

Your Favorite Italian Pornstar! Valentina Nappi, Onlyfans and the Platformization of Porn

Sofia Torre^a

Abstract

This article examines the relationship between pornographic transgression and the digital platforms through which it is articulated, with particular attention to OnlyFans and the porn star Valentina Nappi's OnlyFans profile. Combining reflections on the cultural positioning of pornography with the theoretical and methodological framework of celebrity studies, as well as with a critical analysis of feminist and postfeminist discourse on pornography, this article will first provide a historical and social overview of the pornification of the mainstream sphere and of feminist responses to pornography focusing on OnlyFans. OnlyFans is a digital patronage platform hosting over two million content creators who produce sexually explicit material for more than 130 million users. Creators retain a considerable degree of autonomy in determining pricing and terms of exchange, as users subscribe directly to individual creators in order to access their exclusive, paywalled, content. Valentina Nappi, who was introduced to pornography in 2011 by iconic Italian porn star Rocco Siffredi, is undoubtedly one of the most important Italian porn stars to date. Over the last decade, Nappi has also become a public figure of some relevance in Italian generalist media and popular culture, an intellectual engagement which earned her the moniker “intellectual pornstar”, reflecting her unique position at the intersection of adult entertainment and philosophical discourse. Combining reflections on the cultural positioning of pornography with the theoretical framework and methodology of celebrity studies, as well as with a critical analysis of feminist and postfeminist discourse on pornography, this article will first provide a historical and social overview of the mainstream sphere and of feminist responses to pornography focusing on OnlyFans. This article will first provide a historical and social overview of the pornification of the mainstream sphere and of feminist responses to pornography focusing on OnlyFans. Secondly, it will analyze the construction of Valentina Nappi's public image in the Italian context, drawing on a variety of sources, such as OnlyFans

^a University of Naples Federico II, Naples, Italy.

Corresponding author:
Sofia Torre
E-mail: sofia.torre.3.4@gmail.com

Received: 28 May 2025
Accepted: 27 January 2025
Published: 12 May 2026



Copyright rests with the author/s. This is an open access, peer reviewed article published under the Creative Commons License (CC BY 3.0).

productions, trade journals, mainstream media, public appearances, general press, and social media selected for their theoretical and historical relevance. Findings show Valentina Nappi's OnlyFans profile enables a reconceptualization of the star-as-celebrity within a historical and spatial framework, wherein the private sphere becomes a site of public and intellectual debate. In this context, the figure of the porn performer semantically overlaps with the "legitimate" public persona of the star.

Keywords: platformization, OnlyFans, celebrity, stardom, Valentina Nappi, convergence.

1. Introduction

Transgression, as both an idea and a set of practices, exists only as a result of a constant interplay between what is deemed normal and what is relegated to the illicit. In this sense, conformity to social conventions depends on the illicit, the unacceptable, and the perverse for its very existence. This boundary work unfolds in highly complex ways and is intrinsic to the mechanisms of representation and meaning-making. As Durkheim (2016) would suggest, even in a society of saints there must be sinners to uphold the norms: the very existence of norms creates pressures toward deviance. In most societies there are "liminal," in-between zones where inversion, transgression and resistance have been tolerated if not celebrated (Turner, 1969), one of which is pornography. The term transgression, implying infringement, deviation, non-conformity, or violation (Walsh, 2014), is frequently employed in sexual discourse to denote or market novelty and change. The concept of transgression itself is central to feminist thought, insofar as it serves to dismantle the structural and discursive exploitation and oppression of women and marginalized populations. Pornographic transgression in the digital era increasingly takes the form of a regulated transgression, shaped by platform-specific affordances and constraints. Within Nappi's pornographic context, as this essay intends to demonstrate, the recourse to transgression as a strategy of attraction stems from the convergence of pornographic obscenity with political and cultural positions regarded as dissonant with respect to the paradigms of bodily self-determination and the overcoming of the male gaze that are central to feminist critique. Drawing on Butler's claim that there are forms of repetition capable of displacing and reconfiguring heterosexual and phallic conventions, it can be hypothesized that the repetition and subsequent standardization of practices and aesthetics once considered underground and transgressive have

Your Favorite Italian Pornstar! Valentina Nappi, Onlyfans and the
Platformization of Porn
Sofia Torre

led to a redefinition of the very concept of sexual and pornographic transgression.

By combining reflections on the cultural positioning of pornography with the theoretical framework and methodological tools of celebrity studies, as well as with a critical engagement with feminist and postfeminist discourses on pornography, the article first offers a historical and social overview of the pornification of the mainstream sphere and of feminist responses to pornography, with a specific focus on OnlyFans. It then examines the construction of Valentina Nappi's public image in the Italian context, drawing on a range of sources, including OnlyFans productions, trade journals, mainstream media, public appearances, the general press, and social media, selected for their theoretical and historical relevance. The theoretical perspective used to achieve this goal draws on that developed by Richard Dyer in his now classic studies of film stardom (Maina & Zecca, 2024, p. 2) and on Christine Geraghty's subsequent classifications.

2. Theoretical framework

2.1 *Pornography and platforms: practices, customs and cultural changes*

As a genre of cultural expression, pornography has always been mediated by specific forms of media, and its meanings and interpretations must be understood within their historical context (Langman, 2004, p. 181). During the 1980s and the 1990s, the emergence of feminist pornography constituted a major cultural phenomenon, with pioneering initiatives such as Femme Productions, *On Our Backs*, and Fatale Video profoundly reshaping the media representation of female porn performers. After the Feminist Porn Wars there is an expectation that porn stars who are inserted into the public cultural debate will present their relationship with sex in a joyful and healthy way, seeking to normalize female sexuality and desire. Stardom in adult media has always operated at the uneasy intersection of visibility and disposability, fantasy and labour, recognition and refusal. Following Kipnis (1996), Williams (1989), and Langman (2004), who argue that cyberporn as cultural texts can be read and decoded as texts concerning not only sexuality, but deconstructing the processes of coding and decoding that illuminate society as a whole (Langman, 2004, p. 183), OnlyFans pornography can thus be understood as a form of cultural production and discourse that not only constructs but also interprets sexuality and the idea of transgression associated with it. Taken together, these perspectives allow pornography to be approached simultaneously as a media form, a cultural discourse, a labor practice, and a site of political negotiation.

The construction of transgression on OnlyFans is inseparable from the elevation of the ordinary described by sociologist Joshua Gamson, as sexual self-exposure becomes both a cultural discourse and a form of micro-celebrity labor within a participatory digital economy. In the course of this shift Gamson maintains that with the advent of digital media that allow almost everyone to participate, ordinary people have been elevated to celebrity status and bona fide celebrities have in turn become more ordinary-like in the ways in which they utilize digital media. In his essay *The Unwatched Life Is Not Worth Living: The Elevation of the Ordinary in Celebrity Culture*, Gamson identifies four analytic categories through which celebrity can be understood: as a commodity system, an industry, a set of narratives, and a participatory culture. A celebrity may be conceived as part of a commodity system, valued primarily for their capacity to attract and mobilize attention, a logic exemplified by appearances in newspapers, on social media, or on television. The celebrity's commercial entanglements stem from their role in promoting products and services, whether through advertising campaigns or the marketing of music albums or films. Within this attention-driven economy, pornographic representation increasingly participates in the same circuits of visibility, branding, and commercial exploitation that structure broader celebrity culture.

The fragmentation and integration of pornographic imagery into mainstream cultural forms, or pornographication, has been accelerated by the rise of digital media and online platforms (Attwood, 2011; Boyle, 2010; Dines, 2010; McNair, 2002, 2013; Paasonen, Nikunen, & Saarenmaa, 2007), which have reshaped both production and distribution practices. As digital media emerged as qualitatively distinct from older forms such as television and print (Manovich, 2002), pornography was similarly expected to adapt to new technological and cultural conditions. In this context, Gamson's framework offers a useful lens to analyze pornographic stardom: celebrities can be understood as a commodity system, an industry, a set of narratives, and a participatory culture. In particular, celebrities are valued for their capacity to attract and mobilize attention through newspapers, social media, or television, and their commercial engagements often revolve around product promotion. Pornographic performers increasingly operate within these same circuits of visibility, branding, and commercial exploitation, highlighting the convergence of adult content and broader celebrity culture in digital economies. In *Rethinking the Distinctions between Old and New Media* (2019), Lesage and Natale argue that the significance of media oldness and newness emerges at the intersection of two complementary perspectives on media change. The first, which they define as the life history approach, conceives media as materially embedded in time and to be understood through their shifting cultural and social characterizations. The second, described as the narrative approach, reminds us that media are not

Your Favorite Italian Pornstar! Valentina Nappi, Onlyfans and the
Platformization of Porn
Sofia Torre

only technical systems and material objects but also cultural constructions that shape and inform perceptions and representations of media and social change. Situated within this framework, the understanding of pornography tends to reproduce an interpretative lens that is attentive not only to the evolution of its economic model but also to its purported political and social progress. While Gerard Damiano's *Deep Throat*, often regarded as the first true pornographic film, dates back to 1972, it was in the 1980s that figures such as Candida Royalle, Veronica Hart, and Annie Sprinkle began to actively engage with the porn industry, specifically addressing female audiences and couples. Even within a pro-sex feminist framework, pornography must undergo transformation to be accessible to women, at least in terms of production practices and empowerment. According to Linda Williams (1989, p. 61), pornography conceived, created, and produced by women may represent only a brief interlude in the broader history of hardcore. Efforts to reclaim pornography, such as those by Femme Productions, are ultimately fragile, being too artistic, idealistic, and complex for the male audience and too hardcore for the culturally hesitant female audience. Nevertheless, a notable number of (former) performers continue to produce their own content. Dana Vespoli, for example, creates her work in collaboration with Evil Angel, while Joanna Angel founded her own production company, Burning Angel, in 2002. These practices prefigure the dynamics of platforms such as OnlyFans, where production and empowerment are reconfigured by the platform's architecture and by the direct, participatory relationship it enables between creators and their audiences, highlighting a shift in how control, labor, and agency are distributed in contemporary pornographic media.

The definition of pornography, its practices, customs and myths have been the subjects of constant debate particularly in branches of feminist thought and activism. In the 1960s pornography was often seen as a signifier of sexual freedom with the potential to ensure feminist sexual liberation. The division centred on the defence of pornography as a modality of freedom of expression against those who criticise it for its connection to the exploitation of women's bodies, which still continues today, has become the battlefield between anti-pornography feminists and pro-sex feminists since the 1980s, a conflict that became so acrimonious it was described as the 'Sex Wars'. According to anti-pornography feminists, the subordination of women within patriarchal structures is both the root cause and a direct consequence of their depiction as degraded in pornographic content. In contrast, feminists critical of anti-porn stances contend that efforts to censor pornography risk perpetuating a legacy of female sexual repression, effectively silencing women's sexual expression at a historical moment when they are only beginning to engage in discourses traditionally dominated by men (Ellis et al., 1986, p. 6). Currently, within anti-

porn discourse, pornography is frequently framed as a social problem, particularly in popular media and policy debates, often linked to concerns about obscenity or the purported harms it inflicts on women's status. Among its alleged faults, mainstream pornography is often accused of imposing unattainable beauty standards on women. Mainstream bodily ideals often conflict with prevailing notions of authenticity, since it favours silicone implants, taut aerobicised loins, fake tan, false nails, big hair and Brazilian waxes, over the 'natural' attributes of everyday women" (Paasonen 2014, p. 21). At present the focus seems to be mostly on how porn might operate as a form of 'sex education' and on the possibility to allow a different, feminist pornography which draws on principles like authentic and diverse representation of bodies, genders, fantasies and sexuality, and fair-trade production (Maina, 2014). These debates, however, acquire their full significance only when situated within the platformized media environments that increasingly structure pornographic production, visibility, and claims to empowerment.

2.2 Pornography, empowerment, and platform agency

In order to assess whether porn-making can indeed operate as a site of empowerment, it is necessary to shift the analytical focus from normative debates to the media infrastructures, economic models, and participatory logics that currently shape the adult industry. As exemplified by figures such of Erika Lust¹ and the emergence of feminist pornography, the discursive production surrounding the possibilities of a more ethical form of pornography is often interwoven with terms drawn from the semantic register of innovation and novelty. To be considered "good," pornography and its channels must be revolutionary, a trait that aligns it with the broader technological and media landscape recognized as legitimate. In *Convergence Culture* (2006), Henry Jenkins theorizes the evolving media landscape as shaped by the interplay between legacy and emergent media forms, corporate strategies, and participatory audience practices. Jenkins conceptualizes "convergence" not merely as a technological phenomenon, but as a cultural logic that governs the circulation of media content across platforms and the ways in which audiences actively engage with, reinterpret, and contribute to media narratives. Central to his framework are the dynamics of participatory culture and collective intelligence, whereby users collaboratively produce, remix, and make sense of content. In this paradigm, consumers (namely, fans), producers, and media converge to

¹ See, for instance, the official website of Erika Lust, whose homepage proclaims: "Together we are changing the rules of pornography" <https://erikalust.com/>.

Your Favorite Italian Pornstar! Valentina Nappi, Onlyfans and the
Platformization of Porn
Sofia Torre

render the production of pornographic content a bidirectional process, grounded in personalization and the active participation of all users. The adult entertainment landscape reflects Jenkins's theory: OnlyFans interacts with and builds upon prior technological and cultural sedimentations, reconfiguring the circulation of pornographic content through participatory and personalized logics. At the same time, as Foucault (2013) famously argued, modern discourses on sexuality are grounded in a persistent tendency to conflate sexual acts with stable identities. Within platformized environments, this convergence between technological infrastructures and sexual discourse contributes to the production of subjectivities in which practices, desires, and self-representations are increasingly articulated as coherent and marketable identities. The technological, economic, and sociological changes following the 'digital turn' have radically reshaped the structure of the twentieth-century pornosphere. In particular, these transformations have given rise to three distinct yet closely interconnected processes that permeate and inform today's pornographic system: the flow of content across multiple platforms, the cooperation among various sectors of the media industry, and the migration of audiences in constant search of new entertainment experiences. The most well-known example is Pornhub, a platform that adapts and reconfigures YouTube's technological interface and economic strategy within the pornographic sphere, offering its users streaming and video-sharing services for hardcore content, updated to the logics of Web 2.0 and the 'convergent' episteme (Rodeschini & Zecca, 2019, p. 102). As Rodeschini and Zecca write, porn tube sites such as Pornhub introduce into the adult industry the on-demand culture theorized by Chuck Tryon, breaking down access barriers to pornographic content in order to make it available anytime/anywhere—producing significant consequences for the porn industry as a whole. For instance, tube sites such as Pornhub leverage the technological innovations of Web 2.0 to establish a truly disruptive business model, effectively bringing an end to the pornographic oligopoly that had dominated the industry since the early 1970s. According to Rodeschini and Zecca, the disruptive nature of tube sites is attributable to three main factors: first, their management by information technology companies operating outside the traditional adult industry, which reaggregate and disseminate pre-existing content, thereby shifting the economic center of gravity toward the (dis)intermediated distribution of pornographic products; second, a free-access model entirely sustained by advertising from specialized sponsors; and third, their reliance on an "informal economy" framework (Rodeschini & Zecca, 2019, p. 103).

Porn tube sites, which not only challenge traditional porn companies for control over users within the conventional market but also compete among themselves for greater market share, host two main types of content: amateur

(or purportedly amateur) videos and videos sourced from DVDs and paywalled sites, including, since 2016, content from OnlyFans. While OnlyFans and MindGeek operate within the same digital pornography ecosystem, they represent fundamentally different economic and cultural paradigms. MindGeek, a vertically integrated conglomerate controlling numerous tube sites (e.g., Pornhub, YouPorn) and production studios, exemplifies the industrial centralization of adult content. In contrast, OnlyFans promotes a decentralized, platform-based model in which individual creators retain direct control over their content, monetize through subscriptions, and cultivate parasocial relationships with their audiences. Rather than competing directly with traditional production studios or tube platforms, OnlyFans challenges the ethical and structural foundations of the conventional porn industry by foregrounding creator agency, consent, and self-branding. This divergence reflects a broader shift in digital media economies from mass distribution to personalized, participatory, and reputation-driven forms of engagement. Taken together, these perspectives frame digital pornography not simply as a site of sexual representation, but as a convergent media system in which technological affordances, economic models, and discourses of empowerment intersect to redefine agency, labor, and legitimacy within the adult industry.

2.3 Star Theory, Micro-Celebrity and Porn

In her 2000 essay *Re-examining Stardom: Questions of Texts, Bodies and Performances*, Christine Geraghty, drawing on Richard Dyer's categories of ordinariness and extraordinariness, identifies three levels of stardom within the entertainment industry: the celebrity, the professional, and the performer. The *star-as-celebrity* reflects a notion of fame tied to popularity and newsworthiness (understood as being "worthy" of media attention), where the public is primarily interested in the star's private life. The *star-as-professional* constructs their relationship with the audience through a specific alignment of star image and cinematic context, whereby an actor becomes identified with a particular type of character or film genre. Lastly, the *star-as-performer* gains recognition through an emphasis on acting talent and performance skills deemed exceptional. Within the limits of this taxonomy, and by applying categories from the entertainment world to that of pornography, Geraghty's description of the star-as-celebrity and star-as-performer proves useful for framing Valentina Nappi's particular form of stardom within the adult industry, particularly in relation to OnlyFans. Valentina Nappi's celebrity should be situated within a context of technological and social transformations marked by an intense competition for the media's extratextual attention. While film celebrity, like that

Your Favorite Italian Pornstar! Valentina Nappi, Onlyfans and the
Platformization of Porn
Sofia Torre

of figures from sport, television, fashion, and music, can be based primarily on the biographical element, highlighted by the press and other media through coverage of leisure and private life, Valentina Nappi's status emerges from a distinctive combination: her fame as a pornographic performer, marked by a specific cultural capital and political positioning. According to Geraghty (2000), television celebrities can be contrasted with "professionals," whose fame is grounded in their work and in a consistent public persona, with little emphasis on private life. The professional lacks the double image characteristic of the star; however, star status may be attained when a 'biography' is made visible to the audience. The construction of celebrity status is embedded in a cultural process involving strategies of visibility and self-branding, functioning as a flexible construct (Marshall, 1997) that must be continuously renegotiated in relation to transformations in the media system. Technological change, from television to social media, reshapes the mechanisms through which celebrity is produced, compelling famous individuals to constantly update their strategies of visibility. Film stardom must therefore be understood within the broader media drive to create and exploit the status of fame across a wide range of entertainment formats (Geraghty, 2000). Film, while a medium in its own right, also becomes a site to be mined by other media. However, cinema is a relatively inefficient means of producing fame when compared with other formats. Film production is slow, and although this can generate anticipation and attract large audiences for opening weekends, the intervals between films for individual stars can be very long. OnlyFans fits into a broader context of micro-celebrity creation, in which individuals produce public versions of themselves and monitor these productions on a daily basis. Within this context, the relationship between stardom and micro-celebrity becomes analytically productive.

3. Valentina Nappi: a star-as-false-micro-celebrity

By drawing on star theory, celebrity studies, and platform studies, this study adopts a qualitative and interpretive approach to read Valentina Nappi as a paradigmatic case of what might be defined as a "star-as-false-micro-celebrity": a celebrity figure who adopts the stylistic, relational, and affective codes of micro-celebrity culture without sharing its structural conditions of emergence. While micro-celebrity typically presupposes the gradual accumulation of visibility through participatory and bottom-up dynamics, Nappi's platform performance is grounded in pre-existing stardom and institutional recognition. Pornography has long been evaluated through its alleged failure to conform to the standards of legitimate cinema: excessively explicit, affectively flat, and mechanically repetitive. Its performers, accordingly, are seldom granted the

complexity attributed to “real” actors, and porn performance is frequently dismissed as mere physical display. Yet, as this issue suggests, a different understanding emerges: porn actors construct personas, shape genre conventions, and manage affective and aesthetic labour in ways that exceed the reductive notion of “simply having sex for the camera” (Smith, 2012, p. 194). Stardom in pornographic media, therefore, concerns not only visibility, but the ways in which expressivity is crafted, performed, and rendered meaningful for audiences (Attwood et. al., 2025). Related to the belief that the Internet has become a stage is the argument that a successful person does not merely occupy a place on that stage, but actively manages her online self with the care and consistency historically associated with those who conceive themselves as a product: artists and entrepreneurs. Within this framework, micro-celebrity emerges as a strategic form of self-branding through which performers recalibrate their public persona in order to access and position themselves within new platform-based markets such as OnlyFans, where visibility, intimacy, and entrepreneurial self-management converge as central resources of economic and symbolic value. To ask what a porn star does is simultaneously to interrogate what counts as performance, how a person is defined, and what forms of labour erotic affect entails. Within this analytical framework of stardom as performed and affective labour, stardom in pornographic media concerns not only visibility, but the ways in which expressivity is crafted, performed, and rendered meaningful for audiences (Attwood et. al., 2025). If the Internet may be understood as a stage on which successful subjects actively manage their online selves with the care and consistency of those who conceive themselves as a product, micro-celebrity can be approached here as a methodological lens through which to analyze contemporary strategies of self-branding and persona management. The micro-celebrity repertoire, understood in terms of interaction, intimacy, and authenticity, thus functions in this study not as a mode of ascent, but as an analytical device for examining the recalibration of an already consolidated celebrity persona, enabling established performers to reposition themselves within new platform-based markets such as OnlyFans, where affective labour, entrepreneurial self-management, and platform visibility converge. Within this hybrid context, Valentina Nappi employs strategies and tools typical of micro-celebrity branding. One of the ways in which audiences demonstrate their engagement is through their responses to micro-celebrities; unlike most traditional celebrities, there is an expectation that micro-celebrities will interact directly with fans and followers by replying to comments. Along with links to other elements that structured the meaning of the public individual through an array of social and cultural markets, social media sites have places and locations for the posting of photos, videos, comments and interpersonal forms of exchange.

Your Favorite Italian Pornstar! Valentina Nappi, Onlyfans and the
Platformization of Porn
Sofia Torre

Specifically, in order to become recognizable in the market and the reference star for certain online male communities, generally enthusiasts associated with the nerd universe, Nappi leverages the cultural capital of (anti)feminist debate, presenting herself as a disruptive and countercultural figure, while exploiting the interactions, overlaps, and intersections between alt-porn strategies and mainstream aesthetics. This strategy of cultural positioning is intelligible only when situated within the transformation of social networking sites into social media platforms (Helmond, 2015), a process that has reconfigured both participatory practices and the very conditions of celebrity. Within a regime of diffuse, platformized celebrity, the cultural capital of feminist discourse is rendered legible, exchangeable, and monetizable as part of self-branding practices, allowing figures such as Nappi to articulate countercultural stances while simultaneously securing mainstream visibility through the strategic intersection of alternative aesthetics and the algorithmic logics of attention. At the same time, the platformization of celebrity redistributes the labor of image management from institutional structures to individual performers. While traditional celebrities can rely on professional teams of public relations experts, micro-celebrities are required to manage their online presence largely on their own, rendering their self-branding strategies, such as the mobilization of feminist discourse, particularly susceptible to audience scrutiny, volatility, and backlash. On this basis, stardom is approached not as a fixed status, but as a discursive and platform-mediated process that can be reconstructed through qualitative textual and media analysis. Taken together, these theoretical perspectives provide the analytical framework through which Valentina Nappi's form of stardom will be examined in the following sections. Drawing on star theory, celebrity studies, and platform studies, this study adopts a qualitative and interpretive approach to the analysis of Nappi's public persona, focusing on the discursive construction of fame, transgression, and cultural legitimacy across mainstream and digital media. The analysis is based on a selected corpus of interviews, journalistic articles, and media appearances from mainstream Italian outlets (2013–2021), treated as analytical probes to reconstruct how Nappi's celebrity is articulated, negotiated, and stabilized at the intersection of pornography, feminist discourse, and platformized visibility. Using qualitative textual analysis and discourse-oriented close reading, these sources are approached not as straightforward biographical evidence, but as methodological touchstones that reveal the strategies through which Nappi manages visibility, affective engagement, and platform-mediated authority. The popularity of Valentina Nappi, widely regarded as one of the most acclaimed Italian porn actresses on the international adult film scene (Fantini, 2024), lends itself to a double reading. On the one hand, pornographic transgression elevates her to the status of an icon of hardcore cinema, enabling her to appear in

mainstream media as a public commentator on issues related to sexuality and the staging of obscenity, and situating her within a broader process of normalization. On the other hand, her popularity is simultaneously sustained by an ambivalent cultural framework within which Nappi positions herself as a disseminator of ideas and political stances concerning feminism and sexuality. Valentina Nappi's public persona can be approached as a paradigmatic case of a "star-as-false-micro-celebrity": a celebrity figure who adopts the stylistic, relational, and affective codes of micro-celebrity culture without sharing its structural conditions of emergence. Following this line of argument, I will not examine Nappi's OnlyFans profile per se, but rather approach it as the culmination of the development and strategic positioning of her public persona and, in turn, as an analytical site through which the very concept of transgression is reconfigured through her sustained practices of cultural mediation on issues such as feminism and sexuality. To substantiate this claim, the following section conducts a qualitative textual analysis of materials drawn from the mainstream press, specifically interviews and journalistic articles, in order to reconstruct the discursive trajectories through which Nappi's public persona has been articulated and legitimized.

3.1 Ambivalent Stardom: porn, feminism, and cultural mediation

Over the last decade, Nappi has also become a public figure of some relevance in Italian generalist media and popular culture, as evidenced by her feminist intellectual role in the Italian political, cultural, and philosophical magazine *MicroMega*, where she has been a columnist from 2014 to 2017. This ambivalent, and at times reactionary² framework is not merely implicit in Nappi's public persona but is explicitly articulated in her media interventions, most notably in an interview published on *Vice* on 12 July 2013 (Leonardon, 2013). In this interview, Valentina Nappi articulates a polemical position that she frames as a struggle for what she terms "true gender equality" (in Italian: "la vera parità fra i sessi"). In this context, she explicitly distances herself from strands of feminism that, in her view, operate through the moralization and

²Nappi articulates a sharply critical view of what she perceives as a widespread misconception within the Italian context regarding erotic performance and female sexuality. She argues that many young women approach the adult industry under the illusion that mere possession of a female body is sufficient to guarantee success and economic reward. According to Nappi, this belief reduces eroticism to a purely anatomical fact and ignores the affective, performative, and imaginative dimensions that constitute sexual appeal (Leonardon, 2013).

Your Favorite Italian Pornstar! Valentina Nappi, Onlyfans and the
Platformization of Porn
Sofia Torre

criminalization of male sexual desire. Nappi argues that certain feminist discourses foster a climate of guilt and fear among men, whom she describes as increasingly apprehensive about expressing sexual attraction, even in private communication. She characterizes this climate as a form of gender-based violence, insofar as it produces anxiety, shame, and self-censorship around what she presents as “normal” male sexual impulses. In doing so, Nappi advances a conception of sexual liberation that positions itself against what she interprets as punitive or moralistic feminism. Her critique culminates in an explicit analogy between contemporary feminist movements and religious sexual repression, likening feminist condemnations of male desire to conservative Christian narratives that stigmatize female sexuality. One year later, Nappi reiterates and further radicalizes this position in an interview published on *Wired* (2025), where her critique of feminism becomes even more explicit. On this occasion, she characterizes feminism as a form of “reverse racism,” arguing that the very category of feminism is conceptually flawed and politically obsolete. Drawing an analogy with what she terms “whitism” or “blackism,” Nappi contends that contemporary struggles for equality should no longer be articulated through gender-based movements. Instead, she proposes “anti-sexism” as the only legitimate and meaningful framework for addressing gender relations in the present. By drawing on her experience as a porn star to legitimize, in the eyes of the public, her position as an expert on sexuality and gender, Nappi reinforces her self-positioning as a contrarian voice within debates on gender and sexuality, while simultaneously aligning her discourse with a postfeminist rhetoric that frames feminism as exclusionary, divisive, and anachronistic. In doing so, Nappi further consolidates the ambivalent cultural framework that underpins her public persona, oscillating between claims to universal equality and the rejection of feminist politics as such. While, on the one hand, Nappi is celebrated in specialized magazines as one of the most talented and controversial performers on the international scene, on the other her self-narrative appears to echo key tropes of the second wave of Gail Dines’s anti-porn discourse (Smith et al., 2012, p. 58), combining pornographic transgression with a reassuring framework grounded in notions of exceptionality, the purported end of the battle between the sexes, and the exhaustion of desire. This ambivalent configuration of pornographic transgression can be productively read through Gayle Rubin’s influential theorization of sexual hierarchies. As Rubin famously argued in 1984, much of the discourse surrounding sexuality is organized around the metaphor of a “charmed circle,” which designates forms of sexual practice deemed socially legitimate and culturally privileged. From this perspective, Nappi’s self-narrative does not simply position pornography in opposition to sexual normativity, but rather works to symbolically reintegrate pornographic transgression into a

reassuring and depoliticized framework that remains compatible with the values of the normative center. As evidenced by the interviews published in *Vice*, Zon (Manfredelli, 2019) and *Wired*, Nappi tends to frame sexual desire within a pathologizing semantic register, drawing on a lexicon borrowed from medical and therapeutic discourse, in open contrast to the tenets of feminist pornography, which has traditionally conceptualized sex as a “healthy,” positive, and emancipatory practice. This cultural and feminist context further illuminates the strategic positioning of Nappi as a public figure whose conservative transgression negotiates the limits of sexual normativity while leveraging the affordances of platformized celebrity. This discursive configuration also resonates with broader transformations within contemporary anti-porn feminism. As Smith and Attwood wrote in 2012, although the new anti-porn movement builds on the central tenets of Andrea Dworkin’s (1979) analysis of the misogyny and cruelty of pornographers, it places particular emphasis on the unprecedented impact of the Internet. Antiporn feminism, which re-emerged in the 2010s, frames pornography as “sexually explicit material that sexualizes hierarchy, objectification, submission, and/or violence,” while situating such definitions within the broader context of an increasingly “pornified” or “sexualized” culture.

3.2 *Valentina Nappi as-a-pop culture icon*

Since her debut, Nappi has become a bona fide international porn superstar, thanks in part to her collaboration with the “Italian Stallion” Siffredi (Maina & Zecca, 2024, p.1). Valentina Nappi’s celebrity status is mirrored in the content featured on her OnlyFans profile, where the interplay between self-promotion, sexual explicitness, and media-savvy curation reinforces her public persona. By offering, among its contents, video and photographic material not dissimilar from that found on platforms such as Brazzers or Evil Angel—and at the same time evoking the aesthetic and stylistic conventions of advertising content on mainstream social media platforms like Instagram and Facebook—OnlyFans blurs the boundaries between commercial pornography and legitimized digital self-presentation. Drawing on the classification originally proposed by Linda Williams and subsequently adapted by Giovanna Maina and Federico Zecca in their analysis of Rocco Siffredi, it can be argued that Valentina Nappi, through her OnlyFans profile, simultaneously inhabits both the *ob/scene*—understood as “a separate and semi-hidden cultural universe in which pornography is by default confined” (Maina & Zecca 2024, p. 2)—and the *on/scene*—conceived as “a public space in which the existence of pornography is acknowledged and partly legitimized” (Maina & Zecca, 2024, p.

Your Favorite Italian Pornstar! Valentina Nappi, Onlyfans and the
Platformization of Porn
Sofia Torre

3). Stardom has been a key concept in the development of film theory and cinema has long been the key site to test and prove stardom (Geraghty, 2000, p. 98). Stardom must therefore be understood in light of the increasingly pronounced tendency within the media to construct and exploit the status of fame across a wide range of entertainment formats. As Christine Gledhill wrote in 1991, while other entertainment industries may manufacture stars, cinema still provides the ultimate confirmation of stardom. Suppose that stardom becomes integrated into the gig economy, what are the implications of the social, cultural, and economic hierarchies underlying the production of these audiovisual texts? Can platforms such as OnlyFans still provide the ultimate confirmation of stardom³, as cinema once have always done?

While Nappi occupies a highly privileged position within the platform economy, her case nonetheless offers a revealing vantage point from which to observe the hierarchical and unequal distribution of visibility, income, and symbolic capital that structures platformized sex work. Given the socioeconomic dynamics of platformization, the benefits of stardom are unevenly allocated along hierarchical lines. Since gig-economy work is often undertaken by individuals who are already in economically precarious conditions (Zwick, 2018), workers on platforms such as OnlyFans are particularly vulnerable due to the absence of traditional workplace protections and benefits. Their dependence on the platform to secure income places them in a structurally precarious position, in which the company has little incentive to improve conditions or offer more equitable revenue-sharing models to creators. Despite the fact that online sex work can offer performers earning opportunities not afforded by studio-produced pornography, particularly to those who face discrimination in the hiring practices and payment models of the conventional sex industry, such as Black and/or transgender performers (Berg, 2021, pp. 57–59; Shane, 2021), structural forms of discrimination persist, especially in the realm of what, to paraphrase Christine Geraghty, we can term the online off-stage dimension of stardom: the social, cultural, and economic

³In *Storia della fama*, Alessandro Lolli (2025) explores the various ways in which the Western world has conceived and sustained ideas of glory, celebrity, and reputation, with particular emphasis on the current condition shaped by the explosion of networks and social media. In contrast to the twentieth-century need for public recognition, Lolli argues that the internet has overturned traditional hierarchies between the masses and the elite, radically transforming the very structure of the new media through social networks. Whereas in the age of Pop Art, Andy Warhol famously claimed that everyone would be famous for fifteen minutes, today—within the era of social media—everyone is famous to (at least) fifteen other people, but for a lifetime.

contexts that shape and constrain performers' visibility and value beyond their performances.

According to literary critic Gianluigi Simonetti (2018) and to writer Alessandro Lolli (2025), mass fame as shaped by social media is no longer a relatively fleeting and inherently elitist condition tied to a specific work; rather, it becomes a constant and pervasive mode of social interaction. Regardless of one's actual following, all relationships we engage in on social networks—including those with our closest contacts—are stylized by the mechanisms of fame and permeated by its structures, such as the imperative to perform publicly, to be seen, and to be judged by an audience. If celebrity is understood as a form of fame primarily grounded in what occurs outside the professional sphere—constructed through gossip, media coverage, and television reports—then in Valentina Nappi's case, the private dimension typically associated with celebrity is replaced by a public exposure centered on political positioning, intellectual aspirations, and (anti)feminist activism.

3.3 Valentina Nappi's public sphere

Building on the ambivalent and strategically positioned public persona discussed in the previous sections, Valentina Nappi's star image in the public sphere appears considerably more articulated and multifaceted than her strictly pornographic one⁴. Moreover, the construction of Nappi as a mainstream celebrity is much more gradual and diversified than that of Nappi as a porn performer. This gradual process of mainstream legitimation relies less on the visibility of her sexual performances than on the strategic construction of an intellectual and political public persona. Over the last decade, Nappi has progressively reconfigured her public visibility by accumulating forms of cultural and intellectual capital traditionally inaccessible to porn performers. Her collaboration with the political and philosophical magazine *MicroMega* does not merely testify to her media diversification, but actively functions as a strategy of symbolic legitimation, repositioning her pornographic identity within the field of high-cultural and intellectual discourse. During this period, she contributed essays and blog posts that explored themes such as sexuality,

⁴ A similar reflection is offered by Giovanna Maina and Federico Zecca in relation to the celebrity of Rocco Siffredi. As the two scholars point out, the actor-director inhabits both the ob/scene, a separate and semi-hidden cultural universe to which pornography is by default confined, and the on/scene, a public space where the existence of pornography is acknowledged and partially legitimized (Maina & Zecca, 2024, p. 3).

Your Favorite Italian Pornstar! Valentina Nappi, Onlyfans and the
Platformization of Porn
Sofia Torre

feminism, and contemporary politics. Her writings often challenged conventional perspectives, advocating for concepts like “sexual communism” and critiquing societal norms. This intellectual engagement earned her the moniker “intellectual pornstar”, reflecting her unique position at the intersection of adult entertainment and philosophical discourse. In addition to her written contributions, Nappi participated in dialogues featured in MicroMega. For instance, in the 2014 issue titled “*Il corpo della donna tra libertà e sfruttamento*” (“*The female body between freedom and exploitation*”), she engaged in discussions on topics such as prostitution, the commodification of the female body, and the relationship between youth and sexuality. Through her role at MicroMega, Nappi utilized her platform to bridge the gap between adult entertainment and intellectual discourse, fostering conversations that challenged societal taboos and encouraged critical examination of cultural norms. Moreover, her participation as a speaker at cultural events, such as the 2018 TEDx in Bari, helped solidify this public image and construct a persona aligned with the broader Italian cultural imaginary. Porn stars, who have become famous through their profession, must justify their work in order to appear in the public sphere, explaining its social meaning and collective usefulness, and shifting the communicative focus from pornography’s entertainment purpose to that of a presumed social utility. As Maina and Zecca argue, within the pornographic sphere Rocco Siffredi’s star image is structured around two discursive axes, sexual prowess and performative excess, which identify him as a star-as-performer⁵ inextricably linked to categories of excess, perversion, and extremity (Maina & Zecca, 2024, p. 7). In the Italian context, Siffredi’s figure has crossed the boundaries of the pornographic sphere and gained market visibility within the legitimate public sphere, a trajectory strikingly similar to that followed by Valentina Nappi, whose public positioning openly contradicts paradigms traditionally associated with femininity and feminist advocacy. Such a tension applies both to Nappi as a feminist porn performer, who chooses to work with major production companies such as Evil Angel or Brazzers and engages in practices widely regarded as objectifying or degrading (double anal, anal gaping, interracial scenes, anal penetration), and to Nappi as an intellectual and public thinker, who frequently adopts a counter-current stance in public discourse, as exemplified by her outspoken critiques of figures such as Rocco Siffredi⁶.

⁵ The press acknowledges in Siffredi’s productions a specific, almost “authorial” style: his videos are seen as an “endless saga” in which it is not so much the title, the location or even the girls present that count, but rather his “verve and the personal slant” (Maina & Zecca, 2024, p. 7.)

⁶ See <https://www.today.it/tv/news/valentina-nappi-difende-rocco-siffredi.html>.

In 2018, as widespread curiosity about Valentina Nappi as a person began to grow, *Vice Italia*, the Italian edition of the renowned global media company originally founded in Canada, published an interview with the actress for its format *La prima volta* (The First Time) titled *Valentina Nappi's First Time With Porn*. The interview focused not only on her professional career but also on her personal background, as well as her intellectual and political views. Nappi discussed her hometown, Pompeii, describing it as ‘not a big city,’ and recalled episodes from her adolescence when she felt judged for dating ‘more than three boys a week,’ all while attempting to build a personal brand based on the idea of difference between herself and other women, emphasizing her transgressive nature. Emphasizing the differences between her own essence and ways of being and those of others is also useful to highlight the main distinction between her and other performers and directors, such as the Swedish feminist pornographer Erika Lust, whom she describes as “not interesting”. This focus on Valentina Nappi’s private life is also found in the namesake biopic by Monica Stambrini (1998) *Io sono Valentina Nappi*, which devotes a large section to topics such as friendship, lifestyle and love. Arguably, an intriguing aspect of *Io sono Valentina Nappi* lies in its unique format: it is a documentary interspersed with a sex scene that recalls a ‘real’ porn movie sequence because of Nappi’s presence. The documentary format draws a thin line between public and private: the familiar narration of sexual acts, fantasies, paraphilias, and fetishes transcends the sense of obscene, catapulting the viewer into an intimacy that follows the connotations of amateur porn. The notions of authenticity and realness, reminiscent of those found in amateur and gonzo porn, are reinforced by extradiegetic elements such as the soundtrack — featuring independent bands and artists like Bello Figo, Heroin in Tahiti, and Le Luci della Centrale Elettrica — which serve both as markers of her alterity and as signifiers of her ‘authenticity’. In *Io sono Valentina Nappi* indie music plays a key role in shaping Nappi’s brand identity, closely paralleling the deployment of “punkness” in alt porn. It lends a distinct “edge” to her persona (Maina, 2014), strengthens (self-)branding strategies (Biasin, Maina & Zecca, 2014), and projects a “rebellious” image onto both the modes of production and their cultural output (Attwood, 2014; Maina, 2014; Paasonen, 2014; Smith, 2014). The hybridization of the hardcore porn star persona with her appearances across various cultural and expressive domains — including mainstream cinema, the post-punk subculture, documentary filmmaking, and broader fields of artistic and video-artistic experimentation — should not be understood merely as a claim for normalization and visibility. This strategic hybridization of artistic, documentary, and pornographic registers invites a reconsideration of the moral hierarchies often associated with “alternative” or “independent” pornographic production, and of the ethical distinctions traditionally drawn between different modes of

Your Favorite Italian Pornstar! Valentina Nappi, Onlyfans and the
Platformization of Porn
Sofia Torre

pornographic legitimacy. Rather, it reflects a strategic construction of Valentina Nappi's public image, carefully adapted to the specific conventions and expectations of each medium. Audacia Ray (2007), in her analysis of feminist, queer, and independent online pornography, challenges the notion that some alt porn practices are inherently "better" — more alternative or radical — than others. She contends that free sites opposing consumer capitalism and encouraging open publishing do not necessarily constitute a superior form of pornography compared to subscription-based platforms. Rather, they reflect different models of production: some rooted in gift economies and voluntary labour, others based on monetary compensation. For Ray, judging pornographic sites by their accessibility alone is misleading, as it obscures the complexities of their ethical and operational frameworks.

4. Your favourite italian OnlyFanser

This paragraph explores how platformized pornography potentially reconfigures the boundaries between the normative and the illicit and the idea of transgression itself, focusing in particular on the ways in which OnlyFans has transformed both sex work and the representation of pornography. If Nappi's pornography is situated within major corporate structures and features traditionally mainstream practices (anal, blowjob, gangbang), on "legitimate" social media platforms such as Instagram and Facebook, the need to produce effective and medium-specific communication results in strategies that "take into account changes in the demographics and consumption habits of porn audiences" and evoke a hallmark of alt porn: the appeal to a specific reference community.

Naturally, such an appeal to a reference community does not extend to the entirety of the user base. OnlyFans is a digital patronage platform hosting over two million content creators who produce sexually explicit material for more than 130 million users. Creators retain a considerable degree of autonomy in determining pricing and terms of exchange. Users subscribe directly to individual creators in order to access their exclusive, paywalled content. According to Marie and Lippmann, Natalie Lawlor, and Christine E. Leistner, OnlyFans occupies a unique position at the intersection of digital sex work and social media, distinguished by its high degree of cultural assimilation. This assimilation has seemingly contributed to a reduction in the stigma traditionally associated with participation on the platform, allowing anyone with a smartphone or a small studio to become their own pornographer. In addition to downloading porn, users may upload and share their own image and video files, set up webcams, or gain a reputation as erotica authors. The platform sets

a firm set of rules and standards, shaping an ideal consumers'community. In doing so, Only Fans formalizes a sort of canon and helps to place platformized pornography within contemporary media landscape. Following Geraghty's classification, where actors become stars once they are discursivized, the *star-as-performer* emerges through the public and critical recognition of performative skills that verge on virtuosity (Geraghty 2000, 193). In Valentina Nappi's case, her distinctive engagement with intellectual labor and political discourse lends a specific cultural framework and a precise political significance to the language she employs in describing her OnlyFans content. Presenting herself to her audience as "Your favourite Italian slut," Nappi offers her community of followers—familiar with her thought through her blog, essays, and interventions on mainstream social media platforms—an interpretive lens through which to contextualize and understand the terminology she uses. Valentina Nappi, active on social media platforms such as Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter, is prolific in producing and disseminating promotional and self-advertising content explicitly targeted at a young, heterosexual male audience, often aligned with anti-feminist sentiments⁷. In this regard, it is telling that online communities with pronounced misogynistic leanings, such as *Il forum dei brutti* (The Ugly Men's Forum), refer to her as the most favored porn star within the manosphere.

The presence of "anal"-themed content on her OnlyFans profile offers a representative overview of the performances that contributed to establishing Valentina Nappi as a prominent star within both the Italian and international pornographic industries. Among these are titles such as *Private Gold 161: Sexy, Horny and Homeless* (2013); *Private Specials 75: 7 Anal Nympho Nurses* (2013); and *Private Specials 78: Ass Hunting in Venice* (2013). Following Geraghty's classification (2000), the emphasis on anal performance points to a distinctive

⁷ See, for example, *Il forum dei brutti* ("Fed up! A Life of Ugliness"), a blog featuring collections of aphorisms and slogans centered on the alleged frigidity of women, often expressed through vulgar language, alongside numerous rankings of the physical appearance of actresses and porn performers. These evaluations follow grotesquely Lombrosian standards, classifying and dissecting features such as forehead height and nose shape. <https://ilforumdeibrutti.is/forums/una-vita-da-brutto.6/page-976> Despite being referred to as the "champion of incels," Nappi herself is frequently criticized on the forum for not being sufficiently attractive and for deploying commercial strategies disguised as charitable acts—performing sexual acts in exchange for visibility and gratitude, in a form of customer loyalty scheme.

A valuable scholarly reference on the topic of sexism and male online communities is the work of journalist and scholar Elisa Cuter, who offers an extensive discussion of the incel phenomenon (from *involuntary celibate*) in her book *Ripartire dal desiderio* (2020, pp. 123–137).

Your Favorite Italian Pornstar! Valentina Nappi, Onlyfans and the
Platformization of Porn
Sofia Torre

feature of Nappi's (pornographic) acting style, endowing her with attributes of the star-as-professional, too. The repetition of anal pornographic acts, transposed into a different spatial dimension—namely, the OnlyFans platform—serves to reinforce Nappi's pre-existing persona, ensuring a degree of recognizability for her audience.

The presence of content in which Nappi portrays characters from comics and popular culture, by contrast, recalls pre-existing elements from legitimate social media, rendered accessible for fans of her pop persona, and not merely her pornographic identity. Her Instagram videos often appeal to the nerd community by referencing a shared cultural universe: examples include reels—short, fast-paced, automatically edited videos—drawing on the imagery of *Star Wars*, *Pokémon*, *Catwoman*, and *Aquaman*, in which Nappi appears both as a fictional character and an erotic subject. In a phase marked by the strong convergence of technology and sex—now “a subject of public debate to an unprecedented degree in the history of mass media” (McNaiar 2002, 22)—and by the expansion of the “pornosphere,” accompanied by a proliferation of texts that cite pornographic styles, gestures, and aesthetics, social media play a crucial role in reshaping public discourse and amplifying the cultural impact of pornography on the mainstream.

Valentina Nappi's Facebook posts criticizing feminist demands as hysterical or exaggerated, along with her sharing of content aligned with Men's Rights Activists (MRA), clearly define the political positioning of both her pornography and her public persona. These actions allow her to simultaneously gain commercial visibility and political-cultural legitimacy, situating her within a political discourse that is both shaped and intensified by the structure of social media.

The appearance of porn stars of Valentina Nappi's stature on social media represents merely a further stage in the banalization of pornography analyzed by Ortoleva (2009), and is closely linked to the broader process of pornification that increasingly permeates the public sphere. In this regard, it is particularly revealing to examine how the participatory tendency of today's media landscape—as emphasized by Jenkins in *Convergence Culture* (2006) and later in *Spreadable Media* (2014)—is leveraged within the pornographic market, even in its ostensibly informal manifestations.

In Nappi's case, however, her anti-feminist activism serves as a social regulator of pornographic obscenity, which she defuses by presenting her pornographic work and role as that of a therapist of desire. Her self-identification as a “slut” not only recalls the titles of numerous earlier pornographic films featured on platforms such as Evil Angel and Brazzers, but also echoes her public interventions in *MicroMega*, her provocative engagement

with feminist conceptions of pornography, and her presence on social media profiles.

5. Conclusions. Platforms and transgression

This paper's aim is to suggest that OnlyFans is centred in normalizing female sexuality and desire placing itself within social contexts as a genre, as a market sector, and as a political position. Some OnlyFans's profiles could be counted among the ranks of feminist porn, which, as a discursive genre and a political practice, is articulated around some pivotal (and sometimes controversial) concepts: 'authenticity' and the 'real'; the emergence of non-standard bodies, genders and sexualities; performers' agency and consent; and 'industry within an industry' (Maina, 2014, p. 182). Even though OnlyFans content creators traverse the intersection of professional content creation—a growing form of gig work—and sex work (Hamilton et al., 2022, p. 2), pornographic conventions and social hierarchies remain dominant, if not hegemonic. Nappi openly identifies as anti-feminist, a position that strongly resonates with her core audience, and presents herself as willing to remedy what she describes as the aesthetic injustice leading men to sexual frustration. According to Ortoleva (2009), in contemporary societies, institutions such as schools, the welfare state's assistance apparatus, the armed forces, and major religious denominations are losing—if not their influence—much of their credibility as stable foundations for collective belonging and civic cohesion. In a context where systems of affiliation appear to be freely chosen by the individual, media take on a supplementary and surrogate role in relation to traditional community life, to the point of delineating the very boundaries and terms of social existence.

The Butlerian notion of performative repetition (Butler, 1990, p. 34) shapes Valentina Nappi's identity as a porn star in the public sphere, understood here as the outcome of specific social, political, and cultural tensions. This identity is constructed through her differentiation from other performers, the strategic use of irony, and a post-feminist mode of reappropriation.

References

- Attwood, F. (2011). The paradigm shift: Pornography research, sexualization and extreme images. *Sociology Compass*, 5(1), 13-22.
- Attwood, F. (2014). Foreword. In E. Biasin, G. Maina, & F. Zecca (Eds.), *Porn after porn: Contemporary alternative pornographies*. Milano–Udine: Mimesis.

Your Favorite Italian Pornstar! Valentina Nappi, Onlyfans and the
Platformization of Porn
Sofia Torre

- Attwood, F., Mercer, J., & Smith, C. (2025). Stardom at the margins: Performing porn celebrity. *Porn Studies*, 12(1), 1–4.
- Berg, H. (2021). *Porn work: Sex, labor, and late capitalism*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.
- Biasin, E., Maina, G., & Zecca, F. (2014). Introduction. In E. Biasin, G. Maina, & F. Zecca (Eds.), *Porn after porn: Contemporary alternative pornographies*. Milano–Udine: Mimesis.
- Boyle, K. (2010). *Everyday pornography* (pp. 1-13). K. Boyle (Ed.). London: Routledge.
- Butler, J. (1990). *Gender trouble: Feminism and the subversion of identity*. London: Routledge.
- Cuter, E. (2020). *Ripartire dal desiderio*. Roma: minimum fax.
- Dines, G. (2010). *Pornland: How porn has hijacked our sexuality*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Disch, L. (1999). Judith Butler and the politics of the performative. *Political Theory*, 27(4), 545–559.
- Durkheim, É. (1893). *De la division du travail social*. Milano: Il Saggiatore, 2016.
- Dworkin, A. (1979). *Pornography: Men possessing women*. London: The Women’s Press.
- Ellis, K., Hunter, N. D., Jaker, B., O’Dair, B., & Tallmer, A. (1986). *Caught looking: Feminism, pornography and censorship*. New York: Caught Looking.
- Foucault, M. (1976). *La volontà di sapere: Storia della sessualità (Vol. 1)*. Milano: Feltrinelli, 2013.
- Geraghty, C. (2000). Re-examining stardom: Questions of texts, bodies, and performance. In C. Gledhill & L. Williams (Eds.), *Reinventing film studies* (pp. 183–201). London: Arnold.
- Gledhill, C. (Ed.). (1991). *Stardom: Industry of desire*. Hove: Psychology Press.
- Hamilton, V., Soneji, A., McDonald, A., & Redmiles, E. M. (2022). “Nudes? Shouldn’t I charge for these?”: Exploring what motivates content creation on OnlyFans. *arXiv preprint arXiv:2205.10425*.
- Helmond, A. (2015). The platformization of the web: Making web data platform ready. *Social Media + Society*, 1(2).
- Jenkins, H. (2006). *Convergence culture: Where old and new media collide*. New York: NYU Press.
- Kipnis, L. (1996). *Bound and gagged: Pornography and the politics of fantasy in America*. New York: Grove Press.
- Langman, L. (2004). Grotesque degradation: Carnivalization and cyberporn. In D. D. Waskul (Ed.), *Net.seXXX: Readings on sex, pornography and the internet* (pp. 180–205). New York: Peter Lang.
- Lenardon, M. (2013). Valentina Nappi: La pornonerd contro le femministe. *Vice*. Retrieved July 12, 2013, from

- <https://www.vice.com/it/article/intervista-valentina-nappi-video-violenza-sulle-donne/>
- Lesage, F., & Natale, S. (2019). Rethinking the distinctions between old and new media: Introduction. *Convergence*, 25(4), 575–589.
- Lippmann, M., Lawlor, N., & Leistner, C. E. (2023). Learning on OnlyFans: User perspectives on knowledge and skills acquired on the platform. *Sexuality & Culture*, 27(4), 1203–1223.
- Maina, G. (2014). Grotesque empowerment: Belladonna’s strapped dykes between mainstream and queer. In E. Biasin, G. Maina, & F. Zecca (Eds.), *Porn after porn: Contemporary alternative pornographies*. Milano–Udine: Mimesis.
- Maina, G., & Zecca, F. (2025). When did ‘the true king of hardcore’ start to cry? Investigating Rocco Siffredi’s stardom. *Porn Studies*, 12(1), 101–130.
- Manfredelli, R. (2019, May 28). Valentina Nappi terapeuta: “Libererò il mondo dal sesso”. *Zon*. Retrieved from <https://zon.it/valentina-nappi-cnn-raimondo/>
- Manovich, L. (2002). *The language of new media*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Marshall, P. D. (1997). *Celebrity and power: Fame in contemporary culture*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- McNair, B. (2002). *Striptease culture: Sex, media and the democratisation of desire*. London: Routledge.
- McNair, B. (2013). *Porno? Chic!: How pornography changed the world and made it a better place*. London: Routledge.
- Ortoleva, P. (2009). *Il secolo dei media: Riti, abitudini, mitologie*. Milano: Il Saggiatore.
- Paasonen, S. (2014). Things to do with the alternative: Fragmentation and distinction in online porn. In E. Biasin, G. Maina, & F. Zecca (Eds.), *Porn after porn: Contemporary alternative pornographies*. Milano–Udine: Mimesis.
- Paasonen, S., Nikunen, K., & Saarenmaa, L. (2007). Pornification and the education of desire. In S. Paasonen, K. Nikunen, & L. Saarenmaa (Eds.), *Pornification: Sex and sexuality in media culture* (pp. 1–20). Oxford: Berg.
- Ray, A. (2007). *Naked on the internet: Hookups, downloads, and cashing in on internet sexploration*. Emeryville, CA: Seal Press.
- Rodeschini, S., & Zecca, F. (2019). Pornflix: Pornhub e la normalizzazione dell’industria pornografica contemporanea. *Schermi*, 3(5), 101–115.
- Rubin, G. S. (1984). *Deviations: A Gayle Rubin reader*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011.
- Shane, C. (2021). OnlyFans isn’t just porn. *The New York Times*. Retrieved December 31, 2021, from <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/18/magazine/onlyfans-porn.html>
- Simonetti, G. (2018). *La letteratura circostante: Narrativa e poesia nell’Italia contemporanea*. Bologna: Il Mulino.

Your Favorite Italian Pornstar! Valentina Nappi, Onlyfans and the
Platformization of Porn
Sofia Torre

- Smith, C. (2012). Reel intercourse: Doing sex on a camera. In C. Hines & D. Kerr (Eds.), *Hard to swallow: Hard-core pornography on screen* (pp. 194–214). London–New York: Wallflower.
- Smith, C. (2014). It's important that you don't smell a suit on this stuff: Aesthetics and politics in alt porn. In E. Biasin, G. Maina, & F. Zecca (Eds.), *Porn after porn: Contemporary alternative pornographies*. Milano–Udine: Mimesis.
- Smith, C., & Attwood, F. (2012). Emotional truths and thrilling slide shows: The resurgence of antiporn feminism. In T. Taormino, C. Parreñas Shimizu, C. Penley, & M. Miller-Young (Eds.), *The feminist porn book: The politics of producing pleasure*. New York: The Feminist Press at CUNY (pp. 41–57).
- Turner, V. (1969). *The ritual process: Structure and anti-structure*. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company.
- van Dijck, J. (2013). *The culture of connectivity: A critical history of social media*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Walsh, A. (2014). *Criminological theory: Assessing philosophical assumptions*. London: Routledge.
- Williams, L. (1989). *Hard core: Power, pleasure and the "frenzy of the visible"*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Zwick, A. (2018). Welcome to the gig economy: Neoliberal industrial relations and the case of Uber. *GeoJournal*, 83(4), 679–691.