**Examining the Lasting Impact of SESTA-FOSTA on Sex Workers Globally**

The Allow States and Victims to Fight Online Sex Trafficking Act (FOSTA) was passed into law in 2018 by the United States Congress. Ostensibly, FOSTA and the Stop Enabling Sex Traffickers Act (SESTA) were intended to reduce sex trafficking within the United States by holding legally accountable websites and web hosts that “unlawfully promote and facilitate prostitution and websites that facilitate traffickers in advertising the sale of unlawful sex acts,” thus scaling back the protections of the Communications Act of 1934 (US Congress, 2018). However, as SESTA-FOSTA made no real distinctions between the nonconsensual trafficking of persons for sex and consensual sex work, internet companies such as Craigslist, Tumblr, and OnlyFans were incentivized to remove most sexual content from their platforms, pushing many sex workers out of relatively safe online spheres and into the streets (Tripp, 2020). As websites frequently have a global reach, it is probable that such an internet crackdown not only affected US-based sex workers, but sex workers in countries where prostitution is legalized or decriminalized. Therefore, in this paper, I will explore the immediate and long-term ramifications of SESTA-FOSTA on sex workers both within the US and elsewhere.

First, I will examine the history of US prostitution and sex trafficking legislation, taking care to highlight the important distinctions between these two concepts. Next, using such a historical framework, I will determine the key motivators for the enactment of SESTA-FOSTA and the primary arguments cited for and against it. Having understood the root causes of SESTA-FOSTA, I will then identify the effects; primarily, how has it materially and psychologically impacted the well-being of sex workers across the globe? Here, while I will explore the narratives of the victims of sex trafficking, I will primarily focus on the voices of consensual sex workers—those who were not explicitly referred to by US Congress, but who were nonetheless affected by it. Finally, I will recommend potential solutions to ameliorate the problems created by SESTA-FOSTA, focusing on recommendations that prioritize the reduction of sex trafficking both within and outside the US, as well as the safety of consensual sex workers.

**Historical Perspectives**

Before examining historical US law, I wish to delineate prostitution from sex trafficking, as the two terms are often used interchangeably by a number of politicians and scholars, despite the fact that they are quite distinct. Human trafficking, as defined by the United States government, is the “movement or recruitment of men, women, or children, using force, fraud, or coercion, for the purpose of subjecting them to involuntary servitude or slavery in one or more of a wide variety of sectors,” (Chuang, 2010). Sex trafficking is simply a specific form of human trafficking, wherein persons are trafficked for the purpose of commercial sex. Conversely, prostitution is the exchange of sexual favors for goods or services, usually currency. The key distinction here is consent; sex trafficking is inherently nonconsensual, while prostitution can be consensual. Thus, to conflate the two would be to label all sex workers as victims of human trafficking or exploitation, which is inaccurate and often detrimental. Rather, it is imperative to conceptualize sex workers as workers; while there may be underlying financial factors that can push someone toward sex work, these are not innately different from the motivators that push any one person to engage in labor in exchange for compensation.

However, the US legislature has historically taken an abolitionist stance toward prostitution, and has thus either implied or outright stated that all forms of prostitution are coercive and exploitative. Particularly during the Bush Administration with the passage of the Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA) in 2000, the terms sex trafficking and prostitution were often used interchangeably (Chuang, 2010). Thus, while the TVPA did broaden the definition of ‘trafficking victim’ in several key ways—not least by explicitly including minors—and enshrined into law certain protections for victims, it also further legitimized the idea that sex work is nonconsensual, thereby erasing the voices and experiences of consensual sex workers (Heiges, 2009).

Further, while victims of trafficking have been guaranteed certain services and supports at the national level, statewide anti-prostitution enforcement has taken a distinctly carceral approach. Prostitution is criminalized within the US, and sex workers are frequently fined, jailed, and subject to police brutality (Mac & Smith, 2018). Part of this can be explained by the moral outrage of many conservatives and moderates toward prostitution, as the United States is founded upon many traditional Christian beliefs and values (Altemimei, 2013). However, scholarship also sites paternalism as a major contributor toward the continued criminalization of prostitution; many lawmakers and police officers feel as though they are doing sex workers a ‘favor’ by jailing them and keeping them off the streets (Halter, 2010). Thus, the prostitute is both Madonna and Whore, a simultaneous victim and villain who must be protected or reformed through punishment. However, legislators never perceive the sex worker as laborer, nor as a person with agency; therefore, sex workers’ voices and opinions are almost always excluded from policy, resulting in legislation that may do more harm than good.

**The Passage of SESTA-FOSTA**

FOSTA was first introduced to the House of Representatives by Republican Congresswoman Ann Wagner in April of 2017. Rep. Wagner had based her congressional campaign off of a platform of traditional Christian family values (annwagner.com) which included, among other issues, a strong stance against all forms of sex work.

While anti-porn activists and conservative politicians have banded together on similar policies since the 1980s, the success of FOSTA was largely attributed to the 2016 court case *Jane Doe No. 1 v. Backpage.com, LLC*. In the case, three women sued the internet company Backpage for complicity in their trafficking. The women—minors at the time—were advertised for sex on Backpage.com, and they argue that the company’s failure to better screen for victims of human trafficking directly contributed to the women’s continued exploitation (Jane Doe No. 1 v. Backpage.com, LLC, 2016). The case was dismissed, citing the Communications Decency Act, which sparked outrage in many anti-trafficking groups.

Riding on the coattails of the feeling of large corporations knowingly taking advantage of young women and girls, Rep. Wagner was able to mount a bipartisan coalition in support of FOSTA, and the act was passed in April of 2018. SESTA—the Senate equivalent of FOSTA—was never passed, but instead had all of its main tenants absorbed into a “worst of both worlds” version of FOSTA (Goldman, 2018), a combination that has frequently been referred to as SESTA-FOSTA. Though there were feminist, leftist, and sex worker activist groups who pushed against its passage for the potential harm that it would cause regarding marginalized peoples’ rights and general free speech, they were largely ignored in the Trump era with a Republican majority Congress. As such, although the dangers of SESTA-FOSTA were forewarned, they were not heeded.

SESTA-FOSTA was heralded as a landmark in anti-trafficking legislation by its proponents; while this is not an inaccurate descriptor of its intentions, in actuality SESTA-FOSTA reaches beyond just trafficking in its power. FOSTA first clarifies the term “participation in a venture,” which was first recorded, but never defined by the TVPA (Born, 2019). Here, participation in a venture encompasses any person or entity that benefits from the recruitment, advertisement, or solicitation of another person for commercial sex. Like the TVPA, FOSTA specifies that such commercial sex must be coerced in order to be criminalized; however, such specification is nonetheless problematic, for reasons that will be expanded upon later in this paper.

Yet, the primary purpose of FOSTA was to “open website owners to civil liability for sex trafficking offenses,” (Born, 2019, p. 1633) by exempting sex trafficking from Section 230 of the Communications Decency Act. As such, websites could now be held legally accountable for any third-party content hosted on their platforms. While this was in part a rational response to Backpage’s exploitative behavior and lack of accountability, it is untenable to expect a website to quickly and accurately distinguish between advertisements of sex trafficking victims and advertisements made by consensual sex workers. FOSTA is further complicated in that it protects good faith content removals (Goldman, 2018). That is, while websites can be held liable for sex-trafficking content posted by third parties, they cannot be held liable for taking down sexually explicit content that does not violate FOSTA (i.e., content posted by consensual sex workers). As such, websites are motivated to remove all sexually explicit content from their platform, as it is both less time-consuming and less risky than attempting to parse out sex-trafficking victims from consensual sex workers.

Concerningly, FOSTA made no attempt to protect consensual sex workers from the potential ramifications of its passage. As sex work is largely illegal in the US, consensual sex workers were provided with no recourse to challenge sites that unfairly removed their content from the internet. Therefore, sex workers could have any content that they posted to any website removed from the internet for no legitimate reason, and the websites in question could also block or ban the worker’s profile and content from their platform, preventing the worker from having any online presence or means of making revenue through the internet. Legal scholars have thus argued that FOSTA is unconstitutionally overbroad regarding the First Amendment, however, these challenges were dismissed by the US District Court for the District of Columbia in *Woodhull Freedom Foundation v. United States* (Chamberlain, 2019).

**Impacts of SESTA-FOSTA**

Having examined the legal framework of SESTA-FOSTA, what was its real and tangible impact? Here, I choose to explore several key narratives. First, I examine its immediate impact on websites such as Backpage, Craigslist, Tumblr, and more recently, OnlyFans. Next, I shift to understand the human consequences of SESTA-FOSTA; did it meaningfully help victims of human trafficking? How did it affect US-based consensual sex workers? Finally, how has it impacted sex workers in countries that have legalized or decriminalized sex work?

***Immediate impacts***

Though one of the key goals of SESTA-FOSTA was to shut down Backpage, the US Department of Justice actually removed the website from the internet before President Trump could sign FOSTA into law (Goldman, 2018). The FBI conducted a raid of Backpage in April of 2018, after FOSTA had been passed by Congress, but charged Backpage and its CEO Carl Ferrer not with FOSTA violations, but with Travel Act violations. Thus, although lawmakers claim that FOSTA shut down Backpage, they are making an inaccurate assertion. Nor was FOSTA necessary to provide victim restitution; although the act makes it easier for victims to file civil suits against websites, Backpage had already agreed to a $500 million victim restitution payment when it was convicted.

However, FOSTA did have an impact on other websites that hosted sexually explicit content. As FOSTA does not require that a site is aware that it is hosting sex trafficking content to be charged with sex trafficking violations, an internet corporation cannot rely on a good-faith argument if found to be hosting sexually explicit content that was made through coercion, exploitation, or force. Therefore, US-based sites ran a high financial and criminal risk for allowing any sexually explicit content on their platforms.

In general, websites took one of three paths in response to the passage of FOSTA; first, smaller websites who did not have the financial wherewithal or legal personnel to handle a federal lawsuit shuttered, leading to a “shrinking internet” phenomenon. A few larger sites also partially shuttered, such as Craigslist removing its “Personals” section from its platform (Dilawar, 2018; Goldman, 2018). Second and most commonly, large sites either outright banned or severely restricted sexually explicit content. Tumblr—a prominent social media site of the early 2010s—banned all nudity outside of political protest art and statues (Bronstein, 2020), Google removed sexually explicit folders from individuals’ personal Drives (Goldman, 2018), and OnlyFans—a site widely known for its pay-per-view sexual content—not only barred sexually explicit videos as of October, 2021 (Shaw, 2021), it also chooses to promote and highlight creators that post only “Safe for Work” content (van der Nagel, 2021). Similarly, many social media companies engage in what is colloquially known as shadowbanning—what scholars Are and Paasonen describe as a “light censorship technique…to limit the reach of potentially objectionable content without deleting it altogether,” (2021, p.1). Shadowbanning is often used against stripper and pole dancer content creators—accounts that FOSTA may not directly object to, but whose presence might shed increased scrutiny on the social media company. Importantly, banning and shadowbanning are not profitable endeavors; Verizon purchased Tumblr along with its Yahoo acquisition in 2017 for $4.8 billion, yet later sold Tumblr in 2019 for less than $3 million (Bronstein, 2020). Such actions are not clever business decisions, but legal necessities that can greatly impact the long-term viability of a corporation.

The third path that an internet company can take is to move their servers offshore, removing legal culpability entirely. This path is taken by two camps: sites crafted specifically for the health and safety of sex workers (Dilawar, 2018), and sites that knowingly make a large portion of their revenue through sex trafficking. It is then important to ask—what is the measurable efficacy of SESTA-FOSTA if the most insidious websites are merely incentivized to relocate their servers to another country?

***Impacts on sex workers in the US***

While there was certainly a corporate and financial cost to the passage of FOSTA, the human cost was far greater. Perhaps most glaringly, the strong anti-sex work stance that SESTA-FOSTA encourages websites to adopt has put sex workers in danger. Previously, workers could use platforms such as Backpage, Craigslist, and Tumblr to advertise their services without ever having to leave the safety of home. Such websites provided workers with the capacity to fully vet potential clients, to secure payment digitally, and to arrange a meeting space that was safe and accessible for all parties involved. However, when SESTA-FOSTA caused websites to crack down on prostitution (and borderline cases like stripping), many sex workers were forced out of the digital sphere and onto the streets (Chamberlain, 2019).

Scholars Jennifer Musto and associates label such ramifications of SESTA-FOSTA as a type of “networked moral gentrification”—an organized push to remove ‘immoral’ actors from visible spaces with no regard for the harm that this may cause (2021). The authors further argue that “shifting governance arrangements and conservative moralities cohere in exacerbating structural vulnerabilities within and beyond the criminal legal system,” leading to the over-deputization of nongovernmental actors and the increased policing of and institutional violence toward marginalized groups (Musto et al., 2021, p. 6). In conjunction, these factors lead to far more risk than just the loss of revenue through deplatforming; indeed, sex workers face increased violence from police brutality, hate crimes, and abusive clients when moved to the streets.

Street-based sex work is more visible to police officers, and easier to criminalize. Law enforcement officers often charge workers with loitering for the intents of prostitution based off of flimsy evidence; even carrying around condoms in heavily patrolled areas can result in a charge (Human Rights Watch, 2012). As such, prostitution-related charges are often levied based off of profiling, placing women of color and transwomen at increased risk for criminalization and brutality (Mac & Smith, 2018). Black women and LGBTQ+ individuals also face a high risk of violence via hate crimes simply for existing (King & Sutton, 2013). As such, all sex workers—but especially those from marginalized groups—are highly motivated to spend as little time on the streets as possible, thus reducing their risk of systemic violence and criminalization. However, in order to reduce time spent on the streets, sex workers are often forced to accept clients without fully vetting them, leading to increased rates of sexual violence in their work (Blunt & Wolf, 2020).

Yet, SESTA-FOSTA did not just cause individual-level harm, but community-wide harm as well. While Backpage was imperfect, and many of its practices and policies exploitative, it was host to a number of blacklists—sex worker created lists naming thousands of former clients that were abusive or violent, and warning other sex workers away (Chamberlain, 2019). Smaller blacklists existed on other platforms such as Tumblr, and have since been deleted as well. It was vitally important for sex workers to be able to access such lists when vetting clients; although there is a dearth of comprehensive quantitative data regarding the utility of blacklists, interview data suggests that sex workers felt increased fear and uncertainty in client interactions after the removal of Backpage (Blunt & Wolf, 2020). As such, it is now much harder for sex workers to identify potentially violent clients, and communications between a sex worker and client cannot easily be collected for evidence should abuse occur.

Similarly, sex workers can no longer reliably share general safety tips with one another. Previously, internet spaces served as a sort of safe community in which sex workers could easily ask one another questions about pricing, contraceptives, vetting, and sexual health resources (Peterson, Robinson, & Shih, 2019). It is important to note that the occupational health and safety strategies shared by sex workers are often written by those in the industry (Bernier et al., 2021), allowing them to overcome the barriers of distrust and accessibility that many external organizations face when sharing safety tips. However, because workers shared occupational health and safety strategies via sex work blogs and posts on Backpage and Craigslist, the systemic deplatforming of sex workers invariably led to the loss of such health information. Without access to health and safety resources, sex workers face increased risk of financial exploitation, HIV/AIDS and other STDs, and unplanned pregnancies (Tripp, 2019).

Moreover, SESTA-FOSTA not only places consensual sex workers at increased risk—it also harms sex trafficking victims and efforts to prosecute sex traffickers. After the passage of FOSTA, workers en masse reported being contacted by pimps and organized brothels (Peterson, Robinson, & Shih, 2019); increased vulnerability and decreased financial stability in the wake of SESTA-FOSTA worked in conjunction to signal to potential traffickers that workers would now be easier to exploit. While there is a dearth of research on the topic, what limited evidence there is suggests that FOSTA may have *increased* instances of sex trafficking, at least among certain populations. Further, FOSTA has made it more difficult for law enforcement to prosecute alleged sex traffickers. Websites’ move to ban sexually explicit content has erased thousands upon thousands of files, online communications, and photographs that police could have used as evidence to apprehend sex traffickers (Chamberlain, 2019). Removing advertisements for exploitative sex work from popular websites does not disband sex trafficking organizations, but simply pushes them further underground, making them harder to find and track (Morgan, 2020).

***Impacts on sex workers globally***

SESTA-FOSTA, though originating from the US, has not merely harmed US-based sex workers, but has negatively impacted the field of sex work on a global scale. A large portion of the world’s most popular websites have servers in the US (Musto et al., 2021)subjecting all workers who use such sites to FOSTA, even if they live in a country where sex work is legalized, partly decriminalized, or fully decriminalized. As such, many of the same problems that affect US-based sex workers—a loss of revenue, increased risk of exploitation and violence, a lack of readily accessible health and safety information—afflict sex workers across the globe.

United States sex work policy has affected the global markets before; the TVPA was and is still used to penalize countries that do not prosecute sex trafficking according to US standards (Department of State, 2021), and funding to foreign governments and NGOs is often contingent on the vilification of prostitution. Notably, during the Bush Administration, USAID and the Global AIDS Fund ceased all financial support to “any group or organization that does not have a policy explicitly opposing prostitution and sex trafficking,” (Ditmore. 2003, p. 3) leading to myriad consequences. However, by deputizing third parties as opposed to US government organizations, SESTA-FOSTA has much wider reach and consequence than its predecessors.

SESTA-FOSTA produced international outcry, particularly in New Zealand and Canada, where many sex workers expressed feeling as though they had lost decades of progress. As a regional coordinator for the New Zealand Sex Workers’ Collective stated:

“These bloody American politicians thinking they know what’s best for the world when it’s us, who work with these women and men who are most affected by it, even here in New Zealand, who have to pick up the pieces,” (Musto et al., 2021, p. 12).

Among all sex workers, the chief concern was financial insecurity; even in countries where sex work is legalized or decriminalized, independent indoor work provides greater safety than street work, and higher profits with less oversight than brothel work (Tichenor, 2020). However, the profitability of indoor self-employment is highly dependent on advertisements; with the shutdown of Backpage and the Craigslist “Personals” section, many sex workers have struggled to find a platform where they can safely sell their services. Though alternatives exist, they often have high fees, disincentivizing sex workers from engaging with such platforms, and instead pushing them to undertake more dangerous work in hopes of a higher pay-off (Tichenor, 2020).

SESTA-FOSTA is particularly harmful to migrant workers with no legal status in their country of residence. Although New Zealand has decriminalized all forms of sex work since 2003, this status applies only to its citizens, not to migrant workers (Mac & Smith, 2018). Without secure advertising sites such as Backpage, migrant workers face greater risks of criminalization by law enforcement, or exploitation by brothels that may use a worker’s legal status as leverage. As such, migrant workers are likely to be lower paid and less safe than their naturalized citizen peers. Further, existing alternative websites to Backpage may play into these stereotypes, and ambiguously describe ethnically marginalized workers’ citizenship status (e.g., “foreign” or “exotic”), regardless of whether they are migrant workers. This has real consequences, with many workers stating that they had clients or peers report them to Immigration (Tichenor, 2020).

**Recommendations for Change**

Certainly, SESTA-FOSTA harms sex workers on both a national and global scale. It creates a framework of moral gentrification that defunds, deplatforms, and discredits sex workers, increasing their risk of violence, exploitation, and criminalization. Further, it is unclear how effective SESTA-FOSTA is in preventing sex trafficking—limited evidence suggests that it may have pushed sex workers toward traffickers (Born, 2019), and FOSTA has only been cited in one criminal prosecution case (Albert et al., 2021). As such, it is necessary to make comprehensive changes to US sex work and sex trafficking policy in order to fully protect consensual sex workers and victims of sex trafficking. I propose three changes: 1) the passage of the SAFE SEX Workers Study Act in US Congress, 2) the partial or full repeal of FOSTA, and 3) the full decriminalization of sex work within the United States.

A major difficulty in evaluating the lasting effects of FOSTA is the lack of a large *N* study of sex workers and victims of sex trafficking. Given the illegality of all forms of prostitution within the United States, both groups are challenging populations to find, recruit, and study. Therefore, the majority of the research in the field is conducted on small groups, often recruited through snowball sampling. Though such research methods are not unexpected given the constraints, scholars and legislatures are unable to gain a fully comprehensive view of the efficacy of FOSTA. Acknowledging this, Senator Elizabeth Warren proposed the SAFE SEX Workers Study Act in January 2020. The bill would have required the Department of Health and Human Services to conduct a study on “the impacts of the reduction in access to client-screening, information-sharing, and harm-reduction websites resulting from the Allow States and Victims to Fight Online Sex Trafficking Act of 2017 on individuals engaged in adult, consensual sex work,” (US Congress, 2020). The SAFE SEX Workers Study Act is the only bill brought to Congress that would require FOSTA to be evaluated on a national scale, opening the possibility for amendment or repeal. Although the bill was referred to the Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions, it has been untouched since then, and can be considered effectively dead in committee.

Yet, it is necessary that the SAFE SEX Workers Study Act, or a bill like it, be passed by Congress. There are no evaluative measures of FOSTA in US government, resulting in its proponents refusing accountability or even acknowledgement of harm. It is vital that the ramifications of FOSTA be recorded and reflected upon; else, FOSTA will remain unamended and continue to affect the lives and livelihoods of sex workers globally. Further, a national study of FOSTA will paint a better picture as to whether the bill is salvageable—it is possible that some restrictions to the Communications Decency Act are helpful or even necessary in combatting human trafficking. While current evidence suggests that repeal is the most optimal solution, legislators should obtain as much data as is possible in order to draft a viable path forward.

Importantly, US Congress must use the findings of the SAFE SEX Workers Study Act to respond to FOSTA. While research is beneficial, it is largely for naught if its findings are not utilized to draft policy change. Thus, upon evaluating the degree of harm FOSTA causes, Congress must choose to either modify or fully repeal the act. Sex trafficking and exploitation is a pervasive issue within the United States, and there ought to be a legislative framework to prevent trafficking, protect victims, and prosecute traffickers. If it is sufficiently amended, FOSTA may have the capacity to reduce human trafficking. However, the bill cannot continue so long as it harms sex workers, hides traffickers, and restricts the actions and activities of civilians across the globe.

Finally, sex work must be decriminalized in the United States. Political conservatives and abolitionist feminists both advocate against the decriminalization of sex work; they argue that sex work is inherently oppressive toward women (men and nonbinary sex workers are often excluded from such discourse), and that the decriminalization of sex work would only lead to an increase in sex trafficking (Comte, 2014; Outshoorn, 2019). However, research illustrates that this is not the case—*criminalization* of sex work is more closely linked with the degradation and subjugation of workers than sex work itself (Comte, 2014), and case studies do not indicate that the decriminalization of sex work results in the proliferation of sex trafficking or sex work in general (Rissel et al., 2016). Thus, proponents of sex work criminalization postulate an argument that is not rational, but moral; transactional sex is conceived as dangerous because it is taboo and violates the traditional Protestant ethics that founded much of Western society (Zimmerman, 2012). Through this lens, the criminalization of sex work serves as a tool to delineate acceptable sexual behaviors, rather than as a determinant of what practices constitute least harm.

In contrast, studies based in New Zealand indicate that sex work decriminalization protects sex workers, and safeguards their human rights (Abel, 2014). A criminalized body cannot reliably turn to law enforcement to protect their labor rights or to prosecute instances of violence and exploitation. A criminalized body must stay hidden, or face incarceration or deportation. Yet, when sex work is decriminalized, a worker can rely on the protections of the state to be shielded from abuse by the hands of clients and employers. Marginalized workers—queer, trans, black, indigenous, and disabled persons, amongst others—could operate through online advertisements, allowing them a safe space to screen clients (Tichenor, 2020). Finally, decriminalization would allow for the widespread creation and funding of sex work support services and health and safety information. Even with the eradication of SESTA-FOSTA, sex workers will not be safe until their industry is legitimized and their bodies are no longer vilified and condemned.

**Conclusion**

SESTA-FOSTA was drafted with good intentions—to eliminate online sex trafficking within the US, and to hold websites accountable for their complicity in the exploitation of victims. Yet, however well-intended its legislators were, they either could not predict or refused to acknowledge the harm that it would cause. In part, SESTA-FOSTA is an extension of previous sex trafficking legislation—such as the TVPA—that conflates consensual sex work with nonconsensual sex trafficking. In the eyes of many conservative lawmakers, all persons engaged in the sex trade are victims that must either be rescued by law enforcement or ‘redeemed’ through carceral punishment. Thus, SESTA-FOSTA harms sex workers everywhere (not just the United States) by pushing them out of relatively safe online spaces and onto the streets or into brothels, where they face increased risks of violence and criminalization. In the wake of FOSTA, sex workers reported decreased revenue, increased attempts at trafficking and exploitation, and higher rates of abuse by clients. Thus, in order to ensure the safety of an already marginalized population, FOSTA must be overturned or radically amended, and sex work must be decriminalized.

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