From sex tapes to revenge porn: Construction of a genre

Gender, sexuality and power in new media

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Abstract

This paper makes an attempt to explain the construction of a newly developed genre called revenge porn flourishing in new media. The study analyzes the patterns of production and display of revenge porn content as well as the mechanisms of the site that archives such materials. The results of this study suggest that the development of such a genre cannot be attributed only to liberatory and/or victimizing effects of the electronic space. Rather, social power structures based on discourses like gender, heterosexuality and capitalist patriarchy that exploit the surveillance mechanism of the internet are significantly influencing both individual uses of the internet as well as its apparatus and technologies. These are the major forces contributing to the institutionalization and commercialization of revenge porn in new media. This is a case study based investigation that uses both content analysis and discourse analysis as methods to interpret the revenge porn genre in new media.

Keywords
revenge porn; sex tapes; sexuality; gender; power; representation; meaning; intertextuality; new media; surveillance; panoptic; synoptic.
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Preface

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1. Introduction

The trend of recording and publishing photos and videos of sexual performances by ordinary males and females in private spaces is increasingly being discussed by the media studies scholars across the world who are interested in new media\(^1\) and other digital media technologies. Popularly, it is called do-it-yourself pornography or "sex tapes" whereas in scholarly discourse it is called sexual media production (Hasinoff, 2012) or even user generated pornography (Lehman 2007). Sex tape is a phrase more associated with media celebrities, but ordinary people also record their sexual performances and publish them online. This has become a global phenomenon due to the availability of digital media technologies in most parts of the world.

Scholars like Katrien Jacobs (2007) and Feona Attwood (2007) as cited by Niels Van Doorn (2010) considered the web to allow participatory communities to represent different versions of ‘reality’ and contest the hegemonic ‘truths’ of hetero-normative sexuality. Marjorie Kibby and Brigid Costello (2001) thought it is an emancipation of individuals through self-expression with a scope to rewrite the gendered codes of sexuality. To them, it may appear as an emancipation of women challenging the moral authority. However, this culture is perhaps not much democratizing yet. Tanja Carstensen argues that these type of ‘self-presentations … are often sexualized, with a very clear demonstration of male or female gender.’ (Carstensen 2009: 113) Thus, gendered power relations having been modified can still exist within this online culture.

In contrast, there are scholars who see it as a form of surveillance by the digital technologies that can reach ordinary people's private space making them visible under a controlling gaze and in this way, they are subjected to an informal social control which can

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\(^1\) New media refers to the internet as a medium where users can access to various contents at any given time, from anywhere and with the aid of any digital device. Such medium allows an interactive environment for users to send feedback instantly through their active and creative participation. Another aspect of new media is that the publication of contents is unregulated during its generation in real time. Users of new media can collaborate with each other both as creators and the audience in a virtual community.
also be patriarchal in nature. (Foucault 1995; Bignell 2002; Van Doorn 2010) Therefore, pornographic representation of one's own self in new media can be interpreted in different ways. But there are limited amount of empirical academic works in the field of media studies which deal with the virtual practices of using pornographic representations of real life people with an harmful effect.

As we can see in some of the recent reports on newspapers that sex tapes of real people are published and used on the internet for the purposes of blackmailing, stalking or even taking revenge on the "subversive" sexual partner. In popular culture, this sexualized revenge genre is called "revenge porn" - a pornographic subgenre involving the distribution of nude/sexually explicit photos and/or videos with or without detail personal information of an individual without her/his consent. However, in parallel to the journalistic investigation, it is indeed important that some academic contributions are made focusing on the virtual construction of such pornographic revenge genre mediated by the internet.

Based on previous theories within this discourse, the present study highlights on the ways through which people, particularly, in heterosexual relationships are objectified by the recording and publishing of their private sexual experiences. This research will try to reveal how revenge porn in digital space is explicitly incorporating the codes of gender and sexuality and how power relations between different identities - the poster (taking revenge); the victim (who is exposed); and the spectator (of revenge porn); each of whom perhaps having a different subjectivity (Brickell 2012) - are maintained there. It is assumed prior to this study that notions of gender and sexuality also influence the formation of these different subjectivities in online space.

This research focuses on a revenge porn website called MyEx.com as a case study. This is reportedly the largest website of its kind. Starting from July 19 2012 till 12 April 2014, this website contained 6963 posts all together. Among which 5815 posts exposed females and 1148 posts featured male victims. The study uses content analysis as well as discourse analysis as methods in order to study revenge porn, discourses shaping its

2 For example, see report on The Economist (July 5th 2014) Revenge Porn, Misery merchants. accessed on July 14, 2014. URL: http://www.economist.com/news/international/21606307-how-should-online-publication-explicit-images-without-their-subjects-consent-be?

3 Debarati Halder and K. Jaishankar (2012: 31) termed this type of online publication of nonconsensual pornographic images of an individual as a form of 'cyber sexual defamation' of the person. According to them, such contents are usually posted by a jilted lover or a friend or someone acquainted who wants to seek revenge due to a broken (emotional) relationship or out of mere jealousy of any kind (e.g. sexual; professional etc.). See Halder and Jaishankar (2012) Cyber Crime and the Victimization of Women, Information Science Reference, USA: IGI Global.

4 The initial data collection process for this study was completed on 12 April 2014.
production and display, and the site containing revenge porn (MyEx.com), which may possess a biased power structure having a repressive effect on a specific gender and sexual identity.

1.1. Aim and research questions

Amid two mutually diverging perspectives regarding the liberatory and disciplinary effects of the internet, this research tries to analyze the construction of the genre called revenge porn on the internet. But how can the construction of this new media genre be interpreted? Should this phenomenon only be attributed to the apparatus and technologies of the internet? Are discourses like gender and heterosexuality etc. also contributing to its development? This study problematizes these concepts and looks for the answers to the following research questions: How do notions of gender and heterosexuality affect the production, accumulation and display of revenge porn content in its archive on the internet? How do virtual audience visiting the archive react towards it?

The aim is to analyze the revenge porn content in new media, the formation of gendered and sexual subjects in revenge porn posts, the ways in which audience interact through their comments and finally, the power dynamics in the archive of revenge porn. This study uses two different methods i.e. content analysis (both quantitative and qualitative) as well as discourse analysis. The research question can be further operationalized in relation to different methodological approaches:

Quantitative content analysis will address:
- What message(s) does the revenge story reveal to its readers?
- How is the body of a person (being exposed) captured and displayed in revenge porn photos?
- What kinds of comments are made by the audience of these revenge porn posts?

Qualitative interpretation will focus on the questions:
- How are the sexual body and its performance represented in revenge porn videos? What type of gender and sexual codes do they follow as opposed to the codes seen in mainstream heterosexual pornography on the internet?
- How do revenge porn exposing women and men vary from each other while constructing meanings about gender and sexuality?
- What kinds of meaning are constructed through the stories, visual images and audience comments in revenge porn?

Discourse analysis will attempt to explore the power dynamics in revenge porn:
- How is power as an influencing force played out in the archive which is accumulating, collecting and displaying revenge porn content and at the same time recording reactions from the spectators in new media?

2. Background and scope of the present study

The Internet never forgets. And that permanent digital record, a blessing when it summons a moment we want to recall with the click of a mouse, can be a weapon in more sinister hands when it preserves ones we would like to forget. Controlling the distribution of the acts we want back, from mere silly poses for a camera to the most intimate deeds, has become a fact of life in the digital age, taking us into uncharted legal and ethical territory. And few expressions of this exploitative power are as disturbing as what is known as revenge porn, the posting online of sexually explicit photos or videos by a former partner seeking retribution. (Penney, November 2013)

Writes Jonathon Penney, a law professor at Dalhousie University, Canada as he reminds his readers of the exploitative power of internet as a digital record that is now documenting human sexual interactions. Many people may find it extremely difficult for them when their very intimate sexual acts are published on the internet without their consent for public viewing. There are now customized websites only to archive revenge porn materials. These websites providing an interactive platform for the audience, entertain the cyber porn watchers with nude photos, videos and other personal information of ordinary individuals from the society. Needless to say that being published on revenge porn websites are in many cases non consensual and can be socially and emotionally damaging for individuals.

There is obviously a lack of regulatory policies on the internet which may motivate people to publish such contents while being completely anonymous. Victims (persons who are exposed) are often helpless in the court of justice as there are insufficient laws in place to combat such actions.\(^5\) Thus, it raises serious ethical and legal concern. Due to its intensive coverage in the mass media this type of cyber sexual phenomenon has received much attention in the society, though the interpretation of the phenomenon is not so homogenous.

\(^5\) A Swedish court was reported to sharply reduce the damages to be paid to a teenage girl whose private sex video was shared on porn sites by her ex-boyfriend without her consent. The court justified its ruling with the argument that sexual openness is being "increasingly socially acceptable". The girl expressed, "It feels like a slap in the face and the ruling is a mockery," to the Aftonbladet newspaper in her reaction to the ruling. The Aftonbladet columnist Olof Oisin Cantwell further wrote, "To justify the decision that people today are open about their sex life is an intellectual and moral breakdown." See report on The Local, Damages slashed for Swedish teen sex video. Accessed online. http://www.thelocal.se/20131022/50932
It creates moral panic in the society where ironically, people and even a social institution like a court of justice is indecisive to accuse the person(s) responsible for such action. '[A] typical revenge porn case involves self-pics or videos initially created by the victim, then later shared with her spouse.' (Penney, November 2013) When that photo and/or video is uploaded online, public blaming can be attributed to both the offender and the victim or to any of them depending on the individual subjective position of the persons making the judgment. Even theoretical discourses appear diverging from each other as there remains a scholarly debate between the emancipatory and the victimizing views on such sexual expression on the internet. (Döring 2000)

Nevertheless, various civil societies are now coming forward in order to secure the protection of cyber civil rights on behalf of the victims of revenge porn. In the United States of America, there has been a full-fledged national campaign called 'End Revenge Porn' (ERP) organized by the Cyber Civil Rights Initiative. This movement is aimed for criminalizing the act of revenge porn, and has attracted worldwide attention. The initiative is to 'provide support and advocacy for victims of revenge porn, or people whose intimate photographs and/or videos have been disseminated on the Internet without their consent.' (EndRevengePorn.org) The campaign is a platform to create awareness against revenge porn, build public opinion and also serves as forum for victims to share their own stories of trauma. The official website of ERP campaign presents statistics from the results of two researches that reflect on the magnitude of revenge porn in a technologically advanced society like the USA. (See info-graphic 1 in appendix 3.)

Researches like these also imply the pervasiveness of computer and internet mediated human sexual interactions in American society. That is why it is very important to study such human sexual behaviors, styles of individual use of technology and various socio-cultural contexts in which they take place while researching the internet that digitally records human (sexual) actions. As Jonathan Lillie (2004) state 'the agenda for the study of [revenge] porn should be set within a broader search for understandings of the social and cultural implications of networked communication and information technologies.' (Lillie 2004: 59) Amy Hasinoff (2012: 459) particularly, stresses that both popular discourses about and academic assessments of such sexual media production 'need to account for power, gender, and sexuality more thoroughly.'

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However, given the scope of this present study the researcher focuses on the revenge porn genre in new media. It tries to understand the discourses like gender, sexuality and power which are combined with technological mechanism while constructing this genre called revenge porn in new media. Unlike the surveys mentioned above which dealt with human respondents, the present study however, attempts to analyze the digital archive of revenge porn content in new media posted by anonymous users and maintained by the website branded as MyEx.

The word archive is used here since revenge porn content (records of sexual interactions of real life people) in the form of written text, photos and/or videos are digitally stored with certain classifications in new media, displayed by and for the internet users and the viewers of the content who can make comments in an interactive atmosphere. These historical records of human sexual activities are collected, accumulated and preserved by an institution (MyEx.com) for a long period of time, if not permanently for the public exhibition in virtual space. The spectators can access any of the records at any given time following the search options provided in that particular website.

So, this study attempts to analyze the content of the revenge porn posts, the interaction of the audiences as well as the institutional apparatus and technology of the revenge porn archive i.e. the containing website. User generated revenge porn posts (usually contains a revenge story, photos and/or videos) and audience comments both contribute in producing meaning for the revenge porn genre in new media. Gillian Rose (2007) suggests that any discursive text depend for their meaning not only on that one text but on the relationship of that text with meanings of other texts. This intertextuality 'is important to understanding discourse.' (Rose 2007: 142)

Online pornography, particularly, the one of heterosexual genre contains clear marks of gender; revolving around relations of power between active male and passive female. Women are under control in every aspects - representation of the body, nudity, bodily parts or cavities, or even display of sexual acts etc. (Paasonen 2006) Such gendered codes of porn and erotica largely contributes to the construction of this genre's inherent power

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7 According to Rose (2000), an archive from a Foucauldian perspective is seen as an institution that works in a particular way and has 'effects on what is stored within [it] and on those who use [it].' (Rose 2007: 173) In the Foucauldian sense, visual 'archives are one sort of institution' (Ibid.: 173) and according to Sekula (1986) as cited by Rose (2007), they are not neutral as they embody power inherent in accumulation, collection and display of the images. See Rose, Gillian (2007). Visual Methodologies (second ed) London: Sage

8 Rose defines 'institutional apparatus' as the forms of power/knowledge that constitute the institutions (for example, the archive of revenge porn), including its architecture, regulations and philosophical statements etc. and the 'technology' as the practical techniques to practice that power/knowledge. (Rose 2007: 174)
asymmetry. Therefore, the gendered codes as seen in the revenge porn content ought to be addressed for a comparison with those evident in mainstream online pornography.

On the other hand, the site making a display of revenge porn needs to be closely scrutinized. Societal power structures and discursive practices are embedded in the internet spaces to produce subjects and governing their actions. In order to study the apparatus of revenge porn website, it is important to explore the dynamics of power saturating such archive. Specific focus should be employed on the discourses of gender and sexuality shaping up the practices of exercising that power.

It is said that the internet with pornographic texts is a key site in which subjectivities are constructed. (Brickell 2012; Lillie 2004) The relations of power in revenge porn archive can be understood in terms of the subjective positions it produces through its apparatus and technologies. (Brickell 2012; Rose 2012 citing Bennett 1995, Hooper-Greenhill 1992, and Haraway 1989) Both types of internet users i.e. the creators of revenge porn content and the audience (who also interact through their comments) are not free of their offline social context even when they are online. Each of them hold specific subjectivities and contribute to the maintenance of the societal power relations using their own cultural languages. (Brickell, 2012)

So, this research considers the discourses of power, gender and sexuality as rooted in broader societal context and focuses on how they function in producing and archiving revenge porn in new media. The next chapter discusses these issues leading to the major theoritical assumptions made by this study.

3. Theoretical framework

3.1. Human beings under modern panoptic surveillance

Instead of foregrounding the emancipatory qualities of online spaces, many scholars have invoked the disciplinary implications of new media. Nils Christie (1994) argues that human beings were historically under surveillance - previously, it was the "God's Eye" and now in a modern society, former is replaced by the technological devices (camera) recording and controlling ‘all sorts of unwanted acts’ (Christie 1994: 23). Michel Foucault (1977) theorized this form of modern surveillance as a model called “Panopticon” (initially developed by Jeremy Bentham as a prison model in 1791), where a whole new type of carceral society emerges under organized computerized surveillance to control people's actions. According to Foucault (1977), the visibility emerging from such surveillance is a trap. This is obviously due to the modern media technologies like CCTV and other digital recording devices.
Surveillance through CCTV and home video camera is increasingly being pervasive in our media and society.

3.2. Video inequality, synoptic surveillance and the power shift
Aaron Doyle (2003: 81) points out that there is however, a sort of 'video inequality' as footage captured by CCTV or other digital recording devices are often presented in media with an ideological vision. The powerful can choose what they prefer and often certain kind of actions are recorded and presented through media. Though Peter Lehman (2007) and also Doyle (2011) in later period argue that internet and new media technologies has brought a shift in the power relations between media professionals and ordinary media users by placing the previously powerful authority under mass surveillance. Thomas Mathiesen (1995; 1997) called it a "synopticon" referring to the reciprocal viewership between i) authorities/producers of mainstream media content and ii) ordinary audience/users of both conventional media channels and new media.

3.3. Female body as the source of pleasure in visual images
Those two concepts of "video inequality" and redistribution of power between media authority and ordinary users as mentioned above are particularly important in this context. They may add to the discourse of media representation of gendered and sexual bodies. Historically, the representation of the female body in visual images seen in mainstream media, let alone its depiction in heterosexual pornography has been criticized a lot for designing a gender power asymmetry. Women have been presented as an object to be looked at and men created the conventions of how to look. Laura Mulvey (1975) in her essay Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema, claimed that women are displayed as the sexual object before the erotic spectacle of the heterosexual man. As a result, the audience of a film look at the woman's body from a heterosexual male perspective which is called the male gaze.

Mulvey (1975) were particularly interested in the image of the women as a source of pleasure for the audience. According to her, cinema offers a number of pleasures - pleasure by looking and pleasure in being looked at. The way of looking and/or being looked at and the meaning of pleasure (whose interest is served) can also reveal about the nature of inequality within the visuals representing human body and sexuality. In fact, it hardly matters whether it is cinema or user generated videos in new media as long as the conventions of and authority over recording visuals, their display mechanisms, and technologies are biased.
3.4. Gaze, power, and discourses in new media

It is assumed that if males have the authority on framing (by selecting what is to be recorded and published about) the female body and her sexual performance, then it can create a specific kind of vision of the female body and her sexuality. In that case, camera only captures and publishes the male point of view. As a result, the representation of the female body and sexuality in the videos will more likely be subjected to what Edward Snow (1989: 34) would call a 'hypothetical maleness of the viewer's gaze' which in some situations can also reinforce a 'misogynistic cultural perceptions-sexual woman as prostitute.' That is how an ideological vision of sexual body and self can be created even through the user generated videos on the internet.

Nevertheless, with the aid of new media technology, females are also left with the power to authentically represent themselves or counter expose their male counterparts. Thus, they can also establish a reciprocal viewership between men and themselves in the virtual world. This is where the apparent shift in power relations (made possible by the internet) intersects. Yet, the virtual cannot be completely free from power relations existing in the real. Rather, the former is an extension of the latter. According to Saskia Sassen, the virtual space is 'partly embedded in actual societal structures and power dynamics: its topography weaves in and out of non-electronic space' (Sassen 1999: 62)

Of course, the material social power relations are reproduced in the digital world. Notions of shame and honor do influence females' occupancy of space both in reality as well as virtuality. Their appropriate precautionary behavioral patterns are also shaped by these discourses. (Paul 2011) Therefore, in a male dominated virtual space characterized by panoptic and/or synoptic surveillance (Brickell 2012), the female body is perhaps more vulnerable to what Foucault (1977) would call a visibility trap. Social power and discourses may cause more offensive reactions to women due to their public sexual exposure.

The literature review chapter, coming next will specifically look for some contemporary knowledge on new media and user generated pornography including substantive empirical findings, as well as theoretical and methodological contributions made by other scholars interested in this research field.

4. Literature review

User generated pornography or making sex tapes and publishing them online is part of the discourse called cyber sexuality which has been scholarly discussed from various perspectives. There are feminist readings of such practice measuring its potential for empowerment/emancipation. (Döring, 2000; Jacobs, 2007; Attwood, 2007) Some researches
have been committed taking a political-economic approach to describe amateur porn as a networked industry, which started as a counter to the commercial pornography; is now increasingly being converged into the mainstream sector because of its popularity and demand. (Paasonen, 2009; 2010) There is also a criminological/victimological and legal discourse developed very recently - on the growing trend of using amateur sexual content i.e. revenge porn to harass and defame people, towards which the justice system around the globe needs to respond immediately. (Halder and Jaishankar 2012)

However, these accounts hold specific perspectives and do not comprehensively meet in a connecting point. Yet, all these discourses like - societal power relations; political-economics of producing and marketing amateur porn content; and the victimological aspects of it; contribute to the construction of such online genre. So, an academic study converging these discourses is required with a particular focus on the virtual (as an extension of the social) construction of this new media genre called revenge porn.

Therefore, it is the aim of this study to make an analysis of the revenge porn genre in new media based on the available and relevant discourses as mentioned above. Some empirical findings from previous researches will also be presented here. This section will primarily focus on - the construction of the trend of recording sex tapes; the feminist readings of this phenomenon; the apparatus of new media that contributes to its flourishing; and the nature of exploitation and victimization of people on the internet as a result of recording and publishing of such digital content.

4.1. Pornification of human sexuality on new media

In recent time, fetish acts related to sexuality are more evident in society and focused in the media. Niels Van Doorn (2010: 411) calls it a ‘‘sexualization’ or ‘pornification’ of media and society’ through a reality TV genre where real people are caught on the camera revealing private sexual performances. New media and digital technologies are further contributing to the increasing popularity of such sharing of private sexual performances amongst ordinary people in the society. (Yar 2012) This technique of being infamously "famous" adopted by ordinary people was previously called “micro celebrity” which is now as scholars have argued adopted by ‘‘traditional’ celebrities’ producing their own sex tapes. (Marwick and boyd 2011: 141)

Döring (2000) provides an extensive description of the cyber sexual culture in her writing. According to her, people participate in cybersex primarily to satisfy their exhibitionist and voyeurist desires. People record their own private sexual encounters and
share them with others on the internet. There exists a variety of digital recording devices (e.g. mobile phones, digital cameras, laptop computers with web cam etc.) with which people can record their sexual performances and publish the content online. With the help of online video conferencing, sexually motivated participants can expose their bodies (especially their sexual organs) and watch each other while performing various types of sexual actions. (Döring 2000)

In addition to the video based cybersex, another trend called "sexting" is getting popular among young people particularly the teenage girls. This is 'often defined as the practice of sending sexually explicit images or text through mobile phones or via internet applications'. (Hasinoff, 2012: 449)

**4.2. Liberal feminist’s views on online participatory cyber sex**

New media i.e. the internet has obviously been a widely used platform for people to participate in the production and distribution of their sexual content. Thus, it has been studied by many scholars from various disciplines. Feminist scholars have also studied sexuality in new media and two mutually diverging views have stemmed from this tradition. One of the views, termed as the victimization perspective by Döring (2000) interprets cybersex as a heterosexist practice, and sees women and girls as individuals and as a group to be harmed by various types of online-harassment, virtual rape and cyber-prostitution. The liberation perspective on the other hand focuses on the opportunities new media offers to women and girls who actively seek sexual pleasure in the virtual space. (Döring 2000; Jacobs, 2007; and Attwood, 2007) The nature of victimization on the internet as described in some of the recent literatures will be discussed later in this section. Before that, the liberatory potential of the internet is reviewed at this juncture.

Liberation perspective considers that the production and distribution of sexualized content in new media is a representation of an "authentic" experience of women. According to Kibby and Costello (2001), internet reveals a subversion of traditional gender relations in pornographic representation providing an interactive sex entertainment where exists a possibility for rewriting gendered (active/passive) codes of sexuality. Scholars like Albury (2003), Jacobs (2007) and Attwood (2007) was cited by Doorn (2010) who considered the web to allow participatory communities to represent different versions of ‘reality’ and contest the hegemonic ‘truths’ of heteronormative sexuality. Pornographic productions were condemned 'for its heterosexism and glorification of male dominance', though 'more recently feminist scholars have suggested that new media technologies are opening up spaces for the sexual emancipation of previously marginalized groups.' (Van Doorn 2010: 412)
Döring (2000) reckons that cybersexual practices embraced by women can destabilize heterosexist social order and help them overcome the sexual suppression they are subjected to in social life. Through cybersex women can have the options of more sex, better sex and different sex. Recording sex tapes, video based cybersex and sexting mentioned earlier are the examples of such options. From this perspective, women are increasingly seen as self-determined actors exercising control over their own sexualities and lives. In cyber space, women can also execute their own sexual preferences and explore new ways of seeking pleasure and desire which are perhaps kept hidden in social life because of shame, guilt and fear. Internet can satisfy the female sexual fantasies which appear emotionally and/or physically impossible or unpleasant to live out in real life. Döring (2000) thus, calls it a sexual empowerment of women in cyber space.

4.3. Authentic experience or another subjugation under the male gaze

However, the claim about internet representing authentic sexual images of women's bodies and performances can be questioned too. Van Doorn (2010) in his study on 100 user generated porn videos on YouPorn, uses both film studies and performance studies approach in order to investigate and reveal 'how the camera frame enables certain identifications and arranges a particular ‘gaze’ on the side of the spectator…’ (Ibid.: 419) Van Doorn argues that real life sex videos lack in fully representing the female sexual difference and pleasure by positioning women's bodies as objects of intense visual scrutiny to satisfy the male pleasure. Participants' actions as visualized through the camera lens do not necessarily result in alternative or subversive sexual performances either. According to Van Doorn, sexual difference is the primary source of heterosexual visual pleasure which in cases of YouPorn clips are predominantly experienced from a male subject position.

Edward Snow (1989) earlier provided ideas about the manifestation of sexual representation of female body while theorizing “male gaze”. He claimed that such representation leaves the viewer isolated 'in his maleness... confirming that the viewer is male.' The structure of the viewing situation in a devious sense ‘even reinforces misogynistic cultural perceptions-sexual woman as prostitute, for instance. It also leaves unquestioned the hypothetical maleness of the viewer's gaze. It may, in fact, even hyper masculinize the genre.’ (Snow, 1989: 34) From that perspective user generated porn can be considered as an objectification of the female body while satisfying the male gaze.
4.4. The net apparatus: Power constructing subjectivity, pleasure and desire

User generated pornographic contents on the internet, predominantly projecting a male subjectivity and articulation of male desires as observed by Van Doorn (2010) are not an isolated practice, rather they are manifestations of a historically constructed apparatus. (Lillie, 2004) In order to understand the formation of subjectivity, desire and pleasure through pornography on the internet it is important to consider the role of social power as a force that is constituting and regulating human sexuality as well as the net apparatus. Indeed, some authors have addressed both cyber sexuality and cyber space from a Foucauldian perspective while exploring issues of discourse, power, sexuality and truth/knowledge etc. (Lillie 2004; Rose 2007; and Brickell 2012)

For Foucault, sexuality is understood as 'a historically constructed apparatus: a dispersed system of morals, techniques of power, discourses and procedures designed to mould sexual practices towards certain strategic and political ends'. The articulation of pleasure, desire, and identity is produced through the relations of power and mechanisms of this technology of sexuality. (Lillie 2004: 50)

Lillie (2004) referred to Linda William's book *Hard Core* to understand the genre of film pornography that has been 'conceptualised as continually engaged in processes of interrogation of the female body', thus from a subjective position, it tries 'to get more knowledge and to tell the truth about sex.' (Lillie 2004: 51) But in that 'true' discourse of sexuality patriarchy is more likely to be over represented. (Ibid.)

Brickell (2012) also made a Foucauldian enquiry of power creating pleasure and subjectivity while human sexual interactions are taking place in cyber space. '[P]ower constitutes the meanings we give to the sexual world, the ways we live those meanings in internet life and the ways we put together our identities. (Brickell, 2012: 29) To him, power is constitutive when '[w]e construct subjectivity as we navigate the discourses available to us through these sites.' (Ibid.: 30)

According to him, power can also be regulative while governing people's actions. (Ibid.) This concept of regulatory power is also explained by Nadera Shalhoub-Kevorkian and Tamar Berenblum (2010: 72) citing Foucault (1995; 1980) who defined power to be 'not only the control exercised by certain strong individuals over certain weak individuals, but also the control that all individuals exercise over themselves and others through widely accepted tools and organized behaviors.'

Foucault noted that the subject constituted through power relations is never free from the constraints of context. Instead, he suggested, to become a subject is to be subjected to the network of power that infuses every corner of society. In this account, the subject learns to
However, power does not only constitute and regulate human sexuality in the form of pornography but can influence the reactions of its audience as well. Pornography is used for arousal and pleasure for its audience and their experience also serve to reinforce sexual and cultural identity for the viewers. (Lillie, 2004)

Our individual reactions to porn also reveal something about the mechanisms of sexuality and relations of power that have served to produce reactions of pleasure and desire to some, and shock or repulsion to others. Exposure to pornography both elicits moments of reaction and produces the subject at the same time. (Lillie, 2004: 53)

So, the net apparatus needs to be reviewed in terms of how power is played out in the site that archives cyber porn, produces subjectivities and elicits reactions from the audience in a particular way. In the Foucauldian sense, visual 'archives are one sort of institution' (Rose 2007: 173) and according to Sekula (1986) as cited by Rose (2007) they are not neutral as they embody power inherent in accumulation, collection and display of the images. Porn sites are also among those online archives which are structured by inequality and resistance. They privilege some actors while marginalize others. (Brickell 2012) There are empirical evidences that highlight on how internet can reproduce a heterosexist gender hierarchy in a traditionally male domain where women are particularly seen as a group to be targeted by online predators.

4.5. Cybersex and victimization of women

According to the victimization perspective, as presented by Döring (2000) the images of women in cyber space are established from a sexist viewpoint. The culture of online sexual platforms also provides the option of anonymity to the users, majority of whom are males. This encourages the sexually oriented male users to "welcome" a female participant with sexist vocabulary and fantasies. On the other hand, sense of 'insecurity, the desire for harmony, the fear of negative reactions or adaptation to sexist clichés according to which they are not supposed to give the impression of being inhibited, may lead to women’s apparently voluntary submission to degrading sexual practices.’ (Döring, 2000: 15)

There also exist evidences which suggest that sexualized content of individuals participating in cybersex can be used to expose them publicly for the purpose of humiliation and harassment. Halder and Jaishankar (2012: 30-31) demonstrate that such harassment and victimization of individuals can occur in the form of 'forced pornography or nonconsensual pornography' as well as 'cyber sexual defamation.' In such cases, a person's pornographic
photos, and/or videos (morphed or original) that were captured earlier are published and distributed on the internet without her/his knowledge. This can happen due to a broken emotional relationship, professional jealousy and personal conflict. Personal information like residential address and contacts, fake profiles of the victim on social networking sites are highlighted by the harasser. (Ibid.) Because of increased attention and information on an individual's personal life (mostly in case of a celebrity) on the internet one can even be a victim of stalking in cyber space. (Wykes 2007)

Azy Barak (2005) provides a comprehensive account on how sexual harassment takes place in the form of gender harassment and unwanted sexual attention in cyber space. Gender harassment means use of verbal and visual posts/comments that insult individuals because of their gender. Behaviors such as posting pornographic pictures in cyberspace, deliberately insult, cracking chauvinistic jokes, and making gender-related degrading remarks are included in this category. Unwanted sexual attention refers to acts like communicating sexual desires or intentions, asking about victim's sex organs, sex life etc., as well as invite, insinuate, or offer sex-related activities toward another individual. (Barak 2005)

Sexual harassment on the internet as like as in real world can happen to anyone but its most victims are women. (Ibid.) Internet is a public domain where men are majority in numbers while articulating their subjectivity. (Carstensen 2009) There is also a high unequal ratio of women and men being the cyber victims. This is because women are more prone to cyber sexual victimization as they are easily reduced to a mere sex item in both virtual and social world. (Halder and Jaishankar 2012)

5. Methodology and data collection

This research draws on a case study of the photos, videos, personal information and the narratives about each individual who are being exposed on a website called MyEx.com. The focus is only on the posts narrating heterosexual affairs which ended up in a revenge porn exposure as such. Posts narrating other kinds of affairs like homosexuality or personal jealousy between same sex individuals etc. are not considered for this purpose. The researcher understands the difficulty to determine the authenticity of binary heterosexual

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9 It has been observed that there are posts on MyEx.com which are published by individuals apparently exposing another same sex person. This can happen when the poster and the victim are in a homosexual relationship and as they break up or if something goes wrong between them, one partner may want to victimize the other. However, there are several posts which resulted from personal jealousy or insecurity between same sex people - e.g. a woman exposing another woman as the former accuses the latter for playing a role in wrecking her (former's) marriage or just for trying to engage in an illicit relationship with the former's husband. Similar situation can arise between two men too.
identities of the poster and the victim, especially in the virtual space. Yet, by observing the overall appearance of the posts, particularly, the narration in the stories which suggested of a heterosexual relationship between the poster and the victim, the sample data are selected.

It is evident that the samples used for this study are of various types including both visual and verbal texts. It was not possible to accumulate all types of texts in a single set of samples. So, multiple sets of sample data are chosen in order to address different aspects of the research topic. The methodology is going to be explained further in the following. But it should be mentioned here that the multiplicity both in types of sample data as well as of research questions requires more than one method for this study. Therefore, two different methods i.e. content analysis and discourse analysis are combined in this work using between methods triangulation. (Denzin 1978) It is indeed possible to merge these two methods and they can complement each other. Rose (2001) suggests that a form of coding of verbal and visual texts is required to carry out an empirical discourse analysis. According to her, discourse analysis can use the coding procedure generally used in the content analysis.

However, Klaus Krippendorf (2004) and Rose (2001) argue that content analysis does not necessarily need to be quantitative in nature, rather they can also include qualitative interpretation. Krippendorf (2004) suggests that qualitative interpretation in this case can rely on the rearticulation of known literatures. So, the content analysis follows both quantitative and qualitative coding of sample posts on the revenge porn website. These two types of content analysis are separately executed on different sets of samples for the purpose of both textual and visual analysis of the research material. It is assumed that both types of coding can complement each other. Thus, it can be considered as strength to this research.

5.1. Method: Quantitative content analysis
At first, quantitative coding using a coding scheme is executed on a data set comprising 100 posts and then another set of 20 posts from the website is subjected to further qualitative interpretation. A complete codebook (attached in appendix 1) has been developed for the purpose of coding one hundred revenge posts on MyEx.com for the quantitative content analysis. The website has several thousand posts so far, which archives new posts every day. So, a time span is chosen conveniently in which the most recent posts are selected at the given time of data collection. The time span is almost one month where the most recent was posted on 21 March and the oldest (the 100th) is recorded from the posts on 19 February.

During this period of time about one thousand posts were stored on the website. So, the samples are collected following a systematic sampling technique where every 10th
from those thousand posts are selected for the coding. The coding of the materials is executed on the basis of recency of the postings. However, the coding has three distinct parts i.e. a) the story told in the post; b) the photos; and c) the audience comments.

Each part is coded separately and analyzed using SPSS spreadsheet. The results are expected to reveal data about the basic characteristics of sample revenge porn posts. For example, the frequencies and ratio of female and male appearances in revenge posts; the most prominent age group featured in the posts; the types of messages revenge stories carry to the audience; dominant techniques of displaying the naked body in photos; as well as the types of reactions audience express in their comments etc. There are specific coding categories for evaluating different parts of the sample revenge posts. Some central concepts of the coding scheme are introduced here.

A revenge story is basically intended to give some detail on the person exposed (her or his sexual character and behaviors) and to justify why the revenge act has been done. In doing so, a poster (OP = original poster) most of the time, blames the other person (who is the victim of revenge) for some sort of unjust or unethical actions while being in the relationship. An inevitable consequence of blaming as observed in the posts is labeling the victim as a negative personality. These two variables need to be defined here.

**Blaming** occurs when a poster accuses the person exposed for an unjust or unethical action like breaking a relationship without any valid reason or cheating in a relationship etc. and justifies the act of revenge.

**Labeling** can take place either in the heading of the story (which is also the post title) or inside the story. Mostly, labeling occurs in the form of abusive words (slangs) that define a person featured in a post as a hypersexual being and/or a negative personality.

Techniques of displaying the naked body refers to the process of taking photos and what subjects (naked body or bodily parts) are highlighted more frequently. It was mentioned earlier that one aspect of revenge porn is that the victim records naked images of her/himself. The coding of photos primarily examines who is taking the photo and what is being captured. Correlation between the photo type and subject in the image (nudity) will be measured as well.

**Type of the photo** - determining if the photo is i) a self portrait (selfie); or ii) taken by another person. If the above mentioned types cannot be determined with definite visual cue then it will be coded simply as iii) uncertain.
Nudity - coding if the photo contains nudity - i) showing naked body in full; ii) headless naked body; iii) naked upper portion of the body (topless); iv) naked breasts ; v) genital; and vi) buttocks.

Audience comments will also be coded. It is assumed that the audience can express diverse reactions. They can seek pleasure and desire toward the person exposed or comment negatively on either that person or the quality of the post. Audience can even criticize the poster for publishing such content and disapprove it. Definitions of all the coding categories are presented in the attached codebook. (See in the appendix 1)

5.2. Method: Qualitative content analysis

In the second phase, qualitative content analysis is carried out on 20 revenge porn posts separately. These 20 posts are selected from the entries under the sub category titled Sex Tapes in the website. These posts contain all three major components of a revenge porn post - the story, the photo(s) and the video(s). The samples chosen for the quantitative analysis did not contain enough videos (only three in 100 posts) to be analyzed. So, this qualitative analysis has the purpose to go in depth and interpret the videos - particularly, in what ways gender and sexuality are represented through the projection of the bodies and their performances in those items. The samples are collected following a systematic sampling technique starting from the most recent to the oldest – till the 20th entry, between a time period of December 9, 2013 and April 12, 2014. During this time, about 200 posts with sex tapes were published. Every 10th of those posts are selected for the qualitative coding.

However, the qualitative content analysis will primarily focus on the production of videos and the pattern of storytelling in the sample revenge porn posts. There will be a video analysis as well as an analysis of the entire post. By doing that the study will assess how these contents construct meaning together and if they reconstitute discourses. This means the analysis will look for discourses articulated in - a) the videos; b) the entire post - contents published by the poster as well as the audience comments. This will help in understanding the intertextuality that shapes the construction of possible meanings in the revenge porn website. At the same time, the posts featuring females and males will be compared too, in order to see how they vary in meaning making.

Lutz and Collins (1993) are cited by Rose (2001) saying that content analysis can be used to interpret the cultural meaning of the image if coding of that image is carefully formulated. Content analysis is to make inferences rather than mere description of the content. (Krippendorf 2004) Later, Peter Chow-White (2006) cites Bruce (2004); Krippendorff...
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(2003); and Turner (1997) to suggest how content analysis can be an ‘useful method for
classifying texts into thematic categories that can reveal important discursive properties.’
(Chow-White 2006: 889) The key themes found from the content analysis can help to
identify the discourses (gender, sexualities etc.) shaping the revenge porn posts.

The revenge porn videos are initially produced as mere sex tapes recorded
knowingly or unknowingly by the participants in such online sexual encounters. When the
relationship between those participants goes rough, either of the participants in the video
publishes the sex tape in order to take revenge on the other. This act of taking revenge on the
other can be seen as an expression of power exercise. But how does the visual content serve to
that exertion of power? It is assumed that the production process of these sex tapes inherently
possesses a biased power relation. Like mainstream online pornography, these amateur sex
tapes also place women under control. This subjugation remains in every aspects -
representation of the body, nudity, bodily parts or cavities, or even display of sexual acts etc.
(Paasonen 2006) For testing this assumption, the techniques of camera operation as well as
the style of framing the bodies of the participants and their performances in the videos are
taken into consideration. (Van Doorn 2010)

5.3. Method: Discourse analysis
In the next level, the discourse analysis addresses how discourses (subjectivity, power etc.)
activate specific (institutional, situational, cultural, virtual etc.) practices. It specifically
examines the articulation of discourses through institutional apparatus and technologies of the
website where the revenge porn is archived; as opposed to the analysis of individual visual
and verbal texts and/or posts as intended in the qualitative analysis. Rose (2007) suggested an
useful account on how to conduct a Foucauldian discourse analysis on institutions that archive
visual images (e.g. art gallery and museum etc.) and the ways of seeing those images in there.
She terms it as the discourse analysis-II, putting emphasis on its methodological distinction
which is 'more concerned with issues of power, regime of truth, institutions and technologies.'
(Rose 2007: 146)

This kind of analysis pays more attention to the institutional apparatus and
technologies of visual archives than it does to visual images and verbal texts. Though,
displaying images and texts in specific ways are also part of the institutional practices
(technologies). While talking about social power influencing institutions like visual archives,
some scholars focused on particular discourses of culture and science that shaped their design
and practices; and on the subjective positions they produce. (Rose 2012 citing Bennett 1995,
Hooper-Greenhill 1992, and Haraway 1989) So, the discourse analysis in this study will particularly investigate about the effects of institutional apparatus and technologies of MyEx.com in terms of what (subjectivities, knowledge/truth etc.) they produce. A table highlighting the design and procedure of the entire study can be presented below:

Table 1: Research design and procedure:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phases</th>
<th>Research method</th>
<th>Materials to be studied</th>
<th>Scope/outcome</th>
</tr>
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</table>
| Step 1 | Quantitative content analysis | 100 revenge porn posts, having three separate parts - i) stories; ii) photos; and iii) audience comments | Basic characteristics of revenge porn content:  
- Dominant messages in stories  
- Techniques of capturing images  
- Dominant audience reactions |
| Step 2 | Qualitative content analysis | Another set of 20 revenge porn posts - videos; post titles; stories; photos, captions; as well as audience comments. | Qualitative analysis of the videos; and the entire post - to see the intertextuality between these different elements. The interpretation will:  
- look for effects of gender and heterosexuality in the construction of these visual and verbal texts.  
- Compare between posts on females and males  
- Analyze the preferred meaning of the posts  
- Look for possibilities of alternative meaning construction by the audience. |
| Step 3 | Discourse analysis | The website MyEx.com: Institutional statements; policies, regulations; search boxes; multimedia features; display technologies etc. | Analyzing the power dynamics in this visual archive on the internet.  
Effects of its apparatus and technologies:  
- On various online subjects they produce.  
- On the knowledge of/truth about the body and sexuality. |

Comment: Two types of content analyses can complement each other in this stage. Results from quantitative part will suggest the dominant audience reactions. On the other hand, qualitative interpretation will look for the powerful discourses shaping the preferred meaning in the posts. So, a relationship between the preferred meaning and the dominant audience reactions can be established. In contrast, alternative meanings by the audience can suggest signs of resistance to those powerful discourses.
5.4. Methodological reflections

Different methods have their own limitations. For example, it is considered that the discourse analysis dealing with issues of institutional power relations at work in a visual archive often shows lack of concern for the images itself as well as the conflicts and disruptions within institutional practices. Such analysis also 'neglect the practices of viewing brought by visitors to those institutions'. (Rose 2007: 194) However, these absences are addressed by the two types of content analyses utilized in this paper, where individual images (photos and videos); techniques of recording them; and also the audience reactions as well as their processes of meaning making (both dominant and the alternatives) are statistically measured and qualitatively interpreted. Again the two types of content analyses complement each other; since the visual texts used for this research is not only subjected to the interpretation by the analyst, but the results from the study of audience reactions to these texts further cross-checks that interpretation.

Human sexual behaviors, styles of individual use of technology and various socio-cultural contexts affecting them - all these aspects can be studied in this research while examining the apparatus of the site that digitally records human sexual actions in the form of revenge porn. Use of different but complementing methods processing random sample data to find comprehensive and appropriate answers to a set of various questions posed by this research also contributes to the establishment of its scientific validity. However, the question of reliability of the coding especially for the quantitative content analysis have been a prime concern for the researcher. Results would have been more transparent if it was possible to engage more human coders for ensuring inter coder reliability. (Neuendorf 2002) Although, the codebook attached (appendix 1) contains detail communicable instructions for a coder so that s/he can use the coding scheme as a measurement tool with similar results. That is how reliability is intended through replicability of results.

The qualitative analysis of the content also follows established methods of interpretation which have been suggested and previously used by scholars like Rose (2007), Van Doorn (2010) and others mentioned in the literature review section. Nevertheless, the researcher acknowledge that he is only constructing a language of interpretation of this phenomenon called revenge porn. Instead of revealing truth about what happened to the victims of revenge porn under which circumstances, this research focuses on the interpretation of the ways these victims are represented and how they are dominantly perceived by the audience. Obviously, such interpretation is inclusive towards relevant readings and interpretations by others.
6. Ethical considerations

The researcher is well aware of this fact that revenge porn can have harmful effect on the personal, social and professional lives of both women and men. Therefore, for the sake of objectivity, the interpretation and analysis of data used for this study occupy a concerned position towards the victims of revenge porn. The main aim of this research work is to determine the dimensions of and factors contributing to the development of the genre called revenge porn in new media. In doing so, contents of sample posts are analyzed in this paper.

However, some of the revenge porn posts carry names, contact information as well as sexualized and naked images of the victims. The motive of the researcher is not to defame or hurt anyone personally, but for the sheer academic interest, these posts are presented and analyzed to identify the root causes that constructs such a repressive genre. To help the reader to follow the line of thought of this paper, some of the information on victims (stories, images etc.) are added. Nevertheless, names and images of any victims as presented in this paper as well as in the appendices are censored for the ethical interest.

The researcher is conscious about the circumstances of the victims, particularly, the women who are more likely to be victimized both in social and electronic space. Thus, this study holds an empathic position towards women in order to understand the hidden politics and relation between the manifestation of patriarchy and women’s victimization in such revenge porn. However, the study does not make any either/or interpretation placing men and women in a binary opposition. Rather, it tries to suggest the reader for considering the consequences of this phenomenon which can be harsher on a specific gendered body.

7. Results

7.1. Results: Quantitative content analysis

Coding of the posts (N=100) with SPSS reveals data about the basic characteristics of the content in the chosen revenge porn website. Majority of the posts expose females (88%) whereas only 12% of the posts feature a male person. Young people, who are considered to be the majority of the online users are naturally exposed with a higher frequency. The bar chart below (graph 1) shows the comparison of frequency among different age groups and genders being exposed in revenge porn. The youngest age group (16-25) for both females and males are the most prominent in the list of victims of revenge porn. Women of this age group are featured in more than half of the selected sample posts (51%). Although, the age of exposed person as a variable is not much significant in drawing attention from the audience.
The average number of viewers hitting a revenge porn post is 26899 (Mean). Posts about women (n= 88) have higher views by the audience with an average of 30052 (Mean); while a post featuring a male (n=12) attracts on average 3779 (Mean) number of audience. These figures suggest to the reality of women facing increased visibility due to this type of exposure in such an online space.

All posts contain a photo of the person exposed with or without her/his body while giving a background story (in 98% cases) of some sort. However, 10% posts have access to the profile of the person on social networking sites (Facebook and/or Twitter). This percentage could not increase significantly as the victims tend to take down their social networking profiles after they are exposed in a revenge porn website. A number of posts contained links to the social networking sites but they were already closed down. These cases were not coded under the category - "access to social networking profiles". The 10% visibility on social networking sites as mentioned here are either of those who still runs the account or the third party created fake accounts of the persons exposed. In any case, these profiles carry personal information about the victims. It is worth mentioning that female victims are seen to be more visible through their social networking profiles compared to their male counterparts.
7.1.1. What is there in revenge stories?
The stories mostly project a negative image of the person being exposed which is heavily grounded by notions of gender and sexuality. Such practice of negative portrayal of an individual based on her/his gender and sexuality is coded under the theme labeling. However, in order to justify the revenge on the person the stories not only label the individuals but also blame them for breaking the codes of gender and sexuality. “Blaming” is a crucial factor for revenge porn genre. Such negative portrayal, labeling and blaming in relation to the notions of gender and heterosexuality will be discussed later in this chapter (in the qualitative analysis section). Meanwhile the findings from the revenge stories are presented below.

In 73.7% (N= 99, one post had no background story) cases the poster who publishes such content labeled the exposed person. Blaming occurred in 43.4% instances. However, it is assumed that in order to blame and shame someone publicly in such a manner, a person probably need to provide some kind of background information to the audience. The posters of revenge porn in 30.3% occasions also tend to write about the nature of relationship they used to have with the persons on whom the revenge is taken. This information further helps to justify the revenge because it is written to earn sympathy from the audience towards the poster.

7.1.2. Techniques of capturing and displaying the naked body:
Photos of individuals are posted online as important evidences in revenge porn. There were 523 (N) photos to be coded in the 100 posts. The result from the coding of those photos indicates that in most of the times the victim makes the lone appearance in the visuals and her/his partner who is usually the original poster (OP) of these visuals remains anonymous. 96.4% of the total number of photos project only the person being exposed with or without her/his naked body, either partially or in full. The remaining 3.6% photos represent someone else (the poster/friends) along with the victim of revenge. Interestingly, in 56.2% occasions, the victims take their own photos (selfies). Only 17.2% photos are taken by a second hand.

For the remaining 26.6% (N=523) of the photos, there is no definite visual cue through which their type can be determined. These images are coded as to be the uncertain type. However, there are possibilities that these photos are taken by another person or they can even be "timer selfies" (in which case one takes his/her own photos with the help of auto timer applications in a digital recording device). However, selfie photos and those belonged to the uncertain category contain more nudity. The graph 2 below shows a comparison between photo type and nudity.
Comparisons can also be made on the different body parts that were subjected to nudity. Cross tabulation of photo type and nudity indicate correlation between the variables (p=.000) which is statistically significant at level 5% as seen in Table: 2; Table: 2.1 (see in the appendix 5). Selfies tend to capture more of the naked upper portion (topless) whereas if it is taken by another person the preference is towards the body in full. Obviously, one of the major reasons why many photos cannot be determined of their type and remained in the third category i.e. "uncertain" (as mentioned above) is that they are captured from a very close range. These close camera shots mostly feature the genital area of the persons who are exposed in the photos. (See graph 3 in the appendix 4.)

7.1.3. Audience reactions:
Audience comments as appeared in the selected posts can mostly be categorized under four themes. Almost a quarter i.e. 24.9% (185 cases) of all comments (N=742) are appreciative which means the viewers enjoyed either the bodily features (related to sexuality) of the person exposed or the porn quality of the revenge photos and/or videos. Majority (94.6%) of these 185 comments express pleasure by seeing the person's physical attractiveness. While the rest (5.4%) of them (n=185) admire the pornographic quality of the post (visual images). 15.2% of
all commenters express some sort of sexual desire towards the person exposed. This occurs when they wished to engage in any type of sexual acts with a victim of revenge porn. 4.2% of the comments articulate both appreciation and desire.

In contrast, 24.4% (181 cases) of all comments (N=742) use derogative language either towards the person exposed (90.6% of n=181) or the post itself (9.4% of n=181). Any negative remark either on the victim's physical appearance or on the quality of the post are coded under this theme. Nevertheless, 19.5% of the audience comments (N=742) show disapproval towards the original poster (OP) and/or the revenge post. An event of disapproval takes place when a commenter criticizes the OP as s/he thinks that the revenge is unjustified or the post is not meeting their expected standard (since it has used fake/morphed photos/videos). Uploading pictures without face and/or nudity also resulted in a disapproval from the audience. In the qualitative analysis part of this study, this act of disapproval by the audience will be explained further.

7.2. Results: Qualitative content analysis
The issues of gender and sexuality in revenge porn posts are important as they can reveal the biased power relations that characterize the archive of the revenge porn. It is worthwhile to examine how the processes of production and the display of the visual images and verbal texts in these selected revenge porn posts promote specific codes of gender and sexuality. Particularly, an analysis of the videos will be the primary interest of this section. Interpretation of the videos will look for the codes of gender and sexuality in representing bodies and their performances, and compare how they follow or deviate from the conventions of mainstream online pornography. The video analysis will attempt to answer the first research question formulated for the qualitative content analysis.

On the other hand, an overall qualitative examination of the sample posts - not only the videos but all other components is executed for this analysis. This will help to understand how different elements of the revenge porn posts are mutually dependent and together they make meaning (intertextuality). A comparison between the posts featuring females and males need to be drawn at the same time to see how they vary in constructing meaning. This is aimed to answer both the second as well as the third research question posed for the qualitative analysis. For that, it is important to addresses how the background story is constructed in relation to the content of the photos as well as videos. The dominant audience reactions (seeking pleasure and desire as well as making derogative comments) have already been revealed by the results of the quantitative part of the study. So, in order to avoid
repetition of the obvious, this analysis will depart from those findings and look for the possibilities of alternative meaning construction by the audience. As it was mentioned earlier, the ways of audience disapproval towards a post/poster will be explained here.

7.2.1. Analysis of the Videos:
While doing the qualitative interpretation of the revenge porn videos the sample materials are classified into three distinct categories. They are - a) videos with appearance of both male and female participants; b) videos projecting only females; and c) videos featuring only male appearance. Techniques of production as well as representation and performance of the participant(s) as seen in the revenge porn videos are taken into account while making the inference. This method of analysis was previously applied by Van Doorn (2010). Two different methodological and conceptual approaches are taken into account.

Firstly, the representation of the bodies (specific bodily parts, features etc.) are analyzed in relation to their visual framing by the camera and its operator. This perspective is rooted in film studies tradition. (Ibid.) In other words, Rose (2007) called it as the compositional interpretation of moving images stressing on the techniques of production like focus, angle, shot distance, point of view, zoom, and editing etc. Secondly, the interpretation emphasizes on the sexual actions performed and documented in the digital videos. According to Van Doorn (2010), such analysis follows the tradition of performance studies examining the ways meaning is created through everyday real sexual performances. These two types of analytical approach will enable this present study to understand the hidden politics of gender and sexuality within these sample revenge porn videos.

7.2.1a. Female body placed at the center of pleasure for an anonymous male gaze
In all the videos in the samples, in which both male and female participants appeared, the camera is decidedly operated by the man. He moves the camera with absolute authority, recording whatever he likes to. The camera either handheld or placed in a preferred position captures the subject of focus which is in most cases the sexual body parts and actions of the female participant. As the man plays a dual role of a participant and the camera man, his own face is naturally absent. The camera however, captures the male organs like the penis, testicles, pelvic area and hand/fingers etc. only when they come in contact with the female body. This "faceless" representation of the man in the sex tape gives him anonymity (Van Doorn 2010: 423), which provides him an extra edge over his partner when he wishes to publish the tape on the internet in case of a broken relationship.
Van Doorn (2010) in his study of 100 YouPorn amateur videos, provides an account on how the male operated camera, recording the female body parts in fragmented camera frames can evoke a male pleasure through a close visual scrutiny. He calls it a 'visual mapping of the female erogenous zones' (ibid.) with a male subjectivity by means of camera recording. Similar manifestation is seen in the revenge post titled "slut" in which the video features a couple having sex. The camera only frames both of their pelvic areas and sex organs coming into contact. The camera then moves up towards the female’s breasts and later comes down back to the penis penetrating the vagina. Camera again goes up to capture each of the breasts and the face of the female in isolated shots. Finally, the camera is fixed onto the hairy pelvic area of the woman.

In another post called "Biggest Slut in Town" the sex tape begins with a wide shot showing a woman completely nude to enter the room through the door where the person recording is lying on a bed. The man's face is not revealed but his lower portion is visible. The woman comes near to him and smilingly kisses on his pelvic area. The camera zooms in to closely capture her face and only the male body parts she is touching. She holds his penis and starts performing fellatio. She takes it deep as the man suggests that he likes it that way. After a while, the woman politely asks him to sit on the bed so that she can suck his penis more comfortably. The man changes his position accordingly. He changes the camera frame to capture her face sucking his penis and also her naked body (breasts, pelvic area etc.) from different angles. He keeps telling her to take it deep inside her mouth. He appreciates as she does so. He praises her technique while doing the fellatio. The woman sucks both his penis and testicles. In the end of the video, the penis is seen to be repeatedly pushed into the woman's mouth.

The close range handheld shots framing the face, breasts, buttock and vagina of a female while being penetrated from the front or back or giving fellatio to a man are very common visual cues in these sample videos. The shots are often taken to resemble the point of view (POV) of the person who is both participating in and recording the sexual encounter. Thus, in these videos female body becomes a source of pleasure for both her male counterpart who is recording the course of action as well as the audience who also experience it from that very anonymous male gaze.

7.2.1b. Any scope for female pleasure?
Now the question arises - what happens in the videos of the second category where females are the lone participant? These videos are mostly selfie clips, otherwise recorded by another
person with whom the female is having an online sex chat and making an exhibition of her body. In these cases, the women are supposed to have control over what to record or at least what to show in front of the camera. From the outlook the acts of recording sex tapes of their own and sharing it with someone else or participating in video based cybersex give an impression that women are self-determined actors to express their own sexual preferences and pleasures.

Yet, in deeper sense, this form of representation of the female body hardly becomes any subversion from the heterosexual practices of representing a female body in a male (user) recorded pornographic video. Rather, the masturbating woman who holds the camera with one hand to show her face and then captures her fingers of the other hand rubbing her vagina is in fact granting the spectator to look through her open labia. ('this ones milks ya balls dry then fucks your friends) Thus, pleasure evokes from experiencing the sexual difference (i.e. the female genital) from a male perspective.

In another post titled "Nasty tramp in Cincinnati", a 36 years old woman (as claimed by the OP) whose face is not revealed in the video, is framed by her camera from a close range showing her genital being stimulated for arousal with a sex toy. This kind of camera framing also allows the spectator to visually penetrate the female vagina with a male point of view. On the other hand, the videos of online sex chats show women exhibiting their bodies in a more performative manner. "Slut ;D" is such a post featuring a teenage girl in G-string underwear performing a belly dance probably in front of her computer. Her face is partially seen. She comes close to the screen to show her buttocks while shaking them with the rhythm of music she has played in the background.

In another post, a woman is seen stripping off in web chats for the person on the other end and showing her face, breasts, buttocks and pelvic area in isolated frames in the video. ("Still A Ho Fo Sho") Appearing fully naked (headless though) and with written text on her breasts - 'Master Take', another woman is seen to lick her own breasts and fingering her vagina. She then poses in a specific style known as "doggy style" in pornographic terms to show her buttocks and the vagina to the person she is web chatting. ("K****** R****** Videos")

Performative exhibition of the female body in webcam sex videos like these mentioned above are definitely targeted to give pleasure to the person who is at the receiving end i.e. the heterosexual male. Viewers witnessing this bodily exhibition, achieve a male voyeuristic pleasure by looking at the sexual difference of the female body and her various erotic acts. The so-called authentic version of female pleasure confessed in these recorded
online sex chat clips or even selfie videos cannot be free from the heterosexual conventions of representing the female body. Nevertheless, Mulvey (1975) did argue that visual pleasure can also be evoked from the state of being looked at. But that pleasure is generated through the passive submission before subjective interest of the person who is gazing. That is why, female pleasure is inconceivable without being narcissistically immersed in the process of visual objectification of female body from a male spectator's position that imposes his voyeuristic/fetishistic interests. (van Zoonen 1994) Thus, audience's focus paradoxically shifts from female to male pleasure. (Van Doorn, 2010)

7.2.1c. The mundane portrayal of the penis in grip

All the videos in which the males appeared alone were self-made sex tapes. The videos like "J*** C******* A******", "Always horny" and "Cunt" are shot with the same technique - a close shot framing a hand rubbing the erected penis. The videos are quite short (the lengthiest is of 25 seconds long) compared to other categories as mentioned above. There is hardly any effort to exalt the penis through any visual technique which is often seen in the mainstream pornography (for example, projecting an ejaculating penis captured from a lower angle in order to resemble the great size and supremacy of the phallus). Rather, in most cases, it is the POV of the masturbating person holding the camera himself in one hand and looking down while gripping his genital with the other hand. As a result, the hand obscures the full view of the penis. In contrast to the commercial porn videos highlighting the hyper muscular structure of the porn stars, these selfie videos do not show any other parts of the male body, let alone the face of the persons participating in them. Thus, these videos in a mundane camera frames show the penis partially and in absence of the female body hardly evoke any visual pleasure for the heterosexual audience.

7.2.1d. Gender in performative acts and sexual role-playing

Self-made or mutually made sex tapes by ordinary people can demonstrate clear indication of male or female gender (Carstensen 2009) through stylization of the body and various bodily gestures, movements, and enactments that 'constitute the illusion of an abiding gendered self.' (Butler, 1988: 519) Sexual performance of the participants in the sex tapes published in revenge porn website is an important aspect in order to understand the construction of gender and sexual identities in those videos. According to Judith Butler, 'gender identity is a performative accomplishment compelled by social sanction and taboo.' (Ibid.: 520)

It is observed that the mainstream pornography of heterosexual genre visually portrayed males playing the active role and females being passive. Male participants are seen
to command females to do certain acts (such as taking off their own clothes/being in a certain sexual position/doing a certain sexual act/showing a particular parts of the body before the camera etc.). In non-scripted user generated porn, it is assumed that there is a scope for the females to bring a change in their role as active. However, the sample videos published as revenge porn tend to follow the conventional practice of portraying women as a subordinate to their male counterparts.

"fucking C******* m*****" is a good example of how an ordinary couple made sex tape resemble the performative conventions found in commercial porn. The woman in this video is positioned in a doggy style while the man penetrates her from behind. This position requires the woman (as the receiver) to be on all fours (hands and legs touching the ground) while the man is on his knees yet operating from a higher position. The actions by the man as seen in all three videos in this post (for example, grabbing her hair; pulling her both hands to lift her; and slapping on her buttocks while pounding on her from behind) give an impression that he is the dominant figure. Meanwhile, the woman is completely passive and has nothing to do other than moaning aloud and being submissive to him.

Using physical force and to inflict pain on the partner are defined as physical aggression which are common actions in pornography. In pornographic scenes, men are more likely to be the perpetrators of aggression while women are more frequently the targets. (Cowan & Campbell, 1994; Prince, 1990 as cited in Bridges, Wosnitzer, Scharrer, Sun, Liberman, 2010) However, aggression in pornography is not always forced on the target; rather, Alan McKee (2005) argues that the acts of apparent aggression in pornographic scenes are executed with consent, because they are required for the enjoyment of both actors and actresses.

This scenario is further evident in "pics and video f ex" where the man frequently grabs the woman's hair and the head while pushing his penis deep into her mouth and the woman continues the fellatio with consent. Spanking on female partner's cheek with the erected penis or gentle slapping on the face to give command to continue the oral sex are forms of physical aggression committed with consent and perhaps, are enjoyed mutually by both participants. ("S**** K** what is the matter with you")

However, the female body is not only subjected to sexual aggression but it is often seen to carry out degrading acts with consent in porn videos. In fact, sexual aggression and degradation are often seen as one unified concept. (Bridges et al. 2010) Pleasure gained through aggression may bring satisfaction to one partner while degrading the other in front of the audience. Thus, aggression in these videos exalts the males as authority figures and
degrades the females as subordinates. "Cheating game player" features a woman on her knees performing fellatio while the man is standing and recording her action.

Notions of dominance and submission, passivity or obedience are also part of the sexual role-playing (e.g. master-slave; stripper-client, employer-executive etc.) where the subordinate partner has to comply with the sexual demand of the dominant other. Sexual role-playing also involves wearing of a costume which is regarded as erotic, for example, a miniskirt or stockings. Contemporary commercial porn scripts often present sexual role-playing characters. Nevertheless, some ordinary sex tapes as evidenced here as the revenge porn also feature costume wearing female participants fulfilling the sexual demand of their male partners.

7.2.2. Analysis of the posts

In the quantitative analysis, it was mentioned that the background stories project the persons exposed as a negative characters breaking the codes of gender and sexuality. The poster as a reaction blames the person exposed and tries to justify in the story why he or she is taking a revenge of this kind. Results were presented in terms of frequencies of occurrence of labeling and blaming. (See p. 24) Here in this analysis, the ways of labeling and blaming in the story will be discussed in relation to the visual images found in the photos and videos. It is understood that the stories do not work in isolation. Rather, they depend on the visual images. Together they construct a preferred meaning. That is why, these sample posts are carefully interpreted in order to see how they construct a preferred meaning through the stories as well as the projected images in photos and videos.

However, results from the quantitative analysis revealed statistical figures on different kinds of audience reactions i.e. appreciation; desire; and making derogative comments etc. These audience subjectivities - seeking pleasure and desire or using abusive words while watching revenge porn indicate towards a particular ideology. The male subjectivity in audience comments is well established as majority of the posts expose female victims, and the audience of these posts expressed pleasure and desire while watching the female bodies in revenge porn. Thus, a relationship can be drawn between the preferred

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10 Rose (2007: 98) cites Hall (1980) and Williamson (1978) in explaining 'preferred meaning' which is produced by an image with dominant political/cultural/ideological order imprinted on it. Every society/culture has its own dominant cultural order. The dominant order shapes the discourses to understand different things in the physical world. A spectator who is also the meaning creator upon receiving an image is expected to interpret the image based on the discourses made available to her/him by the society or culture. The image depends on visual codes and referent systems for which there is a linguistic expression. Such codes and referents can delimit the interpretative power of a spectator to make other possible meanings. However, this process is not uncontested. Audience can make multiple meanings in parallel to the preferred meaning. (Rose, 2007)
meaning constructed in revenge porn posts and the dominant audience reactions to that. Rose (2007) citing Hall (1980) points towards this relationship - preferred meaning of a text becomes preferred reading when the audience interpret it according to the political/ideological order imprinted on them.

Nevertheless, this qualitative interpretation will not repeat the findings of the quantitative content analysis. Rather, it will make a departure from those findings and look for alternative results. The dominant reactions of the audiences (seeking pleasure, desire etc.) are too obvious and have already been measured in the previous analysis. Therefore, it is the aim of this analysis to examine the nature of dominant political/ideological order imprinted on the revenge porn posts which causes such audience reactions. In contrast, the inspection will also highlight on the possibilities for audience whether they can make any alternative meaning of the revenge porn posts. In fact, the quantitative analysis revealed about the audience comments (19.5%) disapproving the revenge porn post or the poster. This analysis will particularly examine how audience express disapproval; and thus, they can show signs of making opinion and resistance while watching revenge porn.

7.2.2a. Construction of a persona and the preferred meaning

A post in revenge porn website provides a range of "identity indicators" such as background information (found in the revenge story), photos and/or videos as well as links to social networking profiles. (Bullingham and Vasconcelos, 2013; Brickell 2012) All these elements play crucial role in presenting the character of the person and creating the audience perception about him or her. The words stated in the revenge story, the display and performance of the body in photos and videos depend on each other while constructing a persona of the person exposed. A particular pattern is observed in the use of words in post titles and stories in relation to the display of the body and its performance in photos and videos in most of the selected posts for this analysis.

In the following, the pattern is demonstrated through a table showing how words and images interplay in constructing the online sexual persona of people who are exposed in revenge porn website. Some particular features and actions of their body in photos and videos are shared in revenge posts; and through the use of words and phrases in revenge stories and post titles, they refer to a specific meaning that is intended. Such physical features and actions (in images) can be thought of as visual referents that those words or phrases (in stories and titles) stand for in the actual world carrying specific cultural meaning. It is observed that the
post title labels the person and the story characterizes him/her and both of them tend to be constructed based on the visual and performative referents found in the photos and videos.

Table 3: Pattern of blaming, labeling and creating a persona for females

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name (censored)</th>
<th>Words/phrases used in the title and/or the story to label the person</th>
<th>Blaming and negative characterization of the person in the story</th>
<th>Visual and Performative referents in photo(s)</th>
<th>Visual and Performative referents in video(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A*<strong><strong>M</strong></strong>**</td>
<td>Slut; prostitute; whore</td>
<td>A poor, unhygienic, hyper sexual woman, who leaves her partners as they deny to spend more on her.</td>
<td>The naked woman is shaving her pubic hair.</td>
<td>She is masturbating using both a toy and a vibrator in front of the web cam, squirts on the bed sheet and licks the toy in the end.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B**<strong><strong>A</strong></strong>*</td>
<td>Slut; bitch; liar; whore;</td>
<td>A married woman having excessive and fetish sexual desires who also provide cyber sexual services to her clients.</td>
<td>The woman is taking nude selfie photos (reflected through the mirror), stripping off and licking a sex toy.</td>
<td>Participating in video based sex, strip teasing while conversing with a client, revealing private parts of her body being completely naked and playing with her pet cat at the same time.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C*******D**</td>
<td>“Cum Lover”</td>
<td>A woman who initiates a relationship, shares her nude photos with the man (OP) and then moves to another man.</td>
<td>The woman taking her own nude photos.</td>
<td>a female hand and fingers rubbing her genitalia. (Selfie video)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S<em><strong><strong>E</strong></strong></em></td>
<td>Liar; whore; &quot;tramp&quot;</td>
<td>A STD diseased infidel woman.</td>
<td>A female hand holding a toy on the vagina while legs are wide spreading. Comment: Headless nude photo with the caption 'toying'</td>
<td>The woman in executive outfit (white shirt and black trouser) is knelt down and giving a fellatio to a man who's face is not revealed.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As it is evident in the table 3 above, a post labeling a woman with derogatory words, also display diverse visual and performative referents. These referents carry cultural meaning - 'sexual woman as prostitute' (Snow 1989: 34), which is obviously expressed by the
words and phrases used in stories and titles. So, it is not only about showing nudity in revenge porn, rather it is about nude people doing some specific actions and their specific physical features that is thought to be characterizing them. The physical actions by people, which are not sanctioned by dominant heterosexual gender norms contribute to their characterization as deviant persons. For example, displaying women using sex toys during masturbation and then licking it; squirting on the bed sheet; or shaving the pubic hair etc. can evoke sense of disgust to some viewers. Acts like stripping in front of the computer screen and then cuddling the pet in the nude indicate towards unusual sexual behavior. Some of these acts are highlighted in the respective stories to project the characters as having fetish sexual desires and being "filthy" too.

Projecting a woman recording nude selfie photos and videos by herself and then stating (in the story) that she distributed them to others are intended to establish her promiscuous character. The fourth example in the table further suggest the pattern of characterization of a woman. She is represented as an infidel woman and labeled as a "tramp". In the video, she is seen in costume, kneeling and performing fellatio on a man's penis. This act projects her as a subordinate and degraded subject. In the same post, a photo is shared displaying a toy on the vagina through the spreading legs. The word "tramp" in the title (an urban slang -referring to a woman, who will spread her legs for anyone) apparently stands for this photo. The visual and performative referents in photos and videos typically serve to characterize the women as negative persons and justify the blaming and labeling in the story.

Posts about males also follow a pattern of labeling, blaming and constructing a persona. Below, table 4 is presented to compare the posts featuring men.

Table 4: Pattern of blaming, labeling and creating a persona for males

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name (censored)</th>
<th>Words/phrases used in the title and/or story to label the person</th>
<th>Blaming and negative characterization of the person in the story</th>
<th>Visual and Performative referents in photo(s)</th>
<th>Visual and Performative referents in video(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>J**** A******</td>
<td>&quot;cheater&quot;</td>
<td>An infidel person frequently moving from one relationship to another.</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>a male hand stimulating his own penis. (Selfie video)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C***** V****</td>
<td>&quot;Cunt&quot;</td>
<td>A cheating boyfriend who is also a physical abuser.</td>
<td>A selfie taking naked man</td>
<td>a male hand stimulating his own penis. (Selfie video)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
S**** L*****  "sex crazed douchebag"  A person who does not care about emotional bonding but only craves for sex.

A selfie taking naked man  a male hand stimulating his own penis. (Selfie video)

Men in these posts, are characterized in a much more "straight-jacketed" fashion which is consistent with the stereotypical ideas of gender and sexuality associated with males. The posts projected males as infidel, sex craving or violent beings. This type of characterization is rather based on men's social image and has been projected in the mainstream media for a long period of time. However, words and/or phrases used for labeling males are seemingly less derogatory as seen in the table. One reason behind that is perhaps, males are not targeted with as much sexist vocabulary as are women. (Barak 2005)

A common characteristic is observed in all of the posts featuring men. That is, their negative characterizations are not substantiated with enough culturally recognizable and consistent visual referents. For example, the act of masturbation by a man rather gives a different impression about him (having a narcissist attitude) in contrast to his characterization in the story - as always craving for sexual encounter with the opposite sex. Though, it projects the man as an emotionless being. 11 On the other hand, the visual and performative referents in these posts hardly give any idea about male sexual fetishism as seen in the posts on women. Visuals of a male body with an erected penis do not necessarily degrade a man in pornographic sense either. Revenge stories about men do not mention anything about the physical features (for example, the size and length of penis) of those persons.

For both female and male victims, their characterization in revenge porn is largely based on the notions of gender and heterosexuality. The pattern of blaming and labeling is deeply rooted in the posters' perception of gender identity. After all, gender is a 'performative accomplishment compelled by social sanction and taboo.' (Butler 1988: 520) Gender is determined through various acts of the body and the way the body is culturally perceived. Gender norms define what is natural. (Ibid.) Any transgression of such norms can be used against a person for the purpose of her/his negative portrayal. This has been the case in revenge porn posts constructing identities for people. However, women are more vulnerable to this effect. There are more visual and performative referents used against the women in their negative characterization. The dominant discourses of gender and sexuality is more authoritative on the female body compelling more sanctions and taboos. Because of the

notions like patriarchy and heterosexuality, the preferred meaning in the revenge posts featuring women is more likely to be culturally accepted. This makes women more vulnerable to be abused through revenge porn.

7.2.2b. Audience comments: A scope for resistance to the dominant male subjectivity?

Earlier, it was mentioned that exposure to pornography draws reactions from people towards porn and it reveals something about the mechanisms of sexuality and relations of power. Individual reactions can vary between pleasure and desire to some, and shock or repulsion to others. (Lillie 2004) In cyber space, users of the internet (the audience also) ‘see themselves as constituting the anonymous crowd.’ (Yang and Shaw 2014: 188) But through the computer keyboard the anonymous can construct a ‘virtual subjectivity’. (Bignell 2002: 225) This virtual audience subjectivity needs to be ‘conceptualized in terms of [virtual] audience's agency as actively expressing resistance, opinions, and seeking pleasure, or passively accepting patriarchal ideologies... .' (Yang and Shaw 2014: 187)

However, the quantitative analysis revealed about the audience comments (19.5% of the total 742) disapproving the revenge porn post or the poster. This suggests that the internet is not an uncontested site. At least one in five viewers can make alternative meaning of the post. There can be both articulation of power (dominant male subjectivity seeking pleasure and desire) and resistance (by expressing disapproval) by the audience in cyber space. This analysis will further examine how audience can actively express resistance and opinion while watching revenge porn. Below selected texts of audience comments are presented under different thematic categories that will indicate how viewers of revenge porn can resist the dominant male subjectivity.

i) Supporting the victim: Audience comments often express support towards the person being exposed on the internet. They may engage in a voluntary advocacy for the victim of revenge porn. C****** M***** from Phoenix, Arizona (as claimed by the poster) who was exposed on April 10, 2014 apparently earned sympathy from the viewers. In the post, she was introduced as a porn star and three sex tapes revealing her having sexual intercourse (on different occasions) with one male participant was published on Myex.com. In contrast to all those audience comments expressing enjoyment, pleasure and desire towards her physical attributes, some comments as below can be taken as a testimony to the positive side of her character.

"[S]he attended Peoria Accelerated High School in Arizona...she was a 4.0 student...I guess she’s not that smart after all to let some douche bag videotape her!" (Obama on April 10, 2014 at 9:03 PM)
"I get the OP’s deal…wanting to be a porn star and all. [B]ut this chick just isn’t into it and it shows. [S]he isn’t having any of his shit. [S]he just wants to make love and this dude is trying to make himself feel like a super hero. She’s super hot but watching her in the vids isn’t a turn on" (BD on April 22, 2014 at 4:52 PM)

J****** D****, a 43 years old woman from Warsaw, New York (as stated in the post) also gained sympathy from some of the viewers as they thought the act of revenge on her was unjustified.

"You people should be ashamed of yourselves! The person that posted this.. seems like you are the devils spawn! What kind of human being would be this nasty to try to ruin someone’s life! How dare anyone talk about someone[s] children like that! They are innocent and have nothing to do with any of this. Then bringing up another person[s] name that has no reference! This whole post is ridiculous. I must say I am ashamed for you and your senselessness. Live your life how you choose and leave others lives alone!" (Renee on February 2, 2014 at 5:45 PM)

"This is pure B/S. He is a jack-ass. Renee is right…this POS brings this woman’s kids into it…and posts this crap with no regard for the effect on their lives. A classic loser move. And… the whack shaves his nut-sack. This idiot actually shaves his junk… then has the audacity to criticize kids. Probably bleaches his asshole too. I’d enjoy seeing a video of her kid’s dad’s kicking his ass. That would be entertaining." (common sense on February 28, 2014 at 4:57 AM)

The revenge post provided a lot of personal information about J****** D**** and her children and family. The above mentioned audience comments questioned about the justification of defaming someone and her children in such manner and criticized the OP for doing that. For the poster it is sometimes important to justifying his act of revenge otherwise some audience may disapprove the entire post.

"So she didn’t cheat or anything? You ruin it by putting her here? You, dude, are a douchebag" (TheHero on February 6, 2014 at 1:19 PM)

Thus, the audience seem to raise questions about OP’s preferred meaning in a revenge post and can construct other possible meanings using their own critical thinking.

"[T]his guy is a moron, [I] like how men fuck up a relationship, then lie and post this stuff lol sure it[s] hot but they should all be arrested. She is also a cancer survivor so she has my support." (me on April 9, 2014 at 7:24 PM)

The audience support can often come from someone who is perhaps acquainted to the victim or someone completely a stranger. Even the victim can write a comment taking a pseudo name for herself. One cannot overrule that possibility. Nevertheless, these comments indicate that audience through their comments can raise their voice and take the scope of resisting the male dominated ideology of victimizing women in revenge porn.
ii) **Pointing to the legal consequence:** Resistance to victimization and objectification of women in revenge porn posts can be observed in the comments section as viewers often remind the OP about the legal consequences of such act. This is intended to deter the poster from publishing such content, facing law enforcing agency and the possible punishment in case the OP denies to have them deleted from the World Wide Web.

"Take the videos down, she’s underage. If not, you’ll be arrested. You have 48 hours to comply." *(Arizona State Police on April 25, 2014 at 7:17 AM, myex.com, 2014k)*

"You are a idiot she’s only 15 you should really check next time I’m pretty sure you[re] going to jail for posting pics and videos of a minor *(vvvvv on February 17, 2014 at 2:59 AM)*.

Commenters sometimes also address the victim and provide useful links to seek help from the law enforcing agency.

"[I]f she[’s] underage it should not have been posted she needs to click the law enforcement link at the btm of [this] page" *(topdog on February 7, 2014 at 10:19 AM)*

Supposedly, an effort to counter the entire culture of revenge porn was also evident in the audience comments section.

"Contact DMCA Defender, they can help you. dmcadefender.com / victim-of-revenge-porn/

Negotiate with them if needed.

You can help put an end to revenge porn by signing the End Revenge Porn petition.

U.S. Petition: EndRevengePorn.org / petition/

Global Petition: EndRevengePorn.org / non-u-s-petition/

This petition is our most powerful tool to end revenge porn." *(for alice on April 29, 2014 at 9:40 PM)*

End Revenge Porn, an anti revenge porn movement is providing assistance to the victims of such online harassment and is advocating for criminalizing this act by the US court of law. This is becoming more popular with time and its promotion by an audience in Myex.com to support a female victim needs to be counted as an expression of resistance to the male dominated environment of a revenge porn website.

iii) **Male sexual organ under the audience gaze:** The naked body of a victim of revenge porn being exposed in a post is objectified as it is then subjected to audience pleasure, desire or derogative and sexist comments. Majority of the victims of such objectification are women. However, such a visual recording of heterosexual encounters often capture the body organs (face may not be revealed though) of the person who participated in it along with the victim. Viewers do not only see the physical features of the person exposed, rather they critically examine and comment on the other participant as well. For example, J****** D***** was exposed while performing a fellatio on a man's penis who supposedly published
the video in the website. Some of the audiences of the post were also seen to comment on the shape and size of the man's sexual organ.

"[I]s that a penis growing on top of his penis?" (stewie on January 20, 2014 at 1:37 PM)
"Between his Penis looking like a banana and the spiderweb of veins on her chest… I was slightly distracted from the great head she seems to give!" (Balls Deep on January 20, 2014 at 4:23 AM)

The shape and size of the penis at times seem to be the criteria for some audience to draw a conclusion about a revenge post. They can disapprove a post if they consider the OP lacks in his manhood. In one post, audience commented even to express their support for a female victim who was claimed by the OP to be cheating on him. They disapproved the justification of OP blaming the woman as they thought his penis was too small to satisfy her.

"Dude..she need to cheat on you just to keep your relationship going. Your dick is damn small." (Law Maker on March 12, 2014 at 2:00 PM)
"She had no choice buddy that pecker is a fail." (peckerhead on March 12, 2014 at 2:24 PM)

The negative characterization of the women in these posts along with the display of their naked bodies with explicit visual referents were probably not enough to drag the audience to the poster's preferred direction of meaning construction. It is obvious that some spectators of revenge porn (although they constitute a smaller portion of the total number) look for a variety of visual codes available to them through the exhibition of photos and videos. Viewers of this category can indeed construct alternative meanings through their 'continual adjustments and testing' of existing visual codes in revenge porn. (Bignell 2002: 192) As they virtually express their opinions about a post, ultimately, it turns out to be their refusal to passively accept the dominant patriarchal ideologies imprinted in there.

7.3. Results: Discourse Analysis

The website, MyEx.com is of course an institution (a visual archive in electronic space) with its own conventions, regulations and architecture etc. Discourses are produced and circulated through them. (Rose 2012) Foucault, in his book titled The History of Sexuality, writes - 
'[d]iscourse transmits and produces power; it reinforces it, but also undermines and exposes it,... ′ (Foucault 1978: 101) On the other hand, 'human subjects are produced through discourses.' (Rose 2012: 143) So, it is the power of discourse within a visual archive that produces specific subjective positions. (Brickell 2012) According to him, various forms of subjectivities are constructed as users on the internet navigate the discourses available to them through such sites. (Ibid.) For example, subjectivities can be produced through the design and
architecture of the revenge porn website; through the creation of its content; also through the exposure in a post; or even through the spectatorship. Articulations of power in the archive of MyEx.com needs to be understood in terms of the power constituting and regulating various discursive subject positions produced in there.

Brickell (2012) in his work attempted a Foucauldian enquiry of power shaping the network of internet sexuality. He explored the constitutive and regulative nature of power on the internet producing subjects and governing their conducts. 'In Michel Foucault’s estimation, power is a set of forces that establishes modes of being and governs conduct.' (Brickell 2012: 30) However, power can also be an agent of inequality, privileging some actors or group while marginalizing and dominating some others. (Ibid.) This occurs due to some specific discourses which are dominant within institutions and technologies. (Rose 2007) These different dimensions of power need not be separated from each other as they do not play out in isolation. 'To explore them together is to account for their intersections and overlaps, to see how each of power’s strands builds upon the others.' (Brickell 2012: 29)

However, 'Foucault suggested that institutions [a visual archive] work in two ways: through their apparatus and through their technologies.' (Rose 2007: 174) So, it is important to explore how power as a product of discourse constitute, govern and privilege/marginalize different subjectivities within the apparatus and technologies of the website MyEx.com and how power relations (dominance, resistance and inequality) between those subjectivities are maintained there. These concepts about power, subjectivities and their relations will be introduced in the following while explaining the apparatus and technologies of revenge porn archive separately. However, in the qualitative content analysis section, techniques of articulating the heterosexual notions of gender and sexuality in the revenge porn content have been discussed. The discourse analysis, rather than merely emphasizing on techniques used in individual images or posts, will generally address the effects of the technologies employed in that website.

7.3.1. The apparatus of MyEx.com

The revenge porn website as a consequence of internet sexuality deploys a disciplining surveillance on the lives of the people who are exposed here. (Brickell 2012; Döring 2000) Textual and visual recordings of all these individuals' sexual lives and actions are stored within this site. These sexual interactions were taken place in their very private space. But as a result of the so called revenge act, these recordings are now made available for public exhibition on the internet. The naked body and its performance is permanently archived in this
virtual space. One can watch them time and again with fingers pressing a few computer keyboard buttons. Each and every person exposed in a revenge post is contained in an individual webpage. The search options provided by the website makes it very easy to locate a specific person who is a victim of revenge porn. It appears as like as these victims are the occupants in this virtual space subjected under permanent visibility.

Moreover, this revenge porn site further extends its surveillance capacity as each posters are asked to share the link of the exposed person's social networking profiles (Facebook and twitter) while they create a post in the website. With a single click on the link more information (both visual and textual) on the victim can be gained. This is an increased level of visibility since the person exposed will now risk to be pursued by a greater number of interested individuals from both online and offline space. This kind of surveillance obviously has a controlling effect on people's lives both in the virtual and the social space.

Many people face harsher consequences which is not only limited to online sexual harassment or cyber stalking. (Barack 2005) Rather, accounts from Halder and Jaishankar (2012) and contemporary news reports confirm that social situations like offline intimidation, blackmailing, extortion (which is now called "sextortion" publicly), losing a career or being forced to end an ongoing relationship and abetment to suicide are very common happenings after being exposed in a revenge porn website. That is why this mechanism of control on people's lives can be compared to Foucault's (1977) notion of "Panopticon", by which he referred to a carceral society stemming from modern computerized surveillance which is disciplining its subjects. MyEx.com has become like a carceral space in the virtuality where its occupants are being disciplined, controlled and even repressed on some occasions.

However, MyEx.com as a new media institution is not only to discipline ordinary human beings by publishing their nude images. Its archive also features separate pages containing sexualized pictures as well as videos of media professionals, celebrities, sports stars, who are relatively in a privileged position in the society. These posts are published under the categories like "Celebrities" and "Athletes" in the website. (Figure-1 in appendix 6.) Thus, authority figures in the society (not being free from the consequences of various societal power relations) are subjected to the same magnitude of control because of such surveillance. This reinforces the ideas of synoptic surveillance brought in by Mathiesen (1995; 1997) and in later period by Lehman (2007) and also Doyle (2011) who attributed the phenomenon to the easy availability and use of digital recording technologies.
Nevertheless, both the ordinary people and the celebrities from media or sports arena are subjected to the same controlling gaze. The visibility, resulting from either panoptic or synoptic surveillance - no matter whatever it is to be termed - ultimately, produces two primary subject positions. '[O]ne subject is seen without ever seeing and the other sees without ever being seen'. (Rose 2012: 174) The subjectivities produced by the surveillance are not merely limited to the identities of the ordinary man or the celebrity. Rather, both of them share the common subjective position, which is the subjectivity of the one who is being watched. These people who may have voluntarily participated in making their own pornographic images, are now being seen without knowing who is seeing them through the revenge porn website. The spectator, on the other hand, is voyeur and remains in a vantage point to watch both the ordinary people and the celebrities in the nude.

This kind of visibility also constructs subjectivities of the self and the other. A viewer who belongs to a certain gender, race, religion, culture and geographical area can both identify similarities and make distinctions between his/her self and the otherness of the person exposed. People from all around the world are represented in this huge collection and display of naked images doing very different type of sexual interactions. By visiting MyEx.com, the audience constructs their own selves and various types of others depending on the characteristics of likeness and peculiarity that they find in people exposed in this online archive.

However, considering this particular website as a mere digital archive of revenge porn utilizing the surveillance power of the internet shall be a reductive evaluation. There is a mercantile interest behind the construction of such a site. MyEx.com is a money making online entity that uses its archived content in different ways for commercial purposes. Not each of them can be called either ethical or legal. Firstly, the site offers the victims of revenge porn to remove their unwanted photos and/or videos (see Figure- 2 in the appendix 6) from its archive. The removal of any of these content is executed in exchange of money. A TV channel KSL 5 reported on one victim exposed in MyEx.com, who was demanded by the site to pay US $400 if she wanted her photos and information taken down. According to that victim, this was nothing but a case of extortion.12 Thus, the institutional apparatus of MyEx.com itself constructs this order of repression on people and establishes it as a discursive practice among many other online sexual harassers and their victims.

The other way of collecting revenue for the website is advertising. The site offers advertising placements to other online commercial entities. (Figure- 3 in appendix 6). The revenge porn website attracts a huge number of viewers. So, it is no surprise that the commercial porn sites and sex dating sites become the primary clients with endorsements in MyEx.com. (Figure 4 and 5 in appendix 6.) This is also an indication of how revenge porn displaying sexual encounters of real life people are converging into the mainstream commercial pornography. According to Paasonen (2010), such commercialization of these real life sexual recordings makes them as commodities and the producers of and the participants in these contents become subjects just as like as the professional actor/actresses and makers of commercial pornography. Though, their labor remains immaterial. She called this subject position as 'amateur professional and 'professional amateur', or ProAm', whose 'free, collective and affective labor has become effectively channeled into business practices' feeding and supporting the mechanisms of revenge porn enterprise. (Paasonen 2010: 1306-1307)

There is another kind of subjective position to be produced and governed by the apparatus of revenge porn website. This is the subjectivity of the person who is taking revenge through this site. MyEx.com gives definite instructions on how to create a content, what to share (basic information, background story, photos and/or videos etc.) and what rules (copyright and age conformity) to be met to have the content published. (Figure- 6 in appendix 6.) This procedure both constitutes and regulates the subjectivity and actions of the poster. "Get revenge" and "Submit your ex" are examples of those power laden statements by this website which constitute and regulate one subject (the poster) in a heterosexual relationship to be in a powerful position and exercise that power by exposing his/her so called subversive/infidel ex-partner in revenge porn. Thus. MyEx.com through its apparatus constructs and governs these discursive positions in particular ways, and disseminate them to an online audience.

While creating a content posters are invited by the "Casey" to tell their stories. (Figure- 7 in appendix 6.) Casey literally refers to someone who is vigilant or watchful. Many posters are seen to address Casey directly while they expose their ex-partners. Even the audience are seen to communicate with Casey if they think a particular post needs to be praised or taken down. Casey often make remarks (whether positive or negative) on the quality of the post. It appears that the Casey plays more like a role of an archivist - a new

\[13\] The average number of viewers hitting a revenge porn post was 26899 (Mean) as seen in the quantitative content analysis of 100 posts.
subject position constituted for the purpose of administration and maintenance of these collected and displayed material as well as receiving feedback from the visiting spectators.

This archivist represents the website and holds an institutional subject position. However, the stories told by a poster is his/her own subjective reflections - on the person exposed as well as on the relationship they used to have. Casey as a representative of the institution gives power to the poster to claim truth in his version of the story. But this version is not confirmed since the victim do not have a scope to counter it. Thus, the poster's story appears as a true version of it. Though, by commenting on the post, Casey can give institutional approval or disapproval to that claim of truth. This is how, Casey enters into the complex nexus of power dynamics among other subject positions like the poster, the exposed person and the audience.

Earlier, in this section, a spectator's subjectivity constituted from a panoptic and/or synoptic surveillance was mentioned briefly. Now, this subjective position will be explained more in detail. As a matter of fact, MyEx.com creates a scopophilic subjectivity in the mind of the spectator. Mulvey (1975) borrowed this term scopophilia from Sigmund Freud while explaining the visual pleasure a spectator can achieve by looking at other people as erotic objects in visual images. It refers to the sexual pleasure derived from looking at naked body parts of others in erotic images or pornography etc. The design of revenge porn site offers such a pleasure to its audience. For example, the header of the webpage says "Find Someone You Know..." with three separate search boxes for the first and the last name of a person and her/his location. (see Figure- 8 in appendix 6.)

A viewer can choose a location (country wise and/or state wise in case of the USA) and see who are the people already been exposed there from that particular geographical location. Similarly, search can also be made by the first and/or the last name written in the box. That is how people, who most of the time are exposed in their nude, from all corners of the world are instantly presented to the viewers of MyEx.com to be looked at. This search option constitutes subjectivity in the audience who can seek pleasure by looking at naked images of people (whether known or unknown) and desire them as sexual objects.

Majority of the posts in MyEx.com are featuring naked images of women. The female ratio\(^{14}\) of being exposed in revenge porn is overwhelmingly high. (Halder and Jaishankar 2012). As a result, the spectator is naturally placed in a gendered position of looking. According to Liesbet van Zoonen (1994), it is the scopophillic male subjectivity that

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\(^{14}\) This was further confirmed by the results of quantitative content analysis executed in this study. See p. 22.
achieves feelings of lust and satisfaction through a conscious and concentrated way of looking. (See figure- 9 in appendix 6 for an example of a webpage from MyEx.com) Male audience find the bodily and sexual difference of female other as their source of visual pleasure. (Van Doorn 2010) Furthermore, Mulvey (1975) is cited by van Zoonen (1994) who even defines it as a patriarchal order: Looking is a male activity and being looked at is female passivity. As a result, patriarchy can be naturalized and becomes part of the archive's apparatus. (Rose 2007)

However, the site does provide a range of choices to its audience for selecting the type of revenge porn content that satisfy their sexual interest. With navigation bars like "SEX TAPES"; "JUST GIRLS"; "JUST GUYS"; "CELEBRITIES"; and "ATHLETES" a viewer is left with various pornographic contents which are of different genres. This architecture of the site places an audience in a particular subject position as s/he chooses from any of the options given. (see Figure- 10 in appendix 6.) This selection of porn content by the audience is a discursive formation\textsuperscript{15} as this action is influenced by the power of discourse. For example, gender identity (male/female), sexual orientation (homosexual/heterosexual) or even social subjectivity (ordinary/authority) etc. create an order to discipline the audience in making their sexual preferences and actions i.e. choosing a particular content from a variety of alternatives.

Brickell (2012) cites the French theorist Louis Althusser to define it as a process of interpellation which drags the audience into discourse and produces subjects by hailing them. Interpellation occurs at a structural level as 'the site’s very architecture calls us [the audience] into being; it constitutes us [the audience] as online [porn consuming] subjects.' (Brickell 2012: 31) Nevertheless, these porn consumers can express individuality in seeking visual pleasure by choosing and looking at a particular type of sexual content. Therefore, various choices for selection from a range of different porn contents as provided by MyEx.com construct multiplication of pleasures and multiple agencies within the audience. (Lillie 2004)

Yang and Shaw (2014) suggests that the subjectivity of such a diverse virtual audiences needs to be conceptualized in terms of their agency 'as actively expressing resistance, opinions, and seeking pleasure, or passively accepting patriarchal ideologies... .'. (Yang and Shaw 2014: 187) These scholars in their own field of research (internet audience in

\textsuperscript{15} According to Rose (2007: 143), 'discursive formation is the way meanings are connected together in a particular discourse.' She cites Foucault (1972: 38) saying - 'Whenever one can define a regularity (an order, correlations, positions and functionings, transforma-tions), we will say, for the sake of convenience, that we are dealing with a dis-cursive formation.'
Taiwan) experienced an active citizenship among the so called anonymous internet users who voluntarily participate in national politics. Rather than being irrational/emotional, passive and violent, these anonymous crowd articulated citizenship through rational discussion and active political participation. This is of course an example of the constitutive power which new media apparatus possesses. The online platform with its interactive environment provide scopes for its users to create a virtual community and collaborate between each other. (Ibid.)

A similar architectural design can be found in the revenge porn site. The comments section under each post enables the audience with assorted subjectivities to express their opinions. It is true that identity of the audience in a revenge porn site remains anonymous in most cases. But as they send their feedback to approve, praise or criticize a post and/or a poster, their virtual subjectivity is expressed through their computer keyboard. (Bignell 2002) 'Those who engage in an online debate on sexual rights, for instance, constitute themselves as subjects who hold particular political positions, and perhaps a specific sexual identity.' (Brickell 2012: 39) Signs of rationality, individuality and critical thinking are evident in online debates which revenge porn audience stage through their comments. Thus, these audiences are not merely passive pleasure seeking porn consumers, rather many of them are also active viewers who voluntarily participates in the politics of gender and sexuality. In that sense, the dominant orders (for example, patriarchy, heterosexuality or even race etc.) in the apparatus of revenge porn archive face some resistance. This makes the particular virtual site a contested one.

7.3.2. The technologies of MyEx.com

The information-gathering technologies of the global network conduct their surveillance not only on the body itself, but also on the body’s extension in digital space, the subject. For the panoptic eye of cyberspace, which cannot always observe or know about the body (at least not yet), therefore, the subject, within its cyberspace/internet terminal discourse, is only defined and known by its digital footprints in the virtual snow. (Lillie 2004: 55)

The internet creates an online self for people through its technologies, which use a wide range of identity indicators like photos, videos, social networking profile and also written text. (Bullingham and Vasconcelos, 2013; Brickell 2012) These advanced technologies with multimedia features are also utilized in the revenge porn website while creating an online profile for the person exposed. Photos, videos, social networking profiles

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16 The site archiving revenge porn content mostly features people from the western world. Posts which expose people from other regions and particularly, of non white origin are often targeted with racial slurs by some viewers. It has been observed that audience in the comments section often engage in mutual debates and denounce racist remarks.
along with the revenge story (a short verbal text written by the poster) in a post convincingly tell about that person's sexual and/or social personality and habits. A revenge post is not only about exposing the naked body, but all these multimedia contents are used in combination to construct and define a subject i.e. the victim. Nevertheless, the people who are exposed in revenge porn have social existence in the actual world. But their social self is vulgarly reduced to the online identity they receive for themselves due to the exposure in revenge porn.

Below, some practical techniques utilized in the revenge porn archive along with their effects are discussed. Nevertheless, the effects of certain technologies need to be understood in terms of what they produce. (Rose 2007)

7.3.2a. Technologies of display:
Several technologies of display are available in the revenge porn archive. In each page of the website, ten posts are displayed. Posts are featured with particular display techniques to intrigue the viewers to know about the body and the subject through its digital footprints. Major techniques used for display are -

- A profile picture/A hyperlinked screenshot from the video file (for playing it);
- Thumbnails (one or more pictures of the person exposed appearing in a very small size);
- Title of the post;
- Personal information (name, age and location);
- Social networking profiles
- Number of views.
- A revenge story (a short written text).

These are obviously different technologies of display containing both visual and textual elements. (For example, see figures- 11, 12, and 13 in appendix 6.) According to Rose (2007), these different technologies work in conjunction to effect meaning in the visitor's mind. Visual display techniques 'very often depend on their intersection with other technologies, especially written text.' (Rose 2007: 184) There are certain ways these technologies draw a spectator in. For example, images like the profile picture or the video screenshot contains maximum value for the person featured in the post. Audience amid numerous other posts choose a particular one by looking at the profile picture or by playing the video.

Thumbnail photos on the other hand, show people in various erotic positions often invite the spectator to enter into the post. (See figure- 14 in the appendix 6.) In fact, such
images involve the viewer in filling the 'visual absence'. (Rose 2007: 100 cites Williamson 1998) These images are more like the point of view of someone not seen within the frame. The spectator is invited to fill that absence. Thus, a specific subjectivity in the audience looking at other people and their naked bodies is constituted and regulated by these technologies.

On the other hand, written text can also attract the audience. Stories give details on the personality and sexual behaviors of the person exposed, while words and phrases in the post title define her/his character. Some photos contain captions. A caption defines a subject or its actions in the photo. Text providing personal information (e.g. location) can catch the eyes of some viewers who particularly like to watch people in the nude from their neighborhood or from a preferred geographical location.

Another textual display technique is about showing the number of views of a post. It may have a regulatory effect on the viewer. Number of views creates a hierarchy among the posts as it gives a clue to the viewers to determine which post is more deserving. To Rose (2007), this may appear as a form of disciplining the viewer as it suggests them to choose one particular post over another.

There are other forms of discipline as seen in the technologies of revenge porn website. They are evident through some specific techniques which ensure that viewers will see what is constructed as 'the highlights of the collection.' (Rose 2007: 194) Such emphasis to certain posts are evident in both visual and textual display. For example, displays like "Most Popular" and "Related Exes" provide highlights of the collections with visuals. (See figure- 15 in appendix 6.) In contrast, a textual display like "Recent Comments" showcase specific audience comments on some particular posts. By clicking on any of the comment as highlighted in this display, a viewer is directed to the respective post. Thus, this display technique takes a bottom up approach by involving the audience in the process of making a hierarchy of the posts and disciplining other potential viewers. (See figure- 16 in appendix 6.)

The intertextuality between visuals (photos and/or videos) and verbal texts (in stories and post titles) have been discussed in the qualitative content analysis. It was observed during that analysis: The revenge posts intended a preferred meaning through the construction of an online persona (the subject) for the people being exposed. Particular visual referents (bodily features and actions) in photos and videos were highlighted in order to define a subject textually in the story and in the post title. This procedure followed a specific pattern while describing bodies, desires and sexual behaviors of the persons exposed. This is how the
subjects - infidel wife; promiscuous woman; prostitute; violent and abuser man; or cheating husband and so on were constituted.

The descriptions of bodies, desires and sexual behaviors of the persons exposed in revenge porn construct knowledge of the body. Each of the individual posts utilizes the technologies of display employed in MyEx.com while generating knowledge of the body. An useful account on how technologies of a visual archive containing cyberporn produce knowledge of the body has been given:

In Foucault’s work, technologies and mechanisms of power and sexuality generate knowledge of the body - knowledge that is then dispersed upon the body and within social architectures. Thus, although the knowledge generated through computer and internet interactions does not gather around the body in quite the same way Foucault describes, as with our knowledge of sexual development and the functions of the genitals, information does gather and linger in the extension of the body, the machine: the computer/internet apparatus that, functionally, you cannot separate from the body during times of use. indeed, the network apparatus is being extended via pervasive and ubiquitous technologies so that we rarely exist outside the network’s domain. (Lillie 2004: 55)

However, the knowledge generated by such technologies is a reductive construction showing only the one side to truth. (Ibid.) Participating in cybersex means to engage in a two way communication. There are at least two parties both of whom send and receive sexual messages (sexual images/texts). But usually, when people publish revenge posts they only upload contents which they prefer while exposing the other person. The recording of images may also go through substantial amount of editing and censoring according to the posters’ convenience (in order to secure anonymity). Thus, these contents cannot represent the complete picture of the real sexual encounter between individuals. Rather, these recorded contents are decorated and presented with words and phrases to intend a preferred meaning as seen in the qualitative analysis section.

Yet, on some certain grounds this partial knowledge can be assumed and claimed as truthful accounts. This is where some dominant discourses come into play to claim the knowledge to be the absolute truth. (Rose 2007) Foucault insisted that 'all knowledge is discursive and all discourses are saturated with power.' (Rose 2007: 144) Knowledge of the body is constructed through discursive vision and visuality i.e. discourses which disciplines one what to see, how to see, how one is able, allowed or made to see etc. These are the techniques of effecting meanings - the knowledge of the body. (Ibid.)

The knowledge seems truthful when all these visual and verbal texts are used in accurate combination. (Rose 2007) Thus, preferred meaning of a post becomes preferred
reading as audience also interpret it in accordance. It implies that the same discourses which produced the knowledge, now have constituted discursive subjectivity in the audience. These dominant discourses discipline the viewers to look at and interpret the post in the same discursive way. The subjectivities of pleasure, desire, appreciating or derrogating the victim of revenge porn are constituted in the audience by the very discourses (heterosexuality; patriarchy etc.) that also produce the victim (another subject) and the knowledge of its body. This is indeed a discursive formation in Foucault's (1972) term.

In the revenge porn archive, viewers' capacity of judgment is largely based on the notions of gender and sexuality. Social subjects are disciplined by these discourses even when they are in the virtual space. They know the codes of conduct based on such discourses and how to react when a subject breaches them. The posts in most cases, present people who are claimed to be breaking the heterosexual gender norms. Blaming a person for the breach of heterosexual code of conduct and labeling her/him as a negative personality is a common practice in these posts in order to justify the act of revenge. Discursive subjectivity in the audience further approves this justification.

However, different groups of people possess different ideologies and are disciplined by various discourses. So, they see the world differently and can interpret individual visual images in very different ways. (Rose 2007 cites Hodge and Kress 1988) This has been experienced during the qualitative analysis of the audience comments in sample posts. Yet, discourses like heterosexuality and patriarchy are very powerful in revenge porn archive and they influence majority of the audience (as it was seen in the results of quantitative content analysis). This is how the knowledge of the body constructed in revenge porn is dominantly assumed and claimed as absolute truth.

8. Discussion

Two different methodological approaches were used in this research. Firstly, the content analysis carried out both quantitative and qualitative analysis of the sample materials i.e. the revenge porn content. The results from quantitative content analysis on a larger set of samples revealed about the basic characteristics of revenge porn content (stories and photos) as well as the audience reactions to that. The qualitative interpretation of a sample set of twenty revenge porn posts focused on how the processes of production of and meaning construction through the revenge porn videos and the entire post were affected by the discourses of gender and heterosexuality. Finally, the discourse analysis tried to explain the formation of various
discursive subject positions through the institutional apparatus and technologies of the website and how power relations are maintained between them.

The empirical data suggest that the effect of revenge porn has a gender bias. Women in general were seen to be victimized in majority (88%) of the sample posts. Young people within the age group of 16-25 were the most prominent among the exposed ones. Over half of the total photos were shot by the victims themselves and they contained more nudity. These findings confirm some previous empirical study results as presented in the literature review section. For example, the overwhelming frequency of women getting exposed in revenge porn posts as claimed by Halder and Jaishankar (2012: 4); as well as Hasinoff's (2012: 449) observation on the growing trend of 'sexting' among the teenage girls are also experienced in this research.

High frequency of women and also men (much less frequently though) taking selfie photos and showing their naked bodies in these revenge porn posts obviously suggest to the claim that these people are forming participatory communities on the internet while embracing the liberatory mechanisms of the internet in order to represent their sexuality. Nevertheless, the consequence of such liberation is of course objectification, if not victimization. Most of the revenge porn posts, while sharing naked pictures and/or videos as well as personal information of the victims labeled them as negative and/or hyper sexual persons. On the other hand, audience of revenge porn, due to such profiling of the victims expressed mixed signs of reactions. The dominant reactions were - seeking pleasure and/or desire; making derogative comments on the persons exposed; or showing disapproval to the post/poster.

Using abusive words while labeling and blaming a person in a post, or mere objectification of a victim by the audience - seeking pleasure, desire or making derogative comments are few examples of the ways, in which sexual harassment takes place in such online spaces. (Barak 2005) Since most of the posts expose women, sexual harassment in these cases naturally take the form of gender harassment through the actions like - making gender-related degrading remarks, insulting the victims because of their physical features, or cracking chauvinistic jokes etc. Expressing desire to get in sexual contact with the victims can be defined as unwanted sexual attention which is another form of sexual harassment evident in the audience comments section in MyEx.com. (Ibid.)

These results from the quantitative content analysis also turned out to be the foundation of the qualitative content analysis in this paper. The textual and visual interpretation of the posts aimed to understand the pattern of blaming and labeling of a person
in a post, which could cause such dominant audience reactions that objectify the victim (who is in most cases, a female). The qualitative analysis of a smaller set of sample posts looked for the discourses of gender and sexuality shaping those posts while constructing a preferred meaning through them. Audience remarks expressing pleasure and/or desire, or using abusive words were seen as the effect of that preferred meaning. This is how, these two types of content analysis in this study complemented each other.

It has been seen that the discourses of gender and heterosexuality significantly influenced the construction of the entire post. The characterization of the persons exposed and the pattern of blaming and labeling them in the revenge story considerably depended on some particular visual and performative referents available in photos and videos. The images were used as evidences against the revenge porn victims who were claimed to be breaking the hetero-normative codes of gender and sexuality. Words in the stories stood for the visual and performative referents in the images and expressed a specific cultural meaning - sexual woman as the fallen; and in contrast, man as an infidel or an emotionless abuser. These types of meaning making are discursive formations.

Particularly, the analysis of the videos in these posts revealed about the manifestation of heterosexual conventions in representing the bodies and sexual performances of both females and males. These user generated sex tapes followed the similar codes of mainstream pornographic films which display women as mere sexual object before the erotic spectacle of the heterosexual man. The sexual difference of the female body is repeatedly highlighted from a close distance. The camera frames mapping the female erogenous zones, while annihilating the male body could only evoke visual pleasure for the male audience. It did not matter whether the male (operating the camera) or the female (recording herself) participant had the authority over recording devices. In both cases, female body was objectified under the male gaze.

Gender was clearly marked in the performative acts and sexual role-playing in these sample videos. As usual, females were projected as passive, submissive and subjugated before the authority and aggression of their male counterparts. The female body is not only subjected to sexual aggression but it is often seen to carry out degrading acts with consent in these videos. That is how women are projected as subordinated and dehumanized bodies in these images. As Judith Butler (1988) suggests, gender is determined through various acts of the body and the way the body is culturally perceived. The biased bodily representation, fetish and often degrading sexual performances and the submissive role of the women in these videos can be related to the dominant cultural perceptions about them which have been
expressed both in the revenge stories as well as in audience comments. All these elements are mutually connected and rooted in the dominant discourses of gender and heterosexuality. That is how preferred meaning of the stories became preferred reading in the audience comments. (Rose 2007)

However, alternative meaning constructions (disapproval of the posts/posters) by the audience were also evaluated in this qualitative analysis of the content. Audience's agency do vary from seeking pleasure, or passively accepting patriarchal ideologies to actively expressing opinions or sometimes even resistance. Some audience comments were sympathizing and supporting the victims while others were critical on the act of revenge or merely on the physical features of the male posters. This proves that the preferred meaning is not uncontested, rather the audience can make multiple meanings in parallel to the preferred reading. Some viewers of revenge porn (although they constitute a smaller portion of the total number) look for a variety of visual codes available to them through the exhibition of photos and videos. They can indeed construct alternative meanings through their 'continual adjustments and testing' of existing visual codes in revenge porn. (Bignell 2002: 192)

In contrast to the two content analyses in this paper, the discourse analysis attempted to go beyond the discussion of the production processes of various revenge porn content. It focused on the site where such contents were archived; and examined it as an institutional power structure. It is understood through this argument that MyEx.com as an institution capitalizes on the surveillance power of the internet which is both panoptic and synoptic in nature in order to achieve its mercantile interests. It produces various subject positions (posters, victims, viewers etc.) and disciplines them while governing their actions through its apparatus and technologies; and all these virtual subjects remain as crucial parts of the mechanisms of revenge porn enterprise.

Nevertheless, the power structure of this archive has an inherently biased effect. While producing different subjectivities in the online space, it privileges some actors and marginalizes others. That is how power is played out in this virtual space by constituting, regulating and discriminating between its subjects. The evaluation of institutional apparatus and technologies of MyEx.com found that the site enabled its users (posters) to construct knowledge of the body and sexuality. (Lillie 2004) Then, by creating certain type of discursive vision and visuality through the display technologies for the users (both posters and majority of the viewers) that knowledge is claimed and assumed as truth. (Rose 2007)

The discourse analysis argue that the production and claim of this truthful knowledge is largely based on the notions of gender and heterosexuality. This is also well
supported by the results from both quantitative and qualitative analyses. The production and presentation of and audience platforms viewing such sex tapes in revenge porn website were seen to be male dominated and intended to entertain the male subjectivity. Although, it was observed that the new media apparatus constructs active viewership among its viewers, and alternative meaning construction is still possible. But majority of the users of revenge porn website as seen in the sample posts were upholding a male subjectivity that objectifies the female body. Therefore, this paper views that the women are more vulnerable because of such virtual institutional practices compared to their male counterparts.

9. Conclusion

There is obviously a debate in the scholarly discourse regarding the potential of the internet - to what extent it emancipates and/or controls the lives of the users particularly, the women. The liberal feminists claim that the internet is allowing its female users to represent authentic versions of their real life sexual experiences and contest the hegemonic truths of heteronormative sexuality. (Jacobs 2007; Attwood 2007 cited by Van Doorn 2010) This is a binary oppositional stance against the more radical view that characterizes online space as a decidedly male domain where women are only seen as an object of pleasure and desire; and any other alternative interpretation of their situation is pessimistically denied. (Döring 2000) However, this research have considered both liberatory and victimization views on the internet, and tried to benefit from them while making its own interpretation on the construction of a genre called revenge porn in new media based on some empirical evidences.

In fact, this study agrees to the liberal feminists' view that online participatory culture is opening up new spaces for the women to represent their sexuality. (Van Doorn 2010; Döring 2000) Nevertheless, one of the inevitable outcome of such online culture is that these people are voluntarily participating in representing their sexual experiences in the form of recorded visuals which also produce knowledge/truth about their bodies and sexuality. (Lillie 2004) This paper took a departure from this understanding and focuses on the processes of production as well as the consequence of this knowledge/truth in a virtual space like MyEx.com. In doing so, the power structures of online space which still incorporate some social concepts like gender and heterosexuality etc. are taken into consideration. The concepts of surveillance, control and disciplinary effect of the internet also remain at the center of the theoretical framework of this research.

Results of this research show that both individual practices of producing revenge porn contents as well as the institutional apparatus and technologies to display them in the
website are shaped by a dominant power structure which is thriving in an environment characterized by heterosexuality and capitalist patriarchy. Men have more authority and dexterity (in a negative sense) over the production process of such content, thus they keep producing the hegemonic truth of heterosexuality through them. Conversely, women are projected as the source of visual pleasure for the heterosexual male resuming in the dual role of a participant-cum-viewer. Women tend to be subjected under increased visibility in this online space and risk more victimizing consequences like stalking, unwanted sexual attention, and gender harassment etc.

The reason is that the archive of collection, accumulation and display of these explicit materials is still remained as a male domain. Viewers are affected by discursive vision and visuality through the apparatus as well as display technologies of MyEx.com. The hegemonic knowledge of body and sexuality constructed by men are accepted by majority of the audience in this virtual space. Patriarchy and heterosexuality are naturalized in this realm. However, new media technologies do offer scopes for alternative expression of opinion and resistance to the dominant order. Yet, the institutionalization and commercialization of such content through the website like MyEx.com contribute to the overwhelming development of such genre in the virtual space with a more repressive effect on the women.

These results based on empirical data suggest that there is obviously a risk of victimization for the internet users, particularly, women who take its liberating opportunities in order to sexually represent themselves in the online space. This victimization is a consequence of the liberation that comes about in the first place. The whole phenomenon cannot be attributed merely to the new media apparatus and technologies. Social orders like heterosexuality, gender norms, patriarchy etc. are significantly affecting the very means of that sexual representation, and therefore, female sexual liberation are often subjected to male backlash in the form of revenge porn. Modern recording and surveillance technologies are also contributing to the development of such trend.

The rapid growth of a website like MyEx.com is an indication to the fact that a pornographic sub genre like revenge porn is being institutionalized in a capitalist and technologically modern society, which thrives under patriarchy and heterosexuality, and lacks proper regulatory policies. However, instead of clamouring for an authoritative intervention (for example, legal measures), this study stresses on the normative notions of gendered and heterosexual behaviours that are at the root of the construction of this so called revenge porn genre. The very power structures of this virtual institutional practice are affected by such discourses. The controlling effects of revenge porn are executed more repressively on a
specific gendered body - mostly, in the form of female subordination and dehumanization. Therefore, this paper suggests for a careful interpretation of the practices of sexual liberation on the internet that have a victimizing effect like revenge porn.
References

Books


Articles


**URLs**

EndRevengePorn.org, accessed online on 27/02/2014.
http://www.endrevengeporn.org/welcome/
Appendices:

Appendix 1: Code Book

Coding Scheme

There are different kinds of materials here to be coded - a) The revenge story; b) Revenge porn photos; c) Revenge porn videos; d) audience comments. The content analysis of these different sets of data are to be executed.

Revenge porn post

Identification number - three digit ID nr. assigned to each post.

Author: Check if the author of the post is identified or anonymous.

Name of the exposed - note the name of the person being exposed.

Gender - check the gender of the person being exposed.

Age - note the age of the person being exposed.

Location: note the location of the person being exposed.

Views: record the number of views the post received.

Post title - note the title of the post.

Date - note the date on which it was posted (if available)

Access to social networking profiles - check if there is any link to i) facebook and/or ii) twitter profiles of the person being exposed.

Part 1: Revenge Story

There is one background story in each post that introduces the person being exposed and detail information on her/his personality, family members, characteristics, professional affiliation etc. can be found in the story. The story often tells why she is being exposed thus serves as a justification behind the revenge.

Identification number - each revenge story will carry the same ID nr. as the post does.

Unit of analysis - each story as individual item.
Coding categories

Blaming- accusing the person for breaking up due to cheating, betrayal, sexually engagement with other people while having a relationship.

Labeling- labeling the person as a hypersexual being and/or negative personality using phrases like "liar", "womanizer", "slut", "whore" etc.

Background information - background information regarding the nature of relationship between the person exposed and her/his ex.

Personal information - providing information about the person's family relationships, professional affiliation, educational institution, contact information (mobile phone, email etc) that makes her/him identifiable.

Physical attributes - providing description of the person's physical features.

Cyber pimping - inviting others with suggestions how to have the person (who is being exposed) available for sex.

Coder will indicate whether each comment contained any of the coding categories (yes/ no).

Part 2: Revenge porn photo

ID no. - each photo has a five digit identification no. carrying the ID reference of the specific post they are associated with. In this case the first three digit refers to the post and last two refers to the photo. For example, the first photo uploaded in the post (ID 001) will be coded as 00101.

Number of characters - record the number of characters in the photo.

Unit of analysis

Each photo as an individual item will be coded for behavior and action related categories.

Coding categories

Type of the photo - determining if the photo is a a) self portrait (selfie); or b) taken by another person. If the above mentioned types cannot be determined with definite visual cue then it will be coded simply as c) uncertain.
Nudity - coding if the photo contains nudity i.e. a) showing naked body in full; b) headless naked body; c) naked upper portion of the body (topless); d) naked breasts; e) genital; and f) buttocks.

Coder will indicate whether each photo contained any of the categories (yes/ no).

**Part 3: Audience comments**

ID no. - each comment has separate six digit identification no. carrying the ID reference of the specific post they are associated with. In this case the first three digit refers to the post. For example, the first audience comment on the post (ID 001) will be coded as 001001.

Unit of analysis - Each comments as individual item.

**Coding categories**

**Appreciation** - meaning recognition and enjoyment. Audience express pleasure while watching the images. They appreciate a) qualities (physical and sexual features) of the person exposed and/or b) pornographic quality of the post (i.e. story, photo and/or video).

**Derogative** - negative remark on a) physical and sexual features of the person exposed and/or b) quality of the post (i.e. story, photo and/or video).

**Labeling** - labeling the person as a hypersexual being and/or negative personality mostly using slang words.

**Racism** - making derogative comments to a race, ethnicity or nationality.

**Desire** - the audience wishes to see more of the sexual organs of the person exposed and/or engage in sexual acts with her/him.

**Requests** - The audience requests for any information related to the person exposed, his/her photo/video to the author of the post or other audience.

**Moral authoritative** - The audience makes a comment concerning values, norms, cultural codes etc. pointing that creating such content deviate from those.
**Blaming** - accusing for producing and publishing nude photo and/or video or revenge porn post in general. Blaming can be directed to both the original poster (OP) as well as the person exposed.

**Advocacy** - the audience makes a comment in support of the person being exposed (e.g. giving a testimony of her/his good character, informing about or offering legal support etc.)

**Praise** - Praising the original poster (OP) for posting the revenge post - story/photos/videos.

**Disapproval** - criticizing (generally, using abusive words towards) the OP for reasons like publishing post that the audience think unjustified or not living upto their taste; using fake/morphed photos/videos; uploading pictures without face and/or nudity; and/or disapproving the webmaster (who maintains the website) for keeping the post.

**Other** - comments that do not fall under the above mentioned categories will be coded as other.

Coder will indicate whether each comment contained any of the coding categories (yes/ no).

N.B. Any comment that is not at all relating to the post or the person exposed and is part of a mutual conversation (usually using abusive words to each other) between the audience will not be coded.
Appendix 2: Coding Form

Revenge porn post

Identification number: __________________________

Author: __________________________

Name of the person exposed: __________________________

Gender: __________________________

Age: __________________________

Location: __________________________

Views: __________________________

Post title: __________________________

Date: __________________________

Access to social networking profiles - Yes ☐/No ☐

Contains a story - Yes ☐/No ☐

Contains photos - Yes ☐/No ☐

Contains videos - Yes ☐/No ☐

URL:

Part 1: Revenge porn story

Unit of analysis - each story as individual item.

ID no. -

Blaming - Yes ☐/No ☐

Labeling - Yes ☐/No ☐

Cyber pimping - Yes ☐/No ☐

Personal information - Yes ☐/No ☐

Physical attributes - Yes ☐/No ☐

Background information - Yes ☐/No ☐
Part 2: Revenge porn photos

Unit of analysis - Each photo as an individual item will be coded.

ID no.

Number of characters -

Caption-

Type of the photo - ☐ Selfie ☐ taken by another person ☐ Portrait

Nudity - Yes ☐/No ☐

If yes,

☐ body in full

☐ headless body

☐ breasts

☐ genital

☐ buttocks

Part 3: Audience comments

ID no. -

Author's name -

1. Appreciation -

i) Regarding the quality of the photos and/or videos

Yes ☐ No ☐

ii) Regarding characters in the photos and/or videos

Female (Yes ☐/No ☐)

Male (Yes ☐/No ☐)

Both (Yes ☐/No ☐)
2. Derogative comment -

i) Regarding the quality of the porn video Yes□ No □

ii) Regarding the primary characters in the video

Female (Yes □/No □)

Male (Yes □/No □)

Both (Yes □/No □)

3. Desire - Yes □/No □

4. Blaming -

Female (Yes □/No □)

Male (Yes □/No □)

Both (Yes □/No □)

5. Moral authoritative - Yes □/No □

6. Request - Yes □/No □

7. Advocacy - Yes □/No □

8. Labeling - Yes □/No □

9. Praise - Yes □/No □

10. Racism - Yes □/No □

11. Disapproval - Yes □/No □

12. Other - Yes □/No □
Appendix 3:

Info-graphic- 1

NOT UNCOMMON

ONE IN TEN ex-partners have threatened that they would expose risqué photos of their ex online.

A VIOLATION

60 PERCENT of those who threatened to expose intimate photos followed through on their threats.

INFORMATION POSTED WITH REVENGE PORN

In addition to explicit images, perpetrators post other identifying information to revenge porn sites, resulting in harassment of victims.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Information</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Social Security Number</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work Address</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Home Address</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phone Number</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Email Address</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Network Info</td>
<td>49%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full Names</td>
<td>59%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

VICTIMS OF REVENGE PORN

- 90% 90 percent of revenge porn victims are women.
- 93% 93 percent said they have suffered significant emotional distress due to being a victim.
- 49% 49 percent said they have been harassed or stalked online by users who saw their material.
Appendix 4:

Graph - 3

![Bar Chart]

- **Count**
- **Phototype**
  - Selfie
  - Taken by another person
  - Uncertain

- **Nakedbodypart**
  - Body in full
  - Headless body
  - Topless
  - Breasts
  - Genital(s)
  - Buttocks
Appendix 5:

Table- 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Count</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>Body in full</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Selfie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Taken by another person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Uncertain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Nakedbodypart</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Buttocks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phonotype</td>
<td>Selfie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Taken by another person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Uncertain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
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</table>

Table- 2.1

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<th>Approx. Sig.</th>
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<tr>
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<td>.536</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cramer’s V</td>
<td>.379</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N of Valid Cases</td>
<td></td>
<td>297</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 6:

Figure - 1

![Image of Stuttgart University logo]

Figure - 2

**Swedish good girl secret anal slut**

**Location:** Nybro, Sweden
**Age:** 21

*Anonymous 13156 says:* She pretends to be a good girl but looks down on most people and thinks she is so much better. She is cruel to people and she knows it. But what almost nobody knows is that she is a slut that loves anal sex, especially when a guy cums in her ass. She also likes bondage and getting spanked.
Figure- 3

Advertise with us
MyEX.com has limited ad space. ACT NOW!
If you would like to advertise your site or product on myex.com please contact us for more information about site placement and prices
Contact us at: advertise@myex.com

Figure- 4

Figure- 5
Figure- 6

Add Your Ex: Their Basic Info

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Field</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Their First Name</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Their Last Name</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nickname</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Their Gender</td>
<td>Male, Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Their Age</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Their Country</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Their State/Region</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Their City</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Their Facebook</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Their Twitter</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Your Post Title

Give Casey some details or tell your story.

Add Your Ex: Upload Photos and/or Videos

The first image you upload will be the profile picture of your ex. If you are uploading nude photos, check the "Nude" box.

PHOTO(S): Choose Files, No file chosen

VIDEO(S): Choose Files, No file chosen

- I am at least 18 years old. The person I am submitting was at least 18 years old when the photos were taken. I can provide 2237 records upon request.
- I agree to the terms (Read terms here)

Myex.com has a zero-tolerance policy against child pornography. If we become aware of child pornography on our site, that content will be removed and we will report it and its submitter to the appropriate authorities.

Figure- 7

Your Post Title

Give Casey some details or tell your story.
Figure- 8

Find Someone You Know...

First Name  Last Name  Location

Figure- 9

The job hoe!

Location: Columbia, South Carolina
Age: 27

This is the job hoe! The nickname Ms. pass around it took me no time to fuck her pussy was OK but she loves getting fucked in the ass and taking it deep already screwed a few guys at work and only been there a month easiest pussy I got also a cheater heard she would cheat on her husband whenever she got the chance im not surprised she pretty much did anything. I told her to do when we fucked we make fun of her at work also a dead beat mom she has none of her kids she just a sorry hoe fucks anybody

Remove My Name From MyEx.com

"Snow bunny"

Location: Canada
Age: 30

ADD YOUR EX TO MY EX
Submit A Post

(xiv)
Figure- 10

Figure- 11

Title of the post

When she used to look yummy

This girl used to be the one everyone wanted until she got hooked on alcohol and spice. Let's remember her good old days. She got around so if anyone has video of her, share it.
Recent Comments

She is definitely passed out. Loser!

Pretty face nice rack

Wonderful child bearing hips. Yum yum

I like a plus size woman! I'd tear her up

That's because you're a cock sucking fag and she knows it

She doesn't have the looks or the height, you fucking cum eating asshole