

The University of Southern Mississippi
The Aquila Digital Community

Master's Theses

Spring 2023

Brazilian Camming: The Monetization of Intimacy in Online Sex Work

Fernanda Veiverberg
University of Southern Mississippi

Follow this and additional works at: https://aquila.usm.edu/masters_theses



Part of the [Gender and Sexuality Commons](#), and the [Social and Cultural Anthropology Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Veiverberg, Fernanda, "Brazilian Camming: The Monetization of Intimacy in Online Sex Work" (2023).
Master's Theses. 958.

https://aquila.usm.edu/masters_theses/958

This Masters Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by The Aquila Digital Community. It has been accepted for inclusion in Master's Theses by an authorized administrator of The Aquila Digital Community. For more information, please contact aquilastaff@usm.edu.

BRAZILIAN CAMMING: THE MONETIZATION OF INTIMACY IN ONLINE SEX
WORK

by

Fernanda de Oliveira Veiverberg

A Thesis
Submitted to the Graduate School,
the College of Arts and Sciences
and the School of Social Science and Global Studies
at The University of Southern Mississippi
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Master of Arts

Approved by:

Dr. Bridget Hayden, Committee Chair
Dr. Allison Formanack
Dr. Sharon Young

May 2023

COPYRIGHT BY

Fernanda de Oliveira Veiverberg

2023

Published by the Graduate School



ABSTRACT

This thesis addresses a form of online feminized labor in Brazil, which employs digital technology to relieve the urges for intimacy and monetary insecurity. Camming is a genre of online sex work, in which cam models sell their body image and attention online through computer-mediated interactions. It constitutes a profitable activity that employs body performance without physical contact between model and client, typical in most categories of sex work such as prostitution, and where the clients are not mere spectators as within the pornography industry because camming requires authenticity and communication. For that, I explored three conceptual spheres that combined offer the structure for camming establishment in Brazil and create the set of particular motivations. The sensual ethos is culturally and historically created and is the broader aspect of what constitutes the Brazilian sexual habitus and discourse. Camming is a feminized form of work that approaches the emotional labor categorization. And the digital landscape is where camming happens. Using digital non-participant observation conducted during the Fall of 2022, I explore the fraught intersections among sensual ethos, feminized labor, and digital landscape concluding that body and beauty, pleasure, intimacy, anonymity, safety, agency, labor and leisure, money, and freedom are motivations conveyed between the clients and online workers in this unsettled digital landscape that redesigns sex work in Brazil.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I here want to thank Professor Dr. Bridget Hayden for her support and insightful contributions since I started studying my thesis topic. Working close to her gave me the confidence and motivation necessary to complete my work. I thank her for trusting in my ideas and goals, and for her immense patience during revisions.

I also need to thank Drs. Allison Formanack and Sharon Young, who had helped guide my steps on this anthropological journey. They are both amazing people with whom I had the chance to attend several classes and advisement sections. I think I am lucky to have started the program at the same time they both started teaching at the USM. I cannot forget mentioning Dr. Marie Danforth for being the heart of our program, without whom I will not be here now.

Additionally, I need to thank Camera Prive for their crucial contribution to my project by answering my emails and being supportive. Finally, I want to acknowledge the contributions of Clara Aguilar who is the inspiration for this work.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	ii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	iii
LIST OF TABLES	vi
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	vii
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND KEY TERMS	viii
CHAPTER I - INTRODUCTION	1
Camming.....	2
Questions.....	8
CHAPTER II – LITERATURE REVIEW	11
Anthropological Concept of Sexuality.....	11
The Sensual Ethos of Brazilian Life: The Role of Beauty and Sexuality.....	16
The Female Body, Sex Work, and the Right for Pleasure	21
The Digital Landscape and Monetization of Intimacy: Camming in Brazil.....	28
Work, Pleasure, and the Motivations for Camming in Brazil: Takeaway Points	35
CHAPTER III - METHODS.....	38
Digital Anthropology	38
Researching Sex Work Online.....	42
Feminism as Method.....	43
Non-participant Observation: The Lurking Technique.....	46

Polymedia and YouTube.....	53
Coding and Data Analyses.....	59
Extra Sources and Reflective Journal	61
CHAPTER IV – FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION	63
The Sensual Ethos of Brazilian Life	66
Body and Beauty.....	69
Pleasure and Intimacy	74
Feminized Labor	79
Anonymity	82
Safety and Agency	85
Digital Landscape	91
Labor and Leisure	93
Money and Freedom	95
Camming in Brazil: Finding Conclusions.....	98
CHAPTER V – CONCLUSIONS	101
APPENDIX A - IRB Approval Letter	108
APPENDIX B –IRB MODIFICATION APPROVAL	109
REFERENCES	110

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1 Schedule of non-participant observation	49
Table 2 Categories for non-participant observation.....	53
Table 3 Categories for video coding.....	56
Table 4 Counts for Facial Identification (FI) by Type of Facial Covering.....	83
Table 5 Total number of cam models online by date.....	92

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure 1. Conceptual map on camming 64

Figure 2. Distribution of followers according to models' ages. 72

Figure 3. Age distribution of Camera Prive users, October 2022(pro.similarweb.com) .. 73

Figure 4. Word cloud generated from cam models "about me" profile information using
Pro Word Cloud. 77

Figure 5. Cam models' Gender Identification (GI) in October 2022. 80

Figure 6. Cam models' Gender Identification (GI) by frequency in the research sample 80

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND KEY TERMS

<i>BR</i>	Brazil
<i>BBB</i>	Big Brother Brazil
<i>Bounded Authenticity</i>	Unique bond between two people
<i>CP</i>	Camera Prive
<i>Discourse</i>	Social practices and relations that operate within historical and cultural contexts
<i>Erotic Capital</i>	Advantages that individuals possess based on their sexual attractiveness and skills
<i>FI</i>	Facial Identification
<i>Habitus</i>	Attitudes and behaviors that individuals acquire through socialization and that shape their perceptions and actions in the world
<i>GI</i>	Gender Identification
<i>NaaB</i>	Name as a Brand
<i>Pornographication</i>	Transformation of intimacy and sex into a commodity
<i>Sensual Ethos</i>	Cultural values and practices that prioritize beauty and pleasure
<i>SOI</i>	Services Offered Indication
<i>UF</i>	Uncovered Face
<i>UN</i>	Under Neck or Under Nose

CHAPTER I - INTRODUCTION

It was in 2020 when I first heard about Camera Prive, the most famous Brazilian camming website. It was a period of social isolation, and online connectivity ruled the days of most people around the globe. I did not promptly understand the meanings behind the set of advertisements I was simultaneously encountering on different social media. I wondered what that was, who those women were, and why the platform algorithms were targeting me. The first impressions I had motivated the development of my research project, which now results in the present thesis. It seemed the pandemic context was being embraced by the company, which was using social media to invite people both to work and consume the platform's content. This was a smart move since more people depended on the internet connection to work from home, to keep informed during the Covid-19 outbreak, and to maintain the relationship with family and friends in a social-distancing context. Furthermore, the glamorous aspect of the women depicted welcoming people online to either become part of Camera Prive's team or enjoy their company and freely explore an intimate digital space was a wise strategy to call attention from both women and men. Lastly, as a Brazilian woman myself, I felt indulged by the idea that it was a national platform speaking to Brazilian people, motivating their sexual freedom, and without the language barriers that it is usually faced on different websites written in English. It was clear that Camera Prive was related to sex work, but not in a conventional way. Something else has been exchanged and sold besides sexual content, and during my research, I found out that authenticity, interaction, intimacy, and pleasure are keywords for the Brazilian camming universe.

Camming

This thesis addresses a form of online sex work in Brazil that utilizes digital technology to connect users and performers. Camming is a genre of sex work in which, through computer-mediated interactions, cam models sell their images online (Jones 2020). It constitutes a profitable activity that employs the body image but does not involve physical contact, as in most categories of sex work, such as street prostitution (Ditmore, Levy, and Willman 2013; McNair 2002). The clients (also called consumers) are not mere spectators as within the pornography industry because camming requires interaction (Dewey 2012; Drenten, Gurrieri, and Tyler 2020; Henry and Farvid 2017; Nayar 2017; Rand 2019). It is important to think about this type of sex work within the country's particularities regarding sexuality and sensuality while addressing contradictions and similarities between this form of sex work with other categories, and finally, thinking about this category within its specificities that are thus possible in the midst of a digital environment.

While comparing camming with other categories of sex work, I observed that many of the detrimental aspects are excluded in the online set of interactions whilst preserving the profitable aspect and allowing people who work with the activity to achieve pleasure and intimacy. Given that this activity can be conducted from one's house (most of the time a bedroom), the danger of street sex work is thus eliminated, and the pressure of the porn industry cannot affect the cam models since there are no directors or actors to interact with and be please. Henry and Farvid (2017) reinforced that due to the lack of body contact in camming, this occupation presents a challenge to the critiques that affirm the inherently violent and exploitative character of sex work activities. And

regarding the agency of camming models, the authors argue that even when presenting themselves in objectified ways, they are the ones who are choosing the way for their self-presentation.

The digital interaction factor is what provides advantages to camming when compared to other categories of sex work, and is what allows its research in Brazil, where camming is a recent phenomenon and for that lacks anthropological investigation (Caminhas 2021). Most of the studies I found about camming consider it as a global activity (Bleakley 2014; Brasseur and Finez 2020; Henry and Farvid 2017; Jones 2020; 2016; Senft 2008) and do not aim to provide cultural differentiation according to the origin of the streamers and users. However, according to the Brazilian cam girls' posts on social media, having a national platform facilitates communication and receiving payments.

The nature of camming activity examined within digital anthropology¹ is a promising field for researching identities, relations, communications, and emotions because I assume the dialectical nature of digital interactions (Horst and Miller 2020): online behavior impacts the offline world and, at the same time, offline context constrains and enables the forms of culture in virtual worlds (Boellstorff 2008; Kozinets 2019). In this regard, online sex work is an expression of the sexualization (McNair 2002) of

¹ The framework "digital anthropology" will be utilized throughout the present study because my study addressed a sociocultural aspect that requires the digital environment. I will further develop this nomenclature, but the choice is based on the fact that the term "virtual" (as preferred by some authors) is too wide and may include other abstract forms of virtualization, also reinforcing the dichotomy between real and virtual. As "digital," I encompass everything that depends on digital technology, which can be used as tools for camming content production and consumption.

Brazilian culture (Parker 2009), but it is also part of what challenges the conventional perceptions of the topic.

During this research, I aimed to understand the performers' motivations for camming and the connections to cultural and social elements. The core analytical frame of my study combines what I called three spheres that are all important to the Brazilian camming phenomenon and help understand the boundaries between work, pleasure, privacy, and intimacy: (1) the cultural role beauty and sexuality play in the country constituting a form of discourse and habitus that can be understood under the concept of sensual ethos, (2) camming as a form of feminized labor that challenges the debate about empowerment and objectification of female bodies, lastly (3) the digital landscape as a form to explore and monetize intimacy blurring the boundaries between private/public and leisure/work dichotomies.

I conducted a non-participant observation in the Brazilian online camming platform, Camera Prive, to observe the setting with no interference. I grounded the observations in the lurking technique (Kozinets 2019), through which it is possible to witness and learn without being either a user or a performer. I decided on this specific methodological approach because I aimed to observe the platform as a "lurker." My objective with that was to explore the experience of learning about the platform and its dynamic without presenting myself as a researcher or communicating with either camming models or consumers, which provided the basic and contextual understanding of an environment that was unknown to me.

During a period of 24 days, covering different hours of the day, I observed the camming website and collected data from 140 randomly selected cam models' profiles

for coding and further content and discourse analysis. Besides the non-participant observation of Camera Prive, I also coded for analysis a set of 59 YouTube videos containing vlogs of a famous Brazilian cam model who shares her experiences online and offers instructions and advice for people who are searching to follow the cam model career or who are just curious to learn about it. The videos were recorded in a domestic environment in a ‘vlog’ format where the cam girl is the only individual present, and there are no noteworthy video editions. This kind of video promotes hyper-self-awareness in the person who is recording because there is only that person in front of the camera and for that reason, the narratives tend to sound natural and authentic. The videos allow followers to reply and engage, which promotes a sense of online community (Burgess and Green 2013; Gal, Shifman, and Kampf 2016). The nature of comments is an important element for understanding public interest and consumption, which also can be observed through the incidence of likes and comments according to specific categories. I will present these methodological arrangements and procedures further in chapter 3.

Reflexivity was an important part of my work, and during the entire research process, I kept notes in my reflexive journal where I could explore the impact of the experience of discovering the universe of Brazilian camming. Even though I am familiar with Brazilian culture, the particular aspects of camming activity were entirely new. Therefore, it is possible to say that my research was inspired by a form of grounded theory²: through an inductive procedure, I included throughout my research new concepts

² I did not *base* my research on Grounded Theory, however, I recognized that this approach would be an asset for future studies in the area. I have not seen an investigation on camming based on this methodological approach yet, and I trust that in further opportunities, I would take advantage of building the whole theoretical background while collecting data. In the present case, as a qualitative and inductive investigation, I “grounded” my conceptual framework in the findings since most of the concepts included

and theoretical background that I did not consider in the early steps of my study of Brazilian camming (i.e. when I was elaborating the thesis proposal). Such concepts appeared during the coding process and were relevant to the analyses I developed in Chapter 4.

The first conceptual sphere I elaborate on with the literature review in Chapter 2 refers to Brazilian sensual ethos, which can be understood as the social, cultural, and historical construction of sexuality and sexual diversity in Brazil. This concept was presented by Parker (2009) in a compelling ethnographic study of carnival in Brazil. He highlighted the sexual socialization of children and young people and the changing sexual realities of adults living in a rapidly changing world. I thought it would be relevant applying such a concept regarding the contemporary socio-economic context. For example, in 2020 Brazil reached the highest rate of unemployment in the last twenty years, followed by an increase in the inflation rate³. The combination of unemployment and the rise of inflation can be a reason for the search for non-regularized forms of work, and the called ‘gig economies’ have grown in the country, what Helen Rand (2019) referred to as an incentive to “unemployed people to become self-employed” (42). In this regard, in a country well known/stereotyped for sex work, camming, as a form of gig economy, it became appealing for both people who worked in sexual activities and had to find a strategy during the lockdown period, as for the people who probably have not

in the thesis were unknowingly relevant when I started planning the research project. Hence, I changed my initial “conceptual map” while proceeding with the coding technique and further analyses and included complementary theoretical approaches to provide adequate subsidies.

³ “Brazil Inflation Rate - February 2022 Data - 1980-2021 Historical - March Forecast;” “Brazil Real Average Monthly Income - February 2022 Data - 2012-2021 Historical;” “Brazil Unemployment Rate - February 2022 Data - 2012-2021 Historical - March Forecast.”

considered working in the traditional ‘prostitution’ market but found in the safety of private space and the non-physical contact characteristic, an interesting solution to overcome both the isolation and the need for intimacy and to possibly overcome financial struggle. The sensual ethos of Brazilian people can be observed as a form of habitus, a common way of experiencing social reality, present since early periods of colonization and increasingly developed in mass media discourses. Contemporarily, it is articulated in a socio-economic context where sensuality can be utilized for profitable reasons.

Camming, similarly to other forms of sex work, is a widely feminized activity, which I consider the second conceptual sphere. Thus, I included in my research the debate about erotic capital (Hakim 2011; Dewey 2012)) as a set of characteristics that are considered desirable by dominant standards and make bodies more valuable/profitable, and these beauty and erotic ideals are more applicable to female bodies. In this regard, women who meet the dominant beauty standards make more profits. This is important because, even though the beauty standard conceptions may differ, what is consistent is that beauty, regardless of what exactly it means, is a valuable commodity that offers social recognition and even economic advantages (Frederick et al. 2015).

The third conceptual sphere included in Chapter 2 reiterates the fact that camming does not include physical contact with others as other sex work activities do, since it is conducted mostly alone and from home – in other words, it is sex work that requires the digital landscape (Bluteau 2019), and the uses that cam models give to the digital platforms are certainly related to the success in the endeavor. In this sense, camming is a cultural product, a form of feminized labor, and also a gig economy that puts in the individual the burden (or the advantage) of being one self-boss while the product to be

sold is the body image, but also selling a bounded authenticity (Bernstein 2010; Brooks 2012) – a temporary space constituted by the illusion of a unique bond between two people enabled in the digital interaction.

Questions

Camming in Brazil is an interesting field for anthropological study because it combines cultural elements that are both historically constructed and contemporarily relevant. It brings the debate about sex work as a form of feminized labor involving the dichotomy between empowerment and objectification but also includes the role of pleasure and the need for intimacy as active motivations. Lastly, the study on online sex work is connected to the relevance of the so-called gig economies that have been growing globally and reinforce the idea of individuals' self-entrepreneurship while tending to mask the effects of the lack of reliable working conditions.

The present study on camming in Brazil aimed to understand the relationship between culture/feminized labor/online strategies and to analyze this scenario, I needed to ask first about the set of motivations for camming performers in Brazil. And considering that the three conceptual instances must be interconnected to answer the research question, this study was structured around three primary research questions, which aimed to answer what the motivations for camming in Brazil are:

1. Does camming reinforce or challenge the sensual ethos? What are the particularities of Brazilian culture that motivate people to engage in this activity?

2. Is camming a form of feminized labor like other sex work activities are? Is camming considered a form of sex work and if not is that a motivation for camming in Brazil (since it is a recent phenomenon)?

3. Is the digital landscape a motivation to work in camming? What are the advantages of online work? Does digital connection foster safety?

I specifically asked about the ways that camming, as a category of sex work that occurs online, could challenge or reinforces the sensual ethos of Brazilian life. I hypothesized that with the digital anthropology approach to Brazilian camming, I would identify that the way beauty and sexuality are expressed online mirror the sensual ethos of Brazilian life. Thus, I expected to observe these elements within the narratives that can be analyzed in terms of discourse and habitus.

Considering camming a form of feminized work, I ask if it could blur the definition of sex work in the country because such a blurred definition could motivate the involvement of camming performers in this activity. For that would be important observing the way performers identify themselves, whether as sex workers or digital entrepreneurs. While I expected to find contradictions between the camming platform claims and cam models' narratives, the criterium to define a sex worker should be challenged when including pleasure as an asset for the camming endeavor and the intimacy generated by the online environment.

Moreover, regarding the digital environment that is the scenario for this form of sex work, I asked about the limits between what is private and public in this context. I conjectured that safety would be a strong motivation for working from home, but I was also concerned about the digital forms of harassment and violence involving intimate work. I hypothesized that camming would challenge the conventional sex work characterization because it blurs the limits between work and pleasure, especially because it is an activity conducted from the safety of individuals' homes. Regarding the financial

gains and the pursuit of intimacy, I assumed an increase of new models in camming due to financial interest and the need for intimacy. While the need for human interaction and fulfillment of desires was restricted due to social isolation, the need to earn money has become a real dilemma in the lives of many Brazilians as unemployment rates hit records compared to the last few decades, consequently, I expect to see this context represented as a motivation for camming in BR.

Finally, as contributions, I wanted to include in my research the discourses of marginalized individuals since sex workers do not conventionally appear in mainstream academic studies. Also, I think it is relevant to consider the contemporary socioeconomic context and the non-regularized forms of work because I believe that the gig economy is a trend that will not disappear any time soon. Erotic capital, which makes some bodies more profitable than others due to strategies or beautification (Edmonds 2010, Jarrín 2017), should be included in more analyses of consumption, especially because female bodies are still objectified as sexual commodities. Sexuality is not a new topic in social sciences. However, some authors have argued (Drenten, Gurrieri, and Tyler 2020; Jones 2020; Rand 2019; Vance 1984; 1991; Weitzer 2009), and I agree, that too much effort has been dedicated to the consideration of negative impacts, and not much has been said about the pleasure and empowerment that can be explored nowadays. Lastly, I reinforce digital anthropology as a promising field to research identities and emotions, and I hope to see more studies aiming to include online subjectivities in the future.

CHAPTER II – LITERATURE REVIEW

Anthropological Concept of Sexuality

The theoretical outline on which the literature review would be based has a foundation in anthropological and sociological studies on sexuality⁴. Sexuality is one of the essential elements of human reality, and it may be as primordial as eating and sleeping. Different fields have approached the debates about the topic, and anthropology has contributed consistently throughout its history (Bernstein 2010; Dewey 2012; Ditmore, Levy, and Willman 2013; Donnan and Magowan 2020; Henry and Farvid 2017; Lyons and Lyons 2004; Mead 1935; Rand 2019; Zelizer 2009). In fact, anthropology is responsible for properly presenting the nuances of how different people and periods establish sexuality. Hence, sexuality is a fundamental aspect of human societies, and it is also plural. I do not aim to provide a full review of the history of anthropological studies of sexuality, but it is relevant to observe that contemporary debates on this field have been responsible for elaborating an equally plural debate about diverse topics on sexuality, such as gender performance, political issues on sex, human rights, and feminism.

While elaborating in the following pages and designating theoretical aids to analyze the data collected, I found in three authors some of the most basic cultural concepts regarding sexuality. Foucault with his *History of Sexuality*, especially the first volume (1990), Giddens with the book called *The Transformation of Intimacy: Sexuality, Love, and Eroticism in Modern Societies* (1992), and Bourdieu with his book *Masculine*

⁴ For the scope of the present study, sexuality is defined as a human practice that has impacts on behavior and cultural standards, while “sex,” when utilized, would refer to the act of having/practicing sex and not the binary biological sex.

Domination (2001). These three books provided theoretical support for the intrinsic characteristics of sexuality applied to my study. Foucault's theory presents sexuality as a historical construct, which is also a mechanism for power maintenance. "Where there is desire, the power relation is already present" (Foucault 1990, 81). Although human beings, as natural creatures, would usually have the inclination to search for mates (and the bonding and pleasure might be great purposes), the way we see sexuality within a society is very specific for that context and can be totally different in others. The way a given society understands and reproduces discourses about sexuality shows that power acts through silencing, repressing, and censoring. However, it is also what makes people talk about something repeatedly. At the same time that we are taught during childhood to repress our sexual desires and are often punished for demonstrating such inclination (Foucault 1990), we are constantly targeted by social media and advertising, which use sexuality to reach different publics, and in a certain way, keep the sexual discourse alive for a purpose more extensive than the individuals' pleasure. Almost nothing is more profitable – and controlled - as sex.

We can assume that sexuality is wider than individual actions and beliefs because this element is not shaped exclusively in private spaces. Therefore, sexuality is truly a cultural product, which can be understood under Bourdieu's explanation of how cultural meanings are associated with the habitus, which are

systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of operations necessary in order to attain them. (Bourdieu, P. In Warms, Richard, and R. Jon McGee, 2011, 493.)

The way people perceive and understand sexuality is influenced by their class and material circumstances, which can shape their experiences. This cultural aspect of sexuality can be further understood using the concept of habitus. That means sexuality is not solely based on personal or individual choices but is also shaped by cultural norms and expectations. As a result, certain behaviors related to sexuality can be considered normal or acceptable based on the cultural context in which they occur.

In *Masculine Domination*, Bourdieu (2001) mentions the role gender⁵ and the patriarchal system play in regulating peoples' sexuality, especially in perpetuating dominant structures (Bourdieu 2001, 89), both to validate specific models of sexuality (as heterosexual and based on familiar reproduction), as to constantly respond to the new forms of familiar compositions and relationships. Mass media and the internet have brought the debates about sexuality, which was historically hidden as a private and intimate subject matter, to a wider public visibility, for that reason, contemporary studies have an opportunity to consider the previously stigmatized topics and undesired voices.

Giddens (1992), in turn, contributes to this thesis by providing three concepts that will appear in one way or another (sometimes combined with similar concepts to give a fuller definition of the attempted reasoning) during my considerations on the subject matter of this thesis. The concept of "plastic sexuality" is relevant to the present study since it decenters sexuality from reproduction, which according to the author, is responsible for slowly changing the perspectives on female sexuality, such as challenging

⁵ The concept of gender applied in this thesis is grounded in several scholars who understand the performative character of its historical construction. Among those, I highlight Kulick (1997), who defined gender as a "social and symbolic arena of ongoing contestation over specific identities, behaviors, rights, obligations, and sexualities" (581).

the traditional patriarchal idea that there are women to marry and women to just have fun with. The idea of “confluent love” is also interesting to apply in the intimacy exchange in online sex work, which is a form to express and encompass the “recognition of male emotional vulnerability” (62). I mention this concept because, as will be developed, online sex work embraces more than sexual content, and emotions play an important role in the cam model and client relationship. The last concept appropriated from Giddens is “pornographication,” which refers to sexuality applied as a social commodity, both as a capitalistic product itself, as entertainment, and to influence through “sexual imagery... concerned to foster consumerism and therefore hedonism” (176).

The conceptual framework presented above is particularly relevant to studying online sex work in Brazil because it situates sexuality as a cultural and meaningful construction. To further understand the country’s particularities in the way beauty and sexuality are expressed, I will employ the concept of sensual ethos, which I adapted from Parker (2009), who used the concept to address the historical construction of Brazilian sexuality and sensuality, and I will combine it with the ideas of discourse (Foucault 1990), habitus (Bourdieu 2001), and pornographication (Giddens 1992). The thesis topic is relevant to the debate on anthropology and sexuality since it has not yet been investigated how the sensual ethos is explored online in Brazil, specifically around online sexual content. For that reason, digital anthropology offers the best way to conduct this research and explore the commodification of bodies online, which also includes emotional and sexual intimacy exchanges⁶ amid Brazilian cultural elements.

⁶ Ditmore, Levy, and Willman (2013) refer to the emotional exchanges in the context of late capitalism and market transactions as a form of a service-based economy.

To provide theoretical support, I will compose the literature review following three spheres that constitute online sex work in Brazil, which are intertwined. I will present (1) the role beauty and sexuality play in the country since its early times, followed by the establishment of a discourse that reinforces the commodification of bodies. This first sphere is the broader instance of what constitutes the culture of the sensual ethos in the country. Even though I do not attempt to provide a complete genealogy of Brazilian sexuality, it is important to address some characteristics that could still be represented in camming. Scholars have argued that sex work is majoritarian female labor, for that reason, the second sphere that constitutes camming in Brazil asks about (2) the forms of objectification and empowerment of female bodies by defining camming in comparison with other sex work categories focusing on the core of camming activity: the exchange of sexual intimacy. The last section aims to explore camming in Brazil as a (3) profitable activity that is connected to the consolidation of informal work and self-entrepreneurship. The third is thus related to digital work and the assumption that social media challenges isolation and distance, while the so-called gig economy transformed self-entrepreneurialism into a reality for many. I will use this section as well to identify the perspectives of camming in the contemporary scenario, and here I weave considerations on the impacts of the Covid-19 pandemic on camming and some previous yet limited analyses on camming in Brazil. I conclude this chapter orientating to the appropriate methodological approach for this study and indicating the concepts derived from this previous theoretical analysis that would be incorporated in Chapter 4.

The Sensual Ethos of Brazilian Life: The Role of Beauty and Sexuality

As a Brazilian woman, it is practically impossible not to be aware of the set of stereotypes related to the image of Brazilian people and how that contributes to Brazil being one of the most popular countries for sex tourism⁷. The valorization of beauty standards is mentioned as one of the reasons why the country is second place on the list of cosmetic surgery procedures globally⁸. Nevertheless, such a conception of Brazilian women's bodies and beauty was not randomly constructed. It was part of a political project that extended from early colonial times to the advent of medicine and mass media.

Thinking about the history and formation of Brazilian society, Parker (2009) observed the narratives produced by the early colonial writings where a “context of a profoundly patriarchal social order” (2) was imperative and that the ‘nakedness’ and ‘innocence’ of native people contributed to the establishment of a world of erotic meanings, which the author calls “sensual ethos of Brazilian life” (8) that can still be observed as sexual culture in contemporary Brazil. One document is especially suitable to illustrate early assumptions about Indigenous Brazilian people: the letter of Pero Vaz de Caminha, written in a period of one week after the ‘discovery’ of Brazil in 1500. The document has only 27 pages (and most Brazilian students have to read it in Portuguese classes during middle and high school), but the feeling of astonishment regarding the native people's shameless exposure of the body is a constant topic, which only goes away

⁷ Sex tourism in Brazil has been a topic of anthropological studies (Mitchell 2015; Williams 2013; Carrier-Moisan 2018). I will not focus on this problematic question, but it would be interesting to investigate whether online sex work had an impact on sex tourism both in Brazil and globally.

⁸ Edmonds (2010) and Jarrín (2017) offered interesting analyses of the beauty role in Brazil through ethnographies about cosmetic procedures in the country.

when the author mentions other “goods” that could be valuable to the kingdom of Portugal. In the same way that was important to inform about the valuable goods, it was fundamental to alert about the natural beauty and innocence of the native people of what they believed to be an island.

Strategies that seek to define a nation and the people’s bodies came from the early colonial enterprises, which generated forms of understanding and aspirations to control the native sensuality that emanated from the naked bodies that shocked and amazed European eyes (Lima 1976). Much was made after 1500, but sensuality still has a mark in Brazilian culture, in what Parker called “brazilianness” – it was not built by chance, but through a project of beautification of Brazilian people that operates as a political strategy to ‘ameliorate’ people’s physical characteristics, both from miscegenation politics to the cosmetics consumption.

Racial⁹ miscegenation in Brazil is discussed by several scholars, and the Brazilian anthropologist Darcy Ribeiro (2015) has argued that the combination of physical characteristics from the native people, from the African enslaved people, and from the white colonizers and immigrants is what defines the “beauty” of Brazilian bodies. The formation of the Brazilian people was configured through a mixture of races, which did not always take the form of free will (Freyre 1986) since it was part of the political eugenic agenda and a form of white male dominance¹⁰. The eugenics movement claimed

⁹ It’s worth adding that race is a social construct and not a biological concept.

¹⁰ In a terrible episode of Brazilian history, enslaved women considered more attractive were chosen by the slaveholders to work in domestic environments where they could access women’s bodies for sexual relief. Those raped women carried children from their ‘owners,’ who would later become their property as well, but with a lighter skin tone, a process called the *branqueamento* (Schwarcz and Starling 2018).

that if miscegenation was a reality in the country, it would be possible for hygienist strategies ‘ameliorate’ the appearance of Brazilian people¹¹.

The eugenics movement started with the country’s colonization and used beautification as a strategy to seek to whiten new generations by giving extreme value to European immigrants and denigrating the appearance of Indigenous and Black people. References to the ‘negroid’ phenotypes started to be seen in the medical literature in the 1930s when cosmetic surgeries reached the country during the process of industrialization (Ezabella 2021). Through the medicalization of beauty, the discourses of ‘melioration’ of Brazilian people target female bodies, which become manageable in the hands of cosmetic surgeons promising the achievement of a perfect body¹². The cosmetic industry proliferation found an ally in mass media, which explored and reinforced the beautification ethos as a way to keep the eugenic discourse alive though camouflaged in the concept of beauty as a commodity and a democratic right¹³.

Beauty is virtually synonymous with sexual attractiveness¹⁴. Physical attraction is based on notions of beauty across different cultures, and even though these conceptions

¹¹ Jarrín (2017) presented an overview of the Brazilian racial structure and formation emphasizing eugenics politics, which is still being reproduced contemporarily in the search for specific cosmetic procedures.

¹² It is worth explaining what a ‘perfect female body’ is made of in this context: an African body with a light skin tone and European facial features. In other words, the remnant elements from African women were used as a starting point to perpetuate the sensuality of Brazilian female bodies – whiter women with Black body features, such as large hips, thighs, and enlarged buttocks. That was one of the reasons to lead the country to feature a contemporary famous plastic surgery, the BBL (Brazilian butt lift), which consists of the transference of fat from some body parts (such as the abdomen) to enlarge the buttocks (Ezabella 2021).

¹³ Edmonds (2010) and Jarrín (2017) have presented the transformation of beauty into a medical discourse, which serves as a national project of beautification and is extensively explored in mass media, especially telenovelas.

¹⁴ Although the cultural concepts of beauty can vary, Grammer et al. (2003) claimed that due to sexual selection and evolutionary context, the basic standards of beautiful patterns are (nearly) universal. Human bodies present features that are related to sexual selection, such as “particular features of the faces of women and particular proportions of waists and hips are only considered to be beautiful because our

may vary, “(T)he erotic objectification of women has been perpetuated through commoditization, media, and advertising” (Donnan and Magowan 2020, 25). While in the past, Brazilian bodies were used as biopolitical tools to maximize the (whitening) melioration of the nation, with the emergence of mass media, the sensual ethos of Brazilian life could be (re)constructed and widespread as a form of discourse that impacts identities and cultural discourses. Narratives of upward mobility through beauty have been widely explored by the mass media in Brazil, which based the heroes’ and heroines’ tales in telenovelas on their white skin color and the European model of beauty. Meanwhile, beautification became a common concept for the biopolitical discourse (Foucault 1990) that strategically assumes the character of democratic access to the ‘right for beauty’ (Edmonds 2010; Jarrín 2017) as necessary to alleviate the suffering of people whose bodies are a landscape of the economical abysses. In that case, beauty is a tool to overcome social and economic inequality, but evidently, some bodies are more valuable (or at least more profitable) than others¹⁵.

In Brazil, sexuality constitutes a form of habitus (Bourdieu 2001) once we can assume that sexuality is something wider than individual actions and beliefs, which are not shaped exclusively by private spaces. Bourdieu (2001) defines masculine domination

ancestors with such preferences left more healthy offspring than the individuals in the population without the preferences” (387).

¹⁵ Here, I focused on the idea that beauty is understood as a tool to overcome poverty, as an upward mobility fantasy. Even though beauty standard conceptions may differ, what is consistent is that beauty, regardless of what exactly it means, is a valuable commodity that offers social recognition and even economic advantages since some studies (Dion et al. 1972 and Langlois et al. 2000 in Frederick et al. 2015, 1) have demonstrated the existence of a bias that reflects the common preference for beautiful people and the association of physical attractiveness with possible advantages, e.g., for job interviews, for political campaigns and even in criminal judgments. It is worth mentioning the implications of the advent of globalization in beauty standards. From beauty pageant competitions to social media celebrities, what can be observed is the increase in attempts to meet Euro-American notions of beauty, and “traits associated with whiteness are perceived to be more attractive.” (Frederick et al. 2015, 3).

as a habitus that pervades the individual realm of decision-making. The forms to relate to sexuality in Brazilian society are seen as “inevitable” because it is “on the order of things” (8). Bourdieu mentions the unequal division of work between males and females (also present in Brazil) in which females are still being hired for lower positions and receiving less. Among those ‘lower positions’ are service-based work, which includes ‘emotional labor,’ such as nannies, nurses, stewardesses, and, why not, sex workers (Senft 2008). The fact is that, interestingly, in the sex industry, women make more money than men (McElroy 1997), but that is because men are still the bigger consumers (Giddens 1992, 120). In this regard, the female “body remains very obviously subordinated to the male point of view” (Bourdieu 2001, 29) in what the author called the constitution of the ‘body-for-others’ (63) as part of the female habitus. However, cam girls’ discourses are in a gray area since they claim on social media accounts that their bodies are temples for pleasure but, on the other hand, understand that some features and forms of presenting the body could be more profitable¹⁶. In this way, female bodies, even empowered through access to pleasure, are still under vigilance and acceptance of the male gaze.

Two contradictions can be observed in the beautification and sexual discourse in Brazil. The mainstream media reinforce sexualization through telenovelas and live programs broadcasted by large television channels¹⁷, which contradicts the moral beliefs

¹⁶ The concept of erotic capital (Dewey 2012) is important as an asset that makes some physical characteristics more lucrative.

¹⁷ In this regard, the pornographication of culture includes the use of sexualized images to sell non-sexual goods, moreover, in contemporary societies, voyeurism and sexualized looking are permitted and encouraged through media and commercial culture (McNair 2002).

of the recent advance of a politically conservative agenda¹⁸, for that reason, it will be interesting to analyze camming as a category of sex work that blurs the erotic discursive constructions¹⁹. The other contradiction is drawn under an economic issue: while we can observe the rise in unemployment rates, we also can observe the increase in consumption of cosmetic goods²⁰, and in this case, camming can provide an interesting overview of how beauty and sexuality can be used as a strategic investment to overcome financial difficulties. While the beautification industry affects Brazilian bodies as a sexual habitus, the myth of upward mobility is described as one of the reasons for people's motivation to do sex work activities²¹.

The Female Body, Sex Work, and the Right for Pleasure

To talk about sex work requires talking about gender since the exchange of sexual intimacy has historically been a feminized form of work where men's desire is usually prioritized²². In this regard, it is important to define a few concepts, starting with sex work and sex workers. Dewey (2012) defines sex work as "the exchange of sexual intimacy for something of value" (113) through "a complex set of behaviors and beliefs

¹⁸ Rubin's (2007) observation on fundamentalists' religions could be adequately approached to the Brazilian reality in the last decade, where the advent of the far-right part in politics, associated with evangelical representants, "discovered that issues [such as gender, sex education, homosexuality] had a truly mass appeal" (147), thus keeping the sex work in a stigmatized category.

¹⁹ Henry and Farvid (2017) presented the categorical issues related to sex work online, which will be explored in the following section.

²⁰ "Brazilian economy has had real growth, adjusted for inflation, of more than 100 percent since the year 2000, mostly owing to an explosion in the consumption of beauty and hygiene products among low-income Brazilians" (Jarrín 2017, 15).

²¹ Dewey (2012) affirmed that despite the illegality and violence, sex work still be seen as a strategy for social mobility, which is also reflected in sex tourism practices.

²² Dewey (2012) explored how sexual morality and marginalization affected mostly female sex workers. Furthermore, following a biocultural perspective, according to Gray and Garcia (2013), men have more sexual desire and typically invest more energy in matting effort than women, which may help explain why they tend to be sex work consumers, while female bodies are often the product. Thus, it is a common ground both for sociocultural and biocultural perspectives to agree that the sex industry has in human males it's public.

that frequently mirror non-transactional forms of intimacy-seeking practices” (123). Following this definition, it is possible to think that sex work is much wider than its conventional idea connected to street prostitution. In this respect, camming is a form of sex work since it requires intimacy exchange and is based on performing authenticity (Nayar 2017).

Scholarship on sex work seems to agree that the term is morally neutral and reflects the market activity rationale since it focuses on the occupation instead of an identity (Ditmore, Levy, and Willman 2013; Henry and Farvid 2017; Jones 2015; Weitzer 2018; Dewey 2012; Rubin 2007). Sex workers, in turn, usually charge by time spent “rather than for specified acts, their labor is diffused and expansive rather than delimited and expedient” (Bernstein 2010, 102), and their work does not focus on the exchange of cash for sexual release as street prostitution is comprehended. In other words, prostitution has pejorative meanings, but the researchers who are anti-sex work affirm that changing the name only masks the “inevitably violent and abusive system of the sex industry” (Henry and Farvid 2017, 114). What is a common assertion is the fact that “discursive constructions of sex work are intrinsically intertwined with broader sociocultural positioning of gender, sex, and sexuality” (ibid, 113). Therefore, any value or devaluation of sex work reflects broader economic practices that usually depreciate feminized labor in general.

There is an ongoing debate among scholars regarding sexuality and sex work, with some arguing that sex work can empower individuals by providing a means to

explore and express their sexuality in a democratic and inclusive way²³. However, others raise concerns about the objectification of the female body, particularly within the context of a capitalist agenda. This is because sex work, like prostitution and pornographic content, may perpetuate the objectification of women's bodies. The theoretical orientation I decided to follow is aligned with feminist theorists, such as Rubin (2007), who has argued that the sex industry is not responsible for generating and infecting society with sexism since it only “reflects the sexism that exists in the society as a whole” (166). And regarding the objectification of sex workers, the author also presented a counterpoint to another feminist position, especially the “second wave²⁴” that presented sex workers as disguised individuals deprived of control of their lives and bodies. Accordingly, Vance (1984) defends a perspective that aims to transform the oppressive discourses into agency narratives by overcoming symbolic forms of domination, such as the fear of pleasure, which can be intensified by the anti-pornography view, generating more shaming in the possibilities of women expressing desire. In other words, this thesis is aligned with feminist theories that share a commitment to achieving gender equality and challenging societal norms and expectations that perpetuate gender-based oppression, including the right for pleasure.

Giddens (1992) declared that female sexual independence could be explored in a capitalist setting. He argues that sexual liberation is a cultural phenomenon that has

²³ McElroy (1997); Juffer (1998); De Clercq (2013); Ditmore, Levy, and Willman (2013); Nayar (2017); Rand (2019); Jones (2020), have all presented interesting analyses on female empowerment. The right to pleasure was defended by Giddens with the argument on “intimacy as democracy,” where we can infer that forms of pornography and sex work can be useful in developing potentialities and individual determination and autonomy. Also, Vance (1984) pointed out the “porn pragmatics,” a form of learning about oneself.

²⁴ The second wave of feminism refers to a period of feminist activism that emerged during the 1960s and lasted through the 1980s and was marked by a more radical approach to achieving gender equality and challenged traditional gender roles and societal expectations.

political and economic roots. Thus, sex work is defined as a profitable and liberating activity, which may reflect the dialectical relationship between individual desire and the dominant social structure. Sex workers take sexuality to another level of experience and understanding. It is a way to transform the human body into more than a source of pleasure but a source of income. Sex work might be a form of female empowerment because it is a strategy to explore sexuality and search for pleasure while also being committed to financial gains (Jones 2020; Nayar 2017; Rand 2019).

In this regard, sex work as widely defined, encompasses different activities, such as street prostitution, luxury companionships (as escorts), strippers, pornography, and camming. What is common are the challenges that can be observed in any of these forms of sex work: prostitutes might suffer from the irregularities of work conditions and the constant fear of suffering from violence; porn actresses have to deal with the need of having the ‘perfect body’ for the cameras and be able to pretend the most impossible sorts of facial and body expressions of pleasure, and online sex workers may feel the pressure of the lack of boundary between the private and public space, since most of the work is done from home, and just as it can provide security can also harm their personal space and intimacy.

Even though prostitution is not illegal in Brazil, it is not regulated either, and the stigmatization of the activity may still exist. As Ditmore, Levy, and Willman (2013) observed, the stigmatization of sex work is “wrapped up in social class and ethnoracial inequalities...the sex industry becomes more mainstream as it looks and feels more “normal,” that is, more upper class and white” (20). That in part explains why street prostitution is the most violent and stigmatized form of sex work: because it is usually

minorities and the poorest who conduct the activity. In general, cam models are not understood and read as prostitutes but as models or digital entrepreneurs (Brasseur and Finez 2020; Jones 2020; Caminhas 2018; Henry and Farvid 2017; Senft 2008). That might be a reason for online sex work not to be treated as taboo for performers and users, thus blurring the distinctions between sex work as an activity and the fine pursuit of making money while exploring intimacy online.

Through the observation of the Camera Prive platform, it is possible to see that most of the cam models have the same stereotype: young, light skin color, slender, with large breasts and buttocks²⁵. However, this is contradictory to Camera Prive's advertisements – they claim to be an open space for all people to explore sexuality, and where no beauty standard is more valuable than others²⁶. The thing is, people (and especially women) who meet the dominant beauty standards make more profits (Hakim 2011) in the camming industry. In this regard, we can understand that erotic capital²⁷ is an important tool in increasing the chances of acquiring profits, and that might affect some democratic claims because desire and physical attraction is configured according to dominant social patterns.

Although erotic capital entails physical features that are made as commodities by social patterns, it also reflects a range of strategies that can be utilized in online sex work

²⁵ Anderson-Fye (2012) affirmed that women from different backgrounds look for plastic surgeries in Brazil. Body transformation is related to upward mobility, and beauty is a commodity that is widely accepted and disclosed by those who have a chance to change their body features.

²⁶ See <https://models.cameraprive.com/us>

²⁷ Dewey (2012) mentioned the function of the erotic capital as a set of motivations that make bodies more valuable /more profitable: “dancers are assigned “erotic capital,” based on features “considered desirable by dominant standards of beauty...(often) someone who is white, young, and/or has a lean body.” (citing Brooks, Siobhan. 2012. *Unequal Desires: Race and Erotic Capital in the Stripping Industry*. 131-132. SUNY Press. 7)

to enhance the body's beautification. It could vary from the most severe and permanent strategies, such as surgical procedures, to more ephemeral transformations, such as the use of 'sexy' clothing and makeup, also including digital technologies such as photo edition tools and filters to alter one's image. Similar to the concept of cultural capital (Bourdieu 1991), which constitutes instruments that symbolize wealth and prestige, the concept of erotic capital can be acquired, learned, and shared as a strategy to gain status in this lucrative activity.

It is possible to apply the concept of pornographication in the midst of what Drenten, Gurrieri, and Tyler (2020) called the 'porn chic aesthetics' environment present in social media and digital platforms (such as in camming), which implies the commodification of sexuality, accentuated by practices, skills, and knowledge. Online sex work could be read, in this case, as an aesthetic labor, in which race, class, and gender inequalities are observable since the "prosumers" (when the digital media consumer becomes a producer) attend the heteronormative prescriptions of attractiveness and femininity to gain attention in the emotional labor measured by likes and followers.

Analyzing the sex work market of pornography²⁸, McNair (2002) provides an interesting approach in counterpoint to past perspectives that pornography is "a symbol of patriarchy's oppressive essence, its sexual objectification of women viewed as the purest manifestation of predatory male voyeurism" (23), with another perspective that suggests pornography provides "means of giving expression to otherwise silenced sexualities. For many women, emerging into feminist-inspired sexual freedom and experimentation,

²⁸ A good definition of pornography came from McElroy (1997) for whom "pornography is the explicit artistic depiction of men and/or women as sexual beings" (50).

access to and use of porn is a marker of political progress” (ibid, 43). Correspondingly, Jones (2020) has said that sex work online is encouraging

to a wide range of workers because the industry provides a unique opportunity to fulfill the capitalist duty to work while experiencing pleasure. Instead of sacrificing pleasure, they experience pleasure as a fundamental part of their labor. For cam models, there is pleasure in simultaneously being good capitalist entrepreneurs and sex workers who also have orgasms for a living (52).

In this respect, Jones (2020) has argued that intimacy and pleasure should be concepts investigated in studies about online sex work. While, according to her, much has been talked about safety matters and exploration of sexual work, just a few scholars have focused on the empowering character and the agency of sex workers who find in pleasure a source of profit (Brasseur and Finez 2020; Brooks 2012; Bernstein 2010). Therefore, camming may represent a “shift in sexual normativity, challenging the historical devaluation of commercial sex and the marginalization of sex workers” (Nayar 2017, 475).

In camming literature, ‘bounded authenticity’ (Bernstein 2010) is described as a combination of intimate and erotic connections based on an authentic relationship. Such an “emotional level for sex workers” (69) can aid in altering the pure monetary transaction nature of sexual labor itself. The ‘amateurism’ present in camming reinforces the bounded authenticity once clients and cam models can feel closer to each other’s ‘real life.’ The realness, immediacy, and presence produce an “aura of authenticity that is highly valued for its eroticism” (Nayar 2017, 478). Finally, camming supports the conception of agency in sex work because it defies objectification through diverse forms of refusing, commanding, and controlling the spectator’s gaze (Henry and Farvid 2017) –

from the simple fact that cam models can control who frequents their chat rooms and, when necessary, block clients with undesirable behaviors.

In summary, the dynamics observed in the world of camming reflect the significance that beauty and sexuality hold in Brazilian culture, particularly with respect to female bodies. Given this emphasis on beauty, it is not surprising that more women may be drawn to camming to explore their sensuality as a form of erotic capital. Through my examination of the CP website, models' profiles, YouTube videos, and associated comments, I sought to explore the broader implications of sex work as feminized labor. This analysis contributes to a broader understanding of sex work as feminized labor that challenges the stigma associated with the industry by emphasizing emotional and intimate connections rather than purely physical contact.

The Digital Landscape and Monetization of Intimacy: Camming in Brazil

In this last section, I aim to explore camming in Brazil as a profitable activity that is connected to the consolidation of informal work and self-entrepreneurship, which during the last years was combined with isolation inflicted by the Covid-19 pandemic and the rise of unemployment in the country. During this period, the use of social media became an asset both to connect with significant ones and as an important tool to work from home. Social media challenges isolation and distance, while the so-called gig economy transformed self-entrepreneurialism into a reality for many.

Some studies connected the pandemic context to the ways people navigate the period while finding intimacy and exploring their sexuality. Carlos (2020) reveals the advantage of picture-based dating apps and platforms in the expression of one's self-presentation. In this regard, it is possible to connect this perspective with the cam models'

presentation on CP. Quoting Judith Butler, Carlos (2020) recalls the body performance as an embodiment of particular contexts in which the most privileged bodies would get more recognition. Therefore, as observed in the study of picture-based dating platforms, some physical characteristics and phenotypes would receive more likes, or as in CP, more clients. That is why in both cases, it is possible to observe the self-advertisements focusing on personal characteristics, both to receive more dating invitations during the pandemic, as reported by Carlos (2020), and to make clients interested in watching the cam model online after reading their profile information.

Lehmiller et al. (2021) observed that during the pandemic period, people experienced common patterns regarding sexual behavior. There are indications in their research that more than 40% of the interlocutors, regardless of gender identification, mentioned a decrease in sexual activities. The authors explained this decline in sexual life as due to social distancing and isolation. Sexual behavior, according to the authors, is a form of leisure activity, which was significantly impacted by a period of isolation practice. However, what the authors also noticed, which is interesting to the debate about camming, is the rise in online pornography searches and an “overall integration of the internet and digital platforms into people’s sexual lives” (296). For people who lived with partners, there was an expressive report on the expansion of sexual practices with the inclusion of new behaviors, while “living alone was linked to higher rates of virtual and technology-based behaviors compared to those with a live-in partner” (301). It is appropriate for a study on camming to consider these elements, first because it is possible to imagine that, if camming exploded in popularity in Brazil recently, it may be connected to the fact that more people were at home alone and used online activities to

address the need for leisure and intimacy. Secondly, if the context was one reason people experienced new sexual behaviors and/or interacted erotically online, we may be experiencing what Lehmillier et al. called a “sexual revolution” that could reflect permanently in forms human beings connect to each other through online sexual relationships.

Jones (2020) points out that the camming industry was already saturated before the pandemic outbreak and, with the mandatory social distancing politics, more people were staying at home, which, according to the author, makes it even more difficult for cam models to work because they would need to deal with family at home during their working/streaming hours. The other aspect Jones emphasizes is the rising unemployment that affects the clients’ possibility of purchasing tokens and paying for cam models’ content. That is not what I observed while reading the news about camming in Brazil²⁹, which demonstrated that the traffic in camming platforms (as well as in porn websites) increased significantly and cam models experienced a rise in profits.

Nelson, Yu, and McBride (2020) provide an interesting analysis of the modifications in the strategies of sex workers during the Covid-19 pandemic. They observe a shift of these workers from in-person activities to online sex work activities, which includes camming but also content production for third-party platforms. In one of the article’s findings, the authors “found a 22 percent increase in model’s streaming hours on a popular webcamming site” (2). According to the authors, this increase in streamed

²⁹ “A vida secreta dos brasileiros que trabalham no ‘Uber do porno.’” (BBC News Brasil, October 14, 2019); “Apos coronavirus, busca por sites pornos e camgirls cresce no Brasil.” (VEJA, March 21, 2020); “Num mundo em pandemia, cam girls veem seus números crescerem a cada dia de quarentena.” (Revista Marie Claire, May 21 2020); “Quarentena: coronavirus aquece o mercado de striptease na internet.” (VEJA RIO, May 22, 2020).

hours may be due to two reasons. The first is the expansion in clientele due to social isolation and the desire for emotional and intimate connection, and the second reason is the higher number of working hours for those cam models who experienced a decrease in their income from other categories of the sex industry and aimed “to capitalize on the higher-than-ever demand for online services” (3). The authors focus their study on American online sex workers, but the situation could be translated into Brazilian reality regarding the pandemic context.

Caminhas (2021) has written a study on what the author called WEC, standing for “*webcamming erotico comercial*,” in Brazil. That is the only scholar I have found who focuses on camming specifically in Brazil. She claims that WEC is a form of sex work constantly subsumed by other categories of the sex market, such as pornography and striptease, but which cannot be confused with them. In an overview of camming in Brazil, the author mentions that it started about 2002 and had in the “studios” an asset. The studios were places where cam models could stream from since they offered private rooms with the technology necessary for the activity. That is not the reality anymore and one of the reasons for that, Caminhas points out, is the development of specialized websites in the 2010s. Although my research supports Caminhas’ findings in some areas, in others, I differ. For example, I did not use the same term (WEC) as Caminhas to refer to camming because I think the “web” part of its name limits the extension of its capacity since in camming activity, it is possible to sell content one produced “offline,” such as videos and pictures, the “webcam,” therefore, is just one of the tools cam models can access to produce content and commercialize online; moreover, Brazilian cam models also refer to their work as “camming.”

From an ethnography, Caminhas presents a persuasive aspect of camming in Brazil: the interlocutors' (cam girls) discourse on distancing camming from prostitution – what can be seen as a reflection of a possible dichotomy between what is virtual and what is real. It is precisely this disconnection with the 'real world' that becomes interesting for those searching for safety that is not present in street prostitution, for example. She highlights the lack of theoretical apparatus to convey the topic of online sex work in Brazil amid the stigmatization of prostitution, which is still been referred to as 'interactive pornography' or 'pornography in real-time.' I agree with understanding camming not as an extension of other forms of the sex market but as a brand-new branch, and the reference to pornography is not entirely appropriate since some cam models do not necessarily perform sexual activities.

What is valuable for the present thesis is the idea of camming as fundamentally interactive. That is probably the aspect that creates a distance from pornography, as highlighted by other authors (Brasseur and Finez 2020; Caminhas 2021; Henry and Farvid 2017). Online reality can be identified as a space for sex workers to find a safer setting to explore pleasure and intimacy while having the chance to increase their profits. It is important to comprehend how the individual characteristics are articulated in those spaces to increase the experience of co-presence (Pink et al. 2015), an idea that suggests the digital space as a possibility to enable the sensation of closeness and intimacy, no matter how far geographically one individual is from another. It is precisely the interactive character that fosters intimacy. In Garza (2022), we can see an interesting approach to sex work economies regarding the exchange of intimacy for gifts as a more personal and emotional form of payment than cash. In the same direction, Caminhas

(2021) reports the use of the “send gifts” feature as a more direct manner for clients to connect with cam models in an intimate way.

As Ditmore, Levy, and Willman (2013) argued, the contemporary economic context has “created a consumption-driven, service-based economy that increasingly sells human interactions and emotional exchanges... Pleasure, sexuality, and the erotic have become central components of globalized late-capitalist leisure culture” (9-11).

Following the same argument, Rand (2019) has stated that the digital inclusion and use of online social media are currently encompassing the work market overall, and affect all classes of labor, which embraces digital sex workers as well as those who undertake “an ‘entrepreneurial subjectivity’ and narrate ideals of flexibility and choice” (40). The choices for those who have a purpose of working online have increased enormously, and that includes using the body for paid sexual activities, such as camming performers. This type of sex work requires little technology and lower effort than other sex work categories. The longer the camming performer stays online more money they make, but there are no rules or required schedules, which has been an attraction for lots of people who already have a full-time job or are enrolled in college (Rand 2019).

In another article, Caminhas (2022) focuses on Camera Prive’s algorithmic ranking. In Camera Prive’s website it is clear that no ranking status is utilized to organize the models’ presentation order on the website page. Every thirty seconds, the page automatically refreshes for all four tabs CP offers (for cam models self-identifying as “girls,” “boys,” “transgirls,” and “transboys”), randomly changing the models who are on the top rows. On the lowest rows (below the online models) we can see cam models who are currently attending (in a group, private, or exclusive chat rooms) and the last rows are

the profiles of those who are offline. Therefore, the platform's main argument is precisely that no model will have priority in the list regardless of their number of followers, or what they look like. Caminhas (2022) disagrees and points to the existence of a hierarchical logic in the platform, which aims for stratifying and favoring models that are seen as more profitable, creating unequal work conditions, but the only evidence she presented came from her observations on the platform. Caminhas states categorically that the higher metrics³⁰ (number of followers and the platform achievements) guarantee the models' better positions, "which establishes what content and which people will have prominence, determining their value as commodities" (5). It is possible that this ranking system does exist, but I did not find evidence of this while observing the platform and Caminhas did not provide strong support for her claim, which reads more opinion based. It will be necessary to contact the platform directly and request access to their algorithms system, which was denied to Caminhas.

Sex work in Brazil, as in other countries, has its set of categorizations from the most socially acceptable to the most despicable, which entails that minorities (Black women and transgender people) will suffer the highest level of criminalization and marginalization in activities such as street prostitution (Caminhas 2022). Accordingly, white cisgender women will have lower rates in marginalized areas of sex work and be the majority among cam models and luxury escorts, for example. It is an undeniable fact that one of the biggest motivations for people to become cam models is financial gain since it is classified as a form of work, which requires payment for the offered service.

³⁰ There are different 'stamps' available on CP for models who achieved a certain follower number, models with clients who spent more than 30 minutes in a paid chat (called "crushes") and depending on for how long you have streaming, all of that would increase the model's ranking.

However, many performers who share experiences claim that they like what they do. Some of them said they need no money, but they enjoy appearing online and having pleasure (Jones 2016). The need for intimacy and companionship seems to be a reason both for camming performers and users. In her ethnography, Nayar (2017) presents the results from interviews with her interlocutors, who work as cam girls, in which it is possible to highlight the fact that 90 percent of clients are looking more for companionship than for sex and the definition of camming as an “honorable job of producing fantasies” (478). Lastly, it is possible to state that some people are not looking for sex in camming platforms. Many want to spend time (and money) chatting and having a nice time. The pleasure might be more in the imagination and in mental games that involve fetishes than in bodily contact. The emotion reached through communication is a strategy to keep clients online for a long time but is also a way to connect and explore intimacy online.

Work, Pleasure, and the Motivations for Camming in Brazil: Takeaway Points

Our digital identity is another side of what constitutes our inner self, it is no less real, it is just a piece of the mosaic composition that shapes our individuality. People perform different roles every day, and online personification is another expression of subjectivity (Pink et al. 2015). Thus, considering the digital landscape (Bluteau 2019) as a workspace, while working as an online sex entrepreneur, camming performers can decide either to show their faces without using masks, or other accessories to hinder identification - or the performers can remain anonymous and hide their faces by presenting oneself with the webcam focusing on the under-neck body instead of on the

face. In both cases, anyone can see those people there and can chat by message or using the microphone. For that reason, the presence and chance to build up a connection is real.

With that said, it is important to introduce the digital anthropology perspective, which will be further developed in the next chapter. Miller (2018, 1) defines “digital” as an object of study in its relationship with the world throughout its impact on human lives. As the concept of digital is considered “everything that can be reduced to the outcome of binary coding,” and by its nature, can be easily reproduced and shared. Miller highlights holistic ethnography as an advantageous approach to understanding the digital worlds within social relations and practices. Moreover, anthropologists are invested in showing contradictions in the elements of the human world and the nuances of what people believe, why they believe, and how they represent it. Camming, therefore, is an auspicious topic to study through digital anthropology since I start from the principle that there are intrinsic connections between sociocultural reality and online interactions, in which both impact the other dialectically.

I finish this chapter with the confidence that the fundamental theoretical framework has been fairly introduced. It is an interesting exercise to combine the three conceptual spheres I mentioned beforehand to address the research questions. Connecting the Brazilian sensual ethos, with a comprehension that camming represents feminized labor conducted in the digital landscape provided conditions to draw the appropriate methodology and have a consistent theoretical background to conduct the non-participant observations online and further move to the coding and analyses process with the aim that these previously mentioned theories would guide the search for answers about camming in Brazil. Digital anthropology would provide the basic tools to answer whether the

sensual ethos of Brazilian people is mirrored or challenged in camming discourse and content; whether camming is (as most sex work categories) also genderized, and if it offers some advantages for women; lastly whether the digital landscape offers strategic tools to achieve pleasure, intimacy, and money.

CHAPTER III - METHODS

Digital Anthropology

In 2018 Sarah Pink said in an interview with the IT University of Copenhagen that it is currently impossible to develop an anthropological study that is not, on some level, digital. Pink (2018) argues that digital reality is already an integral part of our society, both in infrastructure and in interaction. Although the subject of a given study might not be about a specific digital circumstance, all the processes of circulation of information and scientific research divulgation depend of the digital environment.

Early approaches regarding the creation of the internet addressed problems related to mass media, which were already developed by anthropologists. Pertierra (2018) presents a review of how anthropologists have understood media since the early 1990s. The duality between production and consumption was inevitable in early studies since the functions of producer and consumer were clearly separated. Such considerations shifted to the digital reality without much change in the early days of Web 1.0, where basically, the internet users were consumers of static web pages' content and thus had a similar position as the mass media (such as television) audience. Coleman (2010) claims that the ethnographic approach to media consumption changed with the rise of Web 2.0., which allowed contemporary social media to develop. With the rise of social media, consumers of content could also be producers, communicators, and influencers. Moreover, online social interaction becomes much more vivid. The new media (Lister et al. 2009) impacted reality through different forms of experience, affecting perception, embodiment, representation, and simulation. All these affected both human society and the anthropological understanding of social and cultural productions. It is worth mentioning

that, according to Levy (1998), virtualization (the act of exploring virtual spaces) is a part of the cultural transformation, therefore, is not the opposite of reality, and abandonment of the dichotomy between the virtual and real world would be an asset to the development of digital anthropology/virtual ethnography.

In 2000, Hine published *Virtual Ethnography*, one of the first thematic books about the topic. She combined online content with external sources (such as television) to demonstrate the virtual as a space where identities could be explored and reinvented. With that, she assumed that the online is not less authentic, and the identity expressed virtually is connected to offline situations. One of the great contributions of this approach is the irrefutable connection between virtual content and the space/time where the objects are contextualized by the audience. Hine contributed even more to the debate about the use of the internet as an anthropological source of investigation in a more recent book, *Ethnography for the Internet: Embedded, Embodied and Everyday*, (2020), where she explores the interwoven offline and online experiences and the forms that people are using the internet as a way of being present in the world as an embodied experience. I agree with the more recent characterization of online presence developed by the author since, in my research, I could observe that the digital transcends geographical limitations and allows us to be present even when we are apart.

During my readings on digital anthropology, I observed two different (but not exclusive) perspectives. One is the ethnography of virtual worlds, and the other is the ethnography of social uses and impacts of digital apparatus. Boellstorff was a precursor in virtual ethnography when developed and published his research *Coming of Age in Second Life* in 2008. In his book, he first argues that we have always been virtual, or at

least since the cave paintings and the development of writing since both can express ideas without the presence of the referential object. Thus, for Boellstorff, “virtual” means an abstraction or a representation. However, he goes further in presenting virtual reality as a legitimate site of culture and develops a participant observation-based study entirely online on the website Second Life³¹ while using an avatar and without any contact with his interlocutors in offline settings. In another book that he wrote in collaboration with other authors, *Ethnography of Virtual Worlds* (2012), he presents the idea of the possibility of participant observation in virtual worlds in a holistic project. Such a project could be done by utilizing other data collection methods (such as chat logs, screenshots, video, and audio) in addition to interviews, Boellstorff also highlights the importance of always paying attention to the necessary preservation of participants’ anonymity and dedicating several hours of daily involvement with the informants for an extensive period, as a prerequisite for ethnographic study regardless its field site.

An alternative perspective has been developed more recently by Miller and others (see Horst and Miller 2020; Miller et al. 2016; Miller 2018; Pink et al. 2015; Spyer 2017). This group of scholars has contributed to the development of digital anthropology building on previous studies (such as from Boellstorff) as defending its interdisciplinary approach (especially Pink et al. 2015, who argue that digital ethnography is a tool that could be utilized by distinct fields). They agree about the false dichotomy between digital and real and opted for using the concept of “digital” instead of “virtual” because it is more inclusive and embraces everything made by binary code. One of the most thought-

³¹ Second Life is a virtual world and online community where users can create their own avatar, or virtual persona, and interact with other users from around the world.

provoking points raised by Horst and Miller (2020) is the definition of digital materiality and dialectical nature of digital realities. The digital is material both regarding the infrastructure, the context, and the content, while the dialectical principle ascertains that the offline world constrains and enables online interactions, and the online world also impacts the offline reality. The difference between the approach presented by Horst and Miller and the virtual ethnography developed by Boellstorff is that for Horst and Miller, it is important to observe the uses of digital platforms and gadgets by different groups of people in 'physical world' for a truly holistic overview. In that case, digital is an irrefutable integral part of everyday life but is not a reality in itself.

The perspective that suits my research better is a hybrid one that combines certain elements of both perspectives, and I utilize the term "digital anthropology" since no participation was employed (therefore, it is not an ethnography) and I agree with Levy (1998) that the concept of 'virtual' may imply a false opposition to 'real.' While I utilize many concepts from Horst and Miller (2009), I also aim to conduct my research entirely online as Boellstorff (2008). I understand the internet as my field site, and I will refer to this field as 'digital landscape,' appropriating the concept from Bluteau's (2019) study where he employs the term because the geographical or single space is outdated in the digital networks. I also think that is important to add the influence of studies on specific platforms such as Instagram and YouTube (Bluteau 2019; Burgess and Green 2013; Gal et al. 2016; Manovich 2017; Ross 2019) because they are not just tools but field sites and interesting for analyzing community interaction.

Researching Sex Work Online

I projected the present thesis methodology confident that it would be an asset in answering my discussion questions on camming in Brazil. Equally, I believe that it is possible to conduct research on sex work entirely online, particularly because this category represents a new aspect never seen together in other categories of the sex market: active interaction within digital platforms. Some of the elements presented during my early predictions changed due to this singular characteristic³². It is my hope that the strategies I applied could aid further investigations in the field of online sex work studies while contributing to the debate regarding ethical methodologies that respect the rights of both the human subjects involved as well as the online platforms' terms of service.

An unexpected element came into play while I was putting the last touches on the present thesis. I had the opportunity to travel to Brazil during the 2022 winter break, and this fact contributed enormously to rethinking the reflections organized during data collection. Even though the proximity to Brazilian people did not interfere with the online research model employed, since I still did not meet any person who worked with camming or modified the methods presented in my thesis proposal, it was evident that the contact with the culture I grew up in reinforced my confidence regarding the Brazilian sensual ethos and helped shape my understanding of the motivations for people seeking strategies to overcome financial struggles and maintain romantic intimacy while pursuing

³² As an example of something that I did not predict is that the digital platform, even though considered a "public space," became a subject in my study for "who" I had to request authorization. Additionally, the interaction between cam models and clients could only be observed partially through the free chat; for this reason, I had to include information from the cam models' profiles, such as the number of followers and comments.

sexual mores. Hence, such ethnographic observations contributed to the reflexivity regarding the thesis topic and will be further developed in the next chapter.

Feminism as Method

I have traced the objectives of my thesis considering the contributions of feminism and feminist anthropology. It was adequate to draw such a framework both in the literature review and now in the methodological aspects. The reason why it is important to mention this decision is that it affects both *what* I looked for during my study and *how* I looked, observed, and analyzed the data collected. According to Bernard (1988), what categorizes an investigation as a feminist project is the focus on gender as an important analytical category and the aim to contribute to overcoming gendered oppression and exploitation. In this regard, the present study thus considers gender as a conceptual category since I understand online sex work in Brazil as a feminized labor marked for the commoditization of women's emotional and sensual characteristics and because men are still the primary consumer of such commodities. While analyzing the particularities of this category of sex work, we can also observe that many of the discourses related to agency, pleasure, and independence are used strategically to defeat forms of oppression that are well documented in studies about sex work and female exploitation. I believe that it is critical making this point as clear as possible because I do not think that any scientific enterprise can be entirely neutral in its intentions. Therefore, the decisions made during the research process attended to problems of gender inequality but also intended to project a form of reflection that observe a less prejudiced overview.

This kind of approach has been applied in anthropological studies and in investigations on observing sex work in general. In anthropology, scholars (e.g., Abu-

Lughod 1990; Edmonds 2010; Jacobs 2010; Kulick 1997; Liechty 2005; Mead 1935; Parker 2009; Williams 2013) have explored different cultural perspectives on gender focusing on particular contexts while identifying forms of oppression, and most importantly, giving voice to the subjects that were excluded from mainstream narratives, and with that changing the current understanding on gender relations. I am inspired by these examples since I intended to build the thesis' methodology respecting the subjects I was focusing the principal research question on Brazilian cam models and their motivations to participate in this form of sex work. As I mentioned before, I believe it is important to build up a cultural and contextual framework, firstly because the current thesis does not intend to be a cross-cultural analysis and secondly because the particular elements that affect people's daily life reflect in the way they relate to the world, and gender, specifically, it is a fundamental element to transit in the environment investigated.

Feminist theory has also contributed immensely to the methodology applied in investigating sex work (Dewey 2012; Ditmore, Levy, and Willman 2013; Sanders and Campbell 2007; Zelizer 2009). These influences highlight the dichotomy between exploitation and agency in the midst of irregular and, most of the time, illegal labor. As women are the majority of the workers, it is expectable that these researches have females as foci in investigations. What is interesting in terms of the applied methodology are the possible ways to trace connections between body, work, and prejudice when the scholars have demonstrated the constant dialectical movement between the self-narratives of women whose work is sexual in its nature and the sociocultural context in which the activity is conducted. Therefore, the social construction of gender is a crucial element in

understanding the motivations for women working in sexual activities and interpreting the working conditions and the social repercussions, which can be applied in the research questions focusing on sensual ethos and feminized labor.

In the same direction, scholars who focused specifically on online sex work (Caminhas 2022; Drenten, Gurrieri, and Tyler 2020; Henry and Farvid 2017; Jacobs 2010; Mathews 2017; Nayar 2017; Rand 2019) while applying a feminist perspective, provided valuable indications on how to collect data and interpret it. I reproduced some indications from these previous studies, combining and suiting the scope of my own objectives and limitations. While most studies combine the digital investigation (online) with direct contact (offline) with the interlocutors, I excluded the second element and concentrated my efforts on conducting the research entirely online, since I aimed to answer the research question on the uses of the digital landscape for cam models. What is fundamental in all these past studies and to my research as well, is learning about the online environment one is focusing the study, in my case the website Camera Prive, but could be other camming platforms, porn websites, social media profiles, escorts websites, etc. For my study, the online platform is a field site to investigate gender roles, subjectivities, discourses, and their implications.

The necessity to include women's voices in studies is always preserved in feminist methodologies, so I did it to my research yet modifying the access: instead of doing interviews with the interlocutors, I observed, coded, and analyzed content and discourse from CP models' profiles and include narratives from YouTube videos. Lastly, one element that cannot be excluded from a study on online sex work refers to the strategies elaborated on and applied by the subjects and the relationship with their

consumers. While the corporal experience can be limited by the technological tool utilized, the emotional outcome seems to be a key to connecting these two poles. The feminist approach is thus adequate both theoretically and methodologically because the elements involved in online sex work are not mere concepts and have a deep connection to the empirical world where individuals, mostly women, utilize body image to acquire income, connection, and pleasure.

Non-participant Observation: The Lurking Technique

In anthropology, we can see different levels of participation and observation. In Bernard (1988), the main aspects of each are described as involvement and detachment, respectively, and the adequate balance will depend on the type of project developed and what research questions are aimed to be answered. In the present thesis, I tried to find a balance between the extremes of “going native” and “nonparticipation.” I preferred using the “non-participant observation” terminology because it is important to make it as clear as possible that I did not engage in any direct interaction with cam models or their clients during the period of my research. I never made myself known to them since I did not need to have a personal account to view the CP platforms and the models’ profiles. However, since I was learning about the platform, its organization, and about the models’ narratives and strategies, my non-participant observation was also “active” (Bernard 1988, 262-263) as it was indispensable to experience as much as possible of what other people were experiencing on the site in order to understand the cultural behavior. I did not aim to have the same experience as a cam model nor the experience of a client, yet I was convinced that was fundamental to experience Brazilian camming as somebody who

is discovering this universe and allowed to be touched by the emotional outcomes from a reflexive exercise.

Kozinets (2019) offers a classification of possible participation in digital platforms. Based on what the author called “lurker” membership, I observed the website Camera Prive grounding on the lurking technique, a form of observation where it is possible to witness and learn from a community without either being a user or a performer. Following Kozinets’ (2019) approach, I looked for information instead of belonging, as it was not my aim to change my role to a maker, interactor, or networker (the other membership classifications present in Kozinets’ nethnography). Therefore, the ‘lurking’ character was imperative because I did not intend to present myself as a researcher nor to communicate with camming models or clients during the period I was observing and learning about the CP website and models’ profiles.

I firstly focused on learning the legal aspects of Camera Prive’s website, such as the terms of service for users and streamers (available in different languages) and the platform agreement to create an account and start camming (only available in Portuguese). Both files are extremely relevant because they gave me the knowledge of what I could be able to use as a researcher and what I should expect to see from users and models when following the legal terms³³. Thus, learning from the camming platform was

³³ That is the reason why I needed to submit a modification form within the university institutional review board: besides soliciting the Camera Prive’s legal authorization to conduct my research on their website, I was requested to make it clear that no visual content (such as screenshots) would be collected or shared during my study; also it was crucial to stress the focus of my observations was in the public content, which is accessible to everyone (without the necessity of being logged in an account), generated by the models hence not including information about their clients.

an asset for organizing the research, predicting the outcomes, and having a background for the users' and models' expectations regarding their rights and obligations.

Another important contribution to my thesis from Bernard (1988) refers to the organization of sampling methods. "Random-Interval Instantaneous Sampling," also called "spot observation," is the appropriate approach to the kind of research I have developed. The reason spot observation, or time allocation technique, was applied to my study is, firstly, the impossibility of pursuing an "entire observation section." An entire observation section would only be possible if I had engaged in participating in paid chats with models, for example, and had the chance to observe an entire conversation. The second reason for applying a spot observation in non-participant research is the time frame available for its development. Therefore, what I thought would be more efficient, was organizing an "observing schedule that specifies the day and the time of each observation and target individual(s) whose behavior is to be described" (ibid, 319).

I built a schedule to visit the website at least one hour per day for 24 consecutive days to observe the differences in participation throughout the different times of day and be able to contrast and compare the differences between weekdays and weekends, and day-time versus nighttime. I had prepared to develop the research during the summer when I would have had more flexibility in my working schedule to follow the research schedule more consistently (starting the first day at 1 AM, the second day at 2 AM, and so on). My research was delayed during the process of obtaining IRB approval and I instead conducted research in October. I modified the schedule to accommodate my other obligations during the fall semester, and for that reason, the research was conducted between October 1 and October 24, following the possible hours available (Table 1).

Nevertheless, I was still able to observe the platform for 24 days and for 24 different hours, having, therefore, a whole vision of the website at different times and weekdays.

By the end of this period, I accounted for 6191 online cam model profiles.

Table 1 *Schedule of non-participant observation*

Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
						1 12:00 PM 176
2 6:00 PM 187	3 10:00 AM 118	4 5:00 PM 317	5 3:00 AM 255	6 2:00 AM 349	7 9:00 AM 231	8 7:00 AM 133
9 9:00 PM 229	10 8:00 PM 331	11 2:00 PM 304	12 10:00 PM 295	13 4:00 AM 137	14 3:00 PM 324	15 4:00 PM 258
16 7:00 PM 282	17 12:00 AM 313	18 5:00 AM 162	19 11:00 PM 492	20 1:00 AM 439	21 1:00 PM 285	22 6:00 AM 204
23 11:00 AM 140	24 8:00 AM 230					

The first line refers to the day (from October 1st to October 24th), the second line refers to the time (BRT) the observation started, and the third line refers to the total number of cam models online at that time.

Each day I observed and wrote in an Excel spreadsheet the total number of people online (in 24 days a total of 6191) who were identified with a green circle on their profile (indicating online status) and concentrated on the top of the page in the four different gender categories. I observed the total number of online models who self-identified in one of the four categories available on CP: “girls” (in 24 days a total of 4690), “boys” (in 24 days a total of 769), “transgirls” (in 24 days a total of 690), and “transboys” (in 24 days a total of 22). The online models are also identified according to the category of chat room they are currently attending, and for that, I counted how many models (in each of the gender categories mentioned above) were “online” (in 24 days a total of 3846), meaning they were available in a free chat before moving forward to another chat room,

how many were in “private chat” (in 24 days a total of 1374), how many were in “group chat” (in 24 days a total of 238), and how many were in the “exclusive chat” (in 24 days a total of 711).

Each of these chat room arrangements attend to different publics and charge the clients different prices: the group chat is the cheapest one (called “simple chat,” *chat simples* in Portuguese) because it allows multiple clients to participate so the interaction with the model may be affected according to the number of clients she/he is attending; the private chat (*chat privado*) provides more intimacy since the contact between the client and model is individualized, but other people have the option to pay to watch the chat, as a voyeur, without communicating with the model; the exclusive chat (*chat exclusivo*) is the most expensive since it guarantees that the client and model will have privacy without the presence of other clients. The free chat is the only one that I had access to since I never created a user account, which would have allowed me to pay for the other three chat categories and speak with the cam models. Through the free chat, I could only have access to the streaming for three minutes and observe how the model choose to present him/herself, the scenario, and the initial conversation with clients.

Besides counting how many people were online each day, I closely observed six online profiles each day (there were two exceptions when I only observed four profiles for personal reasons), and by the end of the 24th day, I had observed 140 cam model profiles. I selected the profiles randomly following the CP profiles’ organization: every 30 seconds, the models’ profiles change position on the website’s initial page, allowing more individuals to have a chance of appearing in the first rows (in each row we can see 6 profiles and the number of rows will depend on how many people are online). The

disposition of online profiles does not attend a hierarchical disposition, such as in other camming platforms where the most viewed or followed profiles appear in the first positions. In my research, the CP automatic disposition for profiles was an asset in selecting profiles for closer observation. After accounting for the total of models online in each self-identified gender category, I selected the first profiles in each tab. As the majority of models online were always “girls,” I selected 3 or 4 profiles from this category, then followed the proportion for other categories. Among 140 profiles analyzed, 87 were “girls,” 24 were “boys,” 21 were “transgirls,” and only 8 were “transboys.” There were 11 days when no “transboys” were online, and in a few instances, the same “transboys” accounts were online as on previous days in my research, and for that reason, they are the minority among the profiles analyzed.

In online chats, the model can either chat using the microphone or the messages and can show their face and body depending on their strategies. They also can write a message in their “topic,” such as what the client should expect in each chat room category, which will appear on the right side of their streaming image on the top where the text messages are written. From the model’s chat room, I could click on their nickname and access the content they have uploaded to their personal profile. The model’s profile is very similar to that on other social media platforms. Besides the profile picture, we can see (I need to stress that everyone can have access to this information without the necessity of creating an account) the number of reviews, followers, and likes, country of residence, spoken language, location, age, the “about me” information (where the models write a personal description of themselves), specific information of what the client can expect in each of the chat room categories, a timeline with posts and followers

comments, photos and videos available (both for free or to purchase). On the right side of the profile is the option to subscribe to the model's "fan club" and suggestions to other "similar" models online.

From the model's profile and their appearance and interaction on the free online chat room, I collected information that I organized in a spreadsheet (Table 2). The spreadsheet counted 12 columns: (1) "Day/Model," which represents their "alternative nickname;" (2) "Name as a Brand" (NaaB), which I refer to any indication of the model's physical and/or personal characteristics; (3) "Gender Identification" (GI), according to the tab the model decided to present her/himself; (4) "Age," as indicated in their profiles (A); (5) "Content Shared" (CS) in which I observed the presence of photos and videos both free, paid, and premium, as well other elements that could appear in their timeline, such as stories and announcements; (6) "Number of Reviews" (R); (7) "Number of Followers" (F); (8) "Number of Likes" (L); (9) "Services Offered Indication" (SOI) where I included indication for receiving messages and calls and also to more specific categories of services (such as striptease, fetishes, play with toys, etc.); (10) "Facial Identification" (FI) that I separated in three codes: "Mask" (M), "Under Neck" or "Under Nose" (UN), and "Uncovered Face" (UF); (11) "Strategies" (S), the most detailed of all columns because it included information I observed both in the free chat and from the models profiles, including elements from clothing to setting, also forms of communication through audio, messages, replying comments, and other forms of interaction; and finally, (12) "Exclusive" (Ex) observing the icon most models have as indication that they work exclusively on Camera Prive.

Table 2 *Categories for non-participant observation*

Day/Model	Alternative nickname
NaaB	Name as a Brand
GI	Gender Identification
A	Age
CS	Content Shared
R	Number of Reviews
F	Number of Followers
L	Number of Likes
SOI	Services Offered Indication
FI	Facial Identification
S	Strategies
Ex	Exclusiveness

To protect the individuals' anonymity, I used alternative nicknames, or rather, numbers, according to the day and profile observed. For example, on day one and for the first profile, I used the code 1-1, for day two and the third profile observed, I used 2-3, and so on. No contact was made with any model during the research, no information that could be used for their identification was stored, and no information regarding the clients was collected. Following Camera Prive's terms of service, I did not collect visual content, such as screenshots, and I did not quote profiles' content to ensure that online searching tools cannot backtrace data. The spreadsheet is saved in an SSD (non-connected to wi-fi and secure with a password) and, following the guidelines approved in my IRB proposal, the data will be retained while the study is active and for a period of three years following closure, termination, or expiration of IRB approval, and may be destroyed after that time.

Polymedia and YouTube

According to Boellstorff (2012), an anthropological investigation of digital worlds needs to encompass a set of practices, meanings, social contexts, and interactions to characterize a holistic project. For that reason, I followed the concept of polymedia, introduced by Horst and Miller (2020), to explain the complexity of human relations built in different media ecology spaces. Polymedia suggests that the use of different platforms is often interconnected by users, and each one offers a place for communication and sociability. Thus, I assumed the relevance of analyzing profiles and accounts linked to CP's models on different platforms and observing how identities could be explored.

I expected that two websites would be most relevant: Instagram and Twitter, since they have different approaches to establishing censorship, allowing sexual content or not. While Twitter allows the publication of erotic content, Instagram deletes and bans accounts that disobey users' terms. However, Instagram has some advantages for anthropological research, as observed by scholars (Bluteau 2019; Manorvick 2017; Ross 2019) who affirm that the visual language represents choices and strategies relevant to those who create the content and for the audience. The contact with 'users' would be observed since these platforms allow both 'followers' and 'comments' forms of interaction. This step aimed to help in interpreting how camming performers are identified by themselves and by the audience. Nevertheless, the polymedia approach and the use of Instagram and Twitter needed modifications and reductions in scope.

Before delving into the CP models' profiles, I conjectured that cam models would advertise themselves on other social media platforms by providing links to their personal accounts. However, this did not occur: among the 140 profiles observed, only 4 individuals had in their information the link/tag for their Instagram or Twitter account.

For that reason, I changed the polymedia content observation approach and decided to apply the concept of digital landscape that can be seen constructed through different media ecologies, and in the present case, I focused on YouTube, which also contains visual and linguistic strategies utilized by the content creators aiming for the audience engagement.

The YouTube videos provided me with distinct advantages. The contact with videos recorded by camgirls helped me to interpret the camming performers' understanding of their motivations and expectations as well as to observe the interaction with the public through the likes, comments, and replies. I focused my analyses on the discourse of online sex workers through coding YouTube videos about camming, with a channel of a Brazilian cam girl who shares experiences about the work in a playlist translated as "Diary of a Cam Girl" with 59 videos (a total of 7 hours and 40 seconds of recorded and posted videos). The videos were recorded in a domestic environment where the cam girl is the only individual present, and there are no significant video editions or changes in the camera position while she is speaking. The personal narrative and interaction with followers through written and spoken comments create a sense of online community. For that reason, YouTube videos can be useful for digital anthropological research and an asset in reaching an understanding of the topic under investigation by accessing the individual narratives and the community aspect generated by the interaction of the content creator and their followers.

I contacted the YouTube channel's owner, Clara Aguilar, and requested her informed consent to watch her videos, transcribe them, and utilize the content for coding

and discourse analyses³⁴. With Clara Aguilar’s authorization and the IRB approval, I started organizing the 59 videos into a spreadsheet containing 12 columns (Table 3): (1) the number of the episode (from 1 to 59); (2) the date video was posted; (3) number of views; (4) number of likes; (5) number of comments; (6) video duration; (7) interaction (here, I considered both the video creator likes and replies in the comments section, also the “pinned comment” option, which is when the creator made her comment appear on the top of comments page); (8) 20 first top comments (here I observed if the comments were written by male or female followers, which could be observed by their nicknames and/or profile pictures); (9) the title in Portuguese; (10) content (where I observed the themes, narratives, and discourse); (11) form (if amateur or aimed to be more professional); and (12) the stance (in which I observed the tone of speech, attitudes, point of view, and performance). I also transcribed all videos in Portuguese.

Table 3 *Categories for video coding*

	Episode’s number
	Publication Date
NV	Number of Views
NL	Number of Likes
NC	Number of Comments
VD	Video Duration
I	Interaction
T20	Top 20 comments
TP	Title in Portuguese
Content	Themes, Conversational Narratives, Discourse
Form	Amateur or Professional
Stance	Tone of Speech, Attitudes, Point of View, Performance

³⁴ It is worth mentioning that both Clara Aguilar and the legal team of Camera Prive speak English, and for that reason, their informed consents were written in English and not in Portuguese.

The methodological structure to read YouTube videos as an anthropological source was inspired by a few works that revealed the advantageous character of digital platforms, especially the ones that act with visual production, in connecting the content production with the follower's reception as a sociocultural event. In *YouTube: Online Video and Participatory Culture*, Burgess and Green (2013) observe the transformations of the platform and the role number of likes and views play in the most watched videos and channels. This relates to my work because the book asks about the relationship between amateur producers and their audience, as well as questioning the production and consumption of videos as a cultural phenomenon. Therefore, one of the elements I highlighted in my observations was the most viewed, commented, and liked videos from the playlist studied since it can provide a valuable indication of what people are looking for when they are watching a cam girl speaking on YouTube about her personal and professional experiences. The nature of comments is an important element for understanding the public interest and consumption (ibid), which also can be observed through the incidence of likes and comments according to specific categories, such as content, form, and stance (Gal et al. 2016) generating interaction, discourse, and performance (Hartley et al. 2015).

Similarly, other works that focused mostly on Instagram contributed with conceptual categories and methodological designs that were appropriately adapted to the present thesis. Bluteau (2019), for example, applies an appealing strategy to combine offline and online ethnographies that he calls "immersive cohabitation." The author incorporated in-person contact with his interlocutors and suggests that it is possible for the anthropologist, instead of participant observation, to explore the observation of

participants in the online environment. That characteristic was embraced in my work through the nature of comments and the interaction of the YouTube creator with her followers. Marwick (2015) and Ross (2019) both analyzed the use of Instagram in creating a new status for people to reach notoriety and become “instafamous” (Marwick 2015) while applying strategies to get more likes, hence preserving an authentic ideology. This perspective was an asset in identifying strategies not just in the YouTube videos but in the Camera Prive profiles as well since, in both instances, the number of likes and engagement are directly connected to the “fame” a cam model can achieve. Finally, Drenten, Gurrieri, and Tyler (2020) focus specifically on the “porn chic” aesthetic observed in 172 female Instagram profiles. This work was valuable in terms of methodology because it gave indications on how to explore textual and visual content from these profiles while focusing specifically on sexualized labor and the relations to an attention economy, where public engagement with the content produced can be interpreted as potential profit.

Finally, using YouTube videos about camming was essential to my study for additional reasons, and I can indicate a few. Firstly, due to the limitation of time, I was not able to conduct interviews with camgirls. After engaging with the literature about this sexualized form of work, I understood that creating connections and confidence necessary to have the opportunity to interview professionals from this field would be better suited to a doctoral dissertation than a master’s thesis. The content shared in the YouTube videos provided the content I probably would not be able to reach in a conventional interview since my knowledge about camming was limited when I started researching, and for that reason, I could not address the questions answered in the videos

analyzed. Secondly, the way YouTube videos are designed and published allows researchers to observe the intentions and interactions regarding the topic under study. Lastly, since other social media platforms could not be investigated in this moment of my research, the polymedia aspect, so crucial in digital landscapes, could be well characterized within the cross-references between the two field sites observed, YouTube and Camera Prive.

Coding and Data Analyses

After collecting data from the Camera Prive website and the models' profiles jointly with the YouTube playlist information and transcripts, I started coding these materials. I organized the data observed in an extensive spreadsheet file, which covered a primary conceptual map, which aimed to combine and contrast content by themes and narratives both from visual, textual, and video recording content aiming to draw the camming performers' motivations in Brazil and the relations with the cultural and social elements. I initially selected 27 conceptual groups and divided them attending the three thematic spheres I presented in the literature review. This set of codes helped guide me through the initial contact with the camming universe. However, after the process of coding, I combined the new findings with my primary conceptual framework, which will be elaborated in the following chapter dedicated to the findings where each subtitle represents aspects that appeared either on discourse or content and are connected to the principal conceptual framework: sensual ethos, feminized labor, and digital landscape.

The present research approaches what Bernard (1980, 324) meant when he said that any coding system is susceptible to modification and inclusion of sub-categories as long it is appropriate. Thus, an inductive coding model is more appropriate since I started

the study with an ‘open coding’ and so to verify the research questions, the codes were extended and modified. Coding is a way to focus on key themes “within the context of various discussions” (Mannik and McGarry 2017, 106). While coding the data selected for this thesis, it was necessary to select, reduce, and summarize concepts that emerged from an inductive process. While ‘open coding’ provided the “keywords in context” (ibid), allowing me to identify, right in the research beginning, the broader theme identification, in the following steps, it was possible to introduce a ‘focused coding’ process (refining and reducing topics according to their interrelationships) and finally having a ‘selective coding,’ which combine the most substantial key themes in an interactive approach. With that, it was possible to proceed with the findings, analyses, and interpretation.

I combined observations of online behaviors, content shared, and discourses sustained. Even though each of these categories can have a different analytical system, for the matter of the present thesis, I will consider both behaviors, content, and acts of speech as forms of discourse. In Bernard (1980, 412), for example, we can see that an investigation centered in a discursive framework needs to consider the culture as part of the dialogic process. What is made and spoken happens in a certain contextual environment and is affected by the culture, but it also affects the further discourses that are susceptible to interpretation.

Blommaert and Bulcaen (2000) have defined discourse as a form of practice that encompasses what is socially produced, distributed, and consumed. In this regard, discourse cannot be limited to speech acts. Miller (1990) used the Foucauldian definition of power to reinforce the ways discourses are formed and spread. Discourses, in this

perspective, are not neutral nor existent by themselves, they are tools that operate in the form of statements that serve specific contextual projects, which aim for the agents' mutual benefits. In this regard, I observed the discourses composed both in Camera Prive statements (in their advertisements and their terms of use and service), in the cam models' profiles and forms of interaction with clients in the CP platform, and in the discourses communicated in the YouTube videos.

Moreover, a discourse-centered analysis offers an extended dimension of agency for those who are operating the expressive strategies in each context. Henceforth, while intending to understand the motivations for camming performers and the relationship to social and cultural elements, is fundamental to validate the discourses in an agent-centered investigation (Bernard 1980, 419). Even though such a method of analysis is conventionally applied in linguistic anthropology, I think the exploratory scope of my project is aligned with this perspective, and considering the way discourse is defined here, it is indeed appropriate.

Extra Sources and Reflective Journal

I benefited from the data available on official websites regarding unemployment rates and consumption patterns, especially during the Covid-19 pandemic. I also included web traffic analytics during the month in which I conducted non-participant observation on the CP website. This was provided by a public website (because it does not require creating an account) that offers such a service free of charge (as long only a short period of time is requested, in this case, the month of October 2022) to observe the users' traffic and engagement on the website Camera Prive (pro.similarweb.com).

According to Hine (2000), online studies require mental immersion and engagement with the imagination. For that reason, I aimed to explore my reflexivity and positionality during the whole process by keeping a non-digital reflexive journal. Having a small booklet by my side during the whole period of my research not only allowed me to feel more connected with the topic but also to register the impressions and insights the experience gave me. Digital anthropology allows different forms of thinking about the nature of embodied experiences both about the subjects under investigation and for the researchers who are transported through virtual systems. Sarah Pink, in *Doing Sensory Ethnography* (2009), offers different nuances on the forms that the anthropologist learns during the research process through “disorienting experiences” (45), and, I believe, some topics might be disorienting per se. Investigating a form of online sex work that it is still emerging in Brazil and an aspiration for many country fellows was thought-provoking. In many instances, I saw myself in the discourses analyzed, and in other instances, I shared common fears and desires, and for this reason, had more opportunities in understanding the motivations for cam models in Brazil. The “sensory ethnography” suggested by Pink, therefore, combines some elements I had the opportunity to practice during my research on camming: “a form of reflexivity through which the ethnographer engages with how her or his own sensory experiences are produced through research encounters and how these might assist her or him in understanding those of others” (Pink 2009, 50).

CHAPTER IV – FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Developing a study, reviewing the literature on the topic, and organizing the research steps is primarily an exercise of thought. One needs to connect the dots from what is relevant theoretically, and that requires tons of decision-making regarding including and excluding authors and readings that are interesting but maybe more or less adequate for the scope of your study and to be able to build a theoretical framework. The methodological strategies are created to answer the questions that motivated the research. Nevertheless, during the process of collecting data, the research background may be challenged by contact with a reality that was not possible to predict. Therefore, a purposeful theoretical and methodological framework would be adequate when it is capable of sustaining the research yet developing further during the process of learning empirically on the studied topic.

While the literature review focused on three spheres that combined give the perspectives of camming in Brazil (the sensual ethos, feminized work, and the digital landscape), to understand the findings it would be necessary to move to the concepts that arose during the research process. They represent the interconnections between the spheres since it is not possible to address the motivations for cam models only regarding an isolated aspect. To better illustrate the following pages' aims, it is necessary to understand the interconnections between the context and actors involved in Brazilian camming. For that, I will preserve the three conceptual spheres as three different sections in this chapter, but each will have subsections with the concepts that are connected to another sphere. In other words, I understand that the Brazilian sensual ethos presented and expressed in the particularities of a feminized work conditioned to a digital landscape

provides the cultural background for camming in Brazil (and it is expressed as a form of discourse and habitus), while the concepts generated for these intersections are the real motivations.

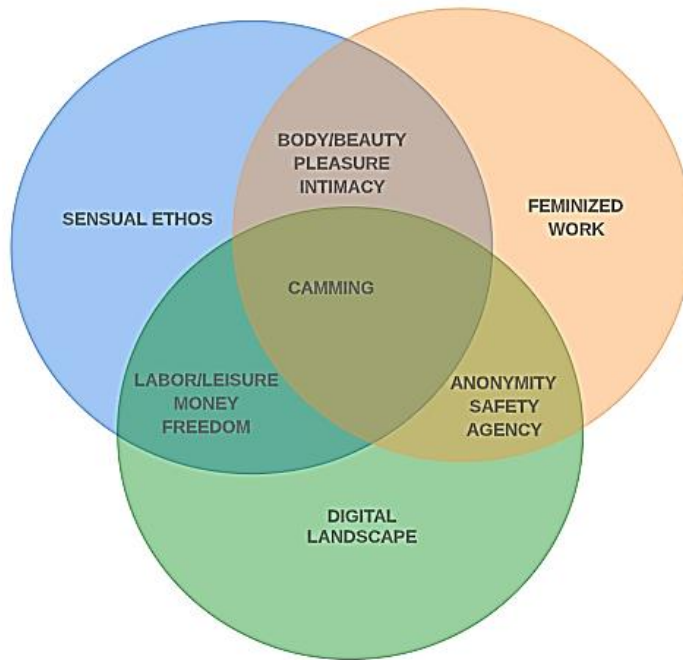


Figure 1. Conceptual map on camming

The data analyzed were collected from non-participant observations on the Camera Prive website and from the YouTube playlist “*Diario de Uma Cam Girl*,” which belongs to Clara Aguilar. The results were satisfactory in answering the research question about the motivations for cam models in Brazil since the analysis indicates that the Brazilian sensual ethos is mirrored in online sex work, which will be elaborated through the concepts of “body and beauty,” “pleasure,” and “intimacy.” These concepts are connected to the characteristics that camming assumes as a feminized form of labor, and the results demonstrated that the definition of sex work, in this context, is not blurred or confused with other forms of sex work, as I expected. The cam model’s self-

identification is clearly one of the motivations for their work (for them, there is no misunderstanding between what is a cam model and other sex workers). Although CP accounts for different gender performances, camming is a majority feminized work motivated by the concepts of “anonymity,” “safety,” and “agency.” Lastly, these concepts are only empirically possible in a digital landscape, the third sphere of my conceptual framework, in which I asked about the limits between private and public and between work and pleasure in this form of intimate and lucrative activity conducted from home. In this regard, the concepts associated with the digital landscape and online sex work in Brazil refer to “labor and leisure,” “money,” and “freedom.” I think the last concept, freedom, is the most compelling of all motivations since it combines cultural perspectives and individual drive with online advantages.

Ultimately, the theoretical result indicated here demonstrates that the conceptual spheres are what provide the structure for camming in Brazil amid the relation of power-knowledge-pleasure as stated in Foucault (1990). The set of concepts represented by the interconnections are what give the motivations and are settled in forms of habitus, what makes people do what they do, and discourses, the forms that people organize the meanings for their actions. The chapter ends with an evaluation of the procedures applied in the thesis concerning the scope of conclusive analyses. The findings and discussions are followed by the conclusion chapter, where I included some of my reflections from the reflective journal, provide contributions to the anthropological field, and indications for future studies.

The Sensual Ethos of Brazilian Life

In this first section, I discuss the data collected from non-participant observations of the Camera Prive website (<https://cameraprive.com/br/>) and Clara Aguilar's videos (<https://www.youtube.com/@canalclaraaguilar>). Then, I move to the more specific set of motivations that connect the sensual ethos with feminized work: body and beauty, pleasure, and intimacy. I will first elaborate on these two elements (the camming platform Camera Prive and the cam model Clara Aguilar) and how they are both structured in Brazil.

Camera Prive was launched in Brazil in 2013 after the Dark Media Group, a former tech company, became part of the camming market. It did not take long for the other, smaller, platforms to close their businesses as the majority of performers migrated to Camera Prive. Currently, Camera Prive “is the largest platform in the country, with around 90 million visitors monthly, 8 million registered users, and 4000 active performers. It is the 45th most accessed platform in Brazil and the sixth in the adult entertainment in the country” (Caminhas 2022, 2). It is interesting comparing the information provided in Caminhas' ethnography with my results because the data she presented was collected in 2021, one year before I started my study, thus in the context of the pandemic and lockdown.

In October 2022, I conducted non-participant observation on the online platform Camera Prive. According to Similar Web Analytics³⁵, the website registered 32.82 million worldwide visits, which represented an increase of 36.52% compared to the

³⁵ Similar Web Analytics. 2022. Cameraprive.com Analytics. Accessed December 28, 2022. <https://www.similarweb.com/site/cameraprive.com/#overview>

previous month, but a significant decrease when considering Caminhas' (2022) data mentioned above. I did not have the intention of focusing on the platform traffic, but I found this information useful to give the range context to the period I was frequently engaging with the platform. Of those 32.82 million visits, 93.76% were made from mobile phones, while only 6.24% from desktop computers (the method I used to navigate the website). This information is relevant because it reflects people's digital access: once having a computer was strictly for higher economic classes, the use of devices such as smartphones may have democratized internet access in the country³⁶. From the monthly visits, 12.62 million referred to unique visitors, demonstrating that the platform has a consistent loyal audience.

On the other side of the Brazilian camming world is one of the contributors to this thesis, Clara Aguilar, a 34-year-old cam girl and digital influencer. She is the biggest name in camming in Brazil for several reasons. First of all, she started working as a cam girl as soon she turned 18 years old (in 2006) when camming did not even exist in the country. Her experiences in the activity started by streaming from studios to "*sites gringos*" (especially North American platforms). While the first year was not exactly profitable, everything started changing when she changed her nickname and persona from Jessica Summers to Barbie Wild. She incorporated this lucrative stereotype, the "playboy cover girl" standard, with bleach blonde hair and breast silicone implants into her persona. It required lots of effort and uncountable hours online, but Aguilar became the

³⁶ "A recent study done by the Pew Research Center has revealed that 84 million adults in Brazil own a smartphone. Percentage-wise, this is 54% of adults in this country. This places Brazilians as one of the most avid smartphone users in the world based on countries." In "29+ Smartphone Usage Statistics: Around the World in 2022."

cam girl number one on the platform where she performed and the most famous cam girl in the world for four to five years (since she consistently kept her high position).

In 2014, Clara participated in the Brazilian edition of Big Brother (BBB), a reality show that is popular worldwide in which a certain number of participants are locked inside of a house and have their routines streamed to the country on the biggest broadcast channel (Globo TV, in Brazil). She had successful participation, being one of the last “eliminated” through popular vote, and starred as the first lesbian couple on Brazilian open TV. During her participation, she mentioned her occupation and the “camming” activity, and what was a very niche market became popular. After that, Clara (who was already famous as a cam girl abroad) and Camera Prive made a fruitful partnership. Clara started streaming from Camera Prive using her real name and retiring her character Barbie Wild for good. On her first day online, the platform crashed due to the high level of simultaneous access and since then she has been a Camera Prive-exclusive model.

In all YouTube videos used for this research, Clara mentioned Camera Prive as the best camming platform and recommended it to all Brazilians who are considering becoming a cam model. It is not an exaggeration to affirm that Clara Aguilar is not just a cam girl, she is responsible for bringing awareness about camming to the country, making it popular through her social media, and increasing Camera Prive’s popularity through their partnership. Over half of the titles of the analyzed videos start with “*No tempo em que...*” which can be translated as “Once upon in time...” giving the videos a sort of magical narrative that is compelling when combined with the intimate tone of speech built in a conversational narrative covering topics related to camming experience in an amateur configuration. Lastly, for the scope of my thesis, even though it is not a

biographical study, it is relevant mentioning Clara Aguilar's contributions to camming in Brazil, especially because she is, herself, a motivation for camming.

One of the reasons Aguilar cites as an advantage for streaming from CP instead of *sites gringos* is the language. Aguilar did not know English when she started performing and needed someone else to help her, and later felt the necessity to master the language; otherwise, it is "hard to have a real interaction while speaking – bad – English" (CA 2018)³⁷. The payment system was also complicated at that time since only one place in Brazil was allowed to withdraw the camming cash, or cam models were required to use specific bank accounts, which were not always trustworthy companies. Regardless, she affirmed it was good to be paid in dollars, but it was a huge challenge to stand out among two thousand other cam girls, who were usually daily broadcasting on those platforms.

The Brazilian sensual ethos assumed different characteristics than what I expected. Instead of clear sexual connotations, what matters in the context of camming is how to express and perform such a sensuality to convert it into profits. Language plays an important role here because it is difficult to express intimacy and achieve pleasure through authentic connection if such is compromised by the lack of communication. Therefore, here we have a few other motivations for currently camming in Brazil: the lack of language barrier and the easily facilitated payments.

Body and Beauty

Understanding body and beauty as part of what was defined as erotic capital is imperative here. Erotic capital constitutes what is considered desirable by dominant

³⁷ All the quotes identified as "CA" are from Clara Aguilar YouTube videos, which I freely translated from Portuguese to English, and the year refers to the date the video was released.

standards and makes bodies more valuable and profitable in the camming universe. In this section, I explore how some aspects connected to both instances are expressed in camming, focusing on the use of self-advertising through the strategy NaaB (name as a brand), aging issues, and strategies to enhance the erotic capital.

On the profiles observed in CP, I highlighted the NaaB category, which refers to the cam models' chosen nickname. It may refer to some of their physical characteristics, age, country's region, sexual behavior, and occupation. I have found it interesting since the first time I visited CP and observed that only a few models use "regular" names (e.g., "Amy" and "Peter"), which could easily be pseudonyms. Instead, cam models opt for more personally allusive names, for example, "Northeastern Blonde" (indicating the country's region and body features) or "Dom Psychologist" (indicating sexual behavior, domination, and professional occupation)³⁸. Even though it may depersonalize the cam model as an individual, the NaaB strategy is widely utilized. Among the study sample (n=140), only 45 (32.14%) cam models did not use NaaB and preferred using conventional names (which can be their real names or not).

The connection between body and beauty is evident in this regard. Several NaaBs include physical characteristics that could be general traits, such as "pretty," "gorgeous," or very specific, including the dimensions of one's penis or clitoris size, for example. This strategy is thus applied as a form of self-advertising and helps the client decide to click on one's profile, conscious of what the cam model has to offer as bodily performance. Camera Prive does not require its users to disclose any "racial

³⁸ It is important to remember that no real nicknames would be utilized in this thesis. All examples are fictitious to illustrate of the NaaB strategy.

identification.” While some models incorporated racialized and/or ethnicized references into their nickname (NaaB), the vast majority of profiles I observed did not. Caminhas (2022) has argued elsewhere that BIPOC+ models are discriminated against by the algorithm Camera Prive uses to prioritize models’ profiles on the first rows of the web page. She specifically cites racialized NaaBs as evidence that reveals such disparity between white and BIPOC+ models, however, the research I present in this thesis does not support her conclusions.

Caminhas (2022) offers a broader overview of what concerned her interlocutors regarding camming work, and it seems aging plays an important role since the author presented this as a preclusion for working (if you are not “seen” as young, you will not have as many clients). In this regard, Caminhas points out that some cam girls lied about their real age on the website and tried to maintain their profile information in their early to mid-twenties as long as possible. In one of the “#Ask Clara” videos³⁹, Clara answered a follower’s question made in a previous video about the existence of older women in Camera Prive, and she reinforced that diversity and authenticity are essential on the website. Accordingly, in my research sample (n=140), the average age for cam models online is 27.6 years old, with a range from 18 to 59. Even though the sample size may not be representative of the population size (in this case, the total of cam models online,

³⁹ The “#Ask” tag is common among YouTube creators and is a proper way to connect with followers since the channel’s owner selects a certain number of questions made in comments to answer in a video. It could either follow a common topic or not. Clara has seven out of fifty-nine videos with the #Ask Clara title, and those are, so far, the most interesting videos to analyze anthropologically because they provided the chance to observe other’s people questions, expectations, and motivations regarding the desire to become a cam model.

N=6191), I found it interesting to observe how the number of followers is spread through different models' age groups (Figure 2).

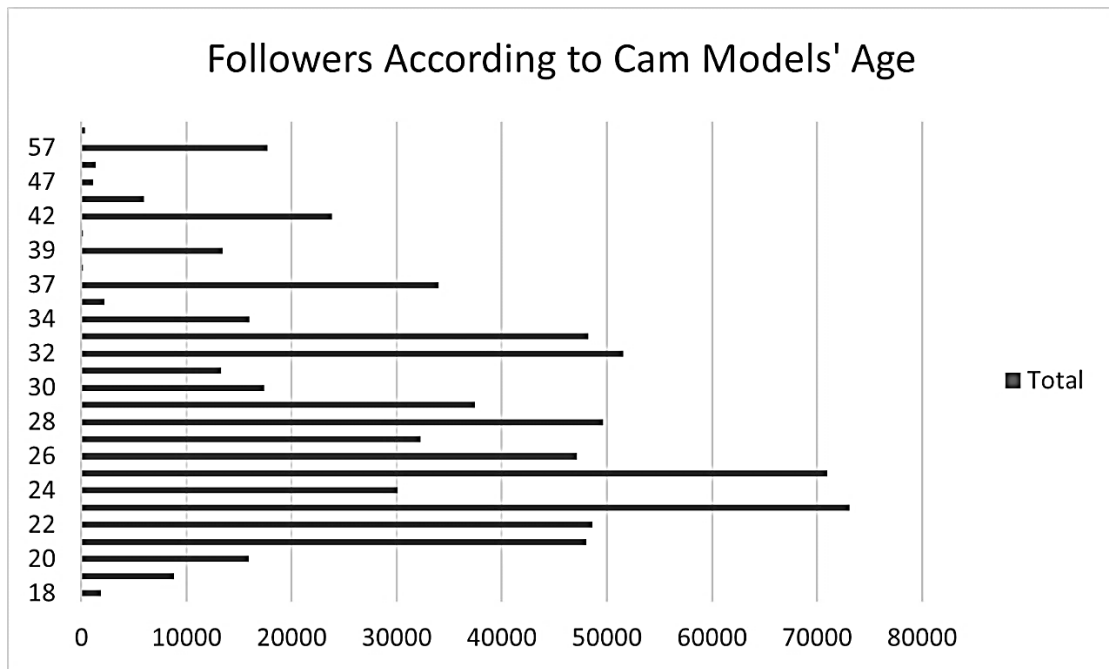


Figure 2. Distribution of followers according to models' ages.

We can observe that the concentration of followers is found in cam models with early 20 to early 30 years old. Surprisingly the youngest models have fewer followers than the oldest ones, challenging Caminhas' (2022) assumptions that the market caters to the youngest models. I can imagine that such a contradiction may represent the fact that older people are working as cam models for a longer time and, for that reason, have had more time to accumulate followers, while 18 years old⁴⁰ models, legally, just started their career. Besides, considering the concept of erotic capital, it is possible to assume that experience plays an important role in utilizing body and beauty as a profitable strategy.

⁴⁰ Even though it seems obvious, it is important to stress that the minimum age required to work as cam model is 18 years old. Also, to access the platform you must agree that you are at least 18 years old.

The other thing that is worth observing is the clients' age. I did not have access to the clients' information through the CP platform; however, we can observe the demographic information through the website analytics to know the age distribution of the website users during October 2022.

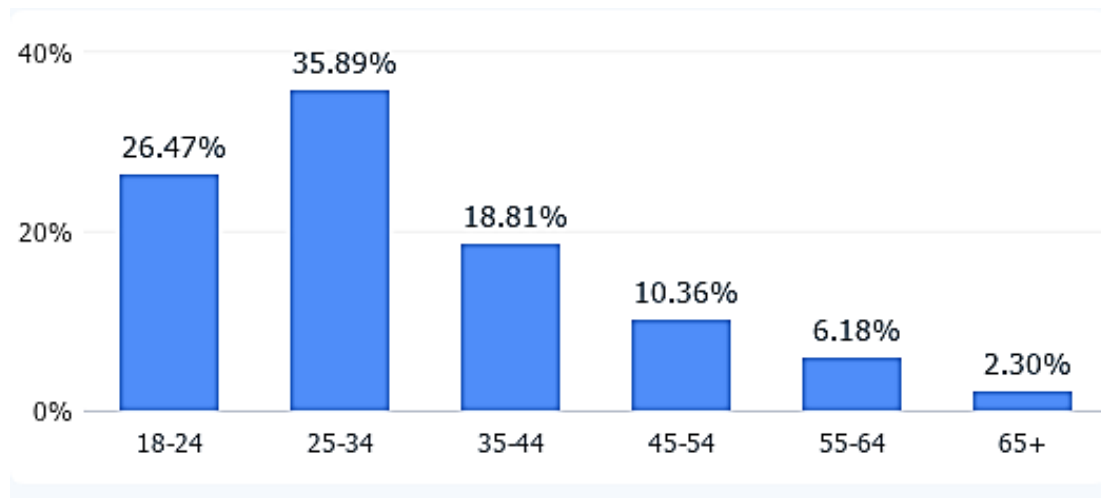


Figure 3. Age distribution of Camera Prive users, October 2022(pro.similarweb.com)

It is possible to observe that the users are most users are under 34 years old. In this case, it is not a surprise that the preference for cam models expressed in the number of followers reflects the same age group. This interpretation of the relationship between the clients' age and the cam models' age is not conclusive, especially because Figure 3 refers to the website visitors and not necessarily the clients. Nevertheless, it seems inappropriate to affirm that younger models would be privileged by the platform's algorithmic ranking. Erotic capital, thus, may have more prevalence among models who are between their early 20s and early 30s, but that does not mean that other age groups cannot participate and be successful in camming.

To increase their profits online, cam models (especially cam girls) utilize strategies that range from wearing clothes that enhance specific body parts, makeup when

showing their faces, and pictures with photoshop effects to augment or diminish body and facial features to more permanent modifications such as plastic surgeries. In the YouTube videos analyzed, there is a discourse on the valorization of physical characteristics. Clara Aguilar affirmed her career changed after breast implants: “It was an investment, which soon became my profit” (CA 2019). In this environment, models with physical attributes or the financial condition to ‘invest’ in their bodies may have an advantage in attracting more clients. The value for specific beauty patterns is also a social construction based on beauty industry profits and the objectification of female bodies (Edmonds 2010).

However, in one of the “#Ask Clara” videos, one follower asked her, “do I need to be in shape to make money?” and her answer was no. She argued that a diversity of bodies is imperative in CP since everyone can be attractive. Moreover, according to Clara, greater diversity equals a larger number of clients on the platform because they will always find what they are looking for. In conclusion, having erotic capital and expressing it through one’s body and beauty may be a motivation for camming, but the absence of a “perfect body” does not prevent anyone from engaging in such activity.

Pleasure and Intimacy

Through content and discourse analyses, it is crucial to highlight two concepts that appeared in both the Camera Prive platform and Clara Aguilar videos. Pleasure and intimacy are in the conundrum of camming, but the focus, or at least the well-accepted explanation in sex work scholarship, in general, is that pleasure is only possible for the client and intimacy is illusory. I argue that pleasure and intimacy are motivations for cam models in Brazil, and that is sustained by the ways people treat fetishes as a common ground and an expression of sexual liberty, and intimacy is enhanced by the strategies

elaborated in elevating the authenticity of camming interaction both as a form of having a real experience and also because it increases the possible models' incoming.

Foucault (1990) argued that the power of silencing the discourses about sexuality is also what motivates us to speak about it because it is enjoyable to explore its secrecy. In one cam girl's profile, I read, "I love what you are afraid to speak to others."⁴¹ The camming world invites you to perform and confess desires and explore pleasure paths fearlessly. The search for and engagement with what camming performers and users call fetishes are worth presenting. While in medical discourse, fetishes are widely associated with paraphilias⁴², in the camming universe, the topic is constant and has lesser stigma than in other social contexts. In that regard, while referring to fetishism online, the concept is not directly associated with paraphilias as documented in clinical sexology (Chivers 2005, 384). Instead, it seems appropriate to understand fetish as a concept commonly associated with any interest in performing non-normative sexual behavior or what is commonly known as "kinky behavior."

Among the most popular references to fetishes on the CP models' profiles is the outstanding presence of desires for behaviors such as domination and submission both among women and men. In camming, the reference to activities related to submission and dominance appear in the profiles' description and in the services offered, under what Sperner (2017) called the "BDSM umbrella," which may include Bondage/Discipline, Dominance/Submission, and Sadism/Masochism. In an online set of interactions, these

⁴¹ The quotation marks aim to express cam models' discourse and do not reflect what they exactly have written in their profiles since I committed to not divulging any of their content. All the information I had access to was written in Portuguese and I translated, paraphrasing specific statements from the "about me" profile's section, keeping only the most meaningful sense.

⁴² Fisher and Barak 2001; Toates 2009.

dominance and submission relations are much more connected to the imagination, verbal cues, and sharing of visual content than physical contact. It is worth mentioning that Camera Prive's terms of service prohibit the use of bondage for safety reasons.

In the set of YouTube videos analyzed, while most of the comments are made by females, the male comments focus predominantly on specific topics, and videos about fetishes have higher male interaction. The most viewed videos are the first three – possibly because they have been available on the YouTube channel for a longer amount of time. However, except for the first video, the total number of comments surprisingly does not follow the three top viewed videos: the third most commented is her first (315 comments), where Aguilar talks about her first character and the reasons why she, at that time, opted for using a fake name; the video with the second most comments is number 22 (316 comments) about “slave money,” a male fetish for paying cam girls to be mistreated (a fetish connected to financial submission); and the first most commented video is number 57 (320 comments) about another male fetish, related to the English term “cuckold fetish,” which is a man who fantasizes about his wife cheating on him.

Exploring the roles of pleasure online is important since it is a genuine goal for both performers and clients, and I extended this consideration to include non-normative sexual preferences expressed in fetishes. What was observed is that some aspects are connected to the concept of plastic sexuality (Giddens 1992) because it is a form of exploring intimacy without biological (reproduction and diseases, for example) and social (taboo and prejudice) constraints. In this regard, the freedom to express desires without the social burden of judgments allows fetishes to be a common term in the camming universe and a possible strong motivation and enjoyment for cam models.

Giddens (1992) called “confluent love,” which may represent the male emotional vulnerability, or at least an impact of the patriarchal society in the males’ difficulty in expressing their feelings.

Requests for respect and empathy are commonplace, as well as the recognition of their humanity: “*I’m a woman, not a robot!*” That is interesting because it brings the client to the veracity that beyond that device screen, there is another person who is offering the online interaction but who is also looking forward to a good experience. Models are usually disappointed with clients who watch their performances and have no or little interaction and turn off chat without saying goodbye. When answering questions in a video, Aguilar summarizes the strategy to deal with clients who only want to see naked models with the expression “*jogo de cintura*” (waist game). To have a *jogo de cintura* means being flexible and able to deal with problems while achieving what you want. That can be used as a strategy to keep the client connected for longer and may include (but is not limited to) demonstrating interest in the clients’ life, asking personal questions about their day, taking clothes off slowly while performing a striptease, etc. There is a great value attributed to interaction, mainly because models need to keep the clients involved in their chat as long as possible since the clients pay for minutes in paid chat rooms.

Clara mentions in one video that among sex work classifications, camming is the least-known category, and that are several users who end up thinking that CP is an escort website, which may generate misunderstandings. Clients of camming in Brazil may have a hard time understanding camming, since cam models complain that clients inquire about them working offline as prostitutes, for example. In Camera Prive terms of service

it is clearly forbidden to exchange contact outside the platform or make payment using other methods, as a form to avoid “offline” contact. Clara Aguilar suggests “educating” the client, first with a conversation and later with a block, if necessary.

Clara Aguilar, in agreement with CP models’ profiles discourse, describes the best clients (and makes clear that they, in fact, exist) as those who are polite, rich, and like to chat. Among client requests, the favorite character for a cam model to perform as seems to be the “girlfriend experience” because the interaction is slow and ongoing. The clients “have the illusion they will marry you, involves seduction, dating experience” (CA 2019), that is to say, it involves a time commitment. She claimed that true connections are indeed possible and talked about a client who “dated” her online for about ten years, spending “whole nights” together.

Intimacy and connection may be in demand from clients and a strong motivation for cam models. In this regard, the sensual ethos of Brazilian people is not expressed exclusively as a sexual discourse, but as an intimate one. Body and beauty as erotic capital may be convenient to attract clients, but maybe they value cam models who allow them to express their desires and offer a bounded interaction. The emotional aspect of camming may be a reason why this activity is related to other forms of emotional labor (Senft 2008) also associated with feminized work.

Feminized Labor

The body and beauty are applied as erotic capital towards camming activity, and in this regard, female bodies are more valuable because they generate more engagement and more profits. Camera Prive is a reference point in the Brazilian sex work market because it is the first camming platform to include other gender identities as categories

and allow the models' self-identification. The category "boys" for cisgender men has been included since 2013, "transgirls" for transgender women since 2015, and "transboys" for transgender men since 2018. However, the "girls" tab is the website homepage and it is what everyone who visits the platform will see for the first time when accessing the website, and that is where we find the bigger number of cam models displayed (Figures 5 and 6).

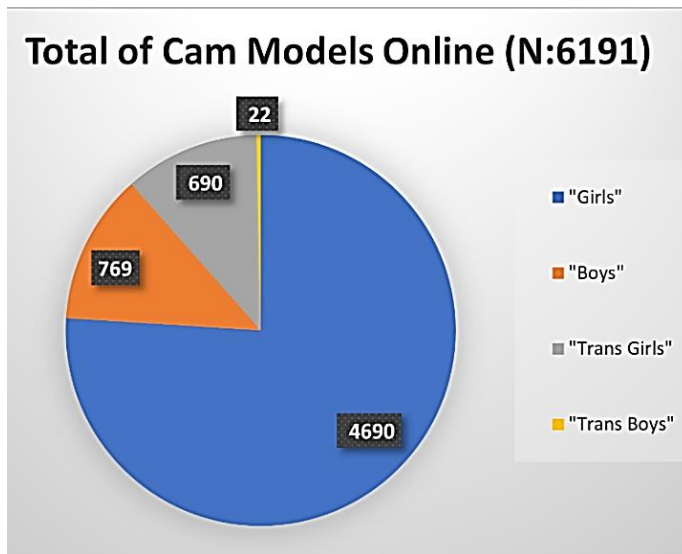


Figure 5. Cam models' Gender Identification (GI) in October 2022.

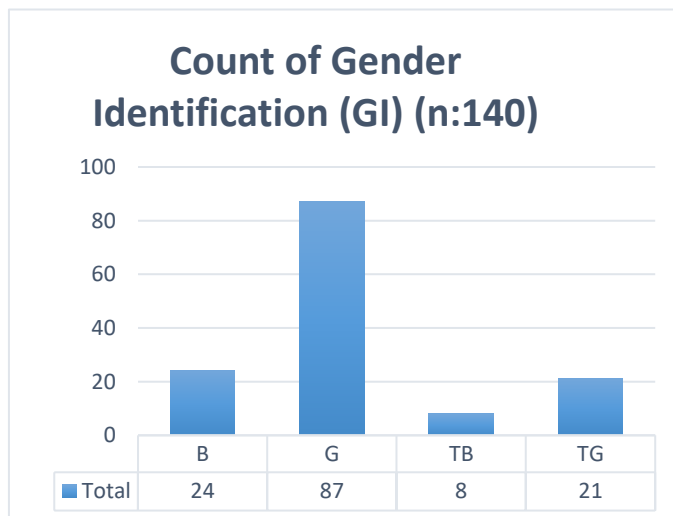


Figure 6. Cam models' Gender Identification (GI) by frequency in the research sample

While the website claims to be an open space for all people's gender identification to express, perform, and consume the preferred sexual content, we still see a predominance of women as producers of content and men as consumers. The demographic data presented in the Similar Web Analytics demonstrates that in October 2022, 65.38% of Camera Prive users were male, while 34.62% were female. This information does not necessarily reflect the accurate number of clients since, for example, I was a female user myself in that period of time who was 'using' the website without being a client. It is important to address this question by taking into consideration the cam girls' experience with the male and female public.

When asked about the presence of women as clients, Clara Aguilar responded that "most clients are men because our society is patriarchal and sex is more natural to men" (CA 2019), but affirmed that eventually, she observed women in her chats. Nevertheless, the fact that "almost all female clients are other camgirls" (CA 2019) is what she categorized as a learning exercise for those who are thinking about working in the industry. She reinforced the CP discourse on gender inclusivity and tried to motivate women to dominate all spaces, not just as models but as clients as well.

Gender identity is, therefore, a motivation for women to participate in camming both as producers and consumers and may be a motivation for other persons with other gender identities to compete in the market, as I will elaborate on in the subsection "Safety and Agency." First, I would like to discuss the role played by anonymity and the necessity of separating camming from prostitution in the discourses analyzed. It is possible to conclude that camming is a feminized form of work that is connected to a gender equality narrative, and what motivates people in this context is the possibility of

keeping one's anonymity, not being confused with a prostitute, the feeling of safety, and the agency to express identity and desire.

Anonymity

The opportunity to work in the sex market and preserve anonymity is an asset in camming. Even though the porn industry has explored the use of “covered faces” in videos, this strategy does not generate the same engagement from clients. Camera Prive does not require models to show their faces, and that seems to be a valuable advantage and motivation for cam models. Anonymity is pursued to avoid the models’ identification for clients and possible family and friends. Additionally, the lack of personal identification allows greater flexibility in creating different characters for different clients. For example, I saw several cam models’ profiles (for all genders) claiming to be married, but it is not possible to know if that is true or if it is a strategy to create a fantasy that “my husband doesn’t know I’m here!”

It is predictable that when starting to stream cam models prefer not to identify themselves promptly. According to CA, usually models start streaming covering their faces to feel more comfortable, “*mais a vontade.*” I observed this aspect through the category of Facial Identification (FI) during my non-participant observation in CP. I considered three classifications: UF for Uncovered Face when we can see the model’s face without paying for that; consequently, the users can see her face before contracting service, which could be an asset for such an investment. The UF can be observed either in the free video chat, in the pictures posted on the model’s timeline as free content, or even in the profile picture, which is the most visible element on the platform. The UN stands for either Under Nose or Under Neck model’s image, in both cases the eyes are not seen

in any circumstance. In an Under Nose camera angle, we can see the lips, teeth, and smile. This can be a strategy but also allow a high risk of recognition, which does not happen when the camera is focusing Under Neck. I present both angles in the same category (UN) as a strategy that reinforces anonymity. Mask is the third category and refers to the cam model's use of some sort of face covering. The profiles I observed with this strategy preferred covering the eyes region, and the masks are usually related to erotic content, such as black lace or bunny ears. While masks reinforce anonymity, the model has more freedom to move and speak without worrying about the camera angle position, but for those who expect to be online for several hours, it may cause physical discomfort.

Table 4 *Counts for Facial Identification (FI) by Type of Facial Covering*

FI	Count of Facial Identification (FI)	Sum of Number of followers (F)	Sum of Number of Likes (L)	Sum of Number of Reviews (R)
Mask	4 (2.86%)	11561 (1.46%)	3020 (0.47%)	516 (0.55%)
UF	87 (62.14%)	471698 (59.74%)	479756 (79.93%)	65018 (69.80%)
UN	49 (35%)	306299 (38.79%)	166166 (25.61%)	27613 (29.64%)
Total Observed	140	789558	648942	93147

Facial Identification (FI) and the corresponding online popularity expressed in the Number of Followers (F), Number of Likes (L), and Number of Reviews (R).

The count of FI for UF is much higher than the other categories, which may be interpreted as a well-established strategy for those performing online and may represent a comfortable relationship with non-anonymity and a possible increase in financial gains. The smaller number of masked performers may indicate the discomfort of having one's face covered for several hours. In all cam models' profiles, we can see three forms of interaction with users: followers, likes, and reviews. In this regard, the UN category may

be identified as a form of maintaining anonymity with the apparent trade-off for fewer followers, likes, and reviews. It suggests that users prefer paying for services when they can see the models' faces.

The number of followers (F) represents any user who saw that profile and is following the model to receive updates of shared content and announcements of when the cam models are online. A follower is not necessarily a client since the user can decide to follow an account before paying for any service. The number of likes (L) and reviews (R) represents a more significant connection with the performer since these forms of interactions are only allowed for those clients who purchased some material (such as paid pictures/videos) or participated in a paid online transmission. These two forms of interaction reinforce the "community" aspect observed on the platform, where shared opinions about models and their services seem to play an essential role in reaching more clients. Therefore, a model who shows their face will likely have more recognition in that online community.

Clara Aguilar shared her experiences about the transition from an anonymous cam girl to a well-recognized personality in the field, and not being able to hide her professional occupation from family and friends. At the beginning of her career, CA used to say that she worked as a translator, even though she did not know English at that time. The tone of speech in this narrative is humorous because it was the strategy that she found to justify the fact that she was working from home and making money online. After she participated in the BBB, her extended family learned about her camming work, and 90% grew distant from her, in what she explained as prejudice and lack of knowledge regarding the activity. Interestingly she expands the prejudice discussion by mentioning

boyfriends' opinions and reactions regarding her career, which she said generates toxic relationships: "when we start dating, they think it is super cool dating a girl who has a free sexuality, but later on they will use it against you in the first opportunity." She said that being honest is the best and probably the only strategy to avoid arguments and misunderstandings, and keeping by your side only the people who truly love and support you for who you are, entirely. Clara, who is currently married, receives several questions regarding her husband's acceptance, which she said is not a matter of "accepting" but "respecting." The same question extends to her children. When people ask her about what she will do when they grow up and find out about her career, Clara said she is teaching them to respect all forms of work.

The opposite of anonymity is seen in a few cases when the model identifies themselves according to what else they do in the sex work industry. In four profiles observed (n=140), cam models (2 girls, 1 transgirl, and 1 boy) referred to their work as porn actors and/or directors in what appeared to be an exercise of authority narrative. Regardless of the FI and the desire to stay anonymous or reinforce their experience in the sex industry, what is commonplace that will be observed in the next subsection, is the clear separation from the camming universe to prostitution, related to the fact that anonymity configuration is only conceivable online. The possibility to preserve and explore identities strategically is, thus, a great motivation for cam models in Brazil.

Safety and Agency

As observed in the literature review, safety is one of the biggest concerns regarding sex work, and the online environment offers distinctive protection since it is conducted from home and does not require physical contact. Therefore, camming is

presented as a category of sex work that challenges the scholars who affirmed the constant dangers of sex work. Here I explore the role of safety as a motivation for camming in Brazil, observing two aspects well elaborated in the content and discourses collected: digital violence and the intrinsic necessity of avoiding contact with clients “offline.”

Caminhas (2021) defines online sex work as a protected and safe structure and argues that “it is precisely the barrier of virtuality, understood as protection, which appears in the speeches of the models when they seek to differentiate themselves from the “*garotas de programa*”⁴³ (10). In this respect, Caminhas observes the same I did: cam models explicitly explain that they do not meet offline, they do not date clients, and they are not prostitutes. This distinction between prostitution and online sex work answers the discussion question on how cam girls are identified, and the exclusion of camming from the category of prostitution seems to motivate people to pursue this career in a safer and possibly anonymous environment. Even though Caminhas (2021) affirms that CP does not specify the distinction between camming and prostitution, giving the idea that as a space to explore sexuality, encounters could be possible, such understanding is discrepant from the information provided in the company’s “terms of service,” where the exchange of contacts and request of payments outside the platform is punished with the model’s banishment.

According to Foucault (1990), human sexuality operates under the relationship of power-knowledge-pleasure. The power does not necessarily seek to boycott and avoid

⁴³ *Garotas de programa* is the conventional definition for ‘call girls’ or escorts, a category of prostitution that does not attend from street, only by appointments in private spaces.

sex but to control and regulate it – such as in “terms of service.” Consequently, the discourse is a way of guaranteeing that everyone would be capable of controlling the use of their own sex. There are different forms to control sexuality in camming, the forms mentioned above, when Clara said models “guide the client” to be more polite, can be a form of education, while punishment is applied through the blocking feature or banishment from the platform.

Among the dangers a cam model can face online are capping (recording and leaking videos and pictures), stalking (gathering personal information and using it to disturb or threaten the model), and offenses/harassment. Clara Aguilar affirmed that as cam models become more famous, they tend to attract more attention and hate. That can come both from clients and from the other cam models since “it is not because you work from home that you won’t have problems with coworkers” (CA 2019).

At the beginning of her career, Clara reported having faced the harm of a toxic online environment motivated by competition among female models. She used to perform on international platforms where high-ranked models employed strategies to debunk potentially strong competitors to uphold their position, such as using provocative profile pictures and even attacking other cam girl’s profiles by pretending they were unsatisfied clients. It became worse when the intimidations started appearing to affect their “offline” life since some cam models were dedicated to finding the rivals’ social media profiles and used violent discourses in pictures, comments, and direct messages, even threatening to expose sexual content to family members. Aguilar affirmed that is not a reality in Camera Prive since they do not rank models by their status; thus, the competition is not so toxic. Nevertheless, strategies to compete and gain more attention, which is reflected

in higher profits, are still present. What surprised me is that these strategies moved beyond the body features and reached elements such as personality and authenticity. That is the reason so many profiles included personal information - such as what a model likes to talk about and what their hobbies are - because in this way clients can find them interesting, thus not focusing only on physical attractiveness.

Stalkers can be a serious issue for cam models as they deal with the clients' fantasies, which facilitates confusion and misunderstandings between the online encounter and the offline outcome. According to Clara it is not rare that clients would end up falling in love with models. Most of the time it is respectful and profitable, but when it becomes obsessive or the client starts mentioning information that was not shared in the platform (giving the understanding that they are stalking the model) the better solution is blocking the user and contacting the platform for support. Also, clients have no rights to models' images, and if the performer finds out about a leaked video or picture, Camera Prive offers assistance and help to remove the content from third-party websites within 24 hours. Most models have videos to sell on their profiles (including of couples when both have accounts), which could be an option to avoid consuming leaked videos disguised as "amateur porn," which is a form to respect the camming work and not cooperate with people who leak third-party content.

While the digital environment prevents physical violence, it does not preclude virtual harassment and content sharing. While Camera Prive offers 24/7 assistance for models in Portuguese (which was already mentioned as a motivation), it is difficult to find out if non-authorized content is circulating somewhere. How would the model be able to follow up on all websites that share "amateur content?" Another observation is

worth mentioning here. In the process of contracting Camera Prive to host the model's streaming and content, the performer needs to agree that CP could use nicknames and pictures in marketing campaigns; in other words, the model grants the platform the rights to their personal image. In the same document (the platform agreement to create an account and start camming, which is only available in Portuguese), CP says that they remove the content if the model requests it. But again, how long would it take for the models to know their pictures are somewhere else? How would they know their image is being used? In this regard, we can definitely say that security is a motivation for camming. But according to Clara, one has to be sure about the commitment to this work before starting because once it is online it can be everywhere.

Agency is fundamental while making decisions to preserve safety online. I argue that in a camming environment, cam models have agency in deciding to be guided by their motivations and, ultimately, sticking to the profession. There is also agency in deciding about the convenient way to use their identity, anonymously or not, while being able to express their sexuality and achieve pleasure freely from most social prejudice. As presented in this section, camming is formally a feminized form of work yet open to other gender identity explorations.

I observed several profiles on CP with very specific SOI (service offered indication), from things that models like to do, such as "playing with ice," to things that they do not want to do, such as showing their face or "doing anal." "I only do what I want and feel comfortable doing" is a common indication and demonstrates that cam models are in control of their online behavior. The other important aspect is that cam models claim that they enjoy performing for the webcam and appreciate the exhibitionist side of

this voyeuristic activity. While a feminized form of work, it is compelling to observe the agency expressed in other CP gender identity categories.

In Brazil, trans people face the worst sociocultural environment⁴⁴ since for several years the country is number one on the ranking of number of trans people killed. Extreme violence is supported by the cultural habitus of prejudice against gender and economic minorities, and the recent rise in religious fundamentalism in political representation did not favor the situation of queer individuals. This thesis is a way, yet small, to demonstrate that, at least online, those people may feel safer exploring their identities without the constant threat of being murdered. Even though I mentioned forms of digital violence, it cannot be compared with the fact that people are losing their lives just because their sexual orientation and gender identity do not conform to social expectations. In this regard, I did feel relief in seeing trans people online, expressing their desires, having a significant number of followers, and possibly making money in the safety of their homes.

The same can apply about cisgender men. Considering that most users of CP are men, it is expected that those men paying to encounter other men online would be gay or curious, in this respect, Clara suggests: “if you are gay and do not want to attend women, no problem. If you’re straight and don’t want to attend men, then you got a problem.” That is because the cam boys’ revenue would be greatly compromised if one refused to attend the male public. Here is another instance of agency, as the cam model is the only one who must decide if she/he is ready for that or not. In any case, on camming, cam models can share content without the homophobia and prejudice present in Brazilian

⁴⁴ “Brazil Continues To Be the Country with the Largest Number of Trans People Killed.” In Pulitzer Center, 2022.

society. While Brazil has this stereotype of a country open to exploring sexuality, it only refers to heteronormative behaviors. It is, for this reason, I believe camming is attractive not just for women, but for all genders embracing their sexuality.

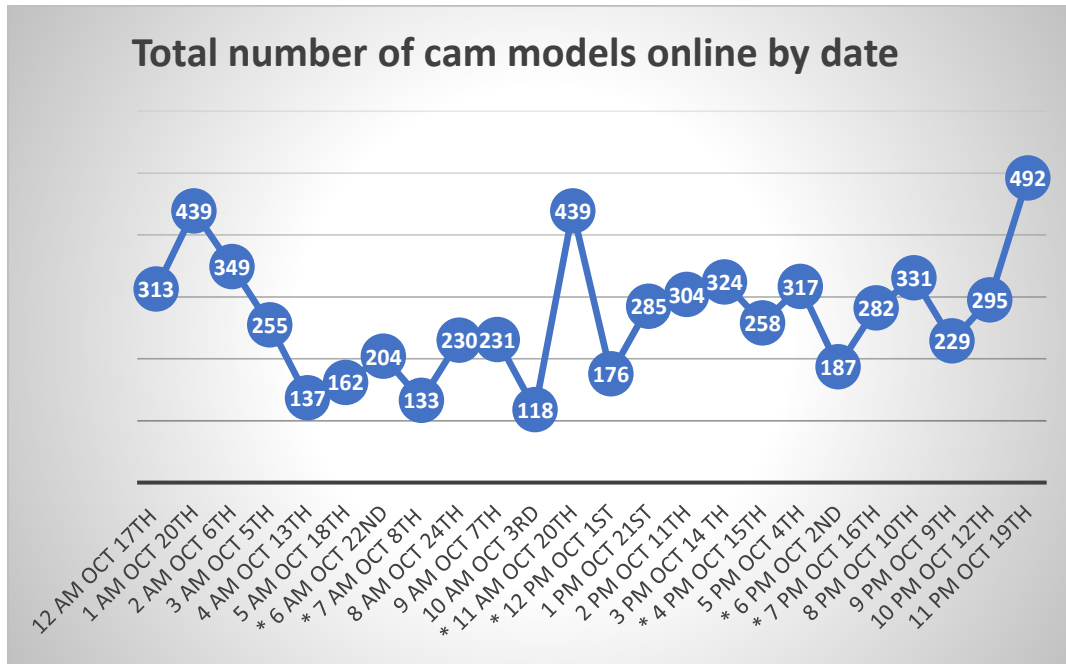
Digital Landscape

The last section analyzes the digital landscape sphere at the intersection with Brazilian sensual ethos and elaborates on the motivations for camming according to the concepts of labor and leisure, money, and freedom. Camming is a form of work that requires the digital environment to connect the client and the performer. I do not think it is fair to reduce the digital landscape to the “internet,” because even though the internet is a requirement for camming work, camming work is not restricted to online activity. Cam models make an important part of their income offline by selling pictures and videos that are available in their profiles even when they are not connected. Likewise, it is offline that a great part of cam models’ strategies are composed since they do not need to be logged in and performing while they are producing and editing content to be sold on the platform.

One of my assumptions was that cam models would possibly reconcile camming work with other activities, such as a part-time job, college, and family obligations. It is not possible to know the routine of the cam models I observed, for it would have been necessary to conduct interviews or a survey. Nonetheless, I thought that observing the incidence of online models according to the daytime and the weekday would be helpful in giving an indication of at what time there are more models online and that could be an indicator of their common routines. The highest concentration of cam models online is late at night and on weekends, which may be an indication that these people work in

other jobs or that they are adapting their schedule according to the users' concentration on the website (Table 5).

Table 5 Total number of cam models online by date



The * represents weekends.

In the last few years, more people started experiencing the routines of working from home, and many suffered and complained about it. It is not an easy task to manage professional obligations while in a domestic environment. For people who do not live alone, it is a challenge not to get distracted and to preserve a working setting in common areas and shared spaces. For people who live alone, isolation hits harder, because sometimes working hours are the only social hours they may have. For cam models the challenges are similar, except for the fact that the nature of their work is intimate, therefore the boundaries between private and public are already blurred. Here I aim to explore camming as a form of work conducted in the digital landscape, observing the

trade-offs involved, the working tools, the financial incentives, and the possible freedom that can be achieved when work does not require a boss, is done from home and involves having sexual pleasure.

Labor and Leisure

Labor and leisure are connected in gig economies when individuals provide services on flexible schedules and usually do not have an authority figure, such as a boss, to dictate their working compass. Self-entrepreneurship gained force with the advent of online apps⁴⁵ where regardless of the flexibility in working hours it is common for people to work for longer and be as or more exhausted than in a regular job, which can generate physical and psychological side effects, such as the contemporary burnout syndrome⁴⁶. Camera Prive does not request models work longer hours; rather they claim that the secret for success is seducing clients and focusing on the quality of performances instead of on the quantity.

In a substantial number of CP profiles observed (at least 25%), models have included their “working hours,” which could appear as a pinned comment or in the “about me” description. In none of these cases, when the working hours are present, the models say they worked only 2-3 hours or were only online on the weekends. All people who shared schedules worked 5-6 days per week (some even seven), for at least eight consecutive hours. Clara Aguilar reported having exceeded the working hours several

⁴⁵ In Brazil it is common to refer to gig economies as an “*uberizacao*” or “uberization.” In: “A vida secreta dos brasileiros que trabalham no ‘Uber do pornô.’” In BBC News Brasil.

⁴⁶ The excess of online working hours is a common complaint for digital influencers and social media creators. The necessity of “feeding the feed” constantly to keep their profiles favorable for the specific platform is tortuous. It is worth mentioning that in all of these cases, gig economies are not regulated, thus workers cannot take vacations or excuses from work.

times when she became addicted to performing online, working up to 24 hours straight, which affected her health and social life. Hence her addiction was to “making money” and not to sexual contentment.

Among the most commented topics in Clara Aguilar’s videos come from women who are requesting tips and advice on how to be successful in the camming world. It is interesting to see this kind of engagement because I read all comments on her videos and the followers’ posture was always respectful and professional. Most of the questions are strictly connected to gaining money/success and are not necessarily focused on fun or enjoying free time online. It seems that among people who work with camming or are considering it, the line between labor and leisure is clear. While this does not mean one cannot enjoy their work, it’s just not their biggest concern.

The most useful strategy, according to Aguilar (some appeared on the Camera Prive website as well), is to plan ahead by setting goals, schedules, and frequency for being online. In addition, it could be helpful to learn English, digital marketing, and financial control. Overall, it is important to set goals because cam models can allow themselves to take it “easier” when their weekly/monthly profit targets are achieved. Aguilar also mentioned treating camming as a regular job and getting ready for it includes using specific clothing and accessories and communicating with clients beforehand to let them know that the model is about to get online.

As with many careers, camming requires certain tools. In the process to enroll in Camera Prive, the site requests that models provide proof that they have sufficient technological apparatus and they need to record a video and send it to the platform so that they can evaluate the image and sound quality. They also indicated that any videos

should be recorded in the place a model is planning to stream from, to make sure the setting is adequate and has the necessary lighting in the room. Aguilar is one example of a model who used the profits from work to invest in acquiring better tools and affirmed she is constantly investing money in accessories and lighting, to provide an enjoyable vision to clients. Camming in this regard is also an aesthetic work.

Another aspect that camming gets closer to other forms of labor is the fact that some cam models specialize in certain content and services, which is usually announced in the SOI and NaaB. These specializations could range from a specific fetish to a type of character performed. While some cam models invest in quasi-professional production for their content that approaches porn productions, others focus on the amateur character and share content that is reminiscent of a regular Instagram account, with pictures of dinners and trips, for example. Another specialization refers to gaming and nerd culture appeal. That seems to be trending by the number of profiles mentioning that either they would like to talk about these topics or even combine references with erotic content. A future study in digital anthropology that focuses on the intersection between camming and gaming universes would be interesting and quite revealing, considering that among young people online games are currently growing more than other forms of leisure⁴⁷.

Money and Freedom

As I have suggested, camming is not confused with leisure; on the contrary, it is understood as work, and like other forms of work, payment plays a fundamental role. Except for volunteer work, no one would agree to work without receiving any financial incentive for that. As I mentioned in the Sensual Ethos section, besides the ease of

⁴⁷ “Gen Z & Millennials’ Top 15 Hobbies Right Now.” In Ypulse, 2021.

communication through a shared language, Camera Prive also provides an easier way for cam models to attain their payments. A few more details will be explored in this regard since money is one of the greatest motivations for camming in Brazil.

Camera Prive offers a category of identification in the platform, the label “exclusive” for models who perform only in this website. They would have certain advantages, such as a prioritized position on the website page, a shorter time to retrieve payment in their bank account, and no limits to retrieve the money (those who are not “exclusive” are only allowed to withdraw money twice per month), and can use the “fan club” option (where clients can pay for obtaining a subscription to exclusive content, such as premium pictures and videos). Exclusive identification is only available for Brazilians since a valid CPF (*Cadastro de Pessoa Fisica*, equivalent to the US SSN) is required. Camera Prive retains 50% of the models’ earnings and this amount is justified because the model is the one who is contracting the platform and not the contrary, therefore, CP offers the digital structure, support, and assistance, and is not responsible for the models’ profits.

The situation could be even more complex when the studios are involved in camming because then, they receive 50% after the platform slice; in other words, the model only keeps 25% of the total earnings. It should be mentioned that Camera Prive does not accept studio accounts because it is the models themselves who have to contract the platform and have a personal bank account to withdraw the payments. That is an advantage for cam models who have space and technology available and do not need to perform from studios.

The model's monetization can be monitored by them on the platform, where it is possible to know where the money is coming from, whether from the streaming hours, pictures sold, fan club subscriptions, etc. Another way that cam models can have more agency over their financial status within the platform is by requesting payment for specific services. As stated by one cam girl, "quick shows only with a gift," to compensate for short conversations. Gifts are an important part of monetary transactions and also function to create more bonds between the client and the model, which is a fruitful example of the monetization of intimacy online.

Freedom is the biggest motivation for cam models because it adequately encompasses personal and financial expectations. The individuals have the ability to work on their own schedule and organize it according to their goals. According to Clara Aguilar (who declared that she had gained her financial independence as soon as she started making money with camming), working four hours every day is sufficient to make more money than 80% of Brazilian people. That can sound optimistic, but it does not necessarily mean cam models make lots of money, but that the majority of Brazilians make too little.

Working with no boss, no rules, inviting pleasure with (almost) no risks, and getting paid for that seems very attractive to many. In addition to this narrative, freedom is also expressed in the manner people can explore their desires, for example, cam models who affirm that they "love showing off on the webcam" and that they are performing online because it is a way to "to fulfill fantasies that sometimes cannot be achieved otherwise." Other cam models affirm that through the platform they have the

“opportunity to meet so many nice people I would never meet offline.” It is, indeed, a form of monetizing intimate connection and human desires.

It is possible to go further defending freedom as a motivation for camming when including discourses regarding clients. Clara Aguilar said something that reinforces the idea of porn pragmatics mentioned in the literature review – there is a pedagogical character in accessing and consuming sex work online. Among the few female users, are women who want to talk to a cam girl about body insecurities and ask about forms to achieve pleasure. It is a contentious way to explore the sexual preferences, of both males and females, in a safer environment, preserving one’s anonymity. There is also the case of couples who consume camming content together as a way to improve their sexual repertoire. And that is possible because it happens in a digital landscape where both clients and performers can safely achieve their aims.

The freedom to learn through camming is a valid motivation for users and performers. Clara Aguilar told viewers she learned to deal with prejudice, with abusive partners, to value money, and learned in a hard way that there is “no glamour in an empty life.” In cam models’ narratives, there is also the presence of unique stories and experiences. It is impossible to deny that money is a motivation to start camming but is not entirely for money. To continue working in camming requires more than just money; it is about experience, interaction, and learning. Lastly, not everything is great on camming, having orgasms can be a bonus.

Camming in Brazil: Finding Conclusions

My objective in this chapter was to combine the theoretical approach presented in the literature review to interpret the data collected during the research period.

Nevertheless, I also evaluate the procedures applied in achieving answers to the research questions. Although my questions focused on the three theoretical spheres I developed in Chapter 2, here I extended the topics to embrace other concepts that are more suggestive of motivations for camming in Brazil.

I understand that the sensual ethos of Brazilian people, sex work as feminized labor, and the digital landscape as the setting for performing online are the structures for camming existence in the country. I mentioned that these conceptual stances are expressed in discourses shared among cam models and are their habitus, or what makes them do what they do in a naturalized way. In this regard, I think that sexuality is also a social practice, which can be compared to what Clifford Geertz called “webs of significance” (1973, 5) when he explained the symbolic structure of culture. This complex system of meanings is established on a broader reality than the individual private experience. To Geertz, culture was not simply the material expressions “rather, culture was the realm in which people interpreted and made meaning out of their lives” (27).

That is the reason why I think that although camming is a digital global phenomenon it also reflects cultural specificities that can be explored in anthropological studies that aim to explore what gives structure and generates motivations. I answered my research question concerning the motivations for camming in Brazil because I focused on the cultural particularities. From elements that go from the language access to promote a proper connection and intimacy to the freedom of exploring sexual expressions that are constrained “offline.”

Most of the studies I read about sex work, and camming, specifically, did not contemplate important aspects, such as oneself desire to do what they are doing. Some scholars present sex workers as victims who have no agency whatsoever, and I understand that camming is still a privileged form of work, yet we, social scientists and anthropologists, need to change the way narratives are being constructed about these subjects. Supporting that part of sex workers enjoy what they do because they are motivated to do it, is not the same as negating that there is no oppression in the sex industry, on the contrary, is recognizing that things are not simply black or white, there are several colors in between.

CHAPTER V – CONCLUSIONS

The present thesis focused on a category of sex work that utilizes digital technology to connect clients and performers in search of pleasure and intimacy. I asked about the motivations for people to engage with this activity, focusing exclusively on cam models' perspectives. I specifically investigated the ways that cultural particularities of what constitutes the Brazilian sensual ethos are explored and reinterpreted online. I had hypothesized that I would observe a mirrored effect in what was built historically as a beauty and sensual standard. What surprised me is that physical attractiveness is not just a commodity searched by clients, but a profitable strategy utilized as erotic capital for sex workers. Moreover, “sensuality” is not a synonym of “sexuality,” rather than only engaging in sexual exchange, cam models and their clients are experiencing an emotional and authentic relationship that is facilitated by language usage and intensified in profiles' statements.

The discourses on sex work in general are directed to women as products and men as consumers. Therefore, I asked whether camming is a form of feminized labor or if the online setting created a form to challenge such a perspective. I hypothesized that I would not find a clear categorization for camming performers, and that would let them in a gray area between sex workers and digital creators, and I thought that would be a motivation for people to start working as cam model. I found out that camming is a feminized form of labor regardless of the platform's strategies and claims to attract other gender identities to work as models and invite women to be consumers. The majority of clients are men, and most models are women. That is so clear that in the discourses, frequently people refer to models as “cam girls” and the client as him/his. Nevertheless, I also observed that

anonymity, safety, and agency, play a significant role in gender expression and motivation to participate in camming activities. Additionally, this set of motivations is what creates a clear distinction between camming and other categories of sex work. The distinction is not blurred as I imagined. Cam models know that they are sex workers, but in a different category, which is not interwoven with prostitution.

Camming employs bodily performance without physical contact between the model and the client yet, generates an authentic connection promoted by a digital landscape. I hypothesized that such an environment would foster safety since less physical violence occurs when people are apart. However, I was concerned about the online forms of harassment. The agency to control the client's behavior is much stronger and perceptible in camming discourses than we could expect for sex workers in general. In a critical situation, the cam model can block the inconvenient user and report the profile to the platform. But, as I imagined, it is extremely complex to control the spread and range of online content. If a model has a picture or video leaked (published by a third party), it can be removed if they found out because the platform helps with that. But the digital landscape is an immense space and it would be hard to identify all content unauthorizedly shared. The other assumption I had about online sex work is regarding the boundaries between work and leisure. Although I have identified discourses defending the pleasurable and joyful characteristics of camming, I also identified a professional approach embracing working strategies and tools organized and shared in a community built on a common interest. Camming is understood as work and that is why money matters, but like other forms of work, it also requires passion, dedication, and talent.

As a thesis focused on digital anthropology, the methodology was appropriate to the scope of the research period and the questions asked. Although I utilized the term non-participant observation in the investigation of the CP platform and YouTube videos analyses, I do understand this process as active observation since my objective was engaging in learning about camming in Brazil following the same steps I would if I wanted to become a cam girl. In this regard, conducting interviews would not be adequate, since I would not have the knowledge to formulate appropriate questions, as I now can have. The YouTube video coding and analyses provided more content than I imagined, and I tried as much as possible to synthesize the topics according to the discourses observed in the CP platform that could be combined as broad narratives to answer the research questions on the motivations for camming in Brazil.

I wish that the concept of polymedia could be more widely explored with the incorporation of other social media platforms, such as Twitter and Instagram, and I think a project with this methodological approach is feasible if the research starts on these platforms instead of starting on the camming website as I did. In this regard, it is possible to start researching cam models' profiles on Twitter because we can find several profiles of cam models that work on different platforms all around the world. This kind of project would be interesting in a cross-cultural and/or comparative study, however, this was not the objective of my thesis.

With the approach I employed in my thesis, I demonstrated that it is important to think about camming from a sociocultural perspective. First, I aimed to demonstrate that, contemporarily, the digital realm is not separated from the real world, rather, they are interconnected and dialectically affected. Camming in Brazil reflects both the specific

cultural aspects and the digital trends that are globally observed, such as the rise of gig economies and the attention economy motivated by likes and followers, which may represent both a form of acquiring profits and filling the void of a more isolated society. Moreover, camming is just one occupation that combines different structures of meanings, what is more anthropologically significant is the fact that this single form of work combines and concentrates so many specific and complex cultural elements.

My second intention in investigating online sex work from an anthropological perspective was the theoretical necessity I felt to avoid narratives that generate ambiguities and dichotomies. Anthropology looks at human things holistically and not focusing on a single perspective. I have seen studies on camming in which scholars villainized platforms as morally wrong since they get money from individuals' sex labor (see, Caminhas 2022; Cooper, Delmonico, and Burg 2000; Lane 2001; White 2006). In other perspectives, we see an idea, also presented in studies on prostitution, of the objectification of female bodies as a piece in the patriarchal game of interests, thus denying agency to these subjects (see, Hughes 2004; Whisnant and Stark 2004; Zatz 1997). In this respect, I understand the contributions of an anthropological perspective on camming as an aim for the "enlargement of the universe of human discourse" following Geertz's perspective (1973, 14), in a sense of it is important bringing to the debate on sex work the plural voices of the actors of this process – the sex workers and their narratives and motivations.

The purpose of my work was to ask about the cam models' motivations. I had this perspective by thinking about the origin of this word. Motivation has a linguistic root in Latin *movere*, to move. This way, when I ask about the cam models' motivations, I think

about their motives and reasons regarding the decision to pursue this career. Motivation is what makes one excited about something, gives hope to plan ahead, and uses the time to dedicate to an enterprise. The motivations are wider than the personal identity of singular cam models. It is connected to a whole discourse that is impregnated in a given society. The camming platform can also be thought of as an actor in this context, which also operates under motivations. Finally, at the other end of the relationship is the client's motivation in searching for services offered in camming. These two last perspectives could be addressed in further studies focusing both the in-platform logistics and algorithms and the users' experiences (a field growing in anthropology) with camming.

When I first thought about my primary research question and later organized the methodologies through which I would dive into camming reality and experience by following the same learning process that cam models navigate when they are deciding to become cam models, I asked myself whether I would feel motivated as well. The narratives about the money one can make online are truly tempting. But to be honest, I never felt tempted to become a cam model myself. I asked myself why not, considering that I also belong to the sensual ethos discursive culture and I am a Brazilian woman. And I realized that camming, like most professional careers, is not made for everyone.

Observing Brazilians' reactions when they asked about my study topic was an interesting experience because most of them have heard about Camera Prive beforehand. After a little, one of the people to whom I spoke about it exclaimed "those girls must make lots of money there!" The rapid association of camming with money reflects the motivations to follow this form of work, and the lack of prejudice may represent an openness to this form of service that I am confident I would not receive if my topic was

street prostitution, for example. Some people were direct and asked if I work in camming, a question never asked in the U.S. When I answered “no, I do not work as a cam model,” they asked if I do not think about using the research knowledge to “make money” in the activity. It summarizes how people in Brazil are open regarding sexuality as a form of income.

I have heard, since I started my study, people commenting amazed about how easy it's to make money online nowadays. The thing is – it is not, and it is not for everyone. Some people will have more aptitudes, *desenvoltura* (something like uninhibited), and the so-well-called “*jogo de cintura*.” Working with your image on a cam is not easy. Everyone who had to adapt to having online meetings and classes may have felt the discomfort of seeing their face and having to deal with their personal image. But that's not all. In camming, you need to interact, be attractive and interesting, have something unique, and make people confident they are doing a fair deal while paying for your services.

In this case, camming engagement is not made possible only by motivations. It requires a set of skills and strategies. The skills were identified as erotic capital that evidences the value given to body and beauty in Brazil, yet reflects sociocultural inequalities. Strategies are the working tools and required commitment. Camming can be many things but is definitely not just sitting in front of a computer and turning on the webcam. For this reason, I engaged in demonstrating the cultural complexities involved in this form of feminized work and found out that motivations are in fact important, but to have success (acquiring financial freedom, for example) one needs skills and expertise.

In Brazil, people pay attention to physical characteristics and attractiveness and comment on that. And I am not speaking about family and close friends. One can get a compliment, such as “you have a nice body,” or “you look younger than you really are, how do you do that?” and “do you have silicone implants?” all of that during a regular day from very nice people one may have a chance to talk too. The mass media still plays a huge role in the country, even after a few decades of digital access democratization, and for that reason, people are continuously watching telenovelas and following up with narratives regarding the value of beauty, sensuality, and fantasies of upward mobility. Also, the 23rd edition of BBB is starting while I finish writing my thesis, the same program Clara participated in nine years ago, which may indicate that the desire to watch other people’s lives closely – a voyeuristic act – is still strong and profitable.

APPENDIX A - IRB Approval Letter

Office of Research Integrity



118 COLLEGE DRIVE #5116 • HATTIESBURG, MS | 601.266.6756 | WWW.USM.EDU/ORI

NOTICE OF INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD ACTION

The project below has been reviewed by The University of Southern Mississippi Institutional Review Board in accordance with Federal Drug Administration regulations (21 CFR 26, 111), Department of Health and Human Services regulations (45 CFR Part 46), and University Policy to ensure:

- The risks to subjects are minimized and reasonable in relation to the anticipated benefits.
- The selection of subjects is equitable.
- Informed consent is adequate and appropriately documented.
- Where appropriate, the research plan makes adequate provisions for monitoring the data collected to ensure the safety of the subjects.
- Where appropriate, there are adequate provisions to protect the privacy of subjects and to maintain the confidentiality of all data.
- Appropriate additional safeguards have been included to protect vulnerable subjects.
- Any unanticipated, serious, or continuing problems encountered involving risks to subjects must be reported immediately. Problems should be reported to ORI via the Incident submission on InfoEd IRB.
- The period of approval is twelve months. An application for renewal must be submitted for projects exceeding twelve months.

PROTOCOL NUMBER: 22-1054
PROJECT TITLE: Brazilian Camming: The Monetization of Intimacy in the Sex Work Online
SCHOOL/PROGRAM: Anthropology & Sociology
RESEARCHERS: PI: Fernanda de Oliveira Veiverberg
Investigators: de Oliveira Veiverberg, Fernanda-Hayden, Bridget-
IRB COMMITTEE ACTION: Approved
CATEGORY: Exempt Category
APPROVAL STARTING: 22-Aug-2022

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Donald Sacco".

Donald Sacco, Ph.D.
Institutional Review Board Chairperson

APPENDIX B –IRB MODIFICATION APPROVAL

Office of Research Integrity



118 COLLEGE DRIVE #5116 • HATTIESBURG, MS | 601.266.6756 | WWW.USM.EDU/ORI

Modification Institutional Review Board Approval

The University of Southern Mississippi's Office of Research Integrity has received the notice of your modification for your submission *Brazilian Camming: The Monetization of Intimacy in the Sex Work Online* (IRB #:22-1054).

The project below has been reviewed by The University of Southern Mississippi Institutional Review Board in accordance with Federal Drug Administration regulations (21 CFR 26, 111), Department of Health and Human Services regulations (45 CFR Part 46), and University Policy to ensure:

- The risks to subjects are minimized and reasonable in relation to the anticipated benefits.
- The selection of subjects is equitable.
- Informed consent is adequate and appropriately documented.
- Where appropriate, the research plan makes adequate provisions for monitoring the data collected to ensure the safety of the subjects.
- Where appropriate, there are adequate provisions to protect the privacy of subjects and to maintain the confidentiality of all data.
- Appropriate additional safeguards have been included to protect vulnerable subjects.
- Any unanticipated, serious, or continuing problems encountered involving risks to subjects must be reported immediately. Problems should be reported to ORI via the Incident submission on InfoEd IRB.
- The period of approval is twelve months. An application for renewal must be submitted for projects exceeding twelve months.

PROTOCOL NUMBER: 22-1054
PROJECT TITLE: Brazilian Camming: The Monetization of Intimacy in the Sex Work Online
SCHOOL/PROGRAM Anthropology & Sociology
RESEARCHERS: PI: Fernanda de Oliveira Veiverberg
Investigators: de Oliveira Veiverberg, Fernanda-Hayden, Bridget-
IRB COMMITTEE ACTION: Approved
CATEGORY: Exempt Category
APPROVAL STARTING: 22-Sep-2022

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Michael Madson".

Michael Madson, Ph.D.
Institutional Review Board Vice Chairperson*

REFERENCES

- Abu-Lughod, Lila. 1990. "The Romance of Resistance: Tracing Transformations of Power Through Bedouin Women." *American Ethnologist* 17 (1): 41–55.
- Anderson-Fye, E.P. 2012. "Anthropological Perspectives on Physical Appearance and Body Image." In *Encyclopedia of Body Image and Human Appearance*, edited by Thomas Cash. 15–22. Norfolk, VA: Elsevier. <https://doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-12-384925-0.00003-1>.
- Bernard, H. Russell. 1988. *Research Methods in Cultural Anthropology*. Newbury Park, CA: SAGE Publications.
- Bernstein, Elizabeth. 2010. *Temporarily Yours: Intimacy, Authenticity, and the Commerce of Sex*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Bleakley, Paul. 2014. "'500 Tokens to Go Private': Camgirls, Cybersex and Feminist Entrepreneurship." *Sexuality & Culture* 18 (4): 892–910. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12119-014-9228-3>
- Blommaert, Jan, and Chris Bulcaen. 2000. "Critical Discourse Analysis." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 29: 447–66.
- Bluteau, Joshua M. 2019. "Legitimising Digital Anthropology through Immersive Cohabitation: Becoming an Observing Participant in a Blended Digital Landscape." *Ethnography*, 22(2), 267–285. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1466138119881165>.
- Boellstorff, Tom. 2015. *Coming of Age in Second Life: An Anthropologist Explores the Virtually Human*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

- Boellstorff, Tom, Bonnie Nardi, Celia Pearce, and T. L. Taylor. 2012. *Ethnography and Virtual Worlds: A Handbook of Method*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1991. *Language and Symbolic Power*. Translated by Gino Raymond and Matthew Adamson. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- _____. 2001. *Masculine Domination*. Translated by Richard Nice. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- _____. 2011. Structures, Habitus, Practices. In Warms, Richard, and R. Jon McGee. *Anthropological Theory: An Introductory History*. 5th ed. 492-508. New York: McGraw-Hill Education.
- Branco Cruz, Felipe. 2020. “Apos coronavirus, busca por sites pornos e camgirls cresce no Brasil.” VEJA. March 21, 2020. <https://veja.abril.com.br/cultura/apos-coronavirus-busca-por-sites-pornos-e-camgirls-cresce-no-brasil/>.
- Brasseur, Pierre, and Jean Finez. 2020. “Performing Amateurism: A Study of Camgirls’ Work.” In *The Social Meaning of Extra Money: Capitalism and the Commodification of Domestic and Leisure Activities*, edited by Sidonie Naulin and Anne Jourdain, 211–37. Dynamics of Virtual Work. Cham: Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-18297-7_8.
- “Brazil Inflation Rate - February 2022 Data - 1980-2021 Historical - March Forecast.” n.d. Accessed March 20, 2022. <https://tradingeconomics.com/brazil/inflation-cpi>.
- “Brazil Real Average Monthly Income - February 2022 Data - 2012-2021 Historical.” n.d. Accessed March 20, 2022. <https://tradingeconomics.com/brazil/wages>.

- “Brazil Unemployment Rate - February 2022 Data - 2012-2021 Historical - March Forecast.” n.d. Accessed March 20, 2022.
<https://tradingeconomics.com/brazil/unemployment-rate>.
- Brooks, Abigail. 2004. “‘Under the Knife and Proud of It:’ * An Analysis of the Normalization of Cosmetic Surgery.” *Critical Sociology* 30 (2): 207–39.
<https://doi.org/10.1163/156916304323072080>.
- Burgess, Jean, and Joshua Green. 2013. *YouTube: Online Video and Participatory Culture*. Malden, MA: Polity Books.
- Caminha, Pero Vaz de. 2019. *A Carta de Pero Vaz de Caminha*. Petropolis, RJ: Vozes de Bolso.
- Caminhas, Lorena. 2021. “Webcamming erótico comercial: nova face dos mercados do sexo nacionais.” *Revista de Antropologia* 64 (1): e184482–e184482.
<https://doi.org/10.11606/1678-9857.ra.2021.184482>.
- _____. 2022. “The Politics of Algorithmic Rank Systems in the Brazilian Erotic Webcam Industry.” *Porn Studies*, June, 1–17.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/23268743.2022.2083661>.
- Carlos, Dorothy. 2020. “Sexualities of Imagined Bodies During a Time of Social Isolation.” *Student Anthropologist* 7 (1): 84–87.
<https://doi.org/10.1002/j.sda2.20200701.0017>.
- Carrier-Moisan, Marie-Eve. 2018. “‘I Have to Feel Something’: Gringo Love in the Sexual Economy of Tourism in Natal, Brazil.” *The Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Anthropology* 23 (1): 131–51. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jlca.12243>.

- Chivers, Meredith L. 2005. "A Brief Review and Discussion of Sex Differences in the Specificity of Sexual Arousal." *Sexual and Relationship Therapy* 20 (4): 377–90.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/14681990500238802>.
- Clercq, Eva De. 2013. *The Seduction of the Female Body: Women's Rights in Need of a New Body Politics*. New York: Springer.
- Coleman, E. Gabriella. 2010. "Ethnographic Approaches to Digital Media." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 39 (1): 487–505.
<https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.anthro.012809.104945>.
- "Contrato de Prestacao de Servicos e Outras Avencas - CameraPrive.Com." n.d.
Accessed June 18, 2022. <https://models.cameraprive.com/us/legal/platform-agreement>.
- Cooper, Al, David L. Delmonico, and Ron Burg. 2000. "Cybersex Users, Abusers, and Compulsives: New Findings and Implications." *Sexual Addiction & Compulsivity* 7 (1–2): 5–29. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10720160008400205>.
- Dewey, Susan. 2012. "The Feminized Labor of Sex Work: Two Decades of Feminist Historical and Ethnographic Research." *Labor* 9 (2): 113–32.
<https://doi.org/10.1215/15476715-1540016>.
- Dion, Karen, Ellen Berscheid, and Elaine Walster. 1972. "What Is Beautiful Is Good." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 24: 285–90.
<https://doi.org/10.1037/h0033731>.
- Ditmore, Melissa Hope, Antonia Levy, and Alys Willman. 2013. *Sex Work Matters: Exploring Money, Power, and Intimacy in the Sex Industry*. London: Zed Books Ltd.

- Donnan, Hastings, and Fiona Magowan. 2020. *The Anthropology of Sex*. Oxford: Berg.
- Drenten, Jenna, Lauren Gurrieri, and Meagan Tyler. 2020. "Sexualized Labour in Digital Culture: Instagram Influencers, Porn Chic and the Monetization of Attention." *Gender, Work & Organization* 27 (1): 41–66. <https://doi.org/10.1111/gwao.12354>
- Edmonds, Alexander. 2010. *Pretty Modern: Beauty, Sex, and Plastic Surgery in Brazil*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Ezabella, Alessandro. 2021. "Hernani de Irajá and the Early Years of Brazilian Sexology." In *Histories of Sexology: Between Science and Politics*, edited by Alain Giami and Sharman Levinson, 225–43. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Fisher, William A., and Azy Barak. 2001. "Internet Pornography: A Social Psychological Perspective on Internet Sexuality." *The Journal of Sex Research* 38 (4): 312–23.
- Foucault, Michel. 1990. *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction*. Translated by Robert Hurley. New York: Vintage Books.
- Frederick, David, Megan Forbes, Brooke Jenkins, Tania Reynolds, and Tia Walters. 2015. "Beauty Standards." In *The International Encyclopedia of Human Sexuality*, edited by Patricia Whelehan and Anne Bolin, 113–196. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd.
- Freyre, Gilberto. 1986. *Casa-Grande E Senzala*. Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Gal, Noam, Limor Shifman, and Zohar Kampf. 2016. "'It Gets Better': Internet Memes and the Construction of Collective Identity." *New Media & Society* 18 (8): 1698–1714. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444814568784>.

- Garza, Ana P. Gutiérrez. 2022. "The Intimacy of the Gift in the Economy of Sex Work." *American Anthropologist* 124 (4): 767–77. <https://doi.org/10.1111/aman.13782>.
- Geertz, Clifford. 1973. *The Interpretation of Cultures*. Princeton: Basic Books.
- "Gen Z & Millennials' Top 15 Hobbies Right Now." 2021. *YPulse* (blog). May 10, 2021. <https://www.ypulse.com/article/2021/05/10/gen-z-millennials-top-15-hobbies-right-now/>.
- Giddens, Anthony. 1992. *The Transformation of Intimacy: Sexuality, Love, and Eroticism in Modern Societies*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Grammer, Karl, Bernhard Fink, Anders P. Møller, and Randy Thornhill. 2003. "Darwinian Aesthetics: Sexual Selection and the Biology of Beauty." *Biological Reviews* 78 (3): 385–407. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1464793102006085>.
- Gray, Peter B., and Justin R. Garcia. 2013. *Evolution and Human Sexual Behavior*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Guimaraes, Cleo. 2020. "Quarentena: coronavírus aquece o mercado de striptease na internet." *VEJA RIO*. May 22, 2020. <https://vejario.abril.com.br/cidade/coronavirus-camgirls-striptease-internet/>.
- Hakim, Catherine. 2011. *Erotic Capital: The Power of Attraction in the Boardroom and the Bedroom*. New York: Basic Books.
- Hartley, John, Jean Burgess, and Axel Bruns. 2015. *A Companion to New Media Dynamics*. Malden, MA: John Wiley & Sons.
- Henry, Madeline, and Panteá Farvid. 2017. "'Always Hot, Always Live': Computer-Mediated Sex Work in the Era of 'Camming.'" *Women Studies Journal* 31 (December): 113–28.

- Hine, Christine. 2000. *Virtual Ethnography*. London: SAGE.
- . 2020. *Ethnography for the Internet: Embedded, Embodied and Everyday*. New York: Routledge.
- Horst, Heather A., and Daniel Miller. 2020. *Digital Anthropology*. Abingdon: OX: Routledge.
- Hughes, Donna M. 2004. "Prostitution Online." *Journal of Trauma Practice* 2 (3–4): 115–31. https://doi.org/10.1300/J189v02n03_06.
- IT University of Copenhagen. 2018. Sarah Pink: Digital Ethnography. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0ugtGbkVRFM>.
- Jacobs, Katrien. 2010. "Lizzy Kinsey and the Adult Friendfinders: An Ethnographic Study of Internet Sex and Pornographic Self-Display in Hong Kong." *Culture, Health & Sexuality* 12 (6): 691–703.
- Jarrín, Alvaro. 2017. *The Biopolitics of Beauty: Cosmetic Citizenship and Affective Capital in Brazil*. Oakland: University of California Press.
- Jones, Angela. 2015. "Sex Work in a Digital Era." *Sociology Compass* 9 (7): 558–70. <https://doi.org/10.1111/soc4.12282>.
- . 2016. "'I Get Paid to Have Orgasms': Adult Webcam Models' Negotiation of Pleasure and Danger." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 42 (1): 227–56. <https://doi.org/10.1086/686758>.
- . 2020. *Camming: Money, Power, and Pleasure in the Sex Work Industry*. New York: NYU Press.
- Juffer, Jane. 1998. *At Home with Pornography: Women, Sex, and Everyday Life*. New York: New York University Press.

- Kozinets, Robert V. 2019. *Netnography: The Essential Guide to Qualitative Social Media Research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.
- Kulick, Don. 1997. "The Gender of Brazilian Transgendered Prostitutes." *American Anthropologist* 99 (3): 574–85.
- Lane, Frederick. 2001. *Obscene Profits: Entrepreneurs of Pornography in the Cyber Age*. New York: Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203951569>.
- Langlois, J. H., L. Kalakanis, A. J. Rubenstein, A. Larson, M. Hallam, and M. Smoot. 2000. "Maxims or Myths of Beauty? A Meta-Analytic and Theoretical Review." *Psychological Bulletin* 126 (3): 390–423. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.126.3.390>.
- Lehmiller, Justin J., Justin R. Garcia, Amanda N. Gesselman, and Kristen P. Mark. 2021. "Less Sex, but More Sexual Diversity: Changes in Sexual Behavior during the COVID-19 Coronavirus Pandemic." *Leisure Sciences* 43 (1–2): 295–304. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01490400.2020.1774016>.
- Levy, Pierre. 1998. *Becoming Virtual*. Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Trust Publications.
- Liechty, Mark. 2005. "Carnal Economies: The Commodification of Food and Sex in Kathmandu." *Cultural Anthropology* 20 (1): 1–38.
- Lima, Delcio Monteiro de. 1976. *Comportamento sexual do brasileiro*. Sao Paulo: Livraria F. Alves Editora.
- Lister, Martin. 2009. *New Media: A Critical Introduction*. New York: Routledge.
- Lyons, Andrew P., and Harriet Lyons. 2004. *Irregular Connections: A History of Anthropology and Sexuality*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

- Machado, Leonardo, and Mariana Alvim. 2019. "A vida secreta dos brasileiros que trabalham no 'Uber do porno.'" *BBC News Brasil*, October 14, 2019.
<https://www.bbc.com/portuguese/brasil-49886712>.
- Mannik, Lynda, and Karen McGarry. 2017. *Practicing Ethnography: A Student Guide to Method and Methodology*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Manovich, Lev. 2017. Instagram Platform as a Medium. In *Instagram and Contemporary Image*, edited by Sunil Manghani, 9-23. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Marwick, Alice E. 2015. "Instafame: Luxury Selfies in the Attention Economy." *Public Culture* 27 (1 (75)): 137–60. <https://doi.org/10.1215/08992363-2798379>.
- Mathews, Paul William. 2017. "Cam Models, Sex Work, and Job Immobility in the Philippines." *Feminist Economics* 23 (3): 160–83.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13545701.2017.1293835>.
- McElroy, Wendy. 1997. *XXX: A Woman's Right to Pornography*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- McNair, Brian. 2002. *Striptease Culture: Sex, Media and the Democratization of Desire*. London: Routledge.
- Mead, Margaret. 1935. *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies*. New York: William Morrow & Company.
- Miller, Daniel. 2018. "Digital Anthropology." *Cambridge Encyclopedia of Anthropology*, August. <https://www.anthroencyclopedia.com/entry/digital-anthropology>.
- Miller, Daniel, Elisabetta Costa, Nell Haynes, Tom McDonald, Razvan Nicolescu, Jolynna Sinanan, Juliano Spyer, Shriram Venkatraman, and Xinyuan Wang. 2016.

- How the World Changed Social Media*. London: University College London Press.
- Miller, Seumas. 1990. "Foucault on Discourse and Power." *Theoria, A Journal of Social and Political Theory*, no. 76 (1990): 115–25.
- Mitchell, Gregory. 2015. *Tourist Attractions: Performing Race and Masculinity in Brazil's Sexual Economy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Nayar, Kavita Iona. 2017. "Working It: The Professionalization of Amateurism in Digital Adult Entertainment." *Feminist Media Studies* 17 (3): 473–88.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/14680777.2017.1303622>.
- Nelson, Alex J., Yeon Jung Yu, and Bronwyn McBride. 2020. "Sex Work during the COVID-19 Pandemic." *Society for the Anthropology of Work*, November.
<https://doi.org/10.21428/1d6be30e.3c1f26b7>.
- Parker, Richard Guy. 2009. *Bodies, Pleasures, and Passions: Sexual Culture in Contemporary Brazil*. Boston: Vanderbilt University Press.
- Pertierra, Anna Cristina. 2007. "Anthropology That Warms Your Heart: On Being a Bride in the Field." *Anthropology Matters* 9 (1).
<https://doi.org/10.22582/am.v9i1.55>.
- Pinheiro, Ester. 2022. "Brazil Continues To Be the Country with the Largest Number of Trans People Killed." Pulitzer Center. January 24, 2022.
<https://pulitzercenter.org/stories/brazil-continues-be-country-largest-number-trans-people-killed>.
- Pink, Sarah. 2009. *Doing Sensory Ethnography*. London: SAGE.

- Pink, Sarah, Heather Horst, John Postill, Larissa Hjorth, Tania Lewis, and Jo Tacchi. 2015. *Digital Ethnography: Principles and Practice*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.
- Prive, Camera. n.d. "Become a Virtual Stripper - Performer Area." Camera Prive. Accessed June 19, 2022. <https://models.cameraprive.com/us/>.
- Rand, Helen M. n.d. "Challenging the Invisibility of Sex Work in Digital Labour Politics." *Feminist Review* 123 (1): 40–55.
- Ribeiro, Darcy. 2015. *O Povo Brasileiro: A Formacao e o Sentido do Brasil*. Sao Paulo: Global Editora e Distribuidora Ltda.
- Ross, Scott. 2019. "Being Real on Fake Instagram: Likes, Images, and Media Ideologies of Value." *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 29 (3): 359–74. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jola.12224>.
- Rubin, Gayle S. 2007. "Thinking Sex: Notes for a Radical Theory of the Politics of Sexuality." In *Culture, Society and Sexuality*, edited by Peter Aggleton and Richard Parker, 143-178. London: Routledge.
- Sanders, Teela, and Rosie Campbell. 2007. "Designing out Vulnerability, Building in Respect: Violence, Safety and Sex Work Policy." *The British Journal of Sociology* 58 (April): 1–19. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-4446.2007.00136.x>.
- Schwarcz, Lilia M., and Heloisa M. Starling. 2018. *Brazil: A Biography*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.
- Senft, Theresa M. 2008. *Camgirls: Celebrity and Community in the Age of Social Networks*. Bern: Peter Lang.

“Similar Web Analytics.” 2022. Cameraprive.Com Analytics. October 2022.

https://pro.similarweb.com/#/digitalsuite/websiteanalysis/overview/website-performance/*/999/2022.10-2022.10?webSource=Total&key=cameraprive.com.

Souza, Beatriz. “Num mundo em pandemia, cam girls veem seus números crescerem a cada dia de quarentena.” Revista Marie Claire, May 21, 2020.

<https://revistamarieclaire.globo.com/Comportamento/noticia/2020/05/num-mundo-em-pandemia-cam-girls-veem-seus-numeros-crescerem-cada-dia-de-quarentena.html>.

Sperner, Elena. “Internalised Stigma among BDSM Practitioners Moral Foundations and Disgust Sensitivity in Relation to Self-Stigmatisation.” Accessed November 5, 2022.

https://www.academia.edu/33781917/Internalised_Stigma_among_BDSM_Practitioners_Moral_Foundations_and_Disgust_Sensitivity_in_Relation_to_Self_Stigmatisation.

Spyer, Juliano. 2017. *Social Media in Emergent Brazil: How the Internet Affects Social Mobility*. London: University College London Press.

“Termos de Uso - CameraPrive.Com.” n.d. Accessed June 18, 2022.

<https://cameraprive.com/us/legal/terms-of-service>.

Toates, Frederick. 2009. “An Integrative Theoretical Framework for Understanding Sexual Motivation, Arousal, and Behavior.” *The Journal of Sex Research* 46 (2/3): 168–93.

Vance, Carole S. 1984. *Pleasure and Danger: Exploring Female Sexuality*. London: Routledge & K. Paul.

- . 1991. “Anthropology Rediscovered Sexuality: A Theoretical Comment.” *Social Science & Medicine* 33 (8): 875–84. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0277-9536\(91\)90259-F](https://doi.org/10.1016/0277-9536(91)90259-F).
- Weitzer, Ronald. 2009. “Sociology of Sex Work.” *Annual Review of Sociology* 35 (1): 213–34. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-soc-070308-120025>.
- . 2018. “Resistance to Sex Work Stigma.” *Sexualities* 21 (5–6): 717–29. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1363460716684509>.
- Whisnant, Rebecca, and Christine Stark. 2004. *Not for Sale: Feminists Resisting Prostitution and Pornography*. North Melbourne, Victoria, Australia: Spinifex Press.
- Williams, Erica Lorraine. 2013. *Sex Tourism in Bahia: Ambiguous Entanglements*. Champaign: University of Illinois Press.
- White, Michele. 2006. *The Body and the Screen: Theories of Internet Spectatorship*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Zatz, Noah D. 1997. “Sex Work/Sex Act: Law, Labor, and Desire in Constructions of Prostitution.” *Signs* 22 (2): 277–308.
- Zelizer, Viviana A. 2009. *The Purchase of Intimacy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- “29+ Smartphone Usage Statistics: Around the World in 2022.” 2022. July 5, 2022. <https://lefronic.com/blog/smartphone-usage-statistics/>.