Policy Entrepreneurship and the Social Construction of the Gay Sex Industry

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Abstract

The question driving this article is as follows: What are the factors that influence moral entrepreneurship among people working in the sex industry (sex workers, escorts, and porn stars)? Moral entrepreneurship is the act of rule creation, prosecution, and interpretation. Moral entrepreneurship is not about the actions of deviants; instead, it is about the way the rulemaking process draws people outside the lines of "good" society. In this article, we look at the way socially constructed deviant target population actors seek to effect change within that population. We argue that rule creation by actors in the sex industry constitutes "moral deviance" in the way they (a) locate themselves in the sex industry; (b) marshal support from within that deviant population; and (c) manage the emotional habitus of an issue. We illustrate this argument by comparing four cases: Armond Rizzo, Sylvia Rivera, Annie Sprinkle, and Ceyenne Doroshow.

Introduction

This article expands on the social construction of target populations framework (Schneider & Ingram, 1993). It begins with the proposition that not all deviance, nor all deviants, are created equal. The question driving this research is as follows: "What are the factors that influence moral entrepreneurship among people working in the sex industry (sex workers, escorts, and porn stars)? According to Weitzer (2009), the sex industry constitutes activities encompassing sexual services like direct physical contact (e.g., physical sex acts, lap dances, erotic massage) and indirect physical stimulation (e.g., adult films, stripping, phone sex, camming). Within the analysis of the gay sex industry, it is important to note that hustling is illegal, while porn is legal; however, both are still considered deviant. Human Rights Watch reported that recent surveys have found that 52% of voters in the United States support decriminalizing sex work (Wheeler, 2020). However, Ma and Loke (2019, p. 1) stated, “Female sex workers (FSWs) are stigmatized and marginalized around the world. They are generally not accepted in society and are regarded as criminals, immoral troublemakers, [and] sexual deviants.” In addition, Gallup reported that only 43% of Americans believe legal pornography is "morally acceptable" (Dugan, 2018). Regarding porn, Smith (1999) noted that it is considered “both a civil right and a civic threat” (p. 723).

An analysis using the social construction of target populations framework is important because public policy is often what materializes from the policy process—the distributive form of policymaking (Schneider & Ingram, 1993). This involves underlying power dynamics and is consistent with the other theories such as intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1991). Intersectionality provides a framework for understanding how an individual’s political and social locations come

together to generate multiple modes of privilege and discrimination. Therefore, moral entrepreneurship is part of this process because it involves the way actors push for a policy or norm to fight stigma and oppose the way some behaviors are deemed acceptable in society.

Moral entrepreneurship is not about the actions of the deviant target population. It is about the actions of the moral entrepreneur, themselves who are defining the terms of social engagement—whether through legal avenues, policies, or social norms. The primary element of moral entrepreneurship is the focus on the rulemaking process. The entrepreneurship component is often found in the way the rules are made to exclude others and create a set of behaviors that can be controlled. De Young (2007, para. 1) defined a moral entrepreneur as "an individual, group, or formal organization that takes on the responsibility of persuading society to develop or to enforce rules that are consistent with its own ardently held moral beliefs."

Moral entrepreneurs often use moral panics as an agenda-setting device to identify their norm-setting as an urgent social priority. S. Cohen (2004) defined a moral panic as when a "condition, episode, person or group of persons emerges to become defined as a threat to societal values and interests" (p. 1). However, moral entrepreneurship mainly occurs from the privileged (or advantaged) down to the margins (or deviants). The result is a policy process that expands the scope of the issue and distributes deviance across society. Pepin-Neff and A. Cohen (2021) noted that this distribution of burdens "includes stigma, criminalization, and violence such as that against trans sex work" (p. 649). Again, this entrepreneurship often involves moral panics and moral crusades by advantaged actors that reinforce or expand racism, sexism, classism, ableism,

homophobia, and transphobia (Pepin-Neff & A. Cohen, 2021). However, that is not the evident in this article.

Alternatively, "moral deviance entrepreneurs" are actors that influence the policy and norm-setting process from a deviant category. We argue that rule creation by sex industry actors within deviant populations toward deviant populations centers on (a) locating oneself in the sex industry; (b) marshaling support from within that deviant population; and (c) managing the emotional habitus of an issue. Here, moral deviance functions to disrupt underlying power dynamics that allow for sex industry pay inequity, consider pornography as educational and liberatory, and combat the systems and structures that render transgender people as vulnerable.

Why look at the sex industry and the policy process? First, the sex industry encapsulates what Schneider and Ingram (1993) referred to as degenerative politics. Here, a group is relegated to a position of political and policy powerlessness despite their growing support among the public. The deviance of this category is misplaced. This article establishes that sex industry deviants are not powerless and operate within and across categories to establish rules and norms of acceptability.

Second, as a key element in the theory of the policy process, the way populations establish norm redistribution is an under-analyzed issue. Rather than seeking advantaged status or advantaged actors, Rivera, Rizzo, Sprinkle, and Doroshow embrace the behavior that defines their deviance and challenge those in their own community on the grounds that they reproduce oppression.

Third, we take a normative position that there is nothing wrong with consensual sex work or adult films. Moreover, there should be more policy studies research on the policy dynamics around sex and that the social construction of target populations lends itself to this analysis. Pierce et al. (2014) noted that social construction is important as a policy process theory because it "explicitly embraces a normative dimension" (p. 3). More specifically, it aims to delineate "why some groups are advantaged more than others independently of traditional notions of political power and how policy designs can reinforce or alter such advantages" (Schneider & Ingram, 1993, p. 334). Keeping with this affirmative normative position, we argue that sex work is work and can be rewarding to those in the sex industry.

Moving forward, this article looks at the background and types of sex industry activism. It then reviews the social construction of target populations framework more closely. In particular, this article focuses on the category of deviance and stigma. Finally, this article compares four cases of moral deviance entrepreneurs.

Background

Sex workers and adult performers can be considered moral deviance entrepreneurs who access the policy process in different ways. From starting new charitable organizations to commencing in sex-positive dialogue, they set the social governance model within their community. In this article, we focus on moral deviance entrepreneurship, and we place sex worker activism within the following four categories (Nownes, 2019): first, moral deviance entrepreneurship around race and sexual health, followed by private governance around equal pay based on race, gender, and

work regulations. Third, electoral candidates: there is a list of porn star candidates for office. And fourth, martyrdom as a political motivation.

Moral Deviance Entrepreneurship

In moral panics and morally advantaged entrepreneurship, there is often a quality of fabrication that seeks to restore a white, male, cis, hetero-state back to existence. Sex is a key site for moral panics to punish non-normative sexuality, gender identity, and sexual identity. The tools used for this type of entrepreneurship are consistent with the literature on policy entrepreneurship. Pepin-Neff and Caporale (2018) specified five key elements in a review of policy entrepreneurship: serving as a relevant actor, attaching a solution to a problem, gaining something from the engagement, biasing political outcomes, and managing the emotional habitus of the issue.

In moral deviance entrepreneurship, the same methods are used but often seek to undermine and disrupt the power dynamics related to race, gender, class, sexuality, and gender identity.

Private Governance

Some regulatory problems cannot be solved by government alone and instead need the private sector. Here, private-public partnerships develop and institutionalized partnerships allow for private governance to take off based on institutionalized arrangements. Private governance is "governance without government" and concerns the institutionalization of "norms, principles, and roles" (Pattberg, 2005, p. 606) and specific rule systems (co-regulation) which are shared between international actors on certain issues.

There are several examples of private governance in the sex industry. Notable examples come from the United Kingdom. First, National Ugly Mugs (2022) is a charity providing "support to sex workers who have been victims of crime." Another example is Porn4PrEP, which was "[e]stablished by porn actors…to improve awareness of HIV and other STIs, while also tackling stigma. Not sponsored by pharmaceutical companies, we use porn to stimulate conversation and bridge gaps in knowledge about sexual health" (Porn4PrEP, 2021).

Political Actors

Whether as electoral candidates, sex partners, or outing a closeted gay Republican Senator, those in the sex industry can have a profound impact as political players. Adult performer Stormy Daniel's affair with former President Donald Trump was investigated once he took office as President. As reported by the *Washington Post* in 2009, she even considered running for a U.S. Senate seat in her home state of Louisiana (Swenson, 2018).

The *Washington Post* reported a Twitter outing campaign instigated against South Carolina Republican Senator Lindsay Graham under the hashtag #LadyG, which "purportedly refers to Graham's nickname among male sex workers" (Balcerski, 2020, para. 1). Moreover, former Congressman Barney Frank was forced to apologize to Congress when it was discovered that his partner was running an escort service out of his house. Adult performers have also run for office, including Mary Carey for Governor of California in 2003 and Mimi Miyagi as Governor of Nevada in 2006.

Martyrdom as a Political Motivation

Pineapple is a 501(c)(3) nonprofit organization that provides low- or no-cost mental health support to those in the adult industry—supporting over 1,000 adult performers (Neuwave, 2020). Adult performer Leya Tanit founded the organization following the suicides of several people who worked in the industry. This action is consistent with Nownes' (2019) research on the way disturbances and incidents can prompt the development of social institutions.

Literature Review

The social construction of target populations framework (Schneider & Ingram, 1993) helps illuminate the role of moral deviance entrepreneurs. It begins with four categories: advantaged, contender, dependent, and deviant. Social constructions allocate benefits or burdens across an axis of power and positive or negative image. Under this framework, policies are distributed across the groups in ways that produce rules of participation that reward and encourage some to participate while punishing others—which discourages their engagement. This framework creates a pattern of participation that privileges citizenship based on an individual's group, which affects the nature of someone's relationship to the state. These patterns create a "feed forward" effect because "policy makes politics" (Schneider & Ingram, 2007) by entrenching the importance given to one group over another, the value of the problems they face over others, and the preferred kinds of solutions. In short, policies are designed to send a message and produce an experience that changes target group behavior.

Key assumptions about the social construction of a target population are that (a) social or political problems are not problems until they are socially constructed; (b) construction distributes membership or resources proportionally; (c) social constructions inform future

policies through path dependency; and (d) entrepreneurs advance social constructions in formal and informal ways.

Social Construction of Target Populations

The distribution and allocation of policies under the social construction of target populations occur in four ways. This includes the provision of substantive benefits to the advantaged; symbolic benefits to dependents; substantive burdens to the deviants; and symbolic burdens to contenders. Benefits and burdens include resources and time. Politicians and other political actors rely on social constructions because they gain rewards by continuing the pattern, and they incur costs when they deviate from the pattern. In other words, the reliability of social constructions of target populations provides stasis or equilibrium to the political process. As a result, this makes change difficult because predictability is politically valuable.

In the social construction of the target population framework, the advantaged are people, issues, and behaviors that are attributed a high degree of political power and which have a positive perception in society. The advantaged draw from a strong image. Pepin-Neff (2021, p. 129) noted that "these are people that we like and that we give power. This might include people like celebrities, certain politicians, military veterans, people perceived as patriots, married people, the nuclear family, certain sports figures, [and] doctors."

Normally, policy challenges occur from those with power against those without it. However, rule construction and enforcement are socially designed for each category. There can be moral panics that the advantaged conduct against the deviant and crusades by the deviant against the

advantaged. An example of the latter is an issue such as environmental sustainability (i.e., plastic straws and plastic bags). Here, the deviant group tries to leverage the construction in such a way that the deviant drags down the advantaged by seeking to undermine the legitimacy of existing dominant structures and rules.

The contender category includes people who the public generally do not like; however, they are afforded a significant amount of political power by society. These people can include large corporations, politicians, and sometimes the police. Importantly, social constructions are subjective and always subject to challenge. Indeed, it is possible to lose the progress made in changing a construction. This is relative; however, because attacking certain advantaged groups is harder and attacking certain deviant groups is easier. One of the more sympathetic groups are the dependents. The dependent grouping includes nurses, teachers, children, and students. The dependent classification involves people, issues, and groups who most people like or feel positive toward but who are not afforded much political power by society.

Deviant populations are socially constructed across variables of public image or perceptions and levels of power. Those with poor public perceptions and low power are considered deviants under the social construction of the target populations framework (Schneider & Ingram, 1993). They are expected to receive real burdens by society and be structured in such a way that their behaviors are placed outside the benefits that others receive in the state. Therefore, their relationship with the state is more arduous and tenuous. Pepin-Neff (2021, p. 130) added the following about those considered deviants:

> This is the central category of the "other" because it challenges the hetero-state. Violations of social and political norms are to be punished including being flagrantly

> transgender (i.e. impossible people), attempting change (i.e. loser issues) and being at the bottom of the sexual hierarchy, where—for instance—BDSM, nudity, bathhouses, promiscuity, and polyamory reside. These are not in line with the male gaze. They do not produce male, cis, hetero, desire in the prescribed manner and therefore are punished.

These constructions of target populations inform policies, which convey messages about how society views and understands the needs and interests of these populations. To help solidify these social constructs, stereotypes are assigned to groups that have been shaped by politics, culture, history, and media. Specifically, these constructions of target populations indicate what the government should do about social problems, which individuals or groups deserve punishment, and what type of attitudes and actions are socially appropriate for society (Schneider & Ingram, 1993).

Finally, social construction presents the following question: How does policy change occur? Policy change occurs when policy image changes occur. These can happen in three ways: first, a policy image changes when someone from an advantaged category disrupts the policy image. For instance, the late Princess Diana's work with children with HIV/AIDS shifted the public acceptability and understanding around the issue. Second, a policy overreaction creates a counter-mobilization. Many governments' seeming indifference to the plight of refugees coming ashore on broken boats led to greater acceptability of asylum seekers in Europe. And third, there may be a competition between constructions that involves actors like the courts or media that can bring about changes—often referred to as the *Will & Grace* example. Here, the deviant group is portrayed in a better light than their deviant designation, which challenges the underlying policy image.

Deviance, Stigma, and Sexual Hierarchy

The projection of deviance and stigmatization of certain groups or identities can ostracize these individuals from communal belonging. Goffman (1963) described stigma as possessing characteristics that are discredited in society. In breaking down some of these characteristics, Goffman detailed "tribal stigmas" that can refer to an individual's race, ethnicity, or religion, "physical deformities" like different ableness, and "blemishes of character" which include homosexuality, addiction, and mental illness. Gay and trans sex workers face high levels of stigma due to engaging in a profession that is largely illegal and socially rejected as a dignified form of labor and also by possessing identities that are largely marginalized and dehumanized in comparison to the remainder of the population.

Gayle Rubin (1984) stated in her essay *Thinking Sex* that sexuality is political. There are multiple organized systems of power that reward certain groups and activities while punishing and denying others. Rubin argued that there is a sexual hierarchy and that population groups on lower rungs experience persecution over their sexual desires and non-normative identities, which in turn upholds heteronormative sexuality (Pepin-Neff, 2021). She discusses three distinct areas of sex in the sexual hierarchy: good sex, the contested area, and bad sex. She describes good sex as "normal, natural, healthy, holy" between a monogamous married heterosexual man and woman couple and only carried out in the home for reproduction purposes. The contested area of sex comprises unmarried heterosexual couples, promiscuous heterosexuals, masturbation, long-term stable gay and lesbian couples, lesbians in the bar, and gay men in parks or at bathhouses. She describes bad sex as "abnormal, unnatural, 'way out,' sick, [and] sinful." This group contains cross-dressers, trans people, fetishists, the BDSM community, sex for money, and cross-generational sex (Rubin, 1984).

Bad sex characterizes those who society condemns for their identity, profession, and desires. These individuals are stigmatized, subsequently marginalized, and often criminalized through law enforcement and policy. An example of this includes New York's 1978 loitering law that activists named the 'Walking while Trans' ban, which was only recently repealed in 2021 (McKinley & Ferré-Sadurní, 2021). Instituted in 1978, this policy facilitated the harassment and subsequent roundup, harassment, and arrest of trans people—particularly trans women—on the streets of New York, according to the *New York Times*. Trans women of color were disproportionately targeted by the New York Police Department and routinely hauled off to local precincts for "loitering for the purposes of prostitution" by having condoms in their belongings, which is enough evidence for probable cause. Targeted trans people were often subjected to grueling conditions like dirty, cold jail cells, with no access to food or water—or worse—put in cells with transphobic or homophobic cisgender men who intimidated, harassed, and physically or sexually assaulted them. This example illustrates the stigmatization and criminalization of gender, sexuality, and sex work for not falling in line with Rubin's (1984) theorization of "good sex" in the sexual hierarchy.

Discussion

This section compares four cases of moral deviance entrepreneurship: Sylvia Rivera, Armond Rizzo, Annie Sprinkle, and Ceyenne Doroshow. To analyze their entrepreneurship, we have considered the following three factors: locating oneself in the sex industry, marshaling support from within that deviant population, and managing the emotional habitus. We find that the moral deviance entrepreneurship relies on identifying with the deviance population in question to

establish legitimacy, accessing resources from within that community to expand the scope of the issue, and the presence of a strong emotional narrative.

Sylvia Rivera

Sylvia Rivera was a proud deviant. According to Arthur Bell, one of the founders of the Gay Activists Alliance, "'the general membership is frightened of Sylvia and thinks she's a troublemaker. They're frightened by street people'" (Gan, 2007, p. 133).

Sylvia Rivera was a New Yorker of Puerto Rican and Venezuelan descent. She cared about people living in poverty. She was a trans sex worker, transgender rights activist, and revolutionary who co-founded Street Transvestite Action Revolutionaries (STAR). Activist Riki Wilchins (2002, para. 6) noted in the *Village Voice*, "In many ways, Sylvia was the Rosa Parks of the modern transgender movement." As reported by *The Advocate*, Rivera is the first Transgender American to have their portrait in Smithsonian's National Portrait Gallery (Ring, 2015).

However, Rivera's political positions and STAR's goals placed her and the organization on the queer fringe. Bell (1971) noted that STAR "is mainly into whoring and radical politics…. They're a subculture unaccepted within the subculture of transvestitism and looked down at in horror by many of the women and men in the homosexual liberation movement."

Locating oneself in the sex industry

Rivera (2013, p. 12) identified as a trans sex worker and this was central to her political identity. She stated:

> When drag queens were arrested, what degradation there was…. We always felt that the police were the real enemy. We expected nothing better than to be treated like we were animals—and we were. We were stuck in a bullpen like a bunch of freaks. We were disrespected. A lot of us were beaten up and raped. When I ended up going to jail, to do 90 days, they tried to rape me. I very nicely bit the shit out of a man.

This statement is consistent with Sylvia Rivera as one of the most active pioneers in the history of the lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ+) movement, organizing with the Gay Liberation Front, Gay Activists Alliance, Black Panthers, Young Lords, STAR, the Metropolitan Community Church, and Empire State Pride Agenda. Her work and legacy located her in the deviant population, which provided a place from which to advocate for trans rights. However, this was not evident when she left home at age 10 or 11. She began working along 42nd Street in Times Square. Gan (2007, p. 129) noted that this "was where the drag queens and the boy hustlers performed sex work. Although literally homeless and estranged from her birth family, she was able to find a new site of community and kinship."

Marshaling support from within that deviant population

In 1970, Sylvia Rivera and Marsha P. Johnson founded STAR. There were four main elements or services from STAR. The first was visibility of policy violence and incarceration conditions, followed by advocating for trans issues from within the LGBTQ community, providing housing for trans youth of color, and building social capital among trans youth of color.

STAR was a civil society organization that focused on the intersection between sex work, race, and poverty. Rivera stated, "STAR was for the street gay people, the street homeless people, and

anybody that needed help at that time" and added, "Marsha and I had always sneaked people into our hotel rooms. And you can sneak 50 people into two hotel rooms" (Feinberg, 2004).

Managing the emotional habitus

Sylvia Rivera did not have Twitter. She had a microphone, the power of zines and newsletters, and the willpower to speak to a potentially hostile audience. La Fountain-Stokes (2021, p. 245) discusses a short piece titled "Transvestites: Your Half Sisters and Half Brothers of the Revolution" in Come Out!, the newspaper of the Gay Liberation Front." La-Fountain-Stokes notes that Rivera demands acknowledgement of the stigma faced by her group. She then locates transvestites as vatic agents of radical transformation who have "liberated themselves from this fucked up system that has been oppressing our gay sisters and brothers." The Rivera column end with an emotional request, "So sisters and brothers remember the transvestites are not the scum of the community."

Sylvia roared when she spoke. Her speech at the 1973 Christopher Street Liberation Day in New York City's Washington Square Park—after she had been initially refused the right—is among the most important in the history of the queer and trans movement. Her calls to fight back against police brutality and rebel against gay assimilation formed the narrative of the LGBTQ+ debate that persists today.

The speech Rivera gave "portrays an activist hell-bent on challenging racist, classist, and gender-based exclusions within the lesbian and gay movement; she is also fully committed to an intersectional radical critique of incarceration…. Ruth Osorio identifies this as truth telling" (La

Fountain-Stokes (2021, p. 246). Furthermore, “Rivera’s struggle to get to the microphone and her physical and emotional exhaustion and strength were crucial and they are what makes her speech powerful to this day” (La Fountain-Stokes, 2021, p. 246).

Sylvia had a vision and lobbied on her deathbed in the hospital with Empire State Pride Agenda for an inclusive SONDA. Overall, Rivera rose above adverse circumstances, arrest, drug addiction, and alcoholism to volunteer for the Metropolitan Community Church. She began to work as the director of the food pantry where she called the cans of food “my soldiers to fight hunger.”

Armond Rizzo

Armond Rizzo is the most well-known gay, male bottom in the world (Hanson, 2020). He is 31 years old, 4 feet 11 inches tall, and a U.S. Navy veteran. He is the son of Mexican parents and has won multiple awards in the sex industry, including the 2019 “Hottest Bottom” award and the 2020 Social Media Star award and has more than 350,000 Twitter followers.

In the sexual hierarchy (Rubin, 1984), gay, male, anally receptive, non-condom sex is considered deviant. In the sexual hierarchy, a man of color who chooses what is considered a passive sexual role is considered inferior and stigmatizing because it is seen as submissive and contrary to the role of men as the insertive administrators of sexual gratification—the apex of the heterosexual male gaze. However, while sexually deviant, one might assume that in the sex industry, there is financial parity among “tops and bottoms” (Milton, 2020).

In 2016, CNBC reported that male porn performers earn an average of "$500-$600 per scene or day" with better-known stars earning up to $900 (Morris, 2016). However, in 2020, Armond Rizzo put out a series of tweets that protested against an adult film studio for inequality in the way they compensated their bottoms. We have analyzed his response below, contextualizing him as a moral deviance entrepreneur.

Locating oneself in the sex industry

In response to the norms around financial inequality toward bottoms in the sex industry, Armond Rizzo (2020) welcomed the label of being a bottom and proudly stated, "this has never happened to me but there's a studio who is interested in me and what I found out about them is mind blowing. They pay bottoms way less than tops [and their] excuse [is] the site is more top dominant. Armond Rizzo located himself within the sex industry and within the specific deviant label.

Marshaling support from within that deviant population

This was not the first time Rizzo made a political statement within the adult film community. Avery (2017) noted that an adult film awards nomination for the category of "Best Ethnic Scene" raised objections among the nominees. Street (2018) noted, "actors Hugh Hunter, Dolf Dietrich, Sean Devran, and Armond Rizzo all declined their nominations in an act of resistance." Miller, Rodríguez, and Parreñas Shimizu (2018) stated, "One of those performers— Armond Rizzo, a Mexican American actor from Aurora, Illinois—took to Twitter…writing that he is continually made to feel "never good enough."

In response to being financially and socially degraded in the "Best Ethnic Scene" and in the equal pay and wage gap issue, Rizzo mobilized his fans by going public, stating, "It's going to be a big NO THANKS! I don't care that you even raised my fee up. It's just unjust you pay bottoms less and for that I decline working for you!"

Armond Rizzo is using both Twitter and adult film sex as vehicles for a conversation about equality in the bedroom. The adult films are part of his outreach to the deviant porn-watching public.

Managing the emotional habitus

The framing of the wage gap issue as one of sexual justice for bottoms invited attention and debate among the LGBTQ+ community. It was also a message calling for respect for an individual's sexual partner and the equality of sexual positions within the sexual hierarchy. This contestation of both the male gaze and the financial desirability of bodies based on their sexual positions elevated this issue from simply a matter of an employment contract to one of social inequality, stigma, and discrimination.

Annie Sprinkle

Annie Sprinkle, born Ellen F. Steinberg, is a queer former sex worker, feminist stripper, and porn star turned certified sexologist, sex film producer, and performance artist. She is socially constructed as a deviant, and also the first porn star to receive a doctoral degree. She earned her degree in Human Sexuality, and she matriculated from Institute for Advanced Study of Human Sexuality in San Francisco, CA in 1996. Annie Sprinkle is most notably known for her "self-

help" style porn content to educate individuals about their own pleasure and her most popular conventional porn film *Deep Inside Annie Sprinkle*, which was the number two grossing porn film in 1981, as reported by the *Oxford Mail* (Little, 2009). Through her porn material, Sprinkle has contributed to feminist and lesbian pornography, the post-porn movement, and the broader feminist movement as a whole.

Locating oneself in the sex industry

As a moral deviance entrepreneur, Sprinkle embraced her past as a sex worker and adult film star. She starred in over 200 adult films and produced numerous artworks and publications over the last 40 years that have been shared and studied in universities, organizations, and clinics. Her work combines sexuality, politics, spirituality, and art which is born out of a sex-positive feminist philosophy. Through this philosophy, Sprinkle aims to redefine traditional notions of sexuality. Further, Sprinkle rejects the ideas of anti-porn feminists who claim that pornography is inherently dehumanizing and solely produced for the male-gaze (Czekay, 1993). Sprinkle—and other sex-positive feminists—assert that women have a right to contribute to the creation of pornographic and erotic content and that censorship of this content will not prohibit its production.

During her tenure as a porn actress, Sprinkle routinely pushed back against normative gender roles (i.e., women as submissive). She rejected submissive roles and instead played more aggressive and domineering roles. In addition, her goal was to focus more specifically on the female orgasm and show through performance art and porn a reimagination of who and what can be thought of as sexual and erotic.

As reported by *The Guardian*, Sprinkle and her wife, Beth Stephens, are also pioneers of the ecosexual identity, which engages both environmental activism and sexuality (Theobald, 2017). More specifically, ecosexuality involves viewing nature as a lover and that the Earth holds humans accountable for taking care of the planet. Ecosexuality challenges the heteronormative paradigm by revisioning love, sexuality, and gender and also contributes to ecofeminism through the acknowledgement that nature and women are treated similarly in a patriarchal society. To date, Sprinkle and Stephens have done 18 experimental art weddings—nationally and internationally—with ecosexual themes. As reported by *CNN*, they have married the Earth, Sky, Sun, Moon, Sea, Appalachian Mountains, and other non-human entities in nine countries since their wedding to each other in 2003 (Palumbo, 2021).

Marshaling support from within that deviant population

Sprinkle has garnered support by making her body a space to contest perceptions of stigma and deviance. Art performance is another avenue that Sprinkle advocates for sex-positive feminism. Some of her notable exhibitions include medical commentary combined with erotic images. For example, Sprinkle created an art piece consisting of her breast scans after a cancer diagnosis to motivate questions about whether a body subjected to disease and surgical procedures can be considered erotic or sexual. Sprinkle's most popular performance art exhibition to date is her *Public Cervix Announcement* where she inserts a speculum into her vaginal canal to present her cervix to the audience as a play on the intrusive nature of gynecological practices. Kapsalis (1997) argued that this work is inherently feminist and art worthy as it exposes the internal anatomy of a woman and encourages others to explore their own anatomy and sexuality.

Sprinkle's work has contributed substantially to the post-porn movement throughout her career. The post-porn movement brings a critical lens to pornography corporations that have historically reinforced and explicitly excluded certain marginalized groups from narratives around what can be seen as sexual and who can be viewed as sexy. The post-porn movement promotes non-corporate pornographic content and erotic content that centers queer and gender diverse individuals and challenges the hyper-racialization and stereotyping of the corporate porn industry. Sprinkle aids in challenging these narratives through her work around shifting heteronormative ideals like her medical commentaries, performance art, and focus on the female orgasm.

Managing the emotional habitus

Annie Sprinkle managed the emotional habitus around issues of sexuality and gender through a narrative of sexual liberation. Sprinkle created her international one-woman show named, *Post Porn Modernist*, which chronicles Sprinkle's career as a queer sex worker, sex-positive feminist, and artist. This show ran from 1989 to 1996 but was not without controversy. In 1990, Sprinkle's show came under fire by Orange County Republican congressman Dana Rohrabacher, who claimed Sprinkle was receiving federal funding for her avant-garde erotic art performances in New York City. Rohrabacher led a campaign to prohibit the National Endowment for the Arts from funding obscene or indecent art, which was ultimately successful in reducing their overall funding (Sayej, 2019). In a 1990 *LA Times* interview, Sprinkle discussed Rohrabacher's criticism of her art: "I cry, I scream, I spit. It's very visceral…. But the congressman, he saw it as just sucking on sex toys…. It was a prop to express pain and agony and sadness and grief. If you take

it out of context, it may sound like a 42nd-Street (pornographic) show, but it was so far from that" (Stewart, 1990).

In an interview with *Interview Magazine*, Sprinkle discussed continued right-wing political opposition to her *Post Porn Modernist* show, "the art world welcomed me with open arms. Of course, it was controversial in that some senators and government people called it "a sewer of depravity" and a live sex show, which it wasn't at all [*Laughs*]" (Sayej, 2019).

Ceyenne Doroshow

Ceyenne Doroshow is a Black trans activist, author, former sex worker, and 2021 NYC Pride Parade Grand Marshal. Ceyenne is a moral deviance entrepreneur.

Locating oneself in the sex industry

Ceyenne is the founder and executive director of Gay and Lesbians Living in a Transgender Society (G.L.I.T.S), which aims to bring holistic care to transgender sex workers through harm reduction, human rights, economic and social justice, and empowerment and pride (G.L.I.T.S., n.d.). She works on several issues concerning housing sustainability, policing disparities, Black trans lives, and equity within the LGBTQ community (Steadman, 2020). By locating herself within this work, Ceyenne serves as a relevant actor with legitimacy to the community with which she works.

Marshaling support from within that deviant population

Organizing is the way Ceyenne Doroshow works within the deviant population. She also co-organized the Liberation March held in June 2020—a Black Trans Lives Matter silent march in

Brooklyn, NY, with activists West Dakota, Fran Tirado, Eliel Cruz, Raquel Willis, Peyton Dix (M. Kim, 2020). Also in attendance was the family of Iyanna Dior—a Black trans woman brutally beaten by a mob in Minneapolis, MN in June 2020—and many Black and trans community organizations including the Marsha P. Johnson Institute. Fundraising efforts for G.L.I.T.S after the announcement of the Liberation March surpassed $1 million in under a week, as reported by *GQ* magazine (Walker, 2020). These donations have helped G.L.I.T.S secure a 12-unit housing structure in Queens, NY which will be turned into a leadership academy and combined medical center and housing to help ensure the safety of and promote the sustainability and foster community for Black trans people.

The focus on housing sustainability was born out of Doroshow's experiences with transphobic landlords and discriminatory housing markets (Walker, 2020). This type of discrimination began in Doroshow's mid-teens when her parents were disapproving of her gender identity and kicked her out. She tried to find solace in gay and lesbian non-profit spaces but was quickly rejected and subsequently kicked out of a non-profit housing facility for homeless youth for not fitting neatly into that gender mold. Non-profit organizations continued to ostracize her when she began working in that sector. She was often underpaid, tokenized, undervalued, and frequently questioned by cisgender superiors.

Managing the emotional habitus

This perpetual discrimination over the course of Doroshow's life motivated her to found her own space by and for Black trans people. She founded G.L.I.T.S in 2015. When the Liberation March reached its final destination, Doroshow announced to the crowd that they had surpassed the $1

million goal, exclaiming, “We have always been last, that’s not gonna happen anymore. We’re first…. We have never had equity in the city of New York. Motherfuckers, we do now” (A. Kim, 2020).

Theirs was a message of liberation and emotional catharsis for those—like her—who were on the margins.

Overall, these moral deviance entrepreneurs changed the norms around trans rights by starting STAR through sexual pay equity with public acknowledgement of bottom discrimination and sexual acceptance through performance art and trans support through G.L.I.T.S. Change was proposed by deviants within the deviant population. Therefore, the policy domain of the issue was made accessible, but did not extend to rulemaking and norm-setting outside this limited category.

This intraparty moral entrepreneurship between deviant groups and includes the use of personal speeches before an audience, Twitter, performance art, and marches. These methods of communication and demonstration provided access to those marginalized populations within the community to create narratives of injustice and inequality that mobilized allies.

Conclusion

This article discussed the way actors in the sex industry locate themselves in the norm-setting process. We asked: what are the factors that influence moral entrepreneurship among people working in the sex industry (sex workers, escorts, and porn stars)? The answer, we argue, is that

moral entrepreneurship by deviant populations is influenced by how they locate themselves relative to the issue or norm they are advocating for, how they gain support from within that deviant population, and how they manage the emotional habitus of that issue.

Using the social construction of a target populations framework, we focus on the role of moral entrepreneurs within the deviant category—moral deviance entrepreneurs. These moral deviance entrepreneurs rely on both elements of deviance to gain access to power as a way to change policy, laws, or norms. Indeed, we see that their deviance is functional and helped establish them as relevant actors.

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