



The urgency of work and the time of scientific publication

The path of preprint

Roseli Bregantin Barbosa
(Organizadora)



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PREFACE

Preprint as an academic publication

The book “The urgency of work and the time of scientific publication, the path of preprint” was born at a time of increasing demand from academia and society for greater access to the process of building knowledge and agility in the publication of consolidated scientific knowledge. To a large extent, it represents the result of the experience of a Brazilian researcher in training for an international PhD in a visit to Portugal during a Covid-19 lockdown. The guiding thread of the collection that makes up this book is the deregulation of work, remote work and sex work, directly linked to the work platform phenomenon. In these articles, several issues and some relevant results for research in the field of work and scientific research are presented in English (translations from Portuguese).

In the face of the rapid changes that occurred at the beginning of 2020, and that are still occurring due to the ongoing pandemic, society calls for quick scientific responses. However, researchers must deal with the slowness of the analysis and selection procedure in publishing their research in specialized scientific journals and magazines, in addition to the serious difficulties imposed on their daily routines due to health protocols.

The pandemic posed, among so many challenges, the questioning of the canonical form of publication, the procedures of which confront the need for quick responses of scientific production, similar to the dissemination of experimental studies. Preprint seems to emerge as a means of responding to society, at the speed that social changes demand, and, more than that, it proves to be an effective methodological tool in the development of academic writing and in broadening the debate among researchers interested in the same theme. It is especially important because it allows the same article to be published in multiple languages and opens up a broader debate.

Excellence in scientific research depends on good academic writing and the evolution in academic writing is achieved through the act of writing and rewriting. When poorly written, excellent research can be wasted. But, how do we know if we are writing well? Only those who can make themselves understood through writing know how to write well, and this is only possible when the text is read. Being read before being published is essential to develop good writing skills. In academia it is possible to be read in face-to-face assessments, research groups, seminars and congresses, however, these readings have limited access to those registered, or to participants.

Preprint increases access to academic reading by making the texts relating to ongoing research available to a greater number of researchers and interested parties. These papers can receive criticism, suggestions and changes at any time, and have guaranteed registration in the DOI system, which protects them against plagiarism.

Is preprint a platform for scientific publication? It might be. However, as it is not about providing onerous services and is not aimed at profit, this platform does not offer the harms of the already known work platforms, accused of overexploitation of work. The preprint platform, on the contrary, offers subsidies to the work of publishers of scientific publication vehicles, providing them with one more selection criterion, the impact of research.

The article “Covid-19 and doctoral research in Brazil and Portugal: who pays the bill for isolation and remote work in research?” which closes this collection, was published in Fennia journal, from Finland, and is the result of theoretical and methodological debates raised in the articles made available in pre-printed format, on a specialized platform. The publication of this article in an international scientific vehicle of excellence confirms that preprint is a valid methodological tool.

As the author’s advisor and co-author of one of the preprints published here, I recommend reading the articles contained in this collection. Each of them brings useful experiences, information and analysis, both for the academic community and for society in general - since this tool can also be used in the development of several projects, mainly in the social area.

Maria Tarcisa Silva Bega¹

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INTRODUCTION

This book is the result of a PhD internship at ICS-ULisboa, in the city of Lisbon, Portugal – with a CAPES/Print scholarship. It provides an experience of international research in the context of the Covid-19 pandemic in the first half of 2020 and reflects, to a certain extent, my experiences during the period as a PhD student in Sociology at UFPR, (Brazil) and ICS-ULisboa (Portugal), and as a Masters student in Law at UFDP (Porto, Portugal).

Research carried out in one of the most vulnerable sectors of work during a pandemic, sex work, provided valuable experience that propelled me into finding solutions for the gap between the time of changes at work, and the time of research and publication.

During this international internship, I had the opportunity to try out a methodological tool for academic production, preprint, which consists of publishing texts on a specialized platform, on the Internet, which can receive criticism and notes from other researchers on the subject. Preprint means that the text has not undergone peer review prior to being published, the traditional path of texts in the scientific community. Preprint reverses this order, first the text is published, and then it receives the evaluations of readers and results of the analysis of impact on the platform. A high-impact preprint, which reaches many researchers on the subject, from the point of view of knowledge, is no less relevant than an article submitted to reviewers of a journal, magazine, or publisher, which is sometimes read only by those who already know about the research.

I used the Even3 platform to post texts in English – translations of publications in Portuguese and original texts. This favors reaching the widest possible audience of researchers (due to the reach of the English language) and receiving a higher number of contributions. Through this methodology, I developed my academic writing and went deeper into the research cases of my interest. At the end of the international doctorate internship, I obtained approval to publish an article in English in *Fennia*, a renowned journal in Finland. The necessary articles in pre-printed format are related to my theme of research, religion and deregulation of work based on sex work. The originals published in Portuguese were defined and presented in congresses and seminars. The use of the preprint methodology to practice the translation and take these surveys to a wider audience of interlocutors was the solution found to progress in the analysis and to add new data as needed to rapid field changes.

The specialized platforms allow the posting of articles in preprint, and the permanent updating of the text, in addition to enabling feedback from other researchers and readers – Even3 is one of these platforms. Preprints can receive a DOI to prevent plagiarism and facilitate their dissemination and citation.

The use of preprints on platforms such as Research Gates allows greater control of the impact and relevance of the research, by monitoring the number of readers of each of the posted texts. This impact can serve as an indicator for a better evaluation of articles coming from preprints with regard to publication in renowned scientific journals and magazines.

Another issue, no less important, is free access to scientific knowledge. Students have difficulty accessing certain magazines, given the high cost charged to access the materials. Preprint allows free access to ongoing research, reducing the cost of research for

students, who receive increasingly little support from the Government and higher education institutions.

The collection presented in this book consists of four articles, three of which are pre-printed and one article published in a magazine of international excellence. The first article is a preprint that talks about the regulation and deregulation of sex work and the crisis during the pandemic period. The second preprint concerns the dispute of identities in a workers' collective action. The third, also a pre-printed translation, addresses the sex work sector that grew the most during the pandemic: camming. The article that concludes this collection talks about the experiences of researchers during the pandemic, in particular, the experiences of female researchers and the difficulty of publishing as the main author. All of these issues undergo the challenge of remote work, overlapping of work and family spaces, and precarious work.

CAMGIRL AND THE UBERIZATION OF SEX WORK ON THE INTERNET IN BRAZIL

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ABSTRACT: The research topic concerns the provision of female erotic services via the internet in Brazil. Its subject is the practice of a Web Stripper, WebCam Model, or Camgirl performed by women who offer to fulfil customer requests online from a simple chat to performing a strip tease, masturbating or simulating sex in front of a webcam. It should not be confused with prostitution, as there is no physical contact between the performer / customer, but classified as “tele-sex”. The activity involving a Camgirl is widespread on adult or “18+” websites on the Internet, with a variety of preferences related to age, nationality, gender, sexual orientation and preferences. In this article, we limit the scope of the research to models aged 18 to 35 years old in Brazil. The intent of the research on this topic is to insert it into the socio- anthropological and legal debate about sex work, and apply this to a discussion on new labor relations in the sex market

– entrepreneurship, self-employment, disguised employment relationships and “uberization”. The questions that are relevant to the research include “What types of work, concepts and innovations are involved in the activity of a Camgirl?”; “What determines the success of a model in this sector?”; “What concepts link information technology to sex work on the Internet?”. [As this is a research in progress, a great deal of work has been done in the year since the approval of the initial abstract and there were some changes made to the abstract presented initially]. Up to the current stage of the research, we have worked under the hypothesis that the Camgirl profession is an occupation within the field of restructured pornography, with demands for self-employment and disguised employment relationships, and this activity links information technology and sex work through the concepts of neo- liberal rationality and uberization. The methodology is grounded in a variety of techniques, but mainly in semi-structured interviews and virtual ethnography.

KEYWORDS: Neoliberal Rationality; Sex Work; Uberization.

1 | INTRODUCTION

If, in the processes of capitalism, work turns into prostitution and representation into pornography, it is possible to understand sexualized bodies as products of the prostitution regimes of the market and of the image (PAVEZ; KRAUSHAAR, 2011).

This article deals with qualitative research related to the activity of a Camgirl or WebCam Model, through which we also investigate the

strategies employed by the pornographic “industry” running this service. There are three essential roles needed to conduct the activity of a WebCam Model; a model, an administrator of virtual platforms and a recruiter of models. A virtual platform is a website with server capacity that hosts third party pages – example: Facebook, Instagram, and others. Both the model and the recruiter have a room on the virtual platforms. “Rooms” are webpages that are set up to transmit text, audio and video online, and are hosted on virtual platforms. On smaller websites, the administrator and the recruiter can be the same person. However, on larger platforms they are always different people, because these mega-platforms host the smaller ones (platforms hosting platforms). The recruiter’s room is not visible to the public as it operates through links and forms, and only the model’s virtual room is seen by the average user. In this research, we have focused on the role of the models and make only brief forays into the roles of administrator and recruiter.

Access to a Camgirl is simple and easy. The customer enters the site, typically led by other sites dedicated to pornographic content where advertising about Camgirls are broadcast (either in the form of a pop-up or in the menu section of the porn site that links directly to the model’s webpage). Upon entering the Camgirl’s website, the customer joins a public virtual room where the model can be viewed and the customer can suggest activities for her to perform. This public area has lower prices (around R\$ 1.35 / minute) and offers erotic activities that are less explicit. If interested, the customer can request exclusive attention from the model in a private chat (around R\$ 2.40 / minute), and make more intimate and sexually-oriented requests like suggesting that she move around, dance, take off or put on clothes, use erotic toys etc., as long as it does not infringe on the rules of the house. These rules are established by the model or by the platform that hosts her virtual room, and they concern what she is or is not willing to offer. The models or websites that host their rooms (platform companies) dictate which requests are permitted or prohibited in the respective rooms. If the rule is not respected, the customer is disconnected. In most rooms, the restrictions are related to abusive, violent or bizarre sex (commonly zoophilia and sadomasochism). There are also models who are only available to chat and act like a virtual girlfriend, with no further explicit sexual activity. The activity should not be confused with prostitution. It is more a type of tele-sex – offering a sexual service remotely – with characteristics that draw it closer to pornography, but not traditional pornography. The customer is no longer a mere spectator, but an actor and director of the scenes. At first, we classify this activity as “interactive online pornography”, due to the particular characteristics that differentiate it from related activities (prostitution, pornography and erotic dancing). The objective of this investigation is to incorporate the theme into the socio- anthropological and legal debate on sex work, and to contribute to it by introducing analyses on the “shared economy” or “uberized” model applied to the Internet sex market. We have specifically investigated uberization in pornography, where the activity under study is inserted. However, the sharing model, which is presented in the form of a platform company, also mediates services offered by other sex professionals such as prostitutes and hustlers in Brazil – via apps that are similar to those used by taxis and / or passenger service companies like “Uber”. To achieve this objective, we have raised a few questions: “What work practices, concepts and innovations are involved in the Camgirl activity?”; “What concepts link information technology to sex work on the Internet?”. The assumption we are working under

is that the activity of a Camgirl is a type of tele-sex practice that links technology and sex work through the concepts of neoliberal rationality and uberization (which will be further addressed in topic II).

2 | THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Up to now, there have been no studies found in Brazil in the field of Sociology of Work regarding sex work, nor any discussion concerning the activity of a Camgirl, but merely sociological discussions along the lines of gender and sexuality that focus on pornography and / or prostitution.

Why should this topic be studied and retrieved from obscurity? How important can a study of sex workers on the Internet be? It is the duty of the researcher to unveil what is behind the public eye. What is obscured from view can have a lot to reveal about the society we share. It is done in the incontinence of what is shown and hidden, or hidden so that its emergence becomes a marketable product, as is the case with Camgirls. It is possible that the invisibility of this activity is a labor strategy, due to the stigma attached to sex workers and issues involving the security of models, but it may be, largely, the result of the obscenity status imposed on the activities linked to sex. The obscene is what society does not allow to surface to the social scene, but permits it to exist within the limits determined by it. Pornography and prostitution, for example, are tolerated within the social spaces reserved for them and their access restricted for the general public (MORAES, 2013). However, when they take to the streets or to the public eye, they are condemned and rejected by those who use them. This social treaty on obscenity seems to also be applicable in Brazilian academia where, despite the fact that prostitution has existed since the country's colonization and that legislation on sex work has been on the books for over 5 years, there have been no studies to date on sex workers from the Sociology of Work perspective. These studies are sparse even in anthropology. One of the most frequently referenced is the work of Diáz-Benitez (2010) who demonstrates in detail the functioning of organized sex work in a network that involves prostitution, pornography and erotic dancing (strip tease) in Brazil. Judging by the output of research, sex work does not receive due attention from the Sociology of Work, even after its regulation in Brazil. It is reasonable to infer that this activity is granted the same status given to desire and pleasure that are relegated to the sphere of intimacy. In his work *Desejos Digitais* (Digital Desires), Miskolci (2017) draws attention to the invisibility of desire in Sociology, which relegates it to the sphere of private life, disregarding all its power on the level of the social order. Illouz (2014) also points out that sexuality and sex must be central issues for sociologists, who must refrain from making value judgments in their analyses. These epistemological positions call Sociology's attention to sexual activity as a sociological subject, taking it out of the private sphere. This helps to understand sex as work, given the notion that work is something placed in the "public eye" (GORZ, 2007) and is useful to other individuals in addition to those who have produced it. With the advent of the Internet and the possibility of providing sexual services in a virtual manner, the division between the public and the private / intimate / domestic scene has become quite tenuous, and there is no denying the public nature of what is published on the Internet.

Today we live in a world where relationships are increasingly mediated by technology, which makes the fallacy of real / virtual opposition apparent and the existence of an online / offline continuum is increasingly clearer. Oppositions between private and public, subjectivity and community life seem to be progressively eroded without having coined a new analytical vocabulary from which we can understand our new context and ourselves (MISKOLCI, 2017, p. 677-678).

The common view in Brazil still perceives sex work as a crime or a criminal offense. However, the most well-known and long-standing sex work is prostitution, and this has never been a crime under Brazilian law (Brazil, 2017). This confusion arises from the criminalization of “pimps” or promoting prostitution (Art. 230 of the Brazilian Penal Code), which are indeed classified as a crime in the Brazilian Penal Code. The activity of a Camgirl is not prostitution, so profiteering from it is not considered a crime.

Sex work was regulated in Brazil in 2012 and classified in the Brazilian Classification of Occupations (CBO) under code 5198-05 that identifies the prostitute, the hustler and other sex workers. In addition to these, there was another type of sex work that received an official classification, this by the National Classification of Economic Activities (CNAE) – the Sex Hotline / Tele-Sex / Friendship Hotline under the number 96090. Although a portion of society does not consider sex work to be a job, the Brazilian government recognizes it as such. The question is “What line of work is this?”. It can be stated that, according to the concepts adopted by the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE), the activity of a Camgirl could fall under a “paid occupation” and / or a business venture, which leads to the concept of “entrepreneurship” that will be addressed below.

The enterprise, the institution, the entity, the firm, the business etc., was defined as an enterprise, or work performed without an establishment, performed individually or with the help of other people (employees, partners or unpaid workers). By convention, work in paid domestic services was deemed an enterprise, regardless of the number of households in which the person provided this service. (IBGE, 2016, p. 21).

It is known that a business venture is linked to a market and can include many different types of work. The venture that constitutes the activity of a Camgirl is embedded in the virtual pornography market and strives in flexible and autonomous forms of work. This prevailing model in pornography publicized on the Internet was only possible due to external and internal structural changes to the individual.

[...] capital began a process of reorganizing its forms of societal domination, not only seeking to reorganize the productive process in capitalist terms, but also seeking to manage a project to regain hegemony in many different spheres of sociability. It was done, for example, at the ideological level, through the cult of a subjectivism and a fragmentary ideology that makes an apology for individualism exacerbated against forms of solidarity and collective and social action (ANTUNES, 1999, p. 47-48).

Laval (2016) calls this subjectivist ideology Antunes (1999) was referring to as “neoliberal rationality” which is expressed in its extreme form by inculcating the idea of company as a form of subjectivity in the subjects.

[...] neoliberalism, before an economic political ideology is, first and foremost, a rationality; consequently, it tends to structure and organize, not only the action of the governors, but also the conduct of the governed themselves. The main characteristic of neoliberal rationality is the generalization of competence as a standard of conduct and of the company as a model of subjectivation (LAVAL, DARDOT, 2009, p.15).

The model of a platform-company and “sharing” (SLEE, 2017) is easily absorbed by workers due to the neoliberal rationality that tends to transform it into a subject-company and to make them believe, among other things, in the so-called shared economy where everyone wins. “The subject-company standard does not concern anyone who considers themselves an entrepreneur, but rather an individual whose subjectivation and self-representation embraces the model of running and rationalizing a company” (LAVAL et al., 2009). The economics of sharing involves prioritizing access to the detriment of owning goods and services. Why buy a car if you just need to go from one place to another? Why buy a house when I can just rent one? Why purchase a drill when all I need is a hole in the wall? Sharing the use of a good seems like a solid and wonderfully economical idea. Instead of leaving the drill stored at home, I share its use and profit from it, while the borrower does not need to invest a hefty amount of money in equipment that would only be used a few times and then put away (idle money). This requires trust between the users: trust that the drill will be returned, that the driver of the shared car will not damage it, that the house reserved at the desired location really exists. This trust, in theory, is guaranteed by evaluation systems in applications used to connect those who have an item or service to offer and those who want to access it (SLEE, 2017). In the specific case of the activity in question, the sharing occurs in the use of digital mega-platforms, which makes advertising models cheaper.

One of the questions raised in the survey concerns the classification of a Camgirl’s activity in the labor market: employment, self-employment or entrepreneurship. In many cases, this work can be regarded as a form of self-employment, where the worker directly performs the activity, creates her own working conditions and has all the capital needed for the activity. However, in other cases, in addition to self-employment, she also employs other models and profits from their work, making the activity more of an entrepreneurship. However, when the model occupies a virtual room on a specialized platform (in the case of the models interviewed) that handles a large portion of the activity, such as: distribution, advertising, collection and payment for the service provided, the practice resembles more of an employment relationship – especially in the case of exclusive models who work up to 40 hours a week. In these cases, the requirements established in the Brazilian labor legislation remain in place: personality, habituality, burdensomeness and subordination, since this model is subject to the rules of the platform and is prohibited from doing certain things under orders by her administrator, such as using the room to solicit a customer for prostitution or fulfil certain customer fantasies. Many of these rules are imposed under the pretense of protecting the model’s identity and physical well-being, but they represent a subordinate relationship insofar as the model is obliged to comply with them, under penalty of being suspended from the virtual platform room. Lima (2008) points out that self-employment sold as a promise of autonomy and freedom is almost never an option for the worker. It is a lack of employment options and, coupled with the idea of self-employment, entrepreneurship arises, which sells capitalism as an egalitarian model (LIMA, 2008, p. 9). This same author

associates the concepts of precariousness, flexibility and informality with the categories of self-employment and entrepreneurship (LIMA, 2009). According to an analysis by Burchel et al. (1992) the categories of self-employment and entrepreneurship may often appear overlapping depending on how the activity is analyzed, with the inclusion or elimination of variables in the analysis, such as: autonomy, subordination, ownership of the means of production, management of the business, direct provision of services, hiring employees, accountability for risks, the labor role of the owner etc. The more variables that are included, the more the concepts of self-employment and entrepreneurship are broadened (BURCHEL et al., 1992). Accordingly, the activity of a Camgirl may be categorized as self-employment in some cases, and in others, it will be classified as entrepreneurship or an employment relationship. However, considering the concept of self-employment by the International Labor Organization (ILO) which includes small-scale individual entrepreneurs who serve in the same labor role as their employees in addition to managing the company (ILO, 1993, p. 2-3), all different types of a Camgirl's activity can be classified as self-employment, with the exception of those that entail being fully committed to a specific digital platform. Faced with a demanding and unrewarding job market, self-employment or entrepreneurship using information technology is a seductive proposal. Especially for some women who are willing to give up their privacy and are not intimidated by sharing their intimacy virtually with people looking for company and pleasure. It is important not to lose sight of the fact that this is an activity primarily pursued by young women who work on their own. This leads the research to the subcategory of youth entrepreneurship. Regarding this issue, a recent study by Bega (2015) notes that:

Essentially, it may seem that, in the fringes and rifts found in contemporary capitalism, a "space" for creativity and (dis) alienation from work is being proposed. My perception is that there is, in fact, acknowledgment of the impossibility of occupying a young contingent in the still dominant model of work. Consequently, entrepreneurship falls like a soft and malleable glove to other forms of exploitation (BEGA, 2015, p. 11).

The low quality of jobs available to young people appears in statements given by interviewees who refer to low wages and an excessive number of hours dedicated to traditional jobs as a motivation to choose the Camgirl activity. In most of the cases observed, situations involving self-employment and disguised employment relationships are the most recurrent.

3 | METHODOLOGY

The research methodology is qualitative and involves mapping out forms, contexts and work structures that facilitate the activity of a Camgirl on the Internet in Brazil. To do so, we combined research techniques that could help us discover what is behind the webcam where the models of virtual sex work are shown. Initially, virtual ethnography helped me to get a detailed understanding of the websites and products offered in this activity, the presentations available in the models' profiles and the interaction of customers with these presentations and the performances offered by them. From that point, we selected a group of 10 women to interview between the ages of 18 and 35 who work in open rooms in

Brazil. We also interviewed two administrators of platform sites. Other techniques were also used in the research for the thesis. However, the data compiled for this article was produced from the combination of these two techniques; semi-structured interviews and virtual ethnography. The analyses built from this data is demonstrated in the next topic. The categories used here, such as self-employment, entrepreneurship, disguised employment, as well as the concept of “uberization” are constructed through interpretations made by us and based on the facts described by the models in the interviews. However, at no time are these terms explicit for them. When asked, “What is your job?” or “Where do you work?”, the unanimous responses were “I am a webcam model” or “I work for website X”. Nevertheless, in the description of their work routines and forms of hiring, the relevance of such categories and concepts is demonstrated.

4 | ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF DATA

An activity or work does not exist independently from a producer or consumer market. This is also true for the work of a Camgirl, making it necessary to establish this activity and its market within the economy to which it belongs. The activity of the webcam model is regulated in Brazil as “tele-sex” and is part of a market, a sector of an economy regarded here as the “sexual economy” (PISCITELLI, 2016). We identified two central sectors in the sexual economy: sex-related products and services and the provision of sexual services, with each of these sectors possessing specific markets.

SEXUAL ECONOMY		
PRODUCTS AND SERVICES FOR SEX		
Therapies and Interventions	Sex Education	Sexual Encounters
Neuropsychiatric	Education and Awareness on the Possibilities and Risks of Sexual Practice.	Apps for Sexual Encounters (ex: Fuckbook)
Psychological	Family Planning	Sex Tourism
‘Alternatives’	Sexuality	Saunas
Medicinal		Swing Clubs
Surgical		Sexual Accessories
		Erotic Songs and Dances

I – PRODUCTS AND SERVICES FOR SEX

Author, 2017.

SEXUAL ECONOMY	
SEXUAL PRODUCTS AND SERVICES	
Intercourse	Masturbation
Prostitution (Prostitutes and Escorts)	Pornography (Movies, Printed Material and Porn Sites)
Erotic Massage	Tele-sex (WebCam Model, Phone Sex)
	Strip Tease (Erotic Dancing)

II – SEXUAL PRODUCTS AND SERVICES

Author, 2017.

PORNOGRAPHY	
Tele-sex	
Camgirl / WebCam Model	
Number of Models in the Virtual Room	1 Woman; 1 Man; 2 Women or more; 2 Men or more.
Gender	Female, Male, Transgender
Biological Sex	Female, Male, Transsexual
Age Groups	“Teen”, “Middle-Aged”, “Moms”, Among Other Denominations
Nationality	Asian, Hispanic, African Descent, Swedish etc.
Sexual Orientation	Heterosexual, Homosexual, Bisexual
Sexual Preferences	Voyeurs, Foot Fetishists, Pregnant Women, Threesomes, Orgies etc.
Working Time on the Website	Beginners and Veterans
Engagement Method	Occasional and Exclusive
Service Offered	Girlfriend, Sugar Baby, Strip Tease, Hardcore, Dominatrix etc.

III – CAMMING PERFORMANCE

Author, 2017.

The most significant characteristic of the sector of products and services focused on sex is the intermediation of sexual relations between third parties, either in getting the interested parties together, or in assistance through education, stimulating products and / or facilitators. There is no provision of direct sexual service between the attendant and the customer, nor is there sexual contact between the workers. As can be seen in Table II, there are two very distinct branches in the sexual services sector, that of sex and onanism (masturbation). In the first, there is physical contact between the customer and the attendant, and / or between the workers. In the second, there is no physical contact between the attendant and the customer, but there may be between the workers – such as cinema and printed pornography.

All the above categorizations are taken from the information contained in the “menus” on the platforms where the virtual rooms of the webcam models are hosted. In this table, we attempted to identify the position of a Camgirl’s activity within the sexual economy, in its reference market and sector to which it belongs, in addition to classifying it as tele-sex

and describing its subdivisions, its actors, forms of presentation and the types of services provided.

The young Camgirls here are called “models” because the interviewees call themselves “models”. However, the activity that these young women perform is much closer to the work of an actress than a model, notably because their performance for customers involves creating a character that is separate from their own personality.

5 | CONCLUSIONS

Through the virtual ethnography and the interviews conducted, we realized that these young women, when they work alone, develop, sustain and operate their own websites; they create text or audio-visual homemade presentations and operating rules for chatting. The rules can change from one site to another, as they can be defined by the model or by the platform that makes the virtual rooms available to the models and publicizes the business, and for this service, they charge 5% to 40% of what the young women receive from customers. These platforms create and publish advertisements to promote models on the internet and deal with other sites that run their advertising. Many young women who have their own websites also use the platform to become known. The platforms have a broader reach when it comes to distributing advertising and more user traffic on the Internet. In Brazil, the leading platforms in this genre are *CameraHot* and *CameraPrivê*. At the international level, the largest and best-known platform is in the United States, it is *Myfreecams*, which hosts platforms from various parts of the world, including Brazilian ones. The work routine of these young women can be described as flexible. There is no obligation to comply with schedules or work hours, but when the young woman spends a lot of time offline, her profile drops down to pages further away from the entrance of the website. This reduces her competitiveness, which could force her to work at least once a week in her virtual room. The models who do not consider this to be their primary professional activity (8 / 10 of the interviewees) work an average of 15 hours per week (3 hours / day) and receive about R\$6,000.00 (six thousand reais) per month, working 5 days a week. Prices are determined in minutes and run between R\$1.35 (group chat) and R\$2.40 (private chat) on Brazilian platforms.

Those who “work shifts” can earn around R\$20,000.00 per month – according to information from platform administrators, about 10% of workers in this activity work up to 40 hours a week. In addition to earning money for the time they spend performing for the customer in the virtual room, they also earn cash gifts given to them by customers and can also earn extra cash by selling their photos and videos, doing scheduled shows, participating in erotic reality shows and tradeshows for erotic products. Many models are anonymous and do not show their faces or hide them with masks, but the anonymity strategy is not used by all models. Some consider the job to be like that of an artist and openly exhibit themselves by creating characters that are widely publicized on the internet. Over the course of the year and four months we spent observing and researching Camgirls and the platforms they work on, we noticed a significant increase in the commission charged by platforms on what the models earn, resulting in a decrease in the pay that the models receive. In June 2016, the

platform that charged the highest commission stipulated rates of around 30% of earnings, now reaching 45% when the model is exclusive to a specific digital platform. The tightening of the rules is also evident. In an attempt to keep the models from attracting customers for themselves, displaying advertisements using the model's email, mobile phone numbers or Facebook is forbidden. As more models register on a specific platform, it becomes hegemonic and they gain a monopoly on that activity, because it attracts more user traffic and the models become more and more dependent on the platform to work. This in turn increases their price and their profits. What appeared to be an associationism, cooperativism or sharing of the cyberspace instead reveals itself a concentrator of wealth and power, removing autonomy and the free choice of workers and customers. This phenomenon is repeated on platforms such as Uber and others that advocate the sharing economy as a fairer form of work and consumption, but which has proved to be a strong ally of capitalism that uses it as a way to circumvent labor and tax laws.

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