Discursive Construction of OnlyFans and Its Content Creators in the British and Thai News Media: A Cross-Linguistic Corpus-Assisted Discourse Study

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ABSTRACT

This comparative study examines the way the news media in the United Kingdom and Thailand discursively portrayed the platform OnlyFans and its content creators. Two specialized corpora of news articles about the platform published between January 2016 and July 2022 in both countries formed the data. Using the approaches of Cross-linguistic Corpus-assisted Discourse Studies (CL-CADS) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), this study found two common themes, portraying the platform as a pornographic site and monetization opportunities. Specifically, the British news media construct a discourse of objectifying female content creators, while the Thai counterpart portray sexual content creators as illegal and immoral. This analysis speaks to the significance of media discourse in producing and maintaining stigma among online sex workers across different cultures.

Keywords: media representation, discursive construction, OnlyFans, cross-linguistic studies, content creators

Introduction

The online content subscription service OnlyFans, established in 2016, enables creators to upload their work, including videos, music, and writing, and charges a monthly subscription fee for access. The platform presents itself as a revolutionary means of connecting creators and fans, enabling all genres to monetize their content while cultivating genuine relationships with their followers (OnlyFans, 2023). However, the platform is primarily known for adult-oriented content, and it attracts both professional sex workers and inexperienced individuals to become content creators (Cardoso & Scarcelli, 2022).

The production and consumption of pornographic material are viewed as inappropriate or immoral conduct and are even illegal in some societies. In Thailand, for instance, two OnlyFans content creators were reportedly arrested in 2021 for broadcasting their sexual content on the platform (Tangsathaporn, 2021). Additionally, a former content creator recently claimed that he was forced to resign from his job after his employer discovered his participation on the platform. These cases have generated media attention and sparked polarized debates across Thai society. Some individuals are concerned about the moral implications of monetizing sexually explicit content, while others advocate for the decriminalization of pornography and the recognition of sex workers' legal rights (Wadekar, 2023). Similar situations are not limited to Thailand. In several Western countries where creating pornographic content is not illegal, like the United Kingdom, several OnlyFans content creators reportedly lost their primary jobs, either by unwillingly quitting or being terminated, after their colleagues discovered their profiles on the platform (McInerney, 2022). These incidents highlight the ongoing global debate over the societal acceptance of pornography and the rights of those who create it.

Media discourse concerning OnlyFans is a significant discursive phenomenon, as it brings a socially taboo subject to public attention. The media plays a critical role in shaping public perceptions and attitudes towards a wide range of issues through their news coverage (Lirola, 2017; Mautner, 2008). Discourses constructed in news coverage on OnlyFans and sexual content creators can thus either reinforce or challenge existing public beliefs and attitudes towards online sex workers. Sex work generally receives a negativity bias in mass media (Easterbrook-Smith, 2022; Reynolds, 2021). News reports often highlight economic exploitation and physical objectification instead of providing a more balanced depiction (Weitzer, 2018). News media contributes significantly to our comprehension of how those dominant discourse producers employ language to influence our understanding of the given topic (Mautner, 2008). Therefore, it is crucial to

investigate how the news media constructs discourses around the platform OnlyFans and its content creators in their coverage.

This study focusses on OnlyFans-related news coverage in the United Kingdom and Thailand. The two countries were selected based on cultural differences and legal frameworks concerning pornography. In the United Kingdom, adult pornography is legal as long as it does not depict life-threatening or serious injury, bestiality, necrophilia, rape, or assault by penetration, and child abuse (Metropolitan Police, 2023). In contrast, all acts related to pornography, including production, sale, consumption, and exhibition, are illegal in Thailand and punishable by imprisonment not exceeding three years or a fine not exceeding six thousand Baht, or both. Pornography is thus treated as a taboo in the Thai media context, confined to the private space (Ingthaisong, 2021). By examining how the news media in these two distinct contexts interact with OnlyFans and its content creators, this study provides insights into cross-cultural media attitudes and ideologies towards the platform. The research question is: what discourses were constructed around OnlyFans and its content creators in the British and Thai news media?

Literature Review

Cross-linguistic Corpus assisted Discourse Studies (CL-CADS) as analytical frameworks

In this study, discourse is seen as a linguistic system that produces and maintains knowledge and power relations within society (Foucault, 1972). Discourse plays a role in shaping how individuals think, act, and relate to one another, which contributes to social reality. Similarly, van Dijk (1997) defines discourse as a socially constructed depiction of reality. He asserts that discourse is not a neutral or objective reflection of reality but instead a product of social and cultural processes that shape how individuals perceive and construe social phenomena. Thus, discourse is instrumental in both reflecting and constructing the social and cultural frameworks that influence individual and collective perceptions of reality.

The discourse analysis methodology employed in this study is based on the cross-linguistic corpus-assisted discourse studies (CL-CADS) approach. CL-CADS entails the use of extensive collections of texts (corpora) in multiple languages to examine discourse patterns and linguistic features across different cultures (Taylor & del Fante, 2020). Derived from the initial CADS approach, CL-CADS strives to uncover "*non-obvious meaning*, that is, meaning which might not be readily available to naked-eye perusal" (Partington et al., 2013, p. 11). The methodological benefits of corpus

linguistics in discourse analysis have been widely documented. Firstly, corpus enables the thorough and systematic analysis of a large amount of authentic language data, which can provide a representative sample of language usage in a specific context (Baker, 2006). Secondly, it helps to identify common patterns and trends in language use which can improve our understanding of how language is used within different social and cultural settings (Partington et al., 2013). Thirdly, corpus-based analysis can offer quantitative data on language usage, which can allow for statistical comparisons between different groups or contexts (Baker & McEnery, 2015). Finally, corpus-assisted discourse analysis provides a transparent and replicable research method, with the potential for findings to be independently verified and replicated by other researchers (McEnery & Hardie, 2012).

This study adopted three corpus-based analytical techniques including keyword, collocation, and concordance. The keyword analysis is a statistical comparison of the word frequency in a corpus under study (a.k.a. a focus corpus) when compared to that in a reference corpus. A keyword list offers salient words that reflect what the text in the focus corpus is really about (Rayson & Potts, 2021), and it is thus a suitable starting point of corpus-based research on discursive construction (Kandil, 2021; Wilkinson, 2021). A collocation analysis involves the identification of words frequently occurring near or next to a certain word of interest (a.k.a. a node word) (Partington et al., 2013). The collocation analysis can reveal what Baker (2006) refers to as *discourse prosody*, the way in which certain words or phrases tend to co-occur with positive or negative connotations within a particular discourse. Such connotations highlight how language can subtly convey attitudes, emotions, and social values through patterns of association over time (Baker, 2006). Lastly, a concordance analysis concerns qualitative examination of all the occurrences of a word of interest in a corpus, presented within surrounding words and sentences that the word occurs (Baker & McEnery, 2015). In other words, a concordance provides analysts with the co-texts of the word of interest. When concordance lines of a specific word are sorted in certain ways (alphabetically to the left, for example), analysts might be able to notice some patterns of language that reveal the construction of discourses around that word (Baker, 2006).

In addition to the three corpus-based analyses, the critical discourse analysis (CDA) framework (Machin & Mayr, 2023) was also employed as a conceptual lens to qualitatively interpret the language use in association with the emergent discourses. The integration of CL-CADS and CDA allows a synergy of both quantitative and critical qualitative approaches to analyze discursive constructions around the platform OnlyFans and its content creators in news media in the United Kingdom and Thailand. The analytical process is discussed in detail in the following section.

Methodology

Data collection and corpus compilation

Two specialized, topic-oriented corpora of authentic OnlyFans-related news articles published by British and Thai news media outlets were built to form the data for the present study. To ensure compatibility of the two corpora, a sampling frame was established, as follows: 1) the search term "OnlyFans" had to be mentioned in each article, 2) the search domain was restricted to news, 3) language was limited to English for the British dataset and Thai for the Thai counterpart, and 4) the publication types were restricted to national media outlets for both datasets. The time span for data collection was between 1st January 2016 and 30th July 2022.

Table 1

Breakdown of publications in the British dataset, ranked by number of articles

Publication	Type	No. of articles	No. of words
MailOnline	Web-based	2,505	1,813,352
thesun.co.uk	Web-based	1,014	736,178
The Sun	Tabloid	418	298,034
mirror.co.uk	Web-based	377	268,047
The Independent	Broadsheet	215	160,705
dailyrecord.co.uk	Web-based	141	100,956
The Mirror/The Daily	Tabloid	110	78,943
Financial Times	Broadsheet	104	77,890
The Guardian	Broadsheet	83	61,371
The Times	Broadsheet	70	50,750
Daily Star	Tabloid	56	39,592
walesonline.co.uk	Web-based	51	35,751
The Sunday Times	Broadsheet	44	31,020
standard.co.uk	Web-based	38	26,866
Daily Record and *Sunday*	Tabloid	35	24,535
The People	Tabloid	32	22,496
Total		**5,293**	**3,826,486**

News articles for the British dataset were collected from *LexisNexis*. The search process was carried out by selecting filter parameters following the sampling frame discussed above. The primary results were downloaded as PDF files in bulk, and duplicated articles were eliminated. The results

consisted of 5,293 articles from 17 publications, as summarized in Table 1. It is important to note that the resultant collection of articles was heavily imbalanced towards tabloid news outlets, which made up 78.7% of the total.

Table 2

Breakdown of publications in the Thai dataset, ranked by number of articles

Publication	Type	No of articles	No. of words
DailyNews	Newspaper	50	31,950
Manager Daily	Newspaper	36	22,932
Thai Rath	Newspaper	29	18,023
Kom Chad Luek	Newspaper	28	17,892
The Standard	Web-based news	25	18,075
Matichon	Newspaper	15	8,750
The Matter	Web-based news	13	8,203
PPTV	Web-based news	12	7,991
Bangkok Biz News	Newspaper	12	7,704
Amarin	Web-based news	11	7,029
ONE31	Web-based news	10	6,410
Khao Sod	Newspaper	10	6,222
Channel 8	Web-based news	10	5,914
MCOT	Web-based news	8	5,117
TOP News	Web-based news	7	4,673
Post Today	Newspaper	7	4,408
Thai Post	Newspaper	6	3,858
Naewna	Newspaper	6	3,810
Channel 7	Web-based news	5	3,195
Voice TV	Web-based news	4	2,564
Ban Muang	Newspaper	4	2,516
Prachachat Turakij	Newspaper	4	2,388
MONO29	Web-based news	3	1,921
Channel 3	Web-based news	1	685
Thansettakij	Newspaper	1	671
Siam Sport	Newspaper	1	345
Total		**318**	**203,246**

Unlike the British dataset, Thai OnlyFans-related news articles were collected manually online since *LexisNexis* does not archive news articles in the Thai language. However, the collection process adhered to the same

sampling frame as the British dataset. To establish the representativeness of the Thai corpus, the search was conducted across a range of national, mainstream media outlets including online newspapers, news websites, and online news aggregators. The news content of each article was copied and pasted into Microsoft Word, resulting in a final dataset of 318 articles published by 26 media outlets as shown in Table 2.

The process of creating corpora for analysis involved the use of two different software packages: Sketch Engine and Thai Tokenization. Sketch Engine is a web-based corpus processing system developed by Kilgarriff et al. (2014). It was chosen for its practical and technical suitability. Sketh Engine allows users to analyze corpus data in over 90 languages including English and Thai, and offers a wide range of pre-existing mega-corpora which can be used as reference corpora for comparative purposes. Users can also create their own corpus by uploading and compiling original text data. Sketch Engine offers various corpus tools, including single- and multi-word frequency, keyword analysis, collocation and concordance.

However, as noted by Svetanant et al. (2022), Sketch Engine has low accuracy in recognizing Thai words due to the complexity of the Thai written language, which includes consonants, vowels, and tone markers. It also has no markers or spaces to indicate word boundaries. To address this issue, the Thai dataset was tokenized using the web-based software Thai Word Segmentation developed by Aroonmanakun (2002). Both the British OnlyFans-related news articles and the tokenized Thai counterparts were then uploaded onto Sketch Engine to create two different corpora: the British OnlyFans-related News Corpus (BONC) and the Thai OnlyFans-related News Corpus (TONC). The former comprised 5,293 articles (3,826,486 words and 4,610,915 tokens) while the latter was considerably smaller with 318 articles (203,246 words and 211,752 tokens).

Data analysis

The analytical approach employed in this study is a corpus-assisted critical discourse analysis (Taylor & del Fante, 2020), which blends the quantitative techniques of corpus linguistics with the rigorous qualitative analysis of critical discourse analysis (Machin & Mayr, 2023). The first stage involved a quantitative analysis of keywords. Two top 50 keyword lists – one of the BONC and the other of the TONC – were extracted using the *simple maths* method available on Sketch Engine (see Kilgarriff (2009) for calculating details)[1]. The arbitrary cut-off points of fifteen minimum occurrences were set in both corpora to avoid the issue of overused keywords in one or few texts. The Genre News sub-corpus of the English Web 2020 corpus (enTenTen20) was used as a reference corpus against the BONC. The

enTenTen20 is a collection of texts from the internet in seven different regions, including the UK, USA, and Australia. The corpus contains 36 billion words and was compiled from "linguistically valuable web content" (Sketch Engine, 2023, para. 1). It was divided into several sub-corpora based on genre and topic, with the Genre News sub-corpus, containing 1.5 billion words, being chosen for relevance to the BONC. The Thai Web 2018 corpus (thTenTen18) was used as a reference corpus for the TONC. It was the most recent and largest Thai corpus available at the time of the study, containing over 600 million pre-tokenized words collected from the Internet in August and September 2018. However, unlike the enTenTen20, the thTenTen18 did not come with genre-based sub-corpora, but it was available as a single corpus. This unavailability inevitably resulted in the whole thTenTen18 being employed as a reference corpus against the TONC, thus noting the mismatch between the two reference corpora.

In the second stage, the top 50 keywords in both the BONC and the TONC underwent a qualitative analysis of collocation and concordance lines. Words co-occurring with the node word (i.e., each keyword) more than five times within an arbitrary five-word span to the left and right were collocations. The analysis of both collocates and concordance lines enables researchers to examine the node word's contextual meaning constructed within the discourse in which it is used (Baker, 2006). Upon the analysis of the contextual analysis, each keyword was identified as a certain theme based on its contextual meaning and usage (Wilkinson, 2021), and it was then grouped along with other relevant keywords. All thematic categories of both the BONC and the TONC were further qualitatively examined through the approach of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) (Machin & Mayr, 2023) to reveal discursive construction and representations of the platform OnlyFans and its content creators.

Results

The keyword list in the BONC

Table 3 lists the top 50 keywords identified in the BONC, ranked by keyness score and normalized frequency (frequency per million). The list provides initial impressions into how OnlyFans is represented in British news coverage. Proper nouns dominate the list (29), followed by adjectives (10), nouns (9), and one verb. Notably, *OnlyFans* is the most salient proper noun, appearing 3,683.96 times per million. Among the proper nouns, 25 are female names (e.g., *Lottie*, *Chyna*, and *Katie*), while the remaining are TV programs (e.g., *Hollyoaks* and *MAFS*). It is important to note that proper nouns in keyword lists are generally considered less useful for identifying discursive

constructions in a corpus, and they are thus excluded in keyword analysis (Baker, 2006). However, the present study aimed to examine discourses around OnlyFans content creators. The prevalence of female names in the keyword list provides a initial step for understanding their role in framing discourses about OnlyFans, hence warranting further investigation. Among the total 18 nouns and adjectives, nine relate to pornographic content and sexual affairs (e.g., *x-rated*, *racy*, and *porn*), three to clothing (i.e., *bikini*, *lingerie*, and *skimpy*), and three to body parts (i.e., *boob*, *busty*, and *cleavage*). The only verb, *flaunt*, occurs 197.37 times per million words.

These keywords were further examined through collocation analysis and qualitative concordance analysis to reveal the discursive themes, which are presented and discussed in the following section.

Table 3

Top 50 keywords in the BONC

	Keyword	Frequency per million	Keyness		Keyword	Frequency per million	Keyness
1	onlyfans	3663.4	3445.7	26	busty	94.9	76.3
2	onlyfan²	532.1	527.0	27	megan	586.9	75.1
3	lottie	628.5	396.2	28	subscription-based	90.4	74.4
4	x-rated	411.6	315.2	29	nude	403.7	72.9
5	racy	442.5	249.9	30	frazer	134.4	70.3
6	hollyoaks	268.3	227.3	31	hayley	162.1	69.2
7	domenica	228.7	211.3	32	vanessa	298.3	68.9
8	katona	229.3	210.1	33	barton-hanson	67.2	66.1
9	raunchy	238.5	154.6	34	influencer	293.8	64.2
10	jessika	138.9	131.0	35	demi	194.0	62.8
11	mafs	143.4	123.7	36	glamour	235.3	62.0
12	jayne	220.3	114.4	37	bella	254.0	61.0
13	lingerie	273.8	110.8	38	mikaela	71.2	58.5
14	goodger	108.6	103.8	39	cleavage	100.7	58.4
15	thorne	194.5	100.5	40	tiktok	296.7	57.7
16	calarco	100.7	99.8	41	briana	79.6	57.7
17	saucy	145.5	99.4	42	sizzling	120.2	56.4
18	chyna	146.0	96.5	43	length	1197.8	54.6
19	topless	219.0	94.9	44	nft	54.3	54.6
20	bikini	433.0	93.6	45	photoshoot	96.5	53.7
21	boob	189.7	80.4	46	blac	68.0	53.3
22	mishel	82.5	79.3	47	chloe	223.7	53.2

	Keyword	Frequency per million	Keyness		Keyword	Frequency per million	Keyness
23	skimpy	123.3	78.0	48	flaunt	200.8	53.1
24	porn	700.2	77.8	49	moss	288.6	51.7
25	olivia	468.0	76.3	50	itv2	60.3	50.6

Thematic categories and emergent discourses in the BONC

Table 4 presents the top 50 keywords in the BONC, grouped into seven thematic categories including SEXUAL CONTENT, FEMALE NAMES, SOCIAL MEDIA, TV PROGRAM, BODY PART and CLOTHING, while keywords failing to suggest a certain theme were grouped in MISCELLANY. The seven categories altogether provide a comprehensive understanding of the corpus or "the big picture" (Baker et al., 2013, p. 35). Further qualitative examination of collocational behavior and concordances of the keywords in all the categories revealed three prominent discourses: *pornography*, *monetizing venture* and *objectification*.

Table 4

Keywords organized by thematic category in the BONC

Category	Keywords
SEXUAL CONTENT	glamour, nude, photoshoot, porn, racy, raunchy, saucy, sizzling, topless, X-rated
FEMALE NAMES	Bella Thorne, Chyna Blanc, Briana, Chloe, Demi, Domenica Calarco, Hayley, Jessika, Jayne, Katie, Katona, Goodger, Lottie Moss, Megan Barton-Hanson, Mikaela, Mishel, Olivia Frazer, Vanessa
SOCIAL MEDIA	influencer, OnlyFans, TikTok
TV PROGRAM	Hollyoaks, ITV2, MAFS (*Married at First Sight*)
BODY PART	boob, busty, cleavage, flaunt
CLOTHING	bikini, lingerie, skimpy
MISCELLANY	length, NFT, subscription-based

Pornography

Most keywords suggest that British articles about OnlyFans are primarily associated with a pornography-oriented discourse. Adjectives in the SEXUAL CONTENT category were the main contributor of this discursive formation. One typical example of this discourse is (1). In the first sentence, OnlyFans was modified by *X-rated* along with 'subscription app'. While the

platform could have been described by the latter modifier alone for the sake of the informative description, the addition of *X-rated* to its attributives suggested that OnlyFans was given pornography-oriented connotation. A similar pattern appeared in the next sentence in which OnlyFans was referred to as "the steamy site", emphasizing the given connotation towards to the platform. Moreover, the use of the word *insisted* in the latter part of the second sentence further enhanced the discursive labeling of OnlyFans as a platform full of sexual material while non-pornographic content is assumed to be unusual.

> (1) Rapper Cardi B has announced she is joining **X-rated subscription app OnlyFans**. Cardi took to Instagram to announce she's joining **the steamy site** but insisted she won't be posting **fully nude snaps**.
>
> (mirror.co.uk, 15 August 2020)

Apart from the SEXUAL CONTENT category, keywords in FEMALE NAMES, BODY PART, and CLOTHING also attributed to the formation of the pornography-related discourse. Close reading through concordance analysis revealed that every female name in the keywords list was an OnlyFans content creator. These female creators were frequently featured in news headlines as the individuals performing actions, also known as 'behavioral processes' (Machin & Mayr, 2023), that implied a sexual connotation. As demonstrated in the examples (2-4) below, the content creators were portrayed as actors who "boasted" or "posed" with specific parts of their body, such as "*VERY* ample cleavage" in (2), or in revealing clothing, such as "a sheer corset" in (3) and "racy lingerie" in (4), on their OnlyFans or social media pages to promote their subscription service. These patterns strongly imply that sexual content is prevalent on OnlyFans, therefore contributing to the discursive construction of pornography. It is noteworthy that the excessive description shown in (1) to (4) is relevant to the notion of overlexicalization. According to Machin and Mayr (2023), "overlexicalization gives a sense of over-persuasion and is normally evidence that something is problematic or of ideological contention" (p. 37). The overemphasis on OnlyFans (as well as its references), clothing and body can persuade the reader to view the given subjects as problematic, and this in turn establishes negative connotations towards them.

> (2) 'Yes, they're massive': Lauren Goodger boasts about her **VERY ample cleavage** as she continues to promote her latest **X-rated subscription page**
>
> (*MailOnline,* 28 November 2020)

(3) KERRY Katona smoldered as she posed in **a sheer corset** for **a saucy OnlyFans snap** after undergoing breast reduction surgery.

(thesun.co.uk, 18 September 2021)

(4) She's charging $50 £38 a month for exclusive content of herself wearing **racy lingerie**, according to **her OnlyFans page**.

(*Mirror*, 4 August 2020)

Monetizing venture

Another prominent discourse emerging in the BONC is the representation of OnlyFans as a monetizing opportunity. As shown in Figure 1, financial gain-related words often cooccurring with keywords from the FEMALE NAMES category. For example, the phrasal verb *rake in* cooccurred with the names *Mishel, Barton-handson*, and *Bella*, while the verb *earn* commonly appeared with *Ulrika* and *Jessika*. Additionally, specific monetary amounts were identified as collocates of several creators, such as *1 million* with *Ellie-jean* and *Goodger*; *1M* with *Katona*; and *£121k* with *Jayne*.

Figure 1

Female names and collocates related to money-making in context

Line	Left	KWIC	RIGHT
1	unaware of the X-rated contents inside.	Mishel	has been **raking in** big bucks on OnlyFans,
2	nationwide lockdown. Love Island's Megan	Barton-Hanson	**rakes in** £800k a month with X-rated OnlyFans
3	Kaili joins OnlyFans - after it's revealed	Bella	**raked in** $2m in TWO DAYS - and sparks
4	throw-away thing, but it's lovely to hear."	Ulrika	Jonsson considering **earning** money on OnlyFans
5	selfie all the way to hardcore pornography.	Jessika	previously revealed she **earned** a whopping
6	the $1million **earnings** month to month.	Ellie-Jean's	website appears to be more on the explicit
7	month and has over 149,000 likes. Lauren	Goodger	- £1million Lauren Goodger is another
8	wasn't such a good day. Hollyoaks' Sarah	Jayne	Dunn **'makes** £121k in 48 hours' as OnlyFans

Example (5) shows another example of the construction of the monetizing discourse. Therein, financial gain is mentioned in the relative clause modifying the content creator in the article, and the adjective *staggering* is used to intensify the amount, reinforcing the representation of OnlyFans as a source of substantial revenue.

(5) [...] Ms Peterson - who earns a **staggering $40,000-a-month** selling topless and nude selfies on OnlyFans - claims it is now easier to go vegan 'than ever before'".

(*MailOnline*, 28 July 2022)

In addition to reports on their income, some news articles portray content creators as living comfortable lifestyles. For example, as seen in (6), the content creator was reported to have spent a substantial amount of money, assumedly earned from her OnlyFans in a short period of time, an amount that would take the average person significantly longer to accumulate.

(6) Married At First Sight's Jessika Power is spending up to $100,000 a MONTH on designer bags, airfares and gifts after boasting that she raked in $50,000 in a few days on OnlyFans.

(MailOnline, 28 December 2021)

Although there were numerous instances where OnlyFans and its content creators were represented with significant wealth, a few articles presented a different perspective through depicting a content creator who resorted to the platform out of financial need. Example (7) illustrates how OnlyFans is portrayed as a means for people who are financially struggling to make ends meet. The linguistic choices in line 4 are particularly effective in that the content creator's hardship was emphasized through her reference as a "struggling single mum". As Machin and Mayr (2023, p. 109) note, parenthood representation can help humanize the person being portrayed, thus establishing her positive connotation. Furthermore, the passive voice of the verb suggests that the creator did not choose to join OnlyFans willingly, but rather that she "was forced" to do so by her unfortunate circumstances.

(7) Mishel has been raking in big bucks on OnlyFans, with her monthly income recently jumping from $5000 to $20,000. 'I have earned a really nice amount of money to **help us through this difficult time**. [...],' she recently said. **The struggling single mum was forced** to turn to OnlyFans to provide for herself and her family after being suspended without pay from her job for refusing to comply with Covid vaccine mandates.

(*MailOnline*, 21 January 2022)

Objectification

The last emergent discursive theme in the British corpus was objectification of body, mainly suggested by keywords in the FEMALE NAMES, BODY PART, and CLOTHING categories. The keyword primarily

contributing to this discourse formation is *flaunt*, the only verb in the top 50 keywords in the BONC. Of the 768 instances of *flaunt** in the corpus, 743 (98.7%) cooccurred with words related to body whether in general (e.g., *physique* and *figure* as shown in Figure 2) or specific (e.g., *curves, cleavage, butt, abs* and *bust*), most of which were modified by attributive adjectives in association with emotions (e.g., *breathtaking, incredible* and *sensational*), size (e.g., *ample*) or other descriptive qualities (e.g., *peachy, toned* and *surgically-enhanced*). There were very few instances (3.3%) wherein *flaunt* was used with personal belongings (*the diamond ring* in Line 11) or status (*their wealth* in Line 12). According to Guo and Ren (2020), *flaunting* refers to presenting oneself in a boastful, impudent, and ostentatious manner, which aligns with how celebrities and influencers use social media to showcase a desirable or aspirational identity with the aim of increasing their visibility, gaining new fans and enhancing their commercial value. Taking these connotations into account, Coltman-Patel and Wright (2023) suggest that the use of 'flaunt' in news media carries the representational power and labeling someone as such attributes agency to them that may not actually exist. This implies that even though the true intentions of the content creators behind their photos and posts may remain unknown, they could still be depicted as *flaunting* in the news coverage.

Figure 2

The lemma 'flaunt' and its top 10 collocates (in bold) in context

Line	Left	KWIC	Right
1	FLORIDA GIRL Teen Mom Mackenzie McKee	flaunts	butt in bikini and shows off abs in new photos
2	is seen striking a series of sultry poses as she	flaunts	her breathtaking **curves** in a lacy yellow teddy suit.
3	singer-songwriter pal of Kylie Jenner	flaunted	her **assets** in a tiny thong bikini while parading
4	Chloe Goodman	flaunts	her **ample cleavage** in a plunging zebra-print jumpsuit
5	Elizabeth puts on an eye-popping display as she	flaunts	her **incredible physique** in lingerie set Love Island"s
6	Dubai Love Island"s Georgia Harrison	flaunts	her **toned** abs in black sportswear as she endures
7	Verity Sulway Body Kerry Katona	flaunted	her further weight loss in a stunning bikini snap
8	star Alana Lister goes braless and	flaunts	her surgically-enhanced bust in a sparkly plunging top
9	Mackney puts on a raunchy display as she	flaunts	her **sensational curves** in white lingerie Edyn"s face
10	more recently tried her hand at DJing and	flaunting	her **figure** on OnlyFans, has now told how she's already
11	a popular creator on adult website OnlyFans,	flaunted	the diamond ring in a video shared to Instagram Stories.
12	Mikaela Testa Australian OnlyFans stars have	flaunted	their wealth on social media by revealing how they

Apart from *flaunt*, concordance analysis of several keywords in FEMALE NAMES and CLOTHING revealed that British news articles frequently employed objectifying and hyper-sexualizing discourses when depicting female content creators. This was evident in the use of revealing clothing and excessive descriptions, as underlined in several of the concordance lines in Figure 2, which were used to attract readers' attention.

The keyword list in the TONC

Table 4 presents the top 50 keywords in the TONC, sorted by keyness score and normalized frequency, with English equivalents provided for each Thai keyword. The list includes 19 nouns, 17 proper names, six verbs, six adjectives, two functional words (i.e., เธอ *[she]* and ฯ *[abbreviation marker]*). The TONC keywords cover a wider variety of topics compared to the BONC. Over one-third of the noun keywords relate to crime (e.g., อาชญากรรม *[crime]*, ระวาง *[penalty]*) or legal issues (e.g., กฎหมาย *[law]*). Crime-related words also appeared in verbs including รวบ *[arrest]*, สารภาพ *[confess]*, and สอบสวน *[investigate]*. Some keywords, like ขอโทษ *[apologize]* and อาเพศ *[misfortune]*, require further analysis to identify their thematic categories.

Proper nouns in the TONC present challenges due to false recognition of word formation. Some are easily identifiable (e.g., TikTok and Instagram), but others are fragmented by automated analysis. For instance, จาคะ, เจษ, and กานต were found to be fragments of full names. These proper names require concordance analysis for accurate identification, which is presented in the following section.

Table 4

Top 50 keywords in the TONC

	Keyword [English equivalent translation or *description*]	Freq. per million	Key-ness		Keyword [English equivalent translation or *description*]	Freq. per million	Key-ness
1	OnlyFans	3,754.4	3,755.4	26	เจษ [*personal name*]	127.5	15.1
2	ลามก [X-rated]	2,262.1	415.2	27	กานต [*personal name*]	108.6	14.0
3	Sex	661.2	367.8	28	ระวาง [punishment]	137.0	13.6
4	อนาจาร [obscene]	1,445.1	257.0	29	ฉาว [scandalous]	70.8	13.5
5	creator	222.0	210.8	30	บานปลาย [escalate]	70.8	13.0
6	NFT	174.7	170.8	31	รวบ [arrest]	203.1	12.9
7	ASMR	146.4	145.9	32	ฯ [*abbreviation marker*]	613.9	11.8
8	Porn	122.8	115.8	33	ฉายา [alias]	240.8	11.7
9	Worker	132.2	113.4	34	สารภาพ [confess]	255.0	11.2
10	อาเพศ [misfortune]	146.4	103.3	35	สอบสวน [investigate]	1,185.3	10.6
11	Pornhub	108.6	101.7	36	อาญา [crime]	547.8	10.3
12	วาบ [raunchy]	330.6	101.4	37	แบน [ban]	406.1	9.7
13	VK	99.2	95.5	38	เพจ [page]	665.9	9.4

14	TikTok	75.6	75.2	39	เบาะแส [clue]	80.3	9.3
15	Follows	70.8	68.0	40	แฟน [fan; boy/girlfriend]	1,761.5	8.4
16	จาคะ [*personal name*]	85.0	49.1	41	ของกลาง [evidence]	165.3	8.2
17	อาชญากรรม [crime]	750.9	42.3	42	กฎหมาย [law]	3,050.7	8.0
18	สอท. [*police department*]	793.4	36.6	43	เธอ [she/her]	3,716.6	7.8
19	กวาง [*personal name*]	694.2	32.6	44	ขอโทษ [apologise]	165.3	7.3
20	Instagram	292.8	31.4	45	ปม [issue]	160.6	7.0
21	ทอย [toy]	89.7	20.7	46	มหาศาล	70.8	7.0
22	เพศ [sex]	2,767.4	20.4	47	คล้ายคลึ่ง	89.7	6.5
23	สโตก [*personal name*]	99.2	17.1	48	ดรีม	70.8	6.0
24	Twitter	137.0	15.9	49	ธนัตถ์	113.3	6.0
25	นางแบบ [female model]	259.7	15.8	50	ชวน	363.6	5.9

Thematic categories and emergent discourses in the TONC

The collocational and concordance analysis of the top 50 keywords in the TONC revealed seven thematic categories, as presented in .

Table . Among these categories, three were found to be consistent with the findings from the BONC, namely SEXUAL CONTENT, FEMALE NAMES (AND REFERENCES), and ONLINE PLATFORMS. However, the TONC also exhibited distinct categories of CRIME, MORAL VALUES, and surprisingly MALE NAMES. Further contextual analysis of all the keywords revealed the emergence of four prominent discourses, including *pornography*, *monetizing venture*, *unlawful conduct*, and *immoral conduct*.

Table 4

Keywords organized by thematic category in the TONC

Category	Keywords
CRIME	ของกลาง [evidence], บานปลาย [escalate], เบาะแส [clue], รวบ [arrest], ระวาง [punishment], สอท. (police department), สอบสวน [investigate], สารภาพ [confess], อนาจาร [obscene], อาชญากรรม [crime], อาญา [crime]
SEXUAL CONTENT	creator, porn, sex, worker, ทอย [toy], นางแบบ [model], แบน [ban], เพศ [sex], ลามก [pornographic], วาบ [raunchy]
MORAL VALUES	ขอโทษ [apologize], ฉาว [scandalous], อาเพศ [misfortune]
FEMALE NAMES AND REFERENCES	กวาง อาริศา เดียร์ลอง (OnlyFans content creator), เธอ [she]
MALE NAMES	กานตพงศ์ ชัยรุ่งเรือง (police officer), คล้ายคลึง (police officer), ดรีม เจษฎากร (OnlyFans content creator), ธนัตถ์ ธนากิจอำนวย (public figure), บิ๊ก (police officer), สิระ เจนจาคะ (politician), ชวน (the President of the National Assembly of Thailand), ลูกนัท (public figure), สโตกลีย์ (OnlyFans founder)
ONLINE PLATFORMS	(Super) Follows, Instagram, OnlyFans, Pornhub, VK, TikTok, Twitter, เพจ [page]
MISCELLANY	ASMR, NFT, ฯ [abbreviation marker], ฉายา [alias], แฟน [fan; boyfriend; girlfriend], มหาศาล [massive], ปม [issue]

Note: Words in square brackets are an English literal translation of a certain keyword, while those in parentheses are descriptive information.

Similar discourses – pornography and monetizing venture

Like the BONC, the OnlyFans platform was frequently surrounded by lexical items associated with pornography-related production and creators in the TONC. This association was mainly found in keywords in the SEXUAL CONTENT category, such as *porn*, เพศ [sex] and วาบ [raunchy]. Examples (8) and (9) provide common language patterns in which OnlyFans was described as a platform of sexual or raunchy content.

(8) ก็จึงเริ่มก้าวเข้าสู่วงการ **sex creator** ในแพลตฟอร์มมาแรงที่ได้รับ

ความนิยมสำหรับการลงผลงานที่เกี่ยวข้องกับเรื่อง**เพศ**อย่างเว็บไซต์

OnlyFans ก่อน

(The Matter, 12 February 2022)

*Kie become a sex creator on a hugely popular platform known for publishing **sexual** content, **OnlyFans**.*

(9) **onlyfans** เป็นเว็บไซต์สำหรับอัปโหลดคลิปวิดีโอ ที่ส่วนใหญ่มี**คอน
เทนต์วาบหวิว** เป็นเว็บไซต์สำหรับผู้มีอายุ 18 ปีขึ้นไป หรือ 18+ จากการ
ตรวจสอบพบว่าเว็บไซต์ดังกล่าวเกิดขึ้นในประเทศอังกฤษ มีเซิร์ฟเวอร์อยู่
ที่สหรัฐอเมริกา

<div align="right">(Thairath, 12 September 2021)</div>

OnlyFans is a website for uploading video clips, most of which are
raunchy content. *[It] is a site for people aged 18 or above. From the*
observation, it was found that the site was founded in the UK, and its
server is in the USA.

OnlyFans was also represented as a lucrative business opportunity by Thai news media. The term *มหาศาล* [massive] was a key element in this portrayal, appearing in 10 articles (3.1%). In Figure 3, we can observe how the word was frequently used in conjunction with words like *รายได้* [income], *เงิน* [money], and *เม็ดเงิน* [revenue] to exaggerate the earnings generated by the platform (lines 1 to 3) and its content creators (lines 4 and 5). Like the British findings, specific monetary figures were mentioned in certain Thai OnlyFans-related articles to highlight the *massive* income derived from engaging in pornography on the platform, as can be seen in lines 2 and 5.

Figure 3

The keyword มหาศาล [massive] in context

Line	Left	KWIC	Right
1	"OnlyFans" คืออะไร ทำไมถึงสร้างรายได้	มหาศาล	หรือจริงๆ แล้วมันคือแหล่งทำลายศีลธรรม
2	OnlyFans นั้นข่าวว่าทำให้เจ้าของเว็บ	มหาศาล	ดังนั้น ของโป๊จึงอยู่คู่ onlyfans ต่อไป
3	รายได้ประมาณ 15,000 บาท ผ่านไป 3 เดือนรายได้พุ่งขึ้น	มหาศาล	ในช่วงแรกเธอไม่ได้รับการยอมรับจากครอบครัว
4	'เนื้อหาผู้ใหญ่ ' 18+ ที่แมสและทำเงิน ให้กับหลายฝ่ายได้อย่าง	มหาศาล	ค.ศ. 2016 แพลตฟอร์มโซเชียลมีเดีย OnlyFans
5	มีคนสมัครซับสไครธอใน OnlyFans จนสร้างเม็ดเงินอย่าง	มหาศาล	53 ล้านเหรียญฯ ที่เธอจะได้ส่วนแบ่งไป [...] ถึง 42 ล้าน
1	What is "OnlyFans"? How can it generate **massive** incomes? Or, it is actually a source of moral destruction.		
2	OnlyFans is reported to bring the website owner **massive** amount of money, so explicit content continues to be part of OnlyFans.		
3	She earned around 15,000 baht, and after 3 months, her earnings rose **massively**. At the beginning, she did not get approval from her family.		
4	18+ 'adult content' which gains mass popularity and makes money for many people **massively**. In 2016, the social media platform OnlyFans was founded		
5	So many people have subscribed to her OnlyFans that it has generated a massive revenue of $53 million, so she has earned a total amount 42 million.		

Illegal conduct

Another prominent discourse revolved around illegal conduct. Many keywords in the CRIME category indicated that OnlyFans was associated with the consequences of unlawful acts. For example, *โทษ [penalty]*, *รวบ [arrest]*, and *ระวาง [punishment]* were found in 75 (23.5%), 26 (8.2%), and 14 (4.4%) articles, respectively. These articles reported on criminal cases involving OnlyFans content creators who were apprehended for broadcasting explicit content on the platform. The presence of law enforcement officers in news reports further contributes to the negative connotation of the platform as a hub for illegal conduct. Examples (10) and (11) demonstrate prevalent discourses centered on crime within the TONC. Looking from a CDA lens (Machin & Mayr, 2023), in both instances, the OnlyFans content creators were *patients* who receive the processes of arrest or interrogation carried out by police officers, who were represented either as a collective reference (as "police" in 10) or an individual (the officer's name in 11).

(10) ตำรวจขอนแก่น**รวบ**สาวประเภทสองทำ OnlyFans พบเงิน หมุนเวียนในบัญชีเดือนละ 100,000 บาท

<div align="right">(Channel 7, 5 April 2022)</div>

*Khon Kaen police **arrested** a ladyboy who did OnlyFans and found [his] monthly turnover of 100,000 baht.*

(11) กรณีน้องไข่เน่า OnlyFans **ถูกจับ** พล.ต.ท. กรไชย คล้ายคลึง ผู้ บัญชาการตำรวจสืบสวนสอบสวน อาชญากรรมทางเทคโนโลยี (ผบช. สอท.) เปิดเผยหลังสอบปากคำผู้ต้องหาว่าไม่กลัวว่าจะมีคนวิจารณ์ เพราะ ทำตามหน้าที่ถือเป็นการเชือดไก่ ให้ลิงดูเราไม่สามารถปล่อยผ่านกรณี ของไข่เน่าได้เพื่อจรรโลง ความถูกต้องในศีลธรรมอันดีของประเทศไทยซึ่ง ส่งผลต่อเยาวชนที่จะเติบโตมา

<div align="right">(Manager Daily, 18 September 2021)</div>

*In the case of Nong Kai Nao, the OnlyFans creator who **was arrested**, Pol. Lt. Gen. Kornchai Kluai, Chief of Cyber Crime Investigation Bureau, revealed after interrogating the accused that he was not afraid that there would be criticism because [he was] fulfilling the duty considered as 'killing the chicken to scare the monkey'. [He said] we cannot let go of the case of Nong Kai Nao in order to uphold the correctness of the good morals of Thailand, which affects the youth growing up.*

Apart from the keywords in the CRIME category, concordance analysis also revealed that *ลามก* [pornographic], albeit in the SEXUAL

CONTENT category, constituted to the construction of the discourse of illegal conduct. Out of its 479 occurrences in the TONC, 96 (20.0%) were found to be part of the quote from Computer-Related Crime Act (No. 2), B.E. 2560 (A.D. 2017), which reads:

> "ผู้ใดกระทำความผิดที่ระบุไว้ดังต่อไปนี้ต้องระวางโทษจำคุกไม่เกินห้าปี หรือปรับไม่เกินหนึ่งแสนบาท หรือทั้งจำทั้งปรับ [...] (๔) นำเข้าสู่ระบบ คอมพิวเตอร์ซึ่งข้อมูลคอมพิวเตอร์ใด ๆ ที่มีลักษณะอัน**ลามก**และข้อมูล คอมพิวเตอร์นั้นประชาชนทั่วไปอาจเข้าถึงได้"
>
> *Any person who commits any of the following offences shall be liable for imprisonment for a term not exceeding five years or to a fine not exceeding one hundred thousand Baht or to both: […] (4) bringing into a computer system any computer material of **pornographic** nature, provided that such computer data is accessible by the general public.*

The quote was repeated across the corpus in 96 (30.2%) news articles detailing charges brought against OnlyFans creators who were apprehended for broadcasting pornography on the platform.

Immoral conduct

The final prominent discourse emerging in the TONC revolved around immoral behavior, predominantly shaped by keywords in the MORAL VALUES category. The word *ขอโทษ* [apologize] appeared in 25 articles, accounting for 7.8% of the total. Out of these, 15 articles focused on coverage where OnlyFans content creators were arrested and subsequently gave interviews to apologize to *the public* for their involvement with the platform.

Figure 4

The keyword ขอโทษ *[apologize] in context*

Figure **4** shows concordance samples of ขอโทษ *[apologize]*. In lines 1 and 2, the patients for the act of apology are the public (i.e., "everyone in society" and "some people", respectively). A similar implication of the act of apology can also be inferred in line 3 although no explicit patients are mentioned. Notably, line 4 highlights a noteworthy case involving OnlyFans creators who were apprehended for filming explicit content at a hotel in Korat, a northeastern province officially known as Nakhon Ratchasima. In this instance, the act of apology was not initiated by the creators. Instead, it was demanded by local residents who feared that the production of pornography in their area could tarnish its reputation.

Figure 4

The keyword ขอโทษ [apologize] in context

Lines	Left	KWIC	Right
1	ตำรวจได้ตรวจสอบพบว่าชายหญิงดังกล่าวได้ทำคลิปแบบนี้มาแล้วกว่า 70 คลิป ซึ่งทั้ง 2 คนได้	ขอโทษ	ทุกคนในสังคมที่ได้ก่อเหตุดังกล่าว ไปสร้างความไม่สบายใจให้กับคนในพื้นที่สำหรับคลิปดังกล่าวหลังถูกแชร์ในโลกออนไลน์
2	โดยน้องไข่เน่าได้	ขอโทษ	ประชาชนบางส่วนที่อาจรับไม่ได้ ยืนยันไม่ได้ต้องการเผยแพร่ให้เด็กต่ำกว่า 18 ดูเพราะเว็บไซต์ดังกล่าวมีระบบคัดกรองผู้เข้าใช้งาน
3	คู่รักมีเซ็กใต้ต้นยางนาจังหวัดเชียงใหม่ สอบสวนสารภาพเดินสายเปลี่ยนโลเคชั่นมาทั่วประเทศกว่า 70 คลิปรู้สึกเสียใจและ	ขอโทษ	กับสิ่งที่ได้ทำลงไป
4	ชาวบ้านรับไม่ได้คลิปโป๊ OnlyFan จี้ให้ออกมา	ขอโทษ	ที่ทำลายชื่อเสียงสถานที่ท่องเที่ยวชื่อดังโคราช
1	*The police have found that the couple had made more than 70 [sexual] clips. Both of them* ***apologized*** *to everyone in society for making local people in the area uncomfortable about the clip after it was shared online.*		
2	*Nong Kai Nao* ***apologized*** *to some people who may not be able to accept it and insisted that she didn't want to publish it [sexual content] to children under 18 because the website has a user screening system.*		
3	*The couple had sex under the rubber tree in Chiang Mai. [The creator] confessed they travelled around the country making more than 70 [porn] clips, and [they] felt sorry and* ***apologized*** *for what they had done.*		
4	*The villagers couldn't stand the OnlyFans porn clip, demanding [the creator] to* ***apologize*** *for ruining the reputation of the famous tourist attraction in Korat.*		

The adjective ฉาว *[scandalous]* also contributed to the discourse of immoral conduct.

Figure **5** illustrates its usage to modify both sexual content (lines 1, 3, and 4) and the creators themselves (line 2). Such linguistic patterns strongly indicate overlexicalization towards the social actors being modified (i.e., 'video clip' and 'couple'). While the 'video clip' or the 'couple' could have been addressed based on their own entities without any adjective or further description, the authors chose to employ the negative connotation of ฉาว *[scandalous]*, thereby emphasizing the problematic association of pornography and sexual content creators. This intentional choice of language contributes to the portrayal of these individuals and their work as controversial or objectionable.

Figure 5

The *keyword* ฉาว [scandalous] in context

Lines	Left	KWIC	Right
1	บุกจับ" น้องไข่เน่า" คลิป	ฉาว	onlyfans พร้อมแฟนคดีผลิตสื่อลามก
2	ตำรวจชุดสืบสวน บช.ถ. 5 ตามรวบคู่รัก	ฉาว	เล่นเซ็กส์ข้างต้นยางจนเกิดอาเพศทำต้นไม้ศักดิ์สิทธิ์ล้ม
3	เป็นเซ็กส์ครีเอเตอร์ "OnlyFans" ปมคลิป	ฉาว	หลุดว่อนโลกโซเชียล หากพบผิดเตรียมเรียกดำเนินคดี
4	ชาวบ้านบอกว่าเป็นเหตุอาเพศเพราะคลิป	ฉาว	ดังกล่าวเพราะต้นยางนาที่ปรากฏในคลิปผ่านการทำพิธีบวช

1   *arresting "Nong Kai Nao" known for her **scandalous** video clip on OnlyFans and her boyfriend for pornography*

2   *The investigation unit of Provincial Police Region 5 made the arrest of the **scandalous** couple having sex near the rubber tree, brining misfortune and causing over 10 sacred trees to fall down*

3   *"OnlyFans" sex creator for interrogation over the issue of the **scandalous** video clip going viral on social media. If she is found guilty, the police are to call for prosecution*

4   *Locals said that this incident was the result of misfortune caused by the **scandalous** video clip because the rubber trees have been ordained.*

The last keyword identified in the MORAL VALUES category was อาเพศ *[misfortune]*, which was mentioned in 18 articles (5.6%) reporting a collapse of ancient rubber trees during a heavy storm in the area where two OnlyFans content creators had recorded and published their sexual acts on the platform. In the news coverage, the collapse was believed to be a supernatural consequence, or a "misfortune" caused by the sexual activities of the content creators. An example can be found in Line 2 in

Figure **5** above. It is also noteworthy that, apart from the three aforementioned keywords, the discourse of immoral conduct was also found in the latter part of the statement made by the police officer in Example 13.

Comparative discussion

The analysis of the BONC and TONC reveals that both British and Thai news media often associate OnlyFans with discourses of pornography and monetization. The former discourse was mainly constructed by using various adjectives with sexual connotations to describe the platform itself or its content. Moreover, news articles in both corpora emphasize the financial gains and luxurious lifestyles associated with engaging in OnlyFans. The use of specific monetary figures and financial terms in relation to OnlyFans content creators also highlights the platform's potential for substantial income generation.

However, the analysis between the two corpora reveals distinct differences in the way in which OnlyFans content creators are represented. British news media frequently employed objectifying and hyper-sexualizing discourses when depicting female content creators, while such depictions were not found in the Thai news articles. This disparity could be attributed to the fact that the majority of British news articles analyzed were derived from tabloid media, known for its focus on soft news (Baker et al., 2013). The portrayal of OnlyFans content creators living lavish lifestyles and being hyper-sexualized fits into the celebrity gossip genre of soft news. With its characteristics that prioritize entertainment values, tabloid coverage of online sex workers thus functions as a form of entertainment. In contrast, OnlyFans content creators in the Thai corpus were generally featured in hard news. The heavy coverage of OnlyFans-related criminal cases and the references to pornography-related legal codes or acts in the Thai corpus depicted the content creators as wrongdoers. Additionally, the belief that the ancient tree collapses were associated with the content creators' sexual acts helped promote the perception of the sexual content creators as a moral threat to society.

From a critical perspective, the representations of OnlyFans content creators in the British news media, characterized by objectifying and hypersexualizing discourses, align with Link and Phelan's (2001) conceptualization of stigma. Stigma involves processes that emphasize human differences, and portraying female content creators in an objectified, hypersexualized manner could result in the dehumanization of these individuals (Vaes et al., 2011). Such portrayals lead the news audience to perceive online sex workers as commodities, "lacking self-determination and agency" (Haslam, 2006, p. 253), and as having diminished personhood

(Loughnan et al., 2010). Research on the work experiences of online sex workers reveals that their work demands significant physical and emotional effort, much like ordinary careers (Stutz et al., 2024). Moreover, many online sex workers find this career empowering and self-expressive (Hamilton et al., 2023). However, these positive perspectives are largely absent in news coverage, overshadowed by reports focusing on the entertaining aspects of online sex workers' lifestyles. This reflects a lack of balanced portrayal that could otherwise contribute to destigmatizing sex work (Weitzer, 2018).

Similarly, the unlawful and immoral discourses surrounding Thai online content creators can generate a perceived stigma of amorality. This perception can perpetuate negative stereotypes towards sex workers, leading the news audience to view online sex workers as a social treat. The high prevalence of reports on crime cases related to creating online sexual content intensifies legal stigmatization. Weitzer (2018) notes that decriminalization is one way to destigmatize sex work. However, a report by the United Nations Development Programme criticizes the current Thai laws on sex work as outdated and irrelevant to the modern realities of sex workers (Godwin, 2012). Moreover, ongoing activism advocates for the decriminalization of sex work and basic labor rights for sex workers in Thailand (Wadekar, 2023). These movements, however, are largely neglected in Thai news media, which instead focus on crime and immoral affairs related to online sex workers. This imbalanced depiction thus reproduces legal stigmatization and hinders public understanding of the progress towards the decriminalization of sex work in Thailand.

This study provides textual evidence of how OnlyFans and its content creators are represented in the news in the UK and Thailand, and how the news media in these contexts construct reality around the platform and its content creators through language use and discursive construction. However, the present study has several limitations. First, the data herein mainly relied on newspapers and web-based news sources, and it could be improved by gathering data from a wider range of sources and modes (such as TV news coverage and social media). Secondly, the results from the British corpus might be affected by the dominance of articles published by tabloid media, which could overshadow other discourses that might be prominent in other types of media outlets (i.e., broadsheets). Finally, the reference corpus for the analysis of the Thai dataset was not ideally suitable as it represented the Thai language in general, regardless of any genres or types, which might have distorted the findings of the keyword analysis.

Conclusion

This study analyzed the discursive construction of the platform OnlyFans and its content creators in the British and Thai news media using the approaches of CL-CADS and CDA. The findings reveal that both the British and Thai news media depict OnlyFans as a pornographic platform where content creators can earn high incomes by selling sexually explicit content. However, there are differences in how content creators are represented in the two corpora. The British media often construct a discourse of body objectification around female content creators, while OnlyFans content creators in Thailand are portrayed as criminal and immoral. Particularly, the study highlights the real-world stigma faced by online sexual content creators in the sphere of news media. The comparative findings vary between different cultural contexts, reflecting the specific concerns and perspectives of each country's news media in depicting online sex workers. The news media, as dominant discourse producers, perpetuate discrimination by reproducing stigma and negative, imbalanced representations of sex workers. To evaluate these claims, further research could be conducted to explore the impact of such representations on the public's attitudes and on the content creators themselves. Additionally, the study could be replicated in other cultures and modes of communication, such as social media, to gain a broader understanding of the ideology and attitudes towards the platform (or other comparable ones) and online sexual content creators.

Endnotes

1. Unlike other corpus software such as AntConc and WordSmith Tools, which use Chi-square and/or log-likelihood tests to extract keyword lists, Sketch Engine relies solely on *simple maths* for calculating keyness. For a comparison of different keyword analysis tools, see Rayson and Potts (2021, p. 135).
2. The presence of *onlyfan* in the second rank was false recognition of Sketch Engine identifying it as the lemma for OnlyFans.

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