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**Coordonné par Hilary Sanders**

**Féminisme, Patriarcat et Pornographie au XXI<sup>e</sup> siècle :**

**La production de pornographie alternative sur la Baie de San  
Francisco**

**Mémoire de 2<sup>e</sup> année de Master présenté par :**

Estelle Barbié

**Sous la direction de :**

Anne Stefani

Cristelle Maury

Laboratoire Centre for Anglophone Studies (CAS)



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Dans les années 1980, aux États-Unis, les débats autour de la pornographie ont profondément divisé les mouvements féministes, opposant les partisans du pro-sexe aux abolitionnistes. Au même moment, la société étatsunienne s'imprégnait davantage de sexualité, et la pornographie devenait de plus en plus présente dans la culture populaire. Dans ce contexte, les mouvements queer et féministes ont émergé en tant que voix dissidentes, défiant les normes établies et proposant un discours critique sur la pornographie dominante.

Aux États-Unis, un pays marqué par une multitude de mouvements sociaux et de revendications, les fractures autour des questions sociétales sont profondes et persistantes. Les thématiques de genre et de sexualité ne font pas exception à cette dynamique. Ces dernières années, des débats animés ont éclaté concernant le corps des femmes, notamment sur des sujets comme l'avortement et l'identité de genre, avec l'apparition de lois touchant à la transidentité et au Drag. Dans ce contexte, les minorités affectées par ces restrictions ont adopté diverses stratégies pour faire valoir leurs droits. Cependant, au sein même des mouvements, les approches peuvent diverger, voire être sources de division. La question de la pornographie au sein du féminisme en est un exemple frappant, parfois perçue comme un symbole du patriarcat, parfois comme un moyen d'affirmation et de lutte pour une sexualité libérée des normes patriarcales.

Dans ce mémoire, le terme « pornographie alternative » sera utilisé pour englober la pornographie queer, féministe et BDSM<sup>1</sup>. Ce mouvement est né en réaction à la pornographie *mainstream* et prône une culture participative ainsi qu'une identité communautaire. Bien que le terme « post-pornographie » soit également pertinent, il sera utilisé davantage comme un concept théorique visant à faire émerger la dimension politique de la sexualité, plutôt que comme un genre pornographique. Étant donné la diversité des pensées au sein de ces mouvements, le terme « pornographie alternative » est préféré pour éviter toute confusion, englobant ainsi tous les genres pornographiques qui ne sont pas hétéronormatifs.

Cette recherche se focalise sur la création de films pornographiques alternatifs et leurs revendications, en se restreignant à la Baie de San Francisco, région historiquement connue

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<sup>1</sup> Le BDSM (Bondage, Discipline, Domination, Soumission, Sadisme, Masochisme) est décrit par Manon Garcia, comme un ensemble d'activités volontaires à connotations sexuelles entre adultes consentants. Cette pratique englobe à la fois des éléments physiques tels que l'infliction de douleur (coups, ligotage) et des aspects psychologiques tels que la domination, la soumission et l'humiliation. Plus qu'une simple activité sexuelle, le BDSM est également considéré comme une identité sexuelle ou une forme d'identification à une sous-culture. Manon Garcia, *La Conversation des sexes: Philosophie du consentement*, Éditions Climats, 2021, p. 82.

pour ses nombreux mouvements sociaux et ses revendications diverses depuis plusieurs décennies. Dans ce contexte, ce mémoire a pour vocation de comprendre comment les pornographies alternatives se construisent-elles non pas en opposition à la pornographie *mainstream*, mais comme une proposition critique des normes sociales et des représentations sexuelles traditionnelles, et quels sont les enjeux socioculturels qui en découlent ?

Ainsi, les fondements de cette analyse consistent à comprendre les différents aspects des pornographies alternatives, tant du côté de la production à l'ère numérique que de leurs revendications. Pour réaliser cette recherche, j'ai mené des entretiens sociologiques auprès de 8 personnes. Carol Queen (She/her/elle), doctorante en sexologie, et ancienne performeuse, Annie Sprinkle (She/her/elle), pionnière du mouvement pro-sexe et post-pornographique, artiste et doctorante en sexologie, Madison Young (She/her/elle) artiste et metteuse en scène de pornographie féministe et ancienne travailleuse du sexe, Shine Louise Huston (She/her/elle) metteuse en scène et productrice de *Crashpad*, maison de production de pornographie queer, Chelsea Poe (She/her/elle) travailleuse du sexe et membre du collectif *East Bay Brats*, Ruby Riots ( They/them/iel ), travailleur.se du sexe et également membre du collectif *East Bay Brats*, Zuri Love (They/them/iel), travailleur.se du sexe sur Onlyfans et Tritan Crane (They/them/iel) cameraman pour *Crashpad*. Pour comprendre et appuyer le discours des personnes interrogées 7 films ont également été analysés : *Fragments My Body My Choice* de Madison Young en collaboration avec Erika Lust (2022), *Someone Like You* également de Madison Young et Erika Lust (2021), ainsi que l'épisode 238 de la série *Crash Pad* dirigé par Shine Louise Houston (2017). D'autres films tels que *Every Woman Has Different Orgasm Needs* d'Annie Sprinkle et Joseph Cramer (2002), *Fucking Mystic* de Chelsea Poe (2014), *Gush : The official guide to G spot and female ejaculation* (2010), *Fluid : Women exploring sexuality on film* produit par Good Realising ( le studio de Good Vibrations, 2009) et *East Bay Brats, Volume 1* produit par East Bay Brats Collectives ( collectif tenu par Chelsea, Ruby et Courtney Trouble, 2019).

Dans l'objectif de fournir une analyse complète sur les questions de production et de revendications derrière les pornographies alternatives, cette étude sera divisée en trois parties distinctes :

Premièrement, une contextualisation du sujet sera effectuée, avec un examen du contexte socio-historique de l'émergence de la pornographie alternative, en mettant en lumière les *Sex*

*Wars* et l'émergence de la théorie queer. Une méthodologie de la recherche sociologique de terrain sera également présentée.

Deuxièmement, une analyse du contexte numérique dans lequel évolue la pornographie alternative sera réalisée, en mettant l'accent sur les définitions de la cyberculture et la resignification politique. Nous examinerons également comment l'évolution du numérique a transformé le travail sexuel, en particulier le travail sexuel en ligne, à travers l'émergence de législations et de plateformes numériques.

Enfin, une analyse des films et des discours des personnes directement concernées sera menée pour dégager les différents axes de réflexion et de revendications.



## **I. L'émergence des pornographies alternatives : Une mise en perspective théorique et socio-historique**

### **1) Des *sexwars* à la théorie queer : La création d'un contexte favorable à la naissance de la pornographie alternative**

La relation entre la pornographie et le féminisme n'a pas toujours été évidente, générant de longues discussions voire des conflits au sein du mouvement féministe et de la société étasunienne dans son ensemble. Au-delà de la pornographie, cela reflète de nombreuses remises en question concernant la place de la sexualité dans nos sociétés. Cette thématique a suscité de nombreux débats non seulement au sein des mouvements féministes, mais aussi au sein du mouvement LGBTQIA+<sup>2</sup>. Pour mieux comprendre l'émergence des pornographies queer et féministes, il est crucial d'examiner les contributions théoriques qui ont permis leur apparition. En effet, la sexualité était au cœur des débats théoriques aux États-Unis dans les années 1970, en commençant par les théories des féministes radicales. Le féminisme radical s'est développé au cours de cette décennie, mettant en avant l'idée que l'hétérosexualité n'était pas simplement une orientation sexuelle, mais une institution et une idéologie conçues pour maintenir la suprématie masculine<sup>3</sup>. Ann Koedt, une théoricienne radicale, fut la première à définir l'hétérosexualité comme une pratique institutionnalisée basée sur une sexualité normative, principalement axée sur le plaisir masculin. Elle souligna l'importance de remettre en question cette institution pour permettre un accès égalitaire au plaisir pour tous les sexes<sup>4</sup>. Le féminisme radical établit un lien direct entre la sexualité et l'oppression des femmes, soutenant que l'institution hétérosexuelle contrôle les femmes à travers le mariage, la famille patriarcale et le contrôle de la reproduction. Monique Wittig reprend ce postulat dans son ouvrage *La Pensée Straight*, en présentant l'hétérosexualité comme un régime politique créant les catégories « femme » et « homme »<sup>5</sup>. Par conséquent, le lesbianisme devient une

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<sup>2</sup> L'acronyme LGBTQIA+ désigne le mouvement social pour les droits des personnes lesbiennes, gaies, bisexuel.les, trans queer, intersexe et asexuelle, le + représente tous les membres de cette communautés comme les drags etc. Dans le cadre de ce mémoire, j'utiliserais cet acronyme raccourci en référence à ce mouvement social.

<sup>3</sup> Ann Ruso, « Conflicts and Contradictions Among Feminists Over Issues of Pornography and Sexual Freedom », *Women's Studies International Forum*, 1987, p. 104.

<sup>4</sup> Ellen Willis, « Radical Feminism and Feminism Radicalism », in Ellen Willis, *No More Nice Girl: Countercultural Essays*, Wesleyan University Press, 1992, p. 131.

<sup>5</sup> Monique Wittig, *La pensée straight*, Editions Amsterdam, (2001) 2018, p. 20.

position stratégique pour démanteler le système hétérosexuel<sup>6</sup>. L'imbrication de la sexualité et de la domination masculine est un élément central des théories féministes radicales. Cependant, l'ascension fulgurante du féminisme radical fut rapidement freinée par l'avènement du féminisme culturel<sup>7</sup>. Ce courant de pensée avance l'idée d'une explication biologique du genre, bien qu'Andrea Dworkin, une figure majeure de ce mouvement, critique le déterminisme biologique. Les féministes culturelles, s'opposant à la pornographie, sont souvent accusées d'essentialisme<sup>8</sup>, exprimant une vision figée des différences entre les sexes. Les hommes y sont perçus comme naturellement agressifs et violents<sup>9</sup>. Néanmoins, les féministes culturelles développent une analyse behavioriste des fantasmes, les considérant comme le reflet de la réalité, d'où leur opposition à la pornographie, perçue comme un miroir de la violence que subissent les femmes dans la vie réelle<sup>10</sup>. Le point de divergence le plus manifeste entre le féminisme radical et le féminisme culturel réside dans leur conception de l'amour. Alors que les féministes radicales critiquent l'amour romantique comme une forme de domination, les féministes culturelles le valorisent. Le féminisme culturel repose sur l'idée que la sexualité et la violence sont inextricablement liées et trouvent leur expression à travers la pornographie<sup>11</sup>. Cependant, il est critiqué pour son essentialisme par des féministes telles qu'Alice Echols, qui dénonce notamment la croyance en une essence psychique féminine et masculine basée sur la biologie<sup>12</sup>.

La sexualité occupait ainsi une place centrale au sein des discussions féministes, en raison du contexte théorique favorable. De plus, les changements sociaux aux États-Unis ont contribué à créer un environnement propice à l'émergence de ces questionnements. En effet, la révolution sexuelle des années 1970 a servi de point de départ pour remettre en question des notions telles que l'hétérosexualité, la monogamie et le mariage. La libération sexuelle a progressivement gagné du terrain dans la société américaine, débutant dans les années 1920 pour atteindre son apogée dans les années 1970, marquant profondément la société<sup>13</sup>. Elle a émergé dans un contexte de protestations et de mouvements sociaux singuliers qui ont

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<sup>6</sup> Monique Wittig, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

<sup>7</sup> Ellen Willis, « Radical Feminism and Feminist Radicalism », in Ellen Willis, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

<sup>8</sup> Alice Echols, « The Taming of the Id : Feminist Sexual Politics 1968-83 », in Carol S. Vance (dir.), *Pleasure and Danger: Exploring Female Sexuality*, Pandora Press, (1984) 1989, p. 52.

<sup>9</sup> Carolyn Bronstein, *Battling Pornography: The American Feminist Anti-Pornography Movement, 1976-1986*, Cambridge University Press, 2011, p. 60.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 58.

<sup>11</sup> Carolyn Bronstein, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

<sup>12</sup> Pauline B. Bart, « Reviewed Work(s): Powers of Desire: The Politics of Sexuality. by Ann Snitow, Christine Stansell and Sharon Thompson: Pleasure and Danger: Exploring Female Sexuality. by Carole Vance », *Contemporary Sociology*, 1986, p. 833.

<sup>13</sup> Carolyn Bronstein, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

marqué l'histoire des États-Unis, s'inscrivant dans la continuité du mouvement des droits civiques, de la contre-culture et du mouvement pacifiste opposé à la guerre du Vietnam. Cette époque était caractérisée par l'idéologie de l'amour libre, principalement portée par la gauche politique et la contre-culture des années 1970 aux États-Unis<sup>14</sup>. Les travaux féministes sur la sexualité se sont construits autour de l'idée que le sexe est une construction sociale étroitement liée à l'économie, au social et aux structures politiques<sup>15</sup>. Dans de nombreuses sociétés occidentales, le sexe a été essentialisé, c'est-à-dire perçu comme une force naturelle existant en dehors de la vie sociale et des institutions, une conception largement influencée par la pensée freudienne. L'essentialisme sexuel considère la sexualité comme immuable au fil du temps, asociale et transhistorique<sup>16</sup>. Par la suite, la sexualisation de la société s'est manifestée en premier lieu dans les médias (publicités, séries, films, musique, etc.) qui n'ont pas hésité à utiliser des images à caractère sexuellement explicite pour promouvoir leurs produits. Les femmes, dans le domaine de la publicité, ont été objectifiées et déshumanisées sous le regard masculin, un phénomène qui se nomme le « male gaze »<sup>17</sup>. Ce concept, théorisé par Laura Mulvey en 1975, met en évidence la position du spectateur masculinisé en insistant sur la fétichisation du corps féminin. Ce dispositif cinématographique crée une nette séparation entre l'objet de plaisir et l'objet d'identification<sup>18</sup>, une technique largement utilisée dans la pornographie mainstream hétérosexuelle.

Laura Mulvey s'appuie sur le cinéma hollywoodien car il est genré mais porte aussi sur des rôles genrés. Elle désigne les deux porteurs du *male gaze* : dans le scénario, l'acteur et dans la salle de cinéma, le spectateur. Le spectateur ressent à la fois une pulsion scopique, qui est le plaisir visuel ressenti face aux images des femmes présentées par le prisme du héros masculin, et une libido du moi, un plaisir narcissique créé par l'identification au héros. Le *male gaze* est déterminé par des choix formels. Les gros plans morcellant le corps stylisé des femmes s'accompagnent ainsi d'un système de champs/contre-champs qui place la femme en objet du regard — pour que l'identification avec le héros soit possible, la caméra se doit d'être subjective. La femme est le spectacle alors que l'homme est le récit. La femme arrête l'action tandis que l'homme la fait avancer<sup>19</sup>.

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<sup>14</sup> Ellen Willis, « Lust Horizons: Is the Women's Movement Pro-sex ? » in Ellen Willis, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

<sup>15</sup> Carol S. Vance, « Pleasure and Danger: Toward a politics of sexuality », in Carol S. Vance (dir.), *op. cit.*, p. 7.

<sup>16</sup> Gayle Rubin, « Thinking Sex: Notes for a radical theory of the politics of sexuality », in Carole S. Vance (dir.), *op. cit.*, p. 275.

<sup>17</sup> Carolyn Bronstein, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

<sup>18</sup> Florian Vörös, « Le porno à bras-le-corps, genèse et épistémologie des *porn studies* » in Florian Vörös (dir.), *Cultures Pornographiques: Une Anthologie Des Porn Studies*, Amsterdam, 2015, p. 9.

<sup>19</sup> Les Jaseuses, « Laura Mulvey, Plaisir visuel et cinéma narratif (1975) », *Hypothèses*, (2019) 2020.

À cette époque, de plus en plus de femmes ont commencé à exprimer leur mécontentement face à la diffusion d'images violentes ou dégradantes envers les femmes dans les médias, ce qui a conduit aux premières manifestations contre des acteurs médiatiques tels que *Warner* et le magazine *Hustler*. Carolyn Bronstein, une autrice spécialisée dans l'étude des médias, a évoqué ce phénomène comme un « sexual backlash ». Elle a avancé l'hypothèse que l'augmentation des images violentes envers les femmes n'était rien d'autre qu'une réponse masculine au mouvement de libération des femmes qui avait pris de l'ampleur aux États-Unis un peu plus tôt. Initialement, l'objet de la colère des féministes n'était pas principalement la pornographie, mais plutôt les médias issus de la culture populaire. Cependant, dans ce contexte, de plus en plus de féministes ont commencé à s'intéresser aux problématiques liées à la pornographie. Le collectif *Women Against Pornography*, fondé en 1979, s'est donné pour mission de mettre en lumière les violences subies par les femmes. Pour ses fondatrices Linda Borman, Andrea Dworkin, Susan Griffin et Catherine Mackinnon, la violence et la sexualité étaient intrinsèquement liées par un processus historique et social enraciné depuis des siècles dans la culture étasunienne. Selon elles, la sexualité hétérosexuelle et le plaisir masculin étaient inévitablement liés à la victimisation d'autrui, à la violence et à l'exploitation, et s'exprimaient à travers la pornographie. Ce courant de pensée, qui prônait l'abolition de la pornographie, était majoritaire dans le féminisme des années 1970 et 1980. Cependant, un autre mouvement s'est formé en opposition à cette pensée. Le féminisme pro-sexe, porté par une coalition politique composée de travailleur·ses du sexe, de personnes séropositives, de pratiquant·es BDSM, de personnes transgenres, transexuelles, bisexuelles, lesbiennes et gays, a émergé en réaction à la répression sexuelle aux États-Unis dans les années 80. Iels se sont engagés davantage dans les débats en apportant leurs propres points de vue sur la question de la pornographie. Cette contre-initiative a été initiée en 1984 par des figures telles que Lisa Duggan, Nan Hunter, Sylvia Law et Carol Vance, qui ont lancé le mouvement *Feminist Anti-Censorship Task Force* (FACT), regroupant des féministes lesbiennes et d'autres figures notables comme Betty Friedan, Kate Millet et Barbara Smith. L'émergence de cette mobilisation politique autour des féministes pro-sexe ou sex-positives, prônant une attitude positive envers toutes les pratiques sexuelles consensuelles, s'est construite en opposition au féminisme anti-pornographie que l'auteur Florian Vörös qualifie de prohibitionniste et anti-sexe.

L'opposition au sein du mouvement féministe est devenue si intense qu'elle a été baptisée *The Feminist Sexwars*. Ces conflits ont engendré de nombreuses tensions concernant les questions

liées à la sexualité au sein du mouvement féministe et lesbien, des années 1970 jusqu'aux années 1980. Divers sujets ont été abordés, tels que la pornographie, le travail du sexe et le BDSM<sup>20</sup>. L'émergence du mouvement pro-sexe s'est produite dans ce contexte de profonde remise en question du mouvement féministe. Contrairement au mouvement anti-pornographie, qui considérait la sexualité principalement en termes de violence masculine et de brutalité, le mouvement pro-sexe met davantage l'accent sur la répression du désir féminin et les tabous entourant la sexualité. Pour ces militant.es, la liberté sexuelle est avant tout un objectif féministe. Ainsi, le mouvement pro-sexe perçoit la pornographie comme un outil de contestation des tabous sociaux entourant le plaisir sexuel. De plus, il estime que la pornographie peut ouvrir des voies d'exploration du désir, des fantasmes et des sexualités diverses<sup>21</sup>. Cette position concernant la pornographie est souvent mal interprétée comme une approbation de tout contenu sexuellement explicite. Cependant, comme l'a souligné la chercheuse Ann Russo, cela ne signifie pas que le sexisme et la domination masculine au sein de l'industrie pornographique soient niés<sup>22</sup>. Selon les féministes pro-sexe, plutôt que de plaider pour l'abolition de la pornographie en raison de la présence de sexisme en son sein, les féministes devraient voir la pornographie comme une opportunité d'amélioration et un outil d'exploration au service du féminisme<sup>23</sup>. C'est également la thèse défendue par Gayle Rubin dans son ouvrage intitulé *Surveiller et Jouir*, où elle envisage la pornographie comme un espace à investir et à politiser pour en faire un outil de lutte féministe.

Il est évident que le porno n'est pas toujours plaisant, toujours bien réalisé, pas toujours édifiant au plan artistique, et pas toujours politiquement très avancé. Il y a tout l'espace que l'on voudra pour améliorer le porno et pour créer des pornos bien faits, créatifs, plus diversifiés et plus en accord avec les fantasmes des femmes, et plus nourri de conscience féministe. Cela n'arrivera que si plus de femmes et plus de féministes s'engagent dans la production de produits représentant une sexualité explicite. Le combat féministe sur le porno devrait viser à faciliter cet engagement, pas à le rendre plus difficile<sup>24</sup>.

Les *Feminist Sexwars* ou les *Pornwars*, lorsque l'accent est davantage mis sur la pornographie, constituent un point de départ intéressant pour comprendre l'évolution du

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<sup>20</sup> Bruno Laprade, « Des feminist sex wars au matérialisme performatif: relecture de la pornographie et du BDSM » in Line Chamberland, Carole Désy, Line Saint-Martin, *Féminismes et lutte contre l'homophobie : de l'apprentissage à la subversion des codes*, Cahier de l'IREF, 2016.

<sup>21</sup> Ann Russo, « Conflicts and Contradictions among Feminists over Issues of Pornography and Sexual Freedom », *Women's Studies International Forum*, 1987, p. 106.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>23</sup> Bette Gordon, « Variety: The Pleasure in Looking », in Carol S; Vance (dir.), *op. cit.*

<sup>24</sup> Gayle Rubin, « Les catacombes : temple du trou du cul », in Gayle Rubin et Rostom Mesli, *Surveiller et Jouir: Anthropologie politique du sexe*, Paris: Epel, 2010, p. 310-311.

féminisme à la fin des années 1980. En effet, bien que les débats autour de la sexualité aient profondément polarisé le mouvement féministe, cela a néanmoins contribué à politiser le genre et la sexualité, les intégrant ainsi dans un système de pouvoir qui régit la société<sup>25</sup>. Cornelia Moser, philosophe et chercheuse au CNRS, pousse même l'analyse de cette période plus loin en affirmant que les *Sexwars* marquent un changement de paradigme au sein du mouvement féministe. En effet, le mouvement féministe anti-pornographie analyse la sexualité en termes d'oppressions et de dominations, en utilisant une approche matérialiste basée sur la notion de classe dominante et dominée, avec la classe des hommes et celle des femmes. En revanche, le mouvement pro-sexe aborde la sexualité en examinant les multiples rapports de pouvoir qui prennent en compte l'oppression de genre, tout en luttant également contre les normes sexuelles qui contribuent aux inégalités<sup>26</sup>.

La prise en compte de ces multiples formes d'oppression a conduit à l'émergence d'un nouveau courant de pensée à la fin des années 1980, connu sous le nom de féminisme queer. Bien que ce terme n'ait pas encore été utilisé à l'époque, des intellectuelles telles que Judith Butler, Teresa De Lauretis et Gayle Rubin, qui sont devenues des figures importantes de ce qui allait être ultérieurement désigné comme la théorie queer, ont remis en question la notion de « groupe femme » en tant que sujet central du féminisme. Elles ont exprimé le désir de s'affranchir des catégories essentialistes, blanches, et hétérosexuelles de la classe moyenne qui avaient traditionnellement dominé le mouvement féministe. À cette époque, des « féminismes dissidents » ont commencé à émerger, prenant en compte les différences culturelles, sexuelles et politiques<sup>27</sup>. Virginie Despentes parle d'un « réveil critique du prolétariat féministe », mettant l'accent sur les travailleur·ses du sexe, les lesbiennes et les personnes transgenres, et décentrant ainsi la notion de « sujet femme »<sup>28</sup>. Cette approche remet en question le « nous » féministe en le considérant comme homogénéisant et en mettant en lumière l'invisibilité d'autres sources d'exclusion, telles que la race et la classe. Les fondements de cette idée ont commencé à émerger pendant les *Sexwars* grâce aux écrits de Gayle Rubin et Eve Kosovsky Segwick, qui ont développé une pensée non hétéronormative en s'appuyant sur les travaux de penseurs et penseuse français.es tels que Foucault, Wittig, Derrida, Lacan et Deleuze<sup>29</sup>. Cette pensée théorique a également trouvé des expressions

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<sup>25</sup> Gayle Rubin, « Thinking Sex: Notes for a radical theory of the politics of sexuality », in Carole S. Vance (dir.), *op. cit.*

<sup>26</sup> Cornelia Möser, « Minorités, Discriminations et Reconnaissance : Les Stratégies des Politiques Sexuelles en Débat », *l'Homme et la Société*, 2018, p. 54.

<sup>27</sup> Paul B Preciado, *Testo Junkie: Sexe, Drogue et Biopolitique*, Points, (2008) 2021, p. 304.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 305.

<sup>29</sup> Sam Bourcier, *Queer Zones : Politique des identités sexuelles et des savoirs*, éditions Amsterdam, (2001) 2011, p. 137-138.

concrètes dans le contexte militant de l'époque, notamment à travers l'apparition de collectifs féministes adoptant cette démarche. C'est le cas de SAMOIS, une organisation de lesbiennes pratiquant le BDSM à San Francisco, fondée en 1978 par Gayle Rubin et Patrick Califat. Pour iels<sup>30</sup>, la réappropriation du BDSM en dehors des normes et des discours dominants visait à renverser le stigmate qui pesait sur cette pratique. Iels l'ont pratiqué au sein de relations entre femmes pour explorer les rapports de pouvoir<sup>31</sup>. SAMOIS a été le premier collectif à aborder ouvertement le BDSM dans le cadre de la sexualité lesbienne, et en 1981, iels ont rédigé le premier ouvrage sur le sujet, *Coming to Power*. Ce livre est devenu emblématique au sein de la communauté BDSM de San Francisco et est aujourd'hui exposé au musée GLBT Historical Society Museum de la ville<sup>32</sup>. SAMOIS s'inscrit ainsi dans ce qu'on pourrait définir comme un mouvement féministe sexopolitique, où le corps et le plaisir des femmes deviennent des lieux de résistance contre la normalisation de la sexualité<sup>33</sup>.

L'émergence du mouvement queer est en effet intrinsèquement liée à une conjoncture sociale particulière, marquée notamment par la crise du SIDA et une attention croissante portée à ces questions au sein des milieux universitaires, en particulier grâce aux travaux de Judith Butler. Toutefois, réduire la genèse du mouvement queer à ces deux éléments serait une simplification excessive. En réalité, Shane Phelan, chercheur en science politique, a identifié plusieurs facteurs qui ont contribué à favoriser l'émergence de ce mouvement. Tout d'abord, la lassitude résultant des *Sexwars* a incité les lesbiennes à explorer de nouvelles formes d'organisation et de mobilisation. Les conflits et les tensions internes au sein du mouvement féministe sur les questions sexuelles ont conduit de nombreuses femmes à rechercher des alternatives pour défendre leurs droits et leurs revendications. De plus, l'émergence des demandes d'inclusion et de reconnaissance accrues de la part de la communauté bisexuelle a également joué un rôle essentiel dans la formation du mouvement queer. Les personnes bisexuelles ont cherché à faire valoir leurs voix et à lutter contre l'invisibilité et la stigmatisation auxquelles elles étaient confrontées au sein des mouvements LGBTQIA+. Le rapprochement circonstanciel entre les gais et les lesbiennes autour de la crise du SIDA a également constitué un facteur significatif dans le développement du mouvement queer<sup>34</sup>. La pandémie a mis en évidence les enjeux liés à la sexualité et à la santé, ce qui a encouragé les

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<sup>30</sup> Iels est ici utilisé et non elles car Patrick Califat, un des fondateurs du collectif SAMOIS a effectué par la suite une transition de genre.

<sup>31</sup> Nastassja Imiolek, *Enjeux et Tensions entre Pornographie Critique et Cyberactivisme Féminisme: Le cas d'étude des deux sites web de pornographie queer étasuniens*, mémoire de master 2 en Etudes sur le genre, Université d'Angers, 2020, p. 56.

<sup>32</sup> Voir Annexe n°1.

<sup>33</sup> Paul B Preciado, *op. cit.*, p. 308.

<sup>34</sup> Bruno Laprade, « Des feminist sex wars au matérialisme performatif: relecture de la pornographie et du BDSM » in Line Chamberland, Carole Désy, Line Saint-Martin, *art. cit.*, p. 97.

communautés LGBTQIA+ à se rassembler pour faire face à cette menace commune. Par ailleurs, l'émergence du post-structuralisme à l'université a eu un impact majeur. Cette approche théorique a remis en question les conceptions traditionnelles du sexe, du genre et de la sexualité, ouvrant la voie à de nouvelles réflexions et à de nouvelles perspectives sur ces questions. En résumé, l'émergence du mouvement queer est le résultat d'une combinaison complexe de facteurs sociaux, politiques et intellectuels. Il ne peut être réduit à un seul élément, mais plutôt compris comme une réponse aux défis et aux opportunités spécifiques de son époque.

L'expression *queer theory* a été utilisée pour la première fois en 1991 par Teresa De Lauretis<sup>35</sup>. Elle a choisi d'employer le terme *queer* dans le but de critiquer les termes « gay » et « lesbienne », qu'elle considérait comme des identités trop hégémoniques et monolithiques<sup>36</sup>. L'objectif de cette théorie était de mettre en évidence les interactions entre les identités et les oppressions. En d'autres termes, l'idée était que l'on n'est jamais simplement gay ou lesbienne, car on peut simultanément subir des oppressions liées à la race, à la classe sociale, et d'autres facteurs. Le terme *queer* est ainsi utilisé pour désigner tout ce qui ne correspondait pas à la norme hétérosexuelle. Cette approche permet notamment de prendre ses distances par rapport aux approches genrées et la perspective centrée sur les femmes présentes dans la pensée féministe traditionnelle. Il est important de noter que le mouvement politico-sexuel féministe aux États-Unis avait tendance à mettre davantage l'accent sur les questions de consentement et de viol, reléguant ainsi les thématiques des sexualités non hétérosexuelles au second plan<sup>37</sup>. La *queer theory* a émergé en réaction à cette focalisation limitée et a contribué à élargir le champ de la réflexion féministe en intégrant une perspective plus large sur les identités sexuelles et de genre, ainsi que sur les multiples formes d'oppression qui les traversent.

La théorie queer a des racines profondes dans les écrits de Michel Foucault. Teresa De Lauretis pour construire son ouvrage sur la théorie queer s'est fortement inspirée des concepts Foucaultiens sur le pouvoir, la sexualité et les normes sociales. Foucault a avancé l'idée que nos pratiques sexuelles et nos expressions de genre sont façonnées par des processus de discipline du corps, qui incluent des institutions médicales, des écoles, des

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<sup>35</sup> Teresa De Lauretis, *Queer Theory : Lesbian and Gay Sexualities*, Indiana University Press, 1991.

<sup>36</sup> Sam Bourcier, *Queer Zones: Politique des identités sexuelles et des savoirs*, éditions Amsterdam, (2001) 2011, p. 151.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 163.



discours pornographiques, et d'autres formes de régulation sociale<sup>38</sup>. La pensée foucauldienne a une application directe dans l'analyse de la pornographie, car elle permet de comprendre comment la pornographie contribue à la construction des savoirs et du pouvoir en matière de sexualité. Ainsi, la pornographie est considérée comme un discours aussi significatif que la médecine et la psychiatrie dans les régimes disciplinaires de la sexualité<sup>39</sup>. Judith Butler est une autre figure majeure du mouvement queer, et son ouvrage *Gender Trouble* a eu un impact significatif sur la manière dont nous comprenons le genre. Butler conceptualise le genre comme une performance, ce qui signifie que le genre n'est pas une caractéristique intrinsèque, mais plutôt quelque chose que nous faisons et que nous interprétons<sup>40</sup>. Elle utilise l'exemple des Drag Queens<sup>41</sup> pour illustrer son argument, soutenant que le genre est essentiellement une fiction et une performance. Sa critique du système hétérosexuel s'inscrit dans la continuité des critiques féministes du genre. Butler s'appuie sur les travaux de Foucault concernant l'analyse de la discipline et sur les travaux de Derrida concernant la déconstruction. Le poststructuralisme et la théorie de la déconstruction de Derrida et Barthes jouent un rôle fondamental pour comprendre comment les discours, qu'il s'agisse de films, de séries et la pornographie construisent les normes de féminité et de masculinité. Ces approches critiquent les catégories binaires du genre et mettent en évidence la manière dont les discours et les pratiques sociales contribuent à maintenir ces normes de genre et de sexualité.

## **2) Qu'est-ce que la pornographie ? Définition historique et panorama de l'industrie pornographique queer et féministe**

La pornographie est une notion ancienne qui a traversé les siècles, évoluant constamment et devenant parfois difficile à cerner. À l'origine, elle désignait une forme de savoir scientifique, venant du grec *Graphé Porné*, signifiant « traité sur la santé des prostituées »<sup>42</sup>. Le pornographe était initialement un médecin hygiéniste<sup>43</sup>. Avant le XIXe siècle, son sens diffère de celui d'aujourd'hui. La pornographie écrite servait de médium où l'aristocratie et la bourgeoisie pouvaient débattre de politique, de sexualité et de genre<sup>44</sup>. Elle était une critique

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<sup>38</sup> Michel Foucault, *Histoire de la sexualité I : La volonté de savoir*, Gallimard, (1976) 2021.

<sup>39</sup> Sam Bourcier, *Queer Zones : Politique des identités sexuelles et des savoirs*, éditions Amsterdam, (2001) 2011, p. 36.

<sup>40</sup> Judith Butler, *Trouble Dans Le Genre*. La Découverte, (1990) 2019.

<sup>41</sup> Personne masculine qui interprète un personnage féminin avec des traits volontairement exagérés. Cette construction d'une identité féminine s'effectue de manière temporaire.

<sup>42</sup> Walter Kendrick, « Quelques mots sur le livre » in Florian Vörös (dir.), *op. cit.*, p. 6.

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

<sup>44</sup> Lisa Sigel, « Quand l'obscénité tombe entre de mauvaises mains. Cartes postales et expansion de la pornographie en Grande-Bretagne et dans le monde atlantique, 1880-1914 » in Florian Vörös (dir.), *op. cit.*, p. 197.

sociale adressée à l'autorité politique ou religieuse, contournant les restrictions sociales<sup>45</sup>. Après le XIXe siècle, l'avènement des productions visuelles a démocratisé le contenu sexuellement explicite en l'ouvrant à d'autres publics, comme les classes populaires, les femmes et les personnes non blanches, se rapprochant ainsi de la pornographie telle que nous la connaissons aujourd'hui. Linda Williams, spécialiste des études pornographiques, propose une définition plus contemporaine en décrivant la pornographie comme un dispositif visuel masturbatoire dont l'objectif principal est la masturbation. Elle se caractérise par sa capacité à stimuler les mécanismes corporels du plaisir, indépendamment de la volonté du spectateur<sup>46</sup>. Cependant, des débats subsistent autour de la définition même du terme. Au-delà de la production cinématographique, Gayle Rubin suggère de considérer comme pornographique toutes les « variétés de textes et d'œuvres d'art à caractère sexuellement explicite », englobant ainsi les productions textuelles, auditives<sup>47</sup>.

Dans le cadre de cette étude, nous nous focaliserons exclusivement sur les productions cinématographiques pornographiques, étant donné la vaste diversité de ce domaine qui rend impossible d'en couvrir tous les aspects dans le cadre limité d'un mémoire. La notion de pornographie est donc difficile à définir, car elle varie en fonction des normes sociales, culturelles et historiques de l'époque<sup>48</sup>. La distinction entre érotisme et pornographie en est un bon exemple, étant souvent sujette à des débats. Les chercheur.ses en études pornographiques, tels que Linda Williams et Florian Vörös, s'accordent sur le fait que ces deux notions sont influencées par une hiérarchie culturelle<sup>49</sup>. La pornographie est souvent perçue comme culturellement inférieure, tandis que l'érotisme est davantage valorisé. Cependant, Williams souligne que les deux domaines sont interdépendants, l'érotisme faisant partie intégrante de la pornographie<sup>50</sup>.

Le XXe siècle a été le témoin de l'essor de la pornographie visuelle, qui a pris une place significative dans la société, en particulier dans la culture étasunienne. Dans les années 1970, la société étasunienne est devenue de plus en plus sexualisée, suite à la révolution sexuelle de

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<sup>45</sup> Laura Kipnis, « Comment se saisir de la pornographie? » in Florian Vörös (dir.), *op. cit.*, p. 28-30.

<sup>46</sup> Linda Williams, *Hard Core: Power, Pleasure, and the "frenzy of the Visible"*, University of California Press, 1999.

<sup>47</sup> Gayle Rubin, « Les catacombes: temple du trou du cul » in Gayle Rubin et Rostom Mesli, *op. cit.*, p. 289.

<sup>48</sup> Natalie Ingraham, « Chapitre 8: Queering porn : Gender and Size diversity within SF Bay Area Queer Pornography » in Hester Helen and Caroline Walters, *Fat sex: New directions in theory and activism*, Routledge, 2016, p. 115.

<sup>49</sup> Laura Kipnis, « Comment se saisir de la pornographie? » in Florian Vörös (dir.), *op. cit.*, p.40.

<sup>50</sup> Linda Williams, « Porn Studies: Proliferating Pornographies On/Scene: An Introduction » in Linda Williams, *Porn Studies*, Duke University Press, 2004, p. 6.

cette décennie<sup>51</sup>. Cela s'est manifesté en premier lieu dans les médias grand public, tels que la musique et la publicité, où le sexe est devenu un élément central des productions culturelles. Plusieurs mouvements féministes ont alors émergé en protestation contre les images sexuelles violentes, donnant naissance au mouvement féministe anti-pornographie. Après les années 1970, la pornographie s'est progressivement intégrée à la culture de masse avec l'apparition de magazines pornographiques, de sex-shops et de cinémas X<sup>52</sup>. Ce qui était une forme de divertissement marginal au début du XXe siècle est devenu de plus en plus accessible à un public plus large, y compris la classe moyenne et les femmes<sup>53</sup>. Un film en particulier a marqué cette période : *Deep Throat*, sorti en 1972, est le premier film pornographique diffusé dans les cinémas et a été vu par des millions d'étasuniens. Ce film emblématique a marqué le début de l'âge d'or de la pornographie<sup>54</sup>. Il convient de noter que bien que le film soit sexiste, il se concentre sur le plaisir féminin, ce qui était extrêmement rare pour l'époque<sup>55</sup>. La pénétration pénis/orifices était généralement considérée comme satisfaisante, que ce soit pour l'homme ou la femme<sup>56</sup>. Linda Williams, spécialiste des études pornographiques mentionne le fait que *Deep Throat* a été le premier film pornographique auquel de nombreuses femmes des années 1970 ont eu accès<sup>57</sup>. Annie Sprinkle, une figure emblématique du mouvement pro-sexe, ancienne prostituée, performeuse et docteure en sexologie, en a également fait mention lors de notre entretien :

A : Only men were allowed to see pornography. Women were not really allowed or it was shown in men's clubs, bachelors parties and it was very taboo for women to see porn. So videos came out, women were not going to see porn movies in theaters either. Except for *Deep Throat*, that was really the first one that a lot of women saw. That was the first porn I saw<sup>58</sup>.

Ce film a marqué le début de l'ère du « porno chic » et a constitué un tournant majeur pour l'industrie pornographique. La manière de consommer et de produire de la pornographie a évolué. *Deep Throat* a apporté une certaine respectabilité et visibilité à cette industrie, ce qui a conduit à une augmentation des budgets pour la production de ces films. Cependant,

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<sup>51</sup> Carolyn Bronstein, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.* p. 98.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.* p. 63.

<sup>54</sup> Heather Berg, *Porn Work: Sex, Labor and Late Capitalism*, The University of North California Press, 2021,

<sup>55</sup> Linda Williams, *Hard Core: Power, Pleasure, and the "frenzy of the Visible"*, University Of California Press, p. 25.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 91.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 25.

<sup>58</sup> Entretien avec Annie Sprinkle en annexe n°2.

Heather Berg dans son étude sur le travail pornographique souligne que les performeur.ses restaient souvent mal rémunérés. Les maisons de production et les distributeurs contrôlaient l'ensemble des capitaux, laissant peu de place à la négociation. Les opportunités pour les performeur.ses d'être créatifs étaient limitées, car les coûts de production et de distribution étaient élevés, maintenant ainsi une hiérarchie sociale rigide à cette époque. Néanmoins, quelques productions à petit budget ont réussi à voir le jour et ont été diffusées dans les peep-shows et les petits cinémas<sup>59</sup>. L'avènement de la pornographie au cours de cette décennie est souvent attribué à la révolution sexuelle, mais selon Williams, ce n'est pas le cas. L'essor du nombre de films pornographiques était surtout lié à la volonté de générer des connaissances sur la sexualité. Linda Williams utilise le concept de *scientia sexualis* de Foucault pour montrer que la pornographie est un discours sur la sexualité<sup>60</sup>.

Les années 1980 ont marqué une expansion du marché, avec la production de films à plus petit budget dans le but de générer des profits plus rapidement. Cette expansion a également ouvert de nouvelles opportunités pour des personnes qui étaient autrefois exclues de l'industrie, notamment les personnes Noires. L'industrie pornographique s'est solidement enracinée dans la culture étasunienne. Un marché secondaire s'est développé, avec la vente de newsletters et la création de fan clubs et de clubs de strip-tease. Cet engouement a donné naissance à ce que l'on appelle la *pornstar*, où des performeur.ses ont acquis une certaine notoriété grâce à leur travail dans la pornographie<sup>61</sup>. Cependant, deux facteurs importants ont freiné l'engouement naissant pour la pornographie. Tout d'abord, les années 1980 ont été marquées par le début de l'épidémie de VIH/SIDA, qui a touché à la fois le mouvement LGBTQIA+ et les travailleur.ses du sexe. L'arrivée du VIH/SIDA a eu un impact majeur sur toute l'industrie pornographique et ses conditions de production<sup>62</sup>. De plus, cette décennie a été marquée par un important *backlash* sous le mandat de Ronald Reagan. Après des avancées sociales significatives, la société étasunienne a fait face à une réaction conservatrice majeure initiée par la Nouvelle Droite<sup>63</sup>.

Les années 1980 ont marqué le début d'une transformation profonde qui s'est amplifiée au cours des années 1990. Pendant cette période, des formes alternatives de pornographie ont émergé et ont pris de plus en plus d'importance par rapport à la pornographie hétérosexuelle

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<sup>59</sup> Heather Berg, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

<sup>60</sup> Linda Williams, *Hard Core: Power, Pleasure, and the "frenzy of the Visible"*, University Of California Press, 1999, p. 98.

<sup>61</sup> Heather Berg, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>63</sup> The New Right aux Etats-Unis.

*mainstream*. En effet, le porno était hautement codifié, en particulier pendant ce qu'on a qualifié de « l'âge d'or » de l'industrie. Par exemple, la pratique courante du *money shot*<sup>64</sup> était répandue. Cependant, ces codes, bien qu'ils persistent encore aujourd'hui dans la pornographie hétérosexuelle *mainstream*, ont été remis en question durant cette période. Cette subversion des codes pornographiques peut s'expliquer par plusieurs facteurs. Tout d'abord, l'avancée du numérique s'est opérée dans les années 1990 avec l'apparition des DVD, puis par la suite, internet a déplacé la consommation de pornographie du domaine public des salles de cinéma vers la sphère privée. Cette nouvelle façon de consommer du contenu pornographique a fait émerger de nouveaux publics, notamment des femmes et des couples. Cependant, il existait peu de pornographies adaptées à cette nouvelle audience, car la majorité des films porno sur le marché étaient produits par des hommes pour un public masculin<sup>65</sup>. Le manque de représentation était donc au cœur de la création d'une nouvelle forme de pornographie. En effet, la représentation de la sexualité lesbienne par exemple était pratiquement absente dans le porno dominant<sup>66</sup>. Même s'il y avait des scènes de sexe entre femmes, celles-ci étaient souvent produites uniquement dans le but d'être consommées par des hommes. Les femmes dans la pornographie *mainstream* étaient souvent réduites à des objets de désir, sans être représentées comme des sujets désirants, une perspective souvent associée à la masculinité<sup>67</sup>. C'est dans ce contexte que la pornographie des années 1990 est devenue un terrain d'action pour ceux et celles qui ont soulevé ces questions. C'est le cas par exemple de Candida Royalle, activiste féministe et ancienne actrice pornographique qui constatait le manque de représentation du désir et plaisir féminin à l'écran. Elle a par la suite créé sa propre maison de production appelée *Femme Productions*, passant d'actrice à réalisatrice de films pornographiques. Elle fut l'une des pionnières de ce qui sera appelé la pornographie féministe :

Candida Royalle introduced the world to her “porn from a woman point of view” in the late 1980s, she crashed the boys club and proved that women and couples were a viable market. Her line of film focused on high production values, romance, and female

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<sup>64</sup> Le money shot est l'éjaculation masculine filmée et montrée en gros plan dans un film pornographique, cette scène marque dans la majorité du temps la fin du rapport et la fin de la scène. Dans certains cas les performeurs n'étaient payés que s'ils éjaculaient, d'où le nom de la pratique.

<sup>65</sup> Sam Bourcier, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

<sup>66</sup> Heather Butler, « Que dit-on d'une lesbienne aux doigts longs? Le développement de la pornographie lesbienne et gouine » in Florian Vörös (dir.), *op. cit.*, p. 168-169.

<sup>67</sup> Florian Vörös, *Désirer comme un homme*, La Découverte, 2020, p. 78.

pleasure and deliberately excluded conventions of mainstream porn, including extreme genital close-ups, anal sex, and external cum shots<sup>68</sup>.

A : Candida Royalle is really the mother of feminist erotica. Because she created a distribution company and a production company and... And before that, only men were allowed to see pornography. Women were not really allowed or it was shown in men's club, bachelor's parties and it was very taboo for women to see porn<sup>69</sup>.

Effectivement, plusieurs actrices pornographiques de cette époque, telles qu'Annie Sprinkle, Veronica Hart, Nina Hartley et Nan Kinney, ont décidé de créer leurs propres films pornographiques afin de promouvoir une représentation plus authentique de la sexualité féminine. Leurs productions ont inclus des scènes hétérosexuelles ainsi que des scènes lesbiennes, comme c'était le cas avec la maison de production créée par Nan Kinney, *Fatale Video*, qui s'est spécialisée dans du contenu exclusivement lesbien<sup>70</sup>. Cependant, il est important de noter que les liens entre fantasmes, pratiques sexuelles et identités sexuelles sont souvent simplifiés lorsque l'on aborde le sujet de la pornographie, et la réalité est bien plus complexe. Même si la pornographie *mainstream* est principalement produite par et pour des hommes hétérosexuels, cela n'empêche pas des spectateur.ices de tous genres et orientations sexuelles de la consommer. De nombreuses femmes lesbiennes ou hommes gays regardent de la pornographie hétérosexuelle sans que cela ne modifie leurs pratiques ou leur identité sexuelle<sup>71</sup>. Il est donc essentiel de ne pas remplacer les stéréotypes du porno masculin par d'autres clichés, comme celui du romantisme automatiquement associé à la sexualité féminine<sup>72</sup>. Dans la prochaine partie, nous examinerons de plus près les formes alternatives de pornographie, notamment la pornographie féministe et queer, afin de mieux comprendre comment ces mouvements ont influencé et remodelé l'industrie pornographique contemporaine.

## **2.1 La naissance de pornographies alternatives : pornographie féministe, queer et mouvement post-pornographie**

La pornographie féministe s'est développée en réponse au manque de représentation du

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<sup>68</sup> Tristan Taormino, «Calling the Shots : Feminist Porn in Theory and Practice» in Tristan Taormino, Constance Penley, Celine Parrenas Shimizu, Mireille Miller-Young (dir.), *The Feminist Porn Book : The Politics of Producing Pleasure*, The Feminist Press at CUNY, 2013, p. 257.

<sup>69</sup> Annie Sprinkle, 24/04/23, annexe n°2.

<sup>70</sup> Voir annexe n°3.

<sup>71</sup> Florian Vörös, *Désirer comme un homme*, La Découverte, 2020, p. 93.

<sup>72</sup> David Courbet, *Pornographie et féminisme*. La Musardine, 2012, p. 28.

désir et du plaisir féminin à l'écran. Dans la pornographie *mainstream*, le plaisir des femmes est souvent relégué au second plan par rapport à celui des hommes. Il est fréquemment présenté de manière superficielle et stéréotypée, sous un regard masculin<sup>73</sup>. Pour définir au mieux cette notion, il est important de considérer non seulement le contenu, mais aussi la production et la réception. Du point de vue de la réception, la pornographie féministe permet, selon Candida Royalle, « à la femme-spectatrice de ressentir un pouvoir sur sa propre sexualité et son identité érotique »<sup>74</sup>. La pornographie féministe repose principalement sur le concept d'agentivité sexuelle, qui fait référence à la capacité des femmes à agir et à adopter une posture de sujet plutôt que d'objet lors des interactions à caractère sexuel. Ce concept, connu sous le terme anglo-saxon *empowerment*, commence à être progressivement utilisé en France. Il se base sur sept éléments fondamentaux, notamment l'idée d'une réappropriation de son corps et sa sexualité, la prise d'initiative, la conscience de son désir, le sentiment de confiance et de liberté, le contrôle de son désir et de son plaisir, ainsi que le droit au plaisir<sup>75</sup>. Il est toutefois essentiel d'apporter des nuances à cette notion d'agentivité sexuelle. En effet, ce concept a principalement été étudié dans le contexte de relations hétérosexuelles impliquant des jeunes femmes ou adolescentes cisgenres et blanches. L'agentivité sexuelle ne peut pas être généralisée à toutes les situations, car elle est souvent limitée lorsque les individus font face à des oppressions liées au genre, à la race ou à la classe<sup>76</sup>. Il s'agit donc d'un concept en débat au sein des sciences sociales et du féminisme. Pour être pleinement compris et utilisé, il doit être adapté en fonction des contraintes structurelles et culturelles propres à chaque individu<sup>77</sup>.

En ce qui concerne la production, la pornographie féministe vise à améliorer les conditions de travail et le statut des travailleurs et travailleuses du sexe. Elle s'engage dans plusieurs combats, notamment l'amélioration des droits des performeurs et performeuses, ainsi que la remise en question des scénarios classiques. Le cœur de ces productions réside dans la critique du sexisme et de l'hétéronormativité très centré sur le plaisir masculin<sup>78</sup>. La pornographie alternative souhaite sortir des schémas sexuels hétéronormatifs traditionnels<sup>79</sup>.

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<sup>73</sup> Julie Lavigne, Myriam Le Blanc Elie, Sabrina Maiorano, «Agentivité sexuelle des femmes dans les films pornographiques critiques réalisés par des femmes.», *GLAD! Revue sur le langage, le genre, les sexualités*, n°6, 2019, p. 3.

<sup>74</sup> David Courbet, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

<sup>75</sup> Julie Lavigne, Myriam Le Blanc Elie, Sabrina Maiorano, *art. cit.*, p. 4.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6.

<sup>78</sup> David Courbet, *op. cit.*, p. 114-118.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 61.

La notion la plus importante dans la pornographie féministe demeure celle du consentement. Toutes les pratiques doivent être consensuelles, et toutes les scènes sont discutées en amont entre toutes les personnes impliquées. De plus, la plupart des réalisateurs et réalisatrices de ce milieu ont été eux-mêmes performeur.ses, ce qui permet d'aborder les scènes sous un angle différent et de mieux respecter le corps des performeur.ses ainsi que leurs désirs. La notion de *safe sex* est également plus présente que dans la pornographie classique. Dans cette dernière, le préservatif n'est pas toujours obligatoire, principalement pour des raisons commerciales, car les films avec protection se vendent moins bien<sup>80</sup>. En revanche, dans la pornographie féministe et queer, l'utilisation de protections telles que les préservatifs est quasiment systématique<sup>81</sup>. La pornographie féministe englobe différents sous-genres, et il serait plus approprié de parler de pornographies au pluriel. En effet, certains réalisateurs et réalisatrices reprennent les codes classiques de la pornographie destinée à un public hétérosexuel et gay, tandis que d'autres produisent du contenu plus alternatif axé sur la performance artistique et destiné aux minorités sexuelles et de genres. La pornographie féministe et la pornographie queer partagent des racines similaires, toutes deux portant des messages politiques, et la frontière entre les deux est floue. Cependant, la pornographie queer met davantage l'accent sur la fluidité des genres et des actes sexuels. Les symboles de soumission et de domination persistent même dans ces productions, mais ils ne sont pas liés aux sexes biologiques ou aux rôles genrés. Ainsi, la pornographie queer déstabilise ces symboles pour politiser l'érotisation du corps<sup>82</sup>. Elle remet en question le script hétérosexuel traditionnel en subvertissant les rôles genrés. Cette subversion s'exprime, par exemple, à travers l'utilisation fréquente de sextoys tels que des godes-ceintures portés par des femmes, mettant en lumière le caractère construit de la sexualité, ou par la transformation des positions de pouvoir via la pratique du BDSM. De plus, le traditionnel *money shot* est souvent remplacé par l'éjaculation féminine ou l'orgasme féminin<sup>83</sup>. Cette approche queer souligne qu'il est difficile d'éliminer complètement les fantasmes de domination souvent liés au genre et à la race, enracinés dans notre environnement socioculturel. Cependant, elle montre qu'il est possible de les modifier à l'intérieur de l'industrie pour limiter les oppressions<sup>84</sup>.

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<sup>80</sup> Heather Berg, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

<sup>81</sup> David Courbet, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

<sup>82</sup> Alison Day, « Feminism and Pornography after the Sex Wars: Diversifying Pornography », *UCLA Thinking Genders Papers*, 2009.

<sup>83</sup> Julie Lavigne, Myriam Le Blanc Elie, Sabrina Maiorano, *art. cit.*, p. 12-13.

<sup>84</sup> Florian Vörös, *Désirer comme un homme*, La Découverte, 2020, p. 146.



Les pornographies alternatives que nous abordons ici s'inscrivent toutes les deux dans le mouvement post-pornographique, qui se présente comme un projet politique allant au-delà de la simple pornographie. Le concept de post-pornographie a émergé dans les années 1990 et a été initialement formulé par l'artiste néerlandais Wink Van Kepen pour décrire un nouveau genre de contenu explicitement sexuel. Par la suite, Annie Sprinkle a adopté ce terme dans sa performance intitulée *The Public Cervix Announcement*<sup>85</sup>, au cours de laquelle elle invitait le public à observer son col de l'utérus tout en fournissant des explications sur l'anatomie féminine<sup>86</sup>. Lors de notre entretien, Annie Sprinkle est revenue sur ce concept :

A : So basically, my definition is a post porn modernist who makes sex an explicit media that is artsy, contextual and experimental, political and more humoristic than mainstream porn. It often has a critical sensibility, it usually contains hardcore sex, it's not focused on being erotic. Post porn modernism is a genre, it's currently called post porn for short. I called it in 1988, when I made it a title for my show, Van Kepen called porn modernism in 1986. Then I ran this show for 6 years. And then I named my book also Post Porn Modernist<sup>87</sup>.

La post-pornographie demeure un concept difficile à définir, car il représente un phénomène fluide qui résiste à toute tentative de classification. Néanmoins, la post-pornographie met en évidence la dimension politique de la sexualité, qui peut être analysée à travers le prisme foucauldien du « discours en retour » émis par les individus en marge et minoritaires au sein de l'industrie pornographique dominante. Dans cette perspective, le mouvement cherche à abolir toutes formes de dualités, non seulement en ce qui concerne les genres et les sexualités, mais aussi entre la culture légitime (l'art) et les productions culturelles considérées comme illégitimes (la pornographie). Cette démarche s'étend également à la production de connaissances, car les performeur.ses de post-pornographie créent également une forme de savoir légitime et cherchent à dépasser la dichotomie entre théorie et pratique<sup>88</sup>. Les ateliers jouent un rôle central dans la construction de ce mouvement. En effet, les ateliers occupent une place prépondérante au sein de la culture post-pornographique, proposant diverses activités telles que des ateliers de *Drag King*<sup>89</sup>, des guides de pratiques sexuelles, des soirées sexuelles ou encore des festivals et des ateliers théoriques. Ces pratiques trouvent leur origine dans le concept de *Raising Consciousness*, inventé par des féministes radicales dans les années 1970 qui organisaient des ateliers visant à explorer et à comprendre le corps dans un

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<sup>85</sup> Rachele Borghi, « Post-Porn », *Rue Descartes*, vol. n° 79, n° 3, 2013, p. 29-31.

<sup>86</sup> Voir annexe n°4.

<sup>87</sup> Entretien avec Annie Sprinkle, 24/04/23, annexe n°2.

<sup>88</sup> Rachele Borghi, « Post-Porn », *Rue Descartes*, vol. n° 79, n° 3, 2013, p. 32.

<sup>89</sup> Terme anglais qui s'est construit grâce au concept de drag queen qui désigne une construction d'une identité temporaire genrée volontaire basée sur des archétypes.

contexte éducatif<sup>90</sup>. Les ateliers contribuent à la transmission de savoirs et de pouvoirs, ainsi qu'à la diffusion des sous-cultures sexuelles. Ils sont d'une grande importance car ils permettent de faire sortir l'intime de la sphère privée, offrant aux femmes et aux minorités sexuelles et de genres l'opportunité de s'affranchir d'une sexualité liée à la sphère domestique. Ces ateliers investissent ainsi l'espace public, répondant à l'une des revendications majeures du mouvement féministe<sup>91</sup>. Toutefois, il est important de noter que le mouvement post-pornographique, comme tout autre mouvement, peut faire l'objet de critiques. David Courbet, un journaliste de l'AFP qui a effectué des recherches approfondies sur les questions liées à la pornographie féministe et au mouvement post-pornographie, propose une perspective critique dans son ouvrage intitulé *Féminisme et Pornographie*. Il souligne notamment le caractère élitiste et occidental-centré du mouvement post-pornographique et des formes alternatives de pornographie<sup>92</sup>. Cette critique met en lumière des questions importantes que même Annie Sprinkle, une figure fondatrice du mouvement, aborde dans notre entretien :

A : I mean post porn, a lot of people don't like the term. **“Why is that?”** Honestly, I'm a very privileged white person. And it sounds too academic for people. A lot of people don't like academics... They just want to do what they want to do<sup>93</sup>.

En effet, il est indéniable que la pornographie *mainstream* constitue un élément culturel de masse largement accessible au grand public, tandis que la pornographie alternative, par contraste, demeure largement confinée à un milieu restreint, principalement composé de personnes blanches et issues de classes sociales supérieures. De plus, il est important de noter que les pornographies alternatives et leurs revendications sont souvent sujettes à une intellectualisation poussée, avec des théories pro-sexe fréquemment élaborées par des universitaires, ce qui les rend moins accessibles au grand public. Dans cette optique, certains travailleurs et travailleuses du sexe font part de leur préoccupation quant à l'appropriation de leurs combats par les universitaires<sup>94</sup>.

## **2.2 La distribution, un acteur majeur dans l'expansion des pornographies alternatives : l'exemple de Good Vibrations**

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<sup>90</sup> Sam Bourcier, « Bildungs-post-porn : notes sur la provenance du post-porn, un des futurs du Féminisme de la désobéissance sexuelle », *Rue Descartes*, vol. 79, n° 3, 2013, p.55.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 56.

<sup>92</sup> David Courbet, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

<sup>93</sup> Entretien avec Annie Sprinkle, 24/04/23, annexe n°2.

<sup>94</sup> David Courbet, *op. cit.*, p. 175-179.

Après les années 70, de nombreux sex-shops ont commencé à émerger aux États-Unis, l'un d'entre eux a joué un rôle majeur dans la diffusion de la pornographie queer et féministe : Good Vibrations. Fondé en 1977, il s'agissait du tout premier sex-shop féministe, et il était dirigé par la sexothérapeute Joani Blank, qui avait pour objectif de créer un établissement éducatif en plus d'un sex-shop traditionnel. À cette époque, le sex-shop était géré collectivement, avec toutes les vendeuses participant à la gestion de l'entreprise. Carol Queen, qui travaille chez Good Vibrations depuis 1990, est une sexologue titulaire d'un doctorat, une ancienne actrice pornographique et une personnalité reconnue dans le domaine de la sexualité. Elle revient sur l'histoire de ce sex-shop unique et son rôle essentiel dans l'expansion de la pornographie alternative dans notre entretien :

C : When Good Vibrations began to carry porn, and as a sextoys store, we originally did not. But, Joani hired somebody who is really important, and in the lesbians' sex world particularly, even if she's not there anymore, she just was an important figure. It was Susie Bright. Susie was really interested in this stuff and she met Joani at Good Vibrations, because Susie was working there at that time. Allow her to curate a selection of porn for Good Vibrations. It would include the smart porn movies, movies that weren't really movies, they had a script. She has also included everything she could from the feminist and especially lesbian porn subculture which was very small at that time<sup>95</sup>.

Susie Bright, qui fut également co-fondatrice du premier magazine érotique lesbien, *On Our Backs*, aux côtés de Nan Kinney et d'autres figures majeures du mouvement pro-sexe et du féminisme lesbien, telles que Debi Sundahl (activiste lesbienne et féministe) ou Patrick Califia (fondateur du collectif lesbien BDSM SAMOIS), ont joué un rôle central. D'autres personnalités influentes du mouvement pro-sexe ont également commencé leur carrière chez Good Vibrations à leurs débuts, comme par exemple Shine Louise Houston, qui dirige actuellement la maison de production de pornographie alternative *Pink and White Productions* à San Francisco. À cette époque, Good Vibrations a joué un rôle majeur dans la distribution d'un vaste catalogue de DVD pornographiques pro-sexe aux États-Unis. Cela a contribué à accroître la visibilité de la communauté et à créer ainsi un circuit culturel propre à la ville de San Francisco<sup>96</sup>.

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<sup>95</sup> Entretien avec Carol Queen, 06/02/23, annexe n°5.

<sup>96</sup> Élie, Myriam Le Blanc, Julie Lavigne, and Sabrina Maiorano, « Cartographie des pornographies critiques. », *Genre, sexualité & société* 17, 2017, p. 34.

C : So the reason that Good Vibrations is important to the larger question even without the movies that we made, it's because we were probably at that time the first feminist sextoys store in the United States and maybe the world. And because we put these movies on the catalog, on the website, when we got a website, you could rent them from the store, we had a good movie rental establishment. We made it possible for the movies to get more viewers, for more people to know about them, for more people to know what was different about them, and that was really important I think for the feminist porn world<sup>97</sup>.

Le sexshop a donc joué un rôle majeur dans la distribution et la visibilisation de la pornographie queer et féministe, mais il a également été pionnier d'un nouveau genre pornographique avec la création de ses propres films porno à but éducatif :

C : And then the 90s went on and more and more people decided to join, and more movies as well. So at first it was mainly Femme Productions, for feminist porn and Fatal for lesbian porn with a few others smaller with fewer movies involved. And then GoodVibrations got involved. GoodVibrations started to make movies partly because we thought that in what was available, there were two things that we saw we could have and did not see very much of. One was educational explicit movies. So, the G spot movies that we made, and so on<sup>98</sup>.

Effectivement, Good Vibrations a joué un rôle précurseur dans la création d'un tout nouveau genre pornographique appelé « l'éduporn ». Ce genre se caractérise par du contenu sexuellement explicite ayant pour objectif d'instruire les spectateur.ices sur diverses thématiques telles que le plaisir féminin, le consentement ou encore la prévention des infections sexuellement transmissibles. Bien que ce genre ait connu une plus grande visibilité dans les années 1990, il a en réalité commencé à émerger dès les années 1980, avec des films explicitement sexuels axés sur la promotion de pratiques de « sexe plus sûr » (*safer sex*<sup>99</sup>), principalement destinés à un public homosexuel pendant l'épidémie du VIH/SIDA<sup>100</sup>.

Les formes alternatives de pornographie, par opposition à la pornographie conventionnelle hétérosexuelle, ont émergé dans un contexte social et politique particulier qui a engendré la création de nouveaux genres. En effet, la période marquée par la fin des *sex wars* a eu une influence significative sur la manière dont la sexualité était perçue et réfléchi à cette époque. De plus, la pornographie a été impactée par les mouvements sociaux liés à la sexualité, tels que le mouvement sex-positif, le mouvement des droits LGBTQIA+ et le mouvement pour

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<sup>97</sup> Entretien avec Carol Queen, 06/02/23, annexe n°5.

<sup>98</sup> Entretien avec Carol Queen, 06/02/23, annexe n°5.

<sup>99</sup> L'expression *safer sex*, désigne le sexe protégé et sûr. Synonyme de *safe sex*, la notion de *safer sex* rappelle cependant qu'aucun moyen de protection est complètement infaillible et qu'il s'agit de réduire un maximum les risques de transmissions d'infections sexuellement transmissibles.

Gayle Rubin, « Elégie pour la Vallée des Rois : Le Sida et la communauté cuir à San Francisco 1981-1996 » in Gayle Rubin et Rostom Mesli, *op. cit.*, p. 336.

<sup>100</sup> Voir annexe n°6.

les droits des travailleurs et travailleuses du sexe. Dans cette perspective, la pornographie alternative s'est développée en continuité avec ces mouvements qui prônent une vision plus libérale de la sexualité et de l'identité de genre. Elle a évolué en s'inspirant des idées de ces mouvements et en cherchant à représenter la diversité sexuelle, à remettre en question les normes de genre rigides et à favoriser une approche positive de la sexualité<sup>101</sup>.

Depuis les années 2000, la pornographie ne cesse d'évoluer et de se transformer. Internet a joué un grand rôle dans cette transformation avec l'arrivée des sites de streaming. Les sites de tubes ( sites de streaming qui hébergent des vidéos pornographiques ) ont longtemps paralysé le marché<sup>102</sup>. En effet, pendant une période d'environ 15 ans, n'importe quelle personne avait la possibilité de télécharger une vidéo pornographique sur un site d'hébergement en ligne. Durant cette période, le plus grand site de tubes, Pornhub, a profondément transformé la manière dont la pornographie était produite et diffusée sur Internet. Pendant une grande partie de cette période, Pornhub était sous la propriété de la société MindGeek (bien que cela ne soit plus le cas depuis mars 2023<sup>103</sup>). MindGeek détenait la majorité des sites de tubes en ligne ainsi que de grandes maisons de production comme Brazzers et Digital Playground. MindGeek avait un contrôle étendu sur l'ensemble de la chaîne de production de la pornographie en ligne, de la distribution à la monétisation, tout en ayant généralement peu d'interactions directes avec les performeurs et performeuses. Cette concentration de pouvoir a eu un impact significatif sur l'industrie de la pornographie, mais elle a également soulevé des questions sur la régulation, la surveillance et la transparence dans l'industrie, ainsi que sur le bien-être des travailleurs et travailleuses du sexe<sup>104</sup>. Malgré la prédominance des sites de tubes et de l'industrie pornographique traditionnelle, la pornographie alternative a maintenu sa présence et son expansion grâce à un public dévoué en quête d'une expérience pornographique alignée sur ses convictions et ses préférences, ce qui a renforcé la vitalité de ce genre, malgré les obstacles posés par l'industrie dominante. Des maisons de production importantes dans le domaine de la pornographie queer ont vu le jour entre les années 2000 et 2010, et elles sont toujours actives sur le marché aujourd'hui. Parmi ces entreprises figurent

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<sup>101</sup> Constance Penley, Celine Perreñas Shimizu, Mireille Miller-Young, Tristan Taormino, « Introduction: The Politics of Producing Pleasure » in Tristan Taormino, Constance Penley, Celine Parrenas Shimizu, Mireille Miller-Young (dir.), *op. cit.*, p. 15.

<sup>102</sup> Heather Berg, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

<sup>103</sup> AFP, Mindgeek, la maison mère de Pornhub, rachetée par le fonds d'investissement canadien Ethical Capital Partners, *LEFIGARO*, 16/03/2023.

<sup>104</sup> Suzanne Hillinger (réalisatrice), *Money Shot: The Pornhub Story* (documentaire), Netflix, 2023.

*Pink and White Productions*, fondée par Shine Louise Houston, et *TroubleFilms*, créée par Courtney Trouble, toutes deux basées dans la région de la Baie de San Francisco<sup>105</sup>.

De nos jours, en raison de la transformation significative de l'industrie pornographique, l'industrie dispose désormais de moins de ressources financières qu'auparavant malgré l'expansion continue de l'industrie avec une augmentation du nombre de travailleurs et travailleuses du sexe ainsi que de spectateur.ices<sup>106</sup>. Toutefois, le modèle de production de contenu a récemment évolué. Les scènes pornographiques conventionnelles diffusées sur les sites de tubes ne revêtent plus la même importance et sont désormais utilisées comme des outils marketing par les performeur.ses. Elles ne constituent plus le cœur de leur travail, mais plutôt une forme de publicité visant à promouvoir leurs propres contenus. Cela s'effectue grâce à la création de sites personnels ou à la fourniture de services variés qui établissent un lien direct avec les consommateur.ices, c'est le cas par exemple du camming<sup>107</sup>. En ce sens, les performeur.ses, bien qu'il y ait moins de capitaux dans l'industrie, bénéficient d'une certaine indépendance pour générer leurs revenus. Internet et les sites de tubes ont donc introduit de nombreux changements dans l'industrié pornographique bien que cela a également permis aux travailleur.ses du sexe de produire leurs propres contenus selon leurs propres conditions. Aujourd'hui, quiconque peut créer et distribuer du contenu pornographique en ligne, ce qui a favorisé la prolifération de contenus pornographiques queer, féministes et amateurs<sup>108</sup>. Plus récemment, la pandémie de COVID-19 a précipité les évolutions déjà en cours au sein de l'industrie. L'interruption des productions a incité les interprètes à créer davantage de contenu en ligne. Cependant, cela a également conduit à une hausse du trafic sur les grandes plateformes en raison de la diminution des activités sexuelles liée aux mesures de confinement<sup>109</sup>. La plateforme Only Fans a connu une expansion significative pendant la pandémie. Cette plateforme de streaming en ligne, créée en 2016, repose sur un modèle d'abonnement mensuel pour les créateurs de contenus photos et vidéos, laquelle prélève une commission de 20% sur chaque abonnement<sup>110</sup>. Plusieurs facteurs, tels que les évolutions du marché et la COVID-19, ont contribué à rendre les productions « faites

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<sup>105</sup> Voir annexe n°7.

<sup>106</sup> Heather Berg, *op. cit.*, p. 14-15.

<sup>107</sup> Heather Berg, *op. cit.*, p. 14-15.

Le camming est une pratique qui consiste à produire une performance sexuellement explicite en direct sur internet devant des spectateur.ices qui donnent de l'argent de manière ponctuelle ou par abonnement.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>109</sup> Alicja Perdon, Belinda Brooks-Gordon, Valeria Rubattu, « Cam Girls and Adult Performers 'Are Enjoying a Boom in Business': The Reportage on the Pandemic Impact on Virtual Sex Work », *Social Sciences*, vol. 12, no 2, 2023, p. 2.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*

maison » plus accessibles et rassurantes, en particulier en période de pandémie. Cependant, la COVID-19 a compliqué la création d'un pouvoir collectif pour les travailleur.ses du sexe, qui travaillent de manière de plus en plus isolée<sup>111</sup>.

### 3) Méthodologie et terrain

#### 3.1 San Francisco, élément central dans l'étude des pornographies alternatives : Contexte historique, social et politique.

Le choix de la localisation de mon terrain de recherche a été le résultat d'une réflexion approfondie d'une année. Il est essentiel de souligner que la pornographie est un phénomène mondial et numérique qui ne se limite pas à une zone géographique spécifique. En effet, les pornographies alternatives existent dans diverses villes des États-Unis, telles que Las Vegas et New York, ainsi qu'en Europe, notamment à Berlin, Amsterdam et Barcelone. J'ai choisi de me concentrer sur la ville de San Francisco en raison de son lien étroit avec les fondements théoriques des mouvements LGBTQIA+, queer et féministe, comme nous le verrons plus tard dans cette étude. Depuis les années 1850, San Francisco est reconnue pour sa tolérance envers les comportements considérés comme illégaux, les orientations homosexuelles et les non-conformités aux normes de genre. Cette tolérance s'est manifestée à travers la culture des dancings et des salons qui étaient plus acceptés à San Francisco que dans d'autres régions des États-Unis<sup>112</sup>. La culture de San Francisco repose sur une combinaison de cultures queer, hispanique, africaine-américaine et chinoise<sup>113</sup>. Bien avant les émeutes de Stonewall, des violences policières à l'encontre des personnes queer étaient déjà visibles, par exemple en 1968 à San Francisco lors des émeutes de la Compton Cafeteria, qui ciblaient spécifiquement les personnes gays et trans. Les premières formes de résistance se sont manifestées au sein de ces groupes marginalisés<sup>114</sup>. Par la suite, près de 30 000 personnes de la communauté LGBT, principalement des hommes homosexuels, ont déménagé à San Francisco entre 1969 et 1979. En plus d'être un refuge pour les personnes queer, la ville est également devenue le centre

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<sup>111</sup> Heather Berg, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

<sup>112</sup> Michael Bronski, *A Queer History of the United States*, vol. 1, Beacon Press, 2012, p. 46.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 209.

culturel de la culture cuir<sup>115</sup> et BDSM dès les années 1960<sup>116</sup>. Cette importante migration de personnes queer a façonné le centre culturel et politique gay de tous les États-Unis, créant une vie urbaine sexualisée et dynamique<sup>117</sup>. Malheureusement, les lieux de rencontre queer emblématiques de San Francisco ont été durement touchés par la crise du SIDA, ce qui a eu un impact considérable sur la vie nocturne, en particulier les clubs et les saunas gays<sup>118</sup>. Aujourd'hui, bien que San Francisco soit toujours considérée comme un haut lieu de la culture queer, d'importants changements ont eu lieu en raison de l'arrivée d'une nouvelle classe de travailleurs liée aux technologies de l'information<sup>119</sup>. Par exemple, certaines entreprises de Google sont situées en plein centre-ville. Ces évolutions urbaines ont soulevé des questions complexes concernant les relations entre le militantisme queer et les transformations urbaines, un sujet qui sera exploré dans une prochaine partie, où nous aborderons les conditions de production dans la baie de San Francisco.

### **3.2 Films et entretiens : Les fondements de la recherche.**

Mon travail de recherche se décompose en plusieurs parties essentielles visant à analyser la production de films pornographiques alternatifs dans la baie de San Francisco. La pornographie est analysée comme objet culturel. En ce sens, différents niveaux d'analyse sont adoptés. D'abord, le contexte politique est examiné puisqu'il est très lié à la géographie de la région choisie, ensuite, j'ai examiné l'impact matériel de l'évolution numérique sur la production pornographique. Ensuite, j'ai exploré le processus de production lui-même, notamment les réalisateurs et réalisatrices impliqués.e.s. Enfin, je me suis penché sur l'analyse cinématographique. Idéalement, une étude de réception auprès du public cible compléterait cette recherche, mais les contraintes de temps et de ressources liées au format du mémoire m'ont empêché de la mener à bien. J'ai choisi mes sources primaires en gardant à l'esprit ces

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<sup>115</sup> La communauté cuir regroupe les personnes qui portent cette matière et/ou qui associent cette matière à des pratiques sexuelles sous forme d'érotisme visuel. La communauté cuir est souvent associée à la communauté gay mais peut très bien être également associée aux lesbiennes et hétérosexuels. Il existe également des liens importants avec la pratique BDSM mais ce n'est pas toujours le cas. La communauté cuir a fait son apparition dès la deuxième guerre mondiale avec pour base la culture Bikers de Los Angeles.

<sup>116</sup> Gayle Rubin, « Les catacombes : temple du trou du cul », in Gayle Rubin et Rostom Mesli, *Surveiller et Jouir: Anthropologie politique du sexe*, Paris : Epel, 2010, p. 226.

<sup>117</sup> Michael Bronski, *op. cit.*, p. 216.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>119</sup> Bruno Laprade, « Des feminist sex wars au matérialisme performatif: relecture de la pornographie et du BDSM » in Line Chamberland, Carole Désy, Line Saint-Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 110.



différents niveaux d'analyse. J'ai d'abord consulté les écrits de travailleurs et travailleuses du sexe sur le sujet. Ensuite, pour étudier la production de films pornographiques alternatifs, j'ai mené une étude qualitative en interrogeant diverses personnes du milieu, principalement des performeur.ses et des réalisateur.ices. Pour cette étude, il était crucial d'interroger un échantillon représentatif de l'industrie, ce qui m'a conduite à interroger des performeurs et performeuses de la pornographie féministe, queer et BDSM. J'ai principalement utilisé les réseaux sociaux tels qu'Instagram et X (anciennement Twitter) pour contacter ces personnes. Dans cette recherche, la scène BDSM est davantage représentée que les autres, principalement en raison de sa disponibilité pour les entretiens. J'ai mené 9 entretiens auprès de 8 personnes : Annie Sprinkle ( créatrice du mouvement post porn et performeuse ), Carol Queen ( sexologue et intervenante chez Good Vibrations, ancienne performeuse ), Chelsea Poe ( réalisatrice et performeuse de pornographie queer et BDSM ), Madison Young ( réalisatrice et ancienne performeuse de pornographie féministe ), Ruby Riots ( réalisateur et performeur de pornographie queer et BDSM ), Shine Louise Houston ( Directrice et réalisatrice pour la maison de production Pink and White qui produit la serie Crashpad, de la pornographie queer ), Tristan Crane (Caméraman pour Crashpad ) et Zuri Love ( Performeur queer). La plupart de ces entretiens ont eu lieu à San Francisco et Oakland, bien que certains aient été menés à distance en raison de contraintes de temps. Tous les entretiens ont été individuels et semi-directifs, basés sur une grille préétablie<sup>120</sup>, d'une durée d'environ 60 minutes, conformément à la méthodologie d'entretien en sociologie<sup>121</sup>. Toutes les participant.es ont donné leur accord pour l'enregistrement des entretiens, ce qui a facilité la transcription. En février, une première entrevue exploratoire a été menée en ligne avec Carol Queen dans le but de clarifier et, le cas échéant, de réajuster ma grille d'entretien. Enfin, la troisième partie de mon étude porte sur l'analyse des films réalisés par les personnes interrogées et/ou dans lesquels les performeur.ses ont participé. J'ai sélectionné huit films pour une analyse approfondie qui seront présentés dans la dernière partie sur l'analyse filmique, afin de comprendre comment les théories et les discours sont concrètement mis en pratique.

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<sup>120</sup> Grille disponible à la fin de cette partie

<sup>121</sup> Jean-Claude Combessie, « II. L'entretien semi-directif » in Jean-Claude Combessie, *La méthode en sociologie*, La Découverte, 2007, p. 24-32.

### 3.3 Exploration des méthodes d'analyse

Pour analyser les sources primaires que j'ai recueillies, j'ai adopté une méthodologie complexe. J'ai combiné des approches empruntées à la sociologie de la culture, aux cultural studies, ainsi qu'à l'épistémologie féministe. Il est important de noter que j'ai mené cette étude en France, bien que mon terrain de recherche soit situé aux États-Unis. J'ai donc utilisé le concept de *studies*, d'origine anglo-américaine, pour approfondir mon analyse d'un point de vue genré et féministe de la culture<sup>122</sup>. Les *studies* ont émergé en réaction aux savoirs académiques établis. Bien que la culture patriarcale et élitiste prenne une forme différente en France, il est paradoxal de constater que certains théoriciens français ont contribué partiellement à l'évolution de ces nouvelles disciplines<sup>123</sup>. Mon approche pour étudier la pornographie en tant qu'objet culturel a pris en considération le lien étroit entre les biens culturels et la société, ce qui justifie l'importance de contextualiser mon travail. Les études culturelles m'ont permis d'examiner la culture à travers le prisme des différents groupes sociaux. La culture possède une dimension politique, car elle peut être utilisée pour remettre en question l'ordre social existant tout en maintenant les structures de pouvoir en place<sup>124</sup>. Les cultural studies se concentrent sur la diversité des identités et mettent l'accent sur l'examen des groupes marginalisés<sup>125</sup>. L'épistémologie féministe a également été intégrée dans ma manière de mener des d'analyser les entretiens. Cette approche vise à combattre l'androcentrisme présent dans les cadres d'analyse sociologiques et anthropologiques traditionnels<sup>126</sup>. Dans cette optique, l'historisation de l'objet de recherche et la prise en compte de ma position sociale sont des éléments essentiels dans l'analyse des entretiens menés. C'est en utilisant cette perspective que j'ai étudié les entretiens sociologiques avec les différents acteur.ices de l'industrie de la pornographie alternative. Cependant, il est important de souligner que l'analyse des entretiens sociologiques ne constitue pas à elle seule une étude complète sur le sujet. C'est pourquoi j'ai également entrepris une analyse socioculturelle des études filmiques pour examiner les revendications exprimées au sein des films

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<sup>122</sup> Geneviève Sellier, « Gender studies et études filmiques : avancées et résistances françaises », *Diogène*, n° 225, Éditions Presses Universitaires de France, 2009, p. 127.

<sup>123</sup> Sellier, Geneviève, « Gender studies et études filmiques. », *Cahiers du genre*, 2005, p. 64.

<sup>124</sup> Armand Mattelart et Érik Neveu, *Introduction aux Cultural Studies*, Éditions La Découverte, 2003, p. 4.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 67.

<sup>126</sup> Isabelle Clair, « Faire du terrain en féministe », *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales*, vol. 213, no. 3, 2016, p 13.

pornographiques que j'ai sélectionnés. J'ai élaboré au préalable une grille d'analyse filmique pour effectuer une lecture sémiotique des œuvres choisies<sup>127</sup>.

### Grille d'entretien

<p><b>Présentation +Production de leurs propres contenus</b></p>	<p>Introduce myself and the research Can you introduce yourself and your work and projects ? What brings you into porn ? What made you want to create your own pornographic content? How did you produce and distribute it? <i>Why did you choose the Bay area to create your films ? Do you think it is more difficult now due to the rising prices in the bay to be in this field ?</i></p>
<p><b>Représentation des sexualités non hétéronormatives</b></p>	<p>Do you think that alternative pornography can provide a better representation of feminist and queer sexualities? In what way ?</p>
	<p>In what way feminist and queer pornography can be a privileged space to give voice to sexual and gender minorities ? <i>What do you think are the claims of alternative pornography ?</i></p>
<p><b>Mise en action des théories pro-sexe</b></p>	<p>Does alternative pornography have an impact on the working conditions of sex workers ? How does being both a director and an actor impact your work? In what way does queer and feminist pornography tend to emphasize the sexual pleasure of women and sexual minorities? Is the notion of safersex important in your work ? Do you use ethics charts in your work or other documents to talk about sexual practices and consent ?</p>
	<p>How the emergence of platforms such as onlyfans as an impact on sex work ? <i>An autonomization ? Is it a form of self-empowerment ? In what way do these platforms have an impact on the work of directors ? and on the work of actors ?</i></p>
<p><b>Production d'un discours de résistance</b></p>	<p>Do you see your work as a form of resistance to the various sex-negative discourses? Whether it is the conservative ones or the anti-sex feminists ? How do you position yourself in relation to mainstream pornography ? <i>Do you think mainstream porn is changing ? In what way ?</i> What is the main difference between mainstream porn and alternative porn ? and between feminist porn and queer porn ?</p>
	<p>Your claims are translated through your films, do you consider</p>

<sup>127</sup> Voir annexe n°8.

	<p>yourself an activist ?</p> <p>Are you active in other spaces such as queer or feminist organizations, on social media ?</p> <p>Are you in contact with other filmmakers?</p> <p>Are you interested in feminist and queer porn in Europe for example ?</p>
<b>Recul sur les sexwars</b>	<p>Do you feel that the debates around pornography in the feminist movement of the 1980s between the pro-sex and anti-pornography movements are still present today or are they fading away ?</p> <p><i>What is your point of view on these debates ?</i></p> <p><i>Would you consider yourself part of the pro-sex or sexpositive movement ?</i></p>
<b>Question supplémentaire :</b>	<p>Do you have anything to add or do you want to talk about anything else ?</p>
<b>Conclusion</b>	<p>Thank you very much for your time, here is my email ( <a href="mailto:estelle.barbie@yahoo.com">estelle.barbie@yahoo.com</a> ) and my whatsapp ( +33646503591 ) feel free to contact me if you have anything to add. I will send you the questions and the transcript of the interview as well as my final work if you want.</p>

## II. La pornographie : un outil de luttes queer et féministe ?

### 1) Pornographie, cyberculture et resignification politique

Afin d'explorer la pornographie en tant qu'outil de résistance pour les groupes minorisés, il est essentiel de définir davantage le contexte théorique qui encadre cette approche. Dans cette perspective, la pornographie est considérée comme une forme de production culturelle numérique. Les implications épistémologiques et politiques des usages d'Internet dans le militantisme des cultures minoritaires sont cruciales pour analyser et comprendre les démarches liées à la création de pornographies alternatives. Actuellement, les créations culturelles numériques s'inscrivent dans ce que l'on appelle la cyberculture. Conformément à la vision du philosophe Andoni Alonso<sup>128</sup>, tous les événements médiatisés par les nouvelles technologies de l'information et de la communication (NTIC) font partie intégrante de cette cyberculture. Ainsi, la pornographie, tout comme d'autres formes de production culturelle telles que les séries ou les films, trouve sa place dans ce contexte cyberculturel. Dans cette sous-partie, j'établirais tout d'abord un cadre théorique qui nous aidera à comprendre comment les pornographies alternatives s'inscrivent dans une démarche de résistance. Il est important de noter que cette approche théorique est relativement récente. En effet, les analyses des productions culturelles traditionnelles ont souvent négligé le contexte social dans lequel elles s'inscrivent, que ce soit au niveau de la production ou de la réception. Cependant, il est maintenant largement reconnu que les produits culturels sont profondément influencés par leur environnement socio-historique, marqué par des rapports de classes, de genres et de géopolitiques qui jouent un rôle déterminant dans le processus de production. En parallèle, le regard de la spectateur.ice est également influencé par des facteurs tels que son capital économique, culturel et social, ce qui joue sur la manière dont il perçoit un objet culturel donné<sup>129</sup>.

La pornographie dominante, qui est essentiellement représentée par une pornographie hétérosexuelle cisgenre, se caractérise par des éléments culturels distinctifs qui incluent des rapports sexuels mettant en scène une pénétration phallovaginale, la perpétuation des normes binaires de genre, la passivité de la femme et la domination de l'homme, ainsi que la

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<sup>128</sup> Andoni Alonzo, Arzoz, Inaki, Arzoz, *Basque cyberculture : From Digital Euskadi to CyberEuskalherria*, Basque Studies Program, 2003.

<sup>129</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, « The Forms of Capital. » *The Sociology of Economic Life*, Routledge, 2018, p. 78-92.

conformité aux normes actuelles de beauté corporelle. Les féministes anti-pornographie soutiennent que ces codes présents dans la pornographie dominante démontrent que cette forme de pornographie, en plus d'émerger dans un contexte de domination et de soumission, reproduit et influe sur les dynamiques de genre<sup>130</sup>. Cette situation soulève la question des mécanismes que les pornographies alternatives utilisent pour échapper à ces codes culturels et si cela est possible. Afin de répondre à ces questions, mes recherches se basent sur le concept de « visualité » développé par Nicholas Mirzoeff, qui repose sur l'idée que notre perception visuelle est influencée non seulement par des facteurs biologiques, mais aussi par des constructions sociales et culturelles qui sont façonnées par des rapports de pouvoir mouvant<sup>131</sup>. Mirzoeff prend en considération les diverses stratégies mises en œuvre pour défier l'ordre visuel dominant. Il explique que le modèle de visualité dominant, bien que prédominant dans l'histoire, est constamment contesté par diverses formes de résistance, formant ainsi ce qu'il appelle des « contre-visualités »<sup>132</sup>. Selon lui, la contre-visualité témoigne de la capacité des individus à agir en mettant en place différentes stratégies pour résister à l'ordre visuel dominant. Cette notion rejoint celle de l'anthropologue James C. Scott, qui soutient que la domination n'est jamais absolue, ce qui ouvre la voie à l'émergence d'alternatives<sup>133</sup>. La notion de contre-visualité s'inscrit dans le cadre des luttes féministes contre l'objectification des femmes au cinéma (le *male gaze* introduit par Laura Mulvey) et peut également être appliquée à une critique de la pornographie mainstream<sup>134</sup>.

Les pornographies alternatives s'inscrivent dans la quête de contre-visualité, mise en œuvre dans le but de résister à l'ordre visuel le plus présent. Ce concept émerge directement des études visuelles, enracinées dans la *French Theory* et les *Cultural Studies*, un courant transdisciplinaire comme explicité précédemment. Il existe de nombreuses stratégies pour aller à l'encontre de la vision dominante. Par exemple, l'utilisation du corps, y compris le corps de la réalisatrice, permet de répondre à l'invisibilisation des minorités à travers l'histoire, tout en s'appropriant leur œuvre<sup>135</sup>. Ainsi, dans de nombreux cas, les réalisateur.ices se mettent en scène dans leurs propres films afin d'utiliser leur corps comme un outil de conception de l'œuvre pornographique. C'est le cas, par exemple, de la réalisatrice et actrice

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<sup>130</sup> Andrea Dworkin, *Pornography : Men Possessing Women*, Plume, 1981, p. 38.

<sup>131</sup> Sara Alonso Gomez, Julie Martin, *Contre-visualités: Écarts tactiques dans l'art contemporain*, Éditions Lorelei, 2023, p. 7.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8.

<sup>133</sup> James C Scott, *La domination et les arts de la résistance. Fragments du discours subalterne*, Amsterdam éditions, 2019.

<sup>134</sup> Sara Alonso Gomez, Julie Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 55.

pornographique Madison Young, qui a expliqué au cours notre entretien qu'elle devait parfois jouer deux rôles majeurs lors de la production :

M : So, even when I... In my book the DIY handbook I talk about directing while in inverted suspension, I want you to get underneath me and get that on camera (*rire*). And that was tricky and strange. It was like I'm totally present in this moment and then like checking in like oh hold on are they getting actually that cool shot ? So yeah you are bouncing between those two spaces. But I was able to get into that space, into that embodied, connected pleasure space that I could flow between the two personally<sup>136</sup>.

Ces deux rôles dans la production de films reflètent l'importance du corps en tant qu'outil de conception de l'œuvre. Être à la fois performeuse et réalisatrice lui permet de ressentir et de vivre les éléments qu'elle souhaite mettre en lumière. La contre-visualité ne se limite pas à la création d'une représentation radicalement opposée à la représentation dominante, mais met davantage l'accent sur la déconstruction du regard dominant. Les stratégies de contre-visualités permettent ainsi de jouer avec les normes pour envisager les choses sous un angle différent<sup>137</sup>.

Si les dispositifs filmiques et les stratégies sont analysés dans la prochaine section, nous pouvons dès à présent aborder les concepts qui nous aideront à comprendre ces stratégies. Les pornographies alternatives s'inscrivent en effet dans le principe de la resignification introduit par Judith Butler<sup>138</sup>. La resignification s'applique aussi bien aux productions culturelles qu'au langage, comme en témoigne la resignification des insultes. En effet, la norme a souvent utilisé l'injure pour asseoir un pouvoir et délégitimer certaines populations minoritaires. La resignification permet de lutter contre l'homophobie ou le racisme en se réappropriant le discours et en lui donnant un nouveau sens<sup>139</sup>. Elle permet ainsi de réhabiliter les stigmates imposés par la culture dominante. Dans le contexte de la pornographie, les groupes minoritaires, tels que les personnes queer, ou les communautés sexuelles dissidentes comme les adeptes du BDSM, créent et diffusent des représentations alternatives de la sexualité dans le but de proposer des discours alternatifs et de remodeler les représentations et les rapports sociaux prédominants présents dans la pornographie traditionnelle. Il est cependant essentiel de noter que les discours, y compris les productions pornographiques,

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<sup>136</sup> Entretien avec Madison Young, 26/04/23, annexe n°10.

<sup>137</sup> Sara Alonso Gomez, Julie Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

<sup>138</sup> Paveau, Marie-Anne Paveau, « La resignification. Pratiques technodiscursives de répétition subversive sur le web relationnel. » *Langage et société* 167.2, 2019, p. 113.

<sup>139</sup> Judith Butler, *Le pouvoir des mots. Politique du performatif*, traduit de l'anglais par Charlotte Nordmann, Éditions Amsterdam, (1997) 2004, p. 287.

négocient plus ou moins radicalement avec les normes, et il n'existe pas de discours purement féministes ou purement patriarcaux. Les pornographies alternatives emploient la resignification queer, qui concerne la transformation des rôles de genre et des pratiques sexuelles genrées, dans le but de résister aux discours normatifs sur la sexualité.

La théorie queer elle-même se fonde sur l'idée d'utiliser tous les outils à disposition à l'intérieur du régime patriarcal et hétérosexuel pour en exploiter les failles<sup>140</sup>. Cette approche diverge des thèses abolitionnistes concernant la pornographie, qui mettent l'accent sur l'éradication complète du pouvoir patriarcal depuis l'extérieur en supprimant tous les outils patriarcaux, tels que la pornographie<sup>141</sup>. L'utilisation de la pornographie comme forme de résistance constitue un discours en retour de la part des réalisateurs et réalisatrices de pornographies alternatives. Le discours en retour expliqué par Michel Foucault, met l'accent sur la dimension politique de la sexualité et désigne un discours produit par des personnes en marge et minoritaires de la pornographie dominante qui décident de produire et de documenter leurs propres sexualités<sup>142</sup>. Il s'agit d'une initiative que l'on pourrait qualifier de micropolitique, c'est-à-dire des actions politiques entreprises en dehors des circuits traditionnels<sup>143</sup>. Dans ce sens, les acteur.ices et réalisateur.ices de pornographies alternatives s'identifient fortement à cette posture de résistance à l'ordre dominant. Iels se positionnent non seulement en dehors de l'industrie pornographique *mainstream*, mais également en dehors du système sociétal en tant que tel. Par exemple, Zuri Love, performeur.se et réalisateur.ice non binaire et également prostitué.e, perçoit son travail comme une forme de résistance à la norme :

Z : Yeah I definitely see my work as resistance to I guess what you would call the norm ? Because they don't see us as people. They view us as objects. But we are not objects, we are humans who have autonomy, and free will. I definitely feel like I'm doing a resistance and being a rebel and being just someone who just hates working under people. I hate capitalism. If I am going to work under capitalism and be miserable I prefer to do it myself! And not answer to anyone. Because I hate that. We go against the norm, we do not like conformity and I have been like that my entire life. And in America, they hate us. They hate us. Whether you are doing porn or you are a hooker and I can say that because I am a hooker. Like whether you are doing camming, they just don't see us as good people. And a lot of us come from places where you would not believe. Especially if you are a person of color. Or if you are an immigrant. A lot of us are children of immigrants or are immigrants so add all that in, and all that intersections and it can all ass mess<sup>144</sup>.

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<sup>140</sup> Sam Bourcier, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 141.

<sup>142</sup> Rachele Borghi, « Post-Porn », *Rue Descartes*, vol. n° 79, n° 3, 2013, p. 29.

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 141.

<sup>144</sup> Entretien avec Zuri Love, 03/04/23, annexe n° 10.



Dans cette citation, iel affirme percevoir son travail comme une forme de résistance à la norme. Ici, « la norme » peut être interprétée de deux manières différentes : d'une part, en référence à la norme, la pornographie *mainstream*, et d'autre part, en tant que norme plus générale évoquant la vision traditionnelle de la société sur le travail et la moralité. Son expression de résistance se manifeste par une réaffirmation de son autonomie et de sa liberté de choix. De plus, iel fait également allusion à son positionnement vis-à-vis du système capitaliste et de ses contraintes. Bien que son positionnement engendre des difficultés financières, iel préfère conserver son indépendance. Comme nous le verrons dans la prochaine section, cela met également en lumière l'impact du capitalisme sur la vie des travailleurs et travailleuses du sexe (TDS). Il est également important de souligner qu'iel évoque la stigmatisation et la discrimination auxquelles sont confronté.es les travailleur.es du sexe, en particulier ceux et celles qui sont des personnes de couleur ou des immigré.e-s, qui font face à des préjugés et à de la discrimination. Cette partie de la citation met en évidence les multiples intersections des oppressions que les travailleur.es du sexe peuvent subir en raison de leur identité. La production de pornographies alternatives permet de percevoir une certaine agentivité de la part des groupes minorisés et en marge de la pornographie dominante. Les productions qui seront analysées dans la prochaine partie vont, de manière performative, remettre en question voire s'opposer aux rapports sociaux en mettant l'accent sur l'impact des représentations symboliques que les objets culturels peuvent véhiculer sur les rapports de genre et de sexualité. Cependant, à la lumière des entretiens réalisés au cours de cette étude, il apparaît essentiel d'apporter des nuances sur le militantisme sexuel à travers la création de contenus pornographiques. En effet, bien que de nombreux et nombreuses réalisateur.ices de pornographie alternative cherchent à véhiculer un message politique, cela n'est pas nécessairement toujours le cas. Pour certain.es réalisateu.ices, la création de films pornographiques constitue également un moyen d'exprimer leur créativité artistique et de donner vie à leur imagination. C'est particulièrement le cas de deux réalisatrices que j'ai interviewées à ce sujet, à savoir Chelsea Poe et Shine Louise Houston :

**E : You consider yourself activist today ?**

C : I think in some ways ? But I don't think it's not that one thing that necessarily drives my porn anymore. Especially after the pandemic, I was feeling really blessed to be able to make stuff again. And the feeling after being on set of like oh wow I made something with my friends or these people I really admire. That's what I really get out of porn right now. But also... I think it's still like, having a trans woman in a BDSM collective, I think

for some people it's very political, but to me, I'm like, I'm just going to a shot you know?<sup>145</sup>

**E : And do you see your work as a form of resistance to sex negative discourses ?**

S : No, I'm a self-absorbed artist. That's basically what it is. (*rire*) No I mean really, people can put labels on our work all they want but really I make the porn I make because I want to see what I like. I want to make things that I want to watch. And I said this before in other interviews but if my aim was to be an activist or pursue a political agenda I would feel miserable. Possibly because it would feel too obvious but mostly because I realized that no matter what I do because of who I am and how I am positioned into the world, no matter what I do it's going to be politicized. Somebody is going to create a narrative around it. So I might as well just do what I want. (*rire*) It's going to get politicized anyway. So there you go, yeah<sup>146</sup>.

Ces deux citations offrent des perspectives intéressantes sur la relation entre le travail dans l'industrie pornographique et l'activisme. Dans la première citation, Chelsea Poe explique que l'orientation de son travail a évolué au fil du temps. Elle suggère qu'auparavant, son engagement était davantage axé sur la représentation et la visibilité queer, tandis qu'actuellement, il se concentre davantage sur le processus créatif et la collaboration avec d'autres performeur.ses. Elle aborde également la perception que d'autres peuvent avoir de son travail en tant que personne trans évoluant au sein d'un collectif BDSM. Pour certain.es, cela peut être interprété comme un acte politique en soi, une manière de déconstruire des normes et de revendiquer une identité. Cette ambiguïté souligne la complexité de la relation entre son travail et l'activisme, ainsi que la variété d'interprétations possibles par autrui. Cette perspective rejoint celle de Shine Louise Houston sur son propre travail. En effet, la réalisatrice explique qu'elle crée du contenu pornographique qu'elle souhaite voir, mettant ainsi en avant l'importance de la créativité personnelle et de la satisfaction individuelle dans son travail. Cette approche rappelle fortement le concept de « l'art pour l'art », un concept artistique soulignant que l'art devrait être créé principalement pour son propre bien, sans nécessairement avoir un objectif, un message ou une fonction utilitaire<sup>147</sup>. Cette vision exprime un rejet délibéré d'étiqueter son travail. Tout comme Chelsea Poe, Shine Louise Houston reconnaît que son identité et sa position dans la société la politisent aux yeux des autres.

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<sup>145</sup> Entretien avec Chelsea Poe, 11/04/23, annexe n° 11.

<sup>146</sup> Entretien avec Shine Louise Houston, 29/04/23, annexe n° 16.

<sup>147</sup> Concept popularisé par différents auteurs français comme Théophile Gautier et Charles Baudelaire, repris ensuite dans la sphère littéraire britannique par Oscar Wilde et Walter Pater.

Ces réflexions suscitent une interrogation sur la politisation de la pornographie queer, provenant de groupes marginalisés par la société. Il est intéressant de noter que cette pornographie peut être politisée parfois même à l'encontre des directeur.ices de production. Les différentes perspectives sur le travail sexuel sont cruciales pour nuancer la discussion sur le militantisme et les formes de résistance exprimées à travers les films. De plus, elles incitent à réfléchir et à remettre en question le positionnement du chercheur.se sur ces sujets et le regard qu'il porte sur celui-ci. Dans la prochaine sous-partie, le contexte matériel de l'existence de ces contenus sera abordé, traitant à la fois de l'aspect de la production en tant que tel et de la diffusion à l'ère d'Internet et des nouvelles plateformes.

## **2) Cybersex : L'évolution du travail sexuel à l'ère numérique**

L'avènement de l'ère numérique a provoqué des transformations profondes tant dans la société que dans l'industrie pornographique. La révolution numérique en cours induit de nouveaux modes de production, de distribution et de consommation de contenus pour adultes. Cette avancée technologique a été marquée par de nombreuses questions éthiques, juridiques et sociétales. Dans cette sous-partie, nous examinerons ces éléments complexes afin d'analyser les opportunités et les défis qui entourent la pornographie à l'ère du numérique.

### **2.1 Les répercussions des lois FOSTA-SESTA sur l'exercice du travail sexuel en ligne.**

Le développement d'Internet et des outils numériques a simplifié le travail sexuel en ligne, les travailleur.euses du sexe (TDS) ayant intégré les réseaux sociaux dans leurs activités pour faciliter la recherche de clients. Depuis 2018, le paysage du travail sexuel en ligne a subi des changements significatifs suite au vote des lois FOSTA-SESTA. Adoptées en 2018 sous la présidence de Donald Trump, les lois FOSTA (*Fight Online Sex Trafficking Act*) et SESTA (*Stop Enabling Sex Traffickers Act*) visent à combattre le trafic humain, en particulier le trafic sexuel en ligne<sup>148</sup>. FOSTA cherche à modifier la section 230 du *Communications Decency Act*, rendant les sites internet responsables de ce que les utilisateurs postent<sup>149</sup>. De manière

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<sup>148</sup> Danielle Blunt et Ariel Wolf, « Erased : l'impact de FOSTA-SESTA et la suppression de Backpage sur les travailleurs du sexe. » *Anti-trafficking review* 14, 2020, p. 117.

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.*

complémentaire, SESTA renforce ces dispositions en donnant aux victimes de trafic sexuel la possibilité de poursuivre les plateformes en ligne diffusant des images issues de ce trafic. Pour éviter toute responsabilité légale, les sites internet, notamment les réseaux sociaux, ont massivement censuré les contenus sexuellement explicites. Cette censure a rendu le travail du sexe en ligne de plus en plus difficile sur les plateformes classiques, notamment les sites d'annonces en ligne et les réseaux sociaux à des fins promotionnelles. Les avantages du travail sexuel en ligne, tels que l'indépendance qu'il offre en évitant l'intermédiaire pour trouver des clients ou travailler dans des espaces publics, ont été sérieusement compromis par ces lois. Internet, qui autrefois offrait une protection contre les clients dangereux grâce à des paiements sécurisés en ligne et la possibilité de laisser des avis sur les clients, a également perdu sa capacité à former une communauté et à fournir un soutien en ligne aux travailleur·ses du sexe<sup>150</sup>. Ces restrictions ont poussé certains·es TDS à retourner vers des environnements moins sécurisants, comme les bars, les clubs ou la rue. En ce qui concerne la pornographie, les performeur·ses font face à des difficultés accrues pour promouvoir leurs contenus, rendant la recherche de collaborations via les réseaux sociaux de plus en plus compliquée, comme l'ont souligné les performeur·ses Chelsea Poe et Ruby Riots :

C : (...) Like I most noticed it on Instagram after SESTA and FOSTA, just like constantly getting my account deleted, I have lost over 10 accounts.)And it started to get Twitter too, like, people were losing their twitter accounts when twitter used to be like the meca for posting your porn<sup>151</sup>.

R : And I feel like with social media, that was where my activism was and where I was able to do positive things for trans inclusion. Probably like seven years ago in 2016 or something like that, or before that. Now I feel like I'm shadowbanned and stuff... Particularly on Twitter, it just is not what it used to be, when I started, it was very much... If you were in the porn industry everyone was on Twitter and that's how you get cast, that's how you get agency in this industry and build a following. And I don't really feel that it's that way anymore<sup>152</sup>.

Ces deux citations illustrent le changement de dynamique sur les réseaux sociaux consécutif à l'adoption des lois SESTA-FOSTA, ainsi que l'impact significatif de celles-ci sur les modalités de travail au sein de l'industrie pornographique. Les restrictions imposées par

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<sup>150</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 118-120.

<sup>151</sup> Entretien avec Chelsea Poe, 11/04/23, annexe n°11.

<sup>152</sup> Entretien avec Ruby Riot, 14/04/23, annexe n°12.

FOSTA-SESTA, conçues pour réduire le trafic sexuel, ont affecté les conditions de travail des travailleur·ses du sexe. Quant aux résultats de ces lois en matière de réduction du trafic sexuel, il convient de noter que la question nécessiterait une analyse approfondie pour parvenir à des conclusions objectives. Cependant, il est important de souligner que l'objectif principal de ce mémoire n'est pas d'explorer les aspects législatifs ni la traite des personnes. Cependant, selon le *Columbia Human Rights Law Review*, les résultats initiaux de ces lois semblent peu concluants. L'article indique qu'une seule poursuite fédérale a été engagée depuis la mise en œuvre de ces lois. De plus, l'étude met en lumière les difficultés causées par la censure de ces sites, rendant ardue la collecte de preuves et la traque des transactions financières effectuées en ligne<sup>153</sup>. Il est donc difficile dans ce contexte de faire émerger des formes indépendantes de pornographies, puisque cela nécessite d'utiliser d'autres canaux de diffusions tels que les réseaux sociaux qui sont aujourd'hui soumis à des censures.

## **2.2 La transformation des plateformes de contenus pornographiques : L'essor de Pornhub et OnlyFans.**

Le cyberspace a modifié la manière dont le travail du sexe est effectué. En ce qui concerne la pornographie, la dernière décennie a été marquée par la prédominance des plateformes de streaming en ligne telles que Pornhub, créé en 2007, qui enregistrait 33 milliards de visites annuelles en 2018<sup>154</sup>. Cette évolution contraste nettement avec la location de DVD porno dans les années 1990, rendant la pornographie grand public accessible en ligne. Cette transformation de l'industrie a pris un autre tournant en 2020 avec l'arrivée de la pandémie de COVID-19, modifiant la façon dont la pornographie est consommée. Only Fans, initialement lancé en 2016, a gagné une part de marché considérable pendant les périodes de confinement liées à la COVID-19<sup>155</sup>. Only Fans est une plateforme en ligne permettant aux utilisateur.ices de payer un abonnement mensuel pour accéder à du contenu (photos ou vidéos). Cette plateforme n'est pas limitée aux travailleur.ses du sexe, mais s'adresse à toute personne souhaitant créer du contenu en ligne. Elle compte actuellement environ 170 millions d'utilisateur.ices et 1,5 million de créateur.ices de contenus<sup>156</sup>. Il est difficile d'évaluer le pourcentage de travailleur.ses du sexe sur la plateforme, car chaque jour, environ 500 000

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<sup>153</sup> Kendra Albert et al, « FOSTA in Legal Context », *Colombia Human Rights Law Review*, 2021.

<sup>154</sup> Frédéric Pereira, « Pornhub a publié sa rétrospective 2018 et les chiffres donnent le tournis », *Fredzone*, 12 décembre 2018.

<sup>155</sup> Alicja Perdon, Belinda Brooks-Gordon, Valeria Rubattu, *art. cit.*, p. 2.

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4.

nouveaux utilisateur.ices s'y inscrivent<sup>157</sup>. Only Fans prélève 20 % des revenus générés, un pourcentage inférieur à celui des plateformes de camming classiques qui retiennent généralement environ 50 % des gains<sup>158</sup>. Le nombre élevé de personnes présentes sur cette plateforme, combiné aux taux de commission élevés, rend difficile pour de nombreux.se.s travailleur.se.s du sexe de vivre convenablement grâce à ces plateformes, comme le souligne Ruby Riots lors de notre entretien :

R : Stuff really changed quite a bit because of Onlyfans. Onlyfans blew up in 2020 and it kind of created this false narrative that you can get an Onlyfans and make a ton of money out of it. **“Yeah”** People joke around about it. **“Yeah a lot.”** And I’m like fuck you, like I’ve used Onlyfans for years and it’s not that easy (*rire*). **“Sure”** Like the industry has changed, especially like, a lot of people left. It’s interesting to see that people who have stayed through after the pandemic... A lot of people were forced to work online for obvious reasons. We were forced to do everything online, whether it would be a zoom thing, or promoting yourself on these social media websites<sup>159</sup>.

Cette citation met en lumière la complexité de la perception d'Only Fans et de son rôle dans l'industrie. Ruby souligne les changements significatifs qu'a connus l'année 2020 sur les plateformes en ligne et dans le travail du sexe. Only Fans a modifié la manière dont les TDS génèrent des revenus, mais elle a également modifié le profil habituel des travailleur.se.s dans ce secteur. Bien que la clientèle gay soit présente sur Only Fans, la majorité des créateur.ices de cette plateforme sont des femmes. Selon l'étude sur le sujet d'Alicja Perdon, Belinda Brooks-Gordon et Valeria Rubattu, les créatrices de contenus sur ce site sont généralement plus jeunes que les escortes traditionnelles<sup>160</sup>. Comme nous l'explorerons tout au long de cette section, la diversification des plateformes transforme les scènes pornographiques tournées au sein des maisons de production en outils marketing pour les performeur.se.s. Ainsi, ces scènes deviennent des publicités pour leurs propres contenus, sites personnels et services variés, établissant une connexion directe avec le consommateur ou la consommatrice<sup>161</sup>.

Bien que la plateforme ait démocratisé et rendu plus visible le travail sexuel, Only Fans n'a pas diminué l'importance de la stigmatisation entourant cette activité. En effet, le stigmate lié

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<sup>157</sup> Stephen Mesnildrey, « Statistiques OnlyFans », *Sales Hacking*, 2023.

<sup>158</sup> Alicja Perdon, Belinda Brooks-Gordon, Valeria Rubattu, *art. cit.*, p. 4.

<sup>159</sup> Entretien avec Ruby Riot, 14/04/23, annexe n° 12.

<sup>160</sup> Alicja Perdon, Belinda Brooks-Gordon, Valeria Rubattu, *art. cit.*, p. 4.

<sup>161</sup> Heather Berg, *op. cit.*, p. 14-15.

au travail sexuel demeure présent, affectant inévitablement les femmes qui exercent cette profession, car l'expression de la sexualité féminine reste un tabou dans nos sociétés<sup>162</sup>. Cette stigmatisation s'est également manifestée sur OnlyFans en 2021, lorsque l'entreprise a interdit tout contenu pornographique ainsi que ses créateur.ices, suite à une forte pression des banques et des fournisseurs de paiement qui ne voulaient pas être associés au travail sexuel en ligne<sup>163</sup>. Bien que cette interdiction ait été de courte durée, ne durant que cinq jours, elle a eu des répercussions sur les travailleur.ses du sexe présents sur la plateforme, comme le souligne Ruby Riots :

R : They were trying to rebrand not being involved with porn. And then they gave up and like actually just kidding we are going to let you stay. It was very stressful. Especially for people who relied on that, there are people who rely on that to survive.(...) It's like walking on eggshells being on Onlyfans<sup>164</sup>.

Dans cette citation, iel évoque le stress constant découlant de la stigmatisation de son travail. Les travailleurs et travailleuses du sexe se voient contraint.es de s'adapter aux réglementations changeantes des plateformes, lesquelles évoluent constamment en fonction du contexte social et politique. Cette préoccupation est également partagée par Chelsea Poe et Zuri Love quant à la fragilité de la plateforme :

C : So they kick sexworkers for like 2 weeks because the company has changed their CEO or something. And they were like no it's fine. And people are still like, if it happens again, and eventually it's probably going to happen<sup>165</sup>.

Z : Onlyfans is the big one, yes because it was originally like for... the whores (*rire*), for all the sex workers. Now since, you know... they hate us. (*rire*) We will probably get kicked off again in the future<sup>166</sup>.

### 2.3 L'impact de la COVID-19 sur les transformations de l'industrie pornographique

La pandémie de la COVID-19 a eu un impact significatif sur l'industrie du travail du sexe, touchant divers aspects tels que la production et les performeur.ses. Par exemple, une augmentation du trafic sur les sites de streaming pour adultes a été observé, phénomène expliqué par la distanciation sociale obligatoire qui a rendu difficile les rencontres physiques,

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<sup>162</sup> Clover Stutz, et al, «'We Hate Sex Workers in this Country': Stigma in Online Sex Work », *Sexuality & Culture*, 2023.

<sup>163</sup> AFP, « OnlyFans revient sur sa décision et n'interdira pas la pornographie », *Le Monde*, 25 Août 2021.

<sup>164</sup> Entretien avec Ruby Riots, 14/04/23, annexe n°12.

<sup>165</sup> Entretien avec Chelsea Poe, 11/04/23, annexe n°11.

<sup>166</sup> Entretien avec Zuri Love, 03/04/23, annexe n°10.

combinée à un surplus de temps libre<sup>167</sup>. Du côté des travailleur.ses du sexe, la COVID-19 a eu des répercussions majeures. Les tournages ont été interrompus, et il n'était plus possible de collaborer avec d'autres personnes. De plus, les compensations financières accordées par l'État pendant cette période ont peu ou n'ont pas pris en compte les TDS. Dans ce contexte, le travail du sexe en ligne via diverses plateformes, telles qu'Only Fans, a émergé comme une solution permettant aux TDS de survivre et de maintenir leur activité<sup>168</sup>. Comme le souligne Chelsea, cette transition vers le travail en ligne était une contrainte imposée par les circonstances :

C : I think Only Fans it's just a thing that happened during the pandemic. I think the pandemic transformed everything. Before I thought it was very taboo to be a camgirl, I feel like everyone is a camgirl now (*rire*). It really changed the mindset of it. And the mindset around sex work<sup>169</sup>.

La pandémie a effectivement modifié la manière de produire du contenu pornographique. Au-delà du contexte matériel, la COVID-19 a contribué à changer la perception collective du travail du sexe, le rendant plus visible. Bien que des tabous persistent, comme illustré précédemment par les problématiques liées à Only Fans, l'idée d'une démocratisation du travail du sexe, telle que perçue par Chelsea, invite à réfléchir sur la manière dont les événements mondiaux, comme la pandémie, influent à la fois sur les industries et le travail en général, ainsi que sur les attitudes et les mentalités collectives envers divers sujets soudainement mis en lumière de manière inattendue. Pendant cette période, des individus non initialement impliqués dans l'industrie ont commencé à exercer dans le travail du sexe via OnlyFans, où convergent à la fois des personnes habituées à cette industrie et des débutant.es<sup>170</sup>. Cependant, selon la chercheuse Heather Berg, la COVID-19 n'a pas radicalement transformé l'industrie, mais a accéléré des changements déjà en cours<sup>171</sup>. En effet, avant la pandémie, de plus en plus de contenus étaient auto-produits grâce aux avancées numériques telles que les réseaux sociaux, internet et des caméras de haute qualité à moindre coût. De même, la consolidation des grandes plateformes était déjà bien établie, avec des chiffres records pour Pornhub dès 2018, affichant un chiffre d'affaires de 460 millions de dollars cette année-là<sup>172</sup>. Aujourd'hui, les productions continuent d'être affectées par la

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<sup>167</sup> Alicja Perdon, Belinda Brooks-Gordon, Valeria Rubattu, *art. cit.*, p. 4.

<sup>168</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>169</sup> Entretien avec Chelsea Poe, 11/04/23, annexe n°11.

<sup>170</sup> Clover Stutz, et al, *art. cit.*, p. 3.

<sup>171</sup> Heather Berg, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

<sup>172</sup> Courrier International, « Porno. Pornhub racheté par un fonds de capital-risque canadien », *Courrier International*, 17 mars 2023.



COVID-19, avec des arrêts de tournage en cas de contamination et des exigences telles que la réalisation de tests PCR<sup>173</sup>. Cette réalité est également soulignée par Chelsea, qui reconnaît que ces évolutions étaient déjà en cours. Elle situe ainsi Only Fans comme un phénomène déjà ancré dans la monétisation en ligne de contenus explicites, en citant l'exemple de Snapchat que certaines personnes utilisent pour vendre des photos ou des vidéos :

C : So I think it's an interesting thing but Onlyfans is just ... If it wasn't Onlyfans I was going to be something else. I feel like before Onlyfans, Snapchat was a really big thing, girls would sell their snapchat and post nudes and stuff. So I think it's just a continuation of that<sup>174</sup>.

Les transformations numériques ont profondément perturbé l'industrie pornographique au cours des dernières années. Cette évolution exerce une influence significative sur l'ensemble de la chaîne de production, obligeant les performeurs et performeuses à s'adapter et à ajuster leurs activités en conséquence. L'analyse des aspects positifs et négatifs de cette évolution vise à mieux comprendre comment ces changements affectent les travailleur.ses du sexe.

#### **2.4 Création de contenu adulte en ligne : Une expression d'indépendance ? Les aspects positifs du travail du sexe sur internet.**

La croissance des nouvelles plateformes en ligne a favorisé le développement de l'autonomie et de l'indépendance des travailleurs et travailleuses du sexe. Cette autonomie croissante, particulièrement présente dans le domaine du porno queer et féministe, s'inscrit dans le principe du *DIY Feminism* qui émerge au sein de ce que l'on appelle la troisième vague du féminisme, débutée au début des années 1990<sup>175</sup>. L'objectif de ce mouvement est de créer des productions culturelles indépendantes et autonomes, formant ainsi une sorte de résistance culturelle, comme le souligne Madison Young dans son ouvrage intitulé *DIY Porn Handbook: Documenting Our Own Sexual Desire*.

DIY porn is simultaneously a socio-political movement and an artistic movement and mode of expression. It lends itself to the empowerment of communities and cultures to tell their stories, and to embrace and celebrate their sexual identities, relationships,

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<sup>173</sup> Heather Berg, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

<sup>174</sup> Entretien avec Chelsea Poe, 11/04/23, annexe n°12.

<sup>175</sup> Michelle Kempson, « My Version of Feminism : Subjectivity, DIY and the Feminist Zine », *Social Movement Studies*, 14.4, 2015, p. 462.

desires, connections, fantasies and beyond. The scope of this genre of film is as huge as the social stigma that comes attached to it<sup>176</sup>.

Le féminisme do-it-yourself (*DIY feminism*) mobilise des ressources à faible coût pour créer et préserver la mémoire militante<sup>177</sup>. La documentation de la sexualité queer à travers le film pornographique devient ainsi une forme essentielle de documentation des sexualités dissidentes, visant à les représenter à travers le regard des personnes concernées plutôt que par un regard extérieur potentiellement fétichisant, comme le souligne Ruby Riots :

R : We don't need to wait for the studios to create what we want to see, because who knows when that would have happened. How they would have presented it. And it would have been for sure fetishized<sup>178</sup>.

La question cruciale de qui se trouve derrière la caméra, qui crée la représentation, revêt une importance particulière pour la communauté queer, parfois fétichisée et fantasmée par la pornographie grand public. Au-delà des enjeux de représentation, les évolutions numériques transforment également les conditions matérielles d'existence des travailleurs et travailleuses du sexe. En effet, l'émergence de plateformes telles qu'Only Fans rend les performeurs et performeuses beaucoup moins dépendants des producteur.ices et réalisateur.ices pour gagner leur vie.

T : My thought with Onlyfans and things like that, that has sort of more power to the performers and gives them the opportunity to make money outside of shots, which I think is really great<sup>179</sup>.

C : I was able to shot my last two movies just on my iphone. It's crazy, because when I first moved here it felt like a lot of porn, especially more mainstream porn was so much about this guy who has this professional camera and that's why is the director. Even if they didn't have any expertise in porn or knowledge about sexuality<sup>180</sup>.

Ce gain d'indépendance a été rendu possible grâce à Internet et aux smartphones, offrant aux performeurs et performeuses la possibilité de produire leurs propres contenus en ligne selon leurs propres termes. Divers types de pornographies, autrefois considérés comme de niche, ont émergé sur le devant de la scène. Aujourd'hui, n'importe qui peut créer et distribuer son

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<sup>176</sup> Madison Young, *DIY Porn Handbook: A How-To Guide to Documenting Our Own Sexual Revolution*, SCB Distributors, 2016.

<sup>177</sup> Red Chidgey, *Hand-made memories: Remediating cultural memory in DIY feminist networks*, Transcript, 2014, p. 87.

<sup>178</sup> Entretien avec Ruby Riots, 14/04/23, annexe n°12.

<sup>179</sup> Entretien avec Tristan Crane, 31/03/23, annexe n°13.

<sup>180</sup> Entretien avec Chelsea Poe, 11/04/23, annexe n°11.

propre contenu pornographique en ligne<sup>181</sup>. L'accroissement de l'autonomie, résultant des changements en cours dans l'industrie, a conduit à une prolifération de contenus pornographiques queer et féministes, mais également à une forte croissance dans les domaines des contenus fétiches et amateurs. Les débats entourant la pornographie dans les années 1980 étaient centrés essentiellement sur un seul type de porno. Cependant, selon la chercheuse Heather Berg, cette perspective ne serait plus représentative de la réalité actuelle, car l'industrie pornographique s'est profondément diversifiée<sup>182</sup>. Bien que le numérique ait largement contribué à ce changement, les travailleurs et travailleuses du sexe ont également joué un rôle majeur dans l'évolution de la manière de produire du porno.

Dans cette perspective, l'évolution du numérique a facilité et rendu plus accessible la distribution de pornographies alternatives au grand public. Comme explicité ultérieurement, la diffusion de ce type de contenu était complexe en raison du peu d'endroits où ils pouvaient s'établir. Good Vibrations a ainsi joué un rôle prépondérant en tant que principal diffuseur pendant près de deux décennies. Par la suite, l'avènement d'Internet, des sites de streaming et de téléchargement a radicalement modifié la manière de consommer du contenu pornographique, offrant une visibilité accrue aux contenus autrefois confinés à quelques sexshop proposant des alternatives plus diversifiées.

C : Websites also began to spring up in the half of the 90s. If you want to look for feminist porn, you should look at different websites who focus on that, they don't make movies to sell and store, they make movies to download, that's today. But at one time, anybody who made movies, first they were on VHS, cassettes, the really old one the size of a book right ? And they were on DVDs and you bought the item itself and put it in the computer and your VCR. (...) I remembered so clearly saying to them, what Good Vibrations should really have tried to do is to make a distribution porn company for us. For the queer feminist people. And we haven't been able to do it. And nobody else really did it either<sup>183</sup>.

À l'heure actuelle, plusieurs sites internet proposent de la pornographie queer et féministe, le plus connu étant PinkLabelTV, la plateforme en ligne de la maison de production Pink and White, qui est aujourd'hui la maison de production queer la plus reconnue dans ce domaine à San Francisco, établie depuis les années 1990. Pink and White dispose également de sa propre plateforme de distribution en ligne, offrant une variété de contenus queer et féministes, en plus de leurs propres productions. Comme le souligne Carol Queen, ils ont

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<sup>181</sup> Heather Berg, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

<sup>182</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>183</sup> Entretien 2 avec Carol Queen, 31/03/23, annexe n°14.

également numérisé les premiers contenus alternatifs en matière de pornographie datant des années 1980 : « Which is why Pink and White is so important, in terms of trying to hold on to all of this and not let it get lost »<sup>184</sup>. Plus qu'un simple site de streaming, il s'agit également d'une manière d'archiver et de préserver une trace des sexualités queer. Cependant, il est important de noter que ce type de plateformes attire des audiences relativement restreintes par rapport aux géants du streaming tels que PornHub. À l'heure actuelle, il n'existe aucune plateforme de pornographies alternatives équivalente.

L'évolution numérique a également ouvert la possibilité à ceux et celles qui le souhaitent d'explorer leur sexualité à travers le prisme du travail du sexe. Selon l'étude d'Angela Jones sur le sujet, la principale motivation derrière une carrière dans le *camming* serait avant tout d'explorer sa propre sexualité et ses désirs au sein d'un espace sécurisé, à savoir le cyberespace<sup>185</sup>. Cet argument est également avancé par la directrice et performeuse Chelsea Poe lorsqu'elle parle de son travail dans l'industrie pornographique :

C : It's a safe place to do all these things, it's either difficult to find people to do it in real life or just not as safe. (...)A couple of months ago I had this fantasy that I couldn't realize anywhere else and doing it in real life would be a lot harder, a gang bang scene in real life... I don't even know how you go about that. So I feel like porn has really provided me this place to explore and do it in a safe way<sup>186</sup>.

Le numérique offre, de ce fait, une barrière entre le consommateur.ice et le travailleur ou la travailleuse du sexe, permettant peut-être une plus grande sécurité, avec en prime la possibilité d'effectuer son travail de manière autonome, comme expliqué précédemment, ou encore de pouvoir choisir ses collaborateur.ices, ce qui peut être difficile sur les plateaux de tournage classiques. Les plateformes offrent ainsi une certaine autonomie et une agentivité aux TDS, ouvrant également davantage de possibilités aux personnes autrefois mises à l'écart par la pornographie mainstream, en particulier les personnes Noires et les personnes trans. Ces géants d'internet ont pu, de ce fait, bénéficier aux minorités, même si cela reste à nuancer, car l'évolution numérique a elle aussi apporté son lot de problématiques autrefois inexistantes.

## 2.5 Les aspects négatifs du travail du sexe à l'ère d'internet

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<sup>184</sup> Entretien 2 avec Carol Queen, 31/03/23, annexe n°15.

<sup>185</sup> Angela Jones, *Camming: Money, power, and pleasure in the sex work industry*, NYU Press, 2020.

<sup>186</sup> Entretien Chelsea Poe, 11/04/23, annexe n°12.

Être indépendant.e et travailler seul.e peut être perçu comme quelque chose de positif ; en effet, les performeurs et performeuses dépendent moins des réalisateurs et réalisatrices. Cependant, à quel prix ? Gérer une entreprise n'est pas anodin, et les TDS doivent alors assumer plusieurs rôles simultanément : créer du contenu, effectuer le montage, promouvoir leur travail, gérer les relations avec les clients et s'occuper de l'aspect financier. Comme le souligne Madison Young dans son ouvrage *DIY Porn Handbook: A How-To Guide to Documenting Our Own Sexual Revolution*, cela implique que la personne qui choisit de produire du contenu assume à la fois le rôle de performeuse, de membre de l'équipe de production, de productrice et réalisatrice. Ce sentiment de surcharge de travail est revenu dans plusieurs entretiens :

C : When I'm producing my own stuff, it feels like a lot because I try not to edit my own work, because it's really difficult, it does definitely feel like you have to deal with everything and it can be overwhelming at times<sup>187</sup>.

Z : You are running a business by yourself unless you are lucky and have a lot of money from it, but the majority of people who have an Onlyfans don't have that much money<sup>188</sup>.

M : You know, it wasn't a big crew. So, when the crews are small, I did feel... It was a lot of playing, it was fast moving and it was about having connected scenes and then more of a documentation of those scenes<sup>189</sup>.

Ces citations semblent refléter les défis auxquels de nombreux.ses performeur.ices et réalisateur.ices font face lors de la production de leur travail. L'indépendance semble être à la fois synonyme de liberté artistique et politique, mais également d'une charge de travail difficile à gérer. Au-delà de la charge mentale liée à la quantité de travail, la charge émotionnelle liée au travail sexuel est également centrale pour comprendre les enjeux liés à sa numérisation. En effet, au-delà de la charge de travail, les performeur.ses effectuent également ce qui est appelé le travail émotionnel. L'évolution numérique a notamment permis aux consommateur.ices d'entrer en contact avec leurs performeur.ses préférés.es à travers de nombreuses plateformes. Une nouvelle économie liée à la relation client est alors née dans l'industrie du porno. Cela a permis aux performeur.ses de gagner de l'argent en dehors des

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<sup>187</sup> Entretien avec Chelsea Poe, 11/04/23, annexe n°11.

<sup>188</sup> Entretien avec Zuri Love, 03/04/23, annexe n°10.

<sup>189</sup> Entretien avec Madison Young, 26/04/23, annexe n°09.

tournages, mais la charge émotionnelle qui en découle n'est pas négligeable. Entretenir des discussions avec les spectateur.ices lors de shows en direct, répondre aux messages privés, gérer les réseaux sociaux font désormais partie intégrante du travail quotidien des performeur.ses. À l'heure actuelle, le travail émotionnel que doivent effectuer les TDS est tout aussi important que le travail sexuel<sup>190</sup>. Selon la thèse de Madeline Henry, le travail sexuel en ligne rend les TDS plus vulnérables sur de nombreux points. En effet, leur présence en ligne les expose davantage au *stalking*<sup>191</sup> et au cyberharcèlement<sup>192</sup>.

Le travail émotionnel ne se manifeste pas uniquement dans la relation avec le/la consommateur.ice, mais également sur les plateaux de tournage. En effet, l'aspect émotionnel et l'authenticité, des concepts qui seront abordés dans la prochaine partie, occupent une place centrale dans la pornographie féministe et queer<sup>193</sup>. Une importance particulière est accordée aux dialogues, aux sentiments et aux émotions (avant, pendant et après les scènes), constituant en soi une forme de travail émotionnel<sup>194</sup>. C'est pourquoi certain.es performeurs et performeuses choisissent de rester et préfèrent travailler dans le porno gonzo. Les scènes gonzo, bien que plus exigeantes pour le corps, prennent moins de temps à tourner et nécessitent moins de travail émotionnel que les productions de pornographie féministe ou queer<sup>195</sup>.

Bien que l'attention se soit portée ces dernières années sur les conditions de travail des travailleurs et travailleuses du sexe, il est également important de souligner que l'évolution du numérique a également rendu l'industrie plus compétitive. Les scènes filmées servent désormais d'auditions pour d'autres opportunités potentielles. En cas de désaccord avec les conditions de travail, un autre individu peut rapidement prendre la place d'un.e performeur.se<sup>196</sup>. Au-delà des maisons de production, la concurrence est tout aussi féroce en

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<sup>190</sup> Alicja Perdon, Belinda Brooks-Gordon, Valeria Rubattu, *art. cit.*, p. 4.

<sup>191</sup> Le terme *stalking* est un anglicisme utilisé pour décrire une forme de harcèlement, que ce soit en personne ou en ligne. Il se caractérise par la collecte d'informations personnelles et une surveillance constante, représentant ainsi une violation de la vie privée.

<sup>192</sup> Madeline Henry, « 'You Can Look but You Can't Touch': Women's Experiences of Webcam Sex Work in Aotearoa/New Zealand », Thèse de doctorat, *Auckland University of Technology*, 2018.

<sup>193</sup> P. J Macleod, « How feminists pick porn: Troubling the link between 'authenticity' and production ethics », *Sexualities*, 24.4, 2021, p. 681.

<sup>194</sup> Heather Berg, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

<sup>195</sup> Heather Berg, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

<sup>196</sup> *Ibid.*

ligne. Comme le souligne Ruby Riot, la compétition sur des plateformes telles que Only Fans complique considérablement les négociations financières :

R : Because of that, so many individual clips can be harder to sell, like why would I pay 10 dollars for a clip when I can get hundreds of clips from this Onlyfans from this other person for 5 dollars. So in that sense it does make it a little bit harder to make money online. Because there is always going to be another person who's offering the same or more for a different price and that's great that everyone has the ability to choose that for themselves but I can tell it does cause some frustration for some people<sup>197</sup>.

S'imposer dans l'industrie pornographique, de plus en plus compétitive, représente un défi majeur. Afin de se faire connaître, de nombreux performeurs et performeuses passent initialement par des maisons de production, où ils ont rarement la possibilité de négocier leurs contrats<sup>198</sup>. Cela est particulièrement vrai pour les individus transgenres, Noirs, ou ayant des caractéristiques corporelles divergentes des normes de la pornographie *mainstream*. Ces personnes se voient souvent cantonnées à des catégories spécifiques aux budgets limités :

Z : Like when you take a Black person or an Asian person or anybody really. Like the way you film it, the way you scripted it, like whatever you are doing, fetishization, like especially from someone who is Black Fem, hum... if it goes into, race play, I'm like hmmm.. For me personally. And being fetishized as a Black Queer person is (*pause*) it could be uncomfortable, like, very uncomfortable depending on what someone is... You know, the vibe they try to push from the porn that they are making<sup>199</sup>.

Zuri Love soulève des questions cruciales concernant la représentation éthique et respectueuse de la diversité dans les médias, en mettant particulièrement en lumière les défis au sein de l'industrie pornographique *mainstream*, qui a tendance à fétichiser et catégoriser les individus ne correspondant pas au cadre hétéronormatif Blanc. Comme le souligne la chercheuse Heather Berg, les inégalités raciales ne sont pas propres à l'industrie pornographique, mais affectent la sphère professionnelle de manière globale<sup>200</sup>. Bien que l'une des revendications principales derrière la production de pornographie alternative soit de s'affranchir de ces catégorisations fétichisantes, le manque de moyens financiers, lié à la petite taille de cette industrie, limite les possibilités de subsistance des performeurs et performeuses travaillant dans ce secteur. Tristan Crane, membre de l'équipe de production de de Pink and White souligne la difficulté de travailler dans le porno alternatif :

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<sup>197</sup> Entretien avec Ruby riots, 14/04/23, annexe n°12.

<sup>198</sup> Heather Berg, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

<sup>199</sup> Entretien avec Zuri Love, 03/04/23, annexe n°10.

<sup>200</sup> Heather Berg, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

T : If I wanted to shot porn full time, I would have to start shooting mainstream content. There's just not enough people working in alternative porn for it to be like a full-time ongoing thing and that's true for performers as well<sup>201</sup>.

En effet, plusieurs TDS interrogées lors de cette étude m'ont confié avoir recours à d'autres sources de revenus en offrant des services de dominatrice<sup>202</sup> ou de prostitution en dehors de l'industrie pornographique :

R : In my personal life I use they/them pronouns but in the scope of sex work world I do generally present as pretty fem, so I go by she/her. What am I doing currently ? Hmm, currently right now I'm kind of weary from sex work, currently i'm not, I'm weary from all work. (*rire*) Hmm, I am a professional dominatrix and a BDSM queer performer as well<sup>203</sup>.

Z : Well, I'm Zuree Love and I do porn and... I also do full service but that's my other job (*rire*). But I have been doing porn I think for about 3 years now. And...At first, I started with solo stuff, filming myself using toys, my hands, whatever this is. And then I started to collabs' with other people<sup>204</sup>.

Les personnes genderqueer et trans travaillant dans l'industrie pornographique féministe et queer ont rarement cette activité comme seule source de revenus, car il y a souvent un nombre limité de scènes disponibles. Par conséquent, iels exercent d'autres professions en parallèle, même si les opportunités de travail dans l'industrie du sexe restent limitées pour elleux, en comparaison avec les performeurs et performeuses travaillant pour des grandes productions. La vente de photos et de vidéos, l'escorting, ainsi que le *camming* sont fréquemment des activités complémentaires. De plus, les travailleurs et travailleuses du sexe sont souvent confronté.es à la stigmatisation dans le monde professionnel, ce qui complique leur insertion ou réinsertion dans des environnements de travail plus conventionnels<sup>205</sup>.

Il est indéniable que les évolutions numériques de ces dernières décennies ont bouleversé l'industrie pornographique sous de nombreux aspects. Cependant, selon la chercheuse Heather Berg, spécialiste de l'économie du travail sexuel, d'un point de vue purement matériel, ces évolutions ne permettent pas de résister aux structures existantes. En d'autres

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<sup>201</sup> Entretien avec Tristan Crane, 31/03/23, annexe n°13.

<sup>202</sup> Une dominatrice est une personne qui assume le rôle dominant au sein d'une relation BDSM consensuelle et rémunérée. En Californie, le travail de « Dominatrix » est légal tant qu'il n'y a pas de contact avec les parties génitales, la poitrine ou les fesses.

<sup>203</sup> Entretien avec Ruby Riots, 14/04/23, annexe n°12.

<sup>204</sup> Entretien avec Zuri Love, 03/04/23, annexe n°10.

<sup>205</sup> Heather Berg, *op. cit.*, p. 32.



termes, bien que les conditions de travail dans l'industrie pornographique puissent s'améliorer à court terme, le système dans lequel cette industrie s'inscrit demeure inchangé. Opter pour le statut d'indépendant dans le travail sexuel ne modifie pas fondamentalement le système capitaliste et peut même risquer de le renforcer. Ainsi, bien que la mise en place de ces plateformes puisse apporter des changements immédiats, elle ne transforme pas l'industrie pornographique à long terme<sup>206</sup>.

## 2.6 L'impact de San Francisco sur l'évolution de l'industrie pornographique

Comme évoqué précédemment, San Francisco a joué un rôle majeur dans divers mouvements qui ont marqué l'histoire des États-Unis. Lors de notre second entretien, Carol Queen revient sur l'influence significative qu'a eue San Francisco dans l'esprit des Étatsunien.nes :

C : I mean, you could find communities in various kinds, the Harlem Renaissance and there are other communities, and there are other times and places but...San Francisco leads pretty smoothly from post-war alternative thought, Beat Generation, Literal literary movement, Anti-war and Civil Rights, ecology and Back To The Land and Free Love and Summer of Love, Vietnam War, LGBT rights you know, sliding into the 1970s which was a very diverse and politicized decade to...something like the one that we've just lived and something like the 90s were also. And, and, into...alternative kinds of sex education, HIV AIDS post-AIDS, sort of new sex-positive flowering and... alternative porn, women's porn for sure, all of those things (*réflexion*) had really national and international profiles and put San Francisco in many people's minds as a place associated with all of that<sup>207</sup>.

Bien que San Francisco ne soit pas la seule ville où des mouvements sociaux et des cultures alternatives ont émergé, cette ébullition a contribué à forger un imaginaire collectif autour de la ville, la présentant comme un lieu accueillant pour toutes les personnes cherchant à vivre en dehors des normes conventionnelles. L'immigration de personnes LGBTQIA+ et de membres de la communauté BDSM a débuté dans les années 70, à la suite de l'afflux de jeunes hippies étasunien.nes à la fin des années 60. À cette époque, la ville s'est affirmée comme un endroit accueillant pour ceux et celles qui souhaitent explorer et vivre librement leur sexualité. Ce discours persiste aujourd'hui dans les motivations de ceux et celles qui choisissent de s'installer à San Francisco : « It was always San Francisco that I was going to come to.<sup>208</sup> », « I always knew I wanted to

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<sup>206</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9.

<sup>207</sup> Entretien 2 avec Carol Queen, 31/03/23, annexe n°14.

<sup>208</sup> Entretien 2 avec Carol Queen, 31/03/23, annexe n°14.

live in San Francisco, because I'm queer<sup>209</sup> ». Chelsea exprime également son enthousiasme face à la vaste communauté queer qui subsiste encore aujourd'hui à San Francisco, où des événements tels que la Pride prennent une ampleur considérable :

C : And I came out here to shoot my first scene and then I came out again for pride. And that blew my mind because I never went to a pride event before here. I think 2 million people are coming to the city for it. It's crazy! So it was like the first time I saw that many of queer people and stuff so... That when I was like ok I need to try to pursue this<sup>210</sup>.

Plusieurs événements marquants ont jalonné mon terrain de recherche au mois d'avril 2023, témoignant de la persistance d'une culture queer à San Francisco. Parmi eux, la marche contre les lois anti-drag, *Drag up! Fight Back*<sup>211</sup>, avait rassemblé une importante partie de la population de la ville. De même, le *Hunky Jesus Contest*<sup>212</sup>, organisé par les Soeurs de la Perpétuelle Indulgence<sup>213</sup>, visant à mettre en scène des personnages bibliques au cœur de la ville, a attiré plus de 10 000 participant.es, devenant ainsi l'événement le plus important en termes d'affluence depuis sa création en 1979<sup>214</sup>. Actuellement, bien que la communauté queer de San Francisco conserve son importance, la ville a connu des transformations profondes. L'émergence d'une nouvelle classe de travailleur.ses, due à l'implantation d'entreprises du secteur numérique sur le territoire, a entraîné de nombreux changements. Bien que les travailleur.ses de ces secteurs participent également à la communauté LGBTQIA+ et à la scène BDSM, la dynamique territoriale subit une transformation profonde<sup>215</sup>. Cela se manifeste notamment par la hausse des prix de l'immobilier, impactant significativement la communauté queer et l'industrie pornographique alternative de la ville :

C : I feel like... There are a lot of sexworkers here that have second jobs now. When I moved here that was not the case. Most people did not have a second job, that's really changed. It's because just rents are so high here... and it's getting higher so...<sup>216</sup>.

R : Yeah especially trying to make it in the Bay Area in general in really fucking hard and being a sexworker in the Bay is still not easy. Everyone is struggling and it's not easy

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<sup>209</sup> Entretien Tristan Crane, 31/03/23, annexe n°13.

<sup>210</sup> Entretien Chelsea Poe, 11/04/23, annexe n°11.

<sup>211</sup> Les photos sont disponibles à la fin de la partie.

<sup>212</sup> Les photos sont disponibles à la fin de la partie.

<sup>213</sup> Les Sœurs de la Perpétuelle Indulgence sont une organisation créée dans les années 1970 dans le but de promouvoir l'amour et la tolérance à travers leur activisme, prenant la forme de performances drag inspirées du folklore religieux.

<sup>214</sup> Joe Kukura, « In Biggest Hunky Jesus Contest Ever, Ensemble Group 'Haus of Jesus' Takes Crown, and We Have Videos », *SFIST*, 10 avril 2023.

<sup>215</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>216</sup> Entretien Chelsea Poe, 11/04/23, annexe n°11.

to be super open about it, San Francisco and even Oakland now... The rising price of living and the inflation makes it difficult<sup>217</sup>.

Bien que d'autres facteurs, tels que la pandémie de la Covid-19 et l'inflation, puissent expliquer la hausse des prix, l'implantation de grandes entreprises exerce une influence significative sur la ville et ses communautés. Malgré ces défis, San Francisco demeure dans l'imaginaire collectif étasunien et international le berceau des contre-cultures et de la communauté LGBTQIA+ en raison de son histoire singulière qui continue de marquer les lieux.

## **2.7 L'Émergence de l'Europe dans la production de pornographies alternatives : Une connexion intercontinentale de plus en plus cruciale**

San Francisco est reconnu le lieu de naissance de la pornographie alternative, marqué par la création du mouvement post-porn d'Annie Sprinkle et la présence du sex-shop Good Vibrations, précurseur d'une nouvelle esthétique et de revendications novatrices. Toutefois, en raison de la révolution numérique, l'industrie pornographique n'est désormais plus attachée à un lieu unique. Bien que ce ne soit pas le thème central de cette recherche, l'Europe se distingue aujourd'hui par de nombreuses productions pornographiques queer et féministes de grande importance. Par exemple, Erika Lust, productrice et réalisatrice de pornographie féministe à Barcelone, est considérée comme une pionnière du mouvement et est largement reconnue au sein de la communauté. Au-delà des films, les théories entourant le post-porn sont principalement européennes<sup>218</sup>, avec des travaux notamment de Sam Bourcier<sup>219</sup> en France et de Paul B Preciado<sup>220</sup>. Cette tendance conduit à une collaboration croissante entre les réalisateur.ices et les performeur.ses à l'échelle internationale. Lors de notre entretien, Chelsea souligne son attachement à l'industrie pornographique européenne :

C : I mean, honestly, I think the first time I went to Berlin was in 2017, that I was so burnt out about porn in the United-States. I don't want to do this anymore, and I went to Berlin and just like watching everyone's porn and genuinely enjoying the act and scene, in a full theater of people, that's definitely my interest. (...)Before the pandemic, I was going to Europe 2 or 3 times a year to do stuff<sup>221</sup>.

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<sup>217</sup> Entretien Ruby Riots, 03/04/23, annexe n°12.

<sup>218</sup> Julie Lavigne, « La post-pornographie comme art féministe : la sexualité explicite de Carolee Schneemann, d'Annie Sprinkle et d'Emilie Jouvet », *Recherches féministes*, 27.2, 2014, p. 65.

<sup>219</sup> Sam Bourcier, « Bildungs-post-porn : notes sur la provenance du post-porn, un des futurs du Féminisme de la désobéissance sexuelle », *Rue Descartes*, vol. 79, n° 3, 2013

<sup>220</sup> Paul Preciado, *Pornotopia: An essay on Playboy's architecture and biopolitics*. Princeton University Press, 2014.

<sup>221</sup> Entretien Chelsea Poe, 24/04/23, annexe n°11.

Les productions européennes semblent insuffler un nouveau dynamisme à l'industrie du point de vue de Chelsea. Pour elle, les festivals pornographiques en Europe représentent une occasion d'apprécier pleinement son travail. Beaucoup de films pornographiques alternatifs sont diffusés à travers l'Europe, avec des projections à Vienne, Berlin, Amsterdam, entre autres. Ces festivals semblent jouer un rôle crucial en termes de reconnaissance pour les réalisateur.ices de films pornographiques alternatifs. Afin de mettre en lumière ces collaborations, le corpus de films sélectionné pour l'analyse filmique comprendra deux œuvres réalisées en partenariat entre Madison Young, en tant que réalisatrice, et Erika Lust, en tant que productrice.

Cette partie a exploré le contexte matériel et numérique dans lequel évoluent les films pornographiques alternatifs, offrant ainsi un éclairage sur les conditions de leur production. Pour mieux comprendre les revendications et leur mise en œuvre au sein des films, la dernière partie de cette étude procédera à une analyse croisée des entretiens et des films, afin de dégager les axes principaux des revendications.



Photo de la manifestation *Drag Up Fight Back!* à San Francisco. 08/04/2023



Photo de l'événement *Hunky Jesus Contest* à San Francisco. 09/04/24

### **III. La pornographie queer et féministe : analyse des films et des discours**

Cette dernière partie se consacre sur une mise en regard du discours des réalisateur.ices à travers l'analyse de leurs entretiens et de leurs films. Parmi les films analysés, on trouve *Fragments My Body My Choice* de Madison Young en collaboration avec Erika Lust (2022), *Someone Like You* également de Madison Young et Erika Lust (2021), ainsi que l'épisode 238 de la série *Crash Pad* dirigé par Shine Louise Houston (2017). D'autres films tels que *Every Woman Has Different Orgasm Needs* d'Annie Sprinkle et Joseph Cramer (2002), *Fucking Mystic* de Chelsea Poe (2014), *Gush : The official guide to G spot and female ejaculation* (2010), *Fluid : Women exploring sexuality on film* produit par Good Realising ( le studio de Good Vibrations, 2009) et *East Bay Brats, Volume 1* produit par East Bay Brats Collectives ( collectif tenu par Chelsea, Ruby et Courtney Trouble, 2019) seront également étudiés. Le choix de ces films est fondé sur plusieurs critères, notamment leur accessibilité sur les plateformes de diffusion, leur représentativité de la diversité des films pornographiques alternatifs (féministes, queer, éduporn et BDSM), ainsi que la reconnaissance des studios impliqués dans ce milieu. De plus, les personnes interrogées lors des entretiens ont également influencé la sélection des films pour lier les entretiens aux films analysés. Cette analyse se concentrera sur les thèmes communs abordés dans ces films, mettant en lumière les préoccupations et les narratives qui émergent de ces productions pornographiques alternatives.

#### **1) Les revendications politiques à travers la création de films pornographiques alternatifs**

- **Le dialogue revendicatif et politique**

La pornographie queer et féministe émerge comme un espace de revendications politiques, où les films analysés vont au-delà de la simple représentation de la sexualité pour véhiculer des messages sociaux et politiques. Certains films analysés transmettent ouvertement des messages politiques à travers les dialogues et les actions des personnages. C'est par exemple le cas dans *Fragments My Body My Choice*, où plusieurs thématiques politiques sont abordées. Parmi elles, la question de l'avortement est soulevée dans un dialogue poignant entre une mère conservatrice et sa fille queer, mettant en lumière les enjeux

de la législation anti-IVG et le poids de la religion aux États-Unis. L'importance du combat pour les droits reproductifs dans la communauté queer est également soulignée, avec une mention spéciale pour la visibilité des personnes trans et non binaires dans ce débat. Par les mêmes réalisatrice et productrice, *Someone Like You* évoque des problématiques telles que les difficultés pour les couples queer de concevoir un enfant, le parcours de procréation médicalement assisté difficile pour les couples lesbiens, et l'infertilité sont explorés. Les scènes intimes sont entrelacées de conversations profondes autour des défis auxquels sont confrontés les couples queer. Dans *Fucking Mystic* de Chelsea Poe, le récit est profondément ancré dans l'expérience queer de l'artiste. À travers des scènes comme le déménagement à Oakland, où la protagoniste doit quitter ses racines pour vivre son identité, le film reflète une réalité vécue par de nombreuses personnes queer. Ce déplacement géographique symbolise souvent un acte de libération, mais également une rupture avec le passé. Dans une scène où elle visite un sexshop queer (Feelmore à Oakland très connu dans la communauté queer locale), le film célèbre également les espaces communautaires qui offrent un refuge et un soutien aux personnes queer, tout en mettant en avant l'importance de l'autonomie sexuelle dans la vie quotidienne de la communauté LGBTQIA+. Ainsi, *Fucking Mystic* offre non seulement un récit autobiographique mais également un témoignage de l'expérience collective des personnes queer qui cherchent à s'épanouir et à trouver leur place. Chelsea revient sur l'expérience de ce film :

C : It was called *Fucking Mystic* and it was like a narrative movie about who moved to Oakland... It was the first movie I made and we did it after the first 3 weeks that I moved here. So it was like, really Courtney Trouble and Eva was like “hey let’s try to make a movie” and I’m like, okay I just got here !(...) It was very biographical too ! Because where I was from, I had to start like the first trans organization there, so like it was very small... Like the lesbian community, there were like 12 people<sup>222</sup>.

Ces films vont au-delà des conventions traditionnelles de la pornographie en mettant en lumière les défis et les luttes de la communauté LGBTQIA+. En combinant le plaisir sexuel avec une critique sociale et politique, ces films contribuent à faire émerger un dialogue sur la sexualité.

- **La mise en avant du consentement**

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<sup>222</sup> Entretien avec Chelsea Poe, 11/04/23, annexe n°11.



Le consentement sexuel est non seulement une notion, mais également une revendication fondamentale depuis des décennies au sein du mouvement féministe. Mis en avant par le mouvement pro-sexe, il occupe désormais une place centrale dans la pornographie queer et féministe. Afin de procéder à une analyse approfondie du consentement dans les films, il est essentiel de souligner son importance à travers la production de films pornographiques, ainsi que dans le processus de création impliquant les performeur.ses. Avant d'approfondir cette analyse, il est crucial de définir le consentement sexuel. Bien que cette notion puisse sembler simple à première vue, Manon Garcia, philosophe spécialiste de la philosophie féministe, nous invite à réfléchir à sa complexité. Par définition, le consentement sexuel repose sur l'idée d'un accord mutuel entre deux personnes concernant une interaction sexuelle. Cependant, il est primordial de prendre en considération les circonstances entourant le consentement, qui vont au-delà d'un simple accord verbal ou non verbal. Par exemple, si une interaction sexuelle a lieu suite à une menace sur la sécurité d'une des personnes impliquées, sur son emploi ou son logement, alors le consentement n'est pas valide<sup>223</sup>. Cette notion de consentement, telle que nous la concevons aujourd'hui, est étroitement liée au discours féministe contemporain, notamment post-#MeToo, qui met en lumière les violences sexistes et sexuelles subies par les femmes dans la sphère privée. Elle nous invite ainsi à repenser la notion de consentement sexuel<sup>224</sup>. Ce concept a été théorisé lors de la deuxième vague féministe des années 1970, qui a réinterprété le viol comme une manifestation de la domination masculine, plutôt que comme un acte isolé. En repensant le consentement, il s'agit également de reconsidérer la notion même de viol ou de sexe consenti, et de proposer une vision de la sexualité en tant que continuum, allant du viol le plus violent au sexe le plus désiré. Le consentement devient alors un outil central pour le mouvement féministe et l'activisme lesbien, revendiquant une autonomie et une agentivité sexuelle<sup>225</sup>. L'agentivité sexuelle, comme définie précédemment, est au cœur de la pornographie féministe et queer. Selon les auteures Julie Lavigne, Myriam Le Blanc Elie et Sabrina Maiorano, le consentement constitue la condition de base de cette agentivité sexuelle<sup>226</sup>.

Dans les films, cette notion se manifeste de deux manières distinctes mais complémentaires. D'une part, le consentement implicite repose sur des signaux non verbaux. Dans *Fragments My Body My Choice*, la première scène sexuelle entre les protagonistes, Maggie et Joe, est

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<sup>223</sup> Manon Garcia, *La Conversation des sexes: Philosophie du consentement*, Éditions Climats, 2021, p. 14.

<sup>224</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 26.

<sup>225</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 147.

<sup>226</sup> Julie Lavigne, Myriam Le Blanc Elie, Sabrina Maiorano art. cit., p. 8.

basée sur ce type de consentement. Tout au long de la scène, ils communiquent leur accord à travers de longs regards, des rires et des hochements de tête. Leurs corps donnent également des indications : Joe se rapproche souvent de Maggie, mettant sa tête contre la sienne, tandis que leurs corps se rapprochent naturellement l'un de l'autre. De plus, la communication verbale du plaisir joue un rôle crucial, exprimant ainsi un consentement implicite aux actes qui se déroulent. Cependant, le consentement non verbal peut être sujet à interprétation et peut conduire à des malentendus significatifs. Selon Manon Garcia, une expression active du consentement (à travers la communication verbale) est nécessaire pour qu'il soit pleinement valide et positif. Il est donc essentiel que le consentement soit clairement communiqué pour garantir une interaction sexuelle consensuelle<sup>227</sup>.

Le consentement explicite à travers la communication orale revêt une importance primordiale et se manifeste dans plusieurs films. Alors que dans la pornographie *mainstream*, le consentement verbal est rarement ou peu mis en avant, dans la pornographie queer et féministe, il est explicitement exprimé. Dans *Someone Like You*, le consentement verbal est présent dans chaque scène de sexe. Dès le début de la rencontre entre les protagonistes, le personnage principal demande le consentement verbalement pour chaque acte précis : « Can I kiss you? ». De même, dans la dernière scène sexuelle où le couple lesbien décide d'inviter un voisin à se joindre à eux, la bande son en arrière plan des échanges rend compte des négociations préalables au rapport sexuel : « No anal play », « Condoms and lubes are a must and pleasure is queen in this house, any questions? ». Cette approche vise à mettre en évidence la communication sur les besoins et les limites de chacun.e, concernant la scène qui se déroule sous nos yeux. Le consentement verbal est également mis en avant lors d'une scène de soumission/domination lesbienne dans l'épisode 238 de la série *Crash Pad*. L'une des protagonistes prend le temps de poser plusieurs questions à sa partenaire dès le début de la scène : « I'm going to take off that collar, is that okay? », « Okay », « Do you want to lay back down? ». La précision de ces questions reflète les propos de Julie Lavigne, Myriam Le Blanc Elie et Sabrina Maiorano, qui soulignent l'importance de réitérer le consentement pour chaque acte sexuel<sup>228</sup>.

Au-delà de la mise en avant du consentement à travers les films, celui-ci est également central dans la communication entre les performeur.ses avant le tournage mais également durant celui-ci :

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<sup>227</sup> Manon Garcia, op. cit., p. 250.

<sup>228</sup> *Ibid.*

Z : So, in queer and feminist porn, I feel like the political claims that we try to push are like, consent is a good thing. You should definitely be pushing that in your porn<sup>229</sup>.

C : So before scenes usually performers just start to talk on their own. And be like, so what are you interested in doing today ? What are you feeling up to ? That kind of conversation happens and usually the director comes in and they like okay, so what are we shooting and getting a vibe for<sup>230</sup> ?

R : Usually when I'm shooting with people I will talk to them ahead of time about not only what they want to do but also their boundaries, their limits, I want to know all of this information. So I talk to them beforehand, usually over chat, email or whatever. (...) I'm like okay, how far do you want to go? Are there any words that are off limits, or are there topics that are off limits ? I try to just be really specific, to make sure that I'm not going to trigger anybody<sup>231</sup>.

Les citations soulignent l'importance du consentement en dehors des caméras entre les performeur.ses. Comme le met en évidence Zuri dans la première citation, le consentement revêt non seulement un caractère éthique, mais aussi politique dans le contexte de la pornographie queer et féministe. À travers l'analyse de ces citations, nous pouvons constater que les discussions autour du consentement sont généralement informelles et ont souvent lieu avant le tournage d'une scène. Chelsea met en lumière le processus de communication des désirs, des limites et des préférences de chacun.e. Comme mentionné précédemment, le consentement ne s'étend pas à tous les actes qui suivent l'accord initial entre les deux personnes impliquées dans l'acte sexuel; il vaut pour un acte spécifique. Ruby souligne cette nuance en fournissant des exemples de questions détaillées sur les limites et les déclencheurs (triggers) potentiels des personnes avec lesquelles iels tournent. De plus, le consentement est également pris en compte pendant les tournages.

M : I'm communicating throughout the entire film so it doesn't have to be like enduring this thing until someone says cut. But instead how can we give agency to the people who are the most vulnerable, who are being the most intimate. So shifting that power dynamic of like okay we are documenting you. We communicate with each other, we can change things at any point, feel free to talk to us if we need to totally pause things<sup>232</sup>.

R : Obviously giving people the freedom and the ability to stop the scene at any time if they feel that they need to change something, and I say to people to use safe words too. I

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<sup>229</sup> Entretien avec Zuri Love, 03/04/23, annexe n°10.

<sup>230</sup> Entretien avec Chelsea Poe, 11/04/23, annexe n°11.

<sup>231</sup> Entretien avec Ruby Riots, 14/04/23, annexe n°12.

<sup>232</sup> Entretien avec Madison Young, 26/04/23, annexe n°09.

want people to feel that they can change anything about the scene if they feel the need to. That might be someone saying that they need more lube or maybe just slowing down a little bit. That's all a part of it and a lot of it relies on communication<sup>233</sup>.

Ruby et Madison soulignent l'importance d'une communication continue lorsqu'il s'agit de consentement sur les plateaux de tournage pornographiques. Madison met en lumière les dynamiques de pouvoir présentes entre les réalisateur.ices et les performeur.ses pendant les tournages, et propose de repenser ces dynamiques afin de donner plus d'agentivité aux performeur.ses sur les plateaux. De même, Ruby insiste sur la nécessité de donner aux performeur.ses la liberté et la capacité d'arrêter et de réajuster les scènes à tout moment. Ces déclarations mettent en avant une volonté d'autonomie des travailleur.ses du sexe sur les plateaux de tournage, contribuant ainsi à leur agentivité.

Ces films et citations reflètent les revendications historiques du mouvement pro-sexe, qui concernent le droit à toutes les pratiques sexuelles tant qu'elles sont consenties<sup>234</sup>.

Cependant, il est important de noter que les désirs et les fantasmes sont influencés par la société patriarcale. Bien que les théories pro-sexe reposent sur le principe du consentement, la notion même de consentement peut être remise en question. Ainsi, même avec un consentement explicite, les femmes peuvent-elles vraiment se libérer des normes et des dynamiques de domination hétérosexuelles qui les oppressent depuis des siècles ? Pour Manon Garcia, il est clair que le système hétéropatriarcal crée une inégalité dans la capacité des hommes et des femmes à consentir à un rapport sexuel, car ils subissent une pression systémique différente<sup>235</sup>. Bien que les films analysés présentent principalement des relations sexuelles queer, toute relation est traversée par des rapports de pouvoir. Par conséquent, il est important de garder à l'esprit que les inégalités de genre dans la sexualité influencent le consentement<sup>236</sup>.

- **La place centrale du plaisir**

La dimension du plaisir occupe une place centrale dans les scènes de sexe, dans les films analysés, l'expression verbale du plaisir sexuel est mise en avant. Par exemple, dans *Someone Like You*, la première scène sexuelle met en lumière la communication verbale du

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<sup>233</sup> Entretien avec Ruby Riots, 14/04/23, annexe n°12.

<sup>234</sup> Ann Russo, *art. cit.*, p. 109.

<sup>235</sup> Manon Garcia, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

<sup>236</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 81.

désir entre deux protagonistes qui se connaissent peu avant d'avoir une relation sexuelle (« I would like you to fuck me », « Can I kiss you ? »). Contrairement à la pornographie *mainstream*, où l'acte sexuel se concentre directement sur des pratiques sexuelles explicites, cette première scène progresse graduellement, mettant davantage l'accent sur la communication du désir des deux femmes, avec une place importante accordée aux baisers et aux caresses. Dans ce film, la thématique du plaisir, et plus spécifiquement du plaisir sexuel féminin et lesbien, revient à plusieurs reprises. Par exemple, lors de la deuxième scène au milieu du film, le personnage principal s'adonne à une scène de masturbation solitaire. Cette scène ne se concentre pas ou peu sur les parties génitales, mais met plutôt en avant, à travers des plans rapprochés, le rôle des sens et du toucher sur d'autres zones érogènes du corps. Marilyn, la protagoniste, exprime alors le désir de plaisir en déclarant : « I want pleasure ».

Cette thématique est également abordée lors de la dernière scène sexuelle avec la déclaration : « Condoms and lubes are a must and pleasure is queen in this house, any questions ? ». Ces phrases vont au-delà d'une simple manifestation de plaisir ; elle revendique le droit au plaisir.

La diversité des pratiques sexuelles mérite également d'être soulignée. En effet, les scènes de sexe sont peu axées sur la pénétration, ce qui, selon David Coubert, peut être interprété comme une critique de l'hétéronormativité et du plaisir traditionnellement centré sur l'homme<sup>237</sup>. Dans tous les films analysés, la pratique la plus fréquente est le cunnilingus, la pénétration est reléguée au second plan. Cette approche contraste avec la pornographie *mainstream* et les pratiques hétérosexuelles courantes, où la pénétration est souvent au centre de l'acte sexuel. Selon la sexologue Debby Herbenick, seuls 18,4 % des individus avec vulve atteignent l'orgasme par la seule pénétration vaginale<sup>238</sup>. En mettant en avant des pratiques sexuelles non pénétratives, ces films accordent ainsi une place centrale au plaisir, tout en remettant en question les rôles genrés dans la satisfaction sexuelle. Sam Boursier, dans son ouvrage *Queer Zone*, analyse la pénétration vaginale comme un élément central de la pornographie hétérosexuelle *mainstream*, renforçant les différences sexuelles ancrées biologiquement entre le pénis et le vagin<sup>239</sup>. En revanche, la pénétration anale, par exemple, n'est pas une pratique genrée. Cette diversité des pratiques sexuelles remet en question les normes de genre en se décentrant du plaisir masculin et en évitant de lier le sexe biologique au genre et aux pratiques sexuelles spécifiques, telles que la pénétration phallovaginale.

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<sup>237</sup> David Coubert, *op. cit.*

<sup>238</sup> Herbenick, Debby Herbenick et al, « Women's experiences with genital touching, sexual pleasure, and orgasm: results from a US probability sample of women ages 18 to 94. », *Journal of sex & marital therapy*, 44.2, 2018.

<sup>239</sup> Sam Bourcier, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

Dans la pornographie *mainstream*, l'orgasme masculin, souvent appelé *money shot*, marque la fin du rapport sexuel hétérosexuel, mettant ainsi en avant le plaisir masculin<sup>240</sup>. Au contraire dans les films analysés, c'est l'orgasme des personnes à vulve qui occupe le centre de l'attention. Par exemple, dans *Fucking Mystic*, le personnage principal rencontre une vendeuse dans un sex-shop et les deux décident d'avoir une relation sexuelle. Bien que de nombreuses pratiques différentes soient explorées (utilisation de sextoys, fist, pénétration anale), la scène se termine par une éjaculation féminine de la vendeuse, marquant ainsi la conclusion de l'acte. On peut supposer que cette éjaculation féminine remplace délibérément le traditionnel *money shot* de la pornographie *mainstream*, mettant ainsi en avant le plaisir féminin comme élément central du rapport sexuel.

- **La recherche d'authenticité**

La quête d'authenticité occupe une place prépondérante dans l'industrie pornographique contemporaine. Selon Florian Voros, spécialiste des études pornographiques, la recherche de contenu pornographique sur le web est largement guidée par cet idéal d'authenticité, qui constitue le fondement même de la pornographie numérique actuelle<sup>241</sup>. Pour que les spectateurs puissent s'identifier à une scène et en retirer du plaisir, il est essentiel de représenter une certaine authenticité<sup>242</sup>. C'est ce principe qui explique en grande partie l'évolution récente de l'industrie pornographique, marquée par la croissance du contenu amateur, notamment à travers des plateformes telles que Only Fans, qui incarnent cette recherche d'authenticité<sup>243</sup>. Dans les films sélectionnés pour cette étude, cette quête d'authenticité se manifeste de différentes manières. Tout d'abord, les réalisateur.ices de films pornographiques alternatifs revendiquent souvent le recours à des scènes sans scénario préétabli, permettant ainsi aux performeur.ses de laisser libre cours à leurs désirs et à leurs envies. Tristan Crane, photographe sur le plateau de tournage de *Crashpad*, évoque ce processus :

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<sup>240</sup> Julie Lavigne, Myriam Le Blanc Elie, Sabrina Maiorano, *art. cit.*, p. 13.

<sup>241</sup> Florian Vörös, *Désirer comme un homme*, La Découverte, 2020, p. 28.

<sup>242</sup> P.J Macleod, « How feminists pick porn: Troubling the link between 'authenticity' and production ethics », *Sexualities*, 24.4, 2021, p. 685.

<sup>243</sup> *Ibid*, p. 686.

T : *Crashpad*, for example, we don't direct the performers. So, the director, she doesn't tell people what to do, there's no set formula. They kind of get to decide for themselves and a lot of people come in...pair it up, they'll bring it, they've signed up to do this together and so they'll come in with a fantasy, they'll come in with a storyline or characters that they want to play<sup>244</sup>.

Cette citation met en évidence la liberté créative des performeurs et performeuses sur le plateau de tournage. En effet, iels sont encouragés.es à exprimer leurs propres désirs et fantasmes pendant la scène. Cette approche non seulement illustre les engagements politiques liés à l'agentivité sexuelle des travailleur.ses du sexe, mais témoigne également de la quête d'authenticité derrière la caméra. Le choix de scènes libres de scénario est en soi un acte revendicatif, car il implique, comme le souligne Florian Voros, de sortir des normes du script sexuel hétéronormatif<sup>245</sup>.

La quête d'authenticité pour susciter l'identification des spectateur.ices aux performeur.ses est palpable dans deux films tournés de manière à mettre en avant des couples réels. Dans le film *Fluid: Women Exploring Sexuality on Film*, l'objectif est de mettre en scène les désirs personnels des performeur.ses avec leurs partenaires dans la vie réelle. Les scènes de sexes sont entrecoupées d'entretiens sur leurs désirs et leur appartenance à la communauté queer. Cette approche place la notion d'authenticité au cœur du film, tant par les désirs sexuels qui émanent des performeur.ses eux-mêmes que par les entretiens qui abordent des thématiques intimes et individuelles. Un processus similaire est présent dans le film *Gush: The Official Guide to G-Spot and Female Ejaculation*, réalisé par Good Releasing en 2010. Dans ce film, une émission de radio avec une sexperte (Carol Queen) répond aux questions des auditeur.ices sur le point G et l'éjaculation féminine. Carol Queen répond aux questions directement à la radio, puis la scène sexuelle qui suit est censée représenter de véritables couples qui ont posé les questions à la radio. En réalité, bien que les performeur.ses choisissent souvent leurs partenaires dans la pornographie alternative, ils tournent rarement avec leur partenaire réel.

Les notions de « sexe réel » et de « plaisir authentique » occupent une place importante dans le porno queer et féministe, tout en étant un objectif central pour les consommateur.ises en général. Cependant, selon PJ Macleod, sociologue américain spécialisé dans le genre et la sexualité, l'authenticité n'est pas nécessairement un idéal à atteindre en matière de pornographie. Selon son étude, certain.es performeur.ses sont plus à l'aise avec l'idée de jouer

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<sup>244</sup> Entretien avec Tristan Crane, 31/03/23, annexe n°13.

<sup>245</sup> Florian Voros, *Désirer comme un homme*, La Découverte, 2020, p. 61.

un rôle pour établir une séparation stricte entre leur vie personnelle et leur vie professionnelle<sup>246</sup>. Heather Berg, spécialiste du travail sexuel, partage cette critique de la notion d'authenticité, la considérant davantage comme une stratégie marketing qu'un principe politique<sup>247</sup>. Cette critique est également partagée par les mouvements féministes anti-pornographie, qui estiment que la recherche d'une sexualité authentique n'est pas compatible avec le marché économique<sup>248</sup>. Berg souligne également que cette demande d'authenticité peut compliquer les négociations salariales et les conditions de travail, les performeur.ses étant perçus comme recherchant avant tout le plaisir et donc ne font pas cela pour travailler. Cependant, tous les aspects de cette notion ne sont pas rejetés. Macleod et Berg s'accordent sur l'importance de l'authenticité à travers la représentation. Pour elleux, la quête d'une sexualité authentique ne doit pas nécessairement s'exprimer dans les actes sexuels eux-mêmes, mais plutôt à travers les représentations. Berg met en avant la revendication du porno queer et féministe de diversifier les types de corps et de mettre en avant les poils, tandis que Macleod souligne que le concept de « realness » (authenticité) doit passer par la représentation de multiples identités et pratiques sexuelles<sup>249</sup>.

- **La place importante des représentations inclusives**

L'une des revendications majeures de la pornographie queer et féministe concerne les représentations inclusives<sup>250</sup>. Ce que l'on entend par « représentation inclusive » peut être très diversifié : les pornographies alternatives cherchent à représenter des corps et des sexualités qui ne correspondent pas à la norme de la pornographie *mainstream*, souvent caractérisée par des personnes blanches, minces, sans poils et hétérosexuelles. Bien que d'autres personnes soient représentés dans la pornographie *mainstream*, cela se fait souvent à travers une fétichisation. Il est important de noter que les fantasmes reposent sur des croyances culturelles profondément enracinées dans la société et qui participent aux rapports sociaux de domination<sup>251</sup>. La fétichisation raciale ou le racisme sexuel se caractérise par une fascination et une répulsion, deux facettes du processus d'altération raciale<sup>252</sup>. Selon Florian Voros, le genre et la race sont des systèmes de signification et de domination qui valorisent la

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<sup>246</sup> P.J Macleod, *art. cit.*, p. 681.

<sup>247</sup> Heather Berg, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

<sup>248</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>249</sup> P.J Macleod, *art. cit.*, p. 686.

<sup>250</sup> Natalie Ingraham, « Chapitre 8: Queering porn : Gender and Size diversity within SF Bay Area Queer Pornography » in Hester Helen and Caroline Walters, *Fat sex: New directions in theory and activism*, Routledge, 2016, p. 115.

<sup>251</sup> Florian Vörös, *Désirer comme un homme*, La Découverte, 2020, p. 61.

<sup>252</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 39.



masculinité et la blancheur<sup>253</sup>. Les fantasmes, et par extension le marché pornographique qui en découle, sont étroitement liés à l'histoire coloniale.

L'approche queer sur ce sujet souligne qu'il est impossible d'éradiquer complètement les fantasmes de domination, mais que l'on peut les transformer de l'intérieur de l'industrie afin de limiter les oppressions. Cette approche tient compte de l'enracinement des fantasmes genrés et racialisés dans l'histoire et le psychisme humain<sup>254</sup>. Dans ce contexte, les représentations inclusives sont donc cruciales. Deux performeur.ses expriment leur point de vue sur les représentations en tant que forme de revendication :

C : Because for example the body types that you see in mainstream porn are fairly limited, even now. But I also think queer porn is way more inclusive but the feminist porn thing is very much... Still very trans exclusionary, very fatphobic, include not a lot of performers of color. So I feel like... when I came here there was still a lot of feminist porn around. And I feel the distinction is queer porn, genuinely making the casting decisions, we need to include trans people, we need to include people of color, we need to include plus size people. And when I first came here I kinda got in trouble with that. here were all these feminist directors, and I would be like "Why don't you include trans people?" And they were like, "why are you trying to start shit?" I'm literally not<sup>255</sup>.

R : It is important to create porn that features queer and trans people and also that features black and indigenous people, and people of color as well, there's still not enough of that. I want to integrate it more into the work that I do. If you are looking at what these big studios are doing, they are slowly integrating more trans people into the content that they are creating but at the same time it does feel really heteronormative still. I think specifically what people in the queer porn industry are trying to do is create the porn that they want to see in the world<sup>256</sup>.

Ces citations offrent des perspectives précieuses sur les débats concernant la représentation et l'inclusivité dans la pornographie queer et féministe. Tout d'abord, Chelsea met en lumière les lacunes de la pornographie *mainstream* en ce qui concerne la représentation des divers types de corps, soulignant la comparaison avec l'inclusivité que peut présenter le porno queer. Cependant, elle critique également la pornographie féministe pour son manque d'inclusivité envers les personnes trans ou les personnes grosses. Ainsi, elle insiste sur l'aspect politique du casting pour inclure davantage les personnes trans, grosses et racisées. Ruby renchérit sur les propos de Chelsea, soulignant également l'importance des représentations en mettant

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<sup>253</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 243.

<sup>254</sup> Florian Vörös, *Désirer comme un homme*, La Découverte, 2020, p. 146.

<sup>255</sup> Entretien avec Chelsea Poe, 11/04/23, annexe n°11.

<sup>256</sup> Entretien avec Ruby Riots, 14/04/23, annexe n°12.

particulièrement l'accent sur l'inclusion des personnes autochtones dans l'industrie pornographique. Cependant, iel observe une intégration progressive des personnes trans dans les grands studios, bien que cela se fasse souvent dans un contexte qui reste hétéronormatif. Ces citations reflètent ainsi la volonté dans les pornographies alternatives d'inclure une représentation non fétichisée des personnes queer et racisées dans cette industrie. Iels mettent en évidence les représentations limitées dans la pornographie *mainstream* et appellent l'industrie à faire des efforts pour créer un porno qui reflète la pluralité des expériences et des désirs.

Cette volonté d'une représentation plus large est particulièrement marquée dans les films analysés. Par exemple, dans des films tels que *Gush: The Official Guide to G-Spot and Female Ejaculation*, *Crash Pad Episode 238* et *Someone Like You*, les rôles principaux sont attribués à des personnes non blanches. Dans d'autres films comme *East Bay Brats, Volume 1* et *Fucking Mystic*, la représentation de la sexualité des personnes trans, avec Chelsea Poe dans les rôles principaux, est davantage mise en avant. Cette diversité des représentations, que ce soit en termes de couleur de peau ou d'identité de genre, témoigne d'une volonté de refléter la pluralité des expériences sexuelles et de représenter des communautés souvent marginalisées dans la pornographie *mainstream* et ailleurs.

- **BDSM et la subversion des genres**

Le BDSM, comme défini plus haut est un ensemble d'activités à connotations sexuelles liées à des aspects de domination et de soumissions. Historiquement, le BDSM est apparu dans la sous-culture gay et lesbienne, notamment dans la communauté cuir très présente à San Francisco dans les années 1970. À cette époque, le BDSM était perçu comme une pratique émancipatrice, loin des normes de la sexualité conventionnelle, procréatrice et hétérosexuelle<sup>257</sup>. Il est devenu un symbole identitaire dans le cadre de la lutte pour l'égalité des droits des personnes homosexuelles<sup>258</sup>. Bernard Andrieu, spécialiste de la philosophie du corps, souligne également le caractère politique du BDSM. Pour lui, le BDSM queer et lesbien va au-delà d'une simple pratique sexuelle en permettant une inversion des rapports de pouvoir sociaux et critique la sexualité hétérosexuelle conventionnelle et maritale<sup>259</sup>.

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<sup>257</sup> Manon Garcia, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

<sup>258</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 131.

<sup>259</sup> Bernard Andrieu, *BD-SM: Comment s'agenrer ?*, Le Murmure, 2019, p. 68.

Dans le corpus de films sélectionnés, le BDSM occupe une place importante, notamment dans trois d'entre eux : *Crash Pad série Episode 238 : Muxer Diosa and Marx the Prince*, *East Bay Brats, Volume 1* et *Fucking Mystic*. Dans *East Bay Brats*, par exemple, les protagonistes, toutes identifiées comme des femmes dans les films, se retrouvent dans un donjon où elles pratiquent divers actes de BDSM et des jeux de domination et de soumission entre elles. Ces pratiques, telles que la sodomie, le *fist-fucking*<sup>260</sup> ou le bondage, selon Bernard Andrieu, permettent une transformation de soi à travers des activités qui vont à l'encontre des normes hétérocentrées et reproductives<sup>261</sup>. De plus, ces pratiques BDSM permettent une remise en question de la binarité des genres en attribuant des rôles traditionnellement masculins aux femmes, en devenant pénétrantes et dominantes dans *East Bay Brats*, cela favorise ainsi une métamorphose identitaire<sup>262</sup>. Le S/M (Sadomasochisme) brouille de manière théâtrale l'idée selon laquelle la masculinité serait synonyme de domination, et la soumission une caractéristique féminine<sup>263</sup>.

Manon Garcia émet toutefois une critique concernant les pratiques BDSM, exprimant une certaine préoccupation quant à leur utilisation par les hommes cisgenres et soulevant la question des violences non consenties dans ce cadre. Elle soulève l'érotisation des rapports de pouvoir, fondée sur la domination des femmes par les hommes, une perspective partagée par les féministes radicales anti-pornographie. Pour Manon Garcia, le BDSM ne semble pas échapper aux hiérarchies sociales basées sur le genre. Elle étaye son argumentation en se référant à une étude<sup>264</sup> qui révèle que parmi les pratiquant·es du BDSM, 75,6% des femmes occupent des positions de soumission, contre seulement 48,3% des hommes qui se trouvent exclusivement dans des rôles dominants. Ces chiffres laissent penser qu'il est difficile d'envisager que les dynamiques de pouvoir dans le BDSM puissent transcender les rapports de pouvoir présents dans les interactions hétérosexuelles<sup>265</sup>. Alors que pour les personnes queer, cette pratique peut permettre de renverser les rapports de pouvoir dans la société, ce

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<sup>260</sup> Terme anglais utilisé dans la communauté BDSM pour désigner la pratique d'une pénétration par le point.

<sup>261</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 14.

<sup>262</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 26.

<sup>263</sup> Ann McClintock, « Maid to Order. Commercial Fetishism and Gender Power », *Social Text* 37, 1993, p. 87.

<sup>264</sup> Juliet Richters et al, « Demographic and psychosocial features of participants in bondage and discipline, "sadomasochism" or dominance and submission (BDSM): Data from a national survey. », *The journal of sexual medicine* 5.7, 2008.

<sup>265</sup> Manon Garcia, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

n'est pas nécessairement le cas dans les relations hétérosexuelles<sup>266</sup>. Certaines féministes pro-sexe, comme le collectif SAMOIS des années 1970 et 1980, ont déjà souligné cette problématique, affirmant que le BDSM ne peut être pratiqué qu'entre femmes. Dans le cadre d'une relation hétérosexuelle entre hommes et femmes, le BDSM est perçu comme une forme d'oppression patriarcale<sup>267</sup>, une position également soutenue par les féministes anti-pornographie.

Cependant, Sarah Lawrance souligne que le BDSM demeure l'une des formes les plus responsables de sexualité, car il exige une discussion préalable sur les pratiques désirées. En jouant avec les rapports de pouvoir, il offre la possibilité de confronter la violence et les inégalités présentes dans notre société, mais dans un cadre consensuel et sécurisé. Cela permet de défier les normes et les injonctions entourant la sexualité<sup>268</sup>. Les négociations jouent un rôle crucial dans le BDSM, bien que non explicitement montrées dans les films sélectionnés. Dans le porno BDSM, il est possible de choisir de ne pas couper les scènes de négociation, ce qui permettrait aux spectateur.ices de voir comment parler des pratiques sexuelles et du consentement. Ruby souligne également dans notre entretien l'importance de la communication autour du consentement, en particulier lorsqu'il s'agit de pratiques BDSM.

R : Consent is really important to me. Especially as a BDSM provider. Usually when I'm shooting with people I will talk to them ahead of time about not only what they want to do but also their boundaries, their limits, I want to know all of this information<sup>269</sup>.

Cette citation souligne l'importance cruciale du consentement, de la communication et du respect dans les pratiques BDSM. Ruby met en avant son engagement en faveur d'interactions sexuelles éthiques et responsables, mettant en priorité la sécurité des participants. L'analyse théorique du BDSM est donc complexe et nécessite une nuance : au-delà des actes sexuels, il s'agit également d'une forme d'expression identitaire et de contestation des normes sociales.

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<sup>266</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 133.

<sup>267</sup> Cornelia Möser, *art. cit.*, p. 52.

<sup>268</sup> Sarah Lawrance, « Doing it Ourselves: Alternative pornography as activist prefiguration. », *Ottawa University Press*, 2011, p. 66.

<sup>269</sup> Entretien avec Ruby Riots, 14/04/23, annexe n°12.

## 2) Un contenu éducationnel : Les pornographies alternatives et l'éducation à la sexualité

- Les pratiques de *safer sex*

La notion de *safer sex* est un concept étasunien qui a émergé en réponse aux dispositifs de sécurité mis en place après l'apparition du VIH<sup>270</sup>. Elle se traduit par l'utilisation de protections telles que les préservatifs, les digues dentaires, les tests de dépistage des infections sexuellement transmissibles (IST), ainsi que par le dialogue sur leur utilisation<sup>271</sup>. Ces connaissances et pratiques se sont répandues grâce aux réseaux militants féministes, pro-sexe et LGBTQIA+, qui reposent sur la transmission de savoirs entre pairs<sup>272</sup>. Pendant longtemps, le VIH/SIDA a été associé au sperme puis au sang, ce qui a suscité une peur généralisée des pratiques BDSM dans les milieux lesbiens<sup>273</sup>. Dans ce mémoire, j'utilise le concept de *safer sex* plutôt que celui de *safe sex*, car pendant la pandémie de VIH, des militant.es de la communauté LGBTQIA+ ont souligné que les pratiques sexuelles protégées ne peuvent jamais être garanties à 100 %. Ainsi, il me semble pertinent de réutiliser ce terme dans cette étude, étant donné le contexte militant sous-jacent dans les films porno queer et féministes.

Les pratiques de *safer sex* sont largement répandues et mises en avant dans les films pornographiques queer et féministes, contrairement à la pornographie *mainstream*<sup>274</sup>. Parmi les 8 films analysés pour ce mémoire, 7 montrent explicitement des pratiques de *safer sex*. Ces pratiques se concentrent principalement sur la mise en avant des préservatifs lors des pratiques pénétratives, faites principalement à travers l'utilisation de sextoys. Cependant, l'utilisation de digues dentaires n'est présente que dans un seul film, celui d'Annie Sprinkle et Joseph Kramer, *Every Woman Has Different Orgasm Needs*, où des plans rapprochés montrent l'utilisation d'une digue dentaire, de préservatifs et de gants en latex pour mettre en avant les pratiques de *safer sex*. L'utilisation de gants est également peu fréquente et présente

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<sup>270</sup> Sam Bourcier, *Queer Zones : Politique des identités sexuelles et des savoirs*, éditions Amsterdam, (2001) 2011, p. 56.

<sup>271</sup> David Courbet, *Pornographie et féminisme*, La Musardine, 2012, p. 124.

<sup>272</sup> Sam Bourcier, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

<sup>273</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 60.

<sup>274</sup> La prévention dans la pornographie *mainstream* se base majoritairement sur les dépistages et non sur le port du préservatif.

Ribeiro, Kira, Ribeiro, « Les politiques straight du préservatif: VIH, pornographie et technologies du genre. », *Genre, sexualité & société* n°14, 2015.

dans deux films, notamment lors de pénétrations digitales anales dans *Fucking Mystic* de Chelsea Poe. Bien que cela puisse s'expliquer par un risque moindre de contracter le VIH par des pratiques orales ou des caresses sexuelles, les risques d'autres IST comme la gonorrhée ou le papillomavirus restent élevés<sup>275</sup>. Chelsea mentionné dans notre entretien, décrit ses choix en termes de *safer sex* :

C : I do queer porn tho...It's fairly safe, I mean, especially because I mostly do lesbian porn so the risk isn't very high. I used to work at the Armory where on every sextoys you were required to use condoms on it. So it just became kind of my basic thing. And like with gloves and stuff<sup>276</sup>.

Bien que les pratiques de *safer sex* soient mises en avant à travers l'utilisation de préservatifs, d'autres protections sont moins visibles. Ce phénomène peut s'expliquer par un retard dans le développement des pratiques de *safer sex* lesbien, comparé à la communauté gay qui a été fortement impactée par l'épidémie de VIH/SIDA<sup>277</sup>. De plus, le manque de connaissances sur la transmission du VIH entre deux personnes ayant des vulves<sup>278</sup>, ainsi que le manque d'organisation autour de ces sujets au sein de la communauté lesbienne (absence d'un équivalent d'Act Up), ont contribué à une structuration du discours sur le *safer sex* lesbien autour d'un manque d'information<sup>279</sup>. Cette histoire semble encore avoir un impact aujourd'hui sur les pratiques de *safer sex* pour les personnes à vulves, et cela se voit dans les contenus pornographiques analysés dans les 8 films sélectionnés pour ce mémoire.

Les risques d'infections sexuellement transmissibles (IST) sont présents même dans une relation sexuelle entre deux personnes à vulve. Les pratiques de *safer sex* permettent en grande partie de s'en prémunir, bien que les tests IST soient également une pratique très ancrée dans l'industrie pornographique. Lors de notre entretien, Chelsea a mentionné le

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<sup>275</sup> Voir tableau des risques de transmissions des infections sexuellement transmissibles en annexe n°18.

<sup>276</sup> Données du CRIPS Îles de France, voir annexe n°15.

<sup>277</sup> Sam Boursier, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

<sup>278</sup> Le terme « personne à vulve » est utilisé dans cette recherche, car les individus interrogés et les performeur-euses dans les films ayant une vulve comme organe génital ne se définissent pas nécessairement comme des femmes.

<sup>279</sup> *Ibid.*

concept de *talent testing*, qui désigne les tests d'IST largement utilisés dans l'industrie pornographique *mainstream* :

C : In mainstream porn there is this system where you get tested, it gets into a database and you can share it on your phone with someone and to show them and to be like okay this is my code, and it can be accessed by all the producers and stuff<sup>280</sup>.

En revanche, les tests d'IST ne sont souvent pas pris en charge par l'assurance médicale aux États-Unis, ce qui signifie que les performeur.ses doivent déboursier des centaines d'euros à chaque test. Cette réalité pose de nombreux défis, d'autant plus que les revenus des tournages peuvent varier, et que les opportunités dans l'industrie queer peuvent être rares. Chelsea met en évidence les difficultés engendrées par le système de santé étasunien et les limites du *safer sex* dans ce contexte :

C : (...) Because to get tested it's over 200 dollars. And you have to do it every two weeks. “ **Okay and someone paying for that or it's on the performer ?**” You have to do it out of your pocket. So if you are not getting shots where you are getting paid like a 1000 dollar per shot and you are doing content trade, it puts you in a very weird situation where people have to go to their own doctor, and it's complicated because a doctor won't tell you to have a test unless you are suspected to have something already. There are a few sex workers clinics that are really great ones, there is one called Saint James. (...) So if someone gets a positive test, they might be hiding it from someone because they are not going to have money then. And they can't spend another 200 dollars through talent testing again.(...)“ **Is it a part of a bigger problem of medical care in the US ?** ” Exactly, I mean, it's obviously completely terrible. That's another reason why I want to move. So yeah, it's a really really tricky situation<sup>281</sup>.

Chelsea souligne un point crucial en mettant en lumière les obstacles auxquels sont confrontés les travailleurs et travailleuses du sexe en matière de dépistage et les coûts que cela peut entraîner. Selon la régularité et le salaire des TDS, ces tests peuvent représenter un fardeau financier. Cela met en évidence les lacunes du système de santé étasunien. Ces défis financiers peuvent conduire certain.es TDS à prendre des risques pour leur santé. Ruby a également souligné qu'après avoir initialement affirmé se faire tester avant chaque tournage que cela n'est pas toujours possible :

R : Obviously the go to is talent testing so you can show the other performer that you are working with the results.

**E : Is it before every scene?**

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<sup>280</sup> Entretien avec Chelsea Poe, 11/04/23, annexe n°11.

<sup>281</sup> Entretien avec Chelsea Poe, 11/04/23, annexe n°11.

R : I mean it varies, it depends, usually before your shooting but you know not everyone does it that way, and I haven't done it that way every single time. We use safer sex practices, by being very transparent about just our testing status like hey I went to a clinic and I got tested there, and it depends of who you work with. It's like people we know and trust, I am comfortable with that personally, I'm not saying that everybody does that. It's a thing that I have done. Yeah, also you know... being pretty transparent about it, I haven't slept with anybody since I last got tested so I'm not going to pay 300 dollars for talent testing. But generally testing is an important part of it, sharing our test results with each other<sup>282</sup>.

Les contraintes financières liées aux dépistages incitent les performeurs et performeuses à ne pas se faire tester de manière systématique, comme le souligne Ruby. Bien que l'absence de dépistage puisse susciter des préoccupations, Ruby met néanmoins en avant un aspect essentiel de la pratique du *safer sex* : une communication transparente concernant ses pratiques qui est une part essentielle de la pratique du *safer sex*.

- **Un contenu pédagogique et éducatif**

La pornographie alternative englobe une grande diversité de sous-genres, dont deux exemples sont l'éduporn et le docuporn, qui ont pour objectif principal d'être éducatifs. David Courbet analyse ces types de pornographies comme des outils de libération pro-sexe, visant à utiliser la pornographie à des fins informatives et éducatives<sup>283</sup>. Au-delà de simplement divertir et de donner de plaisir, ce type de pornographie vise à éduquer son public. Dans *The Feminist Porn Book*, la chercheuse en *porn studies* Mireille Young souligne la volonté des réalisateur.ices de ce type de pornographie d'instruire leur audience sur le droit fondamental d'avoir accès au plaisir de manière sûre et consensuelle<sup>284</sup>.

Dans le corpus sélectionné, deux films relèvent de la pornographie éducative et un du documentaire pornographique : *Every Woman Has Different Orgasm Needs*, *Gush: The Official Guide to G Spot and Female Ejaculation*, et *Fluid: Women Exploring Sexuality on Film*. Le documentaire pornographique est un assemblage entre le film pornographique et l'entretien documentaire, une caractéristique propre au porno féministe et queer, qui permet de construire une trame narrative tout en mettant en avant des revendications, telles que le consentement et la mise en avant de l'expérience personnelle des performeur.ses<sup>285</sup>. Ce procédé est particulièrement marqué dans *Fluid: Women Exploring Sexuality on Film*, où les

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<sup>282</sup> Entretien avec Ruby Riots, 14/04/23, annexe n°12.

<sup>283</sup> David Courbet, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

<sup>284</sup> Tristan Taormino, Constance Penley, Celine Parrenas Shimizu, Mireille Miller-Young (dir.), *The Feminist Porn Book : The Politics of Producing Pleasure*, The Feminist Press at CUNY, 2013, p. 89.

<sup>285</sup> Julie Lavigne, Myriam Le Blanc Elie, Sabrina Maiorano, *art. cit.*, p. 13.



scènes de sexe sont entrecoupées d'entretiens avec les performeuses. Ces discussions portent sur les orientations sexuelles, les identités de genre et la signification du terme queer pour les personnes impliquées dans le film. Les scènes pornographiques sont ainsi entrecoupées d'entretiens suscitant des réflexions sur l'utilisation des différentes étiquettes au sein de la communauté LGBTQIA+ et sur l'appropriation des insultes telles que « hoes » et « slut » dans le contexte du travail sexuel queer, cette stratégie ce nomme le retournement du stigmat. Ce même procédé se retrouve également dans *Gush: The Official Guide to G Spot and Female Ejaculation*, un film réalisé par le sexshop Good Vibrations en partenariat avec Carol Queen. Le film présente une émission de radio où Carol, sexologue, répond aux questions des auditeur.ices sur le point G, puis les scènes pornographiques viennent illustrer ses conseils en mettant en scène les auditeur.ices dans leur intimité, en utilisant les informations préalablement fournies dans l'émission radio. Les questions abordent divers aspects du point G, qu'il s'agisse de son anatomie ou des techniques pour le stimuler. Ainsi, la pornographie devient une forme d'éducation à la sexualité. Madison évoque cette dimension dans notre entretien.

M : I think that often in a lot of talks about what porn is and what porn isn't. We often hear in the sexpositive community that porn is not sex education. Which... That can be very true. But I'm a big fan of not speaking in absolute because it's like saying films are not educational. And it's very correct, *Fast and Furious* is not an educational film. However there are documentaries that are highly educational. So you just have to think about it as an entire genre, not every book is educational. That is correct<sup>286</sup>.

Dans cette citation, Madison Young met tout d'abord en avant la perspective largement acceptée dans le féminisme pro-sexe que la pornographie est considérée avant tout comme un divertissement. Cependant, elle souligne également l'importance de ne pas généraliser en catégorisant toutes les pornographies comme non éducatives. Elle fait valoir qu'il existe une diversité de genres pornographiques, tout comme il existe une diversité de genres cinématographiques. En utilisant cette analogie, Madison cherche à mettre en lumière le spectre varié de la pornographie, allant du pur divertissement aux représentations les plus éducatives.

- **L'utilisation de sextoys comme outil de revendication**

Les sextoys jouent un rôle central dans les pornographies queer et féministes pour plusieurs raisons. Dans tous les films analysés, les sextoys sont présents, ce qui témoigne de

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<sup>286</sup> Entretien avec Madison Young, 26/04/23, annexe n°10.

leur importance. Dans des films tels que *Gush: The Official Guide to G Spot and Female Ejaculation* ou *Someone Like You*, les sextoys symbolisent l'autonomie sexuelle. Sous forme de vibromasseur, ces objets permettent aux protagonistes des films de prendre le contrôle de leur propre corps et de leur plaisir sexuel, indépendamment des attentes sociétales qui ont historiquement limité la sexualité des femmes et des personnes queer. Au-delà de cette autonomisation sexuelle, les sextoys dans ces films ont une fonction particulière : celle de subvertir les rôles genrés. Cette idée est développée par le philosophe Paul Preciado dans son ouvrage *Testo Junkie: sexe, drogue et biopolitique*, où il propose de voir le godemiché, et plus précisément le gode ceinture, comme un outil ou une prothèse sexuelle permettant d'explorer la sexualité en dehors des normes sociales<sup>287</sup>. L'utilisation de sextoys remet ainsi en question les constructions binaires de genre. Ce procédé est observable dans plusieurs films, comme *East Bay Brats volume 1*, où des godes ceintures sont utilisés dans des jeux de domination. Une femme portant un gode ceinture peut ainsi affirmer son pouvoir à travers cet objet. Cette dynamique se retrouve également dans *Every Woman Has Different Orgasm Needs* de Sprinkle, où l'utilisation du gode ceinture brouille les frontières de genre. Traditionnellement associée à la masculinité, la pénétration est ici effectuée par des femmes, mettant en lumière la nature performative du genre. Pour Julie Lavigne, Myriam Le Blanc Elie et Sabrina Maiorano, les sextoys subvertissent les rôles genrés et remettent en question le script hétérosexuel traditionnel<sup>288</sup>. Les godes ceintures portés par des femmes révèlent ainsi le caractère construit de la sexualité et peuvent transformer les dynamiques de pouvoir, comme le BDSM le démontre également.

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<sup>287</sup> Paul B Preciado, *Testo Junkie : Sexe, Drogue et Biopolitique*, Points, (2008) 2021.

<sup>288</sup> Julie Lavigne, Myriam Le Blanc Elie, Sabrina Maiorano, *art. cit.*, p. 13.

## Conclusion

En définitive, les pornographies alternatives reflètent une série de dynamiques complexes et imbriquées. Leur genèse résulte de la combinaison de facteurs environnementaux tels que des textes théoriques, universitaires et militants favorables à la création de ce type de contenu. Il est crucial de considérer les pornographies alternatives comme une proposition offrant une autre vision de la norme, tant sociétale que pornographique. Elles se construisent en résistance à la pornographie traditionnelle sans s'y opposer complètement, les frontières demeurant poreuses et nourrissant l'une l'autre.

Les enjeux les plus cruciaux résident dans les représentations de la communauté queer en dehors des carcans fétichisés et hétéronormés de la pornographie *mainstream*. Cette voie culturelle invite à repenser le genre, à faire émerger des messages politiques et à promouvoir la prévention et l'éducation à la sexualité. La pornographie alternative émerge ainsi comme un espace qui permet de faire émerger des récits souvent marginalisés, voire exclus. En défiant les conventions et en mettant en lumière la diversité des expériences sexuelles et des identités de genre, elle élargit le spectre des possibilités en matière de sexualité et d'expression de soi. Pour ceux et celles qui se sentent marginalisés par leur orientation sexuelle, leur identité de genre ou leurs préférences sexuelles, elle offre une validation et une affirmation identitaire cruciales.

Cependant, cette libération s'accompagne souvent de défis et de dilemmes. La précarité économique est un problème majeur au sein de l'industrie de la pornographie alternative, où les travailleurs et travailleuses du sexe luttent pour assurer leur subsistance dans un environnement précaire. De plus, la menace persistante de la censure en ligne et les politiques restrictives des plateformes de réseaux sociaux menacent la visibilité et la viabilité économique de ces contenus. Paradoxalement, comme le souligne la chercheuse Heather Berg dans son ouvrage *Porn Work*, le fait que cette pornographie existe au sein même du système qu'elle critique soulève des questions importantes. Son caractère radical et contestataire peut-il perdurer s'il est intégré dans un système capitaliste qui tend à exploiter diverses formes de travail? Cette forme de contenu doit constamment négocier avec les normes sociales et les contraintes économiques diverses pour survivre tout en préservant son essence et son message critique.

En plus de s'inscrire dans un système capitaliste, la pornographie alternative évolue malgré elle dans un système patriarcal. Ce système joue un rôle prépondérant sur l'imaginaire, les fantasmes et la sexualité de manière plus générale, même pour les personnes queer. Bien que celle-ci critique activement ce système, elle en reste influencée.

En analysant les entretiens et les films, nous avons pu explorer la manière dont ces revendications sont mises en images et discutées par les travailleurs et travailleuses du sexe. Il est crucial de considérer le genre pornographique dans son ensemble, au-delà du simple divertissement, en le concevant comme une forme d'expression culturelle, politique et éducative. Ce qui distingue vraiment la pornographie alternative de la pornographie *mainstream*, c'est la mise en lumière des voix et des expériences des minorités sexuelles et de genre, remettant ainsi en question les normes de sexualité, de genre et plus largement, les conventions sociales. Elle offre ainsi un espace d'expression et de résistance pour ceux et celles qui cherchent à explorer et à redéfinir leur identité, leur sexualité et leur intimité, tant au niveau individuel que sociétal.

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Young, Madison. Entretien semi-directif, 1h07, Cole Coffee, Oakland, États-Unis, 26/04/24.

## ANNEXES :

**Annexe 1 :** Photo du livre *Coming to Power* publié en 1981 par le collectif SAMOIS.

Source : Photo du livre prise au GLBT Museum de San Francisco. Photo numérique.  
30/03/23.



**Annexe 2** : Entretien complet avec Annie Sprinkle. Entretien sociologique semi-directif. 40 minutes. 24 avril 2023.

### **Entretien Annie Sprinkle**

*Nom : Annie Sprinkle*

*Date : 24/04/23*

*Lieu : Maison d'Annie Sprinkle, San Francisco, États-Unis*

*Format : Entretien sociologique semi-directif enregistré au dictaphone / Durée : 40 minutes*

***Les phrases en gras sont mes questions et réponses.***

*( Conversation avant le début de l'enregistrement )*

A : So yeah... I'm Annie Sprinkle, I've worked around sex for 50 years. I started working in prostitution in Arizona as a young hippie. And right before that I got a job selling popcorn in a movie theater. **“Oh that's cool”** Where Deep Throat were showing in 1973. So then I did some sex work, because I wanted to have adventure and hippie girls did that, free love and I was very interested in sex and I think I was raised really to be an artist and an activist. So in 1985, two years later, I ended up in a sex worker rights movement, because prostitution in the US was illegal. And it still is **“yeah”** except for a few places in Nevada. So I did mainstream pornography and sex work of all kind. And photography, I was a pinup model photographer. Then I directed my own films. I had a small part in a lot of films... I was in some documentaries, so I was always freelance. I only had like three straight jobs, like, I worked in an art supplies store for three months, I tried to be a waitress once and it lasted 2 days. And I worked in a movie theater selling popcorn and that was about it. So I have always been freelance work of all kinds. I managed to keep it going for all these years. Never had a normal job. And then I transitioned in my mid 30s into full time art practice. I was always doing a little bit of art from early days and my first woman show really put me on the map as an artist because it was controversial. Because it was partly funded by the government ground's. **“Okay”** The theater I was in was not my particular show, And it became a part of the controversy that American's taxes are going to fund things other than opera and ballet. And it was a big struggle in the late 80's, early 90's. So I became a part of that debate. If the government should give funding to theaters that gay stuff and edgy stuff, body oriented art. So my theater piece, Post Porn Modernist, was kind of a cross over, my little niche was that I was a sexworker doing art projects. **“Hmm hmm”** Poetry and all kinds of art. But I was at the right place at the right time, became a part of the feminist debate pro porn anti porn... In the funding debate... So I just kind of headed in at the right time. Became a part of those kinds of discussions, and I started to make post porn... So I did that show for 6 years. And then years later I started another show called Annie Sprinkle Herstory of Porn. I can give you a bunch of DVDs if you want. **“I saw that because of the Pinklabel Tv platform, the site of Shine Louise Huston, There are a lot of your films on it.”** Oh, okay, did you talk to Shine ? **“Yeah”** So did you watch the whole thing ? **“Yeah”** Oh really good. Because the beginning is a little tough and then it gets more... Anyway, it's still an amazing life, but I

worked really hard for 50 years. Now I have to say I'm really tired. And I need to just hang out on a boat and I do work for the last 20 years with Beth. **"Hmm hmm"** I'm still toward one woman show and with Beth we made two women's shows, because I got tired of traveling by myself. And I fell in love with Beth and she is a wonderful artist so... So we started collaboration and we are still doing it. And I feel like the environmental issues are very interesting and exciting. Because it's a big umbrella and we don't have anything if we don't have clean air and water, trees... **"For sure"** So without that there is nothing else.

**E : Okay, so now you are more interested in the environmental aspect ?**

A : Yeah but I'm also... I feel like people are too much focused on genital sex. **"Hmm hmm"** Most people. Like a friend just texted in the middle of the night, her lover can't ejaculate. And she is looking at all these ways... He has a liver transplant, he's older and he can't ejaculate, it's like he thinks that it's like the end of the world. And I was like, he can learn to have orgasms without ejaculating. I have a whole book about orgasms. And they are really two separate things, they often happen together for men but you know, sex is so much bigger than genitals and ejaculation and hard penises. So part of my mission is and has always been to learn about sexualities and sharing what I learned. That's from the start. Immediately I started to document it. At 18 my lover and I were documenting from the start, photos, videos, books all about my sex life over the years (*rive*). Now I'm post menopausal and it's different, the world is different. And everybody is spending a lot of money on sextoys that pollute everything and lingerie. We all love lingerie, but most of it it's plastic. And people feel like if they don't have the right sextoy and the right lingerie, they are bad lovers. So, It's very commercial and competitive and they are feminist issues. I mean, a lot of women are very ignorant about their bodies and sexuality. And men and trans people, because there are so many trans people now, there have always been trans people but talking about new surgeries and new hormones, there are always new evolutions and that's complicated. So, I like the ecosex idea, and it sounds really silly, but there are really serious elements to it. There is sex going on everywhere all the time. You know, bacteria reproducing, there is sex going on inside our bodies, because we have all these creatures living inside and around us. And then bees are pollinating flowers, bugs are reproducing and one little thing of soil has millions of creatures having sex. We don't think about all the sex that is going on all the time. I find this really interesting. And I explored human sex in every way. Human to human with all kinds of humans. All kinds of human sex, sex clubs and sex orientations and even I did celibacy one year. I have done it all, and now I'm really interested in fantasy and imagination outside of human fantasies. I had all the human fantasies I could have. But, now I'm like what is it to fantasize about making love to a cloud ? Or, making love with the ocean or the stars. Ghosts, or spirits, there are so many more possibilities or even sensuality. **"Hmm hmm"** Everybody enjoys sensuality of nature but it's a taboo to talk about it. So that's interesting. I like to break taboos. But also it's about people having more pleasure, if they have cancer or they are in a war zone or in jail or they are in a hospital, it's like, where is the pleasure ? Like people in solitary confinement, they could hopefully find some pleasure in fabric. We need to have sensual pleasure to make life worth living. **"Yeah definitely, so you want to re-think sex outside the traditional way of thinking about it..."** Yeah, it's like

erotism is also complicated. But people limit themselves a lot. We are not educated to think outside the box. We are programmed to reproduce of course, but after that, I mean, all sensuality can be erotic if you let it. Watching the sunset can be very erotic, but most people can't let themselves... Pleasure is just saying yes and letting it come to your body. But people don't because it's taboo.

**E : Hmm hmm, can we talk a bit more about your early days in porn and everything ... "hmm hmm" How did you start to be a part of the sex positive movement ?**

A : Well, there wasn't a sex positive movement when I started. Prostitution was bad, porn was bad... Being a slut was bad. And people didn't know where the clitoris was. **"hmm hmm"** People didn't know women could really have orgasms. A lot of people believe that women didn't have orgasms because there was no ejaculation. We've really come a long way around sexuality ! So there was no real sex positive movement, in America we are a really puritanical country, we came from europe's religious group escaping to kind of have more of the so called freedom. There are all kinds of different social constructs you know... So it's just society. There are all kinds of taboos. A friend is currently doing a book called decolonizing sexuality. She is a Native American and she's saying the natural way to be is poly. To have multiple lovers. That was simple. And when the colonizers came in, they destroyed indigenous tribes, people, They imposed their religious beliefs, and taboos and all that, so... And yeah now we are losing grounds with the so-called christians. Taking away sex education, banning books and... **"Yeah, now it's really a struggle right ?"** Yeah., you heard of that. **"It's about drag queens rights and trans rights right ?"** Yeah, did you go to the protest? **"Yeah, I did."** Yeah to the protest ? And before, to the hunky jesus contest ? **"Yeah I was there too"** Wasn't that great ? Oh yeah, I remember you were there yeah. Wasn't it wonderful ? **" Yes it was amazing"** Yeah I'm glad you went. Do you have that in France now, Drag Queens attack ? **"We have it, yeah... Definitely"** Really ? **"Where I'm living, in Toulouse Drag queens organized something with the public library to read books about equality to children there. And it's been canceled by the mayor. So that's really an issue right now in France too."** Wow. It's always in the name of so-called protecting children. **"Yeah that's pretty bad"** Yeah it's about acceptance and diversity.

**E : So do you think the backlash from the 80's is coming back ?**

A : Hmm hmm. We are approaching fascism really fast. I mean everyone I know is thinking about where else to live outside The United States. **"Oh wow okay."** Because of all the guns and censorship. People like us are under attack. And on the other hand, there are more of us than ever. **"Definatly yeah"** Sexworker's rights are bigger than ever, I mean the movement. There is way more freedom of access to pornography, I mean, and with the internet you can have a lot of sex education even if they banned it in schools. People can get it, so there are good things and bad things. I mean it's not that dualistic, but even the internet, it's a mess.

**E : And... Can you tell me why you started to want to create your own pornography content in the first place ?**



A : Creative freedom, self expression, enthusiasm from different experiences I had. Like I did films with Candida Royalle. Candida Royalle is really the mother of feminist erotica. Because she created a distribution company and a production company and... And before that, only men were allowed to see pornography. Women were not really allowed or it was shown in men's club, bachelor's parties and it was very taboo for women to see porn. So videos came out, women were not going to see porn movies in theaters either. Except for Deep Throat, that was really the first one that a lot of women saw. That was the first porn I saw. Have you ever watched Deep Throat ? **“Yeah I did yeah.”** Oh good yeah. **“ It was a funny movie for sure (rire)”** Yeah... (*réflèction*) So... Sorry my brain is not working.

**E : Don't worry it's fine, so it was more about the freedom to create the content that you wanted to see ?**

A : Yeah, I felt like I could do it better. (*rire*) Or differently. So post porn as I developed that idea, it's an alternative kind of porn and it wasn't just me it was with other people, we wanted to do different things. **“Hmm hmm”** Because during the feminist porn wars some feminist wanted to ban porn completely... And we said no, we do like some, we can make women real lesbian porn instead of fake lesbian porn. And we did. So now there is a lot more diversity, more people of color... I think of it like a tree, it was one kind of porn and now there are 6 branches. **“Yeah”** And then these little branches had twigs and then they grew all kinds of leaves you know. **“Hmm hmm”** Now you have so many different branches of all kinds so you can find you know. And before you just have to go to a movie theater, and guy would hope that they can find something they like, you know. So, I was interested in making movies and I was interested in sex, so they went together really well. And we are still making movies. In fact, I had a Guggenheim grant last year. **“Awesome”** For filmmaking. Which is a very prestigious grant in the United States for filmmakers so... It was such an acknowledgement, I was crying. I went to a party in New York where they honored the Guggenheim grant people, and they gave Guggenheim in a lot of different disciplines, so they were about 15 film makers or 20 in the country and they picked what they think are the best ones that year. So I was crying because I used to work down the street in Manhattan in a massage place, and the party was in the same neighborhood. **“wow”** And there I was dreaming about making great movies... So it was a huge milestone for me, I think I have been incredibly successful surpassing my dreams and now I have new dreams. I figured out what's next, you know. **“Hmm hmm”** With boats (*rire*). Did you have fun with Sam on his boat ? **“I didn't have the time to do it yet...”** Oh **“It was on friday and I wanted to be here for the rehearsal, so maybe this week will see”**

**E : And according to you, can you define what post pornography means to you ?**

A : Yeah, I have something I can send to you. **“Yeah, perfect.”** I can read you the definition. (*temps de recherche*) Yeah, so basically, my definition is a post porn modernist who makes sex an explicit media that is artsy, contextual and experimental, political and more humoristic than mainstream porn. It often has a critical sensibility, it usually contains hardcore sex, it's

not focused on being erotic. Post porn modernism is a genre, it's currently called post porn for short. I called it a term in 1988, when I made it a title for my show, Van Kamen called porn modernism in 1986. Then I ran this show for 6 years. And then I named my book also Post Porn Modernist. Which is now over 25 years old. But it was kind of the first porn star catalog really. I am a woman porn star kind of. **“Okay, that’s the ones that I borrowed ?”** Yeah. And other academics adopted the term, like Paul Preciado. **“Yeah”**

**E : So it’s more about the political aspect behind than just arousing people with porn right ?**

A : Yeah it's more about creating sex expressions about any topic. It could be flowers or anything. On our walking tour... You know, it's sex outside the box, it could be mainstream. If a person identifies as a post porn modernist I call it, if you identify as a woman doing post porn, then anything could be post porn. I don't know if anyone would identify with that term, did you ask Shine about it ? **“Hmm no, I don’t think so, because she was just doing what she wanted to see in pornography. I don’t think she considers herself an activist either...”** She doesn't ? wow. **“No, I don’t think so. ”** That's interesting. **“I ask some performers, and some of them strongly identify as activists, and others are more like, I’m just doing what I like, it really depends.”** I mean post porn, a lot of people don't like the term. **“Why is that?”** Honestly, I'm a very privileged white person. (*réflexion*) And it sounds too academic for people. A lot of people don't like academics... They just want to do what they want to do. **“Okay”** Or, they don't like me. Some people don't. Because I'm aging, and they see me as too privileged. Some people want to kill their parents (*rire*). So then Paul Preciado really popularized it in Europe. **“Yeah”** And Wink Van Kampen, who wrote Post Porn Politics in Berlin. Today there are a bunch of artists who used it too. It's like ecosexual, a lot of people don't like the term ecosexual. They think it's silly, it sounds New Age, or it sounds hippy. It's not punk enough maybe... That's why we were punk. **“Yeah”** You were amazing. **“Thank you”** Your costume was so good. It was really great. Did that feel okay ? **“Yeah, that was actually something that I wear very often. That was my everyday outfit (rire)”** That's great.

**E : And also I wanted to know why... Because you started your career in New York right ? Why did you decide to move to San Francisco ?**

A : Yeah, so I grew up in LA, and I spent 4 years in Central America. **“Hmm hmm”** Panama. Where I went to high school. So my first boyfriend, I met him in Panama at 17 and I lost my virginity to him. We had our first erotic experience on the beach, it was under the stars... **“That’s so cool (rire)”** I know ! It was amazing, it was an incredible first oral sex experience. And my family moved back to LA and he came up and we dated for 6 months, and I lost my virginity. And, we moved to Arizona. Lived in an artist commune in the early 1970. And then I met... (*téléphone qui sonne*) Then I just became very promiscuous and ended up in the sex industry at 18. There I met Gerard Damiano, the director of Deep Throat, and moved to New York to be his mistress. I loved Manhattan, I lived there for about 25 years. I did a lot of sex industry work, that was my home based. Started to do theater pieces and art projects.

Eventually I wanted to be closer to my family, so I moved to Sausalito in a houseboat. And I start on my way back... I lived in the east Hamptons, and then Sausalito again. And then when I was in a town performing, there was a fire. A left a candle in the houseboat **“wow”** So I had to leave there. And then I fell in love with Beth later. So I only lived in San Francisco for 20 years. So I didn't think I would want to live there because there are so many sex educators here. And it was very sophisticated... hmm... In terms of pleasure activism, sex art and... But I moved here and it's been fine, it's been great. There is a community here, it's like a bubble, great sex artists, educators and activists. But now I'm ready to move back to the country. I have been in cities a lot. Also we have a little place in the redwood forest. We have a cabin. I had lung cancer, breast cancer, and genetically I'm prone to cancer so... **“wow”** I live every year like it's going to be my last. And also it's been really hard to watch the book censoring, losing grounds, and racism and all of that. It's heartbreaking. And even abortion... There are plenty of states where you can't have abortion, I mean when we marched on my age we were 10 million of us. Now... I don't know, I don't have the energy to do it all over again. But we have done it once, we can do it again so... They have to leave. **“ I remember the day... When Roe vs Wade was shattered, I was heartbroken. I think it was something really important for all the women. It touched every woman on the planet...”** But a lot of women don't want abortion either. **“Yeah”** But it is a control, control over women's bodies. That's the problem. And they want to control women's bodies. A lot of men do. But men are going to suffer from this, as much as women. But there are a lot of people that have been told that the unborn are more important than the women. Sometimes it's kinder to give death to the unborn I think... I think that life does continue, but you know, sometimes, it's better to not bring a child into the world if they are going to have a hell of a time. **“Definitely, especially now”** Yeah. So many single mothers and teenagers, and it's not only babies, it's the health care now... It's like women who are in emergency health care situations, about ectopic pregnancies and oh my god it's just a nightmare for health care. Like in Tennessee, no one is applying for medical schools... Because it's too reliable. So it's going to be less and less doctors to take care of women. **“That's crazy”** Men and women.

**E : So we talked earlier this weekend about queer strategy, can you tell me more about what you mean by that?**

A : Well you know, I was heterosexual really, I was not interested in women sexually at all. Until I was 34 I think, and I started to be interested... The only woman that I kind of got along with very well was sexworkers women. And my mom was a very strong woman... She was tough, growing up she has 4 kids, I was the oldest and she was... I don't think she wanted 4 kids, but anyway. So growing up, I was not interested in women but then, I started meeting some great women and I was like okay... Maybe it's time for change, you know. I couldn't imagine that sex with women could have been better than sex with men but then at one point I was like, okay now I get it. I like this, this is good, I like women, they are smarter and deeper in some ways. And trans, I had a lot of trans lovers, genderqueer as well. Always loved those kinds of folks, they are very special. So gradually I transitioned but what was the question ?

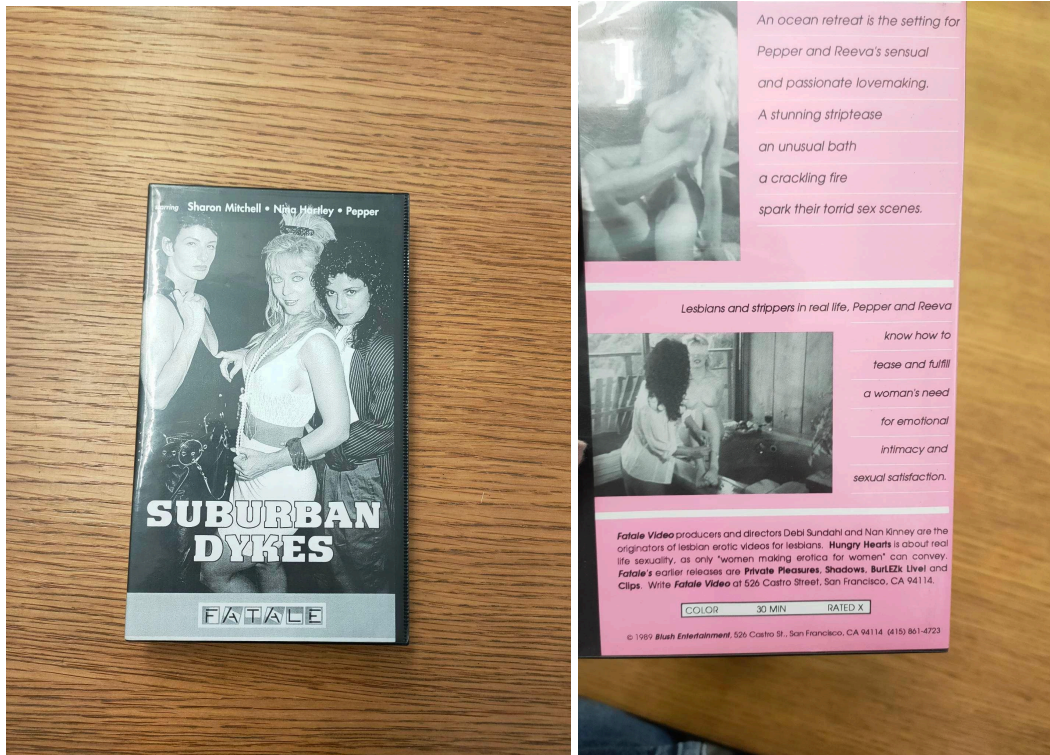
**E : What queer strategies means to you**

A : Oh yeah, so queer here in San Francisco it just means that you could be kinky, it could mean that you are heterosexual but you support queer people or you have a queer mindset. Or you are a part of the queer community, or it could be that you are poly... Everything outside the heteronormativity could be queer. But queer strategies are that gay people or queer people are notoriously... They do crossdressing, and drag and party, dance and sex... Drugs and experimenting body freedom, nudity and things like that. So those are all queer strategies I would say... And then there is this concept called pleasure activism. There is a book called *Pleasure Activism*. **“Okay”** It’s by a black woman academic. But I was using that term a long time ago, like maybe in the 90’s. I’m going to have to start cleaning up a little bit, but we can hang out and keep talking. **“Yeah perfect”** (*fin de l’enregistrement*)

**Annexe 3 :** Photo d'une cassette de Fatale Video, *Suburban Dykes* paru en 1991.

Source : Photo de la cassette prise aux GLBT Historical Society Archives, San Francisco.

Photo numérique. 30 mars 2023.



**Annexe 4** : Photo du spectacle d'Annie Sprinkle, *The Public Cervix Announcement*, Harmony Theater, New York, 1990.

Source : Photos extraites de l'article d' Aulombard-Arnaud, Noémie. « A Public Cervix Announcement. Annie Sprinkle's pro-sex and post-porn performance (New York, 1990).» *Clio. Women, Gender, History* 54.2 (2021): 185-195. Photos numérisées. Consulté le 29/08/2023.



**Annexe 5** : Entretien n°1 complet avec Carol Queen. Entretien exploratoire. 1 heure 10 min .  
06 février 2023.

### **Interview n°1, Carol Queen**

*Nom : Carol Queen*

*Date : 06/02/23*

*Lieu : Zoom, Toulouse, France.*

*Format : Entretien sociologique exploratoire de 1h10 min*

*( Présentation avant l'enregistrement ou je lui demande si je peux enregistrer et citer son nom dans mon mémoire )*

Q : You should be in contact with the people from pink and white because they would be very important people to be in touch with when you are here, I think, you know, they are not the only people now in the bay area making queer porn, but I think they are the most established and they are doing it the longest time, they are well respected and recognized event by the mainstream porn world, which sometimes just ignores the queer porn right ? Because, the first question that you asked when you asked, what your project, what you're doing, the first thing that came to my mind was to make sure that I said to you that this kind of porn is an alternative culture as far as pornography itself is concerned. And also, in terms of a larger pop culture. So in some ways I'm sure you know; from your studies last year or just looking around, you can see that some of mainstream porn as in sort of linked up with pop culture. Music, music video culture, are ways in which porn is not completely separated from the larger culture in the United States at least. Queer pop culture, queer mainstream culture, it's not really mainstream but, "yeah", you know what I mean when I say that ? "yes". It's much more open to sort of acknowledging queer porn... because... since queer have a marginalized identity to begin with, porn is recognized in the queer culture, then mainstream and mostly hetero porn is to mainstream culture, if that makes sense. So, I think that also true with trans porn, I mean any of these communities there is a kind of people who don't want their identity to be represented by porn, and I think of all the kinds of porn I could think of, they may be the most kind of...a... complicated acknowledgement for trans world and trans porn. But it's not the way it used to be in feminist porn, it's not that intense and that much of a fight, but people in the trans community and especially trans women are maybe more sensitive about representations in porn of trans women being the way that everyone thinks of them. And they don't want that. So I have been fortunate in the way that I have done both goodvibrations porn when we were making it ourselves which we don't anymore, at least not right now, but we have and perhaps someday we will again. And also, outside goodvibrations.

Q : Let me start with when I was in queer porn, which has a link to the vibrations. When Goodvibrations began to carry porn, and as a sextoy store, we originally did not. We started

Goodvibrations, we were like, porn... we were not completely on the other side of the *sexwars*, but we didn't think it represented sexuality well, we didn't respect it or wanted to be there. It was common, because if you started to very much look at it, when it's there, diversely, we started to see that all porn is not the same. we started to see that there are kinds of porn that represent people's identities, communities, sexualities much better and Joani, our founder, didn't bother. But, Joani hired somebody who is really important, and in the lesbians sex world particularly, even if she's not there anymore, she just was an important figure. It was Susie Bright, I don't know if you know a lot about Susie Bright, but she is also somebody that I would suggest you try to talk to when you are here. She is a really important figure for a couple of reasons, one, because she was very interested in porn, she learned about it, and got a more complex view of it, from a lesbian who was very interested in porn, all kinds of porn.

Q : In the 70's, you know, it was seen as the next genre of movie, to be embraced by.. at least by the avant garde people who weren't particularly sex positive. And they thought that this movie was about to show in theaters, that it would going to be seen as progressive films. And that didn't really happen, it happened a little bit, for some films, like Deep throat, it got very very famous and it was shown in theaters. And there were several other videos like that too. Susie was really interested in this stuff and she met Joani at GoodVibrations, because Susie was working there at that time. To let her curate a porn collection for Goodvibrations. It would include the... smart porn movies, movies that weren't really movies, they had a script. She has also included everything she could from the feminist and especially lesbian porn subculture which was very small at that time. It's not very big now, but it was very small then. She also had a few gay male movies but she especially wanted to make sure she got all the lesbians movies.

So the reason that Goodvibrations is important to the larger question even without the movies that we made, it's because we were probably at that time the first feminist sextoys store in the United States and maybe the world. And because we put these movies on the catalog, on the website, when we got a website, you could rent them from the store, we had a good movie rental establishment. We made it possible for the movies to get more viewers, for more people to know about them, for more people to know what was different about them, and that was really important I think for the feminist porn world.

And then the 90s went on and more and more people decided to join, and more movies as well. So at first it was mainly Femme Productions, for feminist porn and Fatale for lesbian porn with a few others smaller with fewer movies involved. And then GoodVibrations got involved, productions started in the 90s, pink and whites started in the 90s, and there were a lot more movies to look at. Websites also began to spring up in the half of the 90s. If you want to look for feminist porn, you should look at different websites who focus on that, they don't make movies to sell and store, they make movies to download, that's today. But at one time, anybody who made movies, first they were on VHS, cassettes, the really old tik one the size of a book right ? And they were on DVDs and you bought the item itself and put it in the computer and your VCR. GoodVibrations started to make movies partly because we thought



that in what was available, they were to things that we saw we could have and did not see very much of. One was educational explicit movies. So, the G spot movies that we made, and so on.

**E : So the first movie that GoodVibrations made was for educational purposes ?**

Q : Two reasons, we were a good entity to do that because of the educational focus that we had even when we were selling sextoys, so that was one of Joani's finds really important for us to use educational porn. She wanted to sell the best quality stuff she thought. At first, there wasn't very much, but she wanted it to be better than other stores. She wanted us to be able to talk to any customers comfortably and inform them about sexual issues and functioning and styles of sex and techniques, everything that they couldn't or haven't found anywhere else. So the movies were directly plugged into our mission when we decided to do them.

Those days, not anymore, but we were all owners, so we will sit all together in a big meeting and make a decision about what we were going to do. And one of the other owners was a filmmaker, and she was very excited about the possibility of using her skills. So we made a few educational movies and we made at least 2 movies that were not educational specifically but that showed sexuality or people that we didn't see in the movies that were available. So that was the other thing. One of them was a body positive movie with curvy women, I don't think there is any smaller size in this movie and it was all big women. But there were big women in porn already but they were not respected. "yes" They way they were represented right ? "mm mm" So same with racial identity in porn. For the longest time and to some degree now, some porn is made very much based on stereotypes, you could call it racist materials, I don't think any people making the porn, besides maybe the people of color, were imagining that is what they were doing in a very clear planned way, but they were leaning into stereotypes. It was a huge dilemma for us at GoodVibrations, we wanted to carry more movies with black participants, people of more races, with back indigenous people of color. People came in and said, " why are all these movies so white, why ?" . Well, because all these movies with black people in particular... that's not what you want to see, and we were so confused about should we make that determination, because most of us were white. On the other hand, if we let all of these movies in, and our customers who we really respected, if we don't choose wisely these could be very offended, triggered or hurtful. If the material was bad or just felt that they could not trust us. So we had endless conversations about this, right, to try to get it right. The other one that we did, it was not an educational movie, but we thought we needed more representation. It was a bisexual movie, and there was a lot of lesbian porn, a lot of porn that was beginning to include trans identified queers, trans porn, trans filmmakers who only hired trans people to be in the porn. So there would be some specific trans porn for trans viewers, so trans people were becoming more present in queer porn in general but there were specific trans porn as well. What we didn't see was anybody that genuinely wanted to make bi porn, or we would say today, bi, bi+, bi and pansexual porn maybe ? So we made one. *Slide bi me*. We wanted to make a movie that bi people could embrace and say, they see us. When we were no longer a co-op we made three more, I was the script writer for, I was no longer a performer in movies but I was the host of the movie, talking about the sexual things

that I wanted in the movie and all that. So we also did another movie about the G spot. In all cases, the reason we stopped is that it costs more money to make a video when it's a full video shoot, not just a scene like coming or whatever but when you are paying a decent amount of money to people in the movie. Then, it was hard to sell up the movie if it's a marginalized topic, and that was 25 years ago, that's not so true today I think. I think what I just said is more about the historical explanation, the way we started, the way we stopped, the reason we stopped. It's because there were not a lot of places to carry these movies.

**E : So it was a problem of diffusion ? The fact that you couldn't diffuse it impacted your work?**

Q : Yes ! And I remembered at one point, having a business meeting with somebody who wanted to make some queer porn. And I remembered so clearly saying to them, what GoodVibrations should really have tried to do is to make a distribution porn company for us. For the queer feminist people. And we haven't been able to do it. And nobody else really did it either. I feel other companies today distribute other people's work, especially in the 90's and the early 2000's. So it happened a little bit, but I think the whole industry was starting to shift. So that part of the story to the porn world that I was the most familiar with turned into the porn world that you are most familiar with. So I mentioned that I have done porn, which I think you already know. The best known one that I participated in was *Bend Over Boyfriend*, with my partner Robert for the movie company, *Sure production*, I was really a part of the team that made it, not just a performer.

**E : So at the time, you were switching between the performer and the director ? How did that affect your work ?**

Q : That was a good question, I will not say that I was ever the director. I was in a position where I often consulted with the directors when we were trying to do a particular thing, and in the case of *Bend Over Boyfriend* that was true. Because Rob and I have been teaching classes about anal sex. So we were the experts on the movie as well as the performers. "ok". So I did have to have two important roles, but I didn't go all the way to directing. I have little roles after this movie, in a lot of different movies, including in early pink and white movies. I'm always interested in supporting these kinds of films and also allowing people to know who I am and I want people to watch the films. And, I want them to know there are different ways to speak about their sexualities. And there are ways to show it on screens that makes more people feel seen, and gives them more options as far as identity, sexual behavior, information that they have, all of that. It's all really important. That's why I'm interested in participating in these movies, when I'm asked. Now I'm mostly invited into documentaries. (*rire*) But that's okay ! When I was younger I was invited into naked movies, and of course I wrote a book, *Exhibitions for the Shy*, which means that I never tried to do anything like a full time thing with porn. I never consider myself as a porn star, that's another level of commitment, right ? But I loved doing it, and a lot of people who make explicit movies will tell you afterward that they never watch them. They do and make them and that just tells you

they had a great time, but they don't watch themselves in the movies, but I'm one of the lucky ones who thinks it's interesting not only to do the sexual stuff but also to participate. The other movie that I was in, speaking of this, one of the most well known at the time, I don't think anymore, but I think it was the very first movie about the G spot ever made. But it was with the *Fatal Company* who mostly made lesbian porn, and it was the first and only educational movie. It was sort of a hybrid because the woman who directed and made the movie is having seccion where she explained the anatomy and all of that stuff, and the for of us who were participating, also did interviews almost like a documentary, talking about how was the experience, what we did to experience all of that. And, in addition to all of that, we had a writer from *Elle* magazine with us, to write an article about it. And it turned out that that writer was the woman who is suing Donald Trump for rape, I don't know if you know that in France "no ...". It's a big deal here ! So anyway, it was amazing to have her here with us. So... I am going to start to close because you might have some questions based on what I said so far. I think it's likely that everybody, especially in the 90's and early 2000's, who started this movie, Courtney Trouble, that's the personnel I was trying to find before, who probably did their own direction sometimes. And Courtney did a bunch of movies too. We all understood ourselves doing activist work, and this is a thing. And, this is one of the things that is different from mainstream porn. "okay" Mainstream porn will talk about themselves as a family sometimes, which could be deconstructed, that very statement. But what they mean I think is that they all understand that they are doing something that is marginalized by the larger culture. That is not accepted and embraced by the larger culture and in order to have some support doing it, they give each other that support. And I know many people who are involved or who have been involved in mainstream porn, and all of the people I know, this family idea to some degree describes how they think about what they are doing, and maybe it is true that the feminist and queer people will use that kind of language too. But I think, more than that, they would use activists. All of us believed it's political !

**E: It was my last question actually, if you are considering yourself as an activist ?**

Yes ! Yes. Though all of it you know, exhibitionism ? yes. But, activists for sure, but partly because people learn from porn. I think this is one one the things that probably came up for you around the discussion about the pornwars, historically, but certainly today, there are plenty of discourses about the way that porn is bad because people will look at it and think "oh that how I'm supposed to have sex!". That's a very, and certainly in the United States around the anti porn feminists, that many of them have been influenced now by the notion of sexpositivity, they don't want to sound sexnegative, or prudish. But they want an argument that will convince others that porn isn't a good thing that is a very common argument they use. I happen to agree with them, and many people, even in mainstream porn will agree with them. In those cases, you shouldn't use that as your sex education ! And I always say that using porn as sex education is like using car chasing movies like driver education and you don't learn to drive a car from those movies you will wreck your car ! (*rire*) All kinds of things that porn chose that they don't show genualy, fairly enough to understand the safety and the preparation for the people who are doing it. In the United States, teenagers do not

learn anything about video literacy. So it is a challenge, to put in a truly sexpositive and porn positive way the voice that this wasn't intended for you to copy.

**E: Yeah, that's not an sex education course so...**

Q : Yes, and in the United States, we are terrible with that right ? One thing is, with rare exceptions within the mainstream porn world, porn is not intended to be something that we should copy and do, it is always edited in a particular way, it is made to arouse and excite not to inform. But, if someone is angry for information, and they haven't got enough of it elsewhere, they will take it from the porn. So, and I say the exceptions and the exceptions are series made by porn performers where they are intended to be informational. One of the first ones was made by Nina Hartley, a very famous feminist porn star in the 80's and 90's in the porn world and I know her well, so she was one of the people who sort of laid with that. More recently, Jessica Drake has made an all series, and there are some others too. There was this one performer who is known in the kink world, who made BDSM, information videos a long time ago. Of course now we have movie companies on kink.com that make things that are supposed to be informational and things that are supposed to be erotic and exciting. There is more diversity that way now, but there is not very much, even now. This informational strategy, or mission is really more the queers, and the feminist, those are the people, we are the people who understand that if heterosexual kids don't have very good information, and might turn to porn to answer their questions, queer kids are getting terrible information. In the United States, nobody under the age of 18, you shouldn't have access to any porn, in any ways, because it's illegal and terrible legal issues can happen, but.. everybody knows that teenagers have access to this. It's almost impossible to stop. So I really wish every anti porn talking passionately about education as they do about how porn is a problem. Because if porn is a problem that way, it's just half of the problem, it's not the whole problem. And in the United States, education is really under attack in any way by conservatives. This is a real issue. The other thing that I was going to say, this specific thing about education and porn that I.. This is what started me at some level to begin to agree with them. And that is the prevalence of choking play in porn. It's gotten very common and there is a wonderful sexologist in the United States who works for a big university, who's done some research, students and their exposure to choking in porn, they are participating in choking play themselves, and so on. And I just read this research about it weeks ago and the thing that is very interesting that she decided to do with her research was to survey graduate students, people who are already doing their undergraduate degree and going to do masters or phd, so they are older. She's started doing a stratification with the age of the participants and then the undergraduates, the people from 18 to 22 and the other over 22. And she found out that the younger was more exposed to choking, was willing to normalize and participate in it without any understanding, for the most part, how that can be really dangerous. What they basically said was, if we see it every time it can't be that dangerous ! But it can be dangerous. What this all requires is taking porn seriously and talking about it, in ways that are not marginalized or so politicized that we are not getting the ideas we are trying to express out to the people we are trying to talk to, because it's already got so polarized.

**E : okay... and I wanted to know more about something I read in the feminist porn book, that you were once, I think in the 70s, that you were once on the more anti porn side ? And you kind of switch sides, wan you tell me more about it ?**

Q : Yeah..mm... the first couple of porn movies that I saw, in the 70's, I identified as a feminist very strongly and I saw a couple of movies that offended me when I saw how the men and women sexuality was shown. It's not hard to find that kind of movie, even now, there are some people making this stuff, they don't know much about men and women's sexuality. But, feminism in general, not completely, but the majority of feminist thought that I had' access to, it's either acknowledge they didn't like porn, or they didn't mention it at all. I didn't hear voices about the most sexually diverse topics. It was beginning to happen in the 70s, but it wasn't yet something, even in the end of the 70's when I started to read truly sexpositive stuff on lesbian sex and explicit stuff where you could either fantasize about it or think about it as something that might be a possibility, and when I had access to that information, what was important to me at that time was the access of erotic information too. When I write and when I write about porn I try to represent sex in a factual way and sexy way. The other perspective started to come to my life by the time I went to college, by the time I had my first girlfriend. I was very interested in exploring sexuality, for what it meant to me personally, for me and my girlfriend together. Although I haven't heard the term sexpositive yet, thinking back I was already being touched by some of the work of very earliest people who might have identified that way. The trans BDSM writer Patrick Kalifia, who was writing as Pat Kalifia in the 70's, wrote the very first lesbian sex manual that I know of, at least, in english. This helped the term sexpositive to emerge, it emerged in San Francisco at first. So it was my relationship to what porn represented, it was what porn represented for me as a young woman who didn't have much of a sense of my own power, who saw most of the sexual experiences that I was having were sort of at bust a power struggle relationship; at best benign power imbalance relationships, that was the best. They could be fun, they could be nice but I never had power or equal power until I started to get a little older, and understand what it might have looked like for me and then start to explore. So that is why I really was truly anti porn though I didn't see very much of it. That really impacted how I could understand all of this, and I think it's very common for anti porn people. Some anti porn people go and watch all the porn and they are really interested in it. In an interesting way that I think you would need a psychologist to participate in the understanding of what's going on. More often, it's a story a little bit like mine, where you have seen a little bit, and it's still common now, somebody who doesn't like porn whether it's my age or your age. They say, arg my boyfriend made me watch so much of it and I just.. you know, it's really common for people to not feel like they have agency over what they are exposed to. So it was when I began to be exposed to different things, different ways of seeing it and I began to find things that sparked for me personally in the porn. It was interesting sometimes, I wanted to see more of it too so if I understood it, I was always that kind of person but not until truly when I became a sexologist. That I have all the permission to watch and access a lot of different porn, because in my training as a sexologist, erotic materials were respected and important, so you would understand more about what is diverse and you don't make these judgements. They use the porn, feminist and queer porn, that was made for

marginalized communities within the larger sexual world. And you know, this goes back decades or centuries or more, it's a part of the queer history to be overwhelmed by heterosexual images, roles and expectations. And look for something that's a different message for us, right ? So that's the story of me changing my perception of perspective. And didn't involve a lot of outside discourse at first. It did later, I mean, by the time were pornwars were happening I was very familiar with the idea that there were two sides of this discussion and I knew which side I was on. If the sexwars happened 10 years earlier I would probably have said I was on the other side.

**E : Okay, thank you so much for everything. I just wanted to know.. I'm going to San Francisco and I really want to dive into the culture and every aspect of San Francisco. If you have any recommendations or places I have to go ? Events... ?**

Q : I will start making a list for you, and I will tell you that when you are here, *the Center for Sex and Culture*, my non profit organization, which is closed since before the pandemic, we have a new space with another organization. So, we are going to start to do a few things again, and that could be one of the places that you could use for reading, writing, and you could do interviews there as well. **“Okay thank you so much.”** And, there will be some books and materials there that you might find interesting and be able to use as research materials. And also, there is something in San francisco about alternative culture stuff, it's a website called brokassheart, I can send you the link. **“Yes”** He is a funny guy, and he ran for mayor ! Because San Francisco is that kind of a city, and my friends from sex and culture could tell me what websites you should check out. You want to meet Dorian who was our Gallery curator when we had a gallery and she knows all about all the work, the art and the culture stuff. Annie Sprinkle, who you want to meet also, will know about all the art stuff. So there will be people who can share with you the side of San Francisco that you like to explore, I think you will find a lot of things to do. **“Okay, perfect !”** And I want you to meet more people too, that should be interesting. **“Yes ! Okay, thank you so much for your time, it really means a lot to me, and thank you.”** I'm really happy to help, and it's just so interesting for me to talk about that as you could tell (*rire*). We can talk some more when we see each other, okay ?

**“ thank you so much, bye”**

**Annexe 6 :** Capture d'écran de la chaîne GMHS : END AIDS, LIVE LIFE ( pornographie éducative paru entre 1982 et 1999 sur le VIH), archivé sur le site de Pinklabel.tv.

Source : Capture d'écran du site Pinklabel.tv . Photo numérique. Consulté le 31/08/23.

**GMHC**  
END AIDS. LIVE LIFE.

Gay Men's Health Crisis produced revolutionary safer sex videos for the gay community.  
*Thank you to the New York Public Library and K.A. Johnson for digital mastering and reproduction.*

↓ A   ↑ Z   ↻   Quick Search..

**Chance of a Lifetime**  
"An erotic celebration of safer sex...injecting playful tenderness back into sexual exchange" - Variety  
GMHC  
END AIDS. LIVE LIFE.

**GMHC Safer Sex Shorts: Car Service**

**GMHC Safer Sex Shorts: Current Flow**

**GMHC Safer Sex Shorts: Gotst0beadrag**

**Annexe 7 : Cartographie des maisons de productions de pornographies alternatives sur la Baie de San Francisco entre 1980 et 2024 effectuée sur Canva format JPEG.**





**Annexe 8 : Grille d'analyse filmique des films pornographiques du corpus**

	<b>Young, Madison et Lust, Erika. Fragments My Body My Choice (Film pornographique féministe). Erika Lust Cinema, 2022.</b>	<b>Young, Madison et Erika Lust, Erika. Someone Like You (Film pornographique féministe). Erika Lust Cinema, 2021.</b>	<b>Houston, Shine Louise. Crash Pad Series Episode 238: Muxer Diosa and Marx the Prince ( Film pornographique queer). Pink and White Production, 2017.</b>	<b>Sprinkle, Annie, et Cramer, Joseph. Every Woman Has Different Orgasm Needs (Film pornographique eduporn). Best Vulva Massage, 2002</b>	<b>Strano, Jack, Rednour, Shar Coyote Days, Queen, Carol. Gush: The Official Guide to G Spot and Female Ejaculation (Film pornographique eduporn). Good Realising, 2010.</b>	<b>East Bay Brats Collective. Volume 1, East Bay Brats Collective (Film pornographique queer BDSM). Troubles Films, 2019.</b>	<b>Madison Young, Madison. Fluid: Women Exploring Sexuality on Film. Good Realising, 2009.</b>	<b>Poe, Chelsea. Fucking Mystic. Trouble Films, 2014.</b>
<b>Storytelling, dialogues hors scènes de sexe et messages politiques</b>	L'IVG : Discours anti-IVG d'un parent : (26 min) : La mère est contre l'avortement et le fait savoir verbalement : "These poor children, they want to be born." "They are a blessing, why can't they see that?" : Le	Problématiques abordées : Différence de libido. Difficultés pour les couples queers de concevoir un enfant. Parcours PMA pour les couples lesbiens (FIV). L'infertilité. Relation multiple / couple libre.	À 14 minutes, le plan change pour montrer la réalisatrice de dos, apparaissent dans le cadre. Ensuite, la caméra se concentre sur son regard fixé sur la caméra, l'incluant ainsi dans le film et laissant entendre que la scène se		Le film débute par une interview vidéo avec Carol Queen, réalisée comme une émission de radio où les auditeurs peuvent appeler pour poser des questions.			Première scène sexuelle (02min) : La première actrice définit ce que le mot "queer" signifie pour elle, mettant en avant la scène sexuelle au premier plan avec une interview vocale en arrière-plan. Elle

	<p>poids de la religion aux États-Unis ressort avec cette phrase.</p> <p>Quelle place pour le combat pour l'IVG dans la communauté queer ? : 1 min : "Trans and nonbinary people also get pregnant." "You turn me on so much when you speak politics."</p> <p>Relations conflictuelles avec les parents.</p> <p>Bisexualité/Pansexualité.</p> <p>Non-binarité : (26 min) Megan demande à sa mère de respecter les pronoms de Joey en utilisant "They"</p>	<p>Scène sexuelle 1 (2 min) : Conversation intime avant la scène sexuelle (chose qu'on ne voit pas dans le porno habituel). 26 min : Discussion intime entre les deux protagonistes + blagues sur le capitalisme et le patriarcat.</p>	<p>déroule selon son propre point de vue. Cela peut également souligner le rôle de voyeur du spectateur ou de la spectatrice et de la réalisatrice.</p>					<p>s'approprie également le terme "hoes" pour parler d'elle-même comme une forme de revendication, humanisant ainsi une insulte. La caméra alterne entre l'interview et la scène pornographique.</p> <p>Scène sexuelle 2 (22min) : Une interview sur l'identité de genre et la manière de se réapproprier des insultes telles que "whore" et "trannie", ainsi que les termes féministes/humanistes. Difficulté à s'approprier le terme "queer", souvent utilisé comme une</p>
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	<p>: "Mom, Joey uses they/them pronouns, not he or she, okay?".</p> <p>Communauté queer : 30 min : Importance de la communauté queer : "This community, they are my family." 36 min : Le film se termine sur la phrase "fuck the patriarchy".</p>							<p>insulte là d'où elle vient.</p> <p>44min : Troisième scène : Discussion autour des étiquettes et de l'identité queer, incluant des termes comme "slut" et "faggot".</p> <p>1h43 : Scène avec Madison Young sur son identité et ce que cela signifie pour elle d'être queer.</p>
<b>Représentations / Diversité des corps</b>	Personne non binaire	La protagoniste est une personne racisée	Deux personnes racisé.e.s	Présentation adrogyne des corps	Personnes racisées	Personne grosse / Personne trans		Personne grosse, personne trans
<b>Sextoys</b>	Scène sexuelle 1 (3min) : Utilisation de sextoxy à deux	Scène sexuelle 1 (2min) : lubrifiant + sextoys	14min : Utilisation du gode ceinture + vibromasseur	Gode ceinture + wand	Scène sexuelle 1 (4min) : Utilisation de gode Scène	Scène sexuelle 1 (3min) : Utilisation d'un sextoxy type <i>Magic Wand</i> +	Utilisation de gode	Gode ceinture, gode, wand, matériel BDSM, wand, harnais en cuir (culture cuir)

		Scène sexuelle 2 (30min) sextoy wand			sexuelle 2 ( 14min) : utilisation gode, wand et lubrifiant Scène 3 (36min) : Scène de masturbation solo avec vibromasseur et wand	Utilisation d'un gode ceinture ( fellation sur le gode ceinture )		
<b>BDSM</b>			Jeux de domination : “ How can I serve you more mistress” : Bien qu'il y est de l'échange et du plaisir partagé entre les deux	Scène BDSM entre les deux protagonistes (dont Annie Sprinkle), sexe dégenéralisé ( utilisation de la bouche et des mains ) Personnes androgynes ( dessin d'une barbe sur le visage d'une des personnes ) qui brouille les représentations de genres binaires		Scène sexuelle 1 (3min) : Scène de soumission/dominance entre deux femmes mais montre quelque chose de "léger" ( compliments, rires...) puis relation sexuelle à 3 : une personne dominée et deux personnes dominantes. Scène sexuelle 2 (18min) : Scène de soumission	Scène sexuelle 2 (17min) : Scène de BDSM : Position de soumission pour la personne trans	Scène sexuelle 2 (17min) Scène de BDSM : Position de soumission pour la personne trans

						<p>domination entre une femme cisgenre et une femme transgenre : personne trans dominée ( contrairement au porno mainstream).          Contrainte ( attache, électricité) Fin :          Renversement du rapport de pouvoir les deux personnes qui se sont fait dominer pendant le film dominant la dominatrice initiale : joue avec les rapports de pouvoirs</p>		
<b>Safer Sex</b>	<p>Utilisation de préservatif sur les sextoys</p> <p>Utilisation de lubrifiant explicite et non coupé</p>	<p>Scène sexuelle 3 (50min) :          Utilisation de préservatif          Lubrifiant</p>		<p>Utilisation d'un préservatif sur le gode          ceinture /          lubrifiant /          Digue dentaire /          gants</p>	<p>Scène 4 (53min) :          utilisation de préservatif et lubrifiant sur une pénétration phallovaginale</p>	<p>Scène sexuelle 1 (3min) :          Préservatif sur le gode          ceinture</p>	<p>Utilisation de préservatif sur les sextoys</p>	<p>Utilisation de gant de protection /          préservatif sur gode ceinture</p>

<b>Consentement</b>	<p>Scène sexuelle 1 (3min) : Consentement principalement non verbal : centré sur Mise en avant des rires et des sourires</p> <p>Scène sexuelle 2 (16min) : Demande de consentement verbal : "Is that okay ?" plusieurs fois</p> <p>Scène sexuelle (3min) : Communication verbale du plaisir : "Yes" "fuck" "it's feel so good" "oh my god" L'orgasme marque la fin de la scène.</p> <p>Scène sexuelle 2</p>	<p>Scène sexuelle 1 (2min) : consentement verbal est demandé "Can I kiss you ?" .</p> <p>Durant le rapport : échanges verbaux et rires.</p> <p>Scène sexuelle 3 (50min ) Son des négociation sexuelle en arrière plan durant la scène : "No Anal play" / "Condoms and lubes are a must and pleasure is queen in this house, any questions ?"</p>	<p>03min Place importante du consentement via le dialogue : " I'm going to take off that collar, is that okay ?" "Okay" / " Do you want to lay back down?"</p>					<p>Scène sexuelle 1 (2min) : Demande de consentement verbal ( sexe anal ) : reformulation pour être sûr d'avoir un oui : " I think you can put to fingers now" " Do you want two fingers ?" "Yeah"</p>

	(16min) : Relation sexuelle hétérosexuelle , mise en avant du plaisir féminin avec un cunnilingus							
<b>Mise en avant du plaisir</b>	Scène sexuelle 2 (16min) : Relation sexuelle hétérosexuelle , mise en avant du plaisir féminin avec un cunnilingus	Scène sexuelle 1 ( 2min) : L'expression verbale du désir : “ I would like you to fuck me”/ “Do you want this ?”/ “Thank you for that” . L'acte sexuel s'effectue graduellement : grande place aux baisers et caresses  Mise en avant du plaisir féminin à travers la pratique du cunnilingus  L'orgasme	Pratique du sexe orale ( cunnilingus mis en avant puis 69 )	Plan rapproché sur l'éjaculation féminine / Centrage sexe oral. Sexe anal.	Scène sexuelle 1 : Scène de sexe lesbien, sexe orale privilégier Scène sexuelle 2 (15min) : relation hétérosexuelle sans pénétration phallovaginale, scène centrée sur le plaisir féminin ( pénétration digitale + orale ), la protagoniste touche elle même son clitoris		Scène sexuelle 2 (22min) Sexe lesbien : Mise en avant du plaisir féminin Discussion autour des pratiques voulues autour du fist	Scène sexuelle 1 (2min) : 2min : Scène de sexe couple queer entre une femme cis et une femme trans Communication orale du plaisir : “ that feels so good” / Sexe oral / Sexe anal . Éjaculation féminine / Sexe oral / Anal / pénétration digitale / Fist vaginal / Shibari

		<p>d'une des deux protagonistes marque la fin du rapport+ marques d'affection et du dialogue</p> <p>30min : scène sensuelle et non sexuelle</p> <p>2e scène sexuelle (30min) :Scène de masturbation solitaire centrée sur les sens plutôt que purement génitale : érotisation du corps " I want pleasure phrase revendicative )</p> <p>Scène sexuelle 3 : Plan a 3 deux femmes et un homme : le plaisir de l'homme n'est pas central : pratique du</p>						
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		<p>cunnilingus entre les deux femmes + Fellation</p> <p>Pénétration pénis/vagin : stimulation clitoridienne externe</p> <p>Cadrage sur le visage plutôt que sur les parties génitales</p>						
<b>Authenticité</b>	Place du dialogue amène de l'authenticité	Place du dialogue amène de l'authenticité			Les scènes de sexe sont censées représenter des couples authentiques		<p>Madison Young que le film est tourné avec des partenaires dans la vraie vie et qu'ils choisissent ce qu'ils tournent.</p> <p>22min : Les discussions avec l'équipe technique qui les filment ne sont pas coupées</p> <p>Madison</p>	Les deux réalisatrices jouent le film

							Young joue dans le film	
<b>Contenus éducatifs</b>				Intégration des schémas avec différents types d'orgasmes avec des explications d'annie sprinkle la protagoniste	Explication mythe orgasme ginal et clitoridien et fait une explication anatomique. Les plans rapprochés sont une manière de filmer qui est propre à la pornographie à but éducatif. Sur certaines scènes de sexe Carol Queen donne des conseils et indications sonores en arrière plan ( ex 11min sur le point G) / 32min : conseils sextoys			

**Annexe 9** : Entretien complet avec Madison Young. Entretien sociologique semi-directif. 1 heure 07 min . 26 avril 2023.

### **Entretien Madison Young**

*Nom : Madison Young*

*Date : 26/04/23*

*Lieu : Terrasse du Cole Coffee, Oakland, États-Unis*

*Format : Entretien sociologique semi-directif enregistré au dictaphone / Durée : 1h07 minutes*

*(Début de l'entretien non enregistré ou je me présente et lui demande si c'est possible d'effectuer un enregistrement et de citer son nom dans mon mémoire )*

**E : Maybe I'm going to start explaining to you what I'm doing...**

M : Sure, yeah, that would be great to know where you are at right now, your story, how you are doing your interviews. I know that you emailed me but at the time I had a lot of things going on...

**E : So I'm doing my master thesis in France, I'm doing American studies. And I decided primarily to work on the sexwars here and what was going on around pornography in the feminist movement in the 80's. That's how I became familiar with the work of Annie Sprinkle and Carol Queen. And I found it very interesting. So I dived into the porn industry and what is going on with different alternative pornography, feminist one, queer porn... And that's how I discovered your work. So now, I'm doing a link between what was going on in the 80's in terms of political claims behind creating a new type of porn and now what are the main claims behind it. "Hmm hmm" That's why I'm interviewing people here. "Yeah" But also I'm going to be a sex educator in middle school in a couple months... "Wonderful" Yeah, Very happy about that. And I really don't want to have a sex neg approach to it so I think this work can also be interesting for the work that I'm going to do later. "Yeah amazing, are you familiar with the work of Cory Silverberg?" Not at all...**

M : You should definitely check out his work. So Cory has several wonderful children's books on the topic of sex education. There are three books now, and starting it is really all ages. There is a fantastic picture book. I started to read it to my oldest kido at maybe two and that one is called What Makes a Baby and I think it's the only book that I have seen that does not gender anyone in the book. **"Okay"** And it really explains it like a sperm and an egg. They meet, they do a dance, share information and stories and then they share so many stories that they create something new. And then the something new needs to grow in the uterus. Because like so many queer stories of fertility is someone else's uterus. And it doesn't need to be the same egg and the person with the uterus does not need to be a woman. **"That's**

**awesome**” So it really does a beautiful, beautiful job in terms of diversity and gender spectrum. Making it very inclusive, and then there is hmm, Sex is a Funny Word. It’s the next one and then, I’m forgetting the name of the very last one, but the last one does have this small section on pornography. And explains it in a way of an entertainment that people enjoy watching. And it’s all illustrated so it’s kind of an illustrated character as they explain what pornography is. But the illustrated characters are like teenagers and they are using the example of the WWF entertainment to explain it. They are doing some things that would not be seen in typical reality. And it’s fantastic for entertainment purposes... I think they do a very nice job **“I will check it out thank you !”** Yeah Cory Silverberg, highly recommend and then hmm, you know, Erika Lust do The Porn Conversation I think it’s what it’s called. But so many of us are now parents. And I wrote different articles and was interviewed as well on like how to talk to kids. Which really all starts back to how we talk about our bodies, pleasure and sex. And porn is just an extension of that. **“Absolutely”** So if we can’t be comfortable at first with talking about bodies, autonomy and consent, and pleasure. And sex as one of many many different ways we share our affection. Once you are at a certain age (*rire*).

**E : Yeah, that’s one of the topics of your tv series, Submission Possible, it was really good ! To have access to all these conversations was amazing.**

M : Oh Thank you. For so many years I have been interviewed, 20 years now. And because of the way society holds her opinion of sex, often sensationalized right ? And how people feel like they get the clicks and comments and watches while sensationalizing it. So, with Submission Possible, it was very important for me... I was like I want to create the documentary series that I always wanted to be interviewed on (*rire*). Instead the conversations that happened while we sit around a table like this and have honest authentic conversations about sex and sexuality.

**E : Yeah that was wonderful. So maybe you can introduce me to the work that you are currently doing ? “sure” And your projects and everything...**

M : Yeah, so... Madison Young. I’m an artist, writer, film maker, hmm, a sexual revolutionary, feminist, parent (*rire*). So right now, let’s see, in 2019 I started Empress in Lavender Media, which is a feature film and television production company that is dedicated to bringing the stories of queer, trans and sex worker’s narratives to television and feature films told by these communities. So often, our stories have been told by others. And when it comes from that lens of someone else’s, you can tell. And often, they are pushing forward whether it’s sensationalized material or victimized stereotypes that are dangerous. Dangerous in the real world of how we are represented. So, showing our stories, it’s a part of us. So our current projects are Submission Possible, which is my documentary series where I go to different cities around the world and I connect with sex positive, queer and kink communities in those cities. I’m not super interested in going into the details of flogging techniques but instead what drives the humanity into that. The way that we connect in these different ways through kink, how is this connected to who we are emotionally, psychologically in our

relationships. So now, we are on season two. **“Okay”** So we shoot the first half of season two and that’s in post production right now. And really for the last 9 or 10 months my big focus is on a feature film adaptation of my memoir. There's going to be three feature films **“woaw”** and we are bringing on a very big cast and it's very exciting. The script development has been a long process and bringing on all the crew, and the casting and recasting... It’s been quite a process. And financing as well, like film financing... for features outside of a... I mean I have directed over 60 erotic films since 2005. And film making is such an absolute joy, the financing is... I think that’s why people are doing more mainstream films, because it’s like, I could have made this film already so many times ! But once it gets to a certain level... So many people become involved in actual production of the film, becoming a lot more complicated. So that’s been everyday, finding finances. Really boring stuff (*rire*). So yeah, that has been my biggest focus. **“Okay”** And then I also worked on Empress in Lavender. In 2020 I started to develop a drama series as well and the main character is a queer feminist porn performer in LA and finds out that her mother passed away and she goes to the funeral and she’s a parent and it’s a lot of navigating with family dynamics and facing the shadows of her past. **“Okay, great, a lot of projects !”** Yeah, so now it’s about to go out on different networks, we are searching. So hey, that’s kind of been my life lately. But, yeah, I have worked in many different mediums. I mean, in the 2000's I started my art gallery, Femina Potens, and then, I was also a professional writer at that time for different magazines, mostly articles and essays for anthologies and things like that, hmm, and a performance artist for different galleries other than my own. And then in 2002 I started performing in erotic films, first with my girlfriend at the time for an educational G spot film that we auditioned for Carol Queen. We made out in front of Carol Queen (*rire*) for an audition. **“It was for Good Vibrations ?”** Yes, it was for Good Vibrations. That was my very first start. **“Okay”** Very supportive from the beginning. It was a very supported queer feminist space to come up from. And then in 2005 I started directing my own films as well. Mostly because I didn't see kink and BDSM being represented from a feminist and submissive stand point. They were a few of my friends and mentors that had few production companies, but it was coming from more of a fem dom point of view. Some I really love, like Julie Simone, fantastic and I learned so much from her. But I was like. I want to see this out of the dungeon. I wanted to see ropes scene happening in the sunshine and outdoors, and in the kitchen and like very real and accessible, filled with love and joy kind of thing. Hmm, so I started writing scripts and directing and bringing together all my favorite people that I meet from performing, and inviting them to be a part of my productions.

**E : So you started directing because I felt a lack of representation in the queer BDSM porn industry, that’s why you wanted to create your own stuff ?**

M : Yeah, you know, I mean I love being a part of other people's stories and like playing around with different fetishes and exploring that as a performer. **“Okay”** But then, as a storyteller, and as an artist I was like wow this is a great medium to play in. And, I don’t want to be limited in this capacity, I want to tell some of the stories, and see stories that I’m reasoning with. That feels more autobiographical from a perspective that I relate to. **“Okay”**

**E : And what are the main political claims that you wanted to put ahead in your films ?  
What did you want people to understand from your films ?**

M : Yeah... (*réflèction*), the first word that came up is connection and pleasure. You know... I wanted to show that and for me it's always been.. People talk about pornography as being performative, for me I see it more like a container, as a documentation of sexual experiences. And even if it's a narrative that I have scripted, it's coming from an authentic point of view of something I have been dreaming of and wanted to do. Or I work with the performers, what their fantasies are, what they want to explore, how I can hold space for them to connect in an authentic way. And I know authentic and real are often thrown around as buzzwords now but just like what is it that you desire ? In this moment, how would you like to connect ? How do I want to connect ? And how can space be held for that. And even within Submission Possible, you know folks have asked me what is different between directing that show and directing an erotic film and I really think about the interviews in a very similar way to the sex scenes. You don't know what people are going to say in an interview. **“Yeah”** What you can do is you build the structure around it. And then you hold space, how well can you hold space for talking to someone. It can be very vulnerable, it can be very intimate, otherwise you will have very candy answers, so how can you hold that space and that trust.

**E : So for you, your interest was to create a safe space for people to explore what they wanted to do ? Their fantasies and desires...**

M : Absolutely. I never had specifics about what sex should look like. It should be orchestrated by what they want to do. In my earlier films, I was usually the performer (*rire*). Because it featured a lot of intense rope bondage and I'm an intense rope bottom and masochist and I was like, I wouldn't do that to anybody else but I can absolutely be hung by a single ankle while I'm directing, 100% ! You know (*rire*) it was a lot about me those first years. And then I started to direct for Good Vibrations quite a bit, like two films a month. It was a lot, it was a lot. I think that was when I really got the experience being able to listen more, and sculpt and hold space for other people.

**E : So you were a performer and director in a lot of films, two major roles, how do you feel about having to do both ?**

M : You know... I mean (*réflèction*) I do very much like it, like with these feature films a lot of people have asked me like are you having a role in the films that I'm directing and I was like, I'm just very excited to just be directing. Because it's so big. **“Yeah.”** With the Erika Lust films as well. By staying behind I'm really able to see everything that way. But yes, in the earlier days, I had a very small crew. I feel like, even with the documentary series as well, I'm in front of the camera, and I'm also directing. With the documentary series, I only have 2 to 3 people in the crew, very small. With Erika Lust I have 20. Not including the actors. Sometimes more. So much bigger right ? So when it's small, and like in my first films it was also really just a few people, we had a hair and makeup person, a videographer that was often the person doing lighting and sound, doing everything it was like a PI. And sometimes that is

basically it, you know, it wasn't a big crew. So, when the crews are small, I did feel... It was a lot of playing, it was fast moving and it was about having connected scenes and then more of a documentation of those scenes. **“So it depends on the crew and...”** And the project yeah. But it's a different headspace right ? Like I think about performing, it's very emotional and visceral, hmm, it's heart based. And producing, directing it's embodied and it's more I have to know what everybody is doing on set, where everybody is, I have to know that everything is running on time, I see that we are getting the footage that we need, I need this person to do this and that... **“Okay”** So, it's very cerebral. You know, in theater performance arts, performing on camera, it's like very embodied, and heart centered. And of course I'm holding that space everybody but so much of that is like active listening and still like an energetic thing. But it's also like, knowing everything that it's happening and keeping everything going, and it's just more brain centered. **“Okay”** So, even when I... In my book the DIY handbook I talk about like directing while in inverted suspension like, I want you to get underneath me and get that on camera (*rire*). And that was tricky and strange. It was like I'm totally present in this moment and then like checking in like oh hold on are they getting actually that cool shoot ? So yeah you are banishing between those two spaces. But I was able to get into that space, into that embodied, connected pleasure space that I could flow between the two personally.

**E : Also there is something that I find very interesting in your work, for example... I forgot the name of it, but it was Women Having Sex on Film, something like that...**

M : Yeah, is it Women Reclaiming Sex on Film ?

**E : Yeah, that one ! That is something that I found in other films... The way you let performers speak to the camera... It's a sex documentary in a way and it's very interesting to put porn out there like that...**

M : Yeah, that is a documentary ! Yeah that one is a docuporn. And I really enjoyed those interviews because I shoot that myself and I'm not a cinematographer, but it was about what was in front of the camera and not the way it was shot. And I just felt how potent is it ? To really listen to these two people talk about how much they really want to be fisted and how excited they are about this fantasy. And then, the next thing you see is them doing it. Because not only do you see their pleasure happening in that scene, you remember them having the conversation. And like hey they got the thing they wanted, they are living their best life (*rire*). And also with things that are often considered so very edgy, but seeing someone saying this is so what I want, I'm so excited about this thing, and holding them space for that is so important.

**E : Is it something that you have invented ? Because it was in the early 2000's, because that was something that wasn't in the porn industry so much ?**

M : When I think about that I think about Carol Queen. **“Yeah”** We just really love talking about it ! But even the first film I did, back in 2002, was for Good Vibration who was putting

out some films that were called eduporn. So it was like a docuporn and then eduporn where you are seeing scenes and there is also an educator and people talking before and after the scene about their experience with you know, G spot stimulation and things like that.

**E : So you started with doing eduporn ? And after that you started doing other types of production like BDSM stuff ?**

M : Yeah.

**E : So when you started how did you introduce the notion of consent and safersex and everything in your work ?**

M : Sure, hmm for the things that I was directing or just performing it ?

**E : Both**

M : Yeah. I mean as a director, so much of that was involved in the pre production. So often I had in mind a couple of performers that I wanted to work with, and I would ask that particular performer do you have someone that you would like to work with and then tell me like a few people that they were like oh that would be really great to do a scene with this person. So it was a little match making at first. And then holding space for both of them, I mean sometimes in person, sometimes over emails, and like hey let's have a conversation about things that you might want to explore in this scene. Sometimes there is a narrative and sometimes not as much But even things that have a narrative, these are my no's, I don't like my feet to be touched or I don't like this thing. **"Okay"** And what are the things that are really juicy for you ? That is exciting to explore and then we talk about that. So there are all these conversations that happened beforehand with everyone that are involved. And then if they were living in the same city, because a lot of times everyone is in San Francisco so, I would be like, it would be great of you, but sometimes people knew each other already, but if they didn't meeting up for coffee. **"Okay"** And kind of having a pre date of getting a vibe from each other, getting the chance to talk and openly talk about what they might be dreaming of for that scene. It allowed for the two individuals to get more comfortable with each other and sometimes people have started dating afterward you know, so it was like great (*rire*). Great matchmaking (*rire*). Just encouraging, so that on set they can be very comfortable and excited to explore the things that they like. And I also ask people if they have certain things that they like on set. As far as their favorite lube, toys they like... Things that make you feel sexy and appreciated. Someone one day told me like chocolate and flowers, so I brought her chocolate and flowers. **"That's nice"** It's Just about being heard. Like I do honor you. Thank you for sharing this intimate thing, here some chocolate and flowers. So those are some of the aspects. And I just made it very very clear that they didn't have to hide communication while the camera was rolling. **"Okay"** If you want to change position, you can do it at any time, if something is feeling good you can express it, if it doesn't feel as good and you want more lube or you need to drink some water... Communicating throughout the entire film so it doesn't have to be like enduring this thing until someone says cut (*rire*). But instead how can we give agency to the people who are the



most vulnerable, who are being the most intimate. So shifting that power dynamic of like okay we are documenting you. You communicate to each other, we can change things at any point, feel free to talk to us if we need to totally pause things. Hmm Yeah. “Okay” Oh and then for me as a performer, it would depend heavily on who I’m shooting for. For many years I did work primarily for some queer porn companies, even though there wasn’t a lot and for feminist porn but again, there were not very many, definitely not a living wage. And then my main income for quite a while was bondage fetish, S and M. Which I feel like in general (*réflèction*), that was like for 6 years or something of my performing career. I worked primarily in that realm. And I genuinely found great communicators, because they were for the most part people who were a part of the bondage and kink community. And within the bondage and kink community, communication is so key. It was just this incredible start because I was working with people who were whether queer or kinky, and knew how to talk about sex, boundaries, limits, what we are doing, how to say red, there was agency that was giving. That was fantastic. I think around maybe later 2007, I started working in the mainstream LA porn world, which was very different (*rire*). The opportunity came when I was living in the Castro and this incredible space that has this corner of gallery space. We had a space in the Mission for a while, for 5 years, but it was much smaller, it was down in Alley way... And then this big store front right on Market Street in the Castor became available and I was like, it used to be a leaser store, who made leaser goods, and then they went out of business. And I was like, I want to keep this in the family. I think Femina Potens should move here, but the rent was very big, so I made the decision to start working in the mainstream porn in order to make that move, yeah. And we were able to make it into that space ! It supported a great deal, hundreds of queer and feminist art programs for quite a number of years out of that space and gave a kind of visibility to both the gallery and the artists that we have not experienced in the other space just because of the amount of foot traffic at that space. “Great” So, hmm, I can’t say that politically I loved... (*réflèction*) I wouldn’t do it again. “Okay” I don’t regret it (*rire*), but I would, hmm...

**E : How was it different ?**

M : So much of it was different. Like they were so very behind. And I do see, I see a lot more work that is being done right now in the mainstream porn industry and so much of that is I think because of the work that we did within feminist and queer porn. Me and Lorelei Lee, we were kind of the two first, to go from this pure kinky realm into the mainstream porn, and start working with an agent. So we were going our way in there, taking the dollars, and then you know, putting in towards the queer and feminist community. But it was hard, I mean, it was very male driven, lots of sexism, having to definitely really stand up for yourself. I mean, there was not, a lot of time I didn’t know the name of the person I would be performing with until I was on set. You had kind of a no list, and everything else is up for grabs (*rire*). So I would do my very best to bring in kind of mine emotional tool box, and be like hey let’s take five minutes to just like have a conversation and talk about... I was also not afraid to communicate with the person while I was on scene whether it’s putting their hands where I want them to have it. So I find ways of like, okay, I’m hearing what the director is seeing and I understand what they want but I am going to do this my way. And like actually not faking

orgasms. It was a bit of my protest of like I would not fake it. Give me fucking 30 seconds I can do this (*rire*), like I do not need much time. In my one woman show I had a part when I was talking about porn, ‘in 30 seconds he’s going to come all over your tits and you are going to fake an orgasm. Give me 30 seconds and I would have a real orgasm and then he can come over my tits, that’s feminism ! (*rire*) Because they were like okay, we need this position, this position... But there were certain people like Nina Hartley of course, Tristan Toarmino, “**Yeah**”, queer and feminist, we are made a little something (*rire*) in the mainstream world. So that was a part of my experience yeah. It was just very formulaic, very prescriptive, but you know, incredible performers. Amazing people that I would often meet and then bring them up to San Francisco and we made films that I was making and then you know. In my one woman show I was calling myself the Robin Hood (*rire*).

**E : What is it called, the one woman show ?**

M : Reveal All Fear Nothing. So yeah.. It was definitely not the most emotionally fulfilling situation but It was financially lucrative for me. It was great to support the gallery.

**E : It was a way to bring money to the art world...**

M : Yeah... and definitely after having kids I was like, I can not even imagine, I do not have the emotional energy to deal with that drama and bullshit you know and politics. I prefer to create the work environment that I want.

**E : And do you see your work, whether it's in pornography or what you are doing right now with *Empress In Lavender*, do you see your work as a form of resistance to what's going on with American politics right now, or sex negative discourses... Do you see your work as a form of resistance to it ?**

M : Yeah 100%, I mean, hell yeah. I mean it’s changing the dynamic of representation in films and television. But also when people see.. For example with *Submission Possible*, for many people it’s like, oh I didn’t even know that excited, like wow I have something in common with this person. My thoughts about what that experience is like are totally shattered because I’m connecting with this person on an emotional level. So I mean it definitely has the potential to create social change. And even with my books, I got a lot of emails from people who have read, especially *Daddy*, and said that they started crying, that changed their life, sometimes just not feeling alone in this world. That changes things for people individually and globally. We can feel so isolated in our experiences, in our relationships, in our desire. Growing up I felt so incredibly isolated in my queer desire. And it can be dangerous to feel alone. And my goal is to create space where we don’t feel alone. That we understand our interconnectedness and that is absolutely feminist as well. “**Yeah for sure**” And that also goes to the erotic films. I feel like the work that I have done is a part of a canon, it’s interesting because technology is changing so quickly. Some of the films that I have created in 2005, 2006 the quality of the films compared to now... And when you look at things that were made in the 80’s there is a certain quality to it so... “**I wouldn't say it's bad quality,**

**it's a different one for sure"** Yes, it's a different one. But it also opens the dialogue, I think that the most important thing that any type of art should do. Is one open our hearts, open to feel something, anything, and then two, connect us and be a catalyst for conversation. So how can any piece, whether it's a podcast, a book, or a television show be a catalyst for conversation. And when we hear these things, in a film or a television show or whatever, we have then a jumping off point. Like I read this thing, I saw this thing, what do you think about this ? So you are not just like, have you heard about BDSM ? (*rire*) So again how can we create more space for those conversations ?

**E : And do you have people or events that really influenced your work ?**

M : Yeah, definitely. I mean Annie ( Annie Sprinkle) was definitely one of those people, and we met through the art gallery, and we started to make so much art together and then we became family, yeah. She was at the birth of my oldest kido, she is grandma Sprinkle. **" Yeah she told me that you were like a daughter to her."** Yeah, I mean she is down in my emergency contact like my mother, I think that we found our family. We found who we are and our family and we continue to evolve. I'm so grateful for that, that connection. She created so much of her art around her previous work in porn and sexwork, but so much is around love. And I just think it's so incredibly radical. That is something that has been dismissed, something that is so potent. And when we are able to actually connect to our hearts and open them up to a very real way, you care about that bird, we care about each other, you care about the planet. **"Yeah"** When you actually open, and how does that affect when you open your heart to yourself. All of those things, I mean just love, it's powerful. And the Carol Queen. I mean, definitely. I mean when me and my girlfriend auditioned for her, back in 2002, we were like so excited, like, seeing Carol Queen, and she was like can you make out for us now ? (*rire*) Which was the only audition that I have ever had in my entire life ! Which is funny. **"Yeah"** Cause I was like, oh it is how it happened ? **"Yeah she is amazing"** Yeah she is incredible, I love her so much. And her book, Real life Nude Girls, I mean I was working at Lusty Lady, I think after that. **"So your work at the Lusty Lady ?"** Yeah briefly but, I did work there, it was a great space, loved it. But I'm not very punctual and that was a big thing there, punctuality. (*rire*) **"Yeah so Carol Queen and Annie, great"** Yeah, those are two of my biggest influences, and Scarlot Harlot as well, I was very aware of her work and these are some of like the real pillars **"Yeah, specially for sexworkers rights..."** Yeah, and just this idea of being empowered within your sexuality and within sexwork. Sexwork from a feminist empowered leans. With some of the first writings and work that I had seen in that direction.

**E : Thank you so much for the interview today. Do you want to add something ?**

M : Yeah I'm really excited that you are creating the work that you do and **"Thank you"** And I do love that there is... I think that often a lot of talk about what porn is and what porn isn't. And something that we hear and that is being used especially in the sexpositive community is like that porn is not sex education. Which... That can be very true. But I'm a big fan of not speaking in absolute because it's like saying films are not educational. And it's very correct,

Fast and Furious is not an educational film. However there are documentaries that are highly educational. So you just have to think about it as an entire genre of like not every book is educational. That is correct. But I think that because of the relationship with sex, when people think about porn, they just need to throw it in a pocket of good or bad. or educational or not educational. Instead of like okay how can we extend this ? Look at it in a new very extensive medium. And yes it can be all of these things. Depending on the film, yeah that is something that I have noticed. Or you know... also some sex educators would be like, it's not real... But... I mean I had the pleasure in doing many scenes with my real life partner and it is absolutely real. Yeah I think there is a part of me that just likes to argue (*rire*). Of like well not always (*rire*). But I found in general when we land things in the absolute that.. **“Things need to be nuanced...”** Yes. Things need to be a lot more nuanced. And we need to be able to hold the topic of porn as a more nuanced medium, more that it typically is.

**E : Okay thank you so much, that was amazing thank you.**

M : Yeah definitely.

*(fin de l'enregistrement)*

**Annexe 10** : Entretien complet avec Zuri Love. Entretien sociologique semi-directif. 44 min.  
03 avril 2023.

### Entretien Zuri Love

*Nom : Zuri Love*

*Date : 03/04/23*

*Lieu : Terrasse du City Cup Cafe, Oakland, États-Unis*

*Format : Entretien sociologique semi-directif enregistré au dictaphone / Durée : 44 minutes*

*(Brève discussion en amont pour pouvoir enregistrer l'entretien. Nous étions dehors pour cette entretien et malheureusement c'était un jour très venteux certaines parties de l'entretien était donc illisible à cause du vent et j'ai dû les enlever de la retranscription)*

**E : So, I'm going to introduce myself and the research that I'm currently doing. So... I'm doing my master thesis in France and I'm doing American civilisation studies. I started my research on the sexwars so I was very interested in the work of Annie Sprinkle and Carol Queen. Then I wanted to know more about the porn industry now so I started to do a link between the porn industry in the 80s and 90s and what is going on today in the Bay Area. I'm interested in the political claims behind these films, like the notion of safersex, non heteronormative sex and everything. I really want to base my work on sex workers's voices and not only doing film analysis. That's why I contacted you for this interview, because I saw your film for Trouble Film, Courtney Trouble film. "Courtney, Yes... !" So maybe if you can introduce yourself and your current projects today...**

*Z : Well, I'm Zuri Love and I do porn and... Hum, I also do full service but that's my other job (rire). But I have been doing porn I think for about 3 years now. "okay" And...At first, I started with solo stuff, filming myself using toys, my hands, whatever this is. And then I started to collabs' with other people because I figured that would make me...One, more money, and two I enjoy making art that way. I love sex, sex is a beautiful thing, and I also love that... there is an acting aspect to it of course, because you are putting out a show. And I went to school for musical theater and acting. "cool!" So, I'm also always been into acting, so I am hoping that... I want to make some theatrical type of porn I think that would be hilarious (rire).*

**E : And so, you create your own pornographic content ?**

*Z : I do solo stuff, yes. "ok" For my collabs I...Of course I'm collabing with the person but, it's like, together. But for the most part, it's on me like it's coming from my brain. "ok" And, just right now I have been all slacking on the solo because I'm fucking ring light broke, and I need to buy a new one and also need to buy like a few lights because (inaudible à cause du vent).*

**E : Why did you choose the Bay Area to do your work ?**

Z : Well... because I moved here from LA. I'm originally from LA, born and raised and it was just time for me to live. And I have a lot of friends up here and I have made more money up here than in my other jobs. Because LA is really bad for full service, porn is alright. If you are here for porn is an entirely different thing. "ok" I discovered that there is definitely an industry here for that. So... that helped me... "So you first moved here and then started doing..." I was already doing solo stuff at that point. "ok" And maybe a few collabs, but that was it. So it started at least a year before, since it's been like 3 years now so...

**E : Do you think it's more difficult now to do your job here than when you first moved here ?**

Z : Yes, definitely. Uber is more expensive now, I don't drive, (*inaudible à cause du vent*) food is expensive... And you are living in California so the taxes here are up the ass so... Add that and it makes things pretty difficult.

**E : So I'm going to ask some questions about the porn industry and your thoughts on it. There is no right or wrong answer. I just want to have your thoughts about it. "ok" So, do you think that alternative pornography, when I say that I'm referring to everything that is not mainstream heterosexual porn. Do you think it can provide a better representation ? About queer sexualities, in what way ?**

Z : I do feel like it's a good representation. There are a lot of people including people who look different, we all don't look the same so that definitely helps. So, let people know that, yeah, like not everyone is the same in queer porn. And there are a lot of other things you can do in porn other than just you know...like something in a hole. There are other things that you can do, you can make it your own. And especially with queer porn, like we are pretty creative ! So there are just a lot of things going on.

**E : And, according to you, what is the difference between fetishization and representation ?**

Z : Hum... I feel like representation is not like not making someone the token. Do you get what I mean ? Like when you take a Black person or an Asian person or anybody really. Like the way you film it, the way you scripted it, like whatever you are doing, fetishization, like especially from someone who is Black Fem, hum... if it goes into like, race play, I'm like "ok" For me personally. And being fetishised as a Black queer person is (*réflexion*) it could be uncomfortable, like, very uncomfortable depending on what someone is... You know, the vibe they try to push from the porn that they are making. For example, it's a horrible stereotype like, there's this one company called Ghetto Gaggers, it's something that has to do with some...like, you know, Black people. "ok" You know how some people think that Black people are all just ghettos. That's a fetishization kind of thing. Like... hummm (*dégout*), I

don't want to do that personally. **“ok”** But other people are welcome to do that if they want to. Because I don't want to tell Black people what to do (*rire*). Yeah, the difference between fetishization and representation is definitely, there is a line and you can definitely see the line. **“ok”** If you are paying attention, and like look. Another example for Asian people (*inaudible à cause du vent*). Representation is like having like someone who is an Asian person if they want to present their culture and their porn, I think that fucking cool. It's made by them, by their community and I think that's very cool...

**E : And, for you, what are the main political claims behind queer porn, feminist porn ? Compared to mainstream porn maybe ? What are the claims behind creating this type of content ?**

Z : Okay... Hum, (*réflexion*) I feel like in queer and feminist porn (*réflexion*) Actually can you tell me the question again ? I'm sorry.

**E : No that's fine, do you think like, what are the main political claims behind creating alternative pornography ?**

Z : Oh, okay, well definitely hum, the mainstream porn a lot of time it looks the same and it's always like a man and a woman, a cis man and a woman, for the most part. And, you know they are starting to like... try to get away from that, but not really. It's mostly for show. **“yes”** And to get people to still like them, because they don't really care about it. So, in queer and feminist porn, I feel like the political claims that we try to push are like, yeah, like consent is a good thing. You should definitely be pushing that in your porn. Not only that, it's not always... How can I say this ? I feel like in our porn it's like (*inaudible à cause du vent*). It's not always the case but, in a lot of queer and feminist porn everybody is getting something out of it. **“ok”** And I don't know, like a lot of the time people think that it's weird...when that happens, like that not how porn is supposed to be and I'm like what do you mean? Mainstream porn is like literally a fantasy. The way they are filmed, and also doing porn is hard so...Like you are making a film ! This is not easy ! (*rire*)

**E : And you would like to do your own collaborative films ? Or are you doing it already ?**

Z : Yeah, I kind of doing it with the collabs, with Crashpad, Colorblock Film, it's like a new Indie production... **“ I don't know them.”** It's relatively new and they are really cool. And also I just worked with Corruption, it's a BDSM like company. Crashpad is the best. I worked with them like 3 times now ! (*rire*) They are my favorite queer company. I think they are the best. I felt so wonderful on set **“yeah ?”** Yes. And I have made porn with my very good friend, my best friend, Diva Rain, and another friend they go by... I don't know if they go by their real name or not so let's just call them C. But I don't want to potentially out them if they like you know... **“yeah ok”** Hum... (*inaudible à cause du vent*) And that was like my first BDSM scene, on film. It didn't really involve penetration, it was like getting my ass beat and forced masturbation and then of course orgasms and edging, stuff like that. Really really fun.

**E : Hmm... what do I want to say, sorry I lost myself. “(rire) it’s okay.” Do you think the apparition of alt porn has improved the working conditions on set ?**

Z : I feel like...Of what I have been hearing, because I haven’t done like too much to much of like mainstream porn to be honest. I mostly did collabs with Crashpad and they are big out there but not as big as let’s say Brazzers and a bunch of like.. I’m blinking on their names but we all know who they are. They are super big. I would like to do mainstream porn but... hmmm I look a certain type of way And not all companies want someone who looks like me. And it’s okay. Hmm... I don’t really want to work with some of them anyway so it’s fine. But, the working conditions on set for the one I have been on was pretty decent. And it’s just for my experience. I don’t know about anybody else’s. Some have definitely some different experiences on set, but in terms of Crashpad and other indie sets I have been in, very sweet people, very calm, asking if I need water, had snacks, just good talking about boundaries, limits, if I have any injuries, I feel like it’s starting to get better? In terms of what other sex workers are also telling me, when they go on set, which is great to hear. But I know it’s not like that for everybody because sometimes people can choose who they are going to be nice to. For the most part, I think the conditions are getting better, which is great because for the most part now, sex workers are trying to... we are trying to make our own companies. And might have like Mym, and other productions because that way we set the standard. *(inaudible à cause du vent)*

**E : How much is the notion of safer sex is important in your work ?**

Z : It’s very important to my work. *( inaudible à cause du vent)* condoms, dental dams and also tests for everything. I am constantly getting tested if I’m making content. *(inaudible à cause du vent)* I’m really happy that people are taking that seriously, especially civils, people from outside the porn industry. Even if they are not taking it very seriously because sex education here is trash okay ? **“Yeah...”** Sex education is trash! **“ That’s why people are looking for porn as a form of education because they don’t have anything else ?** “ Yeah ! Which is not just great, because honestly especially if you are making something ethical like good porn, you are teaching people that yeah you should not be sticking your fingers in a hole without permission. I’m always asking for consent on set... because that's just how I am, I’m going to ask If you like when I do this ? Do you want me to do this? Also I’m someone on the autism spectrum doing porn so I’m always asking questions. Because sometimes things do not click. **“Yeah but that’s good.”** Yeah, and I have to ask to clarify, and that’s okay. *(rire)*

**E : So we talked about consent... How do you introduce the notion of consent in your work ? I know you ask questions... But do you use documents or anything also ? To talk about your limits and preferences in terms of sexual practices...**

Z : Well I just... talk with the person directly. And I’m like okay these are my limits... And a lot of the time people have questionnaires, do you like this or do you like that **“yeah ?”** Or do you not want to do this, and there is like a little list of things and sometimes you just have to



check it or sometime you have to like explain, but for the most part it's like a check mark and also like explain... and I like to be specific because there is things about my body were I'm like okay you have to be careful, don't grab me here too hard because otherwise it's going to hurt. Like I have like a pinched nerve in the neck and it runs down like most of this side of my body, to my but, so sometimes I can't do some things. I also have like a hip issue, so sometimes it's hard to maintain positions, so I'm always like just being completely direct with people about how I'm feeling, what my limits are, my boundaries, all that stuff. Hum... and for the most part...and yeah, I'm just super direct, direct communication is very good for me...

**E : So I wanted to ask you also... Do you consider porn to be a safe place to explore your own sexual desires ?**

Z : I do, yes. (*inaudible à cause du vent*) (talking teenagers who have access to porn content ) If they are going to get access to it, at least it should be something that isn't atrociously disgusting, especially queer kids. (*inaudible à cause du vent*). I feel like having good porn out there is sex education if we are not going to have sex education in schools because, especially here in America where the puritanical aspect is full of bullshit... Humans are going to need to find it elsewhere ! Especially adults. **“hum hum”** Like adults... There is a sad thing about our laws because if you are a sex educator and you also did porn they don't want you to be around children. **“ I didn't know that...”** Yeah... which is stupid, like say you are a teacher and you are doing Onlyfans and get caught or someone reported you to your school you have the potential to get fired. It's ridiculous... **“Yes, I didn't know that.”** It's not in all schools, some schools truly don't give a fuck which is great, but for the most part you can get fired. (*inaudible à cause du vent*) And if a sex worker is actually doing sex ed in school, that's the best person to ask ! Someone who's done it, someone who's been a sex worker, like it's crazy to me...

**E : We talked a bit about Onlyfans... Do you think these new platforms make the porn industry changing ?**

Z : Yeah, there is definitely a change like, the industry like people are like assumed... like oh you are doing Onlyfans ? So you are doing like porn porn, I'm like no...not necessarily. You could be doing indie porn and not be doing mainstream... also there are other sites. Onlyfans is the big one, yes because (*réflexion*) it was originally like for... the whores (*rire*), for all the sex workers. Now since, you know... they hate us. (*rire*) Hum... We will probably get kicked off again in the future. So, yeah it's definitely changed a lot for the industry, everybody I think, not everybody but a lot of people think now that they could get into porn with Onlyfans, that is easy. But in reality, it's not. **“ Yes, that's something that a lot of people say...”** You are running a business by yourself unless you are lucky and have a lot of money from it, but the majority of people who have an Onlyfans don't have that much money. **“ And Onlyfans take a percentage right ?”** Yeah, they take like 20% ! That's a huge fucking cut from our hard earned money.

**E : Do you feel Onlyfans has an impact on sex work and on your work particularly ?**

Z : It definitely has an impact. Especially like we like with like a recession that's been happening. **“ok”** And Onlyfans definitely had an impact, when they tried to shout us out of the site, hum... that backfired because they lost a lot of money when that happened. Now, (*réflexion*) There are a lot of people who have a Onlyfans right now. A lot of people. But there is also again a lot of money in the world, you just have to find your niche...

**E : Because of that platform, how do you feel about it ? Do you think you gain some sort of autonomization ? Or is it the contrary ?**

Z: Hmm... Well yeah because you are self-employed when you are doing an Onlyfans. So you are definitely self-employed **“ok”** unless you also have another job which a lot of people do ! I don't, I do that full time.

**E : And do you see your work as a form of resistance to various sex-negative discourses ?**

Z : Yeah I definitely see my work as like resistance to I guess what you would call the norm ? Because they don't see us as people. They view us as objects. But we are not objects, we are humans. Who have autonomy, and free will. I definitely feel like I'm doing a resistance and being a rebel and being just someone who just hates working under people. I have been like this since high school, I started hating that. Even before high school because in middle school I started having a taste of like... When I was in school I started to work at the cafeteria, and you got paid for that! **“cool”** one every two weeks, and that gave me a huge idea of why I don't want to work under people. Because some customers, I mean especially when you are in high school and you are working with high school kids... It's going to give you a taste of the real world. And it did, don't get me wrong I loved the cafeteria ladies, they were super great, very nice people. That was not the issue, it was the customers. And when I got out of high school and I started to work in a market, it definitely shut me down the road to, oh I can't not fucking to this. I hate capitalism. If I am going to work under capitalism and be miserable I prefer to do it myself! And not answer to anyone. Because I hate that. The rebel aquarius in me hates that! **“that's an aquarius vibe for sure (*rire*)”** It is ! Thank you that is an aquarius thing, we are rebels. We go against the norm we do not like conformity and I have been like that my entire life. And in America, they hate us. They hate us. Whether you are doing porn or you are a hooker and I can say that because I am a hooker. (*rire*) Like whether you are doing coming, they just don't see us as good people. And a lot of us come for places where you would not believe. Especially if you are a person of color. Or if you are an immigrant. A lot of us are children of immigrants or are immigrants so add all that in, and all that intersections and it can all ass mess. And what you have to deal with on a personal level. Depending on what you are doing in porn. **“Is it a broader issue linked to capitalism ?”** Yes exactly. Yeah... people are like oh why don't you look for a job ? You know I will probably try to get a job if I could, do you really think people aren't trying ? Like.. that's what gets me. Because people are talking the same thing especially when I was struggling a few

years ago when I was doing sex work. I really don't understand why you think I didn't try any of that. Like you know who I am, you know what I'm doing on a daily basis. Like you can see into my life. You don't know what I'm doing. So again we don't know anybody and what they are going through with. So, yeah.

**E : So you consider yourself an activist ?**

Z : Yes! I definitely do. I'm definitely one of those people. *(rire)*

**E : And are you active in other spaces ?**

Z : I'm trying to be... I'm what you called an introvert but, if I'm not outside I'm doing it from the inside. Like hanging out with my friends, in queer spaces, like... there is something coming up I think like from the queer community and other sex workers. That something called *( nom incompris )* That happens in the Bay and it's a bunch of sexworkers and people are getting together to offer services like massage, tarot readings, or you know, multiple things. And, that a lot of queer people. Most of us are queer so, I haven't gone to that in a bit, but it's happening in may so I'm excited and It's also a sex worker film fest which is great, and a lot of queer people as well. **“ Do you think there are any events like that in April ?”** It's in may... **“Oh I will not be here anymore.”** No !*(rire)* We can see if there are things happening in april. But yeah there are a bunch of things going on I think. In Phili' there is a fest going on, it's another sex worker festival. Which I'm going to. **“ok, cool”** Because I'm going to New York from June 4th to the 7th and there is an easy train ride from New York to Phili'. So I'm going to do that with my friend. **“There is another porn festival in Europe, in Berlin I think...”** Oh yeah ! I want to go to that. **“ Yeah I would love to go there too.”** I never set foot in Europe. **“Really?”** Yeah, I would like to... and actually my friend is going to France! And she asked me if we get our shit together by summer. Do you want to go with me ? *(inaudible à cause du vent)*

**E : Do you want to add anything or talk about a specific subject ?**

Z : Sexwork is work. *(inaudible à cause du vent)* People should really do research before they open their mouth about a subject they know nothing about and stop doing scrolling like don't do it. That's going to make you have a bad day. Specially when it's about sex work, people never met a sex worker or two never even done it. And you have something to say ! Like you know anything... **“ especially on twitter...”** Yeah on twitter. *(rire)*

**E : Thank you so much for your time...**

Z : Thank you so much.

**E : It was so nice to meet you.**

Z : It was so nice to meet you too.

**E : I'm going to do a retranscription about the discussion, do you want me to send it to you ?**

Z : yeah, sure.

**Annexe 11** : Entretien complet avec Chelsea Poe. Entretien sociologique semi-directif. 56 min. 11 avril 2023.

### **Entretien Chelsea Poe**

*Nom : Chelsea Poe*

*Date : 11/04/23*

*Lieu : Terrasse de l'appartement de Chelsea, Quartier Dogpatch, San Francisco, États-Unis*

*Format : Entretien sociologique semi-directif enregistré au dictaphone / Durée : 56 minutes*

*( Début de l'entretien non enregistré ou je me présente et lui demande si c'est possible d'effectuer un enregistrement et de citer son nom dans mon mémoire )*

**E : So I'm going to present maybe more of my research and what I'm doing here. I started to be interested in the work of the early feminist that were doing porn in the Bay Area like Annie Sprinkle, Carol Queen.. and I really wanted to dive more inside the political claims behind this type of production. "Yeah" And after that I was also interested in what was going on now. I discovered PinkLabelTv where I could find different types of alt porn there. And I started to want to make a sort of a link between the political claims in the 80s and 90s and what is produced now regarding gender fluidity, non-heteronormative sexuality and the notion of safer sex as well like everything that was behind these types of production. So I'm doing that for now, hopefully I will later do a Phd about it. "It's great" Yeah, I hope... "(rire)". So yeah... That's why I wanted to base my work specifically on sex worker's voices and not only do film analysis. That's why I'm here today... So can you maybe introduce yourself ? And, maybe tell me the project that you are currently working on ?**

**C : Yeah... I'm Chelsea Poe, I moved here ten years ago to start pursuing porn. "ok" Yeah, when all the queer porn thing was really like Crashpad was making stuff, Trouble Films... and when I moved here everyone was really like, there was a real porn scene here. "Yeah?" Kink.com was still here... and have you seen the Armory when you were here ? "No..." So they did own this giant castle. "ok" It was like, just over this hill over here. "Ok, I should check it out, yeah." You should definitely check it out, I think it is just a bunch of tech companies now. So they were hiring a lot of people, they had this huge building, I eventually got hired for their coming department. So I was doing that when I moved out here. There was just so much energy and the Bay at the time, people were moving here to become a porn star, now this is not the case because it's so expensive here.. When I first moved here, you could get a room for like, probably like 500 euros. " ok" So it was like fairly affordable. And now it's really hard to start pursuing that. So, I came from a small town from the Midwest, so our entire economy relies on tulips, and people are like going to see them for tourism... So it was like a very big job to move from this small town to here... So, I thought I would only be there for like 6 months or something. "And you stayed..." Yeah I stayed and I got involved with Trouble Films, the first thing I made with them and the director of the Crashpad series now is**

Eva Laprima. It was called Fucking Mystic and it was like a narrative movie about who moved to Oakland... **“Yeah I saw it”** Yeah, it was the first movie I made and we did after the first 3 weeks that I moved here. So it was like, really Courtney Trouble and Eva was like hey let’s try to make a movie and I’m like, okay I just got here ! **“ And the narrative behind it, this queer person who has to move from a small city to a big one to be who they are, it’s a representation of what a lot of queer people have to go through...”** Yeah, it was very biographical too ! Because where I was from, I had to start like the first trans organization there, so like it was very small... Like the lesbian community, there were like 12 people. So then you moved here and... **“ So it was easier for you to do the work that you were doing because you were in the Bay ?”** Yeah... I mean, my first shoot, humm, was ten years ago. On Thursday it’s going to be 10 years ago, so it’s pretty important...**“ok”** And I came out here to shoot my first scene and then I came out again for pride. And that blew my mind because I never went to a pride event before here. I think 2 million people are coming to the city for it **“Wow that seems huge...”** It’s crazy! So it was like the first time I saw that many of queer people and stuff so... That when I was like ok I need to try to pursue this.

**E : And so you think it’s more difficult now to do that here ?**

C : Oh for sure. I mean even my friends who are un tech here, there is this general sense that everyone eventually has to move out because it’s so expensive. **“oh wow...”** So like, if it wasn’t for the pandemic I think I would have moved. We moved into this place during the pandemic because all these rents went super super low for like a year. **“ok”** So like the rent here is always a constant battle and even most of the porn scene here, either most people moved to LA or Vegas, hum, because Vegas is really the hub of porn at this point. **“Ok, so the porn scene moved to Las Vegas ?”** Yeah. and now it’s based on content creating and doing stuff like Clip For Sale or Only Fans... so you produce your own content. So now the porn scene is in Vegas because there are a lot of content creators there, so if you want to you can move to Vegas and try to pursue a porn career there, just on your own, where before even when I moved here it was still, you have to know this person at this studio, and they have to cast you or do this or that. So I think porn has fundamentally really changed in the last probably 6 years. It really shifted to you being able to produce your own stuff now.

**E : So this phenomenon is really linked to the Only Fans platform and also do you feel it’s also because the pandemic changed the way we work ?**

C : Yeah, I think a really big part or it is just the technology and phones now. I was able to shoot my last two movies just on my iphone. It’s crazy, because when I first moved here it felt like a lot of porn, especially more mainstream porn was so much about this guy who has this professional camera and that’s why is the director. **“Yeah.”** even if they didn’t have any expertise in porn or knowledge about sexuality. So that was still existing even when queer porn was still a big thing here.

**E : Ok, that makes sense. And, why did you choose to work in the porn industry ?**

C : So...like...where I'm from, I graduate in 2010, and the recession hit really bad in the United States, and I was graduate just into that, so had to deal with transphobia and shit in the Midwest it was also like going for any job was like 200 people applying and they all had job experiences. So like I was in a band at the time, I started to play in hardcore metal bands at the time, and I wasn't making much money and my partner at the time was like, let's try coming. "ok" And I was like kind of whatever about it at first but I started doing it for a while and it was paying my rent and really (*réflèction*) gave me a sense of stability I needed and never really had financially. And I started to come across people like Sasha Grey, Stoya and the all the queer porn movement. "ok" I started to think like okay, this is the thing I want to pursue. And especially with CrashPad... I mean, you talked to enough CrashPad people, I think you kinda get the vibe. "Yeah..." It's like a very, just do what you feel comfortable with, do what you want to do sort of thing. "Yes, it's not scripted right ?" Yeah. "So you just have an idea and you are doing it?" Yeah, it's like, you talk with your scene partner of what you want to do so it made me feel like an open thing that I like to do and it's fairly accessible. And also it was the first place when I saw like trans women in porn doing things that I actually did in my real life. "yeah?" So It made me feel like ok, there is representation here that is not just shooting for like some straight site that is going to give me 800 dollars and I'm going to feel gross about it afterwards. (*rire*)

**E : So, do you think alternative porn is a privileged place to give representation to gender and sexual minorities compared to other spaces such as the mainstream ?**

C : I think...in one way yes. Because for example the body types that you see in mainstream porn are fairly limited, even now. But I also think like queer porn is way more inclusive but the feminist porn thing is very much... Still very trans exclusionary, very fatphobic, include not a lot of performers of color. So I feel like... when I came here there was still a lot of feminist porn around. And I feel the distinction with that is in queer porn it's queer porn, genuinely like making the casting decisions, we need to include trans people, we need to include people of color, we need to include plus size people. And like, when I first came here I kinda got in trouble with that, there were all these feminist directors, and I would be like why don't you include trans people ? And they were like why are you trying to start shit ? And I'm like, I'm literally not. (*rire*) Especially, like I came from a small town, and I was naive a bit and I was like oh, why can't I talk to these people about things ? And I didn't really understand how the business and the industry worked. "Hum hum"

**E : So you are making a real distinction between the feminist porn scene and the queer porn one ?**

C : Yeah. There is a difference.

**E : Is it a different approach? Like who is in the film, how do they represent them ?**

C : Yeah, but I think definitely both have the routes in like the 80s stuff from Carol Queen and Annie Sprinkle. I feel like it's just like a diversion of the two. where one side is way

more towards inclusion stuff where I feel like the other side... Like feminist porn is almost just like a branding thing. Where it's not so much actually being okay we need to hire queer people, we need to hire people of color, or fat people and really having that diversity on camera.

**E : Ok, so you feel like it's maybe a kind of greenwashing but for porn ?**

C : Yeah, exactly.

**E : And, according to you, what are the main claims behind creating alternative porn?**

C : I think it's... I feel like the art porn scene in Europe now with all the festivals and stuff I feel like it's kind of the natural evolution of what happened here. queer porn is, also there are different queer people who are trying to make things on their own now. And really viewing porn like this kind of artistic thing. More than just behind, like a list of sex acts you have to do on camera. So I feel like what it did is just kind of like giving more space to that. And I think like the festival movement in Europe is really kind of born from that. Having representation for groups that aren't usually interested in porn and like being oh you can me into porn and being a trans person, or being a fat person, or a person of color and actually making something unique you know. Where I feel like so much of porn especially in the United States, which is so financially driven, if we do this in a scene we are going to make that much more money. And there is a lot of that, when Kink was here there were a lot of kinds of a breakdown of... If you do this we are going to pay you 300 extra or if you don't wear a condom or something of this sort. Which was still a very normal practice at the time. So I think it's just a very different situation. Queer porn is not very about the sex act, there are various queer porn scenes where there is no actual penetration you know. I also feel like queer porn just gives a view of what porn can be, because I feel like before everything was very categorized like, this is a lesbian movie and you are going to see this. And in a queer porn movie you can see every gender expression, in the same movie you can see a gay porn scene next to a lesbian scene, next to a scene with a trans woman and like a cis man. It can be anything , that's the really cool thing about it. **“yeah”** And I think that it kind of pushed mainstream porn to where it is now, where largely mainstream porn is very trans inclusive, which is very bizarre to me. Because when I first started it was so transphobic. **“ok”** Like the first award that I was going to was like the Tranny Awards. **“oh ok”** Which is not great (*rire*). **“Yeah the word is hmm...”** Yeah, and like all these companies were like shemale and tranny and like all this really messed up stuff, and now, it's essentially slipped where trans people can be nominated for all these different categories, I was nominated for best BDSM last few years. And, like, AVN, last year it was 20% of trans people there. Which was great. Beside a Pride event I never been with that many trans people before (*rire*). So I feel like, porn is a very unique place right now, that has trans inclusion and not this debate whether trans people have the right to exist. **“Hum hum”** Which also feels very strange for myself because there is so much transphobia both in the United States and in the UK. But in my job it doesn't even come up anymore. There are very strange things about having this experience, having your



job being this thing that... Obviously I'm naked in front of a camera all the time but my trans identity doesn't really come up. But in society it's everywhere.

**E : Especially now with all what is going on politically, that's terrible.**

C : Yeah, it's not good. I feel like at least maybe, from my experience with the Netherlands, it's more chill. **“yeah ?”** With Pride events and stuff, it seems that there is at least an understanding where it's really basic level. I went to the Amsterdam pride and the whole thing was like the future isn't binary and like all this stuff. When here I feel like, it's still on like the gay marriage level, like love is love, *(rire)* okay, we have been saying that for like 8 years but alright.

**E : Yeah for sure. And you talking about the festivals in Europe, are you interested in what is going on in Europe right now in terms of performers, films...**

C : Oh yeah 100%. **“Yeah?”** Yeah, I mean, honestly, I think the first time I went to Berlin was in 2017, that was so burnt out about porn in the United-States. **“ok”** Like... I don't want to do this anymore, and I went to Berlin and just like watching everyone's porn and genuinely enjoying the act and scene, in a full theater of people, that's definitely my interest. That's part of the reason I want to move there too. **“Yeah it seems different, I would like to go to the Berlin porn festival in october...”** I can not suggest it enough, it is the coolest thing. **“Are you going there this year ?”** Yeah ! **“cool”** I was going to... before the pandemic, I was going to Europe 2 or 3 times a year to do stuff. But since the pandemic I have only been back twice and I was in Amsterdam for Price in July and then we went to Nice for a week or two. It was really nice but I haven't done any festival stuff since, I have been screening in them but at the same time I'm like after behind in a 10 hours flight, I don't want to get in another one for... *(rire)* **“That's understandable”** I have a screening in Vienna on saturday so it seems like theses festivals just keep growing like, there is also one in Athens over the weekend too. So I think it's really growing and it seems like every europeens city is getting their own porn festival. It's really crazy.

**E : So you are also directing certain films right ? “Yeah” And also you perform in it... “Hum hum” Okay, How is it for you to have these two major roles at the same time ? How does that feel ?**

C : When I'm producing my own stuff, it feels like a lot because I try not to edit my own work, because it's really difficult but like, it does definitely feel like you have to deal with everything and it can be overwhelming at times. I feel like there is definitely a system of, like when I shoot it right after I'm so excited about it, and after a while I edit a little bit and be like it's fine **“hum hum”** and then there is a time when I start to dislike it completely. *(rire)* **“ok (rire)”** And then, by the time I finally put it out I'm so excited about it. Especially during the screenings, it's so cool because it's this thing that you have been working on in your bedroom ro in your living room and it is a very internal thing on your computer until it goes out into the world and then you have it on a screen in front of 300 people. **“Yeah”** So it's like

this really amazing experience to do. But, when you are doing all the work yourself it is definitely a lot. “ **The process of doing it can be overwhelming ?**” Yeah, I feel like the shooting of it, like performing, I can do it in my sleep now, I feel like I have been doing it for ten years which is a very long time in porn. I feel like I’m 60 years old in porn. It’s almost a second nature thing a do a lot of meditation before, I got really into psychology over the last 2 years, I feel like this whole thing of performing it is overly uncomfortable and you have to get over it in a way especially in mainstream sets where they might be like 7 people on set, I had to do this shoot once at like 5 am, because my co star her flight was delayed and mine was at 9 so we had to like shoot it at 5 am and it’s like very hard to be like ok I need my body to be like fully prepare to perform at this time and you really have to figure out kind of the internal part of your own sexuality and mind. So I think it’s definitely a thing that you have to kind of dive into your brain and figure out who your sexuality really works and that is a thing that is not talked about in porn, it’s oh my body can do this but sometimes the situation is uncomfortable or awkward.

**E : But, do you feel porn can also be a place to explore your desires and sexual practices, is it a safe place for you to do that ?**

C : Yeah, I feel like I said these words before (*rire*). “**oh okay**” Yeah I definitely more especially with my BDSM work. It’s a safe place to do all these things, it’s either difficult to find people to do it in real life or just not as safe. With so much of the BDSM stuff I did, for example with electricity, I did that in a scene, and I was like oh I now I can do it in a safe situation, also if I do this in general I want to earned from it you know. So, I think probably 4 years ago I started to change my view on BDSM “**ok**” I was like I really have to start to channel it into my work because only I get to live out these things I really want to do and I get to do them with professionals. And I get to have an art project after it and release it into a film so that has been a really big thing for me. A couple months ago I had this fantasy that I couldn’t realize it anywhere else and doing it in real life would be a lot harder, a gang bang scene in real life... I don’t even know how you go about that. So I feel like porn has really provided me this place to explore and do it in a safe way. You know in a scene I can say cut and everyone is going to stop and everything is just back to normal. Where I feel like people who aren’t professionals will not have that element to it.

**E : And that notion of safe sex, or safer sex how do you introduce it in your work ? How is it important for you ?**

C : So I think that question goes into a bigger issue in porn right now. With content trade being the basic way to it now, testing is getting very strict especially in Vegas. Do you know about talent testing ? “**No, I don’t**” Okay, so in mainstream porn there is this system where you get tested, it gets into a database and you can share it on your phone with someone and to show them and to be like okay this is my code, and it can be accessed by all the producers and stuff.”**ok**” And it’s especially like in the mainstream industry in LA, they really relies on it and it makes sense if you are making decent money. “**hum hum**” Because to get tested it’s over 200 dollars. “**That’s a lot of money!**” Yeah, a lot of money, and you have to do it every

two weeks. “ **Okay and someone is paying for that or it’s on the performer ?**” You have to do it out of your pocket yeah. So if you are not getting shoots where you are getting paid like a 1000 dollar per shoot and you are doing content trade its put you in a very weird situation where people have to go to their own doctor, and it’s complicated because a doctor won't tell you to have a test unless you are suspected to have something already. There are a few sex workers clinics that are really great ones, there is one where called St james. But what’s happening in Vegas now...all these people moved there to pursue porn careers, so let’s say these have to shoot 4 scenes a month, just to keep updating their websites, or onlyfans or whatever “**ok**” So if someone gets a positive test, they might be hiding hit from someone because they not going to have money then. And they can’t spend another 200 dollars through talent testing again. “**yeah...**” So that’s a really huge issue, there was an outbreak I think in december and november. “**hum hum**” That happened around...like, it happened because a few performers were continuing to shoot during that so there is like this obvious huge issue around testing. And I don’t have a solution to it. “ **It’s part of a bigger problem of medical care in the US...**” Exactly, I mean, it’s obviously completely terrible. That’s another reason why I want to move. (*rire*) So yeah, it’s a really really tricky situation. Trying to figure it out a solution, I one way that would be great that the state take care of it, but, the state of California, the state of Nevada, but with all the restriction on sex workers, the general criminalization of sex work even when you are doing legal sex work... I don’t necessarily trust them like I don’t know. That's the biggest thing. I queer porn tho...It’s fairly safe, I mean, especially because I mostly do lesbian porn so the risk isn’t very high. I used to work at the Armory where on every sextoys you were required to use condoms on it. So it’s just became kind of my basic thing. And like with gloves and stuff. I only had one time where I was exposed to something, I didn’t get it but it was still definitely a situation. That was very troubling and having to wait 3 months to know what’s going on with this. “**Yeah that sounds stressful.**” And I got covid from that same shoot. “**Oh okay, that’s a lot (*rire*)**” Yeah... (*rire*) That was a year ago, it was for a queer porn company and it was like, really not a great time but, it’s very rare that was the only time that happened in ten years.

**E : And do you use some ethics charts or questionnaires to talk about consent or sexual practices ? Do you use some documents ? Or is it more based on discussion ?**

C : Hmm... I have a note page and I come up with things I’m like oh, that’s a hot idea, I always put it down. So before scenes usually performers just start to just talk on their own. And be like, so what are you interested in doing today ? What are you feeling up to ? That kind of conversation happens and usually the director comes in and they like okay, so what are we shooting and getting a vibe for it. Hmm, I work with Trouble Films. We have a rule on set, like if any performer says cut, the scene is immediately stopped and we take a break and see where we are going from that. I think that just need to be a base for every company just because most of the time we have tons of extra time like it’s not a thing that I want anyone to feel uncomfortable.”**yeah**” Not only because it’s violating their consent, also because if someone is uncomfortable on a scene you are going to notice it in the film. And, I want everyone to have a positive experience, and also I want people to really be the most themselves as possible.

**E : And, maybe I am going to talk now a bit more about platforms, “okay” What do you think about Onlyfans ? Have they influenced or had an impact on the sex work industry ?**

C : I think Only Fans it's just a thing that happened during the pandemic. “ok” I think the pandemic transformed everything. Before I thought it was very taboo to be a camgirl, I feel like everyone is a camgirl now (*rire*). It really changed the mindset of it. And the mindset around sex work. Beyonce has a song that won a grammy that talks about having an Onlyfans, that's crazy. “ **Oh I never heard of that song.**” Yeah it's like, that so crazy to me like the representation of sex work on such a high level. Hmm, but I think in general over like the last 5 or 6 years, especially in the United Stes, sex work is just so mainstream now. Like everyone in this country knows who Stormy Daniels is now. And I think there is a larger understanding of sex work here now. But we are still being criminalized and all the bad things around that. So I think it's an interesting thing but Onlyfans is just (*réflèction*) If it wasn't Onlyfans I was going to be something else. I feel like before Onlyfans Snapchat was a really big thing, girls would sell their snapchat and post nudes and stuff. So I think it's just a continuation of that. I never really got an Onlyfans because I have seen so many of these different apps be built of sex workers and then kick them off...

**E : Yeah that was something that happened with Onlyfans for a brief moment right ?**

C : Yeah, so I only know from people in my podcast who have an Onlyfans (*rire*). So they kick sexworkers for like 2 weeks because the company has changed their CEO or something. And they totally field and they were like no it's fine. And people are still like, if it happens again, and eventually it's probably going to happen. “**Maybe a platform built by sex workers for sex workers would be a solution then**” So there was one! “**Oh I didn't know that!**” So the AVN, who started the AVN awards, they started their own... 3 years ago, right before the pandemic, it was called AVN stars and that was like their whole thing like we are not going to kick you off. We are pro sex work and all this stuff. And a year ago they just shut down their whole platform. And they were like sorry about that (*rire*). So I don't really know what happened, probably something linked to the credit card companies here. But I think there's a really big kind of push and pull with the bay with tech, and sex work and it's kind of a whole battle but... As you know with Annie Sprinkle and Carol Queen, sex work is very instolled here. And that whole alternative porn scene. I feel there is a constant battle with censorship and twitter, facebook...

**E : And do you see your work has a form of resistance to sex-negatives discourses ? Anti sex feminists one or even conservatives ones ?**

C : So, I'm from a very conservative area. So all the fun things you think about from the Netherlands, it's the opposite of that (*rire*). It's very, very conservative, it was all like, very right wing, Republicans and stuff. So, like, even just being in bands and stuff, it was like, oh wow that's so rebellious to be in a band and doing all that stuff. I was in a Black Hole band, I

don't know if you know all that stuff... "no..." It's like...kind of like anti-christian, like Norwegian..."okay, cool" we like, ripped up bibles on stage in high school, like, yeah (*rire*) and like face paints and all like that crazy shit. So like, I've always kind of had that. I grew up here atheist in a Christian area (*réflexion*) Like kind of not feeling like I really fit in there. "hum hum" From a place with a million churches and both my parents were atheist so... So it just felt like I was kind of an outsider in those environments so, I feel like I naturally felt like that. So I was like, I want to do this but I was like How can I take from what I earned from this movie and put it into Black Lives Matter or Trans organizations, or the Planned Parenthood refugee fund... How can I do something positive with that ? I feel like my most choking stuff that I have done was definitely when I was a teenager. (*rire*) So I feel like by the time I got into porn and sexwork it was a little bit past that (*rire*). "okay (*rire*)"

**E : And how do you position yourself in relation to the mainstream porn industry ?**

C : It's very strange because I never thought that I would be a part of the mainstream porn world. Because I'm a queer trans woman. I moved here to essentially pursue queer porn, I wasn't... I did like a few mainstream stuff here but I wasn't really assuming... Like my goal was to have an AVN nomination in five years. It got way bigger way faster. So, I don't know, I really think having the ability to do queer porn and still influence mainstream porn is really positive and being able to do that was great. But now mainstream porn is so trans inclusive now. I think it's trying to be better ? Hum...

**E : Do you think the industry is changing right now ?**

C : For sure, and particularly the content is being produced like it's true cinematography. So it's really changed kind of the direction of what porn looks like, who is being casted... This year at AVN, for the first time ever a black woman won the performer of the year. "Okay" So that's a very big moment, it probably should have happened before the 40th AVN obviously (*rire*) but like I feel like the industry is slowly starting to change, you are starting to see more inclusion. When I started doing some mainstream stuff I was not assuming I'm going to have 18 AVN (*rire*) and all this nominations and get to go to all this carpets and win awards and shit, like that wasn't really at my radar, especially being from a small town it was not even a thing that I could imagined.

**E : So working in the mainstream industry gave you some visibility ?**

C : Yeah I think it did. But also the stuff that we are making here, like Fucking Mystic was nominated for an AVN and that was something we literally just made in Oakland with my friends you know...or even like my BDSM work has been nominated for stuff which I wasn't anticipating or like the first film I directed gotten nominated for a bunch of stuff and got to screen in all of these places...so yeah...it's...I think it was like quite a bit of a shock, especially in the beginning because you know, I'm from a small town of me like 30,000 people... You are not anticipating, oh yeah this is all gonna work out and especially like just like, just like the view of people from the midwest of the United States is not...you go to

California and it's all going to work out (*rire*). It's mostly like, oh I was there for 3 months I ran out of money and I had to go back home.

**E: Okay, so that's the story of most people who are trying to get into porn ?**

C : Hmm... Yeah, So when I started to work at Kink.com, there were two other trans women who I started with, one lasted about two months and moved back to Pennsylvania and the other one was assaulted at uni here and stopped doing porn shortly after. I think I was maybe like four months into it so, people just kind of disappeared... Most people aren't lucky enough to have a career out of this and really keep going but I can also see why so many people leave it because it is extremely... it's a lot you know (*rire*)

**E : Hmm, hmm... And you consider yourself as an activist today ?**

C : I think in some ways ? But I don't think it's not that one thing that necessarily drives my porn anymore. Especially after the pandemic, I was feeling really blessed to be able to make stuff again. And the feeling after being on set of like oh wow I made something with my friends or these people I really admire. That's what I really get out of porn right now. **“Okay”** But what I did with Fuck the Facism was activism in a way yes. But I don't think my main goal in the industry is direct activism but I can see why it's also perceived that way because with trans stuff in this country, and in the UK, I feel like I kind of get pushed into that, at least that is the perception of my work.

**E : Do you feel like you are doing more of a kind of artistic thing than an activist thing ?**

C : Yeah....At least with the East Bay Brats Collective with Ruby Riots everything we do is collective owned, we all shoot it, we do all the videography, we all perform, we all edit it, we all split the money from it, we can also sell it on our own. **“Okay”** So I think in a way it's very anarchist activism in practice in a way (*rire*). It's directly owned by us, we are all fem lesbians who own it. That doesn't really exist anywhere else in the industry. So maybe it's more about the actual practice then. But also... I think it's still like, having a trans woman in a BDSM collective, I think for some people it's very political, but to me, I'm like, I'm just going to a shoot you know ?(*rire*) **“(rire)”**

**E : And are you active in other spaces ? Like organizations or... I know you are very active on social media because I'm following your twitter account where you talk a lot about trans rights, your work as a performer...**

C : So I feel like right now, it's just starting to get back to normal. During the whole pandemic everything shifted for me, so I went essentially from traveling every month to really being in one place for the first time in a decade. So now I have to find a balance. So I feel like now It's getting back to this normal thing where I'm like I need to go to this festival, do this film, I have this trip for this shoot... It's a constant battle to find a balance in my career. Looking back I did not have any balance in my work. Obviously It got me some

awards and nominations and stuff but for your mental health it's not great *(rire)* “**yeah...*(rire)***” I think that's really where I'm at right now... And I feel like with social media, that was where my activism was and where I was able to do positive things for trans inclusion. Probably like seven years ago in 2016 or something like that, or before that. Now I feel like I'm shadowbanned and stuff... Particularly on twitter, it just is not what it used to be, when I started, it was very much... If you were in the porn industry everyone was on twitter and that's how you get casted, that's how you get agency in this industry and build a following. And I don't really feel that it's that way anymore. “**Yeah, it's really linked to all the censorship around instagram... and twitter is coming to this point also...**” Yeah, I feel like with all these big companies... You can't trust them.

**E : Do you feel like sexworkers are more independent now ? Do they still need all these big companies to create their content ?**

C : I feel like... There are a lot of sexworkers here that have second jobs now. When I moved here that was not the case. Most people did not have a second job, that's really changed. It's because just rents are so high here... and it's getting higher so... “**Yeah...That's crazy**” And to get a house here, and for the worst house you can imagine is like a million dollars. It's just a very hard thing *(rire)*

**E : I have a last question for you “okay” , because we talked about feminist movement in the beginning about the sexwars and the issue around pornography, do you feel like it's still the case today ? Do you feel some feminist are still completely against porn ? Is it evolving a bit and the discourse is more nuanced now ?**

C : I mean, I feel like both feminism and the gay community, I feel like there isn't a uniform way to say oh it's antisex or it's pro sex, I feel like there are so many different things now... I think feminism is about the liberation of women and all people. So I think there is obviously a place for porn in it. But I think there is a place for porn everywhere. I mean, there are a lot of depictions of sexwork and it goes back as long as the country existed, you know... “**Yeah...**” So I think sexwork is a part of life and It's going to be there, and porn is always going to be a part of life, hmm, and even the people who are anti porn are probably still watching porn in some capacity so... *(rire)* I think it's important to view porn as a medium. There is some porn that is terrible, there is some that's bad, there is everything “**Is it just a vector of something ?**” Yeah, just like films, music, there is both good and bad to it. And the thing I kind of dislike about feminist porn is I think it wants to be labeled as the good porn and all this other porn is bad. And it's not detailed enough, there are a lot of people who view porn as a monolith without really knowing anything about it. So, there should be so much more education about porn in general... Like I did this interview with this girl two weeks ago and they were super nice and everything but they were doing this interview about porn while knowing nothing about porn. “**Hmm hmm**” It's just the biggest thing. “**Okay**” And obviously you know what you are talking about, you speak about 80's porn and everything “*(rire)* **But it still... you know I have kind of an outsider point of view about it**” I think there is levels to it, though, of course porn is a physical thing, if you don't do it you don't

know certain things about it but you can understand kind of the history and the stuff that is actually happening in it, and that's the big difference from people who should talk about porn stuff, like you are extremely educated on porn **“(rire) Thank you” (rire)** one of the better people I ever talk to, I'm like oh I can make these references and they know what I'm talking about. There are a lot of people who are like this porn is good, this porn is bad, and I try to talk about something that happened in porn in the last 5 years and they really have no knowledge of it. And I think that's one of the biggest things that needs to change about porn. I compare it to sports, you wouldn't be reporting on sports if you haven't watched anything for the last five years. And I think it kind of has to be the same way about porn. The story and the narratives around porn needs to be taken more seriously. We really aren't treated the same as other forms of media and I think that's really important. **“Yeah for sure”**

**E : Thank you for talking to me today, it was really cool**

C : Yeah, I'm glad we got to chat.

*Arrêt de l'enregistrement*



**Annexe 12** : Entretien complet avec Ruby Riots. Entretien sociologique semi-directif. 54 min. 14 avril 2023.

### **Entretien Ruby Riots**

*Nom : Ruby Riots*

*Date : 14/04/23*

*Lieu : Bar Mile High Club, Oakland, Etats-Unis*

*Format : Entretien sociologique semi-directif de 54 min*

*( Présentation avant l'enregistrement ou je lui demande si je peux enregistrer et citer son nom dans mon mémoire )*

**E : So maybe I will start by explaining to you what I'm doing. "Yeah" So I'm getting a master degree in American studies, so I choose to work primarily on the sexwars in the 80's and I got to work on the work of Annie Sprinkle and Carol Queen and I found it so interesting and I wanted to dive mort into how things are today with the feminist and queer porn in the Bay Area. So I'm doing a sort of link between what was going on then and what is happening today. That's where I'm at now. So I base my work on interviews with people in the industry, directors, performers... So that's my research. And, also in a couple months I'm going to work as a sex health educator in middle school and high school and they ask me to talk about porn because they want to talk about it with students. So I hope my research will also help me with that aspect. "Hmm hmm, cool" So yeah, maybe you can introduce yourself and your project right now ?**

R : Yeah, so I go by Ruby, hmm, in my personal life I use they/them pronouns but in the scope of sex work world I do generally present as pretty fem, so I go by she/her. What am I doing currently ? Hmm, currently right now I'm kind of weary from sex work, currently i'm not, I'm weary from all work. *(rire)* Hmm, I am a professional dominatrix and a BDSM queer performer as well. That's mostly what I focused on. And the pornography that I made is adult work, also over the years I made independant clips, worked with some studios, Crashpad, Troublefilms... The most recent thing, hmm, *(réflexion)* the most recent thing that I have actually filmed was with Troublefilms, probably last summer, and that was a lot of work that went towards ChealseaSubmit2. And you recently talked to Chelsea so you are a little bit familiar with that. We also worked on a shoot with East Bay Brats, maybe a month ago but due to personal reasons I had to postpone that. So those are the main projects that I worked on. And East Bay Brats is a queer BDSM collective, everyone who is in the films not only... Is a part of the actual process of creating it and also editing it, pretty much everyone who is actually a performer in it, they do sort of a work behind the scenes...

**E :Cool, Is it like a coop thing ?**

R : Yeah, it's a coop thing for sure. Hmm, yeah it's a big project that's been headed by Chelsea Poe and Courtney Trouble.

**E : Think I saw one of the films on PinkLabelTV...**

R : Yeah, the films are on there too.

**E : And why do you choose to work in the Bay Area ?**

R : I lived here already but that's also because, well, how do I say this ? (*réflexion*) Because of the sexworker's community in the Bay area that makes it really difficult for me to leave. "Okay" I know people here, hmm, and the whole time that I have been doing sexwork has been in the area, so, doing it anywhere else would be very weird, just different for me so... Yeah, it's genuinely a welcoming community, people look out for each other, there are a lot of good people to collaborate with here. Lots of opportunities as far as pretty independent porn. Wouldn't say it so great with doing anything with bigger studios, you kind of have to go to Vegas for that. I mean, here there is Crashpad series and I like working with them, but this isn't the center of porn anymore, Kink isn't here anymore, so it sucks.

**E : So Kink has closed ?**

R : Yeah, the location has changed. That's like a whole other fucking thing. Kink and their whole direction... I'm not even going to go into that. But yeah, I think the Bay Area, and the sexwork in the Bay Area, it's a great place if you want to cultivate your own thing, because it's not really so much dependent on working with studios. I feel like you have more agency over the kind of porn you want to create because you are kind of forced to do more independent porn. And I know that there are people who are involved with studios who can work with them, but for me, with the independent porn that I want to do, it's...you know, I don't have an interest in working with studios because of mostly my appearance but also my interest and everything.

**E : So you create your own content ? Do you use platforms ?**

R : Yeah, yeah, so I do that stuff. I'm probably getting into doing that more, hmm, because I'm not doing it quite as much as I used to. "Okay" But yeah I have been on independent content sites for like 5 years. But I started actually pretty independent porn back in 2015. "That's a long time yeah" Yeah.

**E : And do you think now it's more difficult to do it here compared to when you've started ?**

R: Yeah definitely. Yeah especially trying to make it in the Bay Area in general in really fucking hard and being a sexworker in the Bay is still not easy. Everyone is struggling and it's not easy to be super open about it, San Francisco and even Oakland now... The rising price

of living and the inflation makes it difficult. Yeah a lot of people have been stressed out. Like I'm doing okay thankfully, but I did live in shitty punk houses, sharing a room with somebody and living with like 6 other people in a small house. I have done that. Being in porn or something like that is extremely fucking difficult. Thankfully I don't have to do that right now but yeah.

**E : And also american politics toward sexworkers...I wasn't fully aware of that until I went to this protest last week I think, laws against trans and drags...**

R : Oh yeah definitely, hmm, I feel like in the Bay Area and in California in general, we do kind of live in a bubble. We are a little bit more protected from that, but, it's not to say that trans and queer people don't experience prejudice. It's really hard to be trans or a queer person in the United States right now because of all the legislation that has been coming out who are basically trying to erase those people. I think it's a little bit more centralized in the south "yeah?" not just the south but California is like his own fucking place yeah. Not to say that all the legislation here is perfect, that's definitely not the case, hmm, and also federally there is anti sexwork, anti sex, anti queer, anti LGBTQ movement, hmm, they are just trying to erase people like that. So you know, even if queer people are protected in this little bubble it's not to say that they are not impacted by seeing other people in the United States struggle. We have a very strong gay, trans and drag community here, so I think it makes us more empathetic to want to try and help people who don't have it so easy where they live.

**E : Do you think that it is important to create a representation of queer sexualities ? And why is it important to create an alternative to mainstream pornography ?**

R : Yes I do think it is important to create porn that features queer and trans people and also that features black and indigenous people, and people of color as well, that's still not enough of that. I want to integrate it more into the work that I do. Hmm, If you are looking at what these big studios are doing, they are slowly integrating more trans people into the content that they are creating but at the same time it does feel really heteronormative still. I think specifically what people in the queer porn industry are trying to do is create the porn that they want to see in the world. "Okay" It's like, I think Chelsea Poe has mentioned it before, the idea of having a trans submissive in porn was unheard of and it's becoming more and more of a thing and that's because we had to create it ourselves. We don't need to wait for the studios to create what we want to see, because who knows when that would have happened. How they would have presented it. And it would have been for sure fetichized. And you can see it with the terms that would pop up on the internet, you know, categorized in it. Like, interracial sex, yeah, that's makes me uncomfortable saying it like, the terms they used. But the labels sell. Yeah I think the queer and trans people in queer porn have complete control over what they want to create, and people they want to work with. That gives them more agency to be represented accurately and positively in the porn industry.

**E : Can we talk a bit more about your own experience... How much the notion of safer sex is in your work ? How do you put it in practice ?**

R : Obviously the goto is talent testing so you can show the other performer that you are working with the results.

**E : Is it before every scene ?**

R : Hmm, I mean it varies, it depends, usually before your shooting but you know not everyone does it that way, and I haven't done it that way every single time. **“Okay”** We use safer sex practices, hmm, by being very transparent about just like our testing status like hey I went to a clinic and I got tested there, and it depends of who you work with. It's like people we know and trust like, I am comfortable with that personally, I'm not saying that everybody does that. It's a thing that I have done (*réflexion*) Yeah, also you know... being pretty transparent about okay I haven't slept with anybody since I last got tested so I'm not going to pay 300 dollars for talent testing. **“Yeah”** But generally testing is an important part of it, sharing our test results with each other...

**E : So you are paying for your own test every time ? Or sometimes the company is paying ?**

R : I never had a company who's paying for my own test. I always paid for it myself. **“Wow, how much is it ?”** I mean... Now that the price went up it's probably like around 250 or something. **“Okay”** Yeah it's pretty expensive. **“Yeah”** So most of the time I go to free clinics **“cool”** Yeah, they are cool and you can get the results faster too. But, yeah, we do use safer sex practices, prophylactics, usually condoms, and doing some sort of sex that does not involve fluid exchange that is also something that we do to keep each other safe. And covid test, that's became a new thing. At least that's more affordable, we do it every time before shooting a shoot with somebody.

**E : And how do you talk about consent and boundaries around sexual practices ? Do you use some documents or is it just informal conversations ?**

R : Yeah, consent is really important to me. Especially as a BDSM provider. Usually when I'm shooting with people I will talk to them ahead of time about not only what they want to do but also their boundaries, their limits, I want to know all of this information. So I talk to them beforehand, usually over chat, email or whatever. And if they have specific things that they want to do, let's say for instance they want to do verbal humiliation, I'm like okay, like how far do you want to go ? Are there any words that are off limits, or are there topics that are off limits ? I try to just be really specific, to make sure that I'm not going to trigger anybody. I want to make sure that they are having a good experience and that they feel safe. Hmm, I think that safety is the most important thing that I can do as a BDSM provider but also as a porn performer is keeping everyone safe. And that's not just STI testing, it's also making sure that people are mentally safe and they feel comfortable. So yeah, communicating ahead of time before we are actually there and I like to communicate with people when I'm there before we start filming. Well, sometimes people would say that they are down for something ahead of time and they might actually change their mind and that's totally fine. I

want people to tell me what they are up for and what they're not up for and if they change their mind it's okay. Sometimes we have a general idea of what we want to do when we are initially talking about the scene and then when we actually shoot it it will turn into something else. And, as long as we are on the same page about that, hmm, the day that we are shooting, like it's all good, and obviously giving people the freedom and the ability to stop the scene at anytime if they feel that they need to change something, and I say to people to use safe words too. I want people to feel that they can change anything about the scene if they feel the need to. That might be someone saying that they need more lube or maybe just slowing down a little bit. That's all a part of it and a lot of it releases on communication. Also for me, like, I felt this a lot, beyond communication, also body language, and focusing on people's gestures and you know if you are using non verbal safe words, it's a part of it. But also, just reading people's bodies is something I would say I picked on a lot as being a BDSM provider. So... Yeah, and checking in with them after, hmm

**E : So the communication after is also important for you ?**

R : Yeah, I want to know how it was for someone, that's my form of aftercare. Just to make sure it felt good. Making sure there is consent before, during and after, it's really important. “**Okay**”

**E : And, how do you think Onlyfans has impacted the queer and feminist porn scenes these last years ?**

R : Stuff really changed quite a bit because of Onlyfans. Onlyfans blew up in 2020 and it kind of created this false narrative that you can get an Onlyfans and make a ton of money out of it. “**Yeah**” People joke around about it. “**Yeah a lot.**” And I'm like of fuck you, like I use Onlyfans for years and it's not that easy (*rire*). “**sure**” Like the industry has changed, especially like, a lot of people left. It's interesting to see that people who have stayed through after the pandemic... A lot of people were forced to work online for obvious reasons. We were forced to do everything online, whether it would be a zoom thing, or promoting yourself on these social media websites. Because also FOSTA SESTA has forced us to do that too. So, I feel like the combination of those two things has really created more of an environment that centered around the internet. So people have continued to use those platforms especially Onlyfans because it's kind of a big brand now. Yeah, it has impacted the industry and now and I do feel like... I don't want to talk shit about people necessarily but you know...It's harder to charge what you want to charge for your porn because of Onlyfans and for sites like that. “**Okay**” Because you know, no shame for anyone who does it but sometimes people will post like full scenes, all their full scenes on Onlyfans and that's cool they can do whatever they want, whatever works for them, there are so many different ways that you can run an Onlyfans. I have tried many different ways to do it, to see what it's the most lucrative and what works for me. But because of that, so many individual clips can be harder to sell, like what would I pay 10 dollars for a clip when I can get hundreds of clips from this Onlyfans from this other person for 5 dollars. So in that sense it does make it a little bit harder to make money online. Because there is always going to be another person who's

offering the same or more for a different price and that's great that everyone has the ability to choose that for themselves but I can tell it does cause some frustration for some people. People especially who've been creating porn since before Onlyfans blew up. And again, you know, I put full scenes on Onlyfans. It is what it is. It's just the nature of the industry now. You have to adapt and change overtime and have to accept that everyone individually has to run their own business. But it does make it a little bit trickier because ideally you want to charge for a scene or something more involved, at least a dollar a minute or more. And when we are selling these clips on these sites we are not making that at all, all these companies take like 40%. “ **Wow 40% ?**” Around that, it depends on the websites. For example Clips4sale takes 40% yeah. So it can be frustrating when we put a lot of work and effort into creating something that is important to you. Something you feel you didn't get paid what you should have earned.

**E : But did you gain some visibility as well with Onlyfans ?**

R : In a sense, with Onlyfans getting popular yeah that's a good thing but on the other hand I do kind of feel like it hasn't impacted my clip sales. You kind of just go where the money is. I don't really mind too much that Onlyfans is more popular. I fucking hate Onlyfans in general. I had so many problems with them, their support team is horrible, it's a terrible company, I saw about leaving them multiple times. But because it's popular and people use it, it makes it a little harder to leave because it will affect me when I leave, hmm, and at this point it's just a matter of time. It's not if, I will leave (*rire*).

**E : I don't when it was but Onlyfans closed sexworkers accounts at some point right ?**

R : Yeah they have been going back and forth for years. I started an Onlyfans back in 2018 and like it wasn't popular then. I know a lot of porn creators were using it but it wasn't well known like it is now. And then, 2020, pandemic happened, and everybody just started to use Onlyfans. And it got really popular and it became well known. So they gain popularity and fans because of sexworkers, because that's why it was used for. I don't know anyone who used Onlyfans for anything else. Maybe one person but that's it. After a while, once Onlyfans have made a ton of money out of sexworkers, they tried to kick sexworkers off. They have been slowly giving up that for a while, they have been changing their legislation to force that to happen but at the same time they make it really difficult for sexworkers to be on there. They are being very vague about their terms of service, their support team not being helpful, if you have questions about what's allowed and what isn't. It's pretty unclear so they did at one point, they said that everyone that would to porn on it would be kicked off. And it happened for like 2 or 3 days. A lot of porn creators were threatening to leave Onlyfans and they realized how much of an impact they're going to have on their business, they were like oh we are going to lose all of that money, we are going to lose all that support, like that's going to be a huge hit for us. They were trying to rebrand not being involved with porn. And then they gave up and like actually just kidding we are going to let you stay. “**oh my god**” It was very stressful. Especially for people who relied on that, there are people who rely on that to survive. At the same time though it does kind of feel like it's just a matter of time before

they might try that again because it is like walking on eggshells being on Onlyfans. There are a lot of things that you can't say, or post on Onlyfans, that I think are not really that big of a deal like you can't say pegging on there. No piss play, they are really particular about what's allowed and what isn't. They just deleted a ton of my stuff not that long ago, and it's fine I know it was against the rules or whatever. *(rire)* Hmm, it's more just weird there are a ton of sites where you can post all of that. What makes Onlyfans so special and puritanical that you can't post those things, like I honestly don't think it's that big of a deal. It's not a good site for BDSM, that's for sure.

**E : Maybe you can tell me more about the SESTA FOSTA law ? And how has that impacted your work ?**

R : To be totally transparent I wasn't horribly impacted by it too much. Because I only started to do in person work after SESTA and FOSTA but it did affect everybody in the sexworker community. So, essentially, SESTA and FOSTA are just like trying to censor sexworkers. It makes it a lot harder to be a sexworker, in a way that has impacted the internet, what sites are allowed now on the internet. What you can say on certain sites, like I most noticed it on Instagram after SESTA and FOSTA, just like constantly getting my account deleted, I have lost over 10 accounts. **"That's a lot."** It's a lot, yeah. But I think a lot of people who do sexwork and are on Instagram are kind of expecting it. And It's started to get twitter too, like, people were losing their twitter accounts when twitter used to be like the mecha for posting your porn on there and know you just don't want to post on there you are, you get shadowbanned, most sexworkers who were on twitter were shadowbanned, hmm, that's a whole different thing though that has to do with algorithms. Well, I would say most notably, Backpage was removed so that made it a lot harder for in person sexworkers to make money. A lot of people were severely financially impacted by that change. At the time, in 2017 I was actually trying to get into in person sexwork and I was using Craigslist. Which I had known about Backpage but I was a baby sexworker *(rire)*. And yeah that ran away after SESTA and FOSTA passed. **"Okay"** But generally SESTA and FOSTA like, don't really know the acronym because my brain is not coordoning properly with me today... **"Oh that's okay"** But, hmm, but censoring sexworkers, trying to put this image on sexworkers being forced, being victims of humans trafficked, it's basically saying that, they are trying to put that on the protect children thing and they are trying to remove non consensual or child pornography of the internet. But the legislation is pretty vague that it's affecting people who do consual sex, who are sexworkers who are not being trafficked, they are choosing to do this with their lives. And it's made it hard for sexworkers who are making an active choice to do sexwork and to make it a work and to make money and to do it safely. Because somebody's website that sexworkers have relied on for so long... Now you kinda have to tip toe on what you are saying on these websites. It's made it less safe for sexworkers, they are being forced to do more dangerous sexwork because of this change on the internet as the result of FOSTA and SESTA. In that sense it totally backfired if they were trying to keep sexworkers safer, that didn't happen, it didn't do anything that actually protected children, like predators on the internet... That wasn't their intention. Sexwork is not sextrafficking. I'm not saying that

sextrafficking is okay, like it's fucking horrible, but it's different. So I think legislators, they have to understand the difference between consensual sexwork and unconsensual sexwork.

**E : And do you feel like, do you see your work as a form of resistance ?**

R : You know... interestingly, like, I do identify as a politically active person. I identify as an anarchist. **“Okay”** And feminist. Obviously anti sexworkers exclusionary feminist and anti anyone who has an agenda to basically silenced marginalized communities. That being said I never met an active choice to do it. It was never my intention to do sexwork or even porn, like I have created content in porn that I do consider to be radical in a sense. But that's not the reason why I started doing it.

**E : Do you consider yourself an activist ? Are you active in organizations or something ?**

R : I used to be more active in the anarchist community. Currently I'm not due to personal reasons. Hmm, But I'm trying to get back into doing that. Reconnect with that part of my life, but unfortunately right at this moment no I'm not. But It's a really important part of my identity, my values...

**E : I want to ask you a last question, about the feminist debate around porn in the 80's between anti porn feminist and pro sex feminist. Do you feel these debates are still there ? Or are they fading away ?**

R : Hmm, it's hard for me to say because I kind of feel like I'm in a little bit of a four chamber in the community that I'm surrounding myself with. Especially being in the Bay Area, being integrated into the sexworker and queer community here. Hmm, I feel like I'm very biased with whatever I'm going to say but I do think that it has become more normalized. General people outside of these communities, I think they are trying a little bit more but I can't really speak of that too much. Hmm, (*réflèction*) Yeah as far as like feminism in general it really varies on what part of the country you are in, what part of the world you might be in. Demographics can completely change the view on sexwork. But yeah I would say generally compared to the 80's and 90's I do think that sexwork is being considered like an actual profession. And being considered something that people are consenting to do and is worth talking about in the feminist scope. Yes I would say that it's being normalized.

**E : Okay, Thank you for your time**

(Fin de l'enregistrement)



**Annexe 13** : Entretien complet avec Tristan Crane. Entretien sociologique semi-directif. 21 min. 31 mars 2023.

*Nom : Tristan Crane*

*Date : 31/03/23*

*Lieu : Entretien via vidéo conférence sur Zoom*

*Format : Entretien sociologique semi-directif enregistré au dictaphone / Durée : 21 minutes*

*( Introduction de quelques secondes avant l'entretien ou je lui ai demandé si cela était possible d'enregistrer avant de commencer l'entretien )*

**E : So, my name is Estelle. I'm a student in American studies, in France, in Toulouse and I'm currently doing my Master's thesis on the production of alternative porn in the Bay area. So, I started my research on the work on Sprinkle, Queen... so more on like 80's 90's in this area. And then... Now ...I want to know what's happening today in alter porn. And...you know in the queer porn, like what are the claims? You know, like safer sex, gender fluidity, non heteronormative sexuality and everything. So I really want my work to be based on voices of people directly concerned by this, you know, actors, actresses, directors.... Also people from the sex positive movement and the queer community itself. So I'm going to ask a couple questions and if you don't want to answer certain questions that's totally fine for me. It's okay, "Yes" so... I wanted to ask you if you could introduce yourself and maybe the work that you've been doing and your projects ?**

*T : (Blanc) Mm (hésitation) sure, (rire) So sorry, little nervous, hum...*

**E : That's fine, don't worry.**

*T : So yeah, my name is Tristan Crane, I identify as non binary trans "ok" , I guess for like, oh gosh, maybe like...12 years now I have been working on set for Shine Louise Houston, who is the director of CrashPadSeries.com. And so I've been a set photographer for Crashpad. I have been a photographer for a bunch of our features and short films. And I have a side photography business, I specialized in queer weddings and ceremonies, which was really fantastic. And then I have a few of my own ongoing portraiture series and our projects as well.*

**E : Okay, I saw your picture actually, you know, your wedding picture and I found it amazing. That's really....I love what you're doing by the way, it's really cool.**

*T : Thanks, thanks... I'm actually winding down the wedding photography and then moving into actually working as a therapist. "Oh, cool" Yeah (rire), so I'm doing a little career change. "Yeah, that's really cool." I'm going to continue to work on Crashpad for as long as I can and have my own kind of side projects as well.*

**E : Okay...And what did you...What brought you into...like, the porn industry ? The alternative porn industry, in the first place?**

*T : Mm, I kind of...I got really lucky. Honestly, I started doing photography in high school and it was my major in college and I was really interested in like fetish photography and fashion and all that kind of stuff. Hum, I did end up shooting a lot of more like, sort of...*

nudes and stuff of my friends while I was learning photography "ok" which is something, yeah, which was good. When you start to like, develop your own film and you have that privacy "yeah" so, it makes it... You know, you get into issues of like privacy and consent and so when you start to be able to do your own work, then that when you consider that direction and then I was just working in San Francisco as a photographer and meet one of our former performers, somebody who'd been on the site a bunch of times and she knew that Shine was looking for a new photographer "ok" and then she recommended me and... I... Shine called me one day and had come in and do a shoot and I guess it went well because... yeah (*blanc*)

**E : Ok, and you know, what did you choose to... work in the Bay Area to work ?**

T : Mm, I moved there to go to college. So I went to San Francisco State. I grew up in the central part of California "hmm hmm", and I always knew I wanted to live in San Francisco, because I'm queer and living in a small town in central California It's not... " **Yes, I can understand**" because... although there is actually a really thriving queer Community out there now, which is really fantastic, but that's how I ended up in the Bay Area, you know, because that was the place to go "yeah" If you wanted to get... you know like San Francisco, New York...

**E : And do you think now it's more difficult to work here just because of, you know, the rising prices of San Francisco and everything. Is it more difficult now or...**

T : Definitely. "Ok" Yeah, even when I moved there like... 20 years ago, things were already starting to really... increase "hmm hmm", The .combooms... just the rents would go up and a bunch more artists would have to leave. "Ok" Yeah, It is much harder. It's harder to get apartments, it's harder to find studio space... So there's just fewer people that can achieve that.

**E : So do you think it's more in Oakland now or it's like 50/50 or...**

T : Honestly both ! "Ok" I mean there's a lot going on in Oakland... which is really exciting. And there always has been. It's just that San Francisco is kind of... overshadowing I think... "yeah ?" For a while...

**E : Hmm...I wanted to know...Do you think like... do you think that alt porn can provide a better representation of, you know... feminine sexuality and queen sexuality and, in what way does it emphasize everything like...you know what I mean?**

T : Hmm (*blanc*) Like meaning...how like, how is it different ? Or is it more like authentic ? Is it more...

**E : Yeah, why do you think alt porn is a good place to do that than in mainstream porn ?**

T : I think there are just different goals than the mainstream industry. I think it can be more representative. It isn't always... Right ? "ok" So like, those two things together can be... there's definitely alternative porn that is like (*réflexion*) Not indicative of a broad range of body shapes and sizes or gender identities, or something like that, right? But I definitely think that it can be... any time that you have independent creators, you're going to have more opportunity for creativity and more opportunity for broader representation with different voices which is true of like, the mainstream film industry also, "hmm hmm" right ? So like,

the big companies can have these formulas, they're turning out like, a lot of content and there isn't always room for that ? **“ok”** Let's not say that the people working on those more mainstream films wouldn't make different content given different opportunities **“ok”** You know, I'm kind of thinking like...

**E : And I was like, wondering a lot about, you know, what is the difference according to you between representation and fetichisation ?**

T : Oh (*rire*) oh my gosh, that's a really good question, you could write a whole paper just on that right? **“Yeah, for sure (*rire*)”** (*rire*), hmm, I mean, I think you know...the two can be entwined Right? And I think we see like some of the tropes in porn? Kind of straddle that line between fetishization and representation. I think one thing that to me is different is who's creating the work, **“yeah?”** Right? Am I making work about some, some, about a demographic of people that I don't understand at all and I'm imposing my ideas on how those people want to be viewed, how those people want to have sex, how those people want to interact or is the content being created by like more like an insider perspective and therefore might be...only for crashpad, for example, we don't, we don't direct the performers. So, the director hum you know, she doesn't tell people what to do, there's no set formula. They kind of get to decide for themselves and a lot of people come in...you know, pair it up, they'll bring it, you know, they've signed up to do this together and so they'll come in with like, a fantasy, they'll come in with like, you know (*réflexion*) a storyline or characters that they want to play and so it's like, I don't know if that's representation but it is a representation of some or just somebody came up with what they wanted to do, kind of like on their own. **“ok”** First, we're telling them what to do...

**E : So it's more like giving freedom to the performers to do their own things. “hmm” So, it's more about freedom behind it...**

T : But it's still performative, right? **“Yeah, yeah, of course”** It's like, so that word sort of authenticity, kind of like that, is it authentic? If it's somebody else's fantasy, it's still a fantasy **“Yeah”** but it's emerging from the performers, not from the director and I do think that there can be a difference there...

**E : Do you think queer porn can be a privileged space to... I don't know... Exploring sexuality, desire and everything ?**

T : Definitely, definitely...I think, it can be... definitely a less frost space, right ? I don't.. I don't want to imply that other sets aren't safe. Including mainstream sets. Like there's a lot of issues, across... whatever, those people, there's going to be challenging stuff that happens, right? And... so I don't want to imply that mainstream sets are inherently unsafe. There are a lot of people who have really good experiences in the entire porn industry, and within queer spaces or more alternative spaces there may be more freedom for those performers to bring their own desires to the forefront. **“ok”** Be able to do things on set, that might not happen on a mainstream set. Yeah, different demographics and that plays into, you know, what you were saying about, you know, being able to be really free and your gender expression. Like, there's definitely performers who are queer working in all aspects of the industry. But there is still a stigma in certain areas around certain identities. **“Yeah, ok”**, so some people might not be able to like...express certain identities or be as out about those identities. Like a lot of industries right ? **“hum hum”** there still so queerphobia, biphobia transphobia, across, you know? So...but it does feel, at least for me, it does feel like it is a privilege, to be able to

work on a set of all queer people “ok” It's really comfortable... hum, you know, we don't misgender each other, like, it's just not weird you know. And, hum, yeah it just feels like a really safe and comfortable experience and that's one of the reasons that I've spent a lot of my life working in this area and other than on my sets and my shoots I try and make that same space for the people in general “in your work in general ?” Yes.

**E : Okay, and do you think your work you know as a photographer is a form of resistance to various sex -negative discourse? So you know conservative ones,maybe anti-sex feminists ?**

T : Hum, I would say Crashpad, yes. “Yeah?” you know, definitely...I mean that's you know, anytime people are trying to silence you and stamp you out, you know, I do believe that the role of artists is to create imagery and to create things that make people think and that sustain people and when people are seen, they are sustained.

**E : And according to you, what is the main difference between alt porn, queer porn and mainstream porn ?**

T : (*rire*)

**E : That's a tricky question (*rire*)**

T : Yeah that's a tricky question ! hum (*réflexion*) I mean yeah there's so many ways to answer that right ? Like politically, artistically (*blanc*) That such a good question (*rire*) These are good questions ! I'm excited to read this paper, when you complete it ! There is, I mean.. there's so many differences, you know, there are aesthetic differences, there are budget differences, you know...I think one of the differences for the performers is that there's way more opportunities and mainstream spaces. Although with onlyfans and things like that, that has sort of more power to the performers and gives them the opportunity to make money outside of shoots, which I think is really great. You know, one of the main differences is just the opportunity of work. “ok” Like if I wanted to shoot porn full time, I would have to start shooting mainstream content. There's just not enough people working in alternative porn for it to be like a full-time ongoing thing and that's true for performers as well. You know, so I mean we would love to be able to shoot, you know, every day and you know be supporting a lot of performers and the industry would be much more thriving, but I think that one thing you know when you look at the size of the industry. “Yeah?” That's one big difference. So that's the number of people who are working in it. The number of people performing in the industry reflects a lot of alternative art as well, right? It reflects the mainstream film industry, reflects the art industry, you know, any time you're in sort of a niche? That's less mainstream accepted...

**E : And do you consider yourself an activist?**

T : I mean, I short answer. Yes (*rire*) you know, yeah. I mean...I would say one thing that has been great about working in this industry is...it's...it makes it fun and exciting to be an activist and to like to continue to do that growth that it takes to be really good at it. “Ok” There were a lot of things politically that I was less aware of when I entered it and then through getting into the politics of image making then and...you know body acceptance and all this stuff, it just sort of all leads in...

**E : And are you active in other spaces like queer organizations and you know on social media ?**

T : I am...and then also just honestly my work, moving into being a therapist is...I think it does at this point, a form of community support that I've been focused on and I'm almost done with my grad program, so I feel where you're at. I'm working in Community Mental Health and working where we support bi POC trans and LGBT folks. So, I'm working with...like I just decided to do this so that I could work specifically with my community...

**E : So becoming a therapist for you is a way to support your own community in a way ?**

T : hum hum

**E : Okay, that's so cool ! I have two more questions left, and I wanted to know if you are in contact with other photographers or filmmakers in your field, do you have like a kind of network where you support each other ?**

T : Yeah, I would say kind of more...more indirectly because people are pretty spread out, but, you know, definitely, I've got my core of like the area people because a small community so you kind of get to know people and then, yeah I mean it's a really hard to do this kind of work in a vacuum and as something that actually I love about filmmaking there are something that is really fun about being on set, it's so communal.

**E : The sense of community has a really important place in your work...**

T : Yeah, and it's a small community, so you really know each other. You know, you really get to know like the other filmmakers, other performers...So it's definitely and we rely on each other, which is nice !

**E : And last question, would you consider yourself a part of the sex positive movement? and why ?**

T : I mean yeah I definitely do, you know sex and sexuality has been like a theme through my work for a really long time...hum...I do really believe that, you know, we are way more empowered in those areas and given positive representation it's hugely transformative for people...I don't know, like...Are you talking to Carol Queen? Have you talked to her?

**E : Yes ! I'm going to see her this afternoon !**

T : Oh fantastic, fantastic. She is amazing, I mean, you know, and talk about somebody who I think opened the door and opened so many people's eyes to so many things... I mean, she's a living legend ! She's like everything you think she's gonna be like, she's great ! Sorry I'm not really answering your question (*rire*)

**E : Don't worry it's fine, I really liked talking with you ! I'm going to do a retranscription of everything and I will send it to you if you want... But my work will be in French, mainly, but I will maybe do a summary for people who I have interacted with if you are interested I can send it to you...**

T : Awesome !

**E : Yeah, thank you so much for your time !**

T : Yeah. Yeah, you bet, you're welcome. Have fun talking to Carol.

**E : Thank you!**

T : Thank you, Bye.

**Annexe 14** : Entretien complet n°2 avec Carol Queen. Entretien sociologique semi-directif. 1 heure 02 min. 31 mars 2023.

### **Carol Queen : Entretien numéro 2**

*Nom : Carol Queen*

*Date : 31/03/23*

*Lieu : Salon de l'appartement où j'habitais, Bernal Heights, San Francisco, États-Unis*

*Format : Entretien sociologique semi-directif enregistré au dictaphone / Durée : 1h02 minutes*

*( Nous avons eu une discussion antérieure à celle ci qui n'était pas enregistrer )*

**E : So, The question I wanted to ask you, like, what are you working on at the moment ? you know we talked a lot about the porn industry last time but not about what you are doing right now...**

C : So...the (*réflexion*) My time now is really hum goes to the 3, 3 directions, one of them is Good Vibrations of course, because I'm still working there as my focus most recently there has been making a miniature antique vibrator Museum to send to another Museum show, the Museum of Sex in New York who is opening a new gallery in Florida of all places and I sent them some vibrators and also, probably I'll go and be there and so that's what I've been doing later for Good Vibrations and writing stuff for them as well **“ok”** and, the Center for Sex and Culture has been not very active at the moment but still somewhat active we've got some movement on a couple of bureaucratic things, administrative things that needed to happen. And, I have been working with that And we're about to have our library back up again and so when we do that then we have to have a discussion about is it time to have events again ? How many events could we have ? Mask or no mask ? And all of the post pandemic questions right ? That is still super important to consider. **“yes of course”** Even if everybody outside seems like they're not thinking about it anymore (*rire*) we're thinking about it and so those are two of the three things that take up a lot of my time but the creative work that I have been wanting to do right now is writing a memoir. Writing a memoir is important important to me partly because I really feel like (*réflexion*) I don't know a lot of other people who have moved through as many, especially sex related, and alternative culture communities and important time so...any one of several of the things I've been interested and involved in...Would be interesting for a memoir but I think I really need to do this because I've been involved in several of them **“yes”** and that means...That I have taken things and ideas and strategies and (*réflexion*) beliefs practices from one and brought them over to others. **“yes?”** And I think that's the interesting stuff that I need to try to excavate from that history right? And to try to say something useful that's a little bit more overarching...

**E: Is it important to have a kind of archive of everything that you have done ?**

C : Yeah, I'm thinking also of course too because because Scarlot (*Scarlot Harlot*) just died because Annie and Beth (*Annie Sprinkle and Elizabeth Stephens*) arranged for their archive to go to Harvard where the Center for Sex and Culture materials mostly went and I'm thinking too, well I have been... I have got lots of books, lots of papers, it's probably not organized enough for their liking “*(rire)*” but I've got all this material that at some point I'm going to need start to...evaluate for that purpose as well, and I think the two projects are actually very linked because...when I... I went on a writing retreat last summer to start to think about all this stuff and to start to right a little bit and I realized that, I was no longer sure at what year things happened (*rire*) I had to do researched for my own memoir because it's not in my memory “*(rire)*” and if I'm going to write this at least the date should be correct (*rire*) So...so, some research, some connecting hopefully with people that I new many decades ago. It would be really exciting to find some people again “**yes**” that I haven't seen for a long time and remember things with them..So, hum, that's my other most important project now I would say.

**E : Okay, and I wanted to know...when you first arrived in San Francisco why did you choose to do your work here and to stay here to do your work ?**

C : (*rélection*) That's a fantastic question ! Hum... It's like the introduction of my memoir practically (*rire*). So, in the 1970s and before, I mean... San Francisco has a history in the US of being a really rich place for alternative literary culture and sexual culture, drug culture also I was never as interested in that but, hum...It's not the only place in the United States that people dreamed of living differently. But it was one of the places I think most importantly that people really started to live differently. Certainly in the second half of the XXe century. “**ok**” I mean, you could find communities in various kinds, the Harlem Renaissance and there are other communities, and there are other times and places but...San Francisco leads pretty smoothly from post-war alternative thought, Beat Generation, Literal literary movement, Anti-war and Civil Rights, ecology and Back To The Land and free love and Summer of Love, Vietnam War, LGBT rights you know, sliding into the 1970s which was a very diverse and politicized decade to...something like the one that we've just lived and something like the 90s were also. And, and, into...alternative kinds of sex education, HIV AIDS post-AIDS, sort of new sex-positive flowering and... alternative porn, women's porn for sure, all of those things (*rélection*) had really national and international profiles “**hum hum**” and put San Francisco in many people's minds as a place associated with all of that. “**yes**” So I grew up just one state away in Oregon, and, I always understood San Francisco as being associated with all this stuff from the time that I was quite young, from the time that I was old enough to know about anti-war protests and that would be from the time I was eight or nine years old “**oh wow**” really young ! “**yeah**” I know if you, if you are a little kid and you are lucky enough to know people who argue about that kind of stuff at dinner time then, you know, you start to wonder what they are talking about and... I think that was the case for me because I.. I had a...very good friend whose house was a ... I don't even



think we have this program in the United States anymore. It was a little bit like a Peace Coop, but it was called Vista. And it was... As I understood it, it was sort of like a Peace Coop for Civil Rights and community organizing, and I was a little kind and with my best friend in this house there were lots of young people coming through who are going to these posts that they got through Vista and a down with them at dinner and listen to them argue all the time (*rire*) so I really was thinking about all these things by the time I got to high school I was ready Beat literature and...I was really fully identifying with that alternative way of thinking culturally. And It wasn't very long after that that I started identifying as queer so... It was always San Francisco that I was going to come too. **“Okay, so it was already in your mind?”** It was always in my mind. If I had run away as a kid I would have come here. **“ok”** Which I knew probably was not a good idea, so I didn't do it, but I thought about it (*rire*). I would have come here and as a matter of fact I was an activist in Eugene where I went to College but... I would go out to a concert or something and if people in the community who hadn't seen me for a while because I was in grad school or something and not going out as much would say when did you get back from San Francisco ? And I would be like I haven't been to San Francisco yet ! (*rire*), well I have been here but only to visit. **“yeah?”** So, even the people around me, expected me to come here. **“ok”** And it was partly because (*réfléction*) I mean, I would have showed up eventually, but I really came here for two reasons, because I thought that I could participate in the fight against AIDS. **“hum hum”** In a useful way, I hoped, and because I found out about this sexology program that I didn't know existed but there it was, and as soon as I found out about it I started moving in the direction of coming to San Francisco. I was very afraid to move, I was very settled where I was but then miraculously my girlfriend then moved here ! **“oh wow, that was a sign !”** I was like, ahaha (*rire*), that's a sign ! If she can do it I can do it ! I'll chase here, and then our relationship lasted for almost no time once She got here and I got here. We broke up practically immediately but...hum...You know, she was stepping into her future which was to be a chef, she was going to culinary school **“two different directions...”** Yes, two very different directions but I was appreciative of her direction for sure, she is a great chef. And...so then I was here doing something I was essentially comfortable doing which is being a student... and...sort of trying to to learn , synthetize, and what I said before when I talked about my Memoir, about putting the skills or theory from one space into another one...”**hum hum”** I think one of the reasons that I'm associated quite a lot with the term sex positive is because as soon as I heard that word, I had never heard it before. **“hum hum”** We didn't use it a lot through the 70s, it was, I think some people used it but that was really where it came from, that was developed out of... In the United States context.

**E : Is there any difference between sex positive and pro sex ?**

C : I think they're mostly used interchangeably. **“ok”** But some people might actually say that there were real differences. **“ok”** Hum, I may not be...because pro sex became something... a tournament some people used when I was already well rooted and thinking about sex positive and used sex positive all the time **“ok”** But, I may miss some new answer from it, so ask more people that question. **“ok”** I heard the word sex positive and immediately I thought of sex negative. And when I thought of sex negative I thought of the

word erotophobic and when I heard them I thought of the word homophobic. “ok” And so... I knew that this was...And of course the 1990's was the decade that an analyze of homophobia was created to help people doing policy and activist work, but also individual queer people who were impacted and hurt by homophobic experience, so in the same way that the MeToo movement helped many women especially...reevaluate their experience and understand that they had been exposed to the abusive situations and they hadn't named it, and they didn't really know...You know, why they were afraid of sex, if you didn't...If you understand something wrongly or something doesn't have a name to help you understand it by it's harder to react to it right? And to... get away from its effects, to organize around it, to make community... So that was what homophobia gave us. People developed their thoughts and sort of helped each other understand that they had been subject to homophobic acts of various kinds. So, that's what I heard and what I sort of...because I was never...I was never one kind of sexual person you know, I was queer, I was bi, I was this, I was that... I was living more of a spectrum lifestyle in the way we think of it now. “yeah” Then many other people around me at least openly, because of course there were other people living that life but that too was a matter of language. And recognizing a pattern that we didn't really recognize very clearly yet. So I always thought I was very weird (*rire*). And perhaps I was but there were some other weird people around as well. And...so, from homophobia, erotophobia...to sex positive, that's why I think of it as such a...philosophical term, and why I'm so irritated today at the idea that people just mainly think about it as a word that means I like sex. “yeah” It's because it's not even required to like sex to be sex positive, even asexual people can be sex positive, people who had terrible sexual experiences can be sex positive. It's much more social and socio-philosophical...

**E : Do you feel like it's a word that is used to stand against something ? Like homophobia, sex negative discourses...? Is it a form of resistance ?**

C : It's a form of resistance, and it's also a way to think about sexual justice issues and state and society responsibility to (*réflection*) make education accessible to everybody, culturally accessible to queer people as well as hetero people and all of that. So all of that stuff is (*rélection*) when I think back, that's what I came here for. There are many things I've done and you know, I played a lot of different roles in San Francisco. But the thing that I think is going to be most important as a through line of all of it is the impact that that idea had on me as far as envisioning possibilities, respecting different communities, being interested in different communities and what we learn when we consider different things together as well as affecting me personally to...minimize shame and giving me giving me extra encouragement to make a little porn, do a little sex work (*rire*), go naked sometimes, the kind of things that slutshaming really is entented to prevent. Well, I needed to climb over that fence and do some of those things partly because I needed to understand what it was to do them it was just that I was moved to do them some of them things were things I had never even considered before and I didn't think that I would ever do, but as soon as I got curious in this way then I had motivation. So that's what San Francisco gave me. All of that together and then you know, I lived a bigger life here than I would have been able to live somewhere else which means that I've been able to give back some things as well.

**E : And do you think it's more difficult now to do your work because of the rising prices that have been going on in San Francisco?**

C : Yes, I do think that. Hum... I mean it's also more difficult for me to do my work because I'm aging and the kinds of things that were...sort of life cycle priorities to me in other decades are not such priorities for me now and so there's that as well. **“ok”** But I'm still...I feel like I still really embrace this history, both of mine and of these communities I'm talking about. And also (*rélection*) it is a harder to be an alternative person here, but I am quite sure that San Francisco's big apartments are still full of...you know, several unrelated people living together household, all doing interesting creative things that they couldn't afford to do it if they didn't have a group of people, you know, not communes exactly but maybe there are people who feel that they live in a communal way now. **“yeah”** But I think of the, you know, the post 1980s time as being pretty different in certain ways from the 1960s communal...idea we have of, you know, the Summer Of Love and Janis Joplin just live down the block and all that. (*rire*) But, you know, in a few decades people might compare them much more closely than I'm comparing them now too you know...So that's sort of an urban creative thing anyway. I mean it reminds me when I learned about the squats in London in the 1960s and 70s, specially 70s and into the 80s, it reminded me of both the Hippie Era but also much older Bohemian communities. So I really think of San Francisco as one of those Bohemian hearts and (*réflexion*) it's...that's been true in my mind for so long that I'm going to have to be careful as I write about that, describe it because I don't want to reach back into time and sort of assign my interests and observations of the present into the distance past that I was not a part of. **“yeah”** But, they have inspired me even if I didn't know a lot of details about how people then lived and felt about it. I mean , that's true for like.. in the 70's there were queer people, lesbians especially, going like Oh Virginia Woolf was one of us ! (*rire*) And I was like well, sort of... but also... maybe not in the same way that you think...so yeah. So that's part of my interest in... Hum, exploration of what San Francisco is, an idea. Not just as a place. And, until I perfectly hear them when I say yeah, it's harder to do all this now, but there still are people doing it right ? I say that partly because I really deeply wanted to be true (*rire*) like Dorothy Allison was writing about, talking to a gay man who was sick with AIDS in the 80's or the early 90s, this was a really moving essay. He was so sad about all of the sexual possibilities and opportunities and then you know the beautiful sexual Heyday for gay men in the 1970s and that was all going away and people were dying but also just there just weren't opportunities about that anymore, it was so much changed and then he said to her but you're doing it aren't you ? You women, you've taken it up, you are doing it everywhere and she writes yes, I told him, yes I lied. (*rire*) Just the the wage of how change is partly loss as well as new ways with imagining a new opportunities so you know...and maybe this is just as simple as I would much rather think of the old days that I would think about what it's going to be like after everybody has come under the spell of ChatGPT ! (*rire*) Like god only knows ! I'm afraid of it so... **“(rire), yeah maybe chatGPT is going to take my place and write my thesis !”** I think there are many many many ways that all of this could go so at the very least we are living in interesting times. **“hum hum”** You'll have plenty of things for you to write about in your career to think about ! (*rire*)

**E : Yes, that is going to be another thing that we could study for sure ! I would love to go back to the porn industry and to talk with you a bit more about it. “hum hum” So do you think alt porn and queer porn can provide a better representation of feminine and queer sexualities than other places ? Like mainstream porn, is it a safer place to represent sexualities ?**

C : Well...you know, mainstream porn, even if you just say heterosexual porn can mean a lot of different things, for the most part it's pretty mainstream and one of the things that mean is that is pretty heteronormative in a pornographic way, it's got its tropes, it's got its ideas you know, that have become normative for it but also there's a fair amount of different sexual persona that got explored and some of it's quite kinky and so sort of edges into queer that way whether they identify like that or not. So that is something that I think is interesting to set against queer porn and feminist porn. Queer porn including trans and non binary porn too of course. Because... even if someone is not gender fluid their understanding of their gender is either probably more expansive, includes more different options for being a woman whoever (*rire*) then, in heteronormative porn might. I mean I would say that outside of a porn context too that there's more gender diversity of opportunity in terms of how you perform or experience your gender within queer world for the most part and so it's not surprising that that would be true and porn. And, one of the things that porn has arisen in that space to do I think, is to make sure that's documented. **“ok”** In a very specific...Like if you think about is there is there a kind of cinema that compare to what the role of queer and feminist porn play in a sexualized context, well there are some things like that, but I would argue that there's a special balance to porn in this context partly because so many people are curious about porn and look to it, to have questions about sex answered and then if you were queer the answers that you get out of porn are not very satisfying a lot of the time. But one of the things that you do see even in mainstream porn is sex being valorized in a particular way that unless you live in an unusual context, you haven't lived with that expectation that sex is awesome and people should have as much of it as they want, with many people was they want and you know maybe that is not something that everyone should do, I'm not suggesting that, in fact I think that isn't something that everyone should do because not everyone desires that. But, I think that porn has a broader meaning when it's queer or feminist porn because it's attempting to carry alternative notions. It's got more philosophy built into it. The other stuff has sexual fantasy built into it and that's important because too, that's repressed and oppressed too in some cases. But the queer service got both, and the feminist as well, it's attempting to stand up against ideas that are limiting what we understand as possible and acceptable for women, queers, not binary people, trans people etc. The disability stuff that I mentioned before, same. **“hum hum”** So, that I think is a really important distinction you know with all the the book banning and nonsense and you know...trans freak out and drag queen freak out that's been going on...It's so interesting to me to see (*réflection*) people apparently not understanding that this kind of literary or performative or gender performative and identity based (*réflection*) stuff...is simply standing up against the limitations of the mainstream. That's kind of the simplest level, that's what that stuff all is, and instead they have to you know, turn it into this super sexualized thing, it's like, you people can't even tell the difference between a

sexualized thing and something else, you don't even, you don't understand sex well enough to even understand that. “yes” Which (*réflexion*) makes me feel like the stuff that we've all been doing with our lives has been important but that it hasn't gotten far enough out there ! (*rire*) And...if more of them had access to and could watch with clear eye this material, I mean I just wish that the messages seemed obvious that the messages are needed by us who identify that way. I think it's really also obvious that those messages are needed by the others and it's so much harder to reach them, but it's one of the reasons that the stuff is worth fighting for and is very frightening to see come into the cross hairs of homophobes and sexphobes. Because they would like to make it go back to the time when it was illegal to print, publish, participate in any of this. They would like to do that, and there was a time when everybody lived like that and we needed the queer movement to save our lives and... We might have to do it all over again. At least we know that it could be done now, that's a plus ! But it's quite frightening and I hope that people who need these alternative ways of looking are still finding ways to get it. I mean, it's going to be harder to put porn online as we go, you know. “yes” It'll be harder for the next person who develops the same interest that you have to find the first videos that you know... “ **Yes distribution is always...**” Yeah, which is why Pink and White is so important, in terms of trying to hold on to all of this and not let it get lost, yeah...

**E : And also according to you...what is the main difference between representation and fetishization?**

C : Well... I think that... I think the main difference is that representation comes out of the communities or individuals or identities, or sexualities and...hum...The people who occupy those themselves, and fetishization comes from those who observe them. “ok” Or are sexuality interested in them...“**hum hum**” So the strength of representation is that it brings diversity of many kinds to us by valuing the diversity. And, the challenge...I mean...I can say some positive things about fetishization honestly, but underneath there is always the danger that people will not be seen for who they are but for whom they're believed to represent by the people who are doing a fetishizing. And, the best things to say about that are said when you have people who are really...able to understand that they shouldn't allow their gaze of desire (*réflexion*) . That shouldn't let that blind them to who they're actually looking at. “**hum hum**” And too much fetishization (*réflexion*) increases the deep need for representation. And especially when we talk about this sexualized environment.

**E : Ok, and for you what are the main political claims in... when I talk about alternative porn I talk about like... you know, feminist porn, queer porn... what is an alternative to mainstream porn. What are the main claims in these types of films ?**

C : Hum... I think the political claims have to do with...hum...diversity and fluidity, with identity and role, representing those, valorizing them, sometimes turning a sort of a questioning eye on some of them as well. There is more to life than heterosexuality or something like that so there is...when queers produce something like that, I think that's a...it's a little bit of a different message...and vibe then when it's part of a more fetishized

situation but it's also I mean... it's also clearly a message...hey look, you know, there is a wall around you but there is a door in the wall (*rire*). You could open it ! Which I think is...you know, if there's anything that...about queer self image and creep porn as well... as just as queer self image...Hum, that is actually aimed at straight people, it's that, you know we got out of that trap. Because for us it was a trap. And also, for some of you, we can see that it's also a trap. And, so many straight people don't like hearing that at all ! (*rire*) So I think there is... Hum, there is this way of allowing, this kind of porn allows for a kind of, joy, dirty joy (*rire*) and, revelry around sexuality and gender presentation and identity that is (*réfléction*) really disputed and (*réfléction*) I can't think of the other word that I wanted, but sort of made to appear as perverse by the mainstream and I don't think anybody who makes any kind of queer porn is not aware of that. And, if anybody bothers them to make your porn, it's because they want to talk back. **“hum hum”** I mean there's many other things they want to do too, they want to make each other you know, they want to represent each other in a sexy way and they want to have something sexy to watch, to show or to sell and that represents. But, they also want to talk back !

**E : Is it a resistance discourse ?**

C : It is a resistance discourse. Absolutely, because (*réfléction*) because you have to go a little distance to make porn right ? Even though we have a camera right here, on our phones, we could immediately just say, let's take those toys over there, turn it into a porn movie **“(*rire*)”** it could be 30 seconds long, it would be cute, we could upload it on Tiktok. We could do it right now. But (*réfléction*) we still know that would freak out somebody's parents on Tiktok. You know, you know that. There are not any queer people who don't know that ! The very very literalist ones maybe ? But you know, we can't even talk about them. **“yeah”** (*rire*) If the right wing only understood how little so many people who are queer, talk and think about children, if in a in a different world, they would be able to, you know, think about having your own kids or you know, becoming a resource of a different kind, you know, it's brave for people to do that. **“hum hum”** And, so...Porn is (*réfléction*) porn is an adult art form that allows...or resistant discourse, or both, that is waiting there for people who actually get through the difficult years before they can say that they're adult and it's not surprising that it's so meaningful to so many people because of that too. You know, I mean, I remember being pretty excited when I could see any kind of porn when I was a young person. But, it didn't always send me the messages that resonated with me or that I wanted and needed to hear. **“hum hum”** So...you know...

**E : And... so, in the pro-sex movement, like I mean one of the main claims was to improve sex workers working conditions. Do you think alt porn improves sex worker's working conditions in general ?**

C : I general, yes. I do think it is very important. But, what I also want to... I also want to say that it's hard to do that in certain ways when (*réfléction*) there isn't any kind of a robust economy to support paying people more. It's hard to make enough money with alt porn, to be able to compensate people appropriately because everybody who participates in a porn is

doing something that's of some risk to their well-being or their reputation. Hopefully most people will never feel the real effects of that, but they could. I was on a panel years and years ago with a young woman who had just made a couple of porn movies but somebody had found one of them and sent it to her dad ! **“Woaw...”** Like, great, like that's going to be a good thing to do, I can't even imagine what is in the mind of people like this.... **“yeah”** Also that is not a very kind thing to do to the dad ! **“ Yes, that’s not a very consensual thing to do...”** No, that's not very consensual, people talk a lot about consent these days and this is good that we are talking about it now, but the people who are enemies of all of this, they don't care about consent ! They don't care about it. It's not their... priority, especially over bullying right? Because it's bullying. So everybody knows that there is a risk, and it's true in mainstream porn too, because of sex-negativity and most people in porn who are the means of production right? Have to do other things to supplement the money that they get making porn from the you know, mainstream porn stars that are famous to queers who... hardly anyone makes a living. It's one of the things that...probably among many other things... **“ It’s a larger problem of capitalism ?”** Yeah, that is part of the problem that... and also this is a form of art making. And it's not, it's not every artist who makes art who makes any money from it, much less a lot of money from it. We see these Hollywood actors, we see museum artists elevated...Below them, below in money terms, are so many people who in order to do the work that they feel like they have to do... I've kept a salary job for 30 years and I love Good Vibrations and I'm so glad and honored to be associated with Good Vibrations. I would never never say otherwise but in a different world I would have written full time. But writing the kinda stuff I would write full time did not make anybody a lot of money ! Until that fucking woman who did Fifty Shades of Grey came along ! **“Yeah, that’s crazy!”** And a whole lot of kinky writers and romance writers and erotica writers and everything else, a whole lot of people plowed the field that she planted the seeds of those books in. It was just a...it was just a time that it was those things that could come out of the shadows into the mainstream. And they will probably have to go back for a little while... I might have... I mean I can't imagine that the people who don't like drag shows are going to be super excited about Fifty Shades of Grey and their kids wanted to go see it. I don't know, I don't know what they're going to say. (*rire*) So I think that, this comes down to (*réfléction*) it's hard to care for people making porn monetarily, it's not as hard to care for them in terms of the context in which they do the work which is representing sexuality for the rest of us, that's easier, not everybody does a good job of it. I mean they're people who are not very good at this stuff in the queer community, as they are in other identities and communities but it's more likely that you'll find people who have really talked to one another about what their limits are, what their interests are, and those kinds of things. Women made porn, queer made porn, and I think that's not at all a surprise. **“hum hum”** And the porn performers of the mainstream. I've been, especially generationally this last decade plus, have been interested more and more on that kind of treatment as well. So, if only...I mean some porn does show it. Which is great, because to the degree that people out there who are watching porn or watching porn for information and inspiration which we know that they are. It's not always the best information in fact, but it's intended to be inspirational at some level. Then if we see people negotiating and saying no about things and saying yes about things and using lube... I like to joke that before I die I want to convince all the porn performers to put their hands on

their clits during intercourse ! And show everybody that you can just do that (*rire*) ! It's not hard, almost all of us have arms, not everyone but almost all ! And, and make it a little more informational as we go and plenty of people are trying to do that you know, but the informational porn, that stuff that I called X Ed, even out of the mainstream, even heterosexual stuff, that's almost more like the queer porn in terms of what a tiny percentage of the whole porn output is.

**E : And you talked earlier about the AIDS crisis, and I'm sure it was important in your work. And you worked in the porn industry. How much was the notion of safe sex or safer sex was important in your porn work ?**

C : Anything that I did in the '90s in particular, thinking back to that (*réflexion*) there was always some discussion about safer sex and what it meant to us, and going back to the mid 80s even, there was there was some mainstream porn that tried to do that too, but a very small amount of it. And of course we know that what mainstream porn did, is make a clinic for testing. You know, they adopted a surveillance system essentially, and you know, that makes that sounds like I'm criticizing it, I'm not entirely criticizing it because the first importance I think is to try to keep people safe, who are doing work so...that is the way that functionally, mostly did keep everyone safe and it did, mostly. (*réflexion*) Then, I don't want to completely criticize it. I do want to say that queer porn is more likely to represent sex in a broader kind of a way. And, what safe means in different contexts.' There may be no condoms in a movie but there may be gloves, things like that. And that sort of has to be worked out just as everybody out in the world having sex was trying to work it out as well. I think the safety question really lives both in the discourse about (*réflexion*) lived experiences, the workers rights questions about porn and it lives in the representation space as well. Because from the outside sexologist talked about you know, porn and safer sex and things like that, one of the things that we always really talked about from that point of view was : if you see certain kinds of porn, you will see this depicted, you will see it normalized, you will see it and you see people acting as though it's no big deal because of course, safer sex and asking for somebody to use a condom, or figuring out when to take the condoms out of you pocket or whatever it was. You know for decades now it's been a traumatic thing for people who was coming into their sexuality were all worried about how do I do it, how do I talk about it, people who had been married and then got a divorce and started to date again were freaked out, I mean there was so much anxiety because there's so much anxiety around sex anyway. And, this just sharper point on it, so porn has had that opportunity, it hasn't always lived up to it as well as it might have. Plenty of people in this world, both queer and feminist and mainstream have tried to make strategies that would be (*réflexion*) workable for people. “**hum hum**” And, I'm glad that they've been there, sort of fighting with this issue because...Some people in porn are talking about before the federal government was talking about. (*rire*)

**E : Maybe I can ask you a last question ? “hum hum” and I will maybe come back to it another time because I have a lot of questions “(rire), Yes we can talk some more next**



time” **When you worked in the porn industry, did you use ethic charts ? Or, documents to talk about sexual practices, consent... How did you discuss it ?**

C : We sort of did that informally I would say. **“yeah ?”** By the time Good Vibrations was making those few sex ed movies that I scripted and introduced. I don't know if you've seen those...**“hum I don't know...”** I'll figure what they were, anyway, things this was like 2010 or so. **“hum hum”** And I was the host of the movies rather than being an explicit participant in them anymore, largely because I was doing them on behalf of Good Vibrations, so that was a, you know, that was an appropriate role choice. But (*réflexion*) then, we had pretty open conversations about what people's boundaries are, what people expected as far as sex was concerned, that kind of thing. So I have been on those sets and helped to make that an expectation in those spaces. And, all porn around us was already starting to very much do that, including some of the old heterosexual stuff. Thinking back to the earlier times, not always, and I remember in the rather early 90s I participated in a movie with some of the other women who are the Lusty Lady. That was kind of the thing of the movie, these are Lusty Lady. And it was all women so... **“I think I saw it”** It was a lesbian sex movie. **“It was like the G spot something?”** Well no, that was different, that was the same people who did On Our Backs Magazine. **“oh yeah, it was a kind of educational porn”** Yes, but explicit to right ? **“yeah yeah”** That was... fun fact about that movie, there was a journalist there, who came and watched us make that movie. **“Yes, the Elle magazine, right ? you told me about that story.”** Jean Carroll ! Yes it's a small word. **“The person who sued Donald Trump right ?”** Yes ! Well... Anyway, the very first explicit movie that I was participating in was called Latex and Lace in the late 80s, it was all women and it was made at the Sex Institute where I was getting my PhD and so it must have been somebody's masters or PhD project. **“I tried to find it but I think it's closed now.”** Yeah, the Institute is closed, I should ask Robert if he has a copy of that, he's got a bunch of videos that have been put in a suitcase and he's been digitizing them. Some of them are very boring (*rire*) And so...in the 80s we had this kind of a set where we had this experience of, you know, talking about wanting to use all kinds of safer sex barriers. **“ok”** But the thing is with the.. I think it was called San Francisco Lesbians Volumes 1 and 2, that's what it was. **“ok”** And I was made by some guy who sort of wanted to get into the porn industry. And (*réflexion*) really different experience; we sort of, we're expressing our respect for what you are doing by making sure that we all talk together and get on the same page. But it was none of that, in this particular thing... And I think in those days ,that kind of vibe was probably a little more common than not...And while I know that not all people who have participated in queer or feminist porn feel that they have got the safe space they needed. But it's much less common, now that Hollywood is getting there. Intimacy coordinators, you know, I mean, they'll probably be more of that kind of stuff on porn sets now too because if Hollywood is doing it it must be important (*rire*).

**E : I have thousands of questions to ask you but I will stop there.**

( *Enregistrement qui s'arrete la mais la discussion a durer quelques dizaine de minutes de plus par la suite pour finir le rendez-vous*

**Annexe 15** : Tableau des risques de transmissions infections sexuellement transmissibles, CRIPS Ile de France, web, 11 avril 2024.

	VIH/SIDA	HÉPATITE A	HÉPATITE B	HÉPATITE C	SYPHILIS	HERPÈS GÉNITAL	PAPILLOMAVIRUS*	CHLAMYDIA	GONORRÉE	TRICHOMONAS
PÉNÉTRATION VAGINALE	●		●		●	●	●	●	●	●
PÉNÉTRATION ANALE	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	
FELLATION	○		●		●	●	●	●	●	○
CUNNILINGUS	○		●		●	●	●	●	●	○
ANNULINGUS		●			●	●	●	●	●	○
CARESSE SEXUELLE					●	●	●	●	●	●
EMBRASSER			●		○	○				
ÉCHANGE DE SERINGUE	●		●	●	●					
SNIFF			●	●						
MÈRE/ ENFANT	●		●	○	●	●	●	●	●	●

Légende : ○ Risque faible ● Risque moyen ● Risque élevé

**Annexe 16** : Entretien complet de Shine Louise Houston. Entretien sociologique semi-directif. 20min. 29 avril 2023.

### **Entretien Shine Louis Houston**

*Nom : Shine Louise Houston*

*Date : 29/04/23*

*Lieu : Interview en vidéo conférence via Google Meeting, San Francisco, États-Unis*

*Format : Entretien sociologique semi-directif enregistré au dictaphone / Durée : 20 min*

**E : Hi !**

S : Hi, what's up.

**E : Thank you so much for taking the time to talk with me today, I really appreciate it.**

S : Great, awesome.

**E : I'm gonna have like, two questions before we started, can I record this interview ? "Sure sure" , and can I put your name on my paper ? "Yeah" Okay, perfect. So maybe I'm going to introduce myself first and explain to you what my research is. So I'm doing my master thesis in American civilisation studies in France. And I started my thesis on the sexwars, the debate between feminist around pornography in the 80's. So with that I started to be interested in the work of Carol Queen and Annie Sprinkle and that's how I have been introduced to the feminist and queer porn industry. And now I'm making a kind of link between political claims then and political claims today in the alternative porn industry, so that's why I was looking forward to talking with you today. Hmm, maybe if you can introduce yourself and the project that you are currently working on right now ?**

S : Hmm, I'm Shine Louise Houston, I run Pink and White Production. Which operate the site of Crashpadserie.com and Pinklabel.Tv. "**Hmm hmm**" So, the first one is a porn series and the other one is an online distribution site.

**E : Okay, and why did you choose to work in the porn industry ?**

S : I was working for Good Vibration, it's a women owned and worker owned sexshop, but now it's just a corporate. It's actually owned by a cousin on the kind of like original mafia boss that kind of ran the porn industry in the 70's (*rire*) "**Okay**" I mean that's hilarious. But

anyway, hmm, so yeah I was working at Good Vibes and it was mostly because there weren't a lot of lesbian, dike titles that I could recommend to other queers that came in. Also like guys would come in and just be like, what porn can I watch that's not going to offend my girlfriend. Well there is a little section. So that's how I decided that I'm just going to start making porn, to kind of fill that niche. That's definitely how I started thinking about making a company, not just one movie, because I have seen a lot of people just making one movie. And they kind of disappear. And it was a little disappointing. So I was just, that's got to be something that stays around and continues to produce content. **“Okay”** Not just make one thing and disappear because it kind of happened a lot in the early 2000's. And of the 1990's, earthly 2000's hmm, starting to make your own porn it was certainly very chic, especially in college, everybody was doing porn for their thesis (*rire*). **“Okay”** But you know... But the time 2003, 2004, all those people dropped out. **“Okay”** Including Good Vibes, they started making work but because of bank restrictions it's really hard. **“Hmm hmm”** So anyway a lot of various people kind of popped up and for their own reasons kind of disappeared in you know, a two or three year time period. Because it looked like that's going to be a big renaissance and it just went away. And that when I was like this sucks like where all these people go ? Now nobody is making anything. And at that time I was trying to figure out what I wanted to do and that's how we made the company. A first movie and we kind of just went from there.

**E : Why did you choose the Bay Area to do that ?**

S : Because I lived here (*rire*). I mean if I was in Los Angeles that would be in Los Angeles, I mean, If I was in Oregon I would have done it in Oregon, that just happened like that. I came here for college and then I stayed. **“Hmm hmm”**

**E : And do you think now it's more difficult to do your work because of the rising prices after Covid ?**

S : Hmm (*réflection*) I think financially San Francisco is a difficult city. But it was also really difficult in the 90's. When I first moved to the Bay Area, I moved to Oakland because I couldn't afford to live in San Francisco. The city itself is a bit prohibitive. Just to give you an example, I lived in Long Beach, and average rent in the 90's was 300 dollars a month. **“Okay”** And when I came to the Bay Area and looked for one bedroom I was like one bedroom is a 300 like I can afford 300. And then, I saw bedrooms for 700 et 800 and I was like what a fuck ? (*rire*) Now you can rent a closet, maybe for that much these days but, it has always been financially challenging. I mean there are a billion other places where you can run an online business, it doesn't have to be in San Francisco.

**E : Do you think this is why Oakland has become more important in the porn industry ?**

S : Hmm, I don't know, maybe. I just know a lot of people just bounced in the Bay Area together. Oakland got gentrified to an extent too. And things spillover from San Francisco to Oakland a lot of the time. I mean if you are willing to live in East Oakland there are still

spaces... but not everybody is ready to live in east Oakland. I lived down there for many years. But so many people went to Nevada for various industry reasons. But I would say in general, the Bay Area is inflating.

**E : Why queer and feminist porn can be a good place to give more space and voices to gender and sexual minorities ?**

S : Hmm, I think it's because we are not into marketing or sales structures. There are particular expectations from the market. As far as what sex act you are going to see, what body type in general, what it looks like and what it is. But why are they going to risk a different look or model that they might lose finances. So when you work with more of the mainstream even though it's not a monolith. There is a different market and different expectations. **“Okay”** And there is not a lot of room for creativity or pushing the boundaries of what the genre is. You now, it's just like (*réflexion*) Marvel is Marvel, right ? **“Yeah”** The Marvel universe is the Marvel universe. And even if you mess with it a little bit there is so much backlash from fans right. And it's kind of the same thing in the porn industry like that type of movie is just going to be that type of movie with that type of audience. It's kind of the same thing like I love watching Marvel, and I also really love watching an old Hitchcock film, you know. And it's just like the porn industry isn't a monolith. There are different studios, different tastes and audiences. So when you are talking about a studio like ours, which was never really tapped into that market. **“Okay”** That really wasn't our major audience. So we are not shooting a style that is consumed or recognised in that market. We defined our own style and our own parameters. And the people who watch us at this point understand what we do. We took a chance on different body types, we took a chance on different genders, we took a chance on letting people define the acts they wanted to do at that time in this scene you know. Like you coming in and you going to do this this and this, 'cause a lot of the times performers, hopefully, are giving the information before shoot. We just have a different way of shooting, because we could. We didn't have outside pressure to tell us to shoot in a different way.

**E : Okay, yeah... And I wanted to know, one of the main claims of the pro sex movement was to improve sex workers's working conditions. Do you think, because alt porn is shot in a different way that improves the working conditions of performers in porn industry ?**

S : (*rire*) I don't know ! I mean every set is different. Like just a general set for Crashpad you know we have dedicated bathrooms, shower. Even on kink.com, they had showers and green rooms. You could sleep here in the bedrooms and stuff like that. We had more budget so oh we should get more sushi or burritos. And in that type of situation I'm like yeah we are doing great. What we do is like we pay the same day and everything... We are still trying to do the best we can with models. Like are you going to do this, what do you want to do? It's different when you are on... like I said the culture is different. On different sets it's just like there are some situations when you come and you know exactly what acts you are going to do and with who you are going to do it. If you are working in that system, you are prepared for it. You

are ready for it and you do your job. And it's the same, people know the way I work and sometimes people don't like the way I work. They are like, really you aren't going to tell me what to do each step ? (*rire*) And they are like oh god I have to think. And so many people don't like that. There are a lot of more professional types that are just like are you crazy ? wait. You're supposed to tell me what to do. And no that's not the way I direct.

**E : And do you use documents on your sets ? For sexual practices or consent ?**

S : It's more like a lot of conversation. I mean we do legal documents, we do all of the legal documents. But anything else that is... And honestly this is because of liability. The way liability works in the United States. If we start taking on... doing things that would put us liable to people's (*réflèction*) medical, that's a problem for us. If we are starting to take responsibility for people's liability, for them to have communication, that's a risk for us. So there are a lot of things that we don't do paper work for, as far as consent yes, no, maybe, all that kind of stuff. Talents have to do that on their own, and it's primarily because of liability issues. And whether or not the contracted talent for that day would be considered an employee and there is a whole other question around it, is this person an employee or is it just a contractor ? "**Hmm hmm**" So yes, we do have these conversations. "**Yeah**" About consent and yes we have conversations about safety but because of the way laws are, and I think they are stupid. But the way laws about labor are in the United States and particularly in California, in a weird sort of way, it prevents us in a very codified, protocol kind of way. "**Hmm hmm**" We just can't have it on paper because that makes us reliable for so many other things. So it's more a legal issue than anything else. "**Okay**"

**E : Also, I wanted to talk more about platforms such as Onlyfans, do you feel platforms like that have impacted your work as a director ?**

S : No, I mean did youtube impact Hollywood ? Not really. (*rire*) I mean, really if anything I think it's great that talents have a way to get money directly.

**E : And do you see your work as a form of resistance to sex negative discourses ?**

S : No, I'm a self-absorbed artist. That's basically what it is. (*rire*) No I mean really, people can put labels on our work all they want but really I make the porn I make because I want to see what I like. I want to make things that I want to watch. And I said this before in other interviews but if my aim was to be an activist or pursue a political agenda I would feel miserably. Possibly because it would feel too obvious but mostly because I realized to matter what I do because of who I am and how I am positioned into the world, no matter what I do it's going to be politicized. Somebody is going to create a narrative around it. "**Hmm hmm**" So I might as well just do what I want. (*rire*) It's going to get politicized anyway. So there you go, yeah.

**E : Okay, I think that I have everything that I need. Thank you again for your time, and your thoughts on everything, it means a lot. Hope you have a great day (*fin de l'enregistrement*)**

