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"Roll" Models: Fat Sexuality and Its Representations in Pornographic Imagery

by

Leah Marie Turner

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

Department of Women's and Gender Studies

College of Arts and Sciences
University of South Florida

Major Professor: Diane Price-Herndl, Ph.D. Kimberly Golombisky, Ph.D. David Rubin, Ph.D.

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Abstract

The purpose of this thesis is to use specific fat pornographic imagery as a means to help us understand fat tropes and fetishization. The goal is to use our understandings of masculinity and race within fatness to create a possible launching point for further study within the field of fat sexuality studies. My rationale for writing such a paper is because fat sexuality studies is a field which has very little content, but potential for incredible scholarship which can impact not only our understandings of fat bodies, but of all bodies. The method for this thesis involves looking at specific images of "still-image" fat pornography and using these images to explain theoretical conceptions of fat sexuality. My hope for the significance of this work is that it will help to more firmly place fat sexuality studies in the academic landscape as a site for further research.



I. Introduction

Fat Sexuality Studies is a necessary and yet, to this point, under-researched topic. Fat sexuality in the realm of porn studies has been even less studied and yet provides an opportunity for a wealth of critical theory to be explored, particularly when combined with previous research done using critical race concepts. To bridge this gap, research into fatness, particularly women's fatness in pornography, needs to be undertaken. An interesting experiment in contradictions, fat women in porn exist in a strange sort of double reality where they are both normative and fetishized. To quote Linda Williams, from her critically important work *Porn Studies* (2004), fat sex and other "rarefied" forms of sexuality are in the process of moving from their place as historically "obscene," meaning "off" the "scene" of popular culture, to positions "on-scene," meaning to a place where they are obviously seen in popular culture (3). With this move to an "on-scene" position, questions must be asked surrounding what this means for the fat sexual body. Why is this change happening now? Will this change cause a difference in perception of fat people as a whole, either positive or negative? What role does pornography ultimately play in our understanding and/ or acceptance of fat people and, possibly more importantly, how does it contribute to how fat people see themselves?

This thesis critically explores the notion of fat acceptance in fat pornographic images and discuss three essential topics. First, I look at where the research of fatness is currently in pornography and the conclusions drawn by other researchers before now, particularly in terms of



whether fatness in porn can be determined to have fat acceptance and feminist aspects already. Second, I examine the problematic aspects of fat pornography by using the fetish artwork of Japanese artist Namio Harukawa, comparing his work to "tribute" photography by photographer T. Rush and a recent photoshoot by "plus-sized" model and body positivity activist Ashley Graham. The common fetishized aspects of all these works shows that there is a distinct "sexual script" which is placed the fat body and which needs to be addressed prior to any fat acceptance discussion being done. The last section of this thesis focuses on the aspects of fat pornography which portray/ damage fat acceptance. I refer to these aspects as "tropes" and focus the discussion on tropes of gender roles/difference, and race. In addition, this chapter attempts to answer what steps are currently being taken, and what steps can be taken in the future, to further the cause of societal acceptance for the sexual fat body.



II. Literature Review

Prior to the recent present, fat sex was put in a place of spectacle. The freak show fat lady, for instance, represented a body which was both forbidden and nonsexual in the sense that she represented a body which should be impossible to have sex with. Francis Ray White describes fat sex as being a failed exercise, noting that "medical discourses operate to produce the relationship between fatness and sex as a kind of 'failure,'"—an impossibility (White 964). At the same time however, the freak show fat lady's body represented an enticing text of the obscene; an excessive frame upon which sexual fascination with the grotesque could be contextualized and explored from the safe distance between the audience and the stage. Increasingly, this theoretical distance has been crossed only by a few, those "FA's" or "fat admirers" (a term first used by members of NAAFA, the National Association to Advance Fat Acceptance) who find the fat body to be their own ideal sexual body, in contrast to the social norm of ideal femininity. This relationship, however, between fat people and their sexual admirers has always been understood as fetishistic, as representing an unnatural or sexually aberrant reality rather than a perfectly "normal" preference for a larger form.

This understanding of fat sex and sexuality as being somehow fringe as opposed to mainstream has carried over into our current understandings of fat pornography. Currently, this perception is being challenged through mainstream "Big Beautiful Woman" or "BBW" pornography which is produced similarly to, and alongside, mainstream "thin" porn, often with



standard heterosexual "scenes" created by a select few porn producers such as SCORE group and their XL and Voluptuous sectors, each which feature larger than standard models. However, producers such as the SCORE group are few in number and much of the pornography featuring fat bodies has moved away from traditionally produced pornography due to the lack of interest traditional pornographers have in their sexual bodies (Goddard). In fact, industry-wide there has been a regression in the acceptance of fat bodies. The AVN's or "Adult Video News" awards, widely considered the main event for porn related achievement awards, in 2017 removed its "BBW Performer of the Year" award category and instead replaced the category for 2018 with the "Niche Performer of the Year" category, a category which, to cite AVN's own website (2017), "honors men and women who appear primarily in fetish-themed productions, including those in BBW, BDSM, mature and other specialized genres."

This recategorization marks BBW porn, and therefore the BBW body, within mainstream porn as not only "niche," but indeed fetishized. This is particularly interesting as trends have pointed at interest in BBW's as moving away from niche categorization rather than towards it. In 2015, for instance, Pornhub published an article for their "Insights" series; a project which uses their own data to understand changes in pornographic trends world-wide. The article, entitled "Big Beautiful Data" looked at trends for growth in BBW-related searches since May 2013. The data found that between 2013 and 2015 there was a "considerable 47% increase in these types of searches" overall (Pornhub 2015). Further, with a continental filter used in the data breakdown, the Americas in particular have a 10% increase continent-wide in interest in BBW pornography. This is particularly useful as much of the BBW porn made is created in the United States.



The contradictory lack of interest from the mainstream porn industry has meant that much of the fat porn created is done so independently, either through amateur videos created by porn site users which is then uploaded to a chosen site, clips for sale sites which again allow for users to sell their own created content for a fee, or through independent porn creators, such as porn star April Flores, who began her own website to produce fat pornography in a way she thinks "will leave behind a body of work that demonstrates my commitment to representing curvier women in a positive light, challenging society's norms of what is considered desirable, beautiful, and attractive" (Flores 280). Whether she succeeds or not is up for debate.

Fat sex is undergoing a simultaneous disavowal by the mainstream porn industry and a growth in interest in the amateur porn sector. In recent years, fat acceptance and images which have been deemed "body positive" have grown in popularity as the size acceptance movement has gained more national interest. This change has been hindered however both by the medicalized negative social understanding of fatness and the fetishized history behind the fat body in general, particularly the fat female body. There is a push and pull when looking at these images, even among fat people themselves, to fully grasp the sexuality in them without also being repulsed as the medical community tells us we should be when looking at the fat body. Dylan Ryan explains this phenomenon well when she describes how her body wasn't the typical "curvaceous" type that she often saw in porn and how she was "simultaneously captivated and repulsed by the performers as they embodied stereotypical 'beauty' and 'perfection'" (Ryan 122-123). Thus most attempts at fat acceptance porn or sexuality, even in popular photoshoots such as the V Magazine shoot with Ashley Graham, are understood through these lenses (Klein).



This thesis investigates the fat body and its relatively understudied placement in still photo pornography as well as the place of fat sexuality studies in the nascent field of fat studies as a whole with the goal of placing fat acceptance and its potentials within these fields. As much of the work which has previously been done is quite varied and thinly spread over numerous topics, it is necessary to have a broad understanding of the work previously published on fatness in pornography. This literature review is therefore broadly categorized into four sub-categories. First, a discussion on the definition of pornography and background in porn studies is necessary as it is a notoriously slippery and difficult to define concept. Most commonly, pornography has focused on film studies, however this project is more concerned with images and theoretical work and thus a strong working definition needs to be provided. Next, an explanation of the distinctions among fat pornography will be discussed, as many authors have made a distinction between "BBW" pornography and fat porn as a genre. This will be followed by a brief history of the fetishistic contextualization of fatness before finally moving into a look at intersectional approaches to sexuality studies with particular interest in the work of Jennifer C. Nash and Celine Parreñas Shimizu.

Porn studies: an introduction

For this project it is necessary to have a brief discussion of what constitutes pornography and its value as a marker of cultural trends. Linda Williams (1989) describes porn as an "elusive genre" and indeed, it is difficult to draw a line between what is pornographic and what is not. A vague description, according to Williams, is that pornography is "visual or written representations depicting sex" but she later counters this definition by quoting Walter Kendrick

(1987) who broadens the definition to say that pornography is "simply whatever representation a particular dominant class or group does not want in the hands of another, less dominant class or group" (Williams 11, Kendrick 92-94). Further, Jane Caputi defines pornography as an act of "propaganda," as a medium which promotes or even creates sexualized tropes (Caputi 74). All of these definitions more or less join together in Clive M. Davis and Naomi B. McCormick's short section on the subject of pornography in the *Sex Matters: The Sexuality and Society Reader* textbook. There, they define pornography as "material" that is "sexually explicit." They argue that "people often label as pornographic material that violates their own moral standards and use the terms 'artistic' or 'erotic' for sexual materials that they find acceptable" (154). This definition, along with a combination of the others, is the one which is used for the purpose of this thesis, as any number of materials could be described as erotic but not quite traditionally understood as sexual, particularly in terms of fat fetish porn which may not necessarily include nudity or penetration (which often represents traditional markers of heteronormative sexuality) at all.

As a result of this working definition of what constitutes pornography, there will be little to no discussion of the pornographic versus the erotic. I will state that, for the purpose of this writing, I will not be drawing a distinction between the two as has often been done in some areas of porn studies. The pornographic and the erotic, in my understanding, can achieve the same goal of arousal depending upon the intended audience and thus shouldn't have a line drawn between them. When it comes to fat porn particularly, whether the pornography is viewed as arousing or not very much depends upon the viewer, especially in American culture where fatness is so strongly vilified. I find it less confusing to consider all of the images used in this writing as "pornographic" rather than "erotic" for this reason.



A separation I will be looking at, however, is the distinction between pornography and feminist pornography. This distinction is defined by Penley et. al. as "both an established and emerging genre of pornography"; they continue, "feminist porn uses sexually explicit imagery to contest and complicate dominant representations of gender, sexuality, race, ethnicity, class, ability, age, body type and other identity markers" (9). This project, in its goal of looking at the fat body in porn, intends to interrogate fat pornographic material using this definition to determine the impacts of fat pornography on these dominant representations.

As far as the value of pornography as a medium to study, a few sources argue for its importance. Karen Boyle, for instance, in her article on Linda Williams' work *Porn Studies* notes that it is "the very pervasiveness of pornography that makes it worthy of study" (9). Similarly, Attwood and Hunter describe pornography as an important material for study, but also are careful to caution against the oversignification of pornography as a site on which to pin all of society's ills such as "men's brutalization, women's exploitation, and the dangerous power of the media" (548). However, Attwood and Hunter also cite Chuck Kleinhans (71) who argues that "discourse around sexuality at many social levels has focused more and more on visual representations" meaning that porn, whether it be in film form or still images, helps to define the sexuality discourse. This makes the representation of fatness within these mediums particularly useful for trends in other "social levels," in this case, the fat acceptance movement (Attwood and Hunter).



Fatness in porn

This thesis aims to look at representations of fatness in pornography yet there are a multitude of opinions on what these representations of fat people, usually women, in porn means in the larger scope of fat studies. There seems to be a line drawn between "fat porn" and Big Beautiful Women or "BBW" porn. BBW as a term was used by "Carole Shaw when she launched *BBW Magazine*" a magazine for "plus-sized" women. The term has since been adopted "as an umbrella term" but "the adult industry uses it to describe porn that features" fat women (Flores 280). BBW porn, argues Helen Hester, represents a mainstream acceptability which she describes as being limited in its ability to subvert the mainstream porn genres (Hester). BBW porn is described as representing a sort of cisgender hardcore—one which does very little to challenge its placement in pornography at large. Fat porn, however, which does *not* fall under the "BBW" heading, is considered more subversive for its queering possibilities. Natalie Ingraham describes this difference as being like "indie" versus "mainstream" representation. Still further, Goda Klumbyte and Katrine Smiet describe the distinction as BBW porn being focused on "highly feminine heterosexual women" while "fat porn" is more broad in its inclusions (133).

It also shouldn't be assumed that having fat representation in porn is necessarily a positive experience for all people. Klumbyte and Smiet describe the phenomenon that some fat people are drawn to seeing their representation on screen while others "feel the distance growing larger due to the fetishization of the fat body in porn" (133). Indeed, there seems to be a strong debate in how to portray fatness in the best way possible (meaning the least problematic way) with some arguing that using BBW porn as a way to prove that fat sex can be "normal" and nonfetishized is in itself a revolutionary and positive act (Kyrola, Penley). Others find the lack of



diversity and inclusion in BBW porn problematic as it allows only a certain kind of mainstream sexual fat body (white, cisgender).

Black sexuality, described by Mireille Miller-Young (220) as "peripheral" and "precarious" to begin with, suffers even more when you add fatness to the mix as it is further complicated by the hypersexual stereotype of the black "Jezebel" character being mixed with the asexual fat black "Mammy" character. Further, there is a struggle with any images of black women, fat or not, to remove the inherent reading of their bodies as sexual. Apryl A. Williams writes about a fat people of color Tumblr group and how many of the women present in the group would post body positive photos and how those photos would be immediately read as sexual. One woman in particular posted a photo of herself on a beach in a bikini and had to caption her post "NOT FOR PORN, BBW, FETISH, OR WHATEVER BLOGS" thereby attempting to fight against the inherent sexuality ascribed to her fat black body by the male gaze, even without her permission (Williams 13). Looking at the instance of how fat women of color are treated in fat pornography is an important gauge of how fat porn is doing as a whole with the issues of fat acceptance. Other missing groups from "mainstream" porn sites are fat men, fat trans+ individuals, and the disabled fat among others, showing that this problem prevalent in pornography as a whole is also present in fat representation of these groups as well (Hall; Harker; Miller-Young; Monaghan; Patterson-Faye; Santos and Santos; Williams).



Fatness as fetish

Fat porn, while still not quite mainstream, exists prominently on the fringes due to its perceived inherent fetishism. I would argue this is due to two separate but intersecting ideas. First, that the fat body is an asexual entity since no "normal" sexual person would want to have sex with "it" because it deviates so entirely from notions of the ideal body for both men and women. Thus, the entire notion of having sex with a fat body, including heteronormative sex, is a deviant act. Second, if one does specifically want to have sex with a fat body it must be for the purpose of satisfying a need for a particular fetish. Of these, there are two categories which I would place most of these fetishes in: body focused and/or action focused. First, there are those fetishes focused on the bodies themselves. These most likely include cases of "partialism," the sexual attraction to particular parts of a body. A common example would be a foot fetish, but for fat people (particularly fat women) there are more fat specific examples such as a focus on the belly, thighs, or rolls of fat. Hester quotes a man she interviewed who came across an "image— 'a horrific picture'-- that seared itself into his brain. It showed an extremely "obese" woman wearing a bikini with a caption that said, 'Find a fold and fuck it'" (Hester 946). While not the point of the anecdote itself, that image is an example of what could be found when one is looking for fat partialistic behavior; the focus is on using the passive body itself for sexual pleasure.

Jasbir K. Puar in her book *The Right to Maim* (2017) describes a similar concept she calls "'piecing,' a recruitment into neoliberal forms of fragmentation of the body for capitalist profit" (Puar 65). While Puar uses this term specifically for disabled bodies, I am using the term similarly for fat bodies, and particularly fat pornographic bodies, as they are similarly commodified based on specific fragmentations. For instance, SCORE group, a porn company



which has a fat-centered segment entitled XL Girls, focuses exclusively on women with "Tremendous tits, hefty hips, and chubby cheeks" (XLgirls.com). "Natural" breasts, meaning non-augmented via plastic surgery, are particularly preferred and in most cases even required for a model to be included in print or on the website.

Alternatively, there are fat-based fetishes which are action based. Most often discussed in the academic texts is "feederism," an action focused fetish in which a "feeder," who is most often portrayed as being male, feeds his "feedee," most often portrayed as being female, with the goal of making the feedee as physically large as possible (Lavis; Prohaska; Saguy; Swamee and Tovee). While this does have connections to the body focused fetishes, as the fat body is getting larger, the sexual pleasure is derived from the action portion, rather than the body itself. Another commonly discussed action-related fetish is that of "squashing" or "crushing." In these cases, the fat body is used to sit upon, lie upon, or otherwise constrict another body under its weight (Saguy). Again, while the fat body is necessary, it is the action which it can perform which is the main focus.

These two examples of fetishes, "feederism" and "squashing," are yet another illustration of the dichotomy of portrayed fat sexuality. Some authors have argued that feederism is a sort of power and possession based fetish which exists for the sole purpose of making the fat person both immovable and dependent upon their relationship with their "feeder," creating a "submissive" sort of relationship (Saguy; Swami and Tovee). However, this assumption removes the possible consent or shared enthusiasm that fat people may also have for this action. Saguy argues that perhaps the consent of fat people (particularly women) is dubious to begin with as they are a "vulnerable population" who are "socially unequal" in many areas including "romantic



relations," but I must disagree as this infantilizes the sexual awareness of and ability to give consent for fat women. One can be socially disadvantaged and still have the capacity to give consent; just ask any woman, disabled person, person of color, LGBTQ+ person, etc. (Saguy 552). Squashing exists on the opposite side of the sexual spectrum with the action giving "the fat women the sense of power over the men they squash, while the 'squashed' men may delight in the feeling of being overpowered" (Saguy 555). A dominant act, then, squashing shows an opposing view on the power of fat women from feederism yet minimized aspects of both feederism and squashing can often be seen in multiple examples of fat pornography, including the supposed more "mainstream" examples of BBW porn. In both cases, the fat body is doubly marked as "fetish" not only for its sheer existence and embodiment, but for its potential of actions, both what it *does* and what can *be done to it* (Gailey and Prohaska; Jagodzinski; Khandpur; Prohaska; White).

Intersectional approaches and sexuality studies

This thesis will focus in particular on two tropes of fat pornography, sexual difference and masculinity, and race. A notion put forth by Jane Caputi regarding dominant behavior as inherently masculine, regardless of the gender of the bodies involved, is of particular interest to this discussion (Caputi 75). The images as will be seen later involve numerous images of women in roles of dominance and her contributions help to put into context what a woman in a role of dominance means in terms of fat sexuality.



The works of Jennifer C. Nash (2017), Andrea Elizabeth Shaw (2006), and Celine Parreñas Shimizu (2007) all work together to help us theorize how race is central to many of the tropes inherent in fat pornography. Shimizu and Nash in particular use notions of "ecstasy" and "the bind of representation" to explain how the abjection and pathologization of fat women is becoming an embrace. This fetishization which is forced upon the fat body as their main form of sexualization has, in many ways, become a source of power.

Theoretical Frameworks

The following frameworks will be used to help structure the argument for the rest of the thesis: Porn Studies, Fat Studies, and Fat Sexuality Studies.

Porn studies

Porn Studies is a field which grew as a branch of Film Studies. To quote Linda Williams, "Porn Studies grew out of a graduate seminar on pornography in the Film Studies Program at the University of California, Berkeley" (Williams 1). The purpose of Porn Studies is to observe the sexual politics present in pornography and to analyze the larger societal trends which are present therein. Previous debates within porn studies have focused on whether or not pornography as a genre is exploitative. This debate took place within feminism throughout the 1980's and 90's and numerous works have been written on the subject (such as Drucilla Cornell's edited volume *Feminism and Pornography*) (2000). However with the more recent publications in porn studies the debate has somewhat moved from questions of whether porn is good or bad to broader



questions of the complex nature of pornography and whether it can be made less problematic overall. Lynn S. Chancer, for instance, in her book *Reconcilable Differences: Confronting Beauty, Pornography, and the Future of Feminism* (1998) looks to move past the binary argument of good porn and bad porn and instead look at porn as a complex and varied subject which operates in shades of grey.

Within this project, pornography featuring fat people, particularly women, will be analyzed with the hope of understanding more clearly how fat sex is understood within some of our social structures. As Williams states "porn studies addresses a veritable explosion of sexually explicit materials that cry out for better understanding" (1). Fat sex and the limited research surrounding it falls into this category of research which cries "out for better understanding." This is particularly important as American society, and indeed much of "westernized" society as a whole, is becoming fatter overall, and thus will be having more fat sex.

Fat studies

Fat Studies is a field similar to Critical Race Studies or LBGTQ+ studies in that it aims to destabilize discriminatory notions surrounding each group. Sondra Solovay and Esther Rothblum write in the pivotal *Fat Studies Reader* that Fat Studies is an "aggressive, consistent, rigorous critique of the negative assumptions, stereotypes, and stigma placed on the fat body" (2). Fat studies arguably began with Susan Bordo's *Unbearable Weight* in 1993. The book, which focuses more on the theory surrounding weight and eating disorders nonetheless created the roots for a fat studies academia. Fat rights work, while a nascent field in academia is not new to



American activism. NAAFA or the National Association to Advance Fat Acceptance was founded in 1969 and still works today to promote the social acceptance and rights of fat individuals. Fat studies picks up this work as well and seeks to fight against the subjugation of fat people, particularly in the light of the so-called "obesity epidemic" which pathologizes fat individuals as lazy, weak-willed, and unattractive.

As this project looks specifically at fat porn to determine its overall effect on societal fat acceptance, it is important to look at this data through the lens of fat studies. Fat studies will be used to critique the fat pornography based on my own theoretical work and the work previously done by other authors with the intention of furthering fat studies research in addition to helping create a stronger basis for fat sexuality studies.

Fat sexuality studies

It is important to note that fat sexuality studies as a field does not exist in any truly tangible way. While there is a paper which argues for its creation (Hester and Walters 2016), and indeed previous academic work which is tangentially related to such a field, there has been little to no discussion on what such a field would look like, or the theory within it. Much of this thesis will be work on what a fat sexuality studies could look like, and the problems and debates therein. While any work which deals with fatness and sex can be considered a part of fat sexuality studies, very little of the work itself actually uses this moniker.

Helen Hester and Caroline Walters, though, argue for the use of this category because, as larger parts of our population are considered "overweight" or "obese" the sexuality of the



population at large will become "fat" sexuality. Hester and Walters suggest that "the cultural abjection of fat people within our culture 'is what founds the good body and solidifies identity for the thin self," (894) meaning that fat sexuality does not merely apply to fat people, but that the difference established between fat sex and thin sex are what determine the normality of thin sex. Similar to how heterosexuality cannot exist without homosexuality and how whiteness cannot exist without blackness, so thin sex and its "normalcy" cannot exist without fat sex and its "deviancy." Further, Hester and Walters quote Le'a Kent, who writes that "when 'the fat body refuses to stay at the margins, other identities will be disturbed as well" (Kent 144). The process whereby that fat sex asserts itself and makes itself visible, therefore, exerts a profound influence upon the wider culture and fat acceptability as a whole. This creates an argument that fat sexuality studies is important not only for fat people, but for all of society.

Methodology

This project will look at the theoretical ways that fatness in porn has been portrayed with the use of still images as texts to help frame the discussion. The aim is to add to the discussion of fat sexuality and particularly how its portrayal within those images and porn at large can be understood within the contexts of body positivity. Body positivity itself is a term which struggles for definition, particularly within this field of work, as the fat body represents so many different things. It is asexual and hypersexual, masculinized yet utterly feminine, attractive and repulsive. Each of these categories can be found mixed together in so-called body positive images but their signification is more complex than they seem. For this purpose, I have chosen to use some images in this thesis to aid in helping to define what a fat sexuality studies could look like and



provide a basis for future study both for myself and other fat studies or sexuality studies academics. Beyond the image discussion, much of this paper will be purely theoretical and focuses on the creation of a clearer base discourse for the understanding of fat sexuality studies and some of the overall thematic tropes within it.

The images I have chosen to do a close visual study of are from the January 2017 *V Magazine* photoshoot of Ashley Graham, a plus-sized supermodel and self-described body

positivity activist, and the fetish artwork of Namio Harukawa. To bridge the gap between these

works, I have also chosen to include the "tribute" photos of Harukawa's work by photographer

T. Rush. The *V Magazine* shoot photos, from a set entitled "Ashley Graham: Role Model" are

highly sexual in nature and feature Graham posing with a significantly smaller in stature male

model. The images include Graham physically dominating the male model by lifting him off the

ground and, in a separate photo, acting as a sexual aggressor and pinning the model against a

wall. I argue that these photos are reflecting fetishistic expectations of fat sexuality and compare
them with the blatantly fetishistic artwork of Japanese artist Harukawa.

If you go to any fat admirer website, chances are you will find Harukawa's work somewhere on the site. His artwork is almost exclusively composed of fat women "squashing" physically smaller male counterparts but can also include various levels of "fem-dom" activities such as suffocation or depictions of defecation and urination related actions. The comparison between these images is clear in the domination of a physically smaller man and the framing of the fat woman's body as both an object, the body is passively being used as a tool for the man's pleasure, and as a person committing an action, with the body actively being used by the fat woman to dominate the male subject. Associating specifically these images is not to make the



point that they are the exact same, or even that they are the most common representations of fat sexuality in popular media, but rather to show the evolution and trends away from this theme within representations of fat sex.

This project aims to discuss the notion of fat acceptance through the medium of fat pornography. While not focused as much on specific examples of pornographic material besides comparing the two sexualized still images from Namio Harukawa and the Ashley Graham photoshoot, the discussion will still cover a range of subjects regarding the theoretical discourse of fat pornography and more specifically fat sexuality. With this discussion I expect to find that fat acceptance is a slippery concept and that no current iteration of fat pornography, whether it be film or still image, is all-together fat positive. Rather, I expect that there will be a mixing of the numerous fat stereotypes in pornography—many of which are at specific odds with each other. Most important to note is that the fat body is not any one thing as it exists as a mixing of numerous historical and current societal contexts. The goal is to provide a possible roadmap of moving from where we are in our understandings of fat sexuality to a place which is, if not fully representative of fat acceptance feminist ideologies, at least has progressed closer to them.



III. Close Readings and Analysis

As of 2016, Helen Hester and Caroline Walters note the need for a Fat Sexuality Studies. This call for theory comes from their 2015 edited volume *Fat Sex: New Directions in Theory and Activism*, and yet, in this call for the creation of Fat Sexuality Studies, Hester and Walters give very little information into what a field such as this could look like, or to be even more reductive, what Fat Sexuality Studies even means. Looking at the words etymologically does not seem to provide us with a much clearer view of what these words mean when put together beyond their most basic parts. *Fat*, from Middle English, means well fed or plump. *Sexuality* broken down has *sexual*, meaning particularly in copulation or generation, and the suffix '*ity*' meaning the quality of being. So, put together, this does not seem to give any clear insights into what a study of fat sexuality could be, right? However, the basic meaning of these words combined could be ground breaking in and of itself.

The expectations of the fat body are an amalgamation of historical creation. The fat body, as mentioned in the introduction, is representative of a spectacle, a comedic body which exists for entertainment rather than to be taken seriously. Now, combine with this the idea of fatness put forth by Kathleen LeBesco and her notion of "revolting bodies" from her 2004 publication *Revolting Bodies? The Struggle to Redefine Fat Identity* which describes a fat female body that is both "revolting" as in disgusting or distasteful, and a fat female body which is "revolting" against the traditional sexual script of female bodies, which are required by our society to be



pretty, small, and adhering to ideal beauty standards (LeBesco 1-2). The revolting fat female body was not necessarily intentionally "revolting." Rather, its existence was defined as that which was revolutionary, or at the very least subversive, by its lack of adherence to social rules. It was, in a sense *rescripting* the *prescripted* female script. However, the "revolting" fat body has, since LeBesco and 2004, become less subversive than it previously was. Instead I would argue the fat body has become most recognizable, most understood, within the parameters of its revolting state.

This recent change has happened rapidly over the past decade and a half or so. For example, fat actress Melissa McCarthy in many of her films plays a "revolting" body. The fat body in revolt is scripted as opposing traditional expectations of femininity, and McCarthy delivers. Where an ideal woman is meek, put together, and takes up little space, McCarthy's characters are often brash, loud, and obnoxious. Her characters dress in a "masculine" way and are the sexual aggressor rather than pursued by their love interest (assuming there is one). The comedic aspect of the fat body as well is a part of this formula.

Let's use the McCarthy movie *Tammy* (2014) as a brief example. Tammy's appearance is really striking throughout the film. From the very first scene of the film we see her looking unkept, dirty, and "unfeminine". The trope of the "fat slob" is often used when we look at the fat body, however for Tammy it is used in collaboration with the rest of her actions and personality, which is abrasive and defensive. By the end of the film, her appearance is neater, her outfits more "feminine" and less shapeless. Coinciding with this change in her appearance is a change in Tammy's attitude. This is all done within the context of a comedic film. Tammy's body which is scripted from the beginning as living up to its "revolt" against traditional femininity eventually



becomes tamed and more reflective of ideal femininity by the end of it the film. Moreover, this move from the "unfeminine" to the "traditionally feminine" should be a fun and enjoyable journey (if not for the character, then certainly for those who must look at the fat body) (Turner 2018).

So, what we have is a script for the fat body which connects comedy, an aspect from the freak shows of the past, mixing with the expectations of the "revolting" body of LeBesco. Comedy plus masculinity, a new script for fatness in society, cured through the prescription of traditional femininity. However, embedded within this revolt is the societal expectation of change—of the "revolting" body eventually becoming one which aligns with the traditional script of femininity. The examples of these fat bodies in popular media (like McCarthy films) are not based necessarily in the reality of fat bodies or their treatment. Rather, the perception of these bodies as existing in this way is a representation of multiple fictitious creations, multiple scripts coming together, rather than a representation of the realities of fatness.

Fat bodies have always had sex and have always represented femininity in a "traditional" way. Despite its presentation in media, a prescription has been neither needed nor necessary for fat sexual behavior. Much of the shift we are seeing now through body positive activism and similar movements is the acknowledgement of the fat body as something which *is* "sexy" and thus something which *is* sexual. To cite Foucault and his "repressive hypothesis" from *The History of Sexuality* (10-12) there is a notion of confession in this movement to the mainstream. Presenting fat bodies as clearly sexual beings in the media is a "confession" of the capability of the fat body to be sexual, an acknowledgement of a truth that has until recently not been commonly accepted. "Plus-sized" superstars such as Melissa McCarthy and Rebel Wilson started



this transition through humor, but supermodel Ashley Graham, as I argue in this writing, drives home this transition. While the sexual script which fat bodies enact is neither new nor revolutionary, the context of this sexual script being enacted by fat bodies, and being represented and acknowledged in media, is a new form of revolt, a public *rescripting* of the limitations of fatness in general, and fat sexuality in particular.

Fat Sexuality Studies is not looking at fat sexuality through the lens of humor, where the sexual fat person is quite often used as fodder for laughter, nor are we talking about the fat sexual body as existing only for those "fat admirers". Rather, we are looking at the fat person as being, with all seriousness and openness, *sexual*. We are beginning to see a move in media for the fat body, or at least the fat white female body, from its occupied space at the margins to the mainstream, from the fetish to the openly sexual.

It is important to remember that fat sexuality has not gone completely unacknowledged in academia or in activism in general. As per Hester and Walters, there is a strong history of these topics being discussed in a tangential capacity. This writing, however, is more focused on defining and exploring different thematic elements present in representations of fat sexuality which can make up a theoretical basis for Fat Sexuality Studies. These "themes" help to organize the many overlapping ideas, concepts, and trends within Fat Sexuality Studies. The separation of these concepts here is not meant to imply that these themes are not in and of themselves often contradictory, nor that they occur separately. Rather all of these themes, contradictory or not, are often occurring simultaneously with each other. The exploration of themes I give here is also not meant to be exhaustive, but rather represent the thematic elements most clear to myself which have yet to be fully explored in the contexts of fat sexuality. Additions or edits to these themes



are not only expected, but most welcome. Remember, the goal here is to try and answer the question of what is currently happening with fat sexuality and how it is perceived in our social world, not to provide an end-all-be-all rulebook for this process. With this in mind, the themes I have chosen to highlight in this piece are masculinity and race.

To help interpret these themes, I will use the illustrated fetish artwork of Namio Harukawa and the "Role Model" photoshoot of Ashley Graham by *V Magazine* from January of 2017. To help solidify the connections between these two works, I also discuss a photoset by T. Rush which specifically recreates some of Harukawa's drawings, thereby bridging the gap of artistic medium between the drawings of Harukawa and the photographs of Graham. While different, these images deal with many of the same thematic elements. For the purpose of this writing, I will be looking at gender roles and race most prominently.

Namio Harukawa's artwork

Namio Harukawa's work is fairly ubiquitous. As a fat woman myself, rarely have I ever found a site even tangentially related to fat women which does not feature his work at some point. Whether via user uploaded photos of his prints or hosted by the website itself, sites such as Pinterest, Tumblr, Reddit, and of course Fetlife, a fetish and BDSM based social media site, among many other social media networks often have multiple pages and threads devoted to his work. It is worth noting that the presence of these drawings may now be somewhat restricted due to new rules websites have passed against "pornographic material" as a result of the "Fight Online Sex Trafficking Act" or FOSTA which holds websites responsible for any sort of sex solicitation or related activities. Additional fears of the presence of child pornography on many sites has led to a crackdown of



numerous "not safe for work" (NSFW) or pornographic threads. Harukawa's artworks, despite having been produced with many of the same thematic elements since around the 1960's, continue to have lasting impact on those within the Fat Admirer, BBW, fetish, fem-dom, and fat activist communities. Harukawa is an artist who appears to be drawing specifically upon his own fantasies for inspiration in his work, or at the very least is assumed to be. However, despite his popularity among these communities there is there is little to no biographical information about Harukawa at all. Other than his date of birth (1947) the 72 year old has cone very little in the way of explaining his motivations for his particular art style. Despite the lack of information about the man himself, his work has lasted through the decades and well into the present era of social media, a clear sign of his staying power. For nearly 60 years, almost all of the drawings he creates follow the same thematic formula. Typical examples will be included below.

In the drawings, a woman, usually fat, with long dark hair, wide hips, round buttocks and pendulous breasts is sitting on, hovering over, or suffocating a man who lies beneath her. She is attractive, sensual, and exotic. Her ethnicity is hybridized, never truly having a clear "race" though on occasion her outfit is specifically cultured (such as a kimono or cheongsam). Her body shape is that of a kind of ideal fat woman, fat in the "right" places, breasts, hips, buttocks, with a thin-ish waist and a clear hourglass shape, essentially the ideal thin body padded with extra inches.

In comparison to this nearly impossible example of idealized fat femininity, the man pictured with her is the epitome of non-ideal masculinity. He is small, thin, and, perhaps most importantly, submissive. The Harukawa woman is often pictured sitting on this man's face, sometimes urinating or defecating into his mouth, and it is clear that the drawings are showing us



an act of submission on the part of the man, while the fat woman is taking on the role of the dominant.

Harukawa's drawings as shown above offer a very specific narrative and do so repeatedly in his work. His drawings rarely have a title, and the subject matter clearly provides a textual interpretation of fat sexuality. While some drawings feature the women actively participating, more often the woman seems bored or disinterested in the activity taking place, despite her body being the central focus of the drawings. Her body is the largest object present, specifically drawing the gaze of the viewer and seeming to test the boundaries of the confined space she is in. The contradiction of her body being the focus, the center of the gaze of the onlooker, while the woman herself as an agent is disinterested and confined, creates a separation of the fat body from the fat woman.

The man in each drawing by comparison seems almost comically small. This dichotomy recalls an old freak show trick where the Fat Lady would be paired with a Skeleton Man. As Andrea Stulman Dennett in her piece "The Dime Museum Freak Show Reconsidered" explains, "Marriages were often arranged between incongruous freaks, and most of the unions were exploited for profit" (Dennett 322). By "incongruous," Dennett means those freaks whose bodies were extreme in opposite ways. The example useful here is that of the Skeleton Man and the Fat Lady who were often joined together because, to the spectator, their proximity highlighted their difference. After all, a fat person never looks fatter than when they are next to a thin person, and a thin person never thinner when compared to a fat one. Harukawa plays upon this spectacle of extremes by adding in the complexities not just of weight, but also of height and overall size. Fat women are often labeled as "goddesses," "amazons," or "queens," all of which are larger than



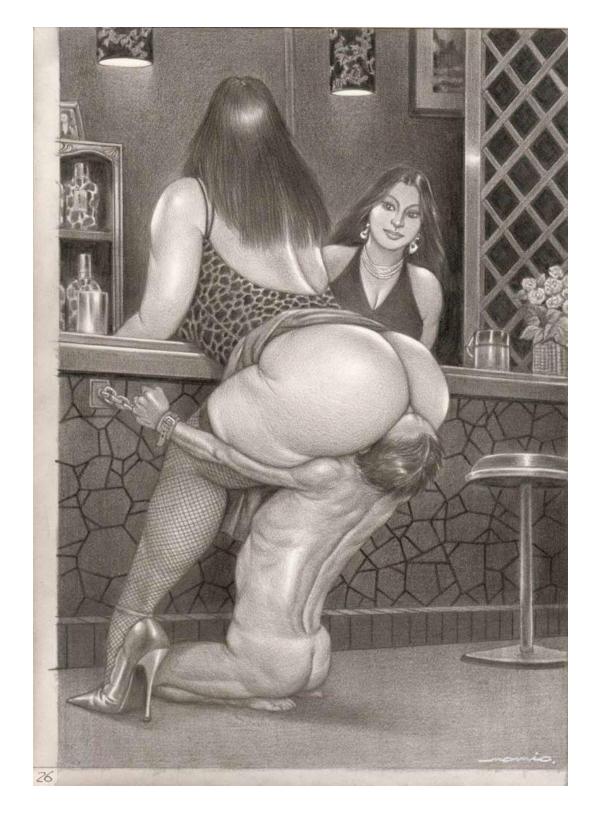


Figure 1. Untitled Namio Harukawa drawing, date of publication unknown

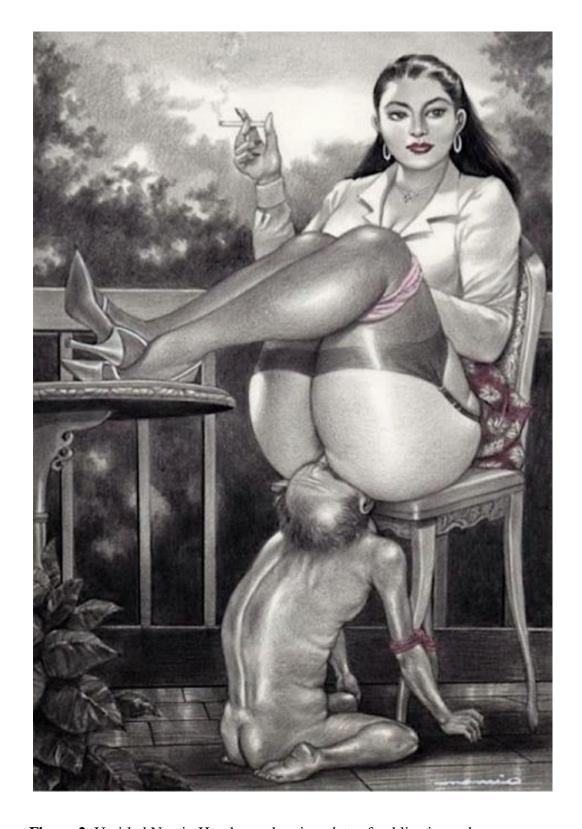


Figure 2. Untitled Namio Harukawa drawing, date of publication unknown

life models of fat femininity that epitomize the "fem-dom" fetish ideal which Harukawa's work popularizes. This is not to say that there is not a certain power given to the Harukawa woman. She is certainly representative of a strong and dominant woman, but that power is not wholly hers to embody. The actions she performs to dominate the male are done more so for his benefit than for hers. I want to return now to the etymological roots of *fat sexuality*. Fat sexuality is something which the fat person fully embodies. It is the capacity of, the quality of, being sexual. I argue that Harukawa, despite the progress he made by showing a powerful fat woman, ultimately succeeds in creating only a fetish. I use fetish not in the way we understand it today, as a specific sexual interest, but rather in its original meaning.

A *fetish* in its original definition is something artificial which channels the power of something else. Literally, an object one fixates on to express their own desires, rather than one which has desires of its own. The fat woman in Harukawa's drawings is just such a thing, literally and figuratively. In the introduction, I discussed the different types of fat fetishization commonly seen. The first is body focused, which is when someone is sexually interested in the body of the fat woman herself, be it her thighs, stomach, feet, etc. This is enacted within Harukawa's drawings by the female subject. She is physically imposing, especially in comparison to her male counterpart. Harukawa's synechdochal focus on the buttocks is particularly prominent in his work as well, and indeed is central to his drawing upon action focused fetishization. It is the buttocks of the woman which is usually pictured sitting upon the man's face and head, smothering or crushing him under its weight. This effect multiplies when the focus is on the woman's buttocks performing an action such as defecation. The lack of interest of the woman in the drawings however, usually expressed through her doing other activities rather than focusing on the man, such as playing cards or reading a book, adds to the

perception of separation. The buttocks of the woman are not her own, as it is separately engaged in whatever action the man desires.

T. Rush "tribute" photographs

While completing the research for this project and narrowing down the images I would use, I came across a series of photos recreating the work of Namio Harukawa (Photos used with permission, T. Rush email 2019). The images, photographed by T. Rush and including model Nikki and himself, first caught my interest as they seemed to bridge the gap between the Harukawa drawings and the Graham photos. The drawings which T. Rush chose to photograph were equally compelling. As discussed above, Harukawa's work tends to portray its female subjects as disinterested participants. Their bodies exist in his drawings not for their own selves but for the pleasure of men who are using the women's bodies for both their weight and their bodily functions.

The T. Rush photographs, which, according to the photographer, were created with the intention of replicating the drawings as closely as possible, are fascinating to look at just on their own. The differences inherent in simply moving from drawing to human embodiment boggle the mind. However, it is the choice to recreate these *specific* drawings which provides the exciting academic possibilities for this thesis. T. Rush explained that the photos "seemed to be the best ones we could recreate with the resources we had," rather than being chosen for any other reason, but I have to wonder if this is fully accurate (Rush 2019). In particular, the drawings chosen for the photographs include a female subject who is not passive like the subjects of other



Harukawa drawings. The subject as modeled by Nikki is posed as someone taking active part in the dominance of the male who now exists for her pleasure as well as his own instead of the one-sided pleasure of the drawing.

For instance, if we look at the piece entitled "Namio 1" (Figure 3) we can see clearly some of the differences I'm referring to. In Harukawa's rendering, a large woman has her hand on her partners head, drawing him close to her breasts. The drawing has her spitting in his mouth, a clear dominant choice and one with her full participation. The male in the drawing has his mouth open to receive the offering, marking him as the submissive but still very much the recipient of the activity. In contrast, the photo recreation by T. Rush has the model not spitting at all, but rather nearly suffocating the male subject in her breasts. Her eyes here are closed, and she has a slight smile on her face, evidence that she seems to be enjoying herself and also receiving pleasure from this activity.

This slight shift still provides a dominant action, one the male can enjoy, but does so not at the expense of the fat woman's body. She is not giving him something, nor is her body only for his use. The photograph shows how it is possible to have a more equal relationship, which benefits both at the expense of none, or, possibly, at the equal expense of both. Since Rush claims this is unintentional, the difference here may simply be the humanity in the photo compared to the lack of realism in the drawing. One represents an ideal, an expectation, while the other gives us a closer approximation to the embodied reality of fat women.

The T. Rush photographs, or "tributes" as he refers to them, are remarkably similar to their source material. The differences, though, subtle as they are, are indicative of a growth in fat sexual representation. Most notably, I would bring attention to the expression on the faces of the





Figure 3. "Namio 1" Namio Harukawa drawing, left. T. Rush photo, right.



Figure 4. "Namio 3" Namio Harukawa drawing, left. T.Rush photo, right.





Figure 5. "Namio 2" Namio Harukawa drawing, left. T. Rush photo, right.



Figure 6. "Namio 4" Namio Harukawa drawing, left. T. Rush photo, right.



Harukawa women and the model, Nikki, from the T. Rush photographs. The pleasure on the face of Nikki in comparison to the disinterest of the Harukawa woman represents the "Ecstasy" previously described by Nash and Shimizu.

Rather than finding herself bound to the tropes of the fat female sexual body (as represented by the Harukawa woman), Nikki described her initial reaction to the Harukawa drawings as looking at the images as if they "were me, a curvy, strong amazon dominating a man" (T. Rush emails, 2019). T. Rush himself referred to Harukawa as "the only artist in pop culture who has focused on big women being powerful, aggressive, and unafraid of their sexuality" (Rush). Clearly from these descriptions, we can see that the Harukawa woman, the "imagined other" which Shimizu describes has indeed had a positive impact on the lives of the viewers, in this case T. Rush and model Nikki. Fat pornographic imagery and its complexities are well represented here. Despite the tropes of fat fetishization which have evolved over time, the implications of those tropes go far beyond the notions of "good" or "bad". The Ashley Graham photographs, discussed below, add even more intricacy to these conceptions.

Ashley Graham "V Magazine" photoshoot

The Ashley Graham photoshoot with *V Magazine* is very similar to the Harukawa drawings. The photoset, featuring Graham photographed by legendary photographer Steven Klein and published on January 12th, 2017, is particularly useful for comparison due to two of the photos in the set, numbers "3" and "4" (V Magazine). These photos feature Graham physically dominating a noticeably smaller male model both by holding him up off the ground,



and by pressing him against a wall. While not a copy of Harukawa's work, there are thematic similarities in the photos. First, there is Graham herself who physically matches the Harukawa woman. She has long dark hair, an ambiguous racial quality, has an "ideal" fat body with a small waist, thick thighs, and wide hips. I doubt these similarities to the Harukawa woman, and indeed the positioning which has Graham physically dominating the smaller male, were in any way lost on Steven Klein and were rather intentionally evoked for the viewer. While Klein has photographed female models lifting male models before in previous works, these thin female models were paired with "normal-sized" male models as are usually used by photographers. Conversely, Graham was posed with a physically smaller male model, evoking a different narrative. In addition, Graham is literally lifting her model while the thinner models' partners were hung on wires to look like they were being lifted. This lends itself to the perception of fat women as masculine or "Amazonian" as they are often tagged (Vogue Italia 2016). Analyzing these drawings and photographs in relation to each other reveals much about the way that the portrayal of fat sexuality has shifted over time and helps to explain the further change needed in the future.

The Steven Klein photographs of Ashley Graham take this human aspect and enhances it to the inhuman. They focus on a fantasy which has been culminated for decades regarding the fat body. When thinking of the "revolting" fat body, we think of it as in revolt against the traditional notions of femininity. However, this implies that the traditional feminine script was ever applicable to the fat body in the first place. In recent history, particularly in the West, the fat body has not been a body which is considered ideally feminine. Rather, with the rise of race and racism as well as anti-immigrant nationalism, the fat body has not (in recent history) been considered to *ever* have the capability of being ideally feminine. This, I would argue, has

changed most recently with fatness becoming demonized after the industrial revolution.

Certainly the language of condemnation has changed over time from a moral argument to a medicalized one but I cannot speak for all of history as evidence shows tolerance has changed over time (examples being the artwork of Peter Paul Rubens and The Venus of Willendorf among many other examples). To argue that the fat body is actively subverting a script which it has become impossible for it to achieve simply due to its lack of adherence to an ideal weight seems misleading. More accurate would be to say that fat female bodies, despite being pinned to specific characterizations of having a "revolting" body, subvert this negative characterization through their active choice to *embrace* those traits which were being forced upon them.

The Ashley Graham photographs are somewhat thematically similar to Harukawa's drawings. The first, photograph "3," has Graham at the center of the photograph lifting her male model off the ground and looking fiercely at the camera. She is, like the Harukawa woman, the center of the frame, her body the main focus of the audience. Unlike the Harukawa woman, though, Graham seems clearly invested with that she is doing. Her hands are lifting the male model by grasping him under his armpits, as you would lift a child or a mannequin. Sex, or rather sexuality, is not the central focus of this picture, and indeed the lack of nudity made me question whether or not this photo fully deserved inclusion within this analysis. Pornography, however, is rarely just representations of sex or nudity. Pornography, to cite Jane Caputi, "is regularly used in ways that have nothing to do with sexual explicitness. Rather, pornography is commonly understood as a form of propaganda, a representational style linked with defamation and desensitization, if not destruction" (Caputi 74). So, while the photograph lacks the most recognizable forms of sexual explicitness, it does feature a propaganda about the inherent sexuality of the fat woman. Here the audience is supposed to feel the power of Graham



Figure 7. "3" Steven Klein Photoshoot, V Magazine, Jan. 12th, 2017



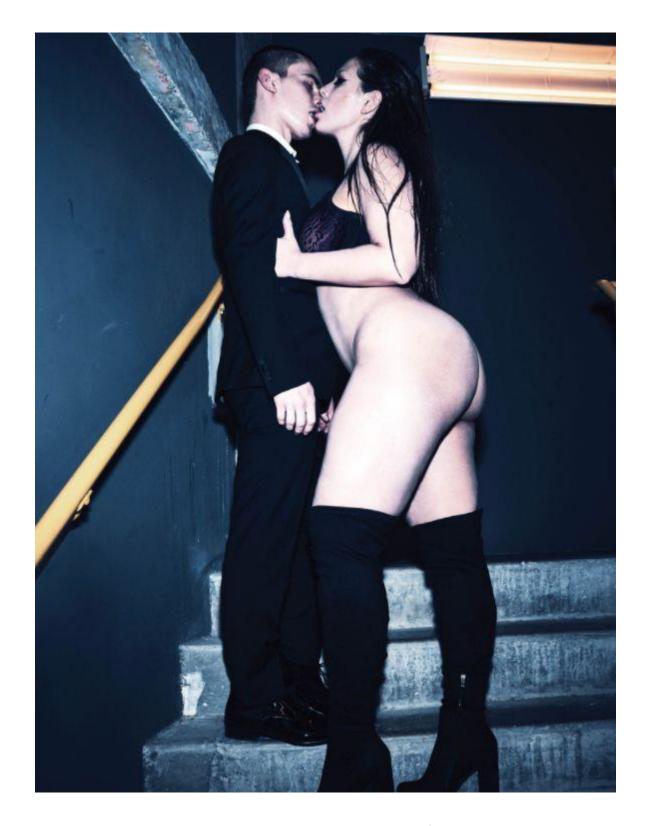


Figure 8. "4" Steven Klein Photoshoot, V Magazine, Jan. 12^{th} , 2017

and her body. She is strong and capable, lifting the male model high off the ground and doing so in heels, no less! She embodies the goddess, the queen, the Amazon that society is now beginning to expect she should be.

Graham photograph "4" shows a much clearer presentation of what we expect from pornographic imagery. This photo has Graham and the male model standing on a staircase. Graham is still the central focus of the photo, but this time she is clearly sexualized, wearing a bra and boots with no pants. Her buttocks become one of the main focal points of the photo in a similar way to the Harukawa drawings, but it is not the focus of the action. The upper half of Graham's body is more the place of action, with Graham holding and kissing the male model. Again, the size difference is made evident, with Graham holding the male model beneath his armpits, moving him where she wants him and pushing him against a wall. He is placed one stair above the one she is standing on because he is shorter than she is, again emphasizing the clear dichotomy of size. Graham's depiction shows significantly more intent than the Harukawa drawings, though both images clearly show the women as dominant. It is this difference which I wish to further examine in the next section.



IV. Intersectional Analysis

This section goes further in depth to the tropes which the images in this writing so clearly illustrate. While there are certainly many tropes exemplified here, the particular focus is on masculinity and gender difference, and race. The images used in this thesis are not meant to be the focus themselves, rather they are present here to help illustrate an overarching evolution over time of how fat pornography is presented and understood both by the media, the public, and the individuals who most consume it.

Fatness and Masculinity

"Pornography," to cite Jane Caputi, "is regularly used in ways that have nothing to do with sexual explicitness. Rather pornography is commonly understood as a form of propaganda, a representational style linked with defamation and desensitization, if not destruction" (Caputi 74). For the fat woman, the popular understanding of fat sexuality as representative of fetish is problematic. While much of the central focus, the goal of this paper isn't to assume that all fat fetishization falls into the kind presented in these images, namely dominant and submissive activities. Rather, fat sex in and of itself is perceived as existing mainly in the realm of the fetish. If someone explains that they are attracted to fat people, it is phrased more often than not that they have a "fat fetish" rather than simply a preference for someone who is fat. Just the language here, the depersonalization of calling it a fat person a fetish, a conduit for someone else's desire



rather than a person capable of their own sexual desires, shows the disembodiment already perceived to be taking place within fat sex.

The focus on this fetish representation of fat sexuality is not meant to represent this as the sole option, but instead shows the power of this characterization as the dominant narrative in popular media. As those who are not a part of the fat community do not have an understanding of the realities of fat sexuality outside of media representations, it is important to provide a counternarrative to these depictions which can, in turn, shift perceptions of fat sex, moving it from the margins to the mainstream. A place to begin this counter-narrative is with the scripting of the fat body as masculine and therefore deviant.

Much as I disagree with much of her discussion on pornography in her book *Goddesses* and *Monsters*, Jane Caputi makes an excellent point in regards to the perception of gender roles in dominant/ submissive pornographic imagery. She writes:

Pornography, as I am using the term, is just that, a worldview, a way of thinking and acting that sexualizes and genders domination and submission, from the bedroom to the war room, making domination masculine (even when a woman plays that role) and submission feminine (even when a man plays that role) (Caputi 75)

In both the Harukawa drawings and the Ashley Graham photos we see a deviation from traditional gender roles. This deviancy is multiplied by the already clear deviance of both the male and female bodies in each image. To quote Nita Mary McKinley "the fit, fat-free body that popular media portrays as ideal in weight is rare in women, and is more typical of the bodies of men, and is therefore the perfect body for the male sphere" (McKinley 101). There is indeed a



perception of domination as being the realm of men, as Caputi stated, an activity taking place as much in the bedroom as in the "war room." Graham and the Harukawa woman are encroaching upon this "masculine" space not only with their dominant actions, but also with their bodies in and of themselves.

The dominant female portrayed by Harukawa is a representation of a fat woman who is already deviant because of her weight, furthering that deviancy through her unapologetic masculine actions. The physically smaller men in the photos act as her foil, taking the feminine role of minimizing the space they inhabit. To push the gender bent scenes even further, there is the outside aspect of the viewer and their expectations and the creators and their intent. For both the Harukawa woman, Nikki in T. Rush's photos, and Graham, the context of all of these images is, ultimately, created by men, Harukawa in his drawings, T. Rush in his photographs, and Klein in his posing of the models. Power is being created and interrupted both through the expectations and gaze of the viewer, which give the women subversive power, and through the intent of the creators which remove the sense of agency given to the women.

We can complicate the issue of power further by asking the question of who these images are meant for. Certainly, the Harukawa photographs exist primarily for the male gaze and male pleasure, but the T. Rush photographs and the Ashley Graham photoset both add complexity to the notions of power. Nikki, the model for T. Rush, explains that the Harukawa images gave her a feeling of strength rather than disgust, so much so that she felt inspired to try and recreate the photos with her partner, T. Rush. The Ashley Graham photographs, despite being curated by the male gaze, feature a strong woman who is in charge and command of her own sexuality, again, regardless of the stereotypical way she is being portrayed.



There is a distinct dichotomy taking place here. The fat body, which takes up more masculine space and therefore lacks ideal femininity, also has, from her extra fat, generally larger breasts, hips, and thighs; parts strongly correlated with femininity and fertility.

Contradictions like these are pushed still further when the actions being portrayed are dominant (coded as male) and submissive (coded as female). It is through these contradictions that we can begin to understand some of the common language used for dominant fat women. "Queen" and "Goddess" are terms which appear frequently when searching for fat porn. Both bring to mind a person to be worshipped, indeed an entity which is changeable or even trickster-like. The most apt terminology for Harukawa and Graham's examples may be that of the hyper-racialized "Amazon". The racialized quality of this title indicates a deep-rooted history of connection between fatness, sexuality, and racial stereotypes.

Fatness and Race

For this section I strongly call upon the works by Andrea Elizabeth Shaw (*The Embodiment of Disobedience: Fat Black Women's Unruly Political Bodies*) and Jennifer C. Nash (*The Black Body in Ecstasy*) who both have been indispensable in my understandings of the racialized aspects of fat sexuality (2006; 2017).

The fat body is, and should always be, understood as a racialized body. Nash begins her book with a discussion of Saartjie Baartman or "The Hottentot Venus" who is often cited as the prime example of the use and abuse of black women's bodies by both public and academic audiences. Baartman also represents the intertwining of race and size with sexuality. Nash notes



the "mythologized" portions of Baartman's body, most notably her buttocks and labia, the large size of which represented what "viewers... thought they would see: black female sexual excess" (Nash 27).

Size is correlated with excess beyond the norm. In this way, fatness and sexuality become inextricably conflated with one another. When one is fat, that fatness often extends to specific parts more so than being evenly spread across the body. Breasts, labia, buttocks, mons pubis, etc. all are "sexual" places where weight is gained. Mix this with the notion that weight gain in our current westernized society is read as being the result of a lack of willpower, of disordered, deviant, and *excessive* appetite. The lack of willpower is further applied to all parts of the fat individuals' life. Perceived excessive eating can mean excess in other habits as well. Most often, this is applied to an overabundance of sexual appetite. Black female sexual excess, which historically was created due to the presumed "abnormality" of black sexual organs, now carries over to larger bodies.

This is not to say that *all* fat bodies are read equally along racial hierarchical lines, particularly in terms of sexuality. Rarely, in fact, is the fat body read as sexual at all. Yet, when we do see examples of fat sexuality being presented, most recently by Ashley Graham, the imagery which follows is very much dated, and draws upon tropes from the past for its representation. The fat body is reviled today, to quote Samantha Murray as "a body that is uncared for, uncultivated, and indeed, a body that has failed as the subject of aesthetics" (Murray 237). It is the racialized aesthetics of fat sexuality which will be most discussed in this section.

These "aesthetics" of femininity are not merely those of ideal weight, however, because along with ideal size comes an ideal race as well. Fatness, (or fat parts, remember our discussion



of Puar and "piecing" fantasies, to which we will return) is understood as racialized, as a kind of primitivity. As an example, Amy Farrell extensively cites a Dr. Williams in her piece from *The Fat Studies Reader*. I will cite a section as well here:

As Dr. Williams wrote in 1926, 'Certain it is that in many savage tribes and even among people that are by no means savage, that men prefer fat women.' He argued, however, that 'civilization' was changing men's 'natural' sexual instinct. They were beginning to realize that they preferred thin women. And to accommodate this preference, he explained, women were taking part in slimming campaigns, fighting their natural—that is, primitive—'endocrinal' tendency to gain weight. As Williams approvingly noted, white women in 'civilized countries' were beginning to realize (and passively men were 'learning' it too) that men preferred slim women. As Williams concluded, fat women were 'repulsive sights, degrading alike to their sex and civilization' (Farrell 260)

Fat women, or rather fat white women, were not just failing ideal feminine beauty standards but their "civilization," their *race*, as well. Fatness in the early 20th century was making a significant social shift from a sign of wealth to poverty, from "culture" to savagery, from whiteness to blackness. Having sex with a fat woman then, what even Williams defines as a preference, moves to the realm of the taboo and fetish, a "giving in" to baser instincts, a failure of will-power.

When LeBesco writes on "revolt" it can be argued that fat white women were revolting against ideal femininity for their bodies. I have to argue as well, however, that fat bodies of color especially have never been privileged enough to be held to the standards of thin white femininity. To aim for such a goal is foolhardy when a fat body is always read as racialized. Fat sexuality



must be understood then from a racialized standpoint. I do so by using Jennifer C. Nash and her notion of racialized pornography as a site of pleasure and ecstasy. To quote Nash, "By *ecstasy*, I refer both to the possibilities of female pleasures within a phallic economy and to the possibilities of black female pleasures within a white-dominated representational economy"; Nash questions whether there is a capability for sexual pleasure even within the confines of a racist hierarchy (Nash 1-3).

This is wonderfully explained by Nash through her example of the 1978 porn film *Sex World*. The premise of *Sex World* is that a group of people come to a vacation spot which, through some non-descript hi-tech technology along with confession from the guests, provide each person with their ideal sexual fantasy. Roger, a racist character in the film, is matched with Jill, a black woman because the technicians, who had difficulty determining his fantasy, decide he needs "someone he hates." (Spinelli). Nash describes that "even as *SexWorld* depicts Roger locating pleasure in incessantly naming and then consuming Jill's imagined difference, it also shows Jill's pleasure in eroticizing her imagined difference" (Nash 83-85).

The fat body, too, must find pleasure in a world which exacerbates its imagined difference. Sex and sexuality are understood within the realm of thinness. To deviate is to give in to a forbidden, distasteful pleasure. To re-write Nash, "By Ecstasy, I refer both to the possibilities of female pleasures within a phallic economy and to the possibilities of" *fat* "female pleasures within a" *thin-*"dominated representational economy" (Nash 1-3). The opportunity for sexual pleasure within the realm of fat sex, for both partners, is often most evident within fetishism. Fat women who engage in feederism for instance often attain sexual pleasure through the action of embracing and even increasing their fatness as a unique trait, as something which



was attained through hard work. Similar to racialized terms Roger uses for Jill in *SexWorld* which Jill takes pleasure in ("fat lips," "you people"), fat women experience a similar phenomenon with terms such as "pig" or "cow" which specifically highlight the abjection of their bodies (Spinelli).

Nash quotes both Kathryn Bond Stockton and Darieck Scott who argue that "pleasures in blackness are pleasures in abjection, where the wound of blackness is taken up as a site of ecstasy" (Nash 83-87). Fatness does much the same thing since fat abjection in society is especially prominent due to the left-over racialized aspects mixed with the more recent medical objections to fat bodies. The term "Amazon" is particularly tinged with racialization, both through the terms connection to "primitivity" and fatness and the implications of size on sexuality. Within the Harukawa and Graham images, this term can be applied to the women with an aspect of pleasure, indeed the term is not wholly uncomplimentary. However, this pleasure is expressed despite the "Amazon" term applying to a body which is racialized as strong and aggressive.

Andrea Elizabeth Shaw cites Hilary Beckles as writing that "the black woman was ideologically constructed as essentially 'non-feminine' in so far as primacy was placed upon her alleged muscular capabilities, physical strength, aggressive carriage, and sturdiness" (Shaw 23). Certainly these traits describe much of what we have seen in the Harukawa and Graham images. The Harukawa woman dominates the male in the drawings by both taking up most of the space in the image (symbolically) and by physically sitting on the male (literally). In Graham's case,



the aggression is portrayed both through her strength in lifting the male model in photo "3" and in photo "4" by her sexual aggression towards and entrapment of the male model.

Despite the use of racialized tropes by both Harukawa and Klein in Graham's photographs, neither of their subjects are women of color. Ethnically ambiguous perhaps, but on first sight not immediately recognizable as black. This reflects the trend in media of accepting fat white bodies without any focus on the fat black ones. Acceptability is a privilege extended only to bodies which, while still markedly different from ideal beauty, are closer to the definition. As recognizable fatness is becoming more common and affecting higher percentages of our population in the United States, body-positivity and fat acceptance movements are growing in popularity. The presence of, and sexuality of, fat black bodies, is still too racially charged, still too taboo, to see the same amount of mainstream acceptance.

Jasbir K. Puar in her book *The Right to Maim* describes the phenomenon of "piecing," a recruitment into neoliberal forms of fragmentation of the body for capitalist profit" (Puar 65). For fatness, we have already discussed in the introduction how porn companies, such as Score group (as well as innumerable independent porn makers) use the fragmentation of the fat body for profit. This process is also clear in the focus of accepting pieces of the fat body as acceptable while denying the fat body as a whole. Our cultural focus on "big butts" has been an American obsession for years (Burns-Ardolino). A large behind, and its acceptance, seems as though it represents a step forward in terms of fat acceptance, however it rather represents our value on appropriating racialized commodities and body parts (big butts and big lips) and valuing their beauty on non-racialized bodies. This transforms these pieces of the body into something both consumable and attainable to the ideal white heteronormative public. Quoting again from Puar,



"Piecing thus appears to be transgressive when in fact it is constitutive not only of transnormativity but also of aspects of neoliberal market economies" (75). Butt fillers, plastic surgery, booty enhancing pants and undergarments all exist to help a consumer make their bodies fit into ideal beauty standards. However, the bodies which could most benefit from this acceptance, the deviant bodies of fat people and people of color, are excluded from this process because their *whole*, that is their whole body, cannot be separated into only these ideal parts.

That it has taken up until the past five years or so to accept, to a limited extent, fat white bodies exemplifies the power of the connection of fatness to blackness. The new narrative being created, while still steeped in racial history, is being re-written as a fight against unfair beauty standards rather than a more useful fight against the still prevalent racialized power which influences our ideal beauty standards. It is important to keep in mind the complexity of these example images as well as the complexity of fat sexuality in general. Even with the negative effect racialized politics have had on the understanding of fat sexuality, there are some positive attributes coming from these images in particular relation to colonized bodies. At the same time that the fat sexual body is upholding racial hierarchies, it is also "undermining the stability of Western metaphysical and dualistic thought" (Braziel 232). This means that when the fat body disrupts notions of masculinity and femininity by representing aspects of both at the same time, it also challenges the racial dichotomy which put these binaristic structures in place. To further quote Jana Evans Braziel on this subject, fat female bodies "topple philosophical binarisms in which the female is subordinated to the male, the body subordinated to the soul, and materiality to form" (232).



There is room for future interpretations of the material here as well. The fat female body in the images discussed here represents, certainly, a queering of traditional gender roles. Women dominate the worlds created in the pictures, emphasizing an alternate masculinity, something which in our Western reality belongs solely to men, is squarely placed in the realm of women instead. This challenges gender roles, yes, but also Western colonialist constructions which have been imposed upon other cultures/nations over time. If men, in this case, represent Western ideologies or powers (like the United States for instance) then the women can represent any number of countries whose own cultures have been repressed by Western culture.



V. Conclusion: Towards a Fat Sexuality Studies

The material used for this project is representative of a common fat heterosexual fantasy. It is limited in scope not only by its whiteness, but also the lack of fat queer sexuality being presented at all. Fat male sexuality as well is not tackled in this thesis, partially due to a lack of still image or even moving-image pornography which features fat men, but also because the body-positivity and fat activist movements are particularly concerned with the unfair beauty standards which are forced upon fat women. I mentioned previously when talking of race how I find this focus on just beauty standards to be overly reductive and simplistic when considering fat activism practices. It is this simplicity that has made it so easy for capitalism to appropriate these efforts.

The acceptance of fat bodies cannot be done one piece at a time, either through the acceptance of one fat body *part*, nor through the acceptance of one fat body *type*. In this case, the BBW body type represented by both the Harukawa woman, Nikki, and Graham is typified as the "highly feminine heterosexual woman". Indeed, despite the queering of gender roles present in the images chosen for this project, the women represented are themselves not completely creating what was defined at the beginning of this paper as "feminist pornography". I do not fully agree with authors such as Helen Hester who look to situate BBW porn among other genres of "hard core" pornography. The key question she addresses is "what...the cis fat female form can do differently when it comes to operating within the generic conventions of visual



pornography" (945). This question I think is too narrow and ignores the already queer potential of the fat body being featured at all. However, Hester is correct to question the power of this subversion when thinking in terms of our requirements for *feminist* pornography, rather than simply cisgender heteronormative pornography. This is particularly important because the BBW porn industry is itself existing within a "capitalist marketplace" as Rebecca Whisnant describes. The images described in this paper are less dependent upon capitalism, though not totally free of its influence.

When it comes to whether this imagery is positive or negative, the answer is, as with most theoretical feminism, "both." On the one hand, the images discussed in this paper fail to show all of the many complexities of the fat sexual body. To cite Shimizu, "The interpretations of racial and sexual images that deny the ambiguities of representation and sexuality further discipline, police, and demand that...women become docile-subjects" (Shimizu 11). The impact of representations on understandings cannot be understated. The sexual representations of fat bodies presented here show that there is an incredibly narrow understanding of what their sexual lives are like. It is these representations, and their fetishization, that train fat people and those who are attracted to them that despite their desires, their bodies are only made for certain types of sexual activity. The requirements of that sexual script create specific expectations of the fat body, that its sexuality is so abnormal as to only be classified as fetish, and that to have any attraction to the fat body as a whole, and its "masculine" and "domineering" fem-dom women, is to have a "fat fetish."

Conversely, however, as Nash describes, power can be found in the imagery as well. The images evaluated in this piece show a distinct evolution in the power of fat women's sexuality.



The Harukawa woman, so passive in her own sexualization, has been replaced by Graham, a woman who, while still representing a commercialized ideal of the fat fem-dom, is importantly photographed as *embracing* that role, as the active member of the image rather than the passive. Graham through her embrace is *subverting* the role that has been created for her. As a reminder, the scenario described by Nash, in which a racialized character experiences "ecstasy" within that characterization, is repeated here. The fetishized dominance expected of fat women is enjoyed by both Nikki of T. Rush's photos and Graham, evolving into its own form of sexual pleasure.

In addition, representations of the sexual fat body, regardless of how problematic they are, may be rare enough that the existence of any can be considered progressive. However, as these representations move more firmly into the mainstream, the subversive power of the works become less potent. With the rise of the body positivity movement and fat activism, Graham herself has become something of a fat feminist icon. The images can be construed as being inspirational, a sort of "fat women are sexy too" project, but the question remains whether we want to be seen as *this* kind of sexy, or if ultimately the fetishizing of our sexuality will lead to more harm than help. This leads us to the question of what looking at fat sexual pornography can mean for the future of fat sexuality studies. How can this material help us to not only define the field, but also better understand the complexities of its subject matter?

This paper aims to create a case for the further study of fat pornography. It's potentials for academic study are particularly untapped considering the wealth of material available. In addition, fat porn acts as an intersectional goldmine as fat discrimination comes from a varied mix of racism, classism, and xenophobic ideologies. Fat Sexuality Studies, at its core, is a field which exists to consider the numerous ways that the fat body does, can, and is perceived to be



sexual. The themes explored in this paper, and the medium of fat pornography, can help us understand our social world in ways which don't just affect the fat population, but the whole of our society as well.



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Appendices



Appendix 1: Fair Use Worksheet for Namio Harukawa Drawing 1

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necessary to accomplish the purpose)	\square Portion used is qualitatively substantial (i.e. it
🗷 Amount is important to favored socially	is the 'heart of the work')
beneficial objective (i.e. educational objectives)	
☐Lower quality from original (ex. Lower	
resolution or bitrate photos, video, and audio)	

LeEtta Schmidt, Imschmidt@usf.edu and Drew Smith dsmith@usf.edu
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Overall, the amount and substantiality of material used in relation to the whole \boxtimes supports fair use or \square does not support fair use.

EFFECT ON THE MARKET FOR ORIGINAL

Likely Supports Fair Use	Likely Does Not Support Fair Use
🗵 No significant effect on the market or	☐ Replaces sale of copyrighted work
potential market for the original	☐ Significantly impairs market or potential
☐ No similar product marketed by the copyright	market for the work
Holder	☐ Numerous copies or repeated, long-term use
\square You own a lawfully acquired copy of the	Made accessible on Web or to public
Material	☐ Affordable and reasonably available
☐ The copyright holder is unidentifiable	permissions or licensing
🗷 Lack of licensing mechanism for the material	

Overall, the effect on the market for the original \boxtimes supports fair use or \square does not support fair use.

CONCLUSION

The combined purpose and character of the use, nature of the copyrighted material, amount and substantiality of material used in relation to the whole and the effect on the market for the original

 $oxedsymbol{\boxtimes}$ likely supports fair use or $oxedsymbol{\square}$ likely does not support fair use.

Note: Should your use of copyrighted material not support fair use, you may still be able to locate and request permissions from the copyright holder. For help on this, please feel free to contact your Copyright Librarian.

This worksheet has been adapted from:

Cornell University's Checklist for Conducting A Fair use Analysis Before Using Copyrighted Materials: https://copyright.cornell.edu/policies/docs/Fair Use Checklist.pdf

Crews, Kenneth D. (2008) Fair use Checklist. Columbia University Libraries Copyright Advisory Office. http://copyright.columbia.edu/copyright/files/2009/10/fairusechecklist.pdf



Smith, Kevin; Macklin, Lisa A.; Gilliland, Anne. A Framework for Analyzing any Copyright Problem. Retrieved from:
https://d396qusza40orc.cloudfront.net/cfel/Reading%20Docs/A%20Framework%20for%20Analyzing%2
<a href="mailto:opening-net/mailto:opening-

LeEtta Schmidt, lmschmidt@usf.edu and Drew Smith dsmith@usf.edu and Drew Smith

Reviewed by <u>USF General Counsel</u> 08/11/2015



Appendix 3: Fair Use Worksheet Ashley Graham Photoshoot 3 of 10

INSTRUCTIONS

Check all boxes that apply, and keep a copy of this form for your records. If you have questions, please contact the USF General Counsel or your USF Tampa Library Copyright Librarian.

Name: _Leah Turner	Date: 6/19/2019
"Roll" Models T	hesis Summer 2019
Title of Copyrighted Work: Ashley Graha	am Role Model Photo 3 of 10
PURPOSE AND CHARACTER OF THE USE	
Likely Supports Fair Use	Likely Does Not Support Fair Use
	▼ Commercial
\square Teaching (including multiple copies for	☑ Entertainment
classroom use)	☐ Bad-faith behavior
🗷 Research or Scholarship	\square Denying credit to original author
\square Criticism, Parody, News Reporting or	☐ Non-transformative or exact copy
Comment	🗷 Made accessible on Web or to public
🗷 Transformative Use (your new work relies on	🗷 Profit-generating use
and adds new expression, meaning, or message	
to the original work)	
X Restricted Access (to students or other	
appropriate group)	
Nonprofit	
Overall, the purpose and character of your use $\overline{\mathbb{X}}$ s	upports fair use or □does not support fair use.
NATURE OF THE COPYRIGHTED MATERIAL	
NATURE OF THE COPYRIGHTED MATERIAL	I I. D
Likely Supports Fair Use	Likely Does Not Support Fair Use
☐ Factual or nonfiction	☑ Creative or fiction
Important to favored educational objectives	☐ Consumable (workbooks, tests)
■ Published work Overall, the nature of the copyrighted material ■s	Unpublished



AMOUNT AND SUBSTANTIALITY OF MATERIAL USED IN RELATION TO WHOLE

Likely Supports Fair Use	Likely Does Not Support Fair Use
Small amount (using only the amount	☐ Large portion or whole work
necessary to accomplish the purpose)	\square Portion used is qualitatively substantial (i.e. it
Amount is important to favored socially	is the 'heart of the work')
beneficial objective (i.e. educational objectives)	Similar or exact quality of original work ■ Compare the state of the state o
☐Lower quality from original (ex. Lower	
resolution or bitrate photos, video, and audio)	

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Overall, the amount and substantiality of material used in relation to the whole \boxtimes supports fair use or \square does not support fair use.

EFFECT ON THE MARKET FOR ORIGINAL

Likely Supports Fair Use	Likely Does Not Support Fair Use
No significant effect on the market or	☐ Replaces sale of copyrighted work
potential market for the original	☐ Significantly impairs market or potential
\square No similar product marketed by the copyright	market for the work
Holder	☐ Numerous copies or repeated, long-term use
\square You own a lawfully acquired copy of the	X Made accessible on Web or to public
Material	☐ Affordable and reasonably available
☐ The copyright holder is unidentifiable	permissions or licensing
🗷 Lack of licensing mechanism for the material	

Overall, the effect on the market for the original \boxtimes supports fair use or \square does not support fair use.

CONCLUSION

The combined purpose and character of the use, nature of the copyrighted material, amount and substantiality of material used in relation to the whole and the effect on the market for the original

 \boxtimes likely supports fair use or \square likely does not support fair use.

Note: Should your use of copyrighted material not support fair use, you may still be able to locate and request permissions from the copyright holder. For help on this, please feel free to contact your Copyright Librarian.

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Crews, Kenneth D. (2008) Fair use Checklist. Columbia University Libraries Copyright Advisory Office. http://copyright.columbia.edu/copyright/files/2009/10/fairusechecklist.pdf

LeEtta Schmidt, lmschmidt@usf.edu and Drew Smith dsmith@usf.edu and Drew Smith dsmith@usf.e

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Appendix 4: Fair Use Worksheet Ashley Graham Photoshoot 4 of 10

INSTRUCTIONS

Check all boxes that apply, and keep a copy of this form for your records. If you have questions, please contact the USF General Counsel or your USF Tampa Library Copyright Librarian.

Name: Leah Turner	Date: 6/19/2019	
Name: Leah Turner "Roll" Models T	hesis Summer 2019	
Class or Project:		
Title of Copyrighted Work: Ashley Graham Role Model Photo 4 of 10		
PURPOSE AND CHARACTER OF THE USE	<u></u>	
Likely Supports Fair Use	Likely Does Not Support Fair Use	
▼ Educational	▼ Commercial	
\square Teaching (including multiple copies for	▼ Entertainment	
classroom use)	☐ Bad-faith behavior	
🗷 Research or Scholarship	\square Denying credit to original author	
☐ Criticism, Parody, News Reporting or	☐ Non-transformative or exact copy	
Comment	Made accessible on Web or to public	
▼ Transformative Use (your new work relies on	🗵 Profit-generating use	
and adds new expression, meaning, or message		
to the original work)		
Restricted Access (to students or other		
appropriate group)		
Nonprofit		
Overall, the purpose and character of your use 🗵 supports fair use or 🗆 does not support fair use.		
NATURE OF THE COPYRIGHTED MATERIAL	•	
Likely Supports Fair Use	Likely Does Not Support Fair Use	
Factual or nonfiction	☐ Creative or fiction	
Important to favored educational objectives	☐ Consumable (workbooks, tests)	
☐ Published work	☐ Unpublished	
Overall, the nature of the copyrighted material S s	upports fair use or □does not support fair use.	



AMOUNT AND SUBSTANTIALITY OF MATERIAL USED IN RELATION TO WHOLE

Likely Supports Fair Use	Likely Does Not Support Fair Use
Small amount (using only the amount	☐ Large portion or whole work
necessary to accomplish the purpose)	\square Portion used is qualitatively substantial (i.e. it
🗷 Amount is important to favored socially	is the 'heart of the work')
beneficial objective (i.e. educational objectives)	▼ Similar or exact quality of original work
\square Lower quality from original (ex. Lower	
resolution or bitrate photos, video, and audio)	

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Overall, the amount and substantiality of material used in relation to the whole \boxtimes supports fair use or \square does not support fair use.

EFFECT ON THE MARKET FOR ORIGINAL

Likely Supports Fair Use	Likely Does Not Support Fair Use
🖄 No significant effect on the market or	☐ Replaces sale of copyrighted work
potential market for the original	☐ Significantly impairs market or potential
☐ No similar product marketed by the copyright	market for the work
Holder	☐ Numerous copies or repeated, long-term use
\square You own a lawfully acquired copy of the	Made accessible on Web or to public
Material	☐ Affordable and reasonably available
☐ The copyright holder is unidentifiable	permissions or licensing
🗷 Lack of licensing mechanism for the material	

Overall, the effect on the market for the original \boxtimes supports fair use or \square does not support fair use.

CONCLUSION

The combined purpose and character of the use, nature of the copyrighted material, amount and substantiality of material used in relation to the whole and the effect on the market for the original

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Crews, Kenneth D. (2008) Fair use Checklist. Columbia University Libraries Copyright Advisory Office. http://copyright.columbia.edu/copyright/files/2009/10/fairusechecklist.pdf



Smith, Kevin; Macklin, Lisa A.; Gilliland, Anne. A Framework for Analyzing any Copyright Problem. Retrieved from:
https://d396qusza40orc.cloudfront.net/cfel/Reading%20Docs/A%20Framework%20for%20Analyzing%2
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LeEtta Schmidt, lmschmidt@usf.edu and Drew Smith dsmith@usf.edu and Drew Smith

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