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School Images in Mainstream Porn: A Brief Research Report

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Abstract

The primary purpose of this work is to present the results of an empirical study on images of schools in mainstream pornography. The work is an attempt to bring educational cultural studies and porn studies closer together. The research process employed hybrid methodological solutions which aimed to combine the Grounded Theory (GT) methodology, social semiotics and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). The article presents the main problems and disputes in the field of porn studies. Research results, which consist of the analysis as well as interpretation of visual and textual empirical material are, however, key. In the process of analysis, a family resemblance (Wittgenstein, 2009) was perceived between actual schooling and education and that produced by porn cultures. Porn culture eroticizes the structural school violence inherent in the institution. Thus, porn culture expresses hegemony, but its narrative about the school can be seen as potentially subversive.

Keywords: porn studies, educational cultural studies, school, grounded theory methodology, social semiotics.

Introduction

Educational cultural studies view cultural processes in pedagogical terms. The experience of culture in any form is educational, forming the individual as well as the community. The experience of pornography might be similarly formative. Even more importantly, those who experience porn culture are also those who experienced school cultures. This article focuses on cultural texts – or rather, images-texts of porn subculture – in which school and pornography meet. It is about how porn culture portrays the institution of school. By doing so, we can gain an in-depth understanding of what remains, in specific participants of school cultures, as the essence of school. Such an essence that can be credibly borrowed and presented to audiences, including those who also were once school cultures participants.

A brief introduction to porn studies

Porn studies is an interdisciplinary area of study in academia (Atwood & Smith, 2014, p. 3). Currently, the only criterion that defines the identity of porn studies remains the research topic. At the same time, there are important disciplinary, methodological and ideological distinctions. In porn studies, we can find representatives of the humanities such as literary studies or art history (McGlotten, 2014; Floyd, 2023). Key porn studies topics include those related to legal theory (Johnson, 2014; Thorneycroft, 2020). Of course, social sciences, such as sociology (Barker, 2018; Irvine, 2018) and psychology (Barker, 2014; Labinski, 2019; Gómez et al., 2022), are widely represented in porn studies. With interdisciplinarity advanced so far, the presence of pedagogy in porn studies may not be surprising (Albury, 2014; Setty, 2022). Looking at porn studies from the outside, they seem to fulfil the radical demand for interdisciplinarity (Barthes, 1989, p. 72) conceived as the creation of a new research object that no longer belongs to any one scientific discipline.

For this reason, it is easier, in the area of porn studies, to find texts and research from the borderline of disciplines, which does not facilitate communication between researchers. Linda Williams (2014) metaphorically

describes the field of porn studies as a weedy field not only because of its interdisciplinarity, but also its methodological and, above all, ideological contexts. Porn studies is currently undergoing an accelerated process of institutionalization – not least because of an academic journal established in 2014 called *Porn Studies*. This process has been picturesquely defined in terms of the transition “from plumbing to narrative theory” (Smith & Attwood, 2014, p. 7), which also captures the fact that porn studies is becoming an area where quite advanced methodological discussions are taking place (McKee, 2014). However, it is primarily ideological inclinations that cast a long shadow over the discussion among researchers. In some sense, the divisions present in porn studies have their cultural specificity distinguishing this field of research from other scientific disciplines.

The origin of this state of matter comes from a phenomenon called “sex wars” or “porn wars” (McNair, 2014; Oeming, 2018) and refers to the moral panic around the social phenomenon of pornography. The strict division of positions towards pornography has forced researchers to adopt an antagonistic or celebratory approach, with no space in between (Atwood & Smith, 2014, p. 4). Because of the political and ideological meanings of the pornographic subject matter, researchers have allowed themselves to be crammed into very simple divisions: “anti-porn” vs. “pro-porn”, and “sex-critical” vs. “sex-positive” (Smith & Attwood, 2014, p. 7; Attwood et al., 2018, p. 1; Irvine, 2018, p. 16). The “anti” views evolved from a puritanical and conservative sexual ethic, in which carnality and sensuality are something inappropriate (Smith & Atwood, 2014, p. 11). Later, the “anti” position was taken by feminists who understood pornography as an epiphenomenon of structural sexism and rape culture (McNair, 2014, pp. 161–162). On the other hand, “pro” views are founded on the assumption that human sexuality and the right to express it can have a positive impact on human life, as well as society and culture (Queen & Comella, 2008, p. 278). Ultimately, both positions run the risk of the *petitio principii* fallacy, but it is the error of anti-porn feminism that is more interesting.

A good example of anti-porn feminism is the scientific work done by Gail Dines (Dines et al., 1997; Dines, 2011). The researcher is involved in the Stop

Porn Culture movement, which suggests from the outset her attitude toward the study of porn cultures and allows one to doubt her scientific integrity. Here, however, the problem is that readings of porn cultures made in the spirit of anti-porn feminism can cause other, more subtle interpretations to be completely excluded. An example of the weakness of anti-pornography feminism is the inability to understand the phenomenon of feminist pornography (Libermann, 2015). Therefore, the old criticality, identified with “anti” views, is being replaced by a new form of criticality in pornography research.

Susanna Paasonen, while referring to Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick (2003), suggests using reparative reading in place of paranoid reading: “[...] paranoid reading is both generalizing and tautological in that it can’t help or can’t stop or can’t do anything other than prove the very same assumptions with which it began” (Paasonen, 2014, p. 137). On the other hand, “reparative reading is weaker as theory: partial, open to moments of not knowing and lacking in unequivocal outcomes” (Paasonen, 2014, p. 137). The pursuit of weak theory, at the current stage of development of porn studies, provides opportunities for the creation of other forms of knowledge and cognition – critical of binary oppositions.

Representatives of a new form of criticism in porn studies seem to be saying that reality is more complex and cannot be reduced to categories of sexism, racism, or classism. However, this does not exclude grand social theories as interpretation theories of the porn culture phenomenon. And ideological text analysis – understood as the search for hidden ideological assumptions in cultural texts – is still considered valid (McKee, 2014, pp. 55–56).

Research design and theoretical framework

The project on school images in mainstream porn is a comparative, qualitative, inductive, and exploratory research project that aims to gain in-depth insights into the meanings given to education in porn cultures. The image-texts corpus included 30 scenes from 6 films from the North American film series *Slutty Times in Innocent High School* (IH) and 28 scenes of intercourse and 7 scenes constituting plot inserts from the British film series *Young Harlots* (YH). The

empirical material analysed had more than 27 hours of recordings. Both series are examples of mainstream porn that meet the characteristics of being easily accessible and cheaply available (Dines, 2011, pp. 9–10). Both series are popular on streaming services: the most popular scene from the IH series has 3.6 million views, and the most popular scene from the YH series has 200,000 views. The image-texts corpus meets the criteria of pragmatically understood principle of theoretical saturation of the sample (Low, 2019).

The primary research question was: What meanings are given to education in mainstream pornography depicting schools?

The specific questions were:

- How are the communication relations between the subjects of education presented in mainstream pornography?
- What the school looks like in mainstream pornography? (What is its architecture? In what movie sets is the school staged? By what objects-symbols are actors surrounded?)
- What and how the school in mainstream pornography teaches?
- What are the concepts of learning in mainstream pornography?
- What is the identity of the characters appearing in in mainstream pornography?

Answers to these questions will be provided based on the analysis of visual or textual data.

The film is a composite of image and text, that is, it is an example of multi-modal discourse (Kress & Leeuwen, 2006). Therefore, hybrid methodological solutions have become a necessity. For visual data, solutions developed in GT were used. Multi-slice imaging was used, and the coding process proceeded from open coding through categorization toward selective coding (Konecki, 2011). In the coding process, coding families have proven to be useful, which on the one hand make it possible to cope with the fact that the visual language lacks categories, but, on the other hand, protect the researcher from data forcing and the use of pet codes (Konecki, 2008, pp. 90–95). Protecting the researcher from imposing meanings in the process of data analysis and

interpretation can be precarious. It comes from questioning the objective status of the data and perceiving the coding process in terms of a language game (James, 2018). In such a situation, coding was based on Wittgenstein's family resemblance, rather than the supposed objectivity of the data. Hence, coding – even in GT – is inter-subjective rather than objective (James, 2018, pp. 370–374). Visual data analysis takes into account the analysis of the outer context of images, visual cultures and subcultures/social worlds (Konecki, 2011, p. 140).

This final theoretical opportunity to analyse and interpret visual data, enabled by GT, was further facilitated by text analysis. Although the analysis of visual and textual data was subject to the rigor of deliberate naivety (Kvale, 1996, p. 33), at some point the interpretation began to gravitate toward ideological textual analysis and exegesis, in the sense proposed by Alan McKee (2014, pp. 55–57). McKee's idea, applied to the study of school images in mainstream porn, when it comes to ideological textual analysis and exegesis, would come down to the question of what set of ideas is presented in the images-texts and where might that set come from? The answer to the question thus posed will be more theoretical than inductive.

Text data are from the transcript of storyline. While Dines (2011, p. 12) believes there are pseudo-plotlines in porn, this part of empiric material contains the most relevant data on the image of school in porn cultures. On the other hand, the need for an ephemeral pornographic imagination (Smith et al., 2022, p. 241) does not disappear. Porn has its own "cultural specificity" (Barker & Jane, pp. 66–67). Hence, the analysis of the material uses solutions familiar from social semiotics, focusing on the visual and textual, as human semiosis is the vehicle of social activities, but taking into account the specificity of the genre to which the communication act belongs (Moerdisuroso, 2014).

Because of the discursive circulation of meanings in culture, porn as a signifying practice (Barker & Jane, p. 9) will depend on official culture. Porn is a mirror of social life and porn cultures are a mirror of broader culture. The topic of "broader culture" (Labinski, 2019, p. 102) in "social constructionist" (Setty, 2022, p. 162) terms appears in porn studies, but is considered to have

been developed outside the field. I propose to apply Wittgenstein's theory of language games, as a theoretical framework, to the study of school images in mainstream porn, and thus to the mutual study of school cultures and porn cultures, in the area where they overlap. Language game theory is reconcilable with GT, social semiotics, and CDA.

Language game theory is concerned with the following communicative acts and actions, as well as the rules of language use, and the social context (Wittgenstein, 2009). We can consider that all human culture is an open language game, divided into smaller but intermingling parts. Of course, there are cultural specificities, as the language game is played differently in the area of school cultures and differently in the area of porn cultures. Society as a whole is playing a language game. We play the language game when we are participating in school cultures. Likewise, the participants of porn cultures, who, after all, were also playing the game that school was for them. With the massification of school and pornography, the two sets of human beings must intermingle. What is more, the creators of pornography depicting the school must hit the expectations of the porn audience with plot and storyline. Thus, what connects the school in reality with the school in the imaginarium of porn cultures can be defined by Wittgenstein's family resemblance. A school rewritten by the pornographic imagination still "credibly" must represent the school that the creators and viewers of pornography know from their own experiences.

This is how we got to the last methodological issue – as the school is based on power relations expressed discursively, CDA methodology cannot be avoided, even if there is a risk of accusations of "paranoid reading" in the background. CDA is known for its focus on power relations between participants in discursive activities (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Wodak & Meyer, 2016). CDA methodology is widely used in Polish pedagogy (Cackowska et al., 2012; Ostrowicka & Stankiewicz, 2019; Kopińska, 2020; Szkudlarek, 2022). Since the school is a power-based institution, the family resemblance between an actual school and a school staged by porn culture should be occurring. This is indeed what is happening, although the detailed analysis is surprising.

Research findings

What are the schools? Introductory issues

As the name suggests Innocent High School (IH) is an example of US upper secondary education, although there are some inaccuracies in this series of films. On the one hand, there are features of higher education (dean, tuition, campus), but, on the other hand, features of secondary education (educators, principal, detention class, teenagers) are dominant. In addition, the scenery suggests a high school with distinctive decor, equipment, teaching aids, or social action posters. Also supporting the conclusion that these are high schools are scenes (3/30) in which a teacher or principal tries to see if a schoolgirl has reached the age of majority.

School for Young Harlots (SfYH) is an example of British public school, and, therefore, fee-charging private school for girls.

As a rule, both series of films feature adult women who play the role of adult schoolgirls. Nevertheless, although it is not a simulation of minors, which could conflict with the legal order, we have in both series of films an infantilization of the characters of schoolgirls. Infantilization of schoolgirls is associated with: items of clothing, natural look, and body language. Infantilization is one of the key identity features of schoolgirls depicted in porn cultures.

Family resemblance: visual data

The architecture of IH belongs to the international style, characterized by volume of space, regularity, and flexibility. The international style in architecture provides a flexibility of functionality. Schools in this architectural style dominate throughout the industrialized world, where education has become a mass phenomenon.

In the YH series, on the other hand, the school building is depicted from the outside several times. Schoolgirls stroll through the gardens, surrounded by well-maintained greenery, garden furniture and sculptures. The school building itself, due to the change of filming location, is changed always is,

however, an example of historicism in architecture. The series begins in a neoclassical building, but – in my opinion – the authors' intention is best represented by a Victorian-style building from later films in the series. SfYH's building more or less successfully refers in its architecture to the buildings of British public schools.

Scenes from the IH series most often take place in a classroom (26/30) including the classroom for independent student work and detention class. The school corridor appears in (4/30) scenes, the student's private apartment in (2/30) scenes, and the exterior of school, the school library and the librarian's room each appear once.

The action of the YH series mostly takes place in the bedrooms of school-girls (9/27). Further on, scenes take place in the director's office (5/27) and his bedroom (3/27). The other rooms occur once and are: school dungeon, playroom with a library, bathroom, drawing room, classroom, teacher's quarters, common room, library, and schoolgirl's home.

The interior of IH is functionalist and, in accordance with the philosophy of functionalism, could be adapted into a room of any functionality. The floor is covered with plastic carpet (classroom) or linoleum (corridor). The classroom door has an industrial feel and comes in orange or grey with steel or aluminium hardware. The rectangular horizontal windows are covered with white blinds. On the ceiling is placed industrial lighting.

SfYH is placed in a manor house. The floors are covered with parquet or wooden mosaics, less often with wooden planks. Milled or carved doors have decorative brass hardware. The walls are covered with Victorian wallpaper or wooden panelling, and less often we have bare stone or brick walls. The ceilings have stucco decorations or wooden panelling. Fancy chandeliers hang from the ceilings, complemented by numerous wall sconces and other lighting points. The rooms have high ceilings and are equipped with tall windows with muntin. Decorative curtains hang in the windows. On the walls hang paintings or steel engravings usually depicting landscapes and still life, less often genre or marine scenes. It is easier to find floral decorations or figurines in SfYH rooms than a classroom blackboard. SfYH's interiors have more of a boudoir feel than classrooms.

An analysis of the object-symbols that surround the characters featured in both series again leads to the conclusion that IH follows family resemblance more than SfYH. In the IH spaces we can find: blackboard, chalk, blackboard sponge, pencils, pencil cup, markers, document compartment, cabinet with compartments, metal file cabinet, single table with chair, teacher's desk, teacher's chair, cork bulletin board, motivational slogan board (e.g., "Final Week. Push Hard"), globe, US flag, map of the USA; books (e.g., Biology, Science, Body and Life), school bell, human muscle diagram, wall clock, social action posters (e.g., "No Bully Zone"), mesh dustbin. There are lockers in the school corridor.

The family resemblance to the school in both series is provided by the outfits and attributes of the characters. SfYH students are almost always dressed in school uniforms. The SfYH school uniform includes: navy blue or black suit jacket (sometimes striped, or with a ribbed collar) always with an embroidered school logo, and sometimes with a school pin in the shape of the school's coat of arms; white shirt cut blouse; pleated black skirt; necktie or Ascot tie; black usually non-transparent stockings; usually black lace-up shoes, sometimes with high heels. On top of that, there are accessories, such as jewellery, hair clips, headbands and the like.

The outfit of the school principal and teachers is subject to uniformity. The full version of the teacher's outfit at SfYH consists of a black toga, black mortarboard, and an additional attribute is a cane. This is complemented by a tie in school colours, a white shirt and black suit trousers, and black lace-up shoes. The second version of the teacher's outfit is: checked wool jacket (usually in shades of grey and blue), shirt (white, blue, or checked), tie (usually in school colours), suit trousers, black or brown lace-up shoes. Also in this less formal attire, the SfYH teacher's attribute may be a cane.

Dress code in IH is subject to less rigor than in SfYH. Although female students (but not male students) wear uniforms, but at IH there is more freedom to combine elements of the outfit. The elements of the students' outfit consist of polo shirts with the school logo, a cardigan with the school logo, and a plaid skirt. Other elements of the outfit are quite conventional and come in different configurations. This could be an outfit in the colours of the school sports team

with a sports jacket with the school logo, a short-pleated skirt and sneakers. It could also be a more rebel style outfit, featuring a schoolgirl in a sleeveless top, visible tattoos, ear tunnels and piercings, and converse sneakers. Always, in the case of schoolgirls, it will be some variation of the school uniform, although in the US school uniforms in state schools are uncommon. Thus, in the imaginarium of porn cultures, it is difficult to imagine a school where the costume is not subject to uniformity. Additional schoolgirls attributes include books, notebooks, pencils, pens, and a school bag. The appearance of schoolgirls is influenced by the infantilization phenomenon described earlier.

Male students of IH can perform in any style. This can be a student-surfer, and so he will appear in colourful shorts, a blue T-shirt, an orange cap, with a cigarette tucked behind his ear and a surfboard under his arm. It can also be a nerd, in which case he will wear a navy-blue jacket, blue shirt, jeans with rips, sneakers, and his attributes will be a pen, a book, and a notebook.

Teachers at IH wear a variety of outfits but remain within certain boundaries set by their social role at the school. This will usually be a shirt in neutral colors (white, blue or grey), suit trousers, black or brown leather shoes and a matching belt. In the case of the coach, it will be sportswear in the colours of the school. Teachers' attributes will be pencils, pens, books, notebooks and stacks of documents (essays, tests), sometimes a calculator, stapler, glue, or computer. Some teachers wear glasses.

Family resemblance: textual data

The language system provides virtually infinite opportunities for participants in communication to create statements. However, the rules governing the language game result in limiting these seemingly infinite possibilities. Thus, the subjects of communication exchanges will have limited opportunities to make moves in the language game. The same is true in schools created by the imaginarium of porn cultures.

The following modes of communication were identified in the coding process, as shown in the table 1 below:

Table 1. Modes of communication between schoolgirls and teachers

Modes of communication	IH Teachers	IH Schoolgirls	YH Teachers	YH Schoolgirls
Accusation	8	2	2	—
Agreeing	13	23	—	24
Answering	2	20	—	13
Apologizing	—	2	—	2
Asking a favor	—	2	—	2
Asking a question	22	8	11	2
Being grateful	—	2	—	1
Complimenting	8	—	3	—
Courtesy phrase	10	11	8	6
Disagreeing	5	5	—	1
Explanation (giving advice)	19	1	17	—
Finding excuse	2	17	—	3
Giving orders	17	4	15	1
Insulting	3	2	1	—
Interpellation	9	1	17	—
Interrogating	8	—	1	—
Making a proposal	—	2	—	—
Negotiating	8	13	—	2
Postulating	—	1	—	—
Reciting	—	—	2	—
Reference to shared values	16	17	19	1
Resisting	—	7	—	1
Shaming	8	1	5	—

Source: Author's study.

Language is a system of oppositions, so not only is it significant what individual characters say, but also what they do not say. Such modes of communication as asking a question; explaining (things) or giving advice; giving orders; interpellation (in Louis Althusser's terms); interrogating; accusing; complimenting; shaming; or reciting seem to be reserved for teachers. On the other hand, female students use such modes of communication as: agreeing; answering; or finding excuse. This is obvious because in pseudo-plotlines, teachers ask, schoolgirls answer, teachers accuse, and schoolgirls make excuses; in the end, teachers give instructions and schoolgirls agree. This is how roles are distributed in the language game at school.

Here we come to the key distinction between IH and SfYH, and while this distinction is quantitative, it affects qualitative analyses. IH schoolgirls speak much more than the often-silent SfYH schoolgirls. Hence, in IH schoolgirls use such modes of communication as negotiations, some kind of resistance, or

reference to shared values, which is unusual among SfYH schoolgirls. What all sides of communication in both types of schools have in common are courtesy phrases. In contrast, the apparent similarity is the concept of agreeing – although we should actually use the term consent – but this consent is of a completely different nature in IH than in YH. The following tables (tab. 2 and 3) shows examples of the use of the most important modes of communication.

Table 2. Modes of communication [IH155]

Modes	Transcription	Comments
Interpellation	Teacher: Hi, Monica! I've been expecting you.	[IH155]
Resisting	Monica: Don't "hi" me. I mean, this is bullshit! I'm in detention for a protesting of our school lunch. Like	[detention class]
Postulating	I wanna eat a tofu [...] Can we eat some burgers, fries, or f* pizza? Anything?	[blackboard: 'DETENTION RULES' 1. Bring work to complete 2. NO iPods and cell phones 3. NO talking 4. NO sleeping]
Asking a question	Teacher: I don't know if I use the term [...] but I agree with you. When I was a teenager I didn't want to eat tofu-dogs [...] I just wanted – I don't know – a junk food. You've got a friend in me , so today, this rules don't apply. I don't care what you are doing in detention.	[Teacher points to the blackboard]
Agreeing		
Shared values		
Giving orders	OK? Sleep, read book, don't do shit. Sit in your desk and then go home. Cool?	[Teacher and student take their seats]
Agreeing	Monica: Cool.	[Teacher puts meal from McDonald's restaurant on his desk]
Giving orders	Teacher: OK. Go have a sit. [...]	
	Teacher: Speaking of food, I'm a little hungry.	
Shared values	Monica: You know, because of protest I missed lunch. So, I think you should share with me.	[Teacher shows satisfaction with food]
Negotiating		
Disagreeing	Teacher: Yhm...	
Negotiating	Monica: Come on coach! Don't be a dick like a rest of these teachers.	
Resisting		
Explanation	Teacher: Calling me a dick after I just told you that you don't have to obey these rules. Huh! I might have... just might have giving you a French fries or two but not at that attitude.	[Teacher gets up and circles his desk]
Negotiating	Monica: I will do just anything if you let me get some of your lunch.	[Teacher gives hand to Monica as if asking her to dance]
Shared values		
Negotiating	Teacher: Anything?	[Monica accepts this invitation. They begin to kiss]
Agreeing	Monica: I'm here. [...]	
Negotiating	Teacher: Anything I could possibly want?	
Agreeing	Monica: Yhm...	
Shaming	Teacher: I'm not a troublemaker like you. Let see.	
Complimenting	That's a good girl.	

Source: Author's study.

Table 3. Modes of communication [YHYO5]

Modes	Transcription	Comments
Interpellation	Principal: Miss Lee! I had to come all the way to London this evening to have discussion with you.	[YHYO5]
Shared values	About your behaviour , yes? I mean, do you have something to say?	[schoolgirl's home]
Asking a question	Miss Lee: I'm sorry.	
Apologizing	Principal: I'm sure you are sorry but there is no excuse for your behaviour in school.	[Miss Lee is talking in a weepy tone]
Shaming	Miss Lee: I know that I've been bad, and I know that you came all the way to London to talk to me but... and I know I've been expelled but I really will do anything to stay .	
Negotiating	Principal: It's like this, you see. If you don't change to the better, that's it. You are finished. Finito.	
Explanation (giving advice)	There is no future for you anymore. So let me give some advice to you.	
Excuse	Miss Lee: But...	
Giving orders	Principal: Let me finish! Don't butt in... There is a couple of pointers for you . One! The uniform.	
Explanation	Miss Lee: What's wrong with my uniform?	[weepy tone]
Question	Principal: What's wright with your uniform? I mean, what's this?! Is this a part of school uniform?	[Principal grabs her fishnet stockings]
Question	Miss Lee: It's fishnet, sir.	
Excuse	[...]	
Shaming	Principal: And what with the tie and with that knot in the shirt here? In fact, I think that the uniform should come off right now! This very instant. Take this bloody thing off! Now! Don't let me repeat myself. [...]	[Miss Lee smiles joyfully while undressing]
Giving orders		

Source: Author's study.

While the IH example can be considered representative, the YH example is quite atypical. The example presents a conversation between the principal and the schoolgirl. The conversation is disciplinary in nature, and the schoolgirl is trying to find some way out of the situation, as she has been expelled from school. From start to finish, it is the principal who has the upper hand in the conversation, but nevertheless, the schoolgirl takes up the negotiations. Inter-course and staying in school are the stakes in this language game. Ultimately, we can cautiously conclude that the intercourse took place with the consent of both parties, but still the case looks like an abuse of power on the part of the

principal. Nevertheless, as I mentioned, the course of this conversation differs from most of the pseudo-plotlines in the YH series, since in this series of films the female students often remain silent, they are nodding, or they agree with a simple “yes” or simple sentences, and the consent to intercourse is in the nature of tacit agreement (20/24). In other cases in YH series it is an explicit agreement to perform the tasks set by the teacher, which implicitly means having intercourse, as if in SfYH such a situation is the social norm.

In the case of IH, the intercourse occurs in association with negotiation, blackmail, or reverse blackmail (when a female student wants to use the teacher’s misbehaviour to her advantage). At IH there are situations in which intercourse is initiated by schoolgirls. Only in one scene in the empirical material analysed was tacit agreement identified.

The two schools depicted in the visual material discussed above are different, despite belonging to the same genre. Here is a British public school (admittedly for girls, not boys) resembling total institutions full of abuse of power, as if it were a fictionalized account of the pathologies associated with this version of school organization (Renton, 2017). The IH series, on the other hand, depicts a US high school that is haunted by the spirit of John Dewey’s philosophy. This is, of course, a caricature rather than a portrait of this version of school organization, but IH is clearly more democratic than SfYH. In contrast, both series of pornographic films with a focus on school and schooling are governed by the principle of family resemblance to real school and real schooling.

Conclusion

The simple conclusion, although it did not have to be so, boils down to the claim that the two schools presented in the empirical material discussed above differ. These schools differ; however, they embody the principle of family resemblance so that viewers of pornographic material can see references to school and education. Porn creators, anticipating the imagined needs of its audience, create a school that is full of abuses, the most important of which is the abuse of teacher power over the student. Of course, this social phenom-

enon appears in a certain staffage, actually scenery and costumes, but, in my opinion, the key is the human relationships staged by the actors and actresses. Added to this is the explicitly sexual content as a genre feature of pornography, so the question arises: How to interpret this phenomenon? The phenomenon of a school that seems more oppressive than the one in reality, but only because a necessary feature of the genre, which is the addition of sexual acts to the “usual” school violence. I searched for something similar in the vast resources of porn studies, so that the material would incorporate cultural studies, visual, and textual content analysis, and staged a social phenomenon that is in some way a representation of institutional violence. I found an article where there were analysed pornographic films about police violence against Blacks. In that material researchers noticed the phenomenon of eroticizing police brutality (Smith et al., 2022, p. 241). Similarly, the material I analyzed is based on the eroticizing of school violence by teachers against students.

Let us go further in our conclusion, but we are moving farther and farther away from the empirical material and closer to the theory. The aforementioned researchers see elements of resistance in pornographic material about police violence against Blacks. The question of resistance to official culture and wider society is also an issue important to porn studies. Paasonen (2014, p. 137) writes about porn that it is “kind of subversive, kind of hegemonic”, depending on the context. I think of the empirical material I have collected in similar terms. It is a product of hegemony, but, by what genre it is placed in, it can be not only a representation of hegemony, but also partly subversive material. The school depicted in pornographic cultures is an “amazing” school in the sense in which it appears in Tomasz Szkudlarek (1992) text, in which a student creates an essay on the assigned topic of “Amazing School”. Although the school is supposed to be “amazing”, it remains a school. A fourth-grade student cannot imagine school without its rationality, norms, authority, hierarchical power, and organization. A fantastic story about school, it is still about school. Porn culture only adds sex scenes to the story of the school. In my opinion, this is what constitutes the potential for resistance and subversion, as some of the odium with which porn culture is marked falls on the school, which is an important part of official culture. This could be an example of resistance to school

that went beyond the school. Some, having a negative sentiment towards school, draft articles on critical pedagogy, others make porn films.

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