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Sexually explicit racialised media targeting men who have sex with men online: A content analysis of high-risk behaviour depicted in online advertisements

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Abstract

Sexually explicit media may perpetuate racial and sexual norms among men who have sex with men. While men may be exposed to sexually explicit media in the online settings where they seek sex with other men, no studies to our knowledge have explored the relationship between the racial and sexual content of advertisements appearing in these spaces. In 2011, 217 sexually explicit advertisements on a male sex-seeking website were coded for themes, actor characteristics, and sexual acts depicted using a detailed codebook. Multivariable logistic regression models examined the association between skin colour, theme, sexual acts, and condomless sex acts. Nearly half (45%) featured a ‘thug’ theme (style emphasising Black masculinity/hip-hop culture), 21% featured a college theme, and 44% featured condomless sex. Ads featuring only Black men, ads featuring Black men with men of other skin tones, and ads depicting a thug theme were positively associated with depictions of condomless sex. Online sexually explicit ads featuring Black themes and actors more frequently depicted risky sex than ads with White men alone. Future research should examine whether risky depictions of Black men in online ads influence the sexual norms and cognitions of Black men who have sex with men and their partners.

Keywords

Internet; men who have sex with men; sexual explicit media; Black men; advertisements

Introduction

More than 30 years after the first AIDS cases were reported among gay men in the United States (US), men who have sex with men continue to be disproportionately impacted by HIV. Comprising just 2.9 to 6.9% of the US population (Purcell et al. 2012), men who have sex with men accounted for 63% of all incident infections and 78% of all newly infected men in 2010 (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention 2014). Moreover, men who have sex with men continue to experience increases in the total number of new HIV diagnoses annually in the US, with racial and ethnic minority men who have sex with men demonstrating the highest rates of HIV compared to any other group (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention 2014). Given these epidemiological data, there has been a shift from focusing on individual-level risk factors alone to trying to better understand the complex environmental and social contextual factors that independently potentiate HIV risk among men who have sex with men.

Sexually explicit media is defined as, ‘any kind of material aimed at creating or enhancing sexual feelings or thoughts in the recipient and, at the same time, containing explicit exposure and/or descriptions of the genitals and clear and explicit sexual acts’ (Hald 2006). Sexually explicit media consumption appears to not only be acceptable, but common among men who have sex with men (Peter and Valkenburg 2011; Silvera et al. 2009; Duggan and McCreary 2004; Hooper et al. 2008). Indeed, a cross-sectional study of 1,391 US men who have sex with men found that 98.5% of participants had viewed sexually explicit media in the past 3 months and 97.8% viewed it on the Internet (Rosser et al. 2013). This high prevalence of online sexually explicit media consumption is not surprising given that the Internet provides men with a limitless range of sexually explicit content from pornographic videos, to interactive sex websites, to partner seeking websites, which can be accessed anonymously and from the privacy of one’s home (Silvera et al. 2009; Eaton et al. 2012; Downing et al. 2013). The unfettered access to online sexually explicit media and widespread consumption of sexually explicit media among men who have sex with men has led researchers to explore the relationship between sexually explicit material consumption and sexual risk behavior as one possible explanation for the ongoing disparity in HIV infection among men who have sex with men (Eaton et al. 2012; Stein et al. 2012; Rosser et al. 2013; Schrimshaw 2014; Nelson et al. 2014b).

Decades of research document the influence of sexually explicit media on the sexual knowledge and practices of those that consume it (Li and Davey 1996; Kubicek et al. 2011; Weinberg et al. 2010; Duncan and Nicholson 1991). Sexually explicit media has been shown to be a source of sexual information, contributing to the reinforcement of racial, gender, and sexual role norms, as well as the uptake of risky sexual behaviours in diverse populations (Hald, Malamuth, and Yuen 2010; Weinberg et al. 2010; Parsons et al. 2007; Eaton et al. 2012; Morgan 2011). Among men who have sex with men specifically, researchers have only more recently begun to show a relationship between sexually explicit media consumption and sexual risk. A 2012 online study of 751 non-monogamous US men who have sex with men found that condomless sex was associated with an increased odds of viewing pornography depicting sex without a condom and 55% of the sample self-reported that the type of sexually explicit media they watched influenced their own sexual behaviour

(Stein et al. 2012). Similarly, in a study of 1,170 US men who have sex with men who had accessed a partner-seeking website in the past year, 45% of participants reported that at least half of the sexually explicit media they viewed portrayed condomless anal sex, with greater exposure to sexually explicit media containing condomless sex associated with increasing odds of engaging in unprotected anal sex with both discordant and serodiscordant HIV status partners in the past 3 months (Nelson et al. 2014a). The association between viewing condomless sex acts and engaging in condomless sex acts has also been shown among men who have sex with men who view sexually explicit media on the Internet (Schrimshaw 2014).

While the causal effects of sexually explicit media consumption on sexual risk behaviour has not yet been explored experimentally among men who have sex with men, sexual scripting theory (Gagnon and Simon 1973) provides a useful framework for understanding how repeated viewing of sexually explicit media may affect the behaviors of consumers. Specifically, sexual scripting theory posits that sexual behavior is a function of cultural scripts (i.e., guidelines for sexual behavior derived from cultural schemas which inform social behavior) that inform an individual's sexual behaviors, preferences, and identities, and often define sexually appropriate behavior (Wilson et al. 2009; Gagnon and Simon 1973). The content of sexually explicit media may therefore serve as sexual scripts that guide the attitudes and behaviors of those that intentionally *or* unintentionally consume it. However, studies to date have been limited to the exploration of intentionally consumed sexually explicit media (e.g., pornographic videos) in men who have sex with men (Downing et al. 2013; Eaton et al. 2012; Rosser et al. 2013; Schrimshaw 2014; Nelson et al. 2014a). Given that many men use the Internet to seek sex with other men, and may be unintentionally exposed to sexual explicit media (i.e., advertisements while seeking sex) in these settings, understanding the sexual content of this media is needed to inform future research on the effects of unintentional consumption of sexually explicit media among this at-risk group.

One form of online sexually explicit media that appears to be both prevalent and understudied is sexually explicit advertisements. Looking to capitalise on the high consumption of sexually explicit media among men who have sex with men, advertisers appear to inundate sexual partner-seeking websites and other online environments frequented by men seeking sex with other men with sexually graphic advertisements for pornographic videos, websites, sex toys and other images (Paasonen 2011; Reichert and Lambiase 2013). In these online sex-seeking settings, men who have sex with men are exposed to sexually explicit content, even when they are not intentionally seeking it. Prior research in diverse male populations document the ability of advertisements and subliminal messaging to shape norms and behaviours, with a 2008 meta-analysis finding that exposure to mass media was related to body satisfaction, body esteem, self-esteem, psychological disorders (e.g., depression), and behavioural outcomes (e.g., excessive exercising) among men exposed to mass media in both correlational and experimental studies (Barlett, Vowels, and Saucier 2008). While researchers have recently begun to explore the impact of sexually explicit media on the sexual behaviour of men who have sex with men who intentionally view it, no research that we are aware of has explored the types of sexually explicit

advertising content that may be subliminally impacting the norms and behaviour of men who have sex with men in online sex-seeking environments. Understanding the sexual and racialised content of sexually explicit media in the virtual spaces where men seek male sexual partners may aid in the development of effective, culturally-relevant interventions for this population

Only one study to date has explored the content of online sexually explicit media targeting men who have sex with men. However, the study, which found a similar prevalence of actors engaging in anal sex with- (36%) and without a condom (34%), was limited to sexually explicit videos and did not explore the relationship between actor characteristics, such as skin colour, and sexual behaviors featured; factors which may play a key role in informing the sexual norms and behaviors of viewers (Downing et al. 2013). The present study aimed to address this gap by analysing the content of sexually explicit advertisements appearing on a popular, racially diverse sex-seeking website for men who have sex with men. Specifically, we sought to: 1) contextualise men's experience of seeking sexual partners online by documenting the frequency of depicted sexual behaviours, themes, and model/actor skin colour in ads that men who have sex with men would unintentionally see while searching for sexual partners online, and 2) examine the association of skin colour, ad theme, and sexual behaviours to the depiction of condomless sex in these advertisements.

Methods

Sample

In 2011 a total of 217 static advertisements appearing on a popular, US-based, racially-diverse sex-seeking website for men who have sex with men (Wohlfeiler et al. 2011) were subjected to content analysis (Riff, Lacy, and Fico 2005; Neuendorf 2002; Feliciano, Robnett, and Komaie 2009; Phua and Kaufman 2003; Krippendorff 2004; Klein 2008; Hatala and Prehodka 1996; Downing et al. 2013). Eligibility for inclusion: all advertisements containing people and featuring sexually explicit imagery in which a sexual act or genitals were depicted. Since sexually explicit media is defined as content featuring nudity and/or sexual acts, ads that did not feature people, or those containing non-sexually explicit imagery, were excluded (n=104), such as sexual performance enhancing drugs, non-sexual products, and ads only containing text. Video ads, which can be clicked on and off, were also excluded as the study aimed to understand unintentional exposure to ad content. Ads featuring Asian men (n=3) were excluded from analyses due to the low prevalence of these ads. In order to analyze the association of skin colour to the themes and behaviors featured, ads featuring men in which the skin colour of the models could not be determined (n=14) were also excluded from analyses.

Procedures

Standard methods for content analysis (Krippendorff 2004; Cowan 2002; Downing et al. 2013) were used to develop a coding scheme, which involved the viewing of a selection of advertisements appearing on the website prior to data collection in order to iteratively develop the codebook. During this initial phase, an ethnically diverse, 4 person study team reviewed a selection of 50 ads to identify potential codes for content of interest. Based on

the preliminary review of the ads, a codebook was developed that included a series of thematic and behavioural codes. In creating the codebook, similar codes were grouped together, duplicate codes were collapsed and new codes were added for content that was not otherwise captured by existing codes. Themes and behaviors documented in prior research (Bull and McFarlane 2000; Paul, Ayala, and Choi 2010; Wilson et al. 2009; Klein 2008) and those cited as possible interests in the profiles of men using the site (e.g. “daddies,” “college,” “bears,” etc.) were used in the development of thematic labels and definitions. Each code in the codebook was methodically defined and collectively agreed upon (i.e., consensus) by study staff, including the primary coder, so that the coder was clear about the type of content that made up each code (Downing et al. 2013; Cowan 2002). When necessary, the coder consulted the study team during the coding phase and developed new codes for content that had not been identified during the preliminary review of the ads as well as resolved any ambiguous themes, behaviours, or characteristics to achieve consensus of coded themes.

During the preliminary phase, the primary coder logged onto the website several times a day throughout a 5 day period to determine if ads substantially varied according to the time of day (i.e., morning, afternoon, evening). The coder could not identify meaningful variability in the ads, such that the same type of ads could be seen in a single session as they could across multiple days and times. Thus, the primary coding of ads took place on a single day. Actor characteristics, ad themes, sexual text and imagery appearing in sexually explicit advertisements were dichotomously or categorically coded. Since advertisements are updated as a user clicks through the website, the coder clicked through the site until saturation occurred (i.e., ads became redundant). Overall, the study team viewed and coded over 15 hours of sexually explicit ads (5 hours in the preliminary coding phase and 10 hours in the primary coding phase).

Measures - Statistical Predictors

Advertisement Themes—Advertisements were dichotomously coded (yes/no) based on common themes: bears (i.e., heavy set, facial/body hair); college (i.e., advertises college, fraternity, school boy themes); daddies (i.e., older men, father-like); fetish (e.g. urination (‘water sports’), feces play (‘scat play’) or socks and feet, etc.); twink (i.e., young-looking, boy-like); and thug (i.e. Black masculinity and/or hip-hop style).

Skin colour of models/actors—Since the race/ethnicity of the models/actors could not be objectively determined, we subjectively coded their skin colour. Dichotomous variables were created based on the perceived skin colour of models featured and included ads with White men only (yes/no), Black men only (yes/no), Brown men only (yes/no), and ads featuring men of different skin tones (i.e., mixed ads; yes/no).

Measures – Primary Outcome

Sexual acts—The ads were dichotomously coded (yes/no) according to the sexual acts featured and included both non-penetrative sexual acts: ‘jerking off’ (i.e., self or mutual masturbation) and ‘rimming’ (i.e., oral anal sex) and penetrative sexual acts: ‘double penetration’ (i.e., the insertion of 2 penises into one man’s anus), group sex (i.e., orgies or

one person engaging in sexual acts with 2 or more people), and condomless sex (i.e., intercourse without a condom).

Data analysis

SAS version 9.3 statistical software was used to perform analyses (SAS Institute Inc. 2003). Univariable descriptive statistics were obtained for all variables (means, frequencies) stratified by skin colour (White only, Black only, Brown only, Mixed ads) and for the full sample. Crude unadjusted bivariate logistic regression analyses then explored associations between the ad themes and skin colour of the actors and depictions of condomless sex (primary outcome). Variables that were statistically significantly associated with condomless sex at the bivariate-level ($p < 0.05$) were retained in a final, multivariable logistic regression model. The final multivariable logistic regression model included skin colour (White Only ads, Black Only ads, Brown Only ads, Mixed ads), ad themes (bears, college and thug/macho), and sexual behaviours (group sex and double penetration) as predictors and depicting condomless sex (yes/no) as the primary outcome.

Results

Overall sample characteristics

Among the 217 pornographic ads analysed, 41% depicted White men, 20% Black men, 8% Brown men, and 31% Black men together with men of different races. Nearly half of the porn ads (45%) featured a thug theme and about a fifth (21%) featured a college theme. Condomless sex was the most commonly depicted sexual act (44%), followed by rimming (oral-anal sex; 29%), and group sex (18%) (Table 1).

The most commonly depicted theme among Black only, Brown only, and mixed skin colour ads was thug (66%, 59% and 85%, respectively), while college was the most frequently depicted theme for White only ads (34%). Condomless sex was the most commonly depicted act featured in Black only and mixed ads (70% and 71%, respectively), followed by rimming (41% and 42%, respectively). Ads featuring White men only or Brown men only tended to feature fewer high-risk sexual acts, relative to Black only and mixed ads, with only 17% of White only ads and 12% of Brown only ads featuring condomless sex.

Factors independently associated with depictions of condomless sex ads

In the final multivariable logistic regression model, three factors were independently associated with depiction of condomless sex (Table 2). Ads featuring only Black men and those featuring Black men with men of other skin colours had an increased odds of featuring condomless sex versus sex with a condom, compared to ads featuring White men only. Ads featuring a thug theme had nearly three times the odds of depicting condomless sex in comparison to those not featuring a thug theme.

Discussion

Using a content analysis of sexually explicit ads on a popular sex-seeking website for men who have sex with men, this study documents a variety of sexually explicit acts and themes

which appear to be racially stereotyped based on skin colour. Overall, 44% of ads featured condomless sex. However, when stratified by skin colour, ads featuring Black men alone or together with men of other skin tones were significantly more likely to depict condomless sex compared to ads featuring White or Brown men only. While these findings differ from previous studies of online and offline sexually explicit videos, which showed that condomless sex was less frequently depicted in sexually explicit media (34% and 18% respectively) (Downing et al. 2013; Grudzen et al. 2009), results are consistent with the anti-pornography discourse arguing that sexually explicit media breeds and reinforces racial and sexual stereotypes (Corneau and van der Meulen 2014; Fung 2005; Kendall and Funk 2004). These findings have implications for men who have sex with men who are unintentionally exposed to sexually explicit ads online.

Prior research documents that viewing sexually explicit media repeatedly can lead to the normalisation, acceptance, and integration of sexual risk activities into one's sexual practices (Kendall 2004; Weinberg et al. 2010; Kendall 2003; Morgan 2011). Such findings are particularly troublesome given that the ads sampled in this study more frequently depicted Black men engaging in condomless sex (70% in Black only ads and 71% in mixed ads) than ads featuring White (17%) and Brown men (12%) alone. While a 2012 meta-analysis showed that Black men who have sex with men have comparable rates of condom use as their White counterparts (Millett et al. 2012), some Black men who have sex with men still engage in risk behavior, with certain sub-groups facing unique barriers to condom usage. Indeed, research shows that social oppression (e.g., racism, homophobia, and poverty), psychological vulnerability (e.g., trauma), masculinity expectations, and lower peer norms around condom usage can pose elevated risk for engaging in sexual risk behaviors, particularly among young Black men who have sex with men (Huebner et al. 2013; Miller et al. 2013; Carlos et al. 2010; Fields et al. 2012; Hart, Peterson, and Team 2004). Young men who have sex with men also frequently use the Internet for sexual partner seeking (Garofalo et al. 2007; Bolding et al. 2007) and research documents the important role of the Internet as a source of sexual information for young men who have sex with men (Mustanski, Lyons, and Garcia 2010; Kubicek et al. 2011). Given prior research documenting the relationship between viewing condomless sex in sexually explicit media, and the heightened prevalence of condomless sex among men who have sex with men (Schrimshaw 2014; Downing et al. 2013; Eaton et al. 2012), our findings suggest that the frequent representation of Black men engaging in sexual risk behavior could serve to normalise condomless sex, reinforcing low peer norms around condom use and facilitating HIV risk taking, particularly for young Black men who have sex with men, who are already at heightened risk for HIV. Experimental research linking exposure to online sexually explicit ads to sexual risk behaviours is warranted.

Given the lack of research exploring sexually explicit content as it relates to race and skin colour, we examined sexually explicit ads according to the ad theme and skin colour of the actors featured. Our findings document stark differences in the variety of themes featuring Black men in comparison to White men. Specifically, we found that White men who have sex with men appeared in a variety of ad themes (e.g., bear, daddies, college, twink/femme, etc), while Black men who have sex with men were most frequently depicted in ads with a thug theme (66%), which promoted extreme physical fitness and an exaggerated sense of

masculinity. The diversity of body images depicted for White men may serve to affirm and validate multiple standards of beauty among White men, while for Black men, the limited ad themes and focus on thug masculinity not only provide a narrow depiction of Black identities, but perpetuate existing racialised sexual stereotypes and suggest that thug masculinity is normative for Black men in sexual contexts (which is not the case). Consumption of stereotyped imagery may have implications for the partners of Black men who could develop racialised and fetishised sexual expectations, in which they expect Black men to perform in sexual encounters (Paul, Ayala, and Choi 2010; Ro et al. 2013; Wilson et al. 2009). Moreover, the hypermasculine imagery depicted by Black models could also have the potential to induce psychological distress among Black men who view these depictions as subtle forms of racism (Paul, Ayala, and Choi 2010; Coltrane and Messineo 2000), as well as lead to a diminished sense of self-esteem among Black men who do not meet this stereotypical ideal of Black masculinity (Brennan et al. 2013; Wilson et al. 2009; Ro et al. 2013; Paul, Ayala, and Choi 2010; Icard 1986). Indeed, research among diverse male samples shows that men who are frequently exposed to sexually explicit media and other media depictions of an 'ideal' body image, experience higher levels of depression, muscle dissatisfaction, and social physique anxiety (Duggan and McCreary 2004; Agliata and Tantleff-Dunn 2004). Moreover, several studies have documented the association between negative body image and condomless sex among men who have sex with men (Moskowitz and Seal 2010; Blashill et al. 2013; Wilton 2009). Future research should explore the cognitions and behaviors of men who have sex with men who consume racialised sexually explicit media, which may inform both behavioral health and HIV prevention efforts.

Only 3 ads featured Asian men limiting our ability to conduct more extensive analyses. The lack of Asian men featured may have both positive and negative implications for Asian men who view these ads as well as their sexual partners. From a protective perspective, lack of ads featuring Asian men in stereotypical positions (e.g., 'bottom' or insertive partner) (Han 2008) may actually be beneficial for Asian men as their exclusion from ad imagery would limit the proliferation of sexualized, race-based stereotypes. However, the exclusion of Asian men from ads may also inadvertently signify and suggest that Asian bodies are somehow less valued sexually, such that their inclusion in ads meant to be sexually enticing is not warranted. The exclusion of Asian men from ads meant to arouse website visitors aligns with our previous research analyzing the racialised sexual preferences contained in member profiles, which showed that Asian men were the least preferred sexual partners compared to men of other races (White et al. 2014). Moreover, numerous studies have documented the discriminatory attitudes many men in the gay community hold towards Asian men, which not only place Asian men lower on the sexual hierarchy, but have been theorized to contribute to unsafe sexual practices among Asian men who have sex with men (Choi et al. 2013; Nemoto et al. 2003; Yoshikawa et al. 2004; Han 2008). Thus, the exclusion of Asian men in the ads sampled is consistent with the racial preferences and discriminatory attitudes that devalue Asian men in the sexual hierarchy and may have important implications for the mental and sexual health of Asian men who view sexual explicit advertisements online as well as their partners.

While researchers have overwhelmingly focused on the potential negative impact of sexually explicit media, the literature also documents the perceived benefits of sexually

explicit media for men who have sex with men. For example, Hald and colleagues (2013), in a 2013 cross-sectional study of men who have sex with men, found that 97% of participants reported positive effects of sexually explicit media consumption, such as increased knowledge of sex and identity, heightened sexual enjoyment, and improved attitudes toward sex. Other positive potential effects discussed in the literature include the role of male-male sexually explicit media as a form of resistance against homophobia and tool for gay men's liberation, the potential for sexually explicit media to validate one's sexual identity, and the use of sexually explicit media as a source of sexual health information (Kubicek et al. 2011; Hald, Smolenski, and Rosser 2013; Morrison 2004; Rosser et al. 2012; Corneau and van der Meulen 2014). Researchers looking to develop HIV prevention interventions for men who have sex with men might therefore consider harnessing the positive attributes of sexually explicit media in these interventions. To that end, we hypothesise that, just as the consumption of sexually explicit media portraying racial stereotypes and risky sexual behavior may negatively impact the norms and behaviors of those who consume it, sexually explicit media that features positive depictions of racially diverse actors engaging in sexual acts with condoms may have the potential to change condom norms among consumers. HIV prevention interventions that reinforce condom norms, body image acceptance, and diverse racial and sexual identities using sexually explicit media should therefore be explored and tested among men who have sex with men, with attention to addressing racialised stereotypes.

There were limitations to the present study. First, the study analysed sexually explicit content on a single sex-seeking website for men who have sex with men; thus, findings may not be generalisable to ads on other sex-seeking websites. Additionally, the determination of the skin colour of the men featured in the ads was subjective, and thus it is possible that misclassification bias of skin colour or skin colour may have occurred. The use of a single primary coder was a significant limitation in the current study. However, multiple staff members of diverse ethnicities and advanced training in qualitative methods were involved in creating the coding scheme. The primary coder was also highly knowledgeable in the subject matter which helps to ensure that the coding could be reproduced by a similarly knowledgeable coder (Campbell et al. 2013). Moreover, the single coder was able to discuss themes with other members of the study team to further improve reliability (Mama et al. 2014; Bernard and Ryan 2009). Lastly, as a content analysis of online profiles, this research was not conducted with members of the target audience themselves; thus, we are unable to assess the extent to which the viewing of sexually explicit ads actually influences the behavioural norms and practices of the men who view them. Mixed methods research that qualitatively and experimentally assesses the relationship between intentional and unintentional exposure to online sexually explicit media represents an important area for future research among men who have sex with men.

Despite these limitations, this report presents findings of the first known study to examine the behavioral, thematic, and individual characteristics of actors depicted in online sexually explicit advertisements appearing on a sex-seeking website for men who have sex with men. The documented sexual and thematic differences by skin colour highlight the negative attributes of online sexually explicit media that men who have sex with men may be unintentionally exposed to in online settings. Our findings provide a basis for the

investigation of the effects of such ads on the sexual norms and cognitions of Black- and other men who have sex with men exposed to online sexually explicit advertisements, as well as the future development of targeted interventions for this population.

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Table 1

Sexually explicit advertisements featuring Black only, White only, Brown- only and ads featuring a mix of Black, White and Brown skin coloured actors appearing on a sex-seeking website for men who have sex with men (n=217).

	WHITE ONLY (n=89)	BLACK ONLY (n=44)	BROWN ONLY (n=17)	MIX ADS ^a (n=67)	TOTAL (n=217)
THEMES	% (n/N)				
Bears	12 (11/89)	---	6 (1/17)	---	6 (12/217)
College	34 (30/89)	7 (3/44)	35 (6/17)	9 (6/67)	21 (45/217)
Daddies	9 (8/89)	---	---	---	4 (8/217)
Fetish	15 (13/89)	---	---	9 (6/67)	8 (19/217)
Thug	1 (1/89)	66 (29/44)	59 (10/17)	85 (57/67)	45 (97/217)
Twink	15 (13/89)	---	---	13 (9/67)	10 (22/217)
SEXUAL ACTS					
Non-Penetrative Sex Acts					
Jerking Off	2 (2/89)	18 (8/44)	6 (1/17)	3 (2/67)	6 (13/217)
Rimming	18 (16/89)	41 (18/44)	6 (1/17)	42 (28/67)	29 (63/217)
Penetrative Sex Acts					
Double Penetration	2 (2/89)	2 (1/44)	---	15 (10/67)	6 (13/217)
Group Sex	2 (2/89)	37 (16/44)	6 (1/17)	31 (21/67)	18 (40/217)
Condomless Sex	17 (15/89)	70 (31/44)	12 (2/17)	71 (48/67)	44 (96/217)

^aMixed Ads = a mix of Black, White and/or Brown-skinned male actors depicted

Note. Bears = heavy set men with facial/body hair; college = college, fraternity or school boy themes; Daddies = older men, father-like; fetish = urination, feces play, or sock/feet; twink = young, boy-like men; thug = Black masculinity/hip-hop culture

Table 2

Bivariate and multivariable logistic regression models examining associations between actor skin colour, ad theme, sexual acts and condomless sex (n=96) depicted in sexually explicit advertisements (n=217) on an MSM sex-seeking website.

OUTCOME: Condomless Sex (n=96)						
	Bivariate			Multivariable		
	OR	95%CI	P-value	OR	95%CI	P-value
SKIN COLOUR						
White Only Ads	1.00	---	---	1.00	---	---
Black Only Ads	11.76	5.01–27.60	<.0001	5.15	1.80–14.73	0.002
Brown Only Ads	0.66	0.14–3.18	0.60	0.31	0.02–1.76	0.19
Mixed Ads ^a	12.46	5.78–26.87	<.0001	3.81	1.28–11.30	0.02
AD THEMES						
Bears	0.11	0.01–0.83	0.03	0.30	0.03–3.69	0.35
College	0.38	0.18–0.79	0.01	1.44	0.56–3.67	0.45
Daddies	0.17	0.02–1.42	0.10	---	---	---
Fetish	0.42	0.15–1.21	0.11	---	---	---
Thu	7.70	4.20–14.13	<.0001	2.91	1.11–7.67	0.03
Twink	0.56	0.22–1.42	0.22	---	---	---
SEXUAL BEHAVIORS & RISK						
Rimming	1.01	0.56–1.83	0.97	---	---	---
Jerking Off	0.78	0.25–2.45	0.67	---	---	---
Group Sex	7.06	3.07–16.25	<.0001	2.34	0.88–6.21	0.09
Double Penetration	7.70	1.66–35.62	0.01	6.30	0.58–68.75	0.13

^a Mixed Ads = a mix of Black, White and/or Brown-skinned male actors depicted