

Advocacy Coalition for Safer Sex in the Adult Film Industry: The Case of Los Angeles County's Measure B

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Background. Performers in the adult film industry are routinely exposed to bloodborne pathogens. In 2012, public health advocates in Los Angeles County convinced voters to pass a ballot initiative—Measure B—to mandate condom use on adult film sets. This article presents a case study of the advocacy coalition's strategies used to achieve greater workplace safety using the advocacy coalition framework. **Method.** The authors were given access to all memoranda, market research, and campaign tools used to promote Measure B. To reconstruct adult film industry counterefforts, the authors reviewed trade publications, social media, and blog posts. **Results.** When legislative efforts failed, advocates engaged in a step-by-step strategy built around voters to achieve passage of a ballot initiative mandating condom use for all adult films produced in Los Angeles County. Although the industry immediately filed a lawsuit after passage of Measure B, its constitutionality has been upheld. **Conclusions.** Measure B passed because public health advocates were able to assemble scientific evidence, build public support, counter false claims, and maintain consistent messages throughout the campaign. The adult film industry lacked social capital, cohesion, and nimbleness. To bolster regulatory efforts, appealing to voters to favor safe workplaces may be an effective advocacy strategy for other industries.

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► INTRODUCTION

Advocacy has a key role in . . . occupational health programs and is essential to shape the social and political climate. . . [A]dvocates need to adopt the same set of opportunist, responsive, imaginative, flexible, dramatic and above all newsworthy tactics that are the stuff of all successful public opinion, political and commercial campaigning. (World Health Organization, n.d.)

One of the 10 greatest public health accomplishments of the 20th century was to make workplaces safer (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 1999). However, much remains to be done. Because the private sector generally resists safety or health regulations that affect their bottom line, improved workplace safety and health in the United States has been achieved through considerable advocacy and pressure by unions, interest groups, and government regulators, particularly the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) and its state affiliates, such as Cal/OSHA in California (Meeds, 1973).

While the United States has achieved notable improvements in workplace safety and health, little is known about the advocacy involved. Case studies of advocacy efforts are valuable in delineating the real-life issues that arise in confronting industries, showing how to overcome obstacles, and providing

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lessons learned (Moseley, Melton, & Francisco, 2008). To date, public health advocacy case studies vis-à-vis private corporations have concentrated on industries selling potentially dangerous products, such as tobacco, alcohol, firearms, tanning beds, and sweetened beverages (Freudenberg, 2005; Jahiel & Babor, 2007; Sinclair, Makin, Tang, Brozek, & Rock, 2013; Tsoukalas & Glantz, 2003). These studies describe advocacy campaigns to convince governments to make corporations more responsible—such as restricting advertising to minors or requiring warning labels (Christoffel, 2000; Freudenberg, 2005). But case studies of advocacy to achieve greater workplace safety and health are lacking.

The adult film industry (AFI) is a multibillion dollar industry. About 80% of all adult films originating in the United States are produced in Los Angeles County due to the proximity of Hollywood resources (Schachner, 2014). Major corporations such as Hustler and Vivid Entertainment are headquartered there, as is the industry's main trade association, the Free Speech Coalition (FSC). There are an estimated 200 AFI production companies and 2,000 adult film performers in California (Rodriguez-Hart et al., 2012).

Since 2004, the AFI has been cited repeatedly by Cal/OSHA for unsafe workplace practices. Unlike Hollywood actors whose exploits are simulated, adult film performers often engage in real, prolonged sexual encounters with multiple partners without condoms (Goldstein, Steinberg, Aynalem, & Kerndt, 2011). As a result, performers regularly acquire sexually transmitted infections (STIs), including HIV (Goldstein et al., 2011; Grudzen et al., 2011; Rodriguez-Hart et al., 2012; Wilken et al., 2016). As recently as 2012-2013, a study found that 24% of adult performers in Los Angeles tested positive for chlamydia or gonorrhea (Javanbakht, Dillavou, Rigg, Kerndt, & Gorbach, 2017). Unfortunately, because AFI attorneys usually negotiate Cal/OSHA's serious citations to a small fine, producers consider Cal/OSHA's citations a cost of doing business (Romero, 2010).

In this article, we will apply the advocacy coalition framework to a case study of an effective public health campaign to increase worker health and safety in the AFI. This framework posits that, to achieve policy reforms, participants coordinate their activities in "advocacy coalitions" with allies who share their core values (Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1988). An important part of this framework is that it includes researchers/scientists as policy participants (Weible et al., 2011). It also highlights the importance of resource mobilization for successful advocacy—including information, money,

public opinion, "skillful leadership," and "mobilizable troops" (Weible et al., 2011). Last, the framework's authors note that policy advocacy requires a long horizon, with policy participants spending substantial time hunting for an arena where they will have a competitive advantage (Weible & Sabatier, 2007).

While the advocacy coalition framework has been applied to various public health advocacy efforts, such as smoking control and domestic violence, examples of applications to worker safety are limited (Weible & Sabatier, 2007). In this case study, we will discuss how an advocacy coalition of public health practitioners and researchers, led by nonprofit AIDS Healthcare Foundation (AHF) achieved the passage of Measure B, which enforces condoms in all AFI productions in Los Angeles County. We will describe initial unsuccessful efforts to work with state legislators, a reorientation to local ballot initiatives as a more promising arena, and the messaging used by both sides to gain public support. By analyzing how a public health advocacy coalition made inroads against a large and deceptive industry, we hope to guide future workplace advocacy.

► METHOD

Our research methods consisted of interviews with key informants, reviews of news sources and social media accounts, examination of campaign materials, and a perusal of government reports. As collaborators with AHF, we participated in the Measure B campaign and were given full access to AHF's archive of policy memoranda, 24 press releases, and the official AHF social media accounts. We also interviewed 17 activists and stakeholders, including two nonprofit directors, one government director, two university researchers, two medical doctors, one lobbyist, and nine AHF employees.

To describe the AFI's efforts to defeat Measure B, we interviewed four former performers who were willing to discuss the industry's strategies. We also consulted publicly available AFI trade publications, social media, and blog posts. Our main sources were *Adult Video News* and *XBIZ*, four industry insiders' blog sites, FSC press releases, and industry interviews with the mainstream media. In addition, we followed the Twitter accounts of two AFI lawyers, four studios, five directors, and 19 performers. Last, we consulted official reports from the Los Angeles County Registrar, the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors, the Los Angeles County Department of Public Health, and the California Department of Industrial Relations to develop the timeline.

► BACKGROUND

The AFI's legalization in California in 1988 coincided with rising public concerns about the spread of HIV; some performers reportedly died of AIDS in the 1980s and 1990s (Parco, 2015). In response, many gay studios required condoms on set (Liu & Richardson, 2004). However, the heterosexual AFI insisted that their bottom line would suffer if their films depicted condoms, so they created a voluntary scheme whereby performers paid to test regularly for HIV/STIs (Klausner & Katz, 2011).

In 2004, four performers contracted HIV on set, revealing the deficiencies of testing only (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2005). This external shock, widely covered in the media, motivated the government to redouble efforts to encourage condom use—to little avail. For instance, California Assembly member Paul Koretz urged AFI producers to require performers to use condoms and test for HIV/STIs (Liu, 2004). Hustler CEO Larry Flynt famously responded, “Who is going to put the condoms on the actors? Is [Koretz] going to come down here and do it himself?” (Liu, 2004). The Los Angeles County Department of Public Health subsequently sent letters to AFI businesses recommending condoms, vaccinations, testing, and performer education (Garthwaite & Fielding, 2004). The AFI disregarded these recommendations.

To break the stalemate, in 2006, the University of California Los Angeles (UCLA) convened a workshop with public health advocates, academics, AFI representatives, and attorneys. This workshop revealed the deep divide between the AFI's core values of individual rights and profit making versus the public health interest in reduced STI transmission and safer workplaces. After the workshop, AHF announced they would lead an effort to enforce condoms in the AFI. Joining the coalition were UCLA researchers and public health students, government officials, and performers who had contracted HIV/STIs while working in the industry. The coalition initially agreed to pursue statewide legislation.

While many advocacy coalitions focus on passing legislation, this approach has numerous pitfalls. In this case, several years were spent attempting to convince at least one California legislator to author a statewide bill, with no success. The main reasons legislators gave for refusing to author a bill—and the lessons learned—were as follows:

1. *Safety and health in the AFI is an “orphan” issue.* Legislators showed no interest in protecting a small workforce in a stigmatized industry. Advocates

needed to frame the issue as affecting both performers and the greater community, because performers have sexual partners outside of work.

2. *Need for organizational endorsements.* Legislators cited the lack of interest groups endorsing mandatory condoms in the AFI. Advocates needed to secure supportive statements from prominent organizations, including the American Medical Association and the American Public Health Association.
3. *Condoms need to be re-framed as a women's issue.* Legislators believed female voters would not deem this issue important for women's health (Baldassare, Bonner, Petek, & Willcoxon, 2010). Advocates needed to highlight gender disparities, such as the fact that female performers acquired three-fourths of reported STIs (Goldstein et al., 2011).
4. *Unclear Cal/OSHA regulations.* Some legislators wondered why legislation about condoms in the AFI was needed, since Cal/OSHA already issued citations. Advocates had to make the case for why the current regulations were insufficient (Gold, 2015).
5. *The AFI carries an “ick” factor.* Legislators refused to author the bill because they did not want to be associated with pornography. Legislators considered authoring an AFI bill to be “political suicide.” This was a key obstacle that ultimately proved insurmountable.

► CASE STUDY

Campaign for Measure B

Given these setbacks, advocates decided to adopt a long-term strategy that would begin at the local level and gradually grow—starting with a city ballot measure, then a county ballot measure, and finish at the state level. This step-by-step strategy entailed considerable time and expense, but the advocacy coalition recognized that taking the issue directly to the voters might be more likely to succeed than efforts to persuade legislators to take up the bill. Also, AHF was willing to commit major financial resources (about \$1 million) and staff to the campaign because promoting condoms in the AFI would raise public awareness of the importance of safer sex. Below is a description of the steps taken (see timeline in Table 1).

Los Angeles City Initiative. Los Angeles City is the largest of the 88 cities in Los Angeles County, comprising 41% of the population. Commercial filming in Los Angeles City requires obtaining a permit. In August 2011, AHF began collecting signatures for a ballot initiative mandating AFI producers in Los Angeles City to guarantee performers wore condoms in exchange for a permit to

TABLE 1
Timeline of Key Measure B Events

<i>Date</i>	<i>Event</i>
December 5, 2011	AHF submits over 71,000 signatures for City of Los Angeles “Safer Sex” ballot initiative, enough to qualify for June 2012 election.
January 3, 2012	AHF announces it will collect signatures for Los Angeles County “Safer Sex” ballot initiative (Measure B).
January 17, 2012	Los Angeles City Council votes 9–1 to pass City of Los Angeles “Safer Sex” ballot initiative.
April 4, 2012	AHF announces poll showing 63% in favor of Measure B.
May 25, 2012	AHF submits over 371,000 signatures for Measure B, enough to qualify for November 2012 election.
July 24, 2012	Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors votes 3–1 to place Measure B on November 2012 ballot.
August 15, 2012	American College of Obstetricians and Gynecologists endorses “Yes on B.”
September 6, 2012	FSC launches “No on B” campaign.
September 11, 2012	Los Angeles County Medical Association endorses “Yes on B.”
September 17, 2012	AHF launches “Yes on B” campaign.
September 20, 2012	FSC holds first press conference, announcing Valley Industry and Commerce Association endorses “No on B.”
September 27, 2012	Los Angeles County Office of the County Counsel releases impartial analysis of Measure B, which states that Measure B would have no cost to taxpayers.
September 28, 2012	California STD Controllers Association endorses “Yes on B.”
October 8, 2012	Los Angeles County Republican and Libertarian Parties endorse “No on B.”
October 15, 2012	San Gabriel Valley Legislative Chambers of Commerce and Regional Chamber Alliance and Legislative Forum endorse “No on B.”
October 16, 2012	La Opinión endorses “Yes on B.”
October 17, 2012	<i>Los Angeles Daily News</i> endorses “No on B.”
October 17, 2012	AHF runs “Yes on B” stickies on front page and above the fold of <i>Los Angeles Times</i> .
October 18, 2012	“Yes on B” campaigners begin Condom Nation Tour in Los Angeles County.
October 18, 2012	<i>Los Angeles Times</i> editorial board endorses “No on B.”
October 25, 2012	Log Cabin Republicans of Los Angeles endorse “No on B.”
October 31, 2012	Study published online finds 28% of AFI performers in Los Angeles County clinics diagnosed with chlamydia and/or gonorrhea (Rodriguez-Hart et al., 2012).
November 3, 2012	FSC holds second press conference, 50 AFI performers and supporters march on Hollywood Boulevard against Measure B.
November 6, 2012	Measure B passes with 57% of the Los Angeles County vote.
December 14, 2012	Measure B goes into effect in Los Angeles County.
January 10, 2013	Vivid Entertainment files lawsuit against Measure B.
August 16, 2013	California judge delivers mixed ruling, upholding the constitutionality of mandatory condoms while curbing Los Angeles County’s ability to enforce the law.
August 19, 2013	Vivid Entertainment files appeal to Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals.
November 7, 2014	AHF announces California “Safer Sex” ballot initiative.
December 15, 2014	Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals affirms California judge’s decision.

NOTE: AHF = AIDS Healthcare Foundation, FSC = Free Speech Coalition, STD = sexually transmitted disease, AFI = adult film industry.

film. By November, advocates had collected enough signatures to qualify for the ballot. In lieu of placement on

the ballot, the Los Angeles City Council approved the initiative. In January 2012, the mayor signed it into law.

Los Angeles County Initiative. As the City of Los Angeles initiative was being discussed, AHF announced the “County of Los Angeles Safer Sex in the Adult Film Industry Act.” This would require AFI producers in Los Angeles County to obtain a health permit guaranteeing condom use. The money generated from the permits would fund unannounced enforcement similar to health inspections of restaurants. Advocates collected more than 371,000 signatures by May 2012. The Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors voted to place the initiative on the November 2012 ballot rather than adopt it. The initiative became known as Measure B.

Polling Voters. To guide the campaign and determine how best to frame its messages, AHF commissioned a market research company to survey likely voters. In March 2012, the company interviewed 1,046 people who mirrored Los Angeles County voters: half were men, 78% identified as white, and one-third were younger than 35 years (see Table 2). More than four-fifths had heard of the proposed measure, and 63% stated they would vote in favor of a ballot measure enforcing condoms in the AFI. There was a clear gender divide: 77% of women and 49% of men favored Measure B. Older voters were the most supportive, and Libertarians were the least.

Pollsters also asked questions to determine whether the AFI’s arguments would be influential in changing voters’ minds. Only 6% stated that knowing AFI producers opposed the measure would sway their vote. Furthermore, four in five of respondents did not believe condoms violated free speech, and nearly three in four did not believe the AFI would leave California to avoid condoms. These results suggested that the AFI might have trouble convincing voters to defeat Measure B and AHF should get underway immediately to target early voters—who were more likely to be older and therefore supportive.

“Yes on B” Campaign Messages. Based on the polling, AHF’s marketing division worked with policy participants to develop three health-focused messages:

1. *Measure B is a worker safety and health issue.* The core message was that every employee deserved a safe workplace. This fit well with Californians’ inclination to support worker’s rights, a legacy of Cesar Chavez’s struggles on behalf of the farmworkers (Pawel, 2009). It also cast adult film sets as workplaces like others in California, thereby removing their mystique. Also, the researchers could help make the case for why performers were at elevated risk.

2. *Doctors support mandatory condoms in the AFI.* Gallup research has found that Americans trust doctors (Gallup, 2016). Emphasizing doctors’ support for Measure B reduced stigma and countered AFI claims that the issue was trivial and should not be on the ballot. In the public’s view, doctors do not waste their time on trivialities.
3. *Measure B incurs no cost to taxpayers and could save money.* Given California’s past budget woes, it was important that Measure B costs be borne by producers. Whenever the AFI claimed that Measure B would impose an unacceptable burden on them, the campaign countered by discussing the cost burden of HIV/STIs.

“Yes on B” Message Placement. The Measure B campaign to reach voters was built on AHF’s previous HIV advocacy activities, including

1. *Billboards.* The campaign leased 22 billboards throughout Los Angeles County. The billboard advertisements focused on the message that doctors support condom use. One, though, ran the message “Pornographers Say No on B,” which tapped into voters’ basic distrust of AFI producers and received favorable media attention.
2. *Press releases.* The campaign released regular statements to the media through Business Wire. Press releases included new research findings from UCLA showing high rates of STIs in the AFI (Rodriguez-Hart et al., 2012). Based on these releases, various news outlets published articles shortly before the election, with attention-grabbing headlines such as “LA Porn Stars Have More STDs Than Nevada Prostitutes, Study Says” (Miles, 2012).
3. *AHF’s Condom Nation Tour.* During the campaign, AHF ran a nationwide Condom Nation Tour campaign, which gave out free condoms. When the tour arrived in Los Angeles County, AHF added Measure B visual media, which included a 70-foot truck with “Yes on B” advertisements. Activists handed out palm cards along with condoms on busy intersections. The palm cards, printed on both sides, contained the three Measure B messages (see Figure 1).
4. *Other advertising.* Radio and television advertisements played throughout the campaign. AHF purchased endorsements from numerous for-profit organizations, so that the “Yes on B” message would be included in mailings for slates of candidates (e.g., Republican Women for Liberty). The campaign also purchased advertising space in the form of colored “stickies,” which appeared on the front page and above the fold of two major newspapers (see Figure 2). In addition, 350,000 Los Angeles County voter households received brochures and robo-calls during the week before the election.

TABLE 2
AIDS Healthcare Foundation Measure B Polling Results, March 2012 (n = 1,046)

<i>Question</i>	<i>Yes (%)</i>	<i>No (%)</i>
Are you aware of the measure?	83	17
If the election was today, would you vote yes or no?		
Male	49	51
Female	77	23
Democrat	70	30
Republican	56	44
Libertarian/other	39	62
Independent	60	40
Total	63	37
Please choose the statement below that most closely reflects your view:		
Very strongly in favor	21	
Strongly in favor	15	
In favor	22	
Somewhat in favor	9	
Doesn't apply	34	
Please choose the statement below that most closely reflects your view:		
Very strongly opposed		6
Strongly opposed		5
Opposed		13
Somewhat opposed		16
Doesn't apply		60
The American Medical Association and the American Public Health Association are in favor of requiring condoms in adult films. Does their endorsement make you more inclined to support it?	51	49
The <i>Los Angeles Times</i> is in favor of requiring condoms in adult films. ^a Does their endorsement make you more inclined to support it?	31	69
Jonathan Fielding, Chief Health Officer for Los Angeles County is against the measure. Does this sway you to vote against it?	10	90
The County of Los Angeles believes that regulating the adult film industry is the responsibility of the state of California and not the County. Does this sway you to vote against it?	12	88
Adult film producers are against the measure. Does this sway you to vote against it?	6	94
Do you believe that requiring condoms on adult film sets is a violation of freedom of speech rights?	21	79
Are you concerned that if condoms are required in adult films, the industry will leave California, taking away jobs and economic opportunity?	29	71

NOTE: Responses include a 1% margin of error.

^aThe poll stated that “The *Los Angeles Times* is in favor of requiring condoms in adult films” because the poll was conducted after the editorial board endorsed the City of Los Angeles “Safer Sex” ballot initiative but before the editorial board endorsed “No on B.”

5. *Social media.* YouTube, Facebook, and Twitter accounts were created for the Measure B campaign. Although Facebook did not garner much attention, the Twitter account gained hundreds of followers. The AFI used social media to campaign against Measure B by targeting the “Yes on B” campaign’s Twitter account. Their attacks inadvertently gave

valuable, unscripted insights into the AFI’s “No on B” campaign plans.

Opposition to Measure B

A range of tactics have been documented in the tobacco industry to undermine public health efforts,

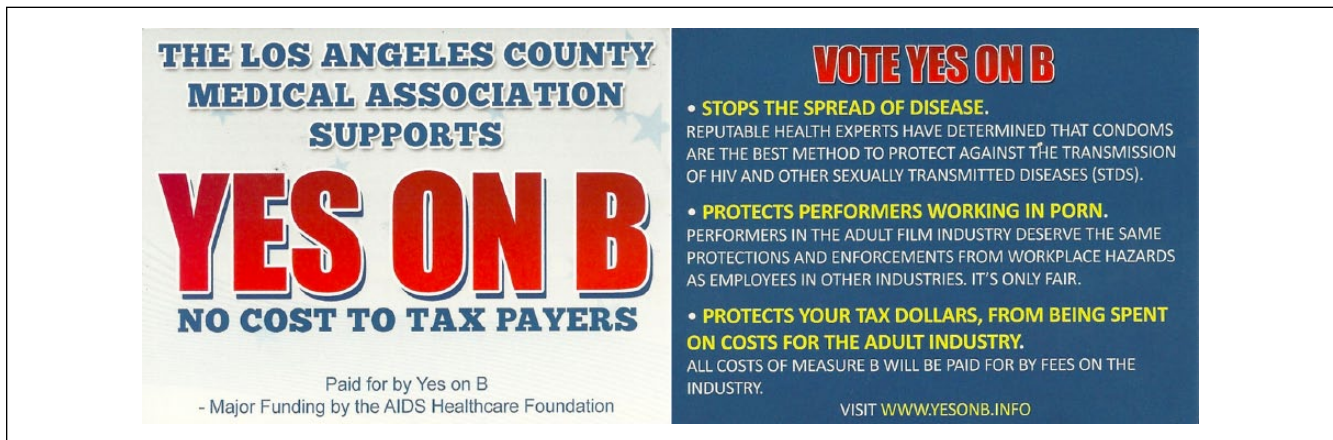


FIGURE 1 Palm Cards Distributed During the Condom Nation Tour in Los Angeles County

such as commissioning research and analysis that casts doubt on scientific findings, championing “individuals’ rights to make own choices” and take their own health risks, opposing restrictions based on “freedom of speech,” and depicting regulatory policies as government overreach that will cost jobs and waste taxpayer dollars (Jahiel & Babor, 2007). The AFI employed many of these tactics against Measure B.

The AFI’s coalition was led by FSC. Either because FSC had difficulty attracting major donations or because it planned from the outset to take Measure B to court if it passed, its “No on B” campaign did not get fully underway until the last two weeks before the election.

“No on B” Campaign Messages. FSC developed three key messages, of which only one addressed safety and health.

1. *Measure B would cost jobs.* According to FSC, Measure B would cause 10,000 jobs and \$1 billion in revenue because the AFI would leave Los Angeles County to avoid mandatory condoms (FSC, 2012). Interestingly, many newspapers, including the *Los Angeles Times* found this claim compelling (*Los Angeles Times* Editorial Board, 2012).
2. *Measure B is government overreach and violates free speech.* Although Measure B enforced condoms, it did not require condoms to be seen in the finished product. FSC chose to ignore this nuance and insisted that Measure B was an antiobscenity ploy. To drive home this message, FSC developed online images of performers wearing hazmat suits. The hazmat suit was intended to represent an egregious violation of artistic rights, as well as to make the measure appear ludicrous and antipornography.

3. *The AFI is already safe and STI testing works.* The “No on B” campaign sought to obfuscate the data from various studies that found high rates of STI transmission in the AFI. FSC claimed that performers were much less likely than the public to contract HIV/STIs due to frequent testing. However, FSC’s message was undercut by its own need to call for several industry-wide moratoria during the campaign because of on-set exposures to HIV, syphilis, and hepatitis C (Zahniser, 2012).

“No on B” Message Placement. FSC launched its “No on B” campaign in early September. Most of FSC’s campaign money came from Manwin, a Luxembourg-based AFI company. (Authors’ note: In December 2015, the California Fair Political Practices Commission fined FSC \$61,500 for accepting foreign money from Manwin during its “No on B” campaign.) Due to FSC’s slow uptake in raising funds (which ultimately totaled about \$700,000), the campaign relied heavily on social media and other free online resources. The main “No on B” media are described below.

1. *Digital videos.* FSC released two online videos. One video featured two prominent performers vocally dismissing worker safety messages by contrasting mortality rates in the AFI to other workplaces. In another video, FSC inflated the value of its industry and potential job loss: “A mandatory condom law will not make our workplace any safer, but it will drive our \$20 billion industry and 10,000 jobs out of LA County” (Ayala, 2012).
2. *Television and radio advertisements.* FSC created one television and two radio advertisements that focused on government overreach and the AFI’s testing scheme. In the first radio advertisement, the



FIGURE 2 “Yes on B” Sticker Above the Fold of the *Los Angeles Times*

voiceover erroneously claimed taxpayer dollars would be used to enforce Measure B. In the second, the voiceover claimed low STI rates among performers.

3. *Social media.* FSC organized two social media events in which AFI performers and producers were asked to post “No on B” messages on Twitter and other social media in specific time frames to urge AFI fans and followers to oppose Measure B.
4. *Bus Tour and Protest March.* A few days before the election, FSC organized a one-day bus tour and second press conference. Afterward, AFI performers and supporters marched down Hollywood Boulevard with signs urging people to vote no on the measure.

5. *Website banner advertisements.* AFI producers posted banner ads on their websites. The banners depicted stock images of people wearing hazmat suits and giving two thumbs up next to the “No on B” campaign logo.

► DISCUSSION

Outcome and Aftermath

On November 6, 2012, voters in Los Angeles County overwhelmingly supported Measure B. In total, 1,617,866 Angelinos voted in favor (57%), while 1,222,681 opposed (43%; Lin, 2012). In December 2012, Measure B went into effect in Los Angeles County.

In January 2013, AFI studio Vivid Entertainment filed a lawsuit challenging Measure B. In August 2013, the judge issued a mixed ruling, upholding the constitutionality of mandatory condoms while curbing Los Angeles County's ability to enforce the law. Vivid Entertainment immediately filed an appeal to the Ninth Circuit Court, which in December 2014 affirmed the constitutionality of mandatory condoms in the AFI. In March 2016, Los Angeles County agreed “. . . to determine an appropriate regulatory approach . . .” for Measure B (Meier, 2016).

While it is too early to evaluate Measure B's effect on HIV/STI transmission, at least four adult film producers announced a switch to condom-only productions (Abram, 2014; Cohen, 2013; Noelle, 2013; Warren, 2014), and 11 studios obtained health permits under the new law (Miles, 2013).

Three months after Measure B passed, California Assembly member Isadore Hall (D-Compton) worked with AHF to introduce a bill to enforce condoms in the AFI throughout California. Hall's district had voted 76% in support of Measure B. While the bill, AB 332, received bipartisan support, it was held under submission in the Assembly Appropriations Committee, effectively killing it. The following year, Hall introduced another bill, AB 1576, which again received bipartisan support but stalled out in the Senate Appropriations Committee.

Three years after Measure B passed, AHF collected enough signatures for the “California Safer Sex in the Adult Film Industry Act,” which would strengthen Cal/OSHA enforcement of mandatory condoms. This initiative—Proposition 60—appeared on the November 2016 California ballot, but it was defeated due to FSC's success in reframing the issue as a referendum on performers' autonomy and privacy. Currently, Cal/OSHA is working to update regulatory language to specifically reference the AFI (State of California Department of Industrial Relations, 2017).

Lessons Learned

Public health is often on the defensive when faced with industries that are undermining safety and health. It is rare for advocates to be proactive with a multibillion dollar industry. However, nonprofit organizations with creative marketing divisions who have had to deal with stigmatized issues like HIV have experience in leading aggressive and boisterous campaigns. Although the AFI potentially had deeper pockets, its coalition lacked financial backing, cohesion, and nimbleness. In contrast, during its decades of HIV advocacy, AHF had honed its skills in marshalling medical

evidence, building public support, and maintaining consistent messages.

Why did Measure B pass? Drawing upon the advocacy coalition framework as outlined by Weible and Sabatier (2007), some lessons emerge. First, when an advocacy coalition coalesces behind one nonprofit organization, advocates—some of whom may be researchers or government officials—can have the organization be the face of the campaign. This meant that AHF could benefit from the expertise of academics and bureaucrats, and yet make the quick decisions and develop the creative materials that campaigns require. Moreover, AHF developed a “thick skin” and was not distracted by social media and news media attacks. Second, if advocacy coalitions consist entirely of government officials and researchers, they are unlikely to have the financial and marketing resources necessary to conduct a successful campaign. With a nonprofit organization like AHF at the helm, the “Yes on B” effort had sufficient money and “mobilizable troops” (AHF staff and volunteers) to outspend the opposition. In addition, because AHF realized that the publicity surrounding Measure B was advantageous for its overall mission of preventing HIV/STI transmission, it was willing to commit resources for the long haul. Third, a step-by-step approach, starting at the local level, allowed advocates to engage locally with policymakers who might be more amenable to change than state legislators. Also, unlike their elected representatives, voters (at least in Los Angeles County) seem willing to weigh in on a sexual health issue and may be predisposed to support public interest over profit making. Last, advocacy coalitions that maintain high message discipline and use scientific evidence may be more likely to succeed.

► CONCLUSION

Corporate malfeasance and profit motive can undermine worker safety. Public health advocacy may be necessary to bolster efforts of regulatory agencies like Cal/OSHA. Voters' general inclination to favor fair treatment of workers can be a powerful force that may be insufficiently recognized. For the AFI, while hurdles remain to achieving safer workplaces, passage of Measure B was an important step forward.

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