increase her vulnerability (Correa-Cabrera & Schaefer, 2022).

In the triple border regions of Paraguay, Brazil and Argentina, organized crime groups kidnap women and children for sexual use in Europe, USA, Canada, and Israel (Kosmynka, 2020).

Like other multinational corporations, organized crime groups are flexible and shift their activities based on their reading of local and international trends. Many criminal organizations are involved not only in prostitution but other crimes as well. Nigerian organized crime groups Black Axe and Supreme Eiye are engaged in forgery of documents,

drug trafficking, extortion, forgery of credit cards and checks, robbery, political bribery and terrorism, in addition to trafficking (Cohen, 2022, Nkwi, 2015).

Criminal organizations from Eastern and Central Europe at first specialized in sex trafficking, drugs, extortion and smuggling but later developed an expertise in economic and banking crimes (Hignett, 2010). Crime groups in South America began as drug trafficking networks but later expanded to gambling, prostitution, smuggling, extortion, and terrorism (Abello-Colak & Guarneros-Meza, 2014; Gonzalez, 2017).

The flexibility of organized crime activities can be seen in Norway. Because of the global banking crisis which began in the United States, by 2010, Norway had become a focus of Nigerian organised crime. The Norwegian economy remained relatively stable, unlike other European countries (Mendes et al., 2022, Haland & Sto, 2013; Okojie, 2009). Eastern European and Nigerian traffickers moved into Norway (Rasmussen et al., 2014; Solbakk, 2013).

Following the country's ban on sex purchase, Norway became less welcoming for pimps and traffickers (Rasmussen et al., 2014). But the crime groups did not disappear, for example sex trade criminals from Eastern and Central Europe became stronger than previously (Norway Police, 2017, p. 22).

Eastern European organized criminals in Israel also engage in shifting criminal activities. Israel became a destination of former Soviet Union countries that had historically migrated to Israel. Traffickers promised to provide jobs such as waitressing and caregiving but stole victims' passports, and imprisoned women in the local brothels. Israel adopted Global Anti-Trafficking Norms which strengthened law enforcement (Hacker, 2015). Public education campaigns helped to change the narrative from "importing prostitutes" to "sex trafficking" (Gad-Harnes, 2013. Opposition to sex trafficking in Israel resulted in the passage of a Nordic model law (Almog, 2016; Langford & Skilbrei, 2022). Nonetheless, as in Sweden today, new organized crime groups evolve, some of which are Eastern European (Morag, 2023). In 2023, women were trafficked from Russia, Belarus and Ukraine, countries impacted by war, economic crises and dictatorial regimes (Ifergan, 2023; Tzuri, 2023).

The operational patterns of multinational organized crime groups who traffic women for pornography production and other sex trade activity - suggest that even if legislation and law enforcement contribute to a decrease in sex trafficking - criminal organizations that have developed in a particular region do not disappear completely. Any regulatory, economic or political instability can be an opportunity for a resurgence of organized crime groups.