



**Popperbate: Video Collage, Vernacular Creativity and the Scripting of the Gay Pornographic Body**

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Abstract:	In this essay I explore the contemporary amateur practice of making 'popper training' videos. These examples of amateur gay porn, usually circulated via porn aggregators such as Xtube constitute what might be described as video collages that repurpose a range of found sources including commercial moving image gay porn to still images to text and music. The resulting videos are designed for the express purpose of aiding a form of masturbation often described as 'edging', fuelled by amyl nitrate use, into a pursuit that is elevated to the status of a competitive training activity, known by its practitioners as 'popperbating'. I argue that these popperbate videos, that function as examples of what Jean Burgess has described as 'vernacular creativity', construct masturbation as an activity that might be regarded, as 'productive leisure'. The intention of this essay is then to contextualise this creative practice, and to provide some tentative conceptual orientations to situate popperbate videos, for the analysis of the textual qualities of the videos, and to discuss the sexual scripting that they produce.

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### Abstract

*In this essay I explore the contemporary amateur practice of making 'popper training' videos. These examples of amateur gay porn, usually circulated via porn aggregators such as Xtube constitute what might be described as video collages that repurpose a range of found sources including commercial moving image gay porn to still images to text and music. The resulting videos are designed for the express purpose of aiding a form of masturbation often described as 'edging', fuelled by amyl nitrate use, into a pursuit that is elevated to the status of a competitive training activity, known by its practitioners as 'popperbating'. I argue that these popperbate videos, that function as examples of what Jean Burgess has described as 'vernacular creativity', construct masturbation as an activity that might be regarded, as 'productive leisure'. The intention of this essay is then to contextualise this creative practice, and to provide some tentative conceptual orientations to situate popperbate videos, for the analysis of the textual qualities of the videos, and to discuss the sexual scripting that they produce.*

**Keywords: Gay pornography, amateur porn, sexual scripting, video collage, productive leisure, neoliberalism, popperbating**

Hello bator,  
 Let's train your cock,  
 Prepare you poppers, lube, cockring and put the sound high volume,  
 Inhale poppers on: HIT  
 Hold breath on: HOLD  
 Exhale breath on: RELEASE  
 BEGIN  
 PREPARE FOR A HIT  
 3, 2, 1,  
 HIT (for 7 seconds)  
 HOLD (for 5 seconds)  
 RELEASE

The precisely scripted list of instructions reproduced above, appear as text, superimposed over a pulsating montage of still and moving images of nude, sexually aroused men, engaging in a range of sexual acts progressing from frottage to anal sex, accompanied by a throbbing electronic dance track, that makes up the first 90 seconds of a 16-minute video piece entitled *Popper Trainer Compilation Megapopperbator 01/04/2016*<sup>1</sup>. As with the majority of ostensibly anonymous content of indeterminate provenance, uploaded to the web, the

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2  
3 question of attribution means that porn researchers find themselves forced to make inferences  
4 about the material that becomes an object of study in a context such as this essay. So what  
5 assumptions is it fair to make about this specific cultural artefact?  
6

7  
8 In the first instance, we can confidently infer that the author of, what I will describe in this  
9 essay as, a video collage is an individual going by the online identity of Megapopperbator.  
10 Secondly, we might go on to suggest, given the platforms through which this material is  
11 distributed, the textual qualities of the collage and the level of technical proficiency evinced,  
12 that the video is an example of amateur porn production that illustrates what Jean Burgess  
13 (2006) has described as ‘vernacular creativity.’ Indeed, in many regards, as we will note later  
14 on in this essay we might argue that this form of cultural production is an especially vivid  
15 illustration of Burgess concept as she notes that;  
16

17  
18 ‘vernacular creativity’, then, does not imply the reinvigoration of some notion of a  
19 pre-existing ‘pure’ or authentic folk culture placed in opposition to the mass media;  
20 rather, it includes as part of the contemporary vernacular the experience of  
21 commercial popular culture. Vernacular creativity is a productive articulation of  
22 consumer practices and knowledges (of, say, television genre codes) with older  
23 popular traditions and communicative practices (storytelling, family photography,  
24 scrapbooking, collecting). (ibid 206/7)  
25

26  
27 And thirdly, we can also safely assume, based on the large number of similar videos that have  
28 begun to emerge across a range of tube sites and associated discussion fora, that  
29 ‘popperbating’ and popperbate videos are a relatively popular, recent development in the  
30 pornosphere.<sup>ii</sup>  
31

32  
33 Like much of contemporary sexual culture, and like so many of the constituent parts of  
34 popular culture more generally, the act of naming has brought a relatively prosaic,  
35 commonplace activity, in this case using amyl nitrate (poppers) as a stimulant during  
36 masturbation sessions (which in itself is far from a novel activity) into view as a distinct  
37 category of sexual conduct requiring specific competences and accoutrements, comprising a  
38 set of orthodoxies, and attracting a group of practitioners who proselytise the virtues of the  
39 practice. Popperbating as a sexual practice, and the centrality of porn to this activity, is  
40 usefully summarised through the unlikely medium of Craigslist personals where a poster in  
41 Columbus Ohio who adopts the online pseudonym, Popperbate, succinctly describes the  
42 practice and the sexual culture:  
43

44  
45 I am most likely watching some porn and lubing up my dick right now. I love stroking  
46 my dick and watching porn. I like to sniff poppers and jerk my cock to the edge and  
47 then back off. doing it over and over, enjoying the feeling of my cock riding a wave  
48 of pure pleasure. Until I can't hold back and need to release. I am looking for a good  
49 looking masculine fit buddy who shares the same interest in jerking and watching  
50 someone jerk. [...] Looking for a high-volume jizz producer to hose down my torso.  
51 Cock size much less important the size of the load you can spurt over me - chronic  
52 masturbators, saved-up loads, big shooters a big plus. Get back to me if you are  
53 interested. (<http://columbus.craigslist.org/m4m/5829609516.html>)  
54  
55

56  
57 This is an essay then about the practice of making collage ‘popper training’ videos  
58 repurposing a range of found sources, from still images to amateur video and webcam  
59  
60

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2  
3 footage to extracts from commercial gay porn, with the express purpose of turning  
4 masturbation, fuelled by amyl nitrate use, into an activity that might be regarded, as either  
5 'productive leisure' (Gelber, 1999:2) or using Stephen Stebbins terminology 'serious leisure'  
6 (1992:2). Regardless of the phraseology here, this is a cultural practice and mode of  
7 production and consumption that can be framed within a wider set of debates around  
8 subjectivity and the state under Neoliberalism, where, as Rosenberg observes;

9  
10  
11 [...] the state is increasingly reluctant to govern, the most pressing obligation a citizen  
12 has to society is to 'empower' him- or herself privately. [...] Productive serious  
13 leisure practitioners [...] offer models of neoliberal citizenship and examples of  
14 enterprising citizens. (2011: 174-176)  
15

16 The intention of this essay is to contextualise this creative practice of (what I am describing  
17 for the sake of simplicity and consistency as) popperbate or popper training video making  
18 rather than to comment in any length on the sexual practice itself or on the many examples of  
19 videos which document the practice in action, <sup>iii</sup> to provide some conceptual orientations to  
20 situate the materials and for the analysis of the textual qualities of the videos, and to discuss  
21 the sexual scripting that they produce.  
22  
23

24 I choose the term scripting very deliberately here as it both has purchase as a term that is  
25 widely used in the sociological studies of sex and sexuality drawing, as it does, on the  
26 symbolic interactionism of Erving Goffman. Scripting is a particularly useful metaphor for  
27 thinking about the ways in which the production practices in evidence in online popper  
28 training videos connect to the emergence of a popperbating 'practice.' In *The Presentation of*  
29 *Self Everyday Life*, (1956) what has become known as Goffman's 'dramaturgical metaphor'  
30 of the cultural script, and his foregrounding of the importance of 'expressiveness' and  
31 'dramatic realization' of everyday life has been profoundly influential on subsequent  
32 scholarship particularly in the field of sexology. William Simon and John Gagnon for  
33 instance, used the same metaphor in the foundational study *Sexual Conduct* (1973) with their  
34 development of sexual script theory. In a later paper 'Sexual scripts: Permanence and  
35 Change' in which they revisit the basis of their concept they describe scripting thus:  
36  
37  
38

39 Scripts are essentially a metaphor for conceptualizing the production of behaviour  
40 within social life. Most of social life most of the time must operate under the guidance  
41 of an operating syntax, much as language is a precondition for speech. For behaviour  
42 to occur, something resembling scripting must occur on three distinct levels: cultural  
43 scenarios, interpersonal scripts, and intrapsychic scripts. (1986: 98)  
44  
45

46 More recently Jeffrey Escoffier has referenced Simon and Gagnon's sexual script theory  
47 drawing on this model in his own, albeit rather more instrumental, analysis of commercial  
48 gay porn and its contexts of production that is augmented by a range of interesting interviews  
49 with porn professionals. Escoffier identifies that sexual scripts are socially (and I would argue  
50 that for my purposes here they also are culturally) constructed:  
51  
52

53 Thus in Gagnon and Simon's view, everyday sexual scripts incorporate informal  
54 guidelines, rules and social norms governing sexual conduct [...] Such scripts take  
55 into account the participants, their personal and social qualities, their implied motives,  
56 and various behavioural cues. Scripts help organize a sequence of verbal and  
57 nonverbal activities that produce sexual experiences for its participants. (2007:62)  
58  
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3 In the case of the material that is my object of study in this essay, scripting provides a  
4 framework for identifying and conceptualising a set of discursive and representational  
5 strategies that make meaning at three interconnected levels.  
6

7 *Scripting sexual representations:* The formalising and conventionalising of a set of sexual  
8 activities as they are represented via the process of isolation and selection that is inherent in  
9 the video editing process. This is in effect the production of what I've described elsewhere as  
10 a 'demotic idiom' (Mercer, 2017) of gay porn.  
11

12 *Describing/producing a sexual script:* What emerges from these representational strategies is  
13 a gay sexual script or, perhaps more accurately, a gay *pornographic* sexual script, where one  
14 activity leads inevitably to another in a relatively linear fashion.  
15  
16

17 *Scripting the sexualised masculine body of gay porn:* This third level of scripting is especially  
18 important for me here. The representational strategies in evidence here as elsewhere across  
19 gay pornography, commercial, amateur or otherwise produces the male body as a sexual  
20 spectacle that is to be read in circumscribed (and therefore scripted) ways. Writing about the  
21 black masculine body in popular culture, for example, Ronald Jackson discusses the  
22 processes by which scripting of the body takes place:  
23

24  
25 Scripting refers to the assignment of bodies, as understood by the scripter (e.g., the  
26 media), to certain locations of being, followed by a sociopolitical value-assessment of  
27 those bodies based on how well they match the script imposed on them. [...] the  
28 cultural norms, values, traditions, expectations, and behavioural codes of the newly  
29 introduced text are irrespective of those intrinsic textual properties that were already  
30 present. (2006:54)  
31  
32

### 33 **Amateur Porn and Practices of Making**

34

35 The rather amorphous category of amateur porn has been written about quite extensively and  
36 continues to grow as an area of interest for scholars in the field (Attwood 2007, Van Doorn  
37 2010, Paasonen 2010, 2011, 2014, Zecca 2014, Hofer 2014, Ruberg 2016, Mercer 2017).  
38 This breadth of critical interventions has brought a complex set of activities, texts, relations  
39 and interactions into view that have challenged simplistic assumptions about what amateur  
40 porn might be, exploring the textures of amateur aesthetics, the representational strategies of  
41 amateur porn makers, the connections between amateurism and ethical porn practices, as well  
42 as the emancipatory potentials that amateur porn offers, by responding to debates around  
43 inclusivity through representation of a plethora of social and subcultural groups, body types,  
44 ethnicities, genders and generations. Much of this scholarly work is predicated on a  
45 distinctions being drawn between professional, commercial, material produced by a putative  
46 homogenous industry and the diversity and heterogeneity of amateur production practices.  
47 These categories though, as Susanna Paasonen (2014:33) notes, are not necessarily so easy to  
48 unpick. Indeed, in an online industrial context that has resulted in huge structural change for  
49 the porn industry there are many instances where the distinctions between amateur and  
50 professional are increasingly largely arbitrary. Mindful of this proviso, amateur is nonetheless  
51 still a useful heuristic device for demarcating a field of production that seems to elude or  
52 challenge at least some commercial formal and generic imperatives.  
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3 Within this rich amateur ecology, (and I am firmly situating popperbate videos within this  
4 domain) I am identifying yet another production practice that yields results that are  
5 qualitatively different from much of the material that has previously been written about.<sup>iv</sup> I  
6 am mindful that popperbating is, ostensibly, a relatively obscure cultural practice and that the  
7 adjunct to this activity, the popper training videos that I am discussing here are an equally  
8 specialised and singular mode of amateur production. However, it is perhaps this particularity  
9 that motivates this intervention in a consideration of what gay porn *now* means in terms of  
10 thinking about what results from an amateur making practice and conditions of production  
11 and consumption where distinctions between amateur and professional, still and moving  
12 image, text and sound become blurred.  
13  
14

15  
16 There are of course existing generic precedents both within porn generally and gay porn  
17 specifically that popperbate videos can be related to. In the first instance many of the  
18 examples that I am referencing here are described as ‘compilation videos’ by their makers  
19 and compilations of unrelated shorts have been a staple of porn production since at least the  
20 VHS era. Additionally, during the 1980s and into the early 1990s major gay porn studios  
21 including Falcon, Catalina and His Video released preview tapes that consisted of a  
22 compilation of trailers for new releases and selected back catalogue features. These  
23 condensed versions of feature length videos, focussing on the highlights of each film were  
24 especially popular and trailers of course continue to be a key element of the marketing  
25 strategies of commercial gay porn producers. The videos that I have identified here though  
26 whilst they have a connection to the tradition of the compilation or the trailer are examples of  
27 something qualitatively different and in their own way can also be connected to an alternative  
28 arts practice of the found footage film, film collage or bricolage and I see this making  
29 practice as resulting in a hybridised gay porn version of this form. William Wees argues that  
30 the appropriation and repurposing of footage is key to this practice:  
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33

34 Found-footage filmmakers sift through the accumulated audio-visual detritus of  
35 modern culture in search of artefacts that will reveal more about their origins and uses  
36 than their original makers consciously intended. Then they bring their findings  
37 together in image-sound relationships that offer both aesthetic pleasure and the  
38 opportunity to interpret and evaluate old material in new ways.  
39 (Wees, 2007, p.4)  
40  
41

42 And David Banash in a similar vein identifies the potential radicalism of this strategy:

43 The collage artist arranges fragments to which they have no holistic relationship  
44 through the labor of consumption. The process of assembling a collage more precisely  
45 mirrors the consumer wandering through a vast mall, selecting this and then that,  
46 bringing it all together in a new arrangement (that) reproduces the operations of the  
47 consumerist lifeworld. [...] Collage artists cut into images, syntax, and contexts,  
48 breaking things apart with the same radical zeal of Fordism.  
49 (Banash, 2013:16/17)  
50  
51

52 What results from this practice is, I would argue, a form of gay pornographic *bricolage*. As  
53 Thomas Simonsen notes:  
54

55 Bricolage describes the ability to make creative use of the materials made available  
56 from “whatever is at hand”, and it is a “raw” or “naïve” art [...] The bricolage is  
57 concerned with a “science of the concrete”. The concrete is the cultural texts of  
58  
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3 everyday life that are given new meaning in the bricolage.  
4 (2013:50)  
5

6 I am mindful that drawing connections with popperbate videos and avant garde and  
7 experimental film making practice might perhaps be seen as elevating the status of this  
8 material or attributing to it a significance it does not deserve. However, I would counter this  
9 with the suggestion that, in a digital age marked by a visual and stylistic promiscuity, it's  
10 quite possible to see how aesthetics, tropes and techniques from the rarified domain of fine  
11 art (and of course routinely filtered for wider consumption via commercials and pop music  
12 videos) can be appropriated by the amateur film maker/pornographer/popperbater. What's  
13 especially interesting to me is that in popperbate videos this is a creative practice that results  
14 in instances of bricolage that makes no distinction between the provenance of the source  
15 material that is the raw footage for repurposing; commercial porn and webcam or phone  
16 footage, amateur video and still images, dance tracks with explicit lyrics and self-penned sex  
17 scenarios all become part of the same pool of data to create fantasies from. Whilst scholarly  
18 practice has striven to delineate the differences and distinctions between modes of amateur  
19 and professional production, these popperbate videos are examples of texts and a mode of  
20 production that, in the manner of the proliferation of gay blogs, Instagram and Tumblr sites,  
21 disregard those distinctions altogether and instead duplicate contemporary online conditions  
22 of consumption where browsing and clicking means that such distinctions are always blurred  
23 or contingent.  
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### 30 **The Popperbate Idiom: Scripting the Gay Male Porn Body**

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32 The promiscuous collaging of a disparate range of source materials is a recurrent feature of  
33 almost all of the popperbate videos that circulate across the various content aggregator sites  
34 such as Xtube, Xvideos, or Pornhub.<sup>v</sup> Similarly, it's notable that a range of discursive  
35 registers are drawn on in these videos that are more widely recognisable across the practices  
36 of amateur video production online from Youtube to Xtube. I would argue that these  
37 discursive registers can be broadly be categorised as; the instructional ('how to' videos being  
38 the most straightforward example), the motivational (amateur exercise and fitness videos  
39 frequently adopt this register) and the therapeutic (amateur meditation videos for instance).  
40 What I am describing here as the popperbate idiom references all three of these modes in the  
41 service of establishing a reading position for the viewer/ participant in the popper training  
42 that will ensue and in scripting the sexual play on and offscreen.  
43  
44

45  
46 Through reference to the language of the work-out or training session the timebound nature  
47 of the videos assumes an importance that it doesn't necessarily have in other modes of  
48 pornographic production in quite such an overdetermined way. Indeed, it often feels that the  
49 timebound nature of sexual play is central to the scripting of sexual activity that these videos  
50 are designed to facilitate. This can be played out around the urgency of sexual desire and the  
51 need for climax and release or the slow anticipation and build up to sexual play. The  
52 popperbate videos available at a range of tube sites tend to range from a minimum of 7  
53 minutes as in the case of *Cum Dumpster (Popper Hypno)*,<sup>vi</sup> a video that uses footage of a  
54 spinning hypnosis wheel, an ambient music soundtrack and a deep male voice instructing the  
55 viewer when to take a 'hit' of poppers before transitioning into a dance track and a montage  
56 of anal sex and cum shots. This specific video (as well as instances such as the especially  
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3 imaginatively conceived and realised *Poppers Machine Interactive Trainer*<sup>vii</sup>) is an example  
4 that deviates from a fairly consistently established set of generic conventions that many of the  
5 sample of 20 popperbate videos analysed in the research for this essay demonstrate. At the  
6 other end of the temporal scale we can find examples of videos such as *EXTREME Trainer w/  
7 20 Hit Challenge for Experienced PopperBators*,<sup>viii</sup> that at 37 minutes, use editing and  
8 frequent injunctions ('don't cum yet') to extend the time from arousal to climax. We can see  
9 in this diversity of practices a group of amateur producers experimenting with formats, styles  
10 and video lengths and the result of this has been the formalisation of a popperbate idiom.  
11  
12

13 Consequently, like much commercial porn the standard length for the majority of popperbate  
14 videos is between 15 and 20 minutes and an example such as *Popper Trainer 1*<sup>ix</sup> that  
15 follows, almost to the letter, the format of the video that I cited at the start of this essay,  
16 indicative of an emergent popperbate idiom. Commencing with instructions for preparing for  
17 the training session that is to follow and a description of when and how to inhale poppers at  
18 key points, the video commences with a montage of still images of semi clad or naked male  
19 bodies and then following the first hit of poppers moves into an increasingly rapidly edited  
20 series of clips of action interspersing commercial and amateur footage. These videos tend to  
21 be posted on multiple sites, sometimes anonymously and sometimes not. On Xtube a poster  
22 called Marcotureno describes the content of this video as, "Popper training video featuring  
23 your standard gay stuff: bulges, cock rubbing, cocking sucking, rimming, fingering, fucking,  
24 bareback, and breeding"<sup>x</sup> and in so doing identifies the gay pornographic script that the  
25 majority of these videos construct. The popperbate idiom though is a sufficiently flexible  
26 structure to allow for some degree of formal and aesthetic experimentation and cross textual  
27 analysis of this burdgeoning area of amateur production demonstrates makers who use a  
28 range of creative techniques, through imitation of an established style, learning from and  
29 building on the generic blueprints established by others.<sup>xi</sup> For example, the relatively prosaic,  
30 though competently executed, videos of Xtube user Zachcartee follow the patterns  
31 established in the examples that I have discussed so far with the addition, as in *Popper  
32 Training Triple Dose: The Second Cumming*, of minor stylistic innovations such as  
33 motivational surtitles running along the bottom of the footage instructing viewers to "rub  
34 your hands over your chest and pecs!" and "jack off slowly and massage your chest!"<sup>xii</sup>  
35 Additionally, Zachcartee actively canvasses the feedback of the Xtube community via the  
36 usual route of online comments but this extends to the creation of a trailer for his third video  
37 in which, interspersed with sample clips of footage, he solicits feedback informing viewers  
38 that:  
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45 This is your chance to make requests for my third trainer video, tell me what you  
46 would like in the video, share your popperbating videos for inspiration, what do you  
47 think will take it to the next level? How many hits are you able to handle? How long  
48 can you last? Inspire me! Share your thoughts and videos. Triple Shot Coming Soon.  
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51 Whilst there are many examples of experimentation in form and style, in this emergent  
52 amateur making practice (it is notable that many popperbate videos include a date in their  
53 titling which suggests that this is a form of production that has escalated in the past 18  
54 months) there are nonetheless a set of formal and rhetorical 'conventions' that manifest  
55 themselves to a greater or lesser degree across the majority of popperbate videos online.  
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3 Firstly, and most prominently, the truncation of the gay pornographic narrative structure is a  
4 ubiquitous feature of these videos. A recurrent complaint made about commercial porn is that  
5 it is repetitive and boring and here we see explicit efforts to erase the *longeurs* popularly  
6 associated with this perennial critique of commercial output.<sup>xiv</sup> So scenes of oral or anal sex  
7 are no longer extended edits of the same activity from various angles that all too often  
8 become relentless or encourage use of the fast-forward button. Instead, and on the contrary,  
9 popperbate video makers use rapid edits and a multiplication of a diversity of clips from scenes to  
10 create their video collage effects. This results, as in *Poppers Trainer: Time Has Cum*<sup>xv</sup> to striking  
11 sequences where multiple cum shots are edited into a ‘medley’ or, as in *Poppers Experience: Massive*  
12 *Intense Orgasm*, sequences where inserts of ejaculation from other scenes are edited into a cumshot to  
13 extend the length of the ‘money shot’, and presumably the intensity, of the effect.<sup>xvi</sup>  
14  
15

16 Secondly, and inevitably related to the editing strategies that popperbate video makers deploy, the use  
17 of music to create a coherent audio track and to provide a sense of tempo and a heightened sexual tone  
18 is a uniform feature of these videos. The music is almost always a dance track of the variety familiar  
19 to gym users (or indeed gay sex clubs) with an insistent and rapid beat. This choice of musical track,  
20 that is more than merely background accompaniment but is, in fact, key to establishing a mood,  
21 enables the popperbate video maker to script the unfolding sexual play on and offscreen and to  
22 establish an editing strategy. Drawing on the ambience of the music and clearly, in part, referencing  
23 the rapid edits of music video practices, clips and edited sequences are chosen to create tempo,  
24 excitement and anticipation. Paradoxically, anticipation often seen as absent in commercial narrative  
25 porn is built up by this sense of rapidity of editing across snippets of a range of sources and through  
26 the relentless drive of the music. The euphoric lift of the dance tracks at key moments are used as  
27 instances when viewers are encouraged to inhale poppers and finally at the end of the videos to  
28 ejaculate.<sup>xvii</sup>  
29  
30

31 Thirdly the overwhelming majority of popperbate videos draw on what might be regarded as the  
32 ‘masculinist’ discourses of sports, (Burstyn, 1999:28) competition and gaming to a greater or lesser  
33 degree and to a model of endurance training that is core to the practices of orgasm control (usually  
34 colloquially referred to as ‘edging’) that popperbate practice emerges from.<sup>xviii</sup> This manifests itself in  
35 popperbate videos through the establishing sequences of the kind that have already been described  
36 and the scripted injunctions to inhale, to hold, to release, to ‘keep going’ and finally to cum. It is also  
37 frequently articulated through the construction of fantasy narratives that are scripted at text and  
38 inserted into the edits. For example, the Xtube user Bare Breeder who advises us his production  
39 practice has been inspired by the work of another user, MAXXX, suggesting a connoisseurship  
40 emerging around these videos, posts *Popper Trainer: Jock Transformation* (which confusingly also  
41 appears to be entitled Pig Transformation) on Xtube.<sup>xix</sup> The video, regardless of any individuals’  
42 preference for ‘pigs’ over ‘jocks’, creates an overdetermined, albeit rather hackneyed, fantasy image  
43 of an imagined viewer (the text insistently addresses ‘you’) as a hyperpotent, hypersexual and hyper-  
44 endowed ‘straight’ jock, firmly embedded in the manly world of sport, who submits to his suppressed  
45 desires and learns (very quickly it seems) to love gay sex. Accompanied by Maurice Joshua’s Acid  
46 Trax opus of 1988, *I Gotta Big Dick* a dance track with a male vocal sample repeating the slogan of  
47 the songs title the text superimposed over a succession of still and then moving images encourages us  
48 to imagine that we are (or at least how it would feel to be) this epitome of a resolutely macho and yet  
49 sexually fluid, priapic modern man:  
50  
51  
52

53 Get your poppers and headphones ready

54 If you can’t make to the end KEEP TRAINING!

55 Growing up with a BIG DICK and a high sex drive was great  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 3,2,1 Mandatory Hit

4 In high school you noticed everyone who was hot. Girls...

5  
6  
7 And...guys

8 You dated a few girls

9 You loved eating pussy

10 They loved your big dick inside them

11  
12 And how you fucked them deep and for a long time...you're a STUD!!

13 College changed everything

14 You were so busy with sports and class you had no time for finding pussy

15  
16 Sports let of some steam and you got ripped but still HORNY

17 You got boned when a team mate checked you out

18 He asked if he could help you out. You were cool with that

19 He surprised you and dropped to his knees to SUCK you off

20  
21 Best HEAD ever

22 He asked you over. You were cool with more head. Ya'll had a few beers

23 You told him about loving to eat pussy and fucking for HOURS

24 He leaned over and started making out with you

25 Kissing a DUDE was way more fun than kissing chick

26 And he sucked your DICK again!

27  
28 3,2,1 Mandatory Hit

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41 Considered en masse as a relatively recent example of contemporary amateur making practice  
42 what these videos reveal, obscure as they might be, through a combination of text, still and  
43 moving image and music is the production of a hybridised gay pornographic body.

44 Collectively popperbate videos are scripting the gay male porn body through rhetorical,  
45 stylistic and aesthetic strategies that strive via repetition and emphasis to summon up an  
46 essence of gay sexual desirability. It's perhaps axiomatic to emphasise here the primacy of  
47 the erect penis in videos designed as a stimulus for gay male masturbation practices for  
48 instance but examples such as *Batetopia*<sup>xx</sup> and *Poppers Training*<sup>xxi</sup> make this abundantly and  
49 hyperbolically clear with cum shot after cum shot in succession. The rhetoric of the  
50 popperbate videos prioritises through editing and careful selection those aspects of the gay  
51 male body that matter within the context of popperbate play (and I think this process does  
52 indeed conflate the body into one body) and furthermore how, and in what sequence, to  
53 consume the gay male porn body.  
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3 Perhaps what is most striking and paradoxical though about this scripting/construction of the  
4 gay male porn body is its heterogeneity. The videos both separately and collectively offer a  
5 kaleidoscopic range of masculine types for erotic consumption and they do this without  
6 creating a hierarchy of necessarily stereotypical desirability. So a perfectly groomed  
7 professional porn performer is presented alongside webcam footage of a skinny youth,  
8 alongside amateur footage of a hirsute and heavily built bear interspersed with male glamour  
9 photography and amateur mobile phone images. This mass of masculinity so saturated with  
10 sometimes conflicted meanings (Mercer, 2017) is offered to popperbate practitioners as  
11 aspects of one gay pornographic body that comprises a corporeality in constant movement  
12 and state of excitement; a pulsating, writhing body and a penis that is perpetually tumescent,  
13 glistening with saliva, dripping with prostatic fluid or erupting with ejaculate. In times of  
14 crisis and uncertainty elsewhere in the wider world these videos present a sexual script and a  
15 scripted gay male body where there is no uncertainty, no flaccidity, no failure or  
16 disappointment and no in between states.  
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### 20 **Final Thoughts**

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22 Whilst this is an essay written as a contribution to a special edition exploring various  
23 articulations and critical approaches to analysing gay porn now (the ‘nowness’ being  
24 particularly important here) this ‘now’ has an air of déjà vu about it not least because so  
25 many popular anxieties and criticisms of porn, gay, straight or otherwise, seem perennial  
26 concerns. So whilst in the process of thinking critically about popperbate videos and the  
27 process of their creation and dissemination in this essay, I’m talking about a relatively ‘new’  
28 phenomenon it’s one that is situated in an all too recognisable social, cultural and political  
29 landscape of a broader concern about sex and sexuality, their relationship to pornography and  
30 its deleterious effects on society and this is worth reminding ourselves of in conclusion.  
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34 Even as we approach the second decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century much popular (and a  
35 disappointingly large proportion of critical work in the social sciences at least) is still  
36 predicated on assumptions about the unhealthy and harmful nature of porn. Indeed, it seems  
37 as if Laura Kipnis’ rhetorical description of porn as “the sexuality of a consumer society”  
38 (1999:xii) has become the prevailing lens through which to read porn and one that is used  
39 (ironically given Kipnis’ own argument that porn had social and cultural significance) to  
40 minimise the cultural significance or transgressive power of the form. That porn has no  
41 cultural merit or value beyond a very limited mechanical and instrumental sort is still in many  
42 quarters regarded as commonsensical. This instrumental value, of course, is as an aid to  
43 masturbation and as Thomas Bewley (2008: 36-37) notes the history of Western medicine  
44 going back further even than the 18<sup>th</sup> Century has associated masturbation with illness and as  
45 essentially dangerous. Masturbation therefore has been regarded as by definition wasteful,  
46 self-indulgent and therefore bad and consequently material associated with the practice, in the  
47 case pornography, has the same associations.  
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51 Furthermore, even the most cursory survey of porn viewers online will reveal any number of  
52 individuals who decry the poor production standards, narrative flaws, lacklustre performances  
53 and various other demerits of commercial porn. The overarching critique being that  
54 commercial porn is generic, meaning that it is too repetitive, too mechanical, too contrived,  
55 too artificial, too banal; a mode of production in short that is perpetually ‘failing’ in some  
56 way. It’s possible to argue that this supposed failing in part has provided the conditions for  
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3 the rise of amateur porn production as a resulting congruence of audience demand and  
4 technological change. So what then can we say, as in the case of popperbate videos about  
5 porn made by amateurs responding expressly, emphatically and hyperbolically to what is  
6 seen as the utilitarian 'need' to have material to masturbate to? How can we conceptualise  
7 this instrumental motivation when it is elevated, through the vernacular creativity of  
8 amateurs, to such refined and exotic levels?  
9

10  
11 I'd like to conclude this essay by offering some potential avenues both for thinking about the  
12 specifics of popperbate videos but also, perhaps, the changing nature of porn consumption  
13 practices more widely. Firstly, as I noted at the start of this essay I think it's possible to  
14 situate this relatively new variant of gay porn within a wider context of neoliberalism and  
15 specifically the rationalization of leisure time that has become a prominent feature of  
16 contemporary popular culture. For example, in a recent essay Max Dawson has discussed the  
17 neoliberal logic that framed discourse around the emergence of Digital Video Recorders  
18 (DVR players) as a mechanism for a more effective and speedier consumption of television.  
19 He notes that the "DVR would 'rationalize' the act of watching television, making it a more  
20 efficient and/or productive leisure activity." (2014:223). This is a rubric that to some degree  
21 can extend itself to an understanding of popperbate videos which at their most functional can  
22 be rationalised as video collages designed for a swift and efficient way to consume large  
23 volumes of gay porn.  
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27 Additionally, Jean Burgess in her influential essay on vernacular creativity notes that:  
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30 The democratization of technologies discourse from the 'grassroots' converges  
31 persistently with emerging neoliberal business and economic models under which  
32 consumers (or 'users'), particularly of technology, are considered to possess and  
33 exercise more creativity and agency than before, combined with a surge in both the  
34 participation in and power of voluntary work and 'productive' leisure.  
35 (2006: 202)

36  
37 Burgess' argument provides a context for a critique of popperbate video making practice  
38 which could be considered both as an example, as I have noted here, of vernacular creativity  
39 and also as evidence of the conjunction of leisure activity, sexual practice and technology  
40 marshalled into the production of 'productive leisure'. In this special edition Stephen  
41 Maddison connects his own assessment of the place of gay porn within gay culture to a wider  
42 set of developments in neoliberal politics. Importantly he notes that whilst to some degree  
43 gay men have benefitted from the social and cultural changes that neoliberalism brings about  
44 that it is also these very same set of circumstances that have collectively resulted in the  
45 erosion of a gay 'community'. Rather than gay men belonging to a wider constituency  
46 Maddison sees that we become atomised subjects/consumers. As Maddison himself notes the  
47 condition of the contemporary gay man (and the status of gay porn) is therefore a complex  
48 one:  
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52 One logical conclusion [...] is that contemporary gay men represent the very apex of  
53 neoliberal subjectivity: alienated, competitive, consumer-driven, privatized, fixated on  
54 localized experiences of erotic fulfillment, socially and economically privileged but  
55 disenfranchised. But the very currency of porn in gay culture, which has its roots in a  
56 relationship with sexually explicit imagery very different from the one we currently  
57 inhabit, may mean that gay men have been precisely best placed to resist the  
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3 exploitation of immaterial sex, and have instead fostered subcultural conditions for  
4 using their cultural heritage and erotic investment in porn to manifest a ‘comradeship  
5 of cock’, in which social relations flourish in the face of neoliberal alienation.  
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7 (2017: In Press)  
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9 I would suggest following on from this line of argument that popperbate practice and popper  
10 training videos can very much be regarded as an example of the ‘comradeship of cock’ that  
11 Maddison looks for in a similar vein in blogging and Tumblr sites. In the midst of a  
12 neoliberal context of social alienation and via the mechanisms of ‘productive leisure’ is a  
13 form of amateur cultural production (videos made as gifts designed to be circulated amongst  
14 a community of shared interest) that certainly seems to connect to a comradeship principle.  
15

16  
17 Resonant as these readings might be, their essentialism cannot alone account for the  
18 seemingly organic emergence of this mode of pornographic expression and it’s necessary  
19 therefore, I think, to look to conceptual models that try to countenance the specific conditions  
20 of online consumption. The way to do this of course is to be both mindful of political  
21 economy and cultural contexts of these videos and the making practices that they evidence  
22 but also to acknowledge their affective qualities. The relation between the conditions of  
23 consumption/reception of porn in the digital age is a topic that naturally enough a growing  
24 body of scholarship, largely initiated by the foundational work of Susanna Paasonen, has  
25 engaged with. In an essay written for this journal, Brandon Arroyo talks about the erratic and  
26 distracted nature of porn consumption online. He importantly notes:  
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29 the chaotic conditions of our present, which is often described as ‘fast’, ‘impatient’,  
30 and ‘unsteady’; adjectives that evoke senses and feelings of movement. While studies  
31 of the covert networks facilitating the circulation of pornography have detailed porn’s  
32 intrinsic relationship to movement [...] less has been written about how contemporary  
33 viewers move through a multitude of texts, and what effects this has on porn  
34 consumption and erotic sensations. [...] what affects are triggered as a result of the  
35 continual scrolling and browsing through pornographic videos. What exactly are we  
36 looking for as we move from clip to clip? Is the aim just to find that perfect video to  
37 orgasm to, or is there potential eroticism lurking somewhere in the kinetic clicking  
38 from site to site?  
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40 (2016:308)  
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43 His astute analysis of this movement through the pornosphere provides an especially useful  
44 way to consider the workings and rhetorical strategies of popperbate videos. He concludes  
45 that, “Our constant clicking is less a sign of impatience than an expression of desire – a  
46 desire to find something beyond the text, to feel something that the text cannot give us.”  
47

48 (2016:310)  
49

50 These related ideas; impatience, a distracted sense of movement, the motivation to consume  
51 media output urgently, alongside the neoliberal logic of turning leisure (even masturbation)  
52 into a productive activity are ways that help us to think about the specifics of the sexual  
53 scripting that takes place in the popperbate videos but also to begin to imagine what the  
54 future of gay porn might become.  
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51 Notes:

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53 i [http://www.pornhub.com/view\\_video.php?viewkey=ph56f3bec18516d](http://www.pornhub.com/view_video.php?viewkey=ph56f3bec18516d)

54  
55 ii See examples at:

56 <http://www.xtube.com/video-watch/BareBreeder-Popper-Trainer-Getting-Trained-v2-25285182>

57 <http://www.xtube.com/video-watch/Poppers-Trainer-FSCRN-28118261>

58 <http://www.xtube.com/video-watch/Daddy-s-Popper-Training-28879261>

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4 <http://www.xtube.com/video-watch/POPPER-TRAINER-TRIPLE-DOSE-26340811>

5 and discussion of popperbating practice and popperbate videos at:

6 <http://fagsonlove.tumblr.com/>

7 [https://www.reddit.com/r/popperpigs/comments/4e78vt/my\\_favorite\\_popperbate\\_trainer\\_videos\\_for\\_now/](https://www.reddit.com/r/popperpigs/comments/4e78vt/my_favorite_popperbate_trainer_videos_for_now/)

8 [https://www.reddit.com/r/popperpigs/comments/3h450p/how\\_do\\_you\\_popperbate/](https://www.reddit.com/r/popperpigs/comments/3h450p/how_do_you_popperbate/)

9 <https://www.thumbzilla.com/gay/video/search?q=popper-bate>

10 <http://hottiebxl.tumblr.com/>

11 iii See for example; <http://www.xtube.com/video-watch/Popperbating-on-Cam-with-the-from-BW-20093962>

12 and <http://www.xtube.com/video-watch/Popperbating-to-Porn-12452151>

13  
14 iv There is perhaps a parallel albeit tenuous connection between the material that I discuss in this essays and repurposing of existing mainstream footage that Noah Tsika discusses in his essay 'Blue Transfusions: Internet Porn and the Pirating of Queer Cinema's Sex Scenes' for this special edition.

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16  
17 v It is naturally enough difficult to assess the number of popperbate/popper training videos in circulation. However, searches reveal that as of January 2017 well over 17,000 Xtube videos are tagged with the keywords 'popperbate' or 'popper training' (Xtube remaining the 'market leader' for amateur porn) with smaller number at Pornhub (1212) and Xvideos (325). Hundreds of Tumblr sites use popperbate/popperbator/popper training as titles and a search of Reddit yields over 5000 results. These searches disregard associated terms relating to masturbation practices such as 'edging', 'bating' or 'gooning' which produce even larger results but do not relate precisely to my object of study in this essay.

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25 vi [http://www.pornhub.com/view\\_video.php?viewkey=ph57d6a9d34393c](http://www.pornhub.com/view_video.php?viewkey=ph57d6a9d34393c)

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28 vii <http://www.xtube.com/video-watch/Poppers-Machine-Interactive-trainer-19379712>

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viii [http://www.pornhub.com/view\\_video.php?viewkey=ph58344e2f4d8bd&t=0&utm\\_source=www.myvidster.com&utm\\_medium=embed&utm\\_campaign=embed-logo-html5](http://www.pornhub.com/view_video.php?viewkey=ph58344e2f4d8bd&t=0&utm_source=www.myvidster.com&utm_medium=embed&utm_campaign=embed-logo-html5)

ix [http://www.pornhub.com/view\\_video.php?viewkey=ph5696a93de64e9](http://www.pornhub.com/view_video.php?viewkey=ph5696a93de64e9)

x <http://www.xtube.com/video-watch/Popper-trainer-compilation-for-popperbators-only-male-25990081>

xi I would draw readers to this specific example that is less effective in it's execution and realisation in part at least because of the use of classical music as accompaniment. This seems to some extent at least to reference the history of gay pornographic cinema echoing the use of classical music in the films of Wakefield Poole.

<http://www.xtube.com/video-watch/21-salute-poppers-training-reload-25714791>

xii <http://www.xtube.com/video-watch/POPPER-TRAINER-The-Second-Cumming-26426911>

xiii <http://www.xtube.com/video-watch/POPPER-TRAINER-Triple-Shot-Trailer-27372281>

xiv See online discussion of the various failings of commercial porn:

[https://www.reddit.com/r/AskReddit/comments/9qvto/have\\_you\\_become\\_bored\\_of\\_internet\\_porn/](https://www.reddit.com/r/AskReddit/comments/9qvto/have_you_become_bored_of_internet_porn/)

[https://www.reddit.com/r/AskMen/comments/1v0nrn/do\\_you\\_ever\\_get\\_tired\\_bored\\_with\\_porn\\_in\\_general/](https://www.reddit.com/r/AskMen/comments/1v0nrn/do_you_ever_get_tired_bored_with_porn_in_general/)

<http://sabotagetimes.com/sex/10-reasons-im-bored-porn> <https://www.datalounge.com/thread/12924565-why-is-gay-porn-so-boring-> <http://www.justusboys.com/forum/threads/145465-Gay-porn-is-BORING>

xv [http://www.pornhub.com/view\\_video.php?viewkey=ph576871c90e411](http://www.pornhub.com/view_video.php?viewkey=ph576871c90e411)

xvi <http://www.xtube.com/video-watch/Poppers-Experience-Massive-Intense-Orgasm-27393541>

xvii There are many examples such as this: <http://www.xtube.com/video-watch/Wank-the-Night-Away-Popper-Training-with-Binaural-Rhythms-29100481>

xviii See <http://www.xtube.com/video-watch/Poppers-Training-Interactive-Video-Extreme-Progressive-26327481> and <http://www.xtube.com/video-watch/Poppers-Experience-Massive-Intense-Orgasm-27393541>

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5 xix <http://www.xtube.com/video-watch/BareBreeder-Popper-Trainer-Jock-Transformation-24864691>

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7 xx <http://www.xtube.com/video-watch/BATETOPIA-29382881>

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9 xxi [http://www.pornhub.com/view\\_video.php?viewkey=ph56ed688d93118](http://www.pornhub.com/view_video.php?viewkey=ph56ed688d93118)

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