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SEX, LABOR, AND DIGITAL SPACES: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF GPGUIADELAS, A BRAZILIAN SEX WORKER TWITTER FEED

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**SEX, LABOR, AND DIGITAL SPACES: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS
OF GPGUIADELAS, A BRAZILIAN SEX WORKER TWITTER FEED**

BY

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B.A. International Affairs, Latin America Specialty, University of Colorado-Boulder,

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DISSERTATION

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the

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**Doctor of Philosophy
Communication**

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Dedication

To mom and dad, it's always been possible because of you. Thank you for everything. For Mason, Anna, and Kevin, thank you for sustaining me. For Noelani and Koa, may you grow up to do brilliant impactful things in the world. I love you all. To Bailey, Pukini, and my plants, you'll never be able to read this, but you should know how much I rely on you to get me through my days.

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This is by far the most gratifying part of my dissertation to write... reflecting on those who warmed my heart; fed my mind, body, and soul; and lightened my load with laughter, deep friendship, and keen mentorship. Settle in, the list is blessedly long.

Mom and dad, your enduring support and understanding of this passion of mine demonstrate an unwavering commitment to the best example of parenthood. Mom, you are one of the most genuine people I know. Consistently showing up in beautiful service of others, exploring the world with wide-eyed wonder, and loving fiercely. Dad, your intellectual spirit, quiet protection, and deep heart continue to amaze me. I love you both. My nieces and nephews, Noelani, Koa, Luke, and Beyjla: you will never know how much you fill up my heart with joy. Your silliness, curiosity, and pure love renew my faith that people are good, kind, and worthy. I love you all dearly. Thank you for letting me your Auntie Ai-Ai. Papa Charlie, you never saw me finish, but this is really because of you. Your philosopher's mind and heart, desire for respectful and expansive conversation, and love of a good tune have shaped my own philosophies. I love you and damn if I don't just miss you. Grandma: my musical theater, opera, ballet, Terminator loving Gram. You evidence the strength and generosity of a beautiful person every day of my life. You show me what it means to give a damn when it's worth it and walk away when it's not. I treasure our friendship and love you a whole lot. Kevin, your unwavering confidence in me pushed me through this journey more times than you know. Our numerous conversations, your love of intellectualism, and watching you be an incredible parent are moments of absolute wonder and joy in my life. Thank you for being part of who I am. Mason, few people know the sheer joy of being in your company. As your sister, I have

had the utter privilege of being in your company my whole life, and it is glorious. Your brain, humor, heart, and wit provide me refuge and a place for clarity. I like you...you know, a lot. Anna: my strong, beautiful, brilliant sister. Our friendship is a pillar of my life, our adventures a source of laughter and wonder. I learn new meanings for dedication, teaching, and sisterhood from you every day. I also like you...like, a lot.

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My two ladies, Melissa P. and Mariko, “it’s not the boys you miss, it’s the girls.” You are two of the fiercest, smartest, most glorious women I will ever have the honor of knowing. I don’t know what I did to deserve you, but I will happily pay the cosmic toll for your friendship my whole life. I am practically speechless at the emotional, spiritual, and mental connection we have. You care for me without me even needing to ask, and forgive me when I am unable to do so for myself. Our adventures, womanderings, wine and whiskey-drinking conversations bring a smile to my face, new ideas to my mind, and

lightness and gratitude to my heart. Never have I been so fully seen and appreciated, flaws and all. I simply adore and love you both.

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of, and excited to share, were it not for you. I will continue to work to bring your experiences to US academia; doing so would be a great privilege. *Obrigada.*

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation project is a critical discourse analysis of written and visual texts produced for GPGuiaDelas, a Brazilian sex worker Twitter feed. Drawing on digital labor studies, feminist studies on sex work, and Brazilian studies on race and gender, 176 Twitter conversations between sex workers and clients were analyzed in order to answer the following: (1) What are the dominant themes in the discourse about sex work constructed through microblogging on social media?; (2) What are the discursive practices of sex workers who use social media as a platform?; and (3) What theoretical insights emerge from the analysis of sex workers' discourse on social media?

The analysis revealed three orders of discourse: economic, relational, and identity. The economic order of discourse highlights how sex workers are required to perform

unpaid labor through digital media spaces. The relational order of discourse centers on the interpersonal affective labor sex workers execute. The identity order of discourse posits that sex workers appeal to available racial-sexual-gendered tropes within Brazil's complex spectrum of racial, gender, and sexual ideologies in order to be legible and attract clients. This study also reveals how the architecture of Twitter enables discursive practices of power negotiation.

I argue for forefronting sex workers' voices in communication and media studies; blending theoretical lenses, and for giving close attention to the ways in which sex workers enact power within multiple systems of marginalization in Brazil. This study contributes to digital labor and media studies, communication studies, Brazilian studies, and feminist scholarship on sex work.

Keywords: Brazil, sex work, sex workers, Twitter, critical discourse analysis, digital labor

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter 1: Introduction..... 1

 Purpose and Scope of Research..... 3

 Significance of Research 8

 Road Map 9

Chapter 2: Literature Review 10

 Blogs 11

 Motivations to Read/Write a Traditional Blog..... 11

 Sex Worker Traditional Blogs..... 16

 Public/Private Sphere and Blogs 17

 Microblogging and Twitter..... 19

 Twitter and Marketing..... 22

 Political Communication and Twitter 23

 Twitter and Sociopolitical Protests..... 24

 Twitter and News Media 25

 Twitter User Motivation 27

 Intellectual and Affective Labor in Technology 2.0..... 30

 Immaterial Labor 30

 Digital Labor 32

 Affective Labor 34

 Feminism and Sex Work 35

 Liberal Feminism..... 37

 Marxist Feminism..... 38

Radical Feminism.....	40
Pro-sex Feminism.....	42
The Brazilian Context.....	43
A Brief History of Race and Sex in Brazil.....	44
Prostitution Policy in Brazil	61
Conclusion	65
Chapter 3: Methodology	66
Research Questions	66
Key Concepts.....	67
The Methodology of Critical Discourse Analysis.....	69
Procedures	74
Selection of texts	74
Coding process	77
Data analysis: Fairclough’s CDA model.....	79
Data analysis: Visual semiotics	83
Textual interpretation	85
On the Politics of Translation.....	87
Chapter 4: Transactional Labor Conditions	89
Negotiating Services Offered.....	91
Determining Sex Acts.....	92
Ideologies About Condom Use	94
Conceptualizing and Politicizing Sexual Labor	102
Navigating Possible Services	103

Discursively Establishing Hierarchies of Sex Work	105
Negotiating the Terms of Agreement	110
Begging for Discounts and Attempts at Negotiation	110
Instructing and Complaining Though Memes	118
Respecting the Rules of Engagment	123
Conclusion	127
Chapter 5: Managing Relational Labor Conditions	131
Managing Loss of Time and Energy	133
Dealing with Missing Appointments	133
Denying Requests for Free Photos	137
Avoiding Unpaid <i>Bate Papo</i>	140
Combatting Repetitive Requests for Information	143
Battling Gendered Violence	146
Admonishing Violent Linguistic and Nonverbal Expressions	146
Demanding Respect	152
Reproaching the Violence of Unsolicited Naked Photos	157
Exposing Clients' Unacceptable Behavior via Twitter	161
Exposure as a Disciplinary Tool	162
Memes as Disciplinary and Instructional Tools	167
Community Building	170
Conclusion	174
Chapter 6: Identity Construction and Market Performance	179
Reviewing Race, Gender, and Sexuality in Brazil	180

Self-advertisements	187
Marilyn Monroe as an Intertext in Sex Worker’s Discourse.....	208
Conclusion	224
Chapter 7: Discussion and Conclusion	232
Review of Findings.....	232
Transactional Labor Conditions	234
Managing Relational Labor Conditions	235
Identity Construction and Market Performance	237
In Regards to Research Question Three	239
Theoretical Insights for Digial Labor Studies	239
Theoretical Insights for Social Media Studies.....	243
Theoretical Insights for Feminist Studies.....	244
Contributions, Limitations, and Future Research.....	247
Contributions to Communication and Digital Media Studies	247
Contributions to Feminist Studies	249
Contributions to Brazilian Studies.....	251
Limitations.....	252
Future Research	254
References	256

Chapter 1

Introduction

This dissertation project is a critical discourse analysis of GPGuiaDelas, a Brazilian sex worker Twitter feed. It explores how sex workers construct their subjectivities and labor practices in interactions with clients within broader discursive and material structures. The analysis unpacks the complicated, and often competing, ways in which female sex workers' identities and labor are coded and (re)produced within particular discursive structures where gender, racial, sexual, and labor ideologies intersect. The analysis focuses on microblogging as a specific platform for communication that lends itself well for the analysis of discourse, digital labor, and the articulation of power relations through interactive communication practices.

The intellectual journey that led me to investigate this problem started in summer 2013 when I had the opportunity to spend six weeks in São Paulo, Brazil, on a Foreign Language and Area Studies fellowship. Led by both U.S. and Brazilian scholars, the language and cultural program took us all around São Paulo, to the coastal city of Paraty, and the small village of Guaratinguetá for a cultural celebration. Our daily-guided explorations of São Paulo focused largely on art, history, music, and the intersections therein. It is on one of these trips that my journey into studying sex work began.

.....

The statue represents a black slave breastfeeding a white child, a castrer treatise on the history of colonization and slavery. Blacks in Brazil were used to build the nation, their bodies, labor, creativity, and sacrifices wrenched away from them. A black woman breastfeeding a white baby, sharing her caloric energy to sustain a small white child that

she did not birth is a particularly gruesome—and apt—allegory for slavery and for the economy it sustained. It is also representative of bodily labor done by women for the sustenance of society. And while this could be a particularly educational moment to discuss culture as a site of hegemony, transformation, contestation, agreement, and struggle, the tour guide shies away from this, and instead talks so mechanically about Mãe Preta that it makes me bored and tired. I look around; I let my eyes wander around this part of the República neighborhood of São Paulo. Supposedly not the “best area of town” (whatever that means), República is characterized by apartments on top of shopping centers, tiny praças, and plenty of lanchonete and food vendors. As an American with access to a cellular phone only since my early twenties, I find a small tinge of comfort in the fact that there are orelhões everywhere. I remember calling my parents from public telephones to ask to spend the night at friends’ houses as a kid. I remember always being told to keep a quarter on me in case of an emergency so I could call for help. My attention settles on an orelhão somewhat across the praça, my ears only kind of tuning in to the tour guide’s droning Portuguese, eyes focused on the movement of the people near the payphone. As my eyes sharpen, I notice stickers all over the orelhão. I can’t make out what they are, but the payphone has almost no background color left. Dr. Lesser’s voice in my ear startles my attention. “Any idea what those stickers are?” As one of six graduate students and one of the oldest members on this language intensive, I was in a privileged position to quickly become on good terms with the faculty. “I have no idea. What are they?” His grin peaks my curiosity, and we set out across the praça leaving the group behind.

.....

It turns out the stickers on the phone booth were small advertisements for sex workers. They had a photo, a phone number, and a description that was heavily linked to Brazil's racialized past (Aidoo, 2018; Freyre, 1933/1986; Telles, 2004). Some stickers mentioned *loiras*—blonde haired, blue-eyed German-Brazilians—or *ruivinhas*—redheads—while some said *japonesinha*—little Japanese girl. The stickers also had descriptions, *gostoso* (delicious) or *gordo* (fatty). Instead of words to describe food, the sex workers used them to describe their physical attributes. The clash of ideologies of gender, race, representation, sex, sexuality, work, and bodies astounded me. One small advertisement, about 2 inches by 2 inches, in a sea of similar advertisements, told a story of history, race, gender, and sexuality.

.....

This is where culture lives: in the stickers for sex on a phone booth in an old square in a beat up part of an old colonial city that is now a megatropolis. The struggle for visibility and work is at the heart of culture.

.....

That brief moment in São Paulo in 2013 was a turning point for my scholarship. Since then, my academic work has centered on discourses surrounding sex work in media, pop culture, news, and social media spaces.

Purpose and Scope of Research

This project elucidates the thematic structure of discourses and discursive practices of sex workers on social media, with a focus on how microblogs (as a specific mode of communication) enable particular discursive practices between sex workers and clients in ways that reproduce and transform gendered relations of power. The study

offers a textual and visual analysis of a Twitter feed produced by Brazilian sex workers and used by current and potential sex worker clients as well as undisclosed general users. The discursive practices and experiences of Brazilian sex workers were chosen for analysis because Brazil's international image is one of sexual freedom, sensual women, and a utopia of mixed-raceness. Twitter is a worthy site for exploration of this problem because it is less restrictive than other social media sites, allowing sex workers to openly discuss their job, post WhatsApp interactions with clients, interact via hashtags, commenting, and @ing practices, and advertise their services. Moreover, Brazil is a huge Twitter market with 27.7 million users, the largest outside of the U.S. (Mari, 2017; "Twitter demographics," 2019).

GPGuiaDelas is a unique Twitter feed. Created in response to GPGuias, a Twitter feed maintained by sex work clients,¹ GPGuiaDelas, offers a snapshot of how sex workers speak back to clients. The vast majority of the Twitter feed is screenshots of WhatsApp conversations between sex workers and clients. These screenshots include phone numbers and WhatsApp ID photos of the clients—exposing their identity on a public microblog. In fact, the Twitter feed was chosen partially for this reason, as it is one of only a few spaces where sex workers get to demonstrate the communication that happens between them and clients. The Twitter feed also heavily uses memes, an intertextual internet creation where pop culture figures and events are used to express personal, political, and social feelings about a particular topic. The WhatsApp screenshots and memes make up the majority of posts on GPGuiaDelas. Interestingly, Twitter continually shuts down GPGuiaDelas for violating the rules of use. It is

¹ T. Blanchette, personal communication, June 28, 2019.

impossible to know what exactly the violations are, but it is safe to say that posting identifying contact information of clients, violates privacy rights. Yet, GPGuiaDelas continues to pop up any time it is shut down, simply changing the number (i.e. GPGuiaDelas1 becomes GPGuiaDelas2, etc.). The unique nature of GPGuiaDelas' feed, a combination of self-advertisements, memes, and screenshots of WhatsApp conversations between sex workers and clients, provides a rich space for critical discursive inquiry.

The research for this dissertation unearthed three orders of discourse about sex work: economic, relational, and identity. The economic order of discourse centers on themes of work and negotiating the transactional aspect of sex work. The relational order of discourse unpacks how sex workers manage gendered politics in interpersonal interactions with clients. The identity order of discourse investigates how sex workers create an identity to market their services through self-advertisements and memes that position them within Brazil's dominant racial, gender, and sexual hierarchies. These three orders of discourse overlap and intertwine, but are distinct facets of laboring as a sex worker through social media.

The analysis of texts led to the formulation of the main arguments in this dissertation. I posit that given the structure and accessibility of social media, sex workers using social media to market their services are forced to engage in unpaid digital labor in order to establish and negotiate the business transactions involved in their jobs. In this sense, social media, on the one hand, provide sex workers a space to market their services to attract more clients and thus contend with their precarious position in late-capitalism. On the other hand, the type of interactions structured by social media highlights the ways

in which affective digital labor is required, yet unpaid, in the current iteration of technology and capitalism.

The discourse on sex work in social media also evidences that gender politics shape interactions between clients and sex workers, and lead sex workers to use an array of discursive tools in order to vie for power, resist violence and heteronormative tropes, discipline clients, and protect their labor and work conditions. Discourses on sex work also reveal that sex workers invoke raced-gendered-sexualized images of their bodies that support dominant ideologies of racial democracy and whitening in order to position themselves within Brazil's complex racial order and simultaneously attract clients interactions about sex work. Ultimately, this dissertation offers theoretical insights for the study of sex work in light of the strengths and gaps in existing scholarly literature.

I approach the analysis of discourse from a post-structuralist standpoint, rooted in the understanding that language is how we access ourselves, our world, and make sense of our social and ideological relations. Furthermore, I hold that every instance of language use (written, spoken, and/or visual) recreates or contests ideology (Fairclough, 2013b). Structures of power and ideology are created, reified, and dismantled overtime through language use. As the basis for discourse, language has a unique and important relationship to power, as power is the (re)production of particular ideologies that serve the few at the expense of many. Ideology and power are created through relations of discourse, and our sense of reality is ultimately the result of the relationship between language, discourse, and power (Fairclough, 2013b; Phillips & Jørgensen, 2004; Wodak & Meyer, 2009). Therefore, an analysis of the constitution of sex work through language and discourse can uncover the social, historical, political, and cultural positioning of sex

workers. Moreover, the communicative practices of sex workers position them within larger structures of discourses about labor, gender, and sexuality.

In our increasingly mediated and connected world, social media are a rich site for the analysis of these intersecting discourses. Social media pervade a significant part of our daily communication and interactions.² Microblogs and social networking sites such as Twitter, Instagram, Facebook, and LinkedIn, shape the ways in which we receive our news, entertainment media, how we build community, and learn about others and ourselves. Social media studies have investigated the ways in which new technologies are produced and consumed, their effect on our interpersonal relationships, and how they differently position us under late-capitalist systems.

As one of the first social sites on the Internet, blogs are uniquely positioned in the history of new media. Started in the late 1990s, blogs on every subject proliferated during the early 2000s. New social media sites such as MySpace, Twitter, Facebook, and Tumblr trace their lineage to blogs, using some of the similar features (reverse chronology of homepages) and the general idea that new media was a way to connect with people and talk to the world. Blogs have not gone away, though their primacy on the Internet has waned some, being replaced to a degree by the aforementioned social networking and social media sites. Microblogs (Twitter specifically) offer a way to interrogate how the constraints of a new media platform shape discourse.

² For debates on the digital divide see: Strover, S. (2014). The US digital divide: A call for a new philosophy. *Critical Studies in Media Communication*, 31(2), 114-122.
Gonzales, A. (2016). The contemporary US digital divide: from initial access to technology maintenance. *Information, Communication & Society*, 19(2), 234-248.
Nishijima, M., Ivanauskas, T.M., Sarti, F.M. (2017). Evolution and determinants of the digital divide in Brazil (2005-2013). *Telecommunications Policy*, 41(1), 12-24.

Significance of Research

By analyzing the discourse produced within a specific mechanism of communication—Twitter—I contribute new insights to conversations on sex work as well as to understandings of microblogs as a particular form of communication in the social media environment. First, this study contributes key findings on the use of Twitter as a platform for negotiating power within marginalization. Second, this research approaches microblogging as form of affective labor. In scholarly research, affective labor has been studied in the separate spheres of the digital and sex work. These bodies of literature have contributed important information to the political economy of communication and feminist theory, respectively. However, little theorizing has been done in the coupling of these two areas: affective labor through microblogging about sex work. The dual-affective labor, of the act of sex work, and tweeting about it, offers unique insight into the triangulation between technology, embodied labor, and digital labor.

Moreover, merging these two theoretical lenses together helps fill in gaps that each are missing by bringing a focus on the body to autonomist Marxist media studies, and by de-essentializing the idea of affective labor, a trap for feminist studies (Weeks, 2007). By bringing together political economy of communication theories and feminist theories on sex work, this project offers new insights on the ways in which digital spaces require us to merge theories in order to create new lenses for elucidating complex questions of multiple forms of labor in current formations of capitalism (Boltanski & Chiapello, 2015).

Road Map

Chapter 2 takes a thorough look at the literature and the theoretical arguments that shape this study. First, I examine the academic conversations surrounding microblogs. Then, I articulate a deeper look at political economy of communication theories on immaterial and affective labor that provide one half of the scaffolding of this work. Next, I look at the feminist debates on sex work and affective labor, in order to give the reader more justification for bridging Autonomist Marxist views on digital labor and feminist positions on affective labor. Finally, I trace the context of race, sex, and prostitution in Brazil in order to give the unfamiliar reader the necessary background.

Chapter 3 presents the methodological framework for the project, discussing key terms, methodological groundings in critical discourse analysis and the critical paradigm, and ideas for text collection, analysis, and interpretation.

Chapters 4, 5, and 6 in the dissertation will present the critical discourse analysis of GPGuiaDelas' Twitter feed. Chapter 4 centers on the economic order of discourse, which focuses on the economic transactional nature of sex work. Chapter 5 looks at the relational order of discourse, unpacking the ways in which sex workers contend with the interpersonal aspects that impact their job. Chapter 6 investigates the identity order of discourse, examining how self-advertisements and memes highlight the nuances of Brazil's racial-sexual system. Chapter 7 offers concluding thoughts, attends to research question three, reflects on contributions and limitations, and offers ideas for future research.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

This project focuses on the nexus between social media, affective and immaterial labor, and sex work. While grounded in communication theory, I draw heavily on literature from sociology, political economy, and feminist studies. My focus on the ways in which discourses interact with power assumes a view of culture as a site for discourse (and therefore, power) relations. It also assumes communication is a main tool for the reification and contestation of political, social, cultural, and historical discourses. Through material and discursive practices, culture is created, contested, negotiated, and supported. Media, as a key political, cultural, social, and economic institution, provide a rich site to investigate the ways in which power operates in society (Briziarelli & Martinez Guillem, 2016; Ringer & Briziarelli, 2016). Specifically, I investigate the interactions among discourses, labor, and race in a microblog that centers on sex work. Hence, this literature review will explicate the theories and conversations surrounding microblogs, affective/immaterial labor, and feminist studies on sex work. In order to provide the reader a clearer understanding of the colonial legacy on sexual-racial relations, and the historical legal moorings of prostitution, the chapter finishes by briefly tracing the academic literature on racial democracy and racial whitening and prostitution. First, let's lay the groundwork by briefly looking at the literature on traditional blogs and blogging as a cultural practice in order to understand the emergence and importance of microblogs.

Blogs

A journey through the literature on blogging within communication reveals three areas of inquiry: discussions about the definition of blogs and their various types,

inquiries into motivations for writing and/or reading blogs, and theoretical insights into the distinctive public vs. private nature of blogs. Emerging in the late 1990s, blogs—a portmanteau of web and logs—became an important communication mechanism in the arena of the new Internet (Hogg, Lomicky, & Hossain, 2008). Blogs were a precursor to modern day social media sharing sites such as MySpace, Facebook, LinkedIn, Instagram, and Twitter, a microblog and the focus of this project (Gurak & Antonijevic, 2008). Because the lineage of traditional blogs continues to shape the use of social media and microblogs, a discussion of three key features in the traditional blog literature are paramount for an analysis of Twitter. In lieu of a comprehensive mapping of the academic literature on blogs, this section will therefore focus on the motivations for reading/writing blogs, the work that has been done on sex worker traditional blogs, and conversations about the complex public/private nature of blogs. While these discussions all center on traditional blogs, they are instructive for an analysis of social media and microblogs due to the deep ties in form, function, and use between traditional and microblogs.

Motivations to Read/Write a Traditional Blog

Communication scholars have begun to investigate the reasons why people write and/or read blogs: what motivates people to open a blogging platform, create a blogging identity, write out personal stories, opinions, and/or advice, respond (or not) to readers, and maintain an online digital identity? What makes people read and engage with blogs on a regular basis? Perhaps the answer lies embedded in ideas of democracy and participation, as Coleman (2005) argued:

To blog is to declare your presence; to disclose to the world that you exist and what it's like to be you; to affirm that your thoughts are at least as worth hearing as anyone else's; to emerge from the spectating audience as a player and maker of meanings. (p. 274)

Miller and Shepherd (2004) agree that blogging is a “contemporary contribution to the art of the self” (p. 15). Higher amounts of disclosure on personal blogs may be a result of creative expression, social connection, and entertainment (Hollenbaugh & Everett, 2013). Hsiu-Li, Su-Houn and Shih-Ming (2011) argued that motivational rewards such as friendship connection and the catharsis of talking about feelings were two highly motivating factors for blogging. Li and Lin (2012) found the same, where tensions released through the act of blogging were a main motivational goal. Similar findings were obtained on the reader's side: relationship building and maintenance, and sharing in similar hardships motivated readers to continue to read and interact with blogs (Baker & Moore, 2008).

Another possible answer to the questions of motivation in the blogosphere may be found by looking at socio-economic factors such as political involvement, affluence (in the ability to access the Internet, time to write, language fluency, etc.), information seeking behavior, being a surveyor of social and political issues, and personal fulfillment (Kaye, 2005). Moreover, positive interaction with readers was found to motivate blog authors to continue writing (Miura & Yamashita, 2007), while the level of story-difficulty was related to readers' continued interaction with the blog (Vraga et al., 2011). Broadly, these arguments for writer and reader motivation fall under two interrelated categories:

self-expression/disclosure, and identity and community building. Let's turn first to the research on motivation as a result of self-expression/disclosure.

Miller and Shepherd (2004) noted that the new landscape of technological availability, “mediated voyeurism,” and the blurring of private/public boundaries have created a particular moment where subjects can understand themselves through blogging (p. 15). They articulated that self-disclosure serves four rhetorical functions: “self-clarification, social validation, relationship development, and social control” (p. 15). Blogging, in this particular digital moment, tells us something about the mediated Internet subject: one both disengaged from and inherently wrapped up with (mediated) others. This points to a question of anonymity (Rains, 2014); writers (and readers) can choose to reveal themselves on blogs to varying degrees while still using “narrative expression conducive to sharing detailed personal histories” (Sundar, Edwards, Hu, & Stavrositu, 2007, p. 89). Thus, the four functions of self-disclosure need not necessarily be attached to an inherent “true” self to be motivating for readers and writers. The experience of being able to create a community, experience validation, and develop relationships allows for bloggers to “experience psychological well-being [and] ultimately a deep sense of empowerment” (Stavrositu & Sundar, 2012, p. 370). Importantly, the functions of self-disclosure, the degree of anonymity, and the empowerment that may/may not be felt by users of blogs is dependent on a public that engages with the writing to some degree.

Different than personal journal writing, blogs are public, and peer commentary—in the form of comments, liking, linking, and views—shapes the ways in which the writer and reader may experience empowerment or social belonging (Baker & Moore, 2008).

Additionally, the degree of anonymity may also shape what is shared on the blog and motivations for writing and reading it. For example, Hollenbaugh and Everett (2013) studied the degree to which discursive and visual anonymity lent themselves to the amount of information disclosed, updating previous research on the online disinhibition effect. They found that the more visually identified you are in your blog, the more likely you are to disclose information. This effect interacted with discursive anonymity in current event blogs where having less discursive anonymity coupled with more visual anonymity led to an increase in self-disclosure. Yet, as Miller & Shepherd (2004) argued, “the self that is ‘disclosed’ is a construction, possibly an experimental one, which takes shape as a particular rhetorical subject-position” (p. 7). Therefore, discursive and visual anonymity, or lack thereof, may itself be carefully and purposefully curated (Coleman, 2005). Self-disclosure and expression, while a main motivation for writing and reading blogs, is also a cultural, social, and rhetorical artifact, situated in a specific moment of increased online interactions and access. These realizations have allowed researchers to investigate motivations for writing/reading blogs stemming from a desire to build identity and community (Gurak, Antonijevic, Johnson, Ratliff, & Reyman, 2004).

The motivation to write and/or read a blog may be based on a desire to build a particular identity and a community surrounding that identity. Scholars have stressed how online identities are constructed and how bloggers create and disseminate their individual online identity (Gurak & Antonijevic, 2008). This creation of identity is often done in the communication between blogger and reader, where the back and forth of comments, links, communal blogging norms, and communicative practices create and “control the boundaries of a certain way of performing identity and social relations” (Karlsson, 2007,

p. 153). This creation and performance of identity “also create communities, bound and built by shared norms, stories and experiences” (Lövheim, 2013, p. 613).

Building identity and community is argued to be a main source of motivation for writing and reading blogs. We see this in the research on women and blogging (Bell, 2007; Bortree, 2005; Karlsson, 2007; Lopez, 2009; Lövheim, 2013), health blogging (Donovan, Nelson, Scheinfeld, 2017; Rains, 2014; Rains and Keating, 2015;) and in religious blogging, where Cheong, et al. (2008) found that religious blogging was an important “melding of the personal and the communal [...] operat[ing] outside the realm of the conventional nuclear church” (p. 107). Mudambi’s (2015) study of the vernacular rhetoric of “brownness” on blogs by Latina/os and South Asians also demonstrates how blogs are used as a space to contest hegemonic norms. The author found that while blogs can serve as a space to contest the negative racializations of brownness, ultimately the rhetoric relies on strategies of “normative belonging” that may not serve to undo hegemonic ideas of illegality, even as they serve to create a community of identity that attempts to distance itself from ideas of illegality.

It is important, however, to note that the studies conducted on blog motivation as it relates to self-expression/disclosure or identity and community creation are largely centered in the West. Because of particular cultural ideologies surrounding community, self-disclosure, identity, and technological mediation, more studies are needed outside the West, and perhaps, even cross-cultural surveys (Miura & Yamashita, 2007).

While motivations for writing and reading a blog may be as individual as the people engaging with the technology, some larger trends in the literature can be identified. Self-expression/disclosure is one means of motivation for reading and writing a blog, as

is the related desire for identity creation and community belonging. These motivations become especially important for bloggers in marginalized societal groups, such as women, LGBTQ individuals, and outspoken political dissenters in repressive regimes (Brake, 2009; Connell, 2010; Miller, 2008; Miller, 2017; Mitra, 2010; Morrison, 2010; Vaisman, 2016; Walsh-Haines, 2012). As an especially marginalized group, sex workers may benefit from the catharsis of self-disclosure, community relations, and identity creation found through blogging.

Sex Worker Traditional Blogs

Scholarship on sex worker blogs focuses on three rather famous blogs from the UK, *Bitchy Jones' Diary*, *Intimate Adventures of a London Call Girl*, and *Girl with a One Track Mind*. This is largely no surprise as the latter two have been turned into memoirs with follow-up books, and a TV show in the case of *Intimate*. *Bitchy* was a UK cultural phenomenon playing off the success of the movie franchise *Bridget Jones' Diary*. Works by Downing (2012), Mitchell (2012), Barker & Gill (2012), Handyside (2012), Ferreday (2010), Knowles (2013), Attwood (2009) and Cardell (2014) have interrogated these three blogs from various entry points of feminism, psychology, literary, or film studies. Studies on sex worker blogs that break away from these three blogs are few.

For instance, Feldman (2014) investigated the multi-authored activist UK sex worker blog *Bound, Not Gagged*. Feldman found that this blog in particular, and perhaps activist centered sex worker blogs in general, act as useful tools for public discourse for marginalized communities. Moreover, they can provide an avenue for sex workers to educate readers on their profession and contest stereotypes. However, through an analysis

of testimony and witnessing on “abolitionist”³ blogs, Hamilton (2009) found that though the blogosphere has the potential for inclusivity and new forms of feminist discourse (such as Feldman found), many blogs related to sex work “recreate old forms of exclusion and divisions within feminism” (p. 86).

Importantly, none these aforementioned blog studies on sex workers are conducted within the communication discipline, and the majority of them focus on Western blogs, namely in the United Kingdom. No studies on sex worker traditional blogs approach them from a communicative discourse analytic lens, and none focus on Brazil. This project addresses this dearth in the literature by approaching sex worker microblogs in Brazil. Because sex workers have historically held a liminal space between public and private, any analysis of sex worker social media must also be an analysis of the ways in which the Internet has impacted understandings of the public and private spheres.

Public/Private Sphere and Blogs

David Weinberger noted, “the confessional nature of blogs has redrawn the line between the private and the public dimensions of our lives” (quoted in Miller & Shepherd, 2004, p. 1). The specific nature of blogs, i.e. an audience that interacts, reads, comments on, links to, etc., is “qualitatively different” than other audiences. This qualitative difference is inherently wrapped up in one of the defining questions of the digital age: the shifting line between public and private. At their core, most blogs are fairly private endeavors, spilling out thoughts, feelings, experiences, musings, tragedies, and triumphs,

³ This term that refers to those who are against sex work and the sex industry. An explication of this concept can be found later in the literature review on feminism and the sex industry.

all to a relatively unknown audience who are part of the process of “remaking and remarking” the self through blogging (Curtain, 2004, p. 6). This seemingly dichotomous character of blogs—highly private disclosure to a large public sphere, which affects the “me” being put forward—is unique to our time of mediated technological lives, and blogs are more unique still (Gurak & Antonijevic, 2008). The ability of your personal experiences and thoughts to reach a public audience may be particularly important for principles of democracy and for marginalized groups.

Coleman (2005) proposed that the blogosphere carries with it three democratizing principles: one, they provide interaction between the personal sphere and the civic social sphere “in which publics can form and act;” two, they foster an understanding and expectations of expressing incomplete thoughts, therefore allowing dialogue to form; and three, they “lower the threshold of entry to the global debate for traditionally unheard or marginalized voices” (p. 277). Vaisman (2016) agreed, stating that creating blogs allows girls “a chance to gain visibility in the public domain, [...] and allows them access to means of production and participation in the circulation of texts and images in the public symbolic sphere” (p. 295). Similarly, the public nature of private experiences can be seen as an important “counter-public” to mainstream spaces, especially for women who may not have access to counter-publics face-to-face (Elsadda, 2010). The counter-public spaces blogs provide are also an important component of a democratic public space.

El-Nawawy & Khamis (2014) posited that “the bottom-up nature of blogs” allows for “authentic two-way conversation” of important political and social issues, thereby acting as a checks and balances system to mainstream mediated images, conversations, and news. Luz & Morigi (2010) studied six Cuban blogs and found that the interactivity,

interconnectivity, and increased access to the Internet allowed for blogs to be a space of mediation in constructions of citizenship and belonging. This increased political engagement, away from the official mechanisms of control by mainstream media, allow for a carnivalesque public sphere to happen, where participants may have “a liberating experience and a rebirthing of political engagement” (McLean & Wallace, 2013, p. 1520). These views have been critiqued by scholars on the following bases: 1) scholars are overly idealistic because they ignore the nuances of language that signal a disinterest in open public sphere dialogic debate (Myers, 2010; O’Baill, 2004); 2) their political power may be over-emphasized when scholars disregard the fact that blog readers and writers are still “grounded” in a world outside the virtual public sphere (Brock, 2010; Ibrahim, 2008; Miles, 2005); and 3) because they are grounded in the outside world, commodification and appropriation by advertising agencies may in fact hinder their public debate potential (Brock, Kvasny, and Hales, 2010; Ibrahim, 2008; Miles, 2005).

The phenomenon of blogging changed the face of the Internet in the late 1990s/early 2000s and continues to influence writers, readers, politicians, and academics. Definitional debates, motivational debates, and debates on the public nature of private life characterize the communication literature on blogging. Furthermore, the invention of the blog, and these debates surrounding it, led to the creation of microblogging, and in particular, Twitter.

Microblogging and Twitter

Scholars, tech-writers, and users agree that microblogs, and in this case Twitter, are a medium (Boyd, Golder, & Lotan, 2010; Honeycutt & Herring, 2009; Marwick, 2010; Marwick & Boyd, 2011). Twitter, developed in San Francisco in 2006 by startup

Obvious, was not the first microblogging platform (Dijck, 2011). However, it has rapidly become one of the largest with 330 million active monthly users worldwide in the first quarter of 2019 (Statista, 2019). According to The Fastest, Twitter bills itself as “a real-time information network that connects you to the latest stories, ideas, opinions, and news about what you find interesting” (quoted in Boyle & Zuegner, 2013, p. 2). Twitter is based on SMS (short messaging service) technology that limits users’ messages to 280-characters⁴ per “Tweet” and encourages them to answer the question, “what are you doing” (Boyd et al., 2010; Duguay, 2016; Honeycutt & Herring, 2009; Humphreys, Gill, Krishnamurthy, & Newbury, 2013; Jansen, Zhang, Sobel, & Chowdury, 2009; Marwick, 2010; Miller, 2008). The homepage of a Twitter profile is designed to include a profile picture, a handle (aka a profile/user name), and follower and followee lists. The most important feature of the homepage is a reverse chronologically ordered list of the user’s Tweets (Boyd et al., 2010; Stever & Lawson, 2013), very similar to that of traditional blogs, though you can ‘pin’ Tweets to stick to the top of the homepage.

The Tweet has emerged as a major player in the media 2.0 landscape with everyone from heads of state to teachers in rural classrooms crafting 280-character messages. By limiting the number of characters, Twitter was designed to lend itself well to emerging smart-phone technology and has been adapted by audiences that tend to use mobile devices more than stationary desktops (Brock, 2010; Hennig-Thurau, Wiertz, & Feldhaus, 2015; Stephens & Barrett, 2016; Yoo & Gil de Zúñiga, 2014). Unlike other microblogging platforms commenting on Tweets, while important, are not as paramount

⁴ Originally it was 140 characters per tweet. The number was doubled in November of 2017.

as the Tweets themselves, hashtags (# + topic), @-ing other users, and retweets (Brock, 2010, 2012).

The digital architecture of Twitter is based around the @sign, hashtags, and retweets. The @ sign is used before a person's user name/handle (@user). Honeycutt and Herring (2009) found that the @ sign is particularly useful for aiding in both short and long conversations on Twitter. They argue the @ sign helps cut through a "noisy" environment and "an interface that is not especially conducive to conversational use" (n.p.). Boyd et al. (2010) found that the @ sign can be used to directly address another user (known as @replies) and to vaguely refer to another user (e.g. @jimmyfallon was hilarious tonight).

In addition to the @ syntax, Tweets contain hashtags (e.g. #SayHerName) that mark Tweets by topic so that users can follow conversations by searching for hashtags (Boyd et al., 2010). The hashtag, coupled with the short character limit, has allowed Twitter to emerge as a main platform for up-to-the-minute reporting of events, crises, social phenomenon, political issues, and much more (Bruns & Burgess, 2012). Moreover, because hashtags are not determined nor created by the Twitter platform itself, but rather are created in ad hoc fashion by the users, they allow for a "flexibility and capacity to swiftly form conversational communities" (Duguay, 2016, p. 398).

The other key part of these conversation communities is the retweet, where users attempt to create digital maps of the conversation by various modes of attribution. Unlike both the @ syntax and the hashtags, retweets are far from uniform. Users can simply write RT to indicate they are retweeting (i.e. repeating verbatim a message that someone else posted) or users can write MRT, which means they are modifying a retweet (i.e.

retweeting a post with something changed). However, because these practices are far less standardized than the @ and # practices, Boyd et al. (2010) noted that retweeting changes the meaning of the message and contributes to Twitter's rather difficult visual layout (Brock, 2010). Importantly, users can decide who sees their Tweets by restricting it to certain followers, allowing all followers to see, or to anyone on the platform regardless of if they are following the user or not (Dijck, 2011; Himelboim, Smith, & Shneiderman, 2013). Twitter has been characterized as both "a social networking site and an ambient information stream" (Bruns & Burgess, 2012, p. 803). It helps shape our day to day interactions with news, celebrities, politics, social movements, advertising, quotidian experiences, and cultural performances (Brock, 2012; Carew, 2014; Gong & Li, 2017; Himelboim et al., 2013; Humphreys et al., 2013; Java, Song, Finn, & Tseng, 2007).

The remainder of the communication literature on Twitter encompasses the following areas: Twitter as a marketing tool, political communication on Twitter, Twitter use by sociopolitical protest movements, Twitter and news media, and motivations to use Twitter.

Twitter and Marketing

According to Jansen, Zhang, Sobel and Chowdury (2009), in 2009 about 19% of microblogs contained some discussion or mention of a brand, and 20% of those contained either positive or negative sentiments about a particular brand. This, coupled with Twitter's interface of "immediacy and efficiency," has allowed it to emerge as an important site for communication between consumers and market products (Chu, Chen, & Sung, 2016, p. 421). This is called "microblogging word of mouth (MWOM)" or the "Twitter effect" (Hennig-Thurau et al., 2015). Research on marketing via Twitter is not

just related to particular material products, such as movies (Hennig-Thurau et al., 2015) or general brand satisfaction (Chu et al., 2016; Jansen et al., 2009), but also to celebrities. As Broersma and Graham (2013) noted, “Twitter, more than any other social network, has succeeded in connecting ordinary people to the popular, powerful, rich, and influential” (p. 446). Gong and Lee (2017) and Stever and Lawson (2013) both found that even though there are a wide variety of ways in which celebrities use Twitter, the parasocial mediated relations can provide feelings of connection and communication. Further investigation of parasocial relationships and the influence they may have in the political sphere is conducted in the research literature on political communication via Twitter.

Political Communication via Twitter

One of the richest and most geographically diverse areas of Twitter research in communication is in relation to politicians’ use of Twitter. Studies have found that Twitter is an effective medium for communicating with a broad base and enhancing feelings (negative or positive) towards politicians (Kobayashi & Ichifuji, 2015; Lee & Oh, 2013; Miller & Ko, 2015; Pal et al., 2017; Quevedo Redondo, Portalés-Oliva, & Berrocal Gonzalo, 2016). Though Twitter may impact perceived candidate affect and broad communication patterns, the aforementioned studies found that Twitter had no impact on voting habits and overall party identification. Moreover, Murthy et.al (2016) found that Twitter bots had little effect on conversations online during the 2015 UK general election, though given current Russian interference in elections worldwide via online bots, this research may become significantly altered. Finally, Yeojin, Gozenbach, Vargo and Youngju (2016) found a positive relationship between political advertisements, newspapers, and Tweets in regards to the “daily salience of [political] agendas” (p. 4561),

meaning that political Tweets, newspaper coverage, and advertisements are frequently in communication with each other. In addition to Twitter's use by political candidates, research has also been conducted on the use of Twitter by sociopolitical protest movements.

Twitter and Sociopolitical Protests

Though the degree to which social media networks impacted the Arab Spring are contested, there is wide agreement that the political movements in Northern Africa were shaped, at least in part, by Twitter (Bruns, Highfield, & Burgess, 2013; Chaudhry, 2014; Freelon et al., 2013; Howard & Hussain, 2013). Additionally, scholars analyzed the degree to which social media was an important tool for the sociopolitical protests of *Indignados* in Spain, *Occupy* in the US, and *Vinegar* in Brazil (Bastos, Mercea, & Charpentier, 2015; Briziarelli & Martinez Guillem, 2016; Ferré-Pavia & Perales García, 2015; Fuster Morell, 2012; Garcia-Albacete, Theocharis, Lowe, & van Deth, 2015).

Other researchers have examined the use of Twitter as a protest tool against a particular wrongdoing by government entities or citizen groups. Within these studies, authors are particularly interested in the ways in which the microblogging platform itself helps shape the nature of protests within Twitter's particular "framework of social media logic" (Duguay, 2016, p. 277). Such studies investigate areas as diverse as the #SaveDonbassPeople in Eastern Ukraine (Makhortykh & Lyebedyev, 2015); anti-facism protests in Germany (Neumayer & Valtysson, 2013); Tweeting during the 2014 Toronto WorldPride Festival (Duguay, 2016); and the #Iam4rhinos anti-poaching campaign in South Africa (Carew, 2014). What runs throughout all of the aforementioned studies is an interrogation of the ways in which activists simultaneously "contest power and reproduce

power on Twitter in interplay with functionalities of the technology and political (i.e. social-cultural) context” (Neumayer & Valtysson, 2013, p. 3). Thus, authors have focused on the intersections of technological platforms, power, and communication in the larger media and political environment when investigating ideologies and rhetorical stance on issues like Boko Haram (Chiluwa, 2015; Chiluwa & Ajiboye, 2014), sexual violence accusations against celebrities (Salek, 2016), or police brutality against black women with the #SayHerName campaign (Towns, 2016). Part of this larger media environment is news media, which has also been the subject of rich academic inquiry.

Twitter and News Media

The decline in the print news industry, coupled with the rise of visual and audio news via smart phones, laptops, and tablets, has led news media outlets to incorporate social media, and Twitter in particular, into their reporting schema. Interestingly, scholars identify this incorporation as one of the first salient relationships between blogs and microblogs. Bruns and Burgess (2012) noted:

Twitter has become an important addition to the toolboxes of journalists and journalism researchers. Its trajectory has mirrored that of previous social media platforms: just as blogs became established as tools both for occasional first-hand reporting and for extensive follow-on curation [sic], commentary, and discussion of news stories, so Twitter’s uses have been extending beyond everyday “lifesharing” and interpersonal communication to similar journalistic, para-journalistic, and quasi-journalistic activities. (p. 801)

Moreover, just as a news blog was once a reporter beat, Twitter is now quickly becoming a reporter beat similar to crime or politics, highlighting the shift from “place to space that

is a result of the digitization and familiarization of social media” (Broersma & Graham, 2013, p. 447). This shift can be seen not only in the rise of the Twitter beat, but also in two interrelated topics covered in the literature: the ways in which journalists use Twitter and the ways in which Twitter news influences public perception.

Studies largely disagree on whether Twitter use by journalists reflects a shift from the (supposed) objectivity of the job towards more subjective and emotion-heavy news reporting. On one side of the argument, scholars posit that although Twitter may be the single most important social media tool for reporters (Parmelee, 2013), it has yet to deeply impact “traditional journalist norms, such as objectivity and gatekeeping” (Knight, 2017; Lasorsa, 2012; Parmelee, 2013, p. 29). On the other side of the debate, authors found that despite variation depending on reporters’ affiliations with elite or non-elite media, in general, reporters using Twitter relinquish more of their objectivity and gatekeeping than they did in traditional media (Lasorsa, Lewis, & Holton, 2012; Lawrence, Molyneux, Coddington, & Holton, 2014; Scott, 2016). Objectivity, gatekeeping, and transparency of sources are important journalistic norms, especially in the new media landscape where viewers, journalists, and the subjects of news stories can all interact. Therefore, studies have looked at the ways in which news on Twitter shapes public perception.

Lee and Oh (2013) theorized that users with a higher need for orientation are more likely to seek out hard news on Twitter than those with either a low need for orientation or with soft news, meaning that Twitter impacts news readers differently depending on their inclination to seek out news on Twitter. Similarly, Yoo and Gil de Zúñiga (2014) found that education levels play a large role in users engagement off-line

with political issues, arguing that Facebook was more positively correlated to knowledge of civic issues, and Twitter was more positively associated with inactive offline participation depending on users' heavy or lighter social media use. They concluded, "social media amplify or reinforce inequality of political engagement" (p. 33). An important missing aspect of these studies is the extent to which news on Twitter was deemed credible and/or the degree to which it shaped perceptions of issues.

In this regard, Schmierbach and Oeldorf-Hirsch (2012) argued that in general, Tweets are considered less credible and convey less issue importance than blogs or newspapers. However, Blackstone, Cowart and Suanders (2017) found that Twitter coverage of the Ferguson, Missouri protests (#ferguson) shaped public perception about racial issues, police brutality, and elected leaders. Other scholars have noted that Twitterbots generally characterize government intervention in editing Wikipedia as negative, shaping public perceptions of the role of government in information gathering and dissemination (Ford, Dubois, & Puschman, 2016). These studies suggest that communication research on the political uses and roles of news media via Twitter warrant deeper investigation especially as this platform continues to amass users and be a key part of the socio-technological landscape.

Twitter User Motivations

Questions about Twitter's impact on people are related to questions about what motivates them to use it in the first place and how audiences interact through the medium. In the first major study of user motivation for operating Twitter, Java et. al (2007) proposed four main categories: daily chatter, conversations, sharing information, and reporting the news. Pentina, Basmanova, and Zheng (2016) further argued that people use

Twitter for professional development, entertainment, status maintenance, and social interaction. The shift from a more utilitarian usage to a more widespread professional and social usage reflects what Miller (2008) terms the “‘postemotional society,’ a society in which emotion, and more properly the obvious and overt display of emotion, exists as a resource to be manipulated in the effort of self-presentation” (p. 389). Twitter users who engage with Twitter for any of the aforementioned reasons must be consistently aware of how their audiences perceive them and practice deeply crafted impression management. Users are able to address multiple audiences with one account, while being keenly aware of the ways in which their multiple audiences overlap and intersect (Marwick & Boyd, 2011). In exchange for the emotion work of impression management, responding to audience feedback, and disclosing a broad and deep range of personal information, users may gain affective ties, a community, support, and social status (Crawford, 2009; Marwick, 2010). Moreover, user motivations may be linked to a desire to play with offline selves in an online arena, where they can “bring into being bodies, personas, and personalities framed according to the same categories that exist in the offline world” (Robinson, 2007, p. 94). As an inherently networked technology, Twitter users’ motivations may thus be partially based on their own ideas of their audiences.

Due to the networked nature of Twitter, in which digital maps of connectivity between people, topics, and geographies can easily be seen, we “may understand that the Twitter or Facebook audience is potentially limitless, but we often act as if it were bounded” by imaging audiences (Marwick & Boyd, 2011, p. 115; Zappavigna, 2014). Users craft their profile information, who they follow/are followed by, hashtag use, and actual Tweets towards an audience whose identity and authenticity they have constructed.

Thus, users engage in “micro-celebrity” behaviors such as the strategic use of retweeting, which raise visibility and therefore, increase audience; the use of particular pop cultural sayings, artifacts, and trends to increase visibility and notoriety; and the “performance of self” as a branding tool (Boyd et al., 2010; Marwick & Boyd, 2011; Robinson, 2007).

The interaction between the technological aspects of the medium and the effects of using the medium leads to another aspect of audience and user interaction, that is, ideas of the “self.” Brock (2010) has argued:

technology has three parts: the device or system itself, the practices associated with it, and the beliefs of the people that use it. What I mean by this last piece—the belief part—is that people shape their identity through their use of a technology. (n.p.)

The way in which we access Twitter; the norms associated with it such as retweeting, hashtagging, crediting, searching, DMing; the ideologies we have about its benefits to and place in society; its interactions with self and interpersonal relationships, all culminate to shape our online identity. Our online Twitter self is crafted through an ongoing conversation with Tweets, hashtags, comments, and @ messages, rather than a static profile or fixed topical blog. The “self” is carefully crafted as a marketable commodity, with salary paid in status, celebrity, advertisement revenue, and retweets (Marwick, 2010; Marwick & Boyd, 2011; Robinson, 2007; Zappavigna, 2014). This, however, does not necessarily entail a sense of a “faked identity,” or a “fake sense” of community. Rather, it highlights the multiplicity of selves that have become part of most people’s everyday lives in the digital age. Our selves are now informed by a multitude of audiences and technological interactions. Through a medium like Twitter, where

motivations to use it are similar to motivations for self-creation—and interact heavily with the technological architecture—this “edited self, requires emotional, immaterial labor to successfully pursue” (Marwick, 2010, p. 58). This literature is also inherently connected to the literature in political economy of communication studies on intellectual and affective labor of technology, to which we will now turn.

Intellectual and Affective Labor in Technology 2.0

Alternatively called post-Fordism, the information age, the digital age, or the “new spirit of capitalism” (Boltanski & Chiapello, 2015), our labor is now specialized, flexible, and almost entirely dependent on mobile technologies (Hardt & Negri, 2000; Harvey, 1990). This “informational capitalist” age (Fuchs, 2014) signals a shift “away from the consumption of goods and into the consumption of services [...] entertainments, spectacles, happenings and distractions” (Harvey, 1990, p. 285). This shift also means an increase in immaterial labor and has raised new questions concerning the ways in which immaterial labor is commodified and the ways in which alienation and work, as basic concepts in Marxist inquiry, need to be redefined in order to be useful theoretical frameworks for examining digital labor.

Immaterial Labor

Although not a key focus of past Marxist labor analyses, Marx actually discussed immaterial labor in his writings, arguing that there are two types: one that is creative and produces an external good, like a book or painting, and one that is creative but whose good cannot be separated from the producer, like a dancer or teacher. However, though recognizing immaterial labor exists, he argued “all these manifestations in this field are so insignificant, if we compare them to the whole of production, that they can be

completely ignored” (quoted in Fortunati, 2007, p. 139). While Marxist feminists argue that immaterial labor (which they generally label as affective labor or emotion work) has always been a part of the capitalist landscape, only recently have Marxist scholars begun to place real importance on the mechanisms under which immaterial labor manifests in the current digital age (Fortunati, 2007; Hardt & Negri, 2000).

Immaterial labor is defined in relation to its products, not its processes: material labor produces a tangible good (i.e. a smart phone, or a vehicle) and immaterial labor produces something intangible (i.e. shared meaning, or a new theory) (Hardt, 1999). Immaterial labor is “labor that creates immaterial products, such as knowledge, information, communication, a relationship, or an emotional response” (Hardt & Negri, 2004, p. 108). Lazzarato (1996) posited that immaterial labor has two sides, intellectual/analytic and affective. In the digital sphere, where the organization of production is no longer linear as it was in Fordism, it is now centered on “the innumerable and indeterminate relationship of distributed networks” (Hardt & Negri, 2004, p. 113). This means that our current digital age is characterized by labor whose products are intangible but highly desired and distributed. Under Marxist critique, labor must be measured in some way by capital in order to be exploited. Yet, there is debate on the measurement of immaterial labor, especially in the digital sphere.

Hardt and Negri (2004) argued that immaterial labor, though a smaller portion of the overall laboring process, and concentrated in certain sectors, underline all labor and thus is beyond measure. Caffentzis (2005a) argued against this idea, stating that “general intellect and immaterial labor are not invitations to go beyond capital, as Hardt and Negri

claim, but rather have always been part of the work capital has exploited whether it was waged or not” (p. 106).

Similarly, DeAngelis and Harvie (2006) argued that it is not a question of measuring immaterial labor but rather how, when, and under what contexts. Oksala (2016) addresses this problem by arguing that it is not that affective labor cannot be measured, but rather, that our current categorization of it is the problem. She posited the break down of affective labor into four categories in order to understand and analyze it. These four categories are: care work that is commodified (day care); care work that is not commodified (reproductive work); waged labor that is deployed for profit (flight attendants, customer service representatives); waged labor that is not deployed for profit (social relationship building). These categorizations, she argued, may make it a bit easier to judge how/when/why particular affective labors are remunerated while others are not (Gregg, 2009; Fortunati, 2007). Addressing concerns of measurement, Fuchs (2014) argues that digital labor is a particularly rich site for investigating the ways in which immaterial and affective labor are articulated and measured.

Digital Labor

In digital labor, anyone who accesses social media or online spaces is part of the same industry, regardless of level of activity in making the material required to access digital spaces. Although anyone who produces, uses, and contributes to the digital industry fits into the definition of a digital laborer, here the focus is not on those in factories making the material goods, but on people who use technology platforms to create social meaning, social networks, news, ideas, creative expression, etc. Fuchs (2014) explained:

On corporate social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, and Google, users are not just consumers of information, but also prosumers—productive consumers, who produce profiles, content, connections, social relations, networks, and communities as use-values. They are creative, active, networked digital workers. (p. 280)

This digital labor has cultural use-value for the prosumer, where “the production of meaning, social norms, morals, and the communication of meanings, norms, and morals are work processes: they create cultural use-values” (Fuchs & Sandoval, 2014, p. 491). Additionally, the data about these activities are packaged and sold to advertisers who then use them to target ads back to the user, so the use-value of digital labor gets turned into exchange-value under the information capitalist system. This change of use-value to exchange-value means digital labor is exploited under capital in three ways.

First, coercion: we are ideologically coerced into participating in digital labor, through an ideology that tells us it is required for happy and healthy social relationships, in order to be a productive citizen and that our lives are less meaningful without these digital connections. Therefore, we engage in these use-value practices that bring meaning and social connection/relations to our lives. Second, alienation: we do not own the platforms or code necessary for digital labor, nor do we see any benefits from the profits generated by our digital labor. Third, appropriation: our time has been appropriated under digital labor so that we are constantly working towards the productive end of advertising and Internet companies (Fuchs, 2014). Our “play” time has become work time or “playbour” so that all of our labor is surplus labor (Terranova, 2000).

Thus, Marxist communication scholars argue that the 21st century is characterized by digital labor that provides the prosumer with individual and societal use-value, and also provides capitalism with an exploitable subject who produces exchange value. Importantly, digital labor helps us to understand the relationship and distinctions between immaterial and affective labor, where immaterial is intellectual/analytical and affective is creating a shared social meaning, a feeling, a sense of community. The distinctions and interplay between affective and immaterial labor can “demonstrate how communication and culture are material practices, how labor and language are mutually constituted, and how communication and information are dialectical instances of the same social activity, the social construction of meaning” (Mosco, 2009, p. 44).

Affective Labor

While there is some debate as to how to define affective labor, most scholars agree that it is imperative to social life, is inherent to our “selves,” and that it is the labor of producing a feeling or a shared social meaning, such as feelings of ease, excitement, satisfaction, dissatisfaction, connection, etc. (Anderson, 2014; Hardt, 1999; Hardt & Negri, 2000). Clough (2007) proposed that affective labor is the body and mind’s ability to come together to affect others, and be affected. This is not a linear process; rather, it is a process of accumulation in which your personal history and experiences of affect/affection are embedded. It is also inherently a social relation in that individuals engage with other people in order to produce and consume affective labor (Anderson, 2014; Brouillette, 2009).

This process signals the shift from the consumption of material goods and products to the consumption of service and aesthetic (Harvey, 1990). In this process,

affect, creativity, cooperation, and communication are the key goods to be bought (Fuchs & Sandoval, 2014; Lazzarato, 1996). A factory of social relations, where creativity and cooperation are the services and goods, thus characterizes the new spirit of capitalism and digital affective labor is a commodity (Boltanski & Chiapello, 2015; Brouillette, 2009). Weeks (2011), Virno (2003), and Lazzarato (1996) agree in their assessment that the 21st century workplace is now asking workers to include more of their soul and “selves” into their work. Creativity, collaboration, communication, and the affective labor are key within capitalist digital labor and “affects need to be included among the physical and intellectual resources that the workers sells for a wage” (Arruzza, 2014, n.p.). The simultaneous selling and consuming of affect happens either “body-to-body” or media-to-media, and produces a new idea of “professional,” predicated on style, communicative ability, and affective labor (Brouillette, 2009; Fortunati, 2005; Fuchs & Sandoval, 2014; Hardt & Negri, 2004; Terranova, 2000; Weeks, 2011).

Ideas of affective labor are inherent to studies of sex work, even if they are not named as such. In the next section, I will outline the various approaches in feminist literature to sex, sexuality, and sex work.

Feminism and Sex Work

While studies of sex work have been conducted across academic disciplines, feminist theory has been the home for the debates on the theoretical underpinnings of how to conceptualize sex, sexuality, sex work, and the role of the government. These debates are heavily embedded in the different approaches to feminism, variously categorized as waves, pro- or anti-sex, or based on their philosophical foundations (Shrage, 2016; Zatz, 1997). Moreover, the debates in the different approaches overlap,

intertwine, call and respond, grow from the same ideological bases, and still have academic and political clout. In order to connect the main feminist theories on sex work/ers (liberal, Marxist/socialist, radical, and pro-sex) with social media and immaterial/affective labor, it is necessary to briefly trace out the debates in the field.

First, it is pertinent to start with a note on the differentiation between human trafficking and sex work. The main theories have defined human trafficking (the forceful, involuntary movement of people for labor and/or sex) as a human rights violation and stated that it should be combatted at all fronts (Anderson, 2002). Where they differ is in their conceptualizations of human trafficking and victimization. To paint a canvas with broad strokes for the moment: liberal, social, and pro-sex feminists distinguish between voluntary sex work and human trafficking, whereas radical feminists do not. This project focuses on the debates surrounding voluntary sex work, not the policy decisions and moral arguments regarding human trafficking.

Because sex work is inexorably linked to governmentality, the four main mechanisms of regulating sex work need to be explicated: prohibition, abolition, regulation, and decriminalization. Prohibition criminalizes both the sale of sex and the purchase of it, criminalizing the sex worker, the venue, and the client. Abolition outlaws only the purchasing of sex, thereby criminalizing pimps, venues, and clients, not the sex workers who sell it. Regulation seeks to utilize government power to legalize and regulate the practice for businesses, workers, and clients. Decriminalization seeks to make legal both the sale and purchase of sex, including where businesses are involved (de Marneffe, 2010; Kotiswaran, 2011; Shrage, 2016). Each of the four main feminist

paradigms on sex work/ers align themselves with the policy approach that best coincides with their ideological moorings.

Liberal Feminism

Generally, liberal feminism grapples most with questions of choice and freedom. Based on Enlightenment ideals of human flourishing, rationality, individuality, choice, and freedom, liberal feminists argue that the role of the state should be no more than “night watchman.” It should ensure that laws are implemented non-discriminatorily, guaranteeing there is no restrictions on any sector, and that freely entered into contracts are enforced, regardless of the parameters of the contract. Because of this, liberal feminists argue that the state should take a hands-off approach to sex work, only regulating it in terms of enforcing contractual obligations, and thus align with the regulationist approach mentioned above. While the legal ideology is that of free choice, and normative human rights and sexuality, the moral ideology is a bit more complicated when it comes to sex and sex work (Jaggar, 1983, 1991; Zatz, 1997).

Morally speaking, liberalism and therefore liberal feminism, argue that sex is a main trait of humanity. Ideals of human flourishing are wrapped up in ideals of education, access, and (non-commercial) sexual expression. Therefore, from a moral standpoint, liberal feminists argue that selling sex is not in line with human flourishing, and thus, is a result of being duped, immoral, and/or uneducated. This forces them to view sex workers as uneducated and/or immoral. However, even though their moral and legal ideologies are at odds, ultimately, liberal feminists side with the legal ideology predicated on individual choice. The state has no other role than to ensure the completion of a contract between worker and client, regardless of the sector. So while, morally, they argue no one

would actually enter freely into a sexual contract, and this may very well be the result of a type of coercion (i.e. being tricked or economically coerced), legally, they are obligated to argue for the regulation of sex work. This is what Davis (2015) called “erotic exceptionalism,” where sex work should only be regulated in so far as worker contracts are regulated.

Liberal feminists argue that, ideally, a change to the education system would provide women with more access to learning about the importance of their own human flourishing and how not to be tricked into sex work. In terms of sexuality, this approach considers sexual autonomy of all peoples as a main part of their humanity. However, they argue that women’s lower status, vulnerability to coercion, and lack of full recognition as humans is a result of an uneven education system that does not provide them access while simultaneously perpetuating the improper education of men (Jaggar, 1983; Zatz, 1991). Ultimately then, in addition to the state simply enforcing the contracts of sex work and client, liberal feminists argue for a hands-off approach in terms of sex work, and focus instead on an overhaul to the education system. Marxist feminists also argue for the state’s involvement, but more heavily and for entirely different ideological reasons, since they critique the liberal feminists’ approach to work and relations of production in the capitalist system as myopic.

Marxist Feminism

Marxist feminism (a branch of socialist feminism) is heavily based on Marx’s idea of capitalist exploitation of workers. Marx actually argued that everyone is a sex worker in the capitalist system: workers sell their bodily labor, which is commodified and exploited by capitalism. For Marx, sex work was just one in another long line of

economic jobs that exploit, subject, and commodify their workers' bodies. There is no inherent difference under a capitalist system between working at sex and working in a factory (Zatz, 1997). Marxist feminists then use "sex work industry" to distinguish between sex work and all other forms of bodily labor in order to contend with ideas of labor and commodification as they relate to sex work.

Davis (2015) called the Marxist feminist view "erotic assimilationist," since it focuses on the labor end of the problem. The fact that it is sex simply means that sex workers are part of a vulnerable population of workers, similar to other forms of "marginalized, vulnerable and risky labor" (p. 1220). As such, the state should "intervene in the oppression and exploitation of a highly vulnerable population," and strive for the "full integration of sex workers into the existing labor and employment regulatory regime" (Davis, 2015, p. 1220). Some suggestions for ways to do this, short of overhauling the entire capitalist system, include: fair labor laws (fair pay, working hours, safe working conditions, etc.); protection from workplace violence perpetrated at the hands of bosses or clients; corruption from mob-like entities that often run sex work businesses; and tax code reform, among others (Bernstein, 1999; Davis, 2015; Jaggar, 1983, 1991; Outshoorn, 2005; Zatz, 1997).

Due to the focus on the labor side of the equation, Marxist feminists emphasize the exploitation and poor working conditions to which sex workers are often subjected. They do not argue that women are duped into sex work, like liberal feminists, nor do they argue it is exploitative on the grounds of sex itself, like radical feminists. Instead, they argue that it is exploitative due to the relations and means of production in the capitalist system.

Arguing that capitalism and patriarchy are two-sides of the same coin, and each necessary for the other to function, Marxist feminists argue that women's sexuality has become tied to their ability to (re)produce a labor force in the form of children, and the (re)productive labor necessary in the home in order to keep the public sector labor force functional. Biological differences have thus turned into gendered differences that keep women in the home, not being remunerated for their labor. McClintock (1993) argued that sex work may in fact be a way out of this (re)productive home sphere. Marxist feminists tend to argue that while women have the right to sexual autonomy, the system relegates them largely to care labor roles due to these perceived biological/gendered differences. Furthermore, because the focus in Marxist feminism is on the labor done by bodies in any sector—agricultural, industrial, home, or sexual—they pose a central question to the feminist sex wars: “what is so different about sex?” They, of course, argue that there is not anything inherently different about sex (McClintock, 1993; Outshoorn, 2005; Pateman, 1988; Spector, 2006; Zatz, 1997). Radical feminists, however, argue exactly the opposite, articulating that Marxist feminists lack of focus on the body has dire consequences for all women.

Radical Feminism

For most radical feminists, questions of women's subjugation (in all areas) hinge on biological arguments. Men's biology predisposes them to enact violence due to testosterone and the ability to penetrate. On the other hand, women's biology predisposes them to victimization due to the ability to be penetrated and to produce/raise children (Jaggar, 1983). These biological differences have allowed men to subjugate women in all

sectors, be it marriage or sex work (Pateman, 1988)⁵. Importantly, the subjugation of women is the root of the subjugation of everyone (i.e. oppression based on race, class, ability, etc.). This ideology of men's inherent violence towards women means that sex work is the utmost form of coercion, violence, and patriarchy (Bernstein, 1999; Overall, 1992). Because sex work is always a form of violent coercion, radical feminists argue that legalizing it signals state support of violence towards women (Overall, 1992; Zatz, 1997). Instead, the state should abolish sex work, punishing those who purchase sex or facilitate the purchase, not the women who sell it because they are victims (Anderson, 2002; Shrage, 2016).

The discourse of victimhood in radical feminism allows them to make a slippage between human trafficking and voluntary sex work, conceptualizing them as no different (Shrage, 2016). This discourse created the term "white slavery" to mean the trafficking of women for sexual purposes, and it allows radical feminists to have a strange relationship with the political and religious right when it comes to attempts to abolish sex work (Doezma, 1999; Kempadoo & Doezma, 1998; Scoular, 2004; Van der Veen, 2000).

This same discourse is at play in their ideas about women's sexuality as inherently biological. In other words, radical feminists do not distinguish between biology, gender, and sexuality; one's biology is the same as (and determines) the gender and sexuality. So women's sexual autonomy only serves men, and men's sexual

⁵ Some radical feminists follow Pateman's (1988) argument that it is not necessarily just biology that allows men to subjugate women; it is also the history of political and legal privilege given to men based on their biological constructions of masculinity. So while the argument is slightly different, i.e. masculinity is due to biology and that masculinity allows for legal, marriage, and sex work contracts (vs. masculinity is due to biology and that biology leads to violence), the outcome is the same: sex work is inherently violent, as are all forms of male control over women, such as marriage.

autonomy is the tool for subjugating women. Thus, is it impossible for women to have healthy sexual relationships, or sexualities, with men (Bernstein, 1999; Comella, 2015; Jaggar, 1983). We see a drastic departure from this viewpoint in pro-sex feminism, which argues for ultimate autonomy and individual choice when it comes to sex and sexuality.

Pro-sex Feminism

Pro-sex feminists focus on choice and historicity in order to understand sex work and sexuality. They share many ideological tenets with liberal feminists, such as individual choice and freedom of expression. But they argue that human flourishing is not the result of a normative ideal of sexuality and sexual relations; rather, it is a result of an individual's autonomous choice and enactment of any kind of sexual relation and sexuality they choose. Rather than taking a normative approach to sexuality and sex work, pro-sex feminists proceed from sociocultural and historical grounds, articulating that sexuality and sex work have changed drastically over time through discourses and political, social, cultural, and economic forces. Thus, ideas of sex work, gender, and sexuality are all constructions; and discourse is key in the construction of our sexual selves (Rubin, 1975; Weeks, 1985). Because of their emphasis choice and their adherence to the historical structures that shape our ideologies, pro-sex feminists argue for the decriminalization of sex work.

Unlike liberal feminists who want sex work regulated like a business, pro-sex feminists want sex work decriminalized to ensure the open expression of sexuality. They argue that sex workers are discursively lumped in with other marginalized “non-normative” sexualities like transgender, sadomasochist, and Queer people, and that our ideologies about normative vs. the non-normative harm everyone's sexuality, not just

marginalized groups. Specifically in regards to sex work, they posit that it needs to be viewed as individual choice, and that there is a possibility for viewing it as simply an expression of a non-normative sexual preference, similar to body-type preference or racial preference. They emphasize that there is not anything inherently different about money as a preference for sex, other than the fact that it is discursively created to be something particularly inherent and valuable to our inner selves. They take the contract at face value as non-coercive (like liberal feminists), and argue that we need to oppose the stigmatization of sex workers, rather than holding sex workers as responsible for the stigmatization of all women (Nussbaum, 1999). Sexuality, then, is an individual choice, autonomous, should be free from governance, and is historically, culturally, politically, and socially created (Rubin, 1975; Shrage, 2016; Weeks, 1985).

Taken together, these four theorizations give a broad overview of the ideological approaches to sex work, sex workers, and sexuality in general. They put liberal, Marxist, and pro-sex feminists on the side of some form of regulation or decriminalization, and radical feminists on the side of abolishing sex work. It is easy to see why the “feminist sex wars,” started more than 40 years ago, are still raging. There are camps on opposite ends of the spectrum in regards to theorizing about sex work and only some theorization of the middle ground. Moreover, in communication studies, there has been scant attention given to the issue at all, especially outside of the area of health communication.

The Brazilian Context

This section provides the necessary context for an analysis of racialized sex work in Brazil, as well as expounding on useful theorizations of sex, race, gender, and colonialism. While a complete summarization of the colonial legacy in regards to race,

sexuality, and the internet is outside the scope of this current project, it is vital to attend to two important and interrelated points to ground the project in historical analysis. First, I will briefly trace the impact of the colonial legacy on the intersections of sexuality, race, and women in Brazil, highlighting academic conversations on the ways in which women's sexuality has been coded and governed in the country since European contact in the sixteenth century. Second, I will map the history of prostitution in Brazil, its various legal moorings, and the ways in which the country has handled sex worker rights, visibility, and employment. Theories on the link between race, sexuality, and prostitution in post-colonial Brazil are paramount to the analysis of sex worker discourses since colonial ideologies underpin current legal, social, and discursive understandings of race and sex relations (Collins, 2007). Thus, the interplay between the colonial racial-sexual project and prostitution provide an important theoretical framework for the analysis of Brazilian sex worker Twitter usage.

A Brief History of Race and Sex in Brazil

Starting in the 1400s, the Portuguese empire began to colonize numerous peoples and resources across the world from Africa and India, to Asia and South America. They reached present-day Northeastern Brazil (Pernambuco and Bahia) in the 1500s and initially enslaved Indigenous peoples, using their labor for farming sugar, aka "white gold." Between initial colonization and the switch to other crops in the 1650s, Brazil was the largest sugar producer in the world (Marcus, 2013). As a Catholic empire, the Portuguese also brought religion and its associated ideologies to Brazilian native peoples. For example, due to the large number of Indigenous slave deaths at the hands of inhumane treatment and disease, Portuguese Jesuit priests petitioned the crown to abolish

Indigenous slavery in 1757 (Aidoo, 2018). An important note is that the Jesuit priests only petitioned for Indigenous peoples' freedom, not for the freedom of all slaves, which was by no means a small number.

Between 1538 and 1888, it is estimated that Brazil enslaved between three and one-half to four million Africans. This number does not include the estimated two million who died during or shortly after Middle Passage. It is further projected that close to 75% died within the first three years due to conditions of slavery, one of the highest of any slaving nation. Africans were stolen primarily from West African nations (Ghana, Nigeria, Benin, and Togo) and the Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique. Because immigration from Europe and Japan did not happen in full force until the late nineteenth century, for over 300 years Brazil was a mix of African slaves, *crioulos* (native-born Afro-Brazilians), *mulatos* (mixed Black/Portuguese), *caboclos* (mixed Indigenous/Portuguese), and *cafusos* (Indigenous/Black). It is partially due to this widespread miscegenation that some Brazilian discourse claims its form of slavery was "slavery light," i.e. less atrocious than British, Spanish, and Dutch slave practices because slaves, Portuguese men (women and children seldom made the journey from Europe), and Indigenous peoples lived and sexed together. This was unlike the strict anti-miscegenation laws and ideologies that were in place in other slaving nations. These mixtures of races in the tropical climate, coupled with the idea that Brazil has always been mixed, proved important in crafting the ideology of *brasilidade* that would come to

characterize national sentiments on race and sexuality throughout the centuries⁶ (Aidoo, 2018; Freyre, 1933; Marcus, 2013; Skidmore, 1999; Telles, 2004).

The present-day racial mapping of Brazil took shape in large part due to slave labor at various points in colonial and post-colonial history. Since colonization, Brazil has always produced sugar, but from about 1650-1750, slaves were moved to Southeastern Brazil (Minas Gerais) to work in gold and diamond mines. Ranching and general farming spread them throughout the country (except in the largely inaccessible Amazon region). In the 1800s coffee and tobacco became the largest commodities of export, and slaves were moved to São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro in the South. Later, after the abolishment of slavery in 1888 (the last of any slaving nation), European and Japanese immigrants became the largest of the labor force, generally migrating to the central and southern parts of the country (Aidoo, 2018; Collins, 2007; Marcus, 2013; Skidmore, 1999; Telles, 2004). This mix of Indigenous, Afro, Portuguese, Brazilian, Japanese, European, and later Middle Eastern, was only possible due to colonialism, capitalism, and ideas on *miscigenação* (miscegenation), which became the, “important ‘forces’—visible and invisible—that have contributed to the production of present-day Brazilian identities” (Marcus, 2013, p. 1282).

During colonialism, the Portuguese crown encouraged *miscigenação*, urging Portuguese men to “populate themselves [...] join with the natives through marriage” (quoting the King of Portugal in 1775 Telles, 2004, p. 25). Far from a story of equal racial-sexual relationships though, Aidoo (2018) argues that, “sex became the Portuguese weapon of colonization and the vehicle of exploitation” (p. 26). Unequal distributions of

⁶ *Lusotropicalism* is the idea that climate and history worked together to create a superior (i.e. less genocidal) colonialism.

power, colonial induced racial hierarchies, and conditions of slavery meant that Portuguese men used sex as a personal and political weapon (Aidoo, 2018; Myscowski & Dickinson, 1998; Telles, 2004). Thus, sexual violence shaped Brazil's spatio-racial map, beliefs on sexuality and race, the entire racial hierarchy, and, perhaps most importantly, Brazil's *mestiçagem* tradition and ideology.

Within the complex hierarchy of racial-sexual-class identities in colonial Brazil, women's identities were sculpted through the intersections of class, gender, and racial dichotomies. Moreover, Catholic ideologies (and the need for more slaves and heirs) meant that, "reproductive sex defined male-female relationships and cemented gender hierarchies" (Aidoo, 2018, p. 86). For elite white women, standard Catholic principles of piety, virginity, and the successful production of "purely white offspring and legitimate heirs so that the wealth of the white elite could be passed from generation to generation" dictated their place in the sexual-racial hierarchy as one of offspring, and therefore continued financial production (Aidoo, 2018, p. 68; Myscowski & Dickinson, 1998). For non-elite women, either white or mixed, they needed to work, marry, and maintain their virginity. Virginity was not an option for African women due to the assumption that they were "licentious and corrupting [...] tending towards prostitution" (Myscowski & Dickinson, 1998, p. 334). Moreover, the colonial system encouraged systemic sexual exploitation of Indigenous and African women. Marriage for African women, regardless of manumission status was extremely rare, and Indigenous peoples were banned from marrying altogether (Aidoo, 2018; Myscowski & Dickinson, 1998). Black women were

the (re)productive labor force in the colonial era, forced as slaves to serve as *mãe preta*⁷ (black mother/wet nurse) to the children of their enslavers. They simultaneously produced labor either in the fields, or in a variety of exploitative ways in the household for their white female enslavers (Aidoo, 2018), thus serving as dual-producers under slavery. This indicates a double-slavery: Afro-Brazilian women were enslaved not only by men, but by women too. “Slave women were their white mistress’ laborers, rivals (real and imagined), wet nurses, sexual partners, and prostitutes—and their brutalized victims” (Aidoo, 2018, p. 68). This complicated relationship between class, race, gender, religion, and power shaped the colonial era and paved the way for Brazil’s ideologies of whitening and racial democracy (Telles, 2004). The abolition of slavery in 1888, and the start of Brazil’s *República Velha*⁸ (1889-1930), meant that white elites could no longer rely solely on slave power relations to shape the racial makeup of the country. Instead, they now had to turn more forcefully to academic, ideological, and legal frameworks in order to enact social whitening, the ideal underlining both racial mixing and racial democracy.

At the start of the First Republic, Finance Minister Rui Barbosa ordered the destruction of all documents “pertaining to slaves. [...] in the name of national honor [...] and solidarity with the great mass of citizens who through the abolition of slavery became members of the Brazilian family” (Rui Barbosa quoted in Aidoo, 2018, p. 11). In reality this rendered former slaves, and their inhumane treatment, invisible. It also worked to promote Brazil as having a more benign form of colonialism in contrast to its

⁷ This is also the name of the famous monument by Júlio Guerra I mentioned in the introduction

⁸ The First Republic, when Emperor Dom Pedro II was deposed and Brazil declared itself a democratic republic. The era ended with a revolution and Getúlio Vargas being installed as the dictator.

English, Spanish, and American counterparts. In part, this move was due to legal, social, and intellectual liberalism brought from Europe (Skidmore, 1993). The reliance on a spectrum of racial categories during colonialism “where individual physical characteristics (quality of hair, shape of nose and lips, skin color) could be interpreted ad hoc” (Skidmore, 1993, p. 24), meant that Brazilian abolitionists did not have to discuss racial inferiority like their United States counterparts. During slavery in Brazil there was never an implementation of segregationist policy, nor an adherence to a one-drop rule. In addition, the reliance on a discourse of free sexual relations between master and slave, meant that racial mixing, or *mestiçagem*, “forms the foundational concept of Brazilian racial ideology” (Telles, 2004, p. 4). *Mestiçagem* is, of course, inherently a discussion about the role of race and sex in history. It also operated in tandem with manumission laws, demographics, federalism, and social whitening.

The majority of those manumitted at the end of slavery in 1889 were female and Brazilian-born. Thus, “lighter skinned *pardos* and *mulattos*, were overrepresented among the freed in relation to their numbers among the enslaved” (Collins, 2007, p. 22). Lighter skinned mixed raced Brazilian men had always, in fact, been afforded some upward mobility, even under slavery (Skidmore, 1993), which meant that there were already relatively large numbers of freemen by the time abolition came. Freewomen, however, were relatively rare before manumission. This, coupled with low fertility rates and the uneven ratio of slave men to slave women, in addition to a lack of jobs, healthy food, and state services, meant that the black population reproduced at a slower rate than whites or mixed race Brazilians. Moreover, the aforementioned violent sexual relations between white Portuguese (or white Brazilian) men and enslaved women, meant that more mixed-

raced children were being born who would then have access to some social mobility. Additionally, Brazilian slavery was a national project, not a regional one as in the United States and federalist manumission policies were implemented across Brazil at the same time. This produced more mixing of people throughout the country, impacting national demographics. The product of these factors, in addition to the interpretation of racist doctrines, was an ideology of whitening: the evolutionary process that white blood would prevail over black or Indigenous blood, “with the white element gradually triumphing” (Skidmore, 1993, p. 23-24). Brazilian policy makers, intellectuals, and elites worked to speed up this “natural evolutionary” process by enacting social whitening, both legally and discursively.

In the legal sector, social whitening was accomplished by purposefully promoting European migration starting in the late 1800s. Migrants from Western Europe spread throughout Brazil, but were largely concentrated in the Central and Southern parts. This served a number of purposes: 1) it replaced the declining labor force of freed slaves; 2) it helped drive Brazil’s economic and industrial sectors; and 3) it helped galvanize the whitening ideal (da Silva & Blanchette, 2017; Marcus, 2013; Skidmore, 1993; Telles, 2004). The early 1900s also saw the first Japanese immigrants to Brazil, a specific policy enacted between Brazilian and Japanese government officials, as well as immigration from Lebanon, Syria, and Turkey (Lesser, 1999). And while Japanese, Middle Eastern, and certain European nationalities and ethnicities (Poles and Gypsies), were not directly targeted for their ability to whiten the population, they too had a place in the racial

democracy, as more and more immigrants came and mixed with black-Brazilians, mulattos, Indigenous, and each other⁹.

The discursive space that worked in tandem with the legal one is variously attributed to the works of Gilberto Freyre, Arthur Ramos, Roger Bastide and other intellectuals (Aidoo, 2018). During the early to mid 1900s, these social theorists attempted to respond to numerous European elites, ministers, politicians, and thinkers who theorized that only European climates would allow societal flourishing, and that the miscegenation in Brazil between white/native/black etc., was its downfall. Freyre, without a doubt the most famous of Brazilian social theorists, attempted to flip this disparaging and moralistic script through an “affirmation of ‘shameless sexuality’” (Borges, 1993, p. 254).

Freyre (1933/1986) argued that it was precisely Brazil’s combination of tropical climate, interracial sexual relationships, and relatively non-violent master-slave relations that provided the Brazilian state not with a degeneracy of people, but rather, a new-breed of people: mixed-race Brazilians. Freyre’s claim rests on the body of the *mulata* as both the object of sexual desire and the vessel through which *miscegenação* occurs. He also argued the lascivious Portuguese male was all but destined to mix with as many women as possible. He argued that Brazil was unique among western societies for its smooth blending of European, Indigenous, and African peoples and cultures. Freyre characterized the extended patriarchal family of the large rural slave plantations in the 16th and 17th centuries as a cauldron for interracial mixing; one that harmonized differences and diluted conflicts, thus enabling extraordinary assimilation that created a new

⁹ For a comprehensive discussion of how these ethnicities fit into Brazil’s overall racial democracy, see Lesser (1999) and Bonfim Souza (2008).

(read: superior) Brazilian people. Freyre came to believe that race mixture produced a ‘unity of opposites’ among racial stocks, including white masters and black slaves. In the 1940s, he referred to Brazil as an “ethnic democracy,” where he may have used the term ‘ethnic’ to replace the scientifically false notion of race. By ‘democracy’ he was referring to the Spanish connotation of the term, which referred to brotherhood or fluid social relations rather than to a type of political institution. These fluid social relations—and the mixing they engendered—were possible because of gender imbalances among the Portuguese colonizers (i.e. more Portuguese men than Portuguese women) and because of a Portuguese predisposition to cultural and biological mixing stemming from their geographic location as a pass through and destination for trade. As a result of this smooth, relatively non-violent mixture between races, Freyre claimed that Brazilian society was free of the racism that afflicted the rest of the world. Though he did not coin the term racial democracy, his work was largely responsible for race mixture becoming a central feature of a Brazilian national identity: *Brasilidade*, or Brazilianness, is the ideal expression of a mixture of biologies and cultures (Freyre, 1933/1986).

Freyre’s work has been rightly questioned for its uncritical take on colonialism, power relations, and the violent structures of racial-sexual relations during slavery (Aidoo, 2018; Burdick, 2016; Cahen, 2018, Cleary, 1999, Goldstein, 1999, 2003; Oliveira, 2017; Wood, 2008). Scholars now see this “erotic paradise,” or the claim that Brazil is different based on its mixture, as a biologically deterministic argument, no less dangerous than racist arguments centered on segregation made in the U.S.¹⁰ Yet, for as

¹⁰ There is rich work critique Freyre, which is outside the scope of this project. The reader is encouraged to start with the texts cited here, and also see: Agier, 1995; Reiter, 2010; Roth-Gordon, 2017; Twine Winddance, 2001.

much criticism as academics (and to some extent that larger society) have lobbied against his work, Freyre's ideas that racial mixtures created a unique and positive "Brazilianness" were highly influential since his days (1930s) to the 1990s and beyond (Skidmore, 1993). Goldstein (1999) reminded us that although his ideas may have now been debunked, "his vision of master/slave interracial sexuality has played a key role in codifying both the idea of Brazil as a color-blind erotic democracy and as a racial democracy" (p. 568). Pravaz (2009) extended this argument by specifically locating the *mulata* as the racialized-sexualized body on which the pillars of *branqueamento* (whitening) and racial democracy sit.

Social whitening, for Freyre, his contemporary sociological intellectuals, and even broader society, rested on the position of the *mulata/o* – the mixed-race body. As the vessel through which the blend of African, Indigenous, and White could become whiter, "mulattos were clearly perceived as distinct from pure-blood black and Indians, and there was often an optimistic sense that they were more like whites" (Telles, 2004, p. 27). Remembering that some mixed-race freed slaves were able to climb the social ladders of society, the *mulata/o* becomes either the "escape hatch" through which individual peoples can pass as white (Degler, 1986), or the very vessel through which Brazil as a whole achieves whiteness. Because racial classifications in Brazil were/are not ancestry based, and instead based on complex combinations of phenotype, class, geographic, and performative acts, the *mulata/o* represents the "maintenance of the ideology of white superiority" while simultaneously being allowed to move up through the whitening echelons (Marcus, 2013; Mountain & Calvo-Gonzales, 2012, p. 243). While the mulato is

a central figure in Brazil's ideology of racial democracy (Skidmore, 1993) it is the *mulata* whose body and labor is the expression of miscegenation.

The female slave¹¹ is a seductress: sexually willing, able, and insatiable. She is adept at using her body to entice men into having sex, thereby becoming an enslaver of men through her sexuality (Goldstein, 1999; Pravaz, 2009). Yet black sexuality, coded as an inherent characteristic, was not simultaneously coded as something positive to maintain. In fact, Aidoo (2018) writes, “white sexuality could become blackened through contact with the perversions embodied in black people. At the same time, slave women came to represent everything that was wrong with the nation and that needed to be eradicated” (p. 88). While seemingly in contradiction with racial democracy, Aidoo's argument actually helps ground us to it: black female sexuality is sensual, available, and insatiable, yet something to be eradicated. Couple this with ideas that white blood whitens, then racial mixing works towards the eradication of black sexuality while simultaneously using and desiring it for the necessary sexual relations that will eventually erase it. Brazil has argued that through racial mixing the best of all worlds have come together: the sensual sexuality of Black women, the piety and purity of white women, the skin color and exoticness of Indigenous women, and the strength and virility of Portuguese men. The mixture then, is one of unique exceptionalism: “sex was attributed a transcendental meaning by many of the nation's white elite and racial theorists; that is,

¹¹ While Freyre's ideas on racial mixing were based on Black, White, and Indigenous mixing, arguing each offered particular positive attributes, colonialism's ultimate project of assimilation via erasure and subsumption, meant that ideas of race came to be based on a Black-White-Mixed triad, effectively erasing Indigenous identity from the narrative. This holds true through today where discussions of the Indigenous people's plight during slavery and their position in Brazilian society today is either forgotten, or relegates them to a romantic 'noble savage' discourse.

sex and reproduction had the capacity to erase barriers and served as proof that race could be and had been transcended” (Aidoo, 2018, p. 3). If you add relatively non-violent racial relations throughout history (always in comparison to the United States), and the tropical sensuality of Brazil to the mix, then the ideology of racial democracy makes sense: since all Brazilians are mixed, and racial categorization is not ancestral based, but rather a complex milieu of race, class, education, social status, language, and more, then there can be no racism (Marcus, 2013). This rhetoric, solidified under the military dictatorship from 1964-1985, “turned Freyre’s doctrine into an obsession and an uncontested principle of the Brazilian nation” (Telles, 2004, p. 49). Common even today among Brazilians (though it is losing traction as Afro-Brazilian activists groups gain more ground), the discourse of racial democracy hides the very real differences in socioeconomic factors, education, political representation, and health between white, mixed, black, and Indigenous Brazilians (Mountain & Calvo-Gonzalez, 2012; Marcus, 2013; Pravaz, 2012). It also hides the ways in which only particular versions of racialized sexuality are valorized while others are devalued:

Mixed-race or black women (or idealized representations of such women) with certain “whitened” characteristics are appreciated for their beauty and sensuality, while the majority of low-income mixed-race and black women are barred from economic and social mobility. They are trapped at the bottom of several hierarchies at once—including that of race/color and class, even while they are exalted as hot, sexual mulatas. In contrast, the attractiveness of mixed-race and black men is not valorized to the same extent, indicating the complexity of the

historical interaction of sexual, economic, and racial hierarchies in Brazil.

(Goldstein, 1999, p. 58)

This “color-blind erotic democracy” (Goldstein, 1999) is on clear display during Carnival: the iconographic Brazilian woman in ornate headdresses dancing to Afro-Brazilian music, in highly decorative, but near naked, clothing is the epitome of *brasilidade*. The Girl from Ipanema, the Brazilian bikini, Victoria Secret models, even the “Brazilian butt-lift” are all tied to this colonial history of racialized sexuality where “the mulata figure is the apotheosis of beauty” (Pravaz, 2012, p. 117), even as they can enact whiteness nationally and internationally. Just enough of Black and Indigenous characteristics allow people to valorize, sensationalize, and eroticize mixed-raceness, so the “objectification of women of color [is] a patriotic endeavor” (Pravaz, 2012, p. 117). Simultaneously, markers of too much blackness come to represent an unfulfilled whitening ideal (Collins, 2007; Goldstein, 1999; Pravaz, 2009; Telles, 2004).

This rather complex racialized sexual history and its continued effects on Brazilian racial identities today, means that Brazilians themselves have become highly “sensitive to racial categories and the nuances of their application” (Skidmore, 1993, p. 40). Because racial categories in Brazil are highly contextual and depend on everything ranging from footwear to education, where Brazilians place themselves and others on a color spectrum shifts regularly according to that moment’s context. This is best captured by the saying, “*não se é, mas se está*” (loosely: “one is not something, but is in the process of becoming” (Moritz-Szwarcz 1997 quoted in Marcus, 2013, p. 1290). Class is of paramount importance when determining where to place oneself and others on the racial spectrum (Goldstein, 1999; Marcus, 2013; Mountain & Calvo-Gonzalez, 2012;

Piscatelli, 2007; Skidmore, 1993; Telles, 2004). Thus, placing U.S. understandings of race onto Brazilian relationships is not only highly inappropriate, but misses the nuanced and deeply shifting race relations that Brazilians navigate everyday (Marcus, 2013). This, however, should not be taken to mean racism, patriarchy, and colonialism has spared Brazil. On the contrary, Layton and Smith (2017) found that Afro-Brazilian women are highly disadvantaged in a number of socioeconomic outcomes and suffer high rates of police violence. They also noted that racial disparities are larger in the middle to upper classes and among those with a university degree. Interestingly, they argued that while adhering to the myth of racial democracy, Brazilians are also quick to note that racial inequalities, racism, and discrimination are the main reasons for higher levels of poverty among Afro-Brazilians (Layton & Smith 2017; Telles and Bailey, 2013). So while Black-movement organizations have made real gains in pointing out the hypocrisy of racial democracy, and racial inequality is being addressed through affirmative action, education programs, and social movements, racism and racial hierarchies are still widely present in Brazil (Telles, 2004).

In sum, stemming from colonial and Catholic projects of slavery and European and Brazilian social theorists' ideologies on race, the relationship between race, sexuality, and gender in Brazil dictates two pillars that appear dichotomous, but are actually dialectical; each requiring the other to exist. On the one hand, due to racial mixing that has been used as both a weapon and encouraged as a patriotic duty, Brazilians conceptualize themselves as all mixed. Brazilian race relations are generally compared to U.S. race relations, and thus appear to Brazilians to be less violent and racial mixture more desired. This—coupled with *lusotropicalism* ideas that give primacy to climate in

producing particular types of people—Brazilian popular discourse expounds a “racial democracy”—everyone in Brazil is mixed-race and encouraged to be so, so there is no racism. This, of course, does not match socioeconomic indicators of health, education, employment, and lived experiences of racism by darker skinned Brazilians (Layton & Smith, 2017; Marcus, 2013). The ideologies that Brazilians encourage miscegenation and that Brazil is “known for its sexuality, and knows itself through its sexuality” (Parker, 1991, p. 7-8) means that racial democracy is a powerful national narrative.

On the other hand, the nation-state has enacted specific legal, social, and economic policies in order to whiten the nation. *Branqueamento* (whitening) happened through social discourse, legal policies on manumission and immigration, and economic opportunities that privilege lighter skinned Brazilians. The ultimate goal was always for the nation to become whiter, closer to their European counterparts, but in a Brazilian way. This means that ‘white’ in Brazil does not refer to European notions of only white blood; but rather, refers to the lightest skinned individuals whose social, educational, financial, and phenotypical features code them as white *for* Brazil. *Branqueamento* has the erasure of Blackness and Indigenous as its ultimate goal, which is accomplished through racial mixing, essentially purifying blackness and Indigenusness out.

As Ribeiro Corossacz (2015) stated:

The combination of the valorization of mestiçagem and of whiteness (through branqueamento) has produced a context in which white purity is not valorized, but whiteness continues to constitute a social value and a form of status whose power is rendered invisible. (p. 161)

Whiteness is discursively deployed through textbooks and literature that valorize the cultural contributions and phenotypical features of white Brazilians (da Silva, 2007). It is also discursively coded as the epitome of beauty (not necessarily sexuality) in the popular imaginary. Popular media (and to an extent, academic studies) discourse perpetuate racial, class, and gender stereotypes by valuing whiteness, while simultaneously relying on racial mixture as an inherent part of Brazilianess (Bento Silva, 2002; Dennison, 2013; de Santana Pinho, 2009; Reiter, 2010; Sovik, 2004; Twine Winddance, 2001). Brazilian people are adept at racial coding and categorization, but also attempt to avoid specifically mentioning skin color in interracial relations, another nod to the complex ways in which racial mixture and whitening work: simultaneously recognizing color-based differences, but are hesitant to mention, unpack, and reconfigure these differences (Goldstein, 1999, 2003; Ribeiro Corossacz, 2015; Roth-Gordon, 2017).

In practice, being white requires light skin and European features; being white means fulfilling a social role, taking a place or position in society that carries with it a certain authority; whiteness allows movement, lowers barriers. Being white does not require exclusively European ancestry. (Sovik, 2004, p. 316)

We can see then how whitening and racial democracy go hand in hand: racial mixture is encouraged, as are relatively nice race relations between people, with the ultimate goal that white blood will prevail and over time will whiten the entirety of the country. Within this complex understanding of race, and given the fact that there are over 136 identifiable racial categories in Brazil (Marcus, 2013), race is always considered on a spectrum: phenotypical features, geography, linguistic accent, education, employment, family status, and many more factors go in to how people self-identify and how they are

identified by others. It also means that clear-cut categories of “black” and “white” are rather clumsy in the Brazilian context.

This does not mean, however, that the role of race is somehow disregarded. The opposite is true: Brazilians are always involved in the complexity of race, identification, and sexuality, and becoming adept at reading racial categories and nuances is part of Brazil’s social project. People regularly identify the racial category of others, even if that may change in a different context with the same people, and whiteness is always held up as the ideal—the goal, the final step in the centuries-long project of social whitening. And as whiteness is held up as the ideal, Blackness, and mixed-raceness, is also encoded on and read through the complex spectrum of race in Brazil. White women hold a position of piety, marriageability, reproductive capacity, and ultimate beauty (Williams, 2013). Dark skinned black women are one of the most marginalized groups, and seen as licentious, incapable, and suitable only for labor as maids or seductresses (Caldwell, 2007; Goldstein, 1999; Layton & Smith, 2017). Mixed-race women, *mulatas*, “are the most over-inscribed with sex [...] attributed with voluptuousness and sensuality [...] she embodies the sexual fantasies of the white man: she is lascivious, insolent, and ready and willing to have sex” (Turner, 2014, p. 82-83). In particular, cinnamon-colored mixed-race women (a common descriptor in Brazil) are the most objectified and desired: “the archetypal female Brazilian sexual subject then is the mulata, and, due to the importance of sexuality within the Brazilian national imagination, this vision of a sexualized mulata becomes that of the archetypal Brazilian woman; the *brasileira*” (Edmonds, 2010, p. 25).

Prostitution Policy in Brazil

Brazil's contentions of what to do legally, morally, and socially about prostitution have been wrapped up in Catholic doctrines, a desire to be Europeanized, and the history of slavery. Around 1840, before slavery was abolished in 1888, European medical doctors began studying Brazilian prostitutes and their clients for insights into venereal diseases (Corrêa & Olivar, 2014). As anti-slavery discourses centered on morality became louder, so too did discourses surrounding sex work. Medical and social thinkers painted both practices as "dangers to the social organism" (Borges, 1993, p. 238), and abolishing both slavery and prostitution were argued as necessary in order to "promote social and political progress" (Corrêa & Olivar, 2014, p. 175). Steeped in Catholic patriarchy, national honor was conflated with female honor, and thus if a nation was to protect its national honor, it therefore had to manage prostitution (Beattie, 1997; da Silva & Blanchette, 2017). But a French model of regulation (i.e. state control) was not possible in such a large geographically diverse nation and had only a few proponents willing for the state to have such a visible hand in vice (Amar, 2009; Caulfield, 1997; Corrêa & Olivar, 2014). Prohibitionist (i.e. criminalization of all aspects of sex work) perspectives gained little ground due to Catholic teachings that dictated sex workers as victims and lost souls. Thus, the state settled on a loose abolitionist approach, neither criminalizing nor regulating prostitution (Caulfield, 1997; Corrêa & Olivar, 2014). Thus, in the late 1800s and early 1900s, while prostitution was legal, pimping, owning a brothel, and being a madam was illegal. Moreover, the drive to be seen as a modern (read: closer to European) country, forced the state to take a hands off approach at the legal and discursive levels, while simultaneously acquiescing large amounts of power to

police, madams, and medical professionals. Often, this meant that poor sex workers (largely Jews, Poles, and women of color) were targeted for eradication while wealthy places of prostitution thrived in Brazil's largest cities (Amar, 2009; Borges, 1993; Caulfield, 1997; Mazzeiro, 1998). This contention, between an ill-defined federal policy, lack of state intervention, and regulatory mechanisms being left to police, medical professionals, jurists, and lawyers, largely continued throughout the 1900s. The effect was one of both mild tolerance of vice but also, "left the space open for calls for eradication of sex work to capture the social imagination and for state and societal violence against sex workers to remain unquestioned and unpunished" (Corrêa & Olivar, 2014, p. 176). Gaps in available scholarly literature require a fast-forward to the 1970s during the years of military dictatorship, when protests forced Brazil to pay attention to prostitution and its relation to state policy.

During the 1970s, feminist studies began to look at how to define prostitution and the correct role of the state, though prostitution has never been as deeply studied in Brazil as it has been in other countries, nor has it held as important an analytical project for academics. Feminist debates largely followed those outlined in the section titled "Feminism and sex work" in this literature review, and continued to follow the state model of ambiguity. Some feminist scholarship followed radical feminism that equated prostitution with marriage, while some followed socialist feminist thought by looking at unregulated prostitution as capitalist exploitation. In general, feminist scholars during this time were more concerned with how the military dictatorship was stripping human rights in general, women's rights in particular, and reversing democratization (Piscitelli, 2014). Thus, feminist studies in the 1970s had little to say about prostitution, mirroring the

state's historic silence on the issue (Corrêa, 1984; Matos, 2010; Piscitelli, 2014). In 1979, citizens protested against police violence towards streetwalkers, and “ushered in the era of contemporary politics of prostitution in Brazil” (Leite, 2009 cited in Corrêa & Olivar, 2014, p. 176).

These protests, notable for happening under a repressive military regime, were part of larger democratization protests in the 1980s. Led by sex worker, Gabriela Leite, prostitutes, artists, intellectuals, and LGBTQ individuals protested together in order to “be included in the agenda of Brazilian democratization” (Corrêa & Olivar, 2014, p. 177). Led by Leite, the movement for sex worker rights gained considerable ground in terms of visibility, rights, education, health, and media representation. The dictatorship began its transition to democracy when José Sarney was elected president in 1985. In 1987 the Brazilian Network of Prostitutes was created and in 1988 they put out a newsletter *Beijo na Rua*, which specifically called out the practice of allowing police to control prostitution with their headline, “Prostitution is not a police matter.” Prostitution organizations and rights continued to gain headway with the creation of numerous local associations between 1990-1993, and membership into REDTRASEX (Latin American and Caribbean Network of Sex Workers) in 1999. As Brazil continued its climb out of the military dictatorship though, police presence was increased in *favelas* and areas of “vice,” particularly those connected with prostitution, so the protests and movement for sex worker rights as labor rights continued (Corrêa & Olivar, 2014).

The early 2000s were marked by a coordinated federal “anti-vice” effort that still left room for definitional ambiguity. Definitions of how to classify sex work came to the fore. Brazil's Ministry of Labor called sex workers, “tourist accompaniment workers”

indicating an assumption that Brazilian citizens are not clients of sex workers, but also that prostitutes were workers; something the Ministry continued to promote as they lobbied for sex workers to be considered part of the service industry sector. The Tourism Ministry, however, tried to distance itself from vice and rebrand Brazil's international image, previously linked directly to women and sex, as a place to experience architecture and eco-tourism. Therefore, the Tourism Ministry labeled sex workers as "trafficked sex slaves," making a slippage between human trafficking and legal sex work, highlighting their close ties to international politics and evangelical groups who did the same (Amar, 2009). Even as the infighting between Ministries continued, by 2002 the sex worker rights movement successfully lobbied the Ministry of Labor to incorporate sex work as an occupation. In 2003 delegate Fernando Gabeira proposed a bill to "guarantee the rights of prostitutes as a class of workers" (Amar, 2009, p. 535). The bill has since been stalled in congress due to strong lobbying by evangelical groups and anti-prostitution groups (da Silva & Blanchette, 2009; Corrêa & Oliviar, 2014).

The current landscape of sex work in Brazil is on tenuous ground: though it is codified as a profession by the ministry of labor and is legal, the ways in which the laws are written, and the signing of the "UN Palermo Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons Especially Women and Children," have created a situation in which political pundits, judges, and police have far too much power on the ground to decide who to arrest and prosecute. Thus, in some ways, it is no different than the early 1900s, with the state still making an international public show to support sex worker rights, while leaving the actual regulation of the practice to localities and police. Abolitionist policies (i.e. criminalize purchasing sex) have continued to gain ground,

especially as evangelical policy groups, NGOS, and the UN continue to make numerous discursive and legal moves that equate human sex trafficking with prostitution. The current model borrows and shifts previous abolitionist models, by allowing sex work, but criminalizing the exploitation of it. Still, the Brazilian government continues to have a rather hands off approach, allowing local police and judicial systems to deal with sex work/ers as they see fit (Corrêa & Olivar, 2014; da Silva & Blanchette, 2009, 2017; Piscitelli, 2014). With the election of a far right-wing president in 2018, Jair Bolsonaro, it remains to be seen whether or not protections for sex workers will remain untouched or be removed, there is no indication they will be increased.

Conclusion

This foray into the literature on blogging, Twitter, immaterial labor, and feminist theories on sex work provide the groundwork for this dissertation. In addition, a brief but sufficient history of race, sex, and prostitution was provided in order to ground the unfamiliar reader with the Brazilian context. I will rely on autonomist Marxist theories of immaterial digital labor and feminist theories on sex work, blending philosophically compatible approaches in order to create a rich theoretical framework for investigating the nexus of digital labor, microblogging, and sex work. The review of literature also identified gaps related to studying sex work and (micro)blogging, debates about public vs. private spheres in traditional blogs, and theoretical debates about labor in our new spirit of capital.

Chapter 3

Methodology

Research Questions

This study offers an analysis of a Twitter microblogging account used by sex workers in Brazil. It explores how the discourses of sex workers interact with particular discursive structures where body, gender, race, and labor intersect. Studying discourse about sex work produced through interactions between sex workers, clients, and users on Twitter provides a deeper understanding of how multiple intersecting ideologies of gender, sexuality, race, and nation come together on a social media platform to construct social relations of power. By analyzing social media as a main site of interdiscursivity (Fairclough 2013a, 2013b), we are able to see ways in which social media shape discourses that influence how sex workers discuss their labor and experiences. Moreover, since microblogging is a cultural practice not divorced from ideological tugs of war in contemporary society, studying microblogging problematizes the debates on public vs. private sphere, sex work as a form of labor, digital work in late-capitalism, and the intersections therein. Therefore, the analysis of discourse on Twitter in regards to sex work seeks to answer the following research questions:

RQ1: What are the dominant themes in the discourse about sex work constructed through microblogging on social media?

RQ2: What are the discursive practices of sex workers who use social media as a platform?

RQ3: What theoretical insights emerge from the analysis of sex workers' discourse on social media?

Key Concepts

The key concepts in the research questions stem from the literature and from the methodological approach of critical discourse analysis; the terms are: discourse, sex work, digital labor, and microblogging. Drawing on critical discourse studies, I define discourse as socially, historically, and culturally contingent texts that allow us to understand, construct, and negotiate our subjectivities through the social relations of power constitutive and constituted by the capitalist system (Fairclough, 2013a). Discourses can be written, oral, or visual texts that interact and intersect with other discursive and non-discursive structures in order to (re)produce power.

There are many terms for sex work, and they encompass many activities depending on the scholarship cited. They can include but are not limited to: escort services, stripping, peep-shows, burlesque (male or female) shows, pornography, internet Cam-girls, sex acts for money, and phone-sex operators. Ultimately, any form of profiteering on sex can be considered sexual labor or sex work. For the purposes of this study, I rely on Davis' (2015) conceptualization of sex work:

to use the terms professional sex, sexual commerce, transactional sex, commercial sex, and sex markets interchangeably. In particular, professional sex can be contrasted with the "amateur" sex, in which most of us engage, involuntary sex trafficking, and, at a mid-point between the two, "survival sex," in which sex is transacted, typically without meaningful capacity and often directly for drugs. I avoid the term "commodified sex," as a nod to the argument that much sex and intimacy is commodified, sometimes in ways that are far more mercenary than in formal sex markets. (p. 1203)

Using Davis' definitional terms (and not prostitute/ion) also align with my political position on sex work as a form of labor within a capitalist system that requires material, discursive, emotional, technological, and bodily resources (Bernstein, 2007; Jeffreys, 2008). Furthermore, many sex workers and sex worker advocates (such as Scarlot Harlot who coined the term sex work in the 1970s) have distanced themselves from the term prostitute in order to highlight both the historical and modern-day damage of that term. Through Twitter it is impossible to know what type of sex work the users of this Twitter feed engage in; their labor could be any combination of the aforementioned jobs. In the Brazilian context, sex workers often use the term *garota de programa*. This translates to "woman of a program," where program indicates a sex act. Thus, *garota de programa* (GP for short), is a Brazilian term for sex workers, though within this there are distinctions between escorts and street sex workers. Nevertheless, "sex worker" will be used to identify anyone on GPGuiaDelas who exchanges sexual acts for money.

Interestingly, stemming from my ontological groundings in Marxist theory, it is an intriguing tension to use "work" instead of "labor" since work is emancipatory and unwaged, and labor is exploitative and waged. I suppose, then, that those against sex work should instead call it sex labor as a nod to the ways in which words differently position us. For the sake of simplicity and connection with dialogues in feminist studies, I will use the term sex work, understanding that for some women, in some places, with some clients, at some times, sex labor may in fact be a more appropriate term.

Based on conceptualizations of affective labor and intellectual labor from feminist studies on sex work and autonomist Marxist theories, I articulate affective labor as a culturally situated communicative practice of body, mind, and emotion that seeks to

shape an encounter with another person. I do not argue that affective labor only seeks to shape an encounter in a positive way; rather, I posit that the work required to create, maintain, and dissolve sex worker-client relationships is affective and communication based. Intellectual labor, or the act of producing knowledge, is also a triangulation between body, mind, and emotion. Though there is merit in separating out the terms for analytical and measurement purposes, for this study, I argue that the labor of sex work, the labor of producing digital knowledge about it, and the labor of responding to others' digital knowledge on microblogs, are inherently linked. Therefore, I will use affective/intellectual in the dissertation to refer to this duality.

I approach microblogging (Twitter) as discursive practices that interact with ideological structures, technological architectures, users, and audience members. (Micro)blogs serve many purposes, such as identity construction and maintenance, group membership, information dissemination, and community connection, all outlined in the previous chapter. (Micro)blogs are defined by their architectural makeup, by the users as microblogs, and are multitudinous in their discursive form. As discursive practices, a study of Twitter must include the architectural makeup (visual/textual/chronemic features) and the variety of ways in which seemingly disparate Tweets actually create a cohesive set of discourses about a particular topic, in this case sex work.

The Methodology of Critical Discourse Analysis

My methodological approach is based in the critical paradigm, where reality is flexible, or “plastic.” Over time, some realities became codified through social, economic, and political mechanisms that change the plasticity to fixity, so that those structures are (inappropriately) taken as real, natural, and immutable. The structures are

real in the sense that they constrain, enact, and have material and identity consequences (Guba & Lincoln, 2000). Moreover, for the critical paradigm, engaging in propositional and transactional knowledge is valuable in and of itself. The value of research in this paradigm is uncovering unjust social systems and offering potential avenues for the emancipation of marginalized groups (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). For discourse analyses within the critical paradigm, there are three fundamental and interrelated ontologies.

First, discourse is a main way in which reality continues to be taken as “real,” and this has material and identity consequences. Realities are multiple, contextually based, and related to social, political, cultural, economic, racial, gender and other factors (Phillips & Jørgensen, 2004; Wodak & Meyer, 2009). In addition, our identities, beliefs, and understandings are a result of this discursive creation that stems from the ontological viewpoint of a knowable, yet malleable constructed reality. This is a post-structuralist belief that language is a social practice and shapes the multiple perceptions of “real” structures (Phillips & Jørgensen, 2004).

Second, the historical component implied in the critical paradigm is a key feature of discourse analyses. Intertextuality argues that history is continually influencing communicative events. History weaves and winds through all current discourses, and current discourses call upon and deploy history for particular ideological power purposes. Historical realism is necessary here if intertextuality is to function: intertextuality is a mechanism through which historical discourses lose their plasticity, and instead, become fixed and “real” (Phillips & Jørgensen, 2004).

Third, the critical paradigm argues that many discourses are harmful to marginalized groups, and these discourses should be uncovered (epistemologically), and

challenged (Phillips & Jørgensen, 2004; Wodak & Meyer, 2009). This reflects an ontological normative belief in the “goodness” of particular dialogues, and is based on the idea that while multiple realities are knowable and constructed, they are also structurally based with practical and material consequences. These practical and material consequences are impactful for those groups not in power. The reliance on an understanding of power and hegemony to create and perpetuate classes/others of people, and the belief that discourse (re)creates, perpetuates, and changes the social condition of marginalized peoples (i.e. Habermas, Horkheimer, Marx, Foucault to some degree) is a direct result of the constructed nature of these intertwined ontologies (Phillip & Jørgensen, 2004).

Critical discourse analysts agree on the political nature of their research. According to Bozdag and Smets (2017), critical theories are “the process of uncovering forms of inscription[.] [...] Social critique may exist apart from social change, but both are necessary for criticalist perspectives” (p. 204). Hart and Cap (2014) add “[there is] general agreement that critique supposes a political stance” (p. 2). This means that there exists an underlying belief that marginalized groups are created and kept marginalized through discourse and that critical analysis and theorization can help mend this injustice. This, of course, leads to a political academic stance: critical discourse analysis should serve to bring these social gaps to light through an understanding of how discourse functions and where possibilities for change may occur to disrupt the powerful. Fairclough argued that discourse analysis is politically engaged research for social change. This happens through an analysis of discourses that create and potentially

overcome social wrongs, hegemonic, and powerfully ideological discourses (Wodak & Meyer, 2009).

In critical theory, ontology and epistemology are interconnected because the findings are value-laden and value-mediated. What is known is inextricably linked with the interaction between a particular researcher and a particular object at a particular time and place; there is no distance between knower and what is known. This can be seen in the two main and interrelated ways to approaching epistemology in critical theory: transactional and subjectivist, and constructivist (Guba & Lincoln, 2000).

From the transactional and subjectivist viewpoint, the researcher and researched are inherently linked; there is no detached observer. Both the researcher and researched (even if it is a text) have values, and the meanings of the text (and to some extent the meanings of self of the researcher) are dependent on and changed through those values. How a researcher approaches a text is value-laden and value-mediated and will inevitably come to bear on what they discover. The constructivist viewpoint agrees with the statements set forth by transactional and subjectivist ideas on epistemology, but it takes it a step further. It argues that meanings and findings are *literally* created through the investigation itself. Each side comes with values to the project, and new values, findings, and meanings are created through the research process by the values brought and mediated in the interaction. Thus, a level of degree can characterize the main difference between the two: in transactional and subjectivist the researcher is not detached and indeed their own selves (i.e. viewpoints, experiences, feelings, thoughts, socioeconomic, racial, gendered, nation, etc. backgrounds) interact with the text to shape the meaning. The text, be it another person in an interview, a movie, or a written document, is also

value-laden and therefore mediates the interaction with the researcher. A degree closer is seen in the constructivist viewpoint that argues that we do more than just mediate the meaning of our text with our selves; we actually create *new* meaning with this interaction. We are one step closer, wading further into the water, to creating something new entirely, versus just a mitigated version of the same thing. This epistemological background shapes critical discourse research in a crucial way.

Adding to this the ontological belief that discourse shapes our own identities, and is a social construction and practice, it is crucial that the researcher be aware of the discourse they create through their own writings (Guba & Lincoln, 2000). Thus, critical theory asks us to recognize that our own discursive practices have an effect on what texts we choose, how we choose them, which methods we choose, how they are deployed, which themes or patterns we see, what we consider unjust and/or marginalizing, and what conclusions we make about the texts and discursive situations we have chosen to analyze (Phillips & Jørgensen, 2004; Wodak & Meyer, 2009). Critical theory then, has a requirement of reflexivity that asks researchers to turn the critical eye towards themselves in the research process in order to account for how their own ontology/epistemology shapes their research practice and findings.

In critical theory, axiological arguments hinge on the idea that “propositional, transactional knowing is instrumentally valuable as a means to social emancipation, which is an end in itself” (Guba & Lincoln, 1998, table 8.5 p. 198). Therefore, insights into understanding how a discursive system functions to oppress people are valuable and useful research goals themselves because it can help liberate marginalized groups from oppression. The critique of discourse implies a normative value, that there is “good” and

“bad” language, and an ethical belief that language—since it creates, (re)produces, and changes society—should serve the greater good by “producing enlightenment and emancipation” for people to liberate themselves from a “particular kind of delusion” (Phillips & Jørgensen, 2004; Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 7).

Procedures

In this section, I will map the ways in which I selected textual data by describing the kinds of texts analyzed and offering a rationale for their selection. In the next section, I will discuss procedures for textual analysis in more detail explicating Fairclough’s critical discourse analysis (shortened to CDA hereafter) as the particular theoretical/methodological approach to answering my research questions. I will then briefly trace visual semiotics as a method, since this was used to analyze the advertisements. Finally, I will discuss data interpretation.

Selection of texts. I chose to analyze a Twitter account by sex workers in Brazil for a number of reasons: one, sex work, Twitter, and Brazil are all understudied in regards communication research. There are no studies of Twitter accounts on topics of sexuality in communication. There is some research in Western communication literature on Brazil, but this has focused on hip-hop, graffiti, and the relationship between geography and race. There are very few studies of sex work within the communication discipline, and there are no studies that look at Twitter and sex work, let alone adding Brazil to the mix. Two, as a widely used social media platform, Twitter is a main way in which people connect, converse, and gather information. Its immediate nature, and rather loose community guidelines, means it is less restrictive and perhaps then, more accurately reflective of people’s everyday discursive practices. Three, in our digital age, the use of

social media requires important questions of subjectivity, identity, labor and relationships. As an inherently communicative phenomenon, digital spaces are rapidly crafting the ways in which we talk, interact, and understand our relationships with others and ourselves. Fourth, because Tweets can be read by a wide variety of people, they provide an interesting medium for answering questions of public vs. private communication especially in regards to sex work, a practice that has historically been wrapped up in questions of public/private.

In order to identify a Twitter feed used by Brazilian sex workers, I began by analyzing the following/follower list of a few rather famous Brazilian sex workers: Monique Prada. Monique is an outspoken sex worker, advocate, and prolific blogger and book writer. I searched for her handle on Twitter and culled through the accounts she follows and those that follow her. By looking at these linked profiles, I then began to expand my search radius, looking at the accounts linked to the ones she follows, accounts linked to those, etc. This led me to find a number of Twitter feeds on the topic of sex work in Brazil. In order to narrow down the selection of a Twitter feed, I scrolled through numerous accounts, cutting out those that were mostly advertisements for sex work, or only posted on by a single person. I also looked for saliency and reach, though that became less important considering Brazilian sex worker blogs are a fairly niche Twitter space to begin with. At the end of the process, I selected GPGuiaDelas, an active Twitter feed used by Brazilian sex workers, created in response to a Twitter feed produced by sex work clients.

On GPGuiaDelas, I first scrolled through to get a sense of the frequency of posts, the variety of users posting to the feed, and the types of posts (i.e. memes, individual

posts, pictures, etc.). This initial scan allowed me to see that this Twitter feed was largely characterized by sex workers posting screenshots of WhatsApp conversations with their clients, often accompanied by a set-up that explains the tone of the post. Because these WhatsApp screenshots are actual conversations between sex workers and clients, I decided it would be an incredibly rich site for communicative inquiry. There are a number of dialogues happening simultaneously on GPGuiaDelas: the conversation between sex worker and client; the shaping of that conversation by the amount of the WhatsApp conversation the sex worker chooses to share; conversations in the comment sections to the posts; and in the use of hashtags and emojis. There are also a number of memes used on GPGuiaDelas that are themselves an additional form of discourse. Ultimately, the rich and complex nature of multiple discourse happening all at once on the GPGuiaDelas Twitter feed could not be ignored and was ideal for a research project on discourses in online spaces.

I collected 500 total screenshots of Twitter conversations on GPGuiaDelas. I started at the top of the Twitter feed and continued scrolling, which meant I collected the most recent conversations first (aside from one that was pinned to the top of the Twitter feed that was in November 2018). Due to the architectural nature of Twitter, 500 screenshots does not equal 500 conversations, since you often have to scroll through multiple screens in order to see an entire conversation. Think about it like a book: you flip through the pages of a book in order to read the whole story. Twitter conversations are the same: each piece of the entire conversation is a separate ‘page’ which meant an individual screenshot. I did not exclude any Twitter conversations in this initial phase unless they were duplicates.

Once I collected 500 screenshots, I decided to stop collecting data because I had reached saturation. Many of the conversations were repetitive and were not presenting new information. I printed out the screenshots and stapled together the conversations. After this process, I was left with 179 full conversations/posts to analyze, with three duplicate conversations, leaving 176 total. These were a mix of WhatsApp screenshots and comments on Twitter, memes, and advertisements.

Coding process. I coded these through an inductive thematic coding process, working back and forth between the data and theories in the literature. Thematic coding is, “concerned with content—“what” is said, written, or visually shown” (Kohler-Reissman, 2008, p. 53). In order to create themes, I used an iterative analysis, which, “alternates between emic, or emergent, readings of the data and an etic use of existing models, explanations, and theories. [...] encourages reflection upon the active interests, current literature, granted priorities, and various theories the research brings to the data” (Tracy, 2013, p. 184). During the first, or primary coding, of the data, I worked through the first stages of translation, getting a grasp for the type of Brazilian Portuguese slang used on the website, looking up unfamiliar terms, and getting a general sense of the types of discourses that emerged. The second reading the data is where I started to code for particular themes that came up in the first coding pass. These themes were dictated by the data itself, a grounded theory approach, rather than being dictated by preconceived research questions and/or notions. A third reading of the data solidified the following themes: race; self-advertisements; loss of energy/time; specific threat made to expose on Twitter; blocking/contacting; respect; violent expressions/unsolicited pictures; negotiating prices; sex worker descriptions of labor; client descriptions of labor.

Once these thematic categories were established, I worked to organize them into salient thematic clusters, looking for how the different themes worked together to explicate the three research questions. This process led to three thematic clusters: Transactional Labor Conditions; Managing Relational Labor Conditions; and Identity Construction and Market Performance. There were, of course, Twitter posts that did not fit readily into any category and did not fit into any of my theoretical lenses; these were culled out in the coding process. This becomes most important for the thematic cluster on identity construction and market performance.

During the initial and secondary coding processes, I identified 15 posts on GPGuiaDelas that were coded as “advertisements.” I cut out seven of them on the grounds that they were not directly advertising sexual services, but rather the adjacent industries such as information for sex workers who travel to different cities (two posts); a photographer advertising her skills in order to get sex workers as clients (three posts); and conversations exposing someone who used the likeness of a different sex worker (two post). Within the remaining eight posts coded as self-advertisements, three were cut out because they are of a trans-sex worker whose gender identity seemed to override any racial conversation. The comments are charged with language related solely gender and trans sexuality, and my own ability to analyze the racial position of this poster within the context of Brazilian trans positioning is not sophisticated. Thus, these three posts were cut out of this section. What remained are five advertisement posts. Importantly, during the coding process, these five advertisements were also coded under the ‘race’ category, making the link between sexual identity performance and race clear.

Data analysis: Fairclough's CDA model. CDA's precursor was the 1970s British contingent of critical linguistics (Fowler) and systemic linguistic theory (Halliday) that "drew attention to the ideological potency of certain grammatical forms" (Fairclough, Mulderrig, & Wodak, 2011, p. 361). Later, social semiotics (van Leeuwen and Kress) looked at the "multi-semiotic and potentially ideological character of texts" (Fairclough, Mulderrig, & Wodak, 2011, p. 362). From the 1990s to present day, Fairclough, Mulderrig, Choularaki, and numerous others have moved the conversation and analysis from the realm of strict grammatical analysis (in traditional linguistics) to analyzing the social, political, and economic aspects that effect everyday experience and the "common-sense assumptions" people rely on linguistically to interact (Fairclough, 2013b).

Fairclough's CDA approach is based on Marxist critiques of base and superstructure. Ideology and knowable truth are created out of the dialectic relationship between base and superstructure. For Marx, the base is the economy, ownership, and material conditions. The base determines the superstructure; it determines *what* people say/think (Phillips and Jørgensen, 2004). The superstructure is institutions such as the state, judicial system, religion, schools, mass media, (i.e. "institutions" broadly). The superstructure is responsible for all production of meaning. This means that the base shapes the superstructure, that is, the economy, material conditions, and the ownership of production, or lack thereof, determines/limits what is available for people to say and think and what the system needs to say in order to keep the base going and not revolutionizing); and the superstructure shapes consciousness because it owns all of the institutions necessary to determine/own/produce information. Ideology is born out of this relationship between the base and the superstructure: it is the production, reproduction,

construction, and transformation of the relations of domination (Phillips and Jørgensen, 2004). Put differently, it is a representation that establishes and maintains power, domination, and exploitation (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). Because of the ideological production created through the dialectical relationship of base and superstructure, coupled with the materiality inherent in Marxism, CDA notes there is a difference between discursive and non-discursive elements in society.

Discursive elements are confined to written, oral, and visual texts, while the other structures that create society are left outside of it. Thus, for Fairclough, discourse is a (re)productive mechanism that (re)produces the existing structure. Discourse is defined as contextually, socially and historically contingent written, visual, and oral texts that (re)produce systems of power (Fairclough, 2013a; Gee, 2011; Hart & Cap, 2014; Phillips & Jørgensen, 2004). It can also challenge this structure by highlighting what is inside of it and what falls outside. Furthermore, discourse analysis is the unpacking of the *dialectical relationship* between discursive and non-discursive practices/elements (Fairclough, 2013b; Phillips & Jørgensen, 2004; Wodak & Meyer, 2009). The analysis of this dialectical relationship starts with an understanding of how discourse is relational.

For Fairclough, discourse is relational in three ways: socially relational (i.e. the relation between persons), relations between relations (i.e. how discourses relate to each other, or interdiscursivity), and relations between discourse and non-discourse. He is careful to articulate that the parts of any one of these relations are not discreet. In other words, they flow in and out of each other, and impact each other in dialectical ways. This led Fairclough to state: “we can only arrive at an understanding of [discourse] by analysing sets of relations” (Fairclough, 2013a, p. 3). In other words, these three relations

all interact with each other in order to construct reality, limit our possibilities for what we see, say, and do, and provide avenues for fragmentation and rupture.

For CDA, it is nearly impossible to overstate the importance of language. As a post-structuralist theory, CDA puts language in a prime position. Language is how we access ourselves, our world, and make sense of our social and ideological relations.

“Every instance of language use makes it[s] own small contribution to reproducing and/or transforming society and culture, including power relations” (Fairclough et al., 2011).

Language is the mechanism through which we understand and articulate self, thoughts, mental states, feelings and “the nature of the external world” (Edwards, 2006, p. 41).

Structures of power/ideology are created, reified, and dismantled over time through language use. This is done through language’s three functions, social, relational, and ideational, and these are seen through three levels of discourse mentioned (text, discursive practice, socio-cultural practice) (Fairclough, 2013a; Phillips & Jørgensen, 2004). Moreover, language is inherently linked to discourse, ideology and power in CDA.

I visualize the link between language, discourse, ideology, and power as a circle, with any one of them inhabiting any point on the circle and serving as the starting point or destination. To illustrate, take language as the starting point of the circle: language is the expressive force (written, spoken, visual) of discourse. Discourse relates to patterned ways of language use through which ideology is “shaped, normalized and propagated” (Strauss & Feiz, 2013, p. 313). The control of discourses (through orders of discourse) is what creates and reinforces power (Fairclough, 2013b; Phillips & Jørgensen, 2004; Wodak & Meyer, 2009). Starting with power, we understand it is created and reinforced through ideology, which is expressed and maintained through discourses. These

discourses are verbalized by language, which is also shaped by ideology, etc. This is part of the reason Fairclough (2013a) argued for an analysis of the dialectical relationship of social relations, discursive relations, and relations between discourse and non-discourse. Each part of the circle is paramount to understanding the other parts, but the circle cannot be reduced to just one of these elements: all are necessary in understanding everyday talk and the contexts in which that talk occur.

The analytical foci of CDA research in communication is concerned with how everyday talk interacts with broader macro level structures. In fact, Strauss and Feiz (2013) argued that CDA is concerned with moving between micro and macro, where the micro level is the focus on linguistic features of the discourse, and macro is the combination of these linguistic features with semiotic resources. Put differently, the micro in CDA are the linguistic features, the macro are the larger discourses and the non-discursive elements in dialectic relationship with the micro (Phillips & Jørgensen, 2004).

Fairclough proposed a model that features three levels of analysis of discourse: the level of text, the level of discursive practice, and the level of socio-cultural practice. At the level of text, the analysis is focused on the linguistic features of the text itself, the vocabulary, common words, pauses, and the ways in which the grammatical structures of the text highlight patterns and/or moments of fragmentation. For this study, the level of text will be the content of WhatsApp conversation screenshots, Twitter posts, comments, and interactions between users. The level of discursive practice is focused on the consumption and production of the text. It investigates how authors of the text draw on already existing discourses and genres in their own production and consumption of texts. This is referred to as intertextuality (the interaction between historical and current

discourses) and interdiscursivity (the interaction with other texts, such as global laws, ideologies, practices). In this project, the level of discursive practice will focus on the ways in which the social media users and their commenters draw upon both historical and current national and international ideologies of sex work, digital labor, gender and sexuality. Additionally, this second level looks at the consumption/production of the textual site by investigating questions of political economy of digital technology: access, usage, audience, norms, etc.; in short, the ways in which the digital platform itself functions as a site of a particular type of discursive prod-usage. The most abstract level, the level of socio-cultural practice, looks at how the patterns in the text at levels one and two are connected to macro-level structures. This level observes how discursive practices in levels one and two (re)produce and/or (re)structure orders of discourse (i.e. patterns/organized ways of thinking and talking that regulate behavior). It also looks at what consequences this (re)production and (re)structuring may have on the individual and on the system of discourses. Done in the interpretive stage of the project, this third level helps to situate individual discourses within larger national and international ideologies of sexual and digital labor, sexuality and gender. This level will be accompanied by a critical feminist approach.

Data analysis: Visual semiotics. For the final analysis chapter that looks at self-advertisements of sex workers and the use of Marilyn Monroe memes, I conducted critical discourse analysis of the written texts, coupled with a visual semiotic analysis. Visual analysis is concerned with the ways in which the visual are imbued with particular signs and signifiers that are rendered legible through societal discourses. A visual semiotic analysis looks at how and why images were produced, what signs are available

in the image, and what those signs are communicating; it is a process of uncovering the denotative (who and/or what is being shown) and connotative meanings (what ideas and/or values are expressed by the denotative) in visual texts (van Leeuwen, 2001). “As in word-based methods, reading an image closely and responding to *details* is essential to visual analysis” (Kohler-Reissman, 2008, p. 144). These details, or “resources” for social semiotics, can include lighting, props, camera angle, clothing, background, subjects, juxtapositions, arrangements, color, researcher positionality, and elements important to the theories used in the study (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996). Looking for “meaning potential” (Jewitt & Oyama, 2001, p. 135) is the ultimate goal of visual semiotic resource: it is not about saying what the only possible reading of an image is; rather, it is about putting that image within socio-cultural, historical, and material contexts that allow for “a field of possible meanings” (*ibid*; Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996). In order to uncover the possibilities that exist within given cultural parameters, visual social semiotics must be coupled with other analytical and methodological tools. It must, “only ever be one element of an interdisciplinary equation which must also involve relevant theories and histories” (Jewitt & Oyama, 2001, p. 138).

Halliday (1978) proposed that texts have three functions, which are very similar to those proposed by Fairclough discussed above: ideational (creating representations), interpersonal (creating interactions); textual (communicative events as a result of individual linguistic choices). Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) extended these to visual elements and they continue to fit nicely with Fairclough’s social function of discourse (creating identities); relational function (how discourses work together); and ideational function of discourse (implementation of the ideologies of discourses). For Kress and van

Leewan, visual social semiotic research attends to the representational (creating particular representations of the world), interactive (working with other texts), and compositional (the way the image is put together). These three levels (representational, interactive, and compositional) help visual semioticians answer “what do images represent and how” and “what ideas and values do the people, places, and things represented in the images stand for?” (van Leewan, 2001, p. 92).

Textual interpretation. Interpretation calls for a movement between the analysis of text, discursive practice, and social practice to uncover the complex nature of sex work, digital labor, and discourse. In doing so, I aim to address the social function of discourse that helps us understand how we create ideas of self and subjectivities through the discourses available to us. In sex work, for example, these may be discourses of purity, dirt, and cleanliness, sexual identity, and/or ownership, to name a few. The relational function highlights the ways in which discourses function together (interdiscursivity) and function with other non-discursive elements. In sex work, these may be discourses of health, gender, heteronormativity, national/international identity constructions, and labor or work. They function with non-discursive elements such as financial resources, access, cityscapes, globalization, capitalism, etc. Finally, the ideational function of discourse helps us view the ways in which ideologies of sex work and sexuality have been codified and changed over time and continue to be deployed as powerful controlling mechanisms (Fairclough, 2013b).

With this groundwork, I plan to complement the CDA approach with a critical feminist approach, which focuses on the experiential knowledge and narratives of women themselves as well as the historical, social, economic, and political context surrounding

sex work in Brazil (Briscoe, 2015; Gillman, 2013). As argued by Zatz (1997), it is crucial that we situate at the forefront of our analyses “how and why participants experience a practice (as degrading, as shameful, as fun, as erotic, as liberating) [this] ought to play a crucial role in evaluating it, as is the case with sex work” (p. 280).

I will integrate a critical feminist approach at the levels of sociocultural practice and in regards to the interpretation of the texts in order to situate the narratives within ideological moorings on gender, sexuality, and sexual labor. A critical feminist approach fits nicely within the ontological and epistemological views of both the critical paradigm and CDA because it too is concerned with “attending to multiple identities and experiences of subordination” (Davis, 2008, p. 68). A critical feminist approach also attends to a key difficulty I identify of CDA, that it can be rigid and seeks to have clear-cut answers to problems concerning discourse and power. This rigidity is particularly useful for uncovering the ways in which we operate under discursive and non-discursive structures. But, life is often far more messy and complicated than can be solved by clear-cut answers, and critical feminist theory attends to, and in fact thrives, in the ambiguity. For Butler and Scott (1992), a “good” feminist theory does not seek to end the confusion, but instead, “allows us to attend to and critically analyse the multiplicity of divisions and inequalities. It would open up space for critique and intervention, while enabling us to be reflexive about the range and limitations of our own theoretical enterprise” (Davis, 2008, p. 78). Thus, a critical feminist approach in the interpretive stage, at the level of sociocultural practice, compliments a CDA approach by attending to structures of gender, sexuality, knowledge production and, importantly, ambiguity.

In closing, this dissertation will investigate key questions in regards to sexual labor and digital labor practices of cis-gendered female sex workers in Brazil. By analyzing GPGuiaDelas' Twitter feed, it seeks also to investigate the labor of 21st century digital spaces. Importantly, based in the critical paradigm, utilizing Fairclough's critical discourse analysis and a critical feminist approach to interpretation, this project has an *a priori* political aim: by uncovering the ways in which sex workers construct their laboring subjectivities under new capitalism we can intervene in hegemonic ideologies of gender, sexuality, and digital labor, opening up space for emancipation and further complication of the inherent ambiguities of affective and intellectual labor.

On the Politics of Translation

Translation brings with it a host of critical issues: do we translate directly, going for the most word-by-word similarity? Or do we translate in order to get the correct cultural meaning across when shifting from language to language? How do we verify our translations? And how do we contend with the elements that get lost via the process of translation, and the relation of findings? These questions are especially important in critical discourse analysis and present a particular difficulty when attending to the textual, praxis, and societal levels of CDA. Even as Fairclough (1992) admits the difficulty of multiple-language texts for critical textual analysis, he states "discourse analysis papers should reproduce and analyse textual samples in the *original language, despite the added difficulty for the readers*" (emphasis added, p. 196). This is a purposeful political act that speaks to a foundational element of CDA: uncovering ways in which power is explicated and utilized through language. Translation is a communicative practice chosen and manipulated by the researcher. It goes beyond simply exchanging words in one language

for another, rather, it “entails a critical and historical appraisal of the social, political, economic, and environmental structures at play in the process of translation” (Castro-Sotomayor, 2018, p. 88). Translation then, as a political communicative tool, has the power to shape, produce, and reify discourse through the act of translation itself. It is also able to help reveal the ambiguous ways in which universal discourses are deployed via language.

As a political choice, I have chosen to leave the original Brazilian Portuguese excerpts from the text and provide a translation that is more concerned with cultural meaning than literal translation, although there is literal translation throughout. The use of slang on GPGuiaDelas requires particular attentiveness to cultural contexts of language and connotative rather than denotative meanings. I have chosen not to footnote the original language because to do so renders it less than, unable to speak for itself, relegated to a ‘note’ on the bottom of the page; rather than being the focus of the study itself. It destabilizes the primacy of English in academia and publishing, providing space for readers to be confronted with different languages and ways of thinking that are embedded in the original language. By leaving the original text intact, including all emojis, slang and curse words, grammatical mistakes and nuances, I get closer to my goal of writing a text that speaks with sex workers in Brazil rather than for them.

All translations are my own and I am solely responsible for any mistranslations, misinterpretations, or misrepresentations that I may have made. For texts that were more complex or culturally nuanced, one of my committee members, who is fluent in Brazilian Portuguese, checked these translations at my request.

Chapter 4

Transactional Labor Conditions

This project is an examination of GPGuiaDelas, a Brazilian sex worker's Twitter feed. Through an in-depth textual analysis, it became clear that the majority of those who post on GPGuiaDelas are from the southern part of Brazil. Thus, this analysis is not representative of Brazil entirely, as geography plays an important part in racial and class identification in Brazil. However, because sex work is regulated at the federal level, and because technology cuts across geographic boundaries, an analysis of GPGuiaDelas offers important insights into the nexus of digital labor and discourses on sex work in Brazil. In Chapters 4, 5, and 6, I will present a critical analysis of the discourse about sex work among Brazilian sex workers and clients interacting on social media.

The discussion will center on three main orders of discourse articulated by sex workers and clients in interaction: the economic order of business transactions, the order of gender politics and relational communication, and the order of identity construction for purposes of marketing sex work. Within these orders, three thematic clusters were identified: transactional labor conditions, which focuses on the business aspect of sex work, i.e. what sex workers do, how they will do it, and for what cost; managing relational labor conditions, where sex workers do interpersonal communicative work to deal with losing time and/or energy to bad clients, and deal with the violence that comes from the stigma about their job; and constructing marketable identities where the use of memes and advertisements elucidates larger societal understandings of race and sexuality. In short, this chapter is about the business of sex work, the next chapter is about the way in which technology provides a space for contending with the relational aspects of the

business conversations, and the last chapter is about marketing sex work within a particular cultural setting. These thematic clusters, often overlapping, work together in order to explicate aspects of the politics of sex work under late-capitalism in Brazil, but each offers unique insights into different facets of labor and thus will be analyzed separately.

This chapter will focus on the thematic cluster of transactional labor conditions in Brazilian social media. Chapter 5 will address relational labor conditions, and in Chapter 6, I present discussion of how sex workers construct marketable identities on social media. Chapter 7 will discuss how these three themes work together to provide an elucidation of sex work and social media in Brazil, as well as an analysis of the ways in which theories on digital labor and feminist theories on sex work are both deepened by an analysis such as this one that brings the two theoretical fields together. Chapters 4, 5, and 6 seek to answer two main research questions: 1) what are the dominant themes in the discourse about sex work constructed through social media? and 2) what are the discursive practices of sex workers who use social media as a platform?

On the basis of a close reading of WhatsApp interactions between sex workers and clients and the use of GPGuiaDelas Twitter feed, this chapter analyzes the discourse on the thematic cluster labeled “transactional labor conditions” of sex work in Brazil. By “transactional labor conditions” I mean the labor required to communicate, negotiate, and otherwise deal with tensions regarding prices, practices, and values of sex work under late-capitalism. The transactional part focuses on the economic aspects of sex work mediated through social media. It is a transaction in the economic sense because the negotiations determine an exchange of services for a particular price.

An inductive analysis revealed the following sub-themes that make up the larger umbrella cluster of transactional labor conditions and help elucidate the ways in which sex workers and clients determine the economic exchange of services for money: 1) the negotiation between sex workers and clients on what types of services should be/are offered; 2) conceptualizing and politicizing sexual labor when clients request discounts on prices and/or attempt to negotiate lower prices and specific terms of engagement; and 3) conversations about respecting the rules, regulations, and terms of sex work in regards to time, prices, and services. The discussion will describe these sub-themes, explicate how they construct the larger thematic cluster of transactional labor conditions, and exhibit how they help us understand the ways in which social media are used.

In this chapter, I will argue that sex workers have to perform unpaid labor in order to negotiate services and prices with clients, and deal with incorrect assumptions about their labor. Social media provide a space in which to interact with and instruct clients on the economic aspect of their job. Additionally, social media provide an opportunity for sex workers to produce discourse in order to contend with their tenuous position in late-capitalism as both sex workers and digital laborers. Their unpaid labor in determining the economic exchange of services for a particular price is both part of a service-industry job and highlights the ways in which affective digital labor is required, yet unpaid, in the current iteration of technology and capitalism.

Negotiating Services Offered

The conversations between sex workers and potential clients on social media provide a sense of how each conceptualizes what it means to be a sex worker. This includes (a) communication on which sex acts will be (or should be) performed (or not)

in exchange for money, (b) ideologies surrounding condom use, and (c) how sex workers value their sexual labor practices, including where they place themselves on a hierarchy of sex work.

Determining Sex Acts

There is a wide range and no real consensus on what acts are acceptable and what acts are too extreme. For example, one sex worker states she is willing to do anal and vaginal sex, give and receive oral sex, in addition to kissing on the mouth (“*Anal, sexo vaginal, oral em mim e no cliente, sem preservativo se estiver bem higienizado e beijo na boca*”). In a different exchange, a client states that he is interested in booking a complete program for him and his wife (“*Estou interessado. Pra mim e pra minha esposa (...)* *programa completo*”). The worker responds, “I don’t have any issue with couples!! I love women, do oral sex, kiss on the mouth if your hygiene is good, it’s all okay. I don’t do anal” (“*Não tenho frescura com casal! Adoro mulher, faço oral, beijo na boca se a higiene estiver tudo ok! Não faço anal*”). While both of these women perform vaginal sex and kissing on the mouth, they differ when it comes to anal sex with the first saying that she is fine with it, and the second saying she does not perform it.

Anal sex appears to be a point of divide in the community and is asked about with some regularity. Generally, clients simply ask, “do you do anal”—“*Vz faz anal?*” Some sex workers use the rarity of it, and the cultural taboos surrounding it (Parker, 1985, 2009), to augment their prices. For example, when a client is verifying a price for anal sex, he asks, “[*blanked out amount*] *hora com anal,*” to which she responds that while she is willing to perform anal sex, there is a premium on pricing: “*Sim. (...) Geralmente eu cobro [blank] com anal.... Fiz por [blank]. Por menos é impossível.*”

Other types of acts that clients ask for range widely from wanting to trade nude photos and chat (“*Queria trocar nudes com você e conversar por audio*”), to trading sexts (sexual texts messages) (“*Vc faz por msg. Umas mensagens safadas*”), wanting oral sex to completion (“*Bom no oral vê que deixa finalizar, rolaria de vc engolir É possível*”), all the way to wanting love and a serious relationship. This last point elicits some interesting insights.

One client tells a sex worker that he wants to help her and asks her to trust in him and start something serious: “*Quero te ajudar (...) Confia em mim (...) Quero tentar algo sério com vc.*” Her replies: “This doesn’t exist with me (...) much less this” (“*Isso comigo não existe (...) muito menos isso*”), hint at how sex workers view their jobs: they do not need help, do not trust their inner selves to their clients (*isso comigo não existe*) and they do not consider engaging in long-term love affairs with them (*muito menos isso*). Similarly, when one client says he wants to marry her and live together, “*Vc mora comigo Quero casa,*” she replies, “Get someone on facebook or tinder (...) I’m an escort”—“*Procure no face, no tinder. (...) Eu so acompanhante,*”—telling him to go to other social media sites (Facebook and Tinder) to look for love because she is an escort and not someone looking for love: “*Vc pegou meu número em site de acompanhantes e Não de namoro.*”

We can see from these examples how communication about the exchange of money for sex acts is the basic economic transactional nature of laboring as a sex worker. Clients ask for a particular fetish or desire, try to find out the limits of what is acceptable to that particular escort, and sex workers set and augment prices. In other words, through negotiation sex workers and clients attempt to figure out the exchange-value of a job that

is both use-value and exchange-value wrapped together. As affective labor is required to (re)produce both use-value and exchange-value, sex workers attempt to be remunerated fairly for both (Hearn, 2010; Hochschild, 2012; Wissinger, 2007). This is not so different from other types of labor under a capitalist system, where wages are determined by their contribution to the exchange-value of the overall productive output (Davis, 2015; Fortunati, 2007; Shrage, 2016).

Ideologies About Condom Use

Very few of the posts on GPGuiaDelas' Twitter agreed to sex without a condom. Only one sex worker clearly stated that they would have sex without a condom: "Client: *Oral sem camisinha*. Sex Worker: *Sim*." More often, the agreement to perform sex acts without a condom is covered under the guise of being clean. Returning to the earlier example of acts they will perform, the sex worker says, "*oral em mim e no cliente, sem preservativo se estiver bem higienizado*." "*Bem higienizado*" is a loaded Brazilian Portuguese term that connotes particular hierarchies of class, race, health, and cleanliness, so this sex worker is saying that she will perform and receive oral sex without a condom, and if the client matches the upper class, white, health, and cleanliness requirements, everything is okay. In another instance, the text leaves some ambiguity as to what is allowed in regards to hygiene. When a sex worker types, "*Adoro mulher, faço oral, beijo na boca se a higiene estiver tudo ok!*," this can be read in two ways: that she will kiss on the mouth if the client(s) are clean, or that she will kiss on the mouth and as long as the client(s) are clean, anything is fine. Thus, while we cannot determine for which particular act the sex worker requires hygiene, she does mention it is necessary for the completion

of the sexual interaction. The requirement of using protection is more explicit in another example that differentiates between male and female condoms.

In response to a client who asks, “will you let me penetrate you without a condom” (“*vc deixaria eu penetrar vc sem camisinha*”), this sex worker states: “You don’t need to use a condom but I will. Normally when a client has a problem with a condom I use a female one. But I don’t do it without protection” (“*Vc pode não usar camisinha mas eu uso. Normalmente qndo o cliente tem algum problema com camisinha eu uso a feminina. Mas sem proteção eu não faço*”). She is willing to perform vaginal sex without a male condom, but is definitive that she does not engage in sex acts without some type of protection. The requirement of condoms appears strongly in the conversations between clients and sex workers and in the memes used on GPGuiaDelas.

In one fairly benign exchange, a client asks: “Sex only with a condom?” (“*Sexo só com preservativo?*”). The sex worker replies, “Of course, dear. What a dumb/brutish question” (“*Lógico né querido. Pergunta besta*”). In another example, a client is running late to his appointment and states he still needs to get the condom and pressures the sex worker by asking, “you won’t give up on the condom right?” (“*Não vai desisti por causa da camisinha ne?*”). The sex worker responds with a simple “no” (“*Não*”).

Things get quite a bit more emphatic in other examples. Disgusted with a client’s suggestion of sex without a condom (“*Pode fazer sem camisinha*”), a sex worker chastises him by texting “you must be sick” (“*Deve tá cheio de doença*”). The set up on this post by GPGuiaDelas also underscores the distaste for the client and the question: “This client is jamming up my WhatsApp, and then went on Twitter wanting it without a condom” (“*Enche o saco pelo WhatsApp, depois vem no twitter querendo sem*

camisinha”). By specifically setting up the post to focus on both losing time to someone jamming up their WhatsApp (*enche o saco pelo WhatsApp*) and on asking about condom use, the sex worker highlights the deep importance of health and safety.

Another post and the subsequent comments put safety and condom use in perspective. Babi Figueiredo BBW GP posts a photo of a client and his WhatsApp number with the following set up:

Ladies, be careful. This guy made an appointment and after a bit started in on not using a condom. He gets offended and starts threatening when you refuse, saying he’s going to denounce you and has a lawyer, etc. You can’t be too careful.

Meninas cuidado, esse cara marco o programa, depois de um tempo vem com papo de sem camisinha, fica ofendido e começa a ameaçar quando você recusa, dizendo que vai te denunciar e que tem advogado e etc. Tudo cuidado é pouco.

The comment section supports Babi’s post. Manuelagordinhagp states: “This is a joke, right? He’s going to denounce someone for refusing to have sex without a condom?”

(“*isso é piada né? Denunciar alguém por que se recusa a fazer sexo sem camisinha?*”).

Putaria mil grau agrees by commenting, “He’s going to denounce you for what? You’re working and it is your right not to have sex without a condom, dumbass” (“*Vai denunciar oq ? Vc ta trabalhando e e um direito seu n qrer fazer sem camisinha, cara babaca!*”).

Alice Mota chimes in with, “Ai. Denounce what? Is he an asshole or pretending?

Hahahaha” (“*Ué. Denunciar o que? Ele é trouxa ou se finge? Kkkkkkk*”). These users,

the first stating it must be a joke (*isso é piada, ne*) to denounce someone for not using a condom, and the third asking what exactly it is he going to denounce (*denunciar o que*), argue that it is a sex worker’s right (*e um direito seu*) to refuse sex without protection.

Thus, we see from the data that the power to give or withhold consent for access to one's bodily labor is extremely important to sex workers. Consent is constantly being (re)negotiated in this marketplace exchange; it is an ongoing and complex process of determining value for particular acts and amounts of time. Sex workers describe boundaries beyond which they do not venture and consider it a violation if those boundaries are crossed. This praxis is in stark contrast to the radical feminist notion that prostitutes will accept everything the client wants once the client pays: the stereotype of the prostitute who "sells her body" (da Silva & Blanchette, 2017). In contrast, sex workers here utilize a blend of liberal feminist ideology (a contract agreement is necessary for laboring in late-capitalism) and Marxist feminist ideology (sex work is about renting time, emotions, and acts, not necessarily something inherent), to speak directly against the radical feminist argument that their labor denigrates and alienates them. Moreover, by controlling the type of acts performed and amount of time rented, sex workers are able to assert the limitations of their working selves within given parameters of late-capitalism (Shrage, 2016; Weeks, 2011; Zatz, 1999).

Interestingly, one post by a non-sex worker about a potential pregnancy helps elucidate the contentions surrounding condom use and the ways in which gendered notions of responsibility get codified through discourse. GPGuiaDelas posts the following request from a non-sex worker:

Ladies, I'm sorry I haven't been posting much lately but I'm back, I met a guy a few days ago and we got together on Monday, had sex without a condom and he came inside me. [open teeth smiling face emoji] I'm not on any type of birth control, on Tuesday I got the morning after pill but I didn't take it. [see no evil

monkey covering eyes emoji] Yesterday my period came [closed eyes but content emoji] but I didn't take the pill, I'm a bit scared [hands to cheeks mouth open emoji] (my cycle started after the 20th), I want to know the likelihood of me being pregnant. Help-me [worried face emoji] —I'm worried.

Meninas olá, estou um pouco sumida mas enfim...Conheci um cara há alguns dias [smiling face emoji] resolvemos nos encontrar, segunda-feira, blz, transamos sem preservativo e ele gozou dentro [open teeth smiling face emoji] não tomo nenhum tipo de anticoncepcional, no dia seguinte (terça-feira) fiquei de tomar a pílula do dia seguinte mas não tomei [see no evil monkey covering eyes emoji] na quarta (ontem) minha menstruação desceu [closed eyes but content emoji] não tomei a pílula, estou um pouco assustada [hands to cheeks mouth open emoji] (fico menstruada depois do dia 20) gostaria de saber qual a probabilidade que eu tenho de engravidar! Help-me! – [worried face emoji] sentindo-se preocupada.

The comments on this post do not provide this user the comfort she is seeking, but instead speak to the debates surrounding condom use in both sex workers and women in general (“mulheres comuns”). Neofito09 states, “Sincerely, I do not know what to think of this girl...” (“Sinceramente, não sei o que pensar dessa menina...”) and Fubango chimes in, “but it’s crazy to do that!” (“Mas aí é só louca fazendo isso!”). The “a” on the end of “louca” and the feminized “dessa menina” means that Neofit09 and Fubango are stating *she* is crazy and they cannot understand what is going on in her head, normalizing the discourse that women are responsible for birth control and their bodies hold particular importance because of their reproductive biological capacity and therefore should be

protected (Aidoo, 2018; Benería & Sen, 1981; Chacham, Diniz, Maia, Galati & Mirim, 2007). A Pequena Sereia catches this and rhetorically asks Fubango, “and the guy, he’s not crazy? –*“E o cara não é louco?”* Fubango realizes their slip and replies, “very!!! They both are” (*“Muito!!! Os dois são”*), but Neofito09 is not disciplined.

Pequena Sereia also posts a reply blaming pornography for incorrectly teaching girls and boys about sex. She states that pornography teaches a flawed view of sex that does not offer pleasure to women (*“q não dá prazer a mulher”*) and thus she is incentivized to not use a condom (*“ela incentive o não uso da camisinha”*). The link between not giving pleasure to women and using a condom is not clarified. She continues by stating that it (pornography) is sexist for placing responsibility on the woman (*“colocar a culpa em uma mulher é machismo”*) but that boys want to recreate what they see (*“pois eles querem reproduzir o q assistem”*). Thus, instead of offering advice and help for this user, the comments frame them both as crazy, susceptible to heterosexist pornography, and unable to protect themselves. This reifies a simplistic understanding of the complex landscape of pornography, sexual responsibility, and negotiation (Miller-Young, 2010; Spector, 2006). Yet, the comments also tie this to sex work, even though the person asking for advice is not a sex worker.

In two posts, A Pequena Sereia and Lua Bittencourt comment that sex workers turn tricks without condoms (*“GP também transa sem preservativo”*) and that many clients ask for it (*“tantos pedem”*). The handles of both these users and their avatar photos make it clear that they are sex workers. A Pequena Sereia’s handle is @DemiBGP and Lua Bittencourt’s is @gpluabittencour with two “not 18” symbols bookending her user name signaling that her page is not appropriate for those under 18. Moreover, Lua

tags another sex worker in her reply by opening it with @gp_bianchini, a user who has not commented and is not involved in the conversation. @ing someone on Twitter is a main way to link conversations from personal life, or other online conversations, to the present conversation. Thus, when Lua writes @gp_bianchini, she is bringing multiple conversational threads together through commenting on GPGuiaDelas, which serves to create a network by simply and efficiently cutting through the messy nature of Twitter (Boyd, Golder, Lotan, 2010). Being able to @ a user, allows Lua to perform and link their politics across Twitter feeds, asserting not only business but also identity, political, and community building purposes (Brock, 2010; Carew, 2014; Java, Song, Finn, & Tseng, 2007). The set-up of this post also ties sex workers to non-sex workers by stating that clients are motivated to not use condoms in sex work because women who are not sex workers (“*mulheres comuns*”) are “giving it up” without condoms (“*está aí o motivo dos clientes quererem transar sem preservativo. As mulheres comuns estão dando sem*”). The setup of the posts appears to blame non-sex workers for the clients even thinking to ask about having sex without a condom, which is framed as a massive disrespect by one user in another post.

GPGuiaDelas posts the following screenshot conversation between a client and a sex worker. It opens the post with the phrase “*Cara babaca*” (“What an idiot/dumbass”). After this client asks if they can have sex without a condom, the sex worker retaliates by saying that what the client is going to get for such a question is his phone number on Twitter in order to learn to respect the rules of sex workers (“*o que vou por sem camisinha é seu telephone no twitter*”). She continues by rhetorically asking who knows someone who looks for sex without a condom (“*quem sabe alguém te procura para sex*

sem camisinha”)? Yet, it is clear from the aforementioned post and others that sex without a condom does in fact happen with women who are not sex workers (*mulheres comuns*) and with sex workers (*garotas de programa*).

GPGuiaDelas makes a stance on condom use obvious in the way they set up some of the posts that are related to condoms by calling people names (“what an idiot/dumbass,” “look at this ridiculous guy”—“*cara babaca*,” “*Olhem esse cara que ridículo*”) or bringing attention to condoms up front (“regular women are doing it too,” “This is Rógerio, he asked to roll without a condom,” “he started in on not using a condom and started to bother me when I refused”—“*As mulheres comuns estão dando sem*,” “*Este é Rogério, pede pra transar sem camisinha*,” “*vem com papo de sem camisinha e começa a ameaçar quando você recusa*”). GPGuiaDelas posts the following meme (Figure 1) to assert their stance on condoms.



Figure 1.

Featuring Pepe the Frog, this meme states “Yes you must use a condom dearie. My health is not for sale!” The text links condom use to how sex workers conceptualize what it is they actually sell, and makes a point to state that it is not their health. Pepe’s simple smile,

with a condom covering his mouth, displays the primacy of condoms for any sex act, including oral sex. Thus, while there is variation on what acts sex workers will perform, there is an overwhelming agreement that condoms (or some version of cleanliness) are a must and that while *acts* may be for sell, *health* is not. This is increasingly important when we consider that sex workers in Brazil have historically held a pro-condom position, even helping the nation to combat a potential AIDS crises in the 1980s by vocally advocating the use of condoms not only in sex work, but in all sexual relationships (Chacham et al., 2007; Kerrigan, Telles, Torres, Overs, & Castle, 2008; Lippman et al., 2012; Telles Dias, Souto, & Page-Shafer, 2006). For the majority of sex workers in Brazil acts, and not health nor their inherent self, is the commodity. This comes up more clearly in posts that specifically have to do with how sex workers discuss their labor.

Conceptualizing and Politicizing Sexual Labor

Sex workers on the GPGuiaDelas Twitter feed discuss their work in terms of an exchange of services and time for money. While seemingly commonsense that sex workers must be fairly remunerated for their services, it is clear on GPGuiaDelas that sex workers spend quite a bit of their time and energy (i.e. expend unpaid labor) explaining what their job is and that it is, in fact, a job. While navigating sex acts and monetary exchanges, sex workers must also consistently advocate for an understanding of their labor as labor and not something for free. This comes from intertwined ideologies that assume women's bodies are freely available for the taking, that sex workers are willing to perform sexual labor without being fairly paid, and that sex workers are sexual deviants who enjoy having sex with anyone without getting paid (Shrage, 2016; Spector, 2005; Zatz, 1991). These ideologies and the tensions they create are evidenced in how clients

and sex workers navigate possible services, and how sex workers discursively establish a hierarchy of sex work.

Navigating Possible Services

When one client asks for nude photos (“*Quer q mando um? Nuds?*”), the reply of the sex worker sums up her views on labor: women [sex workers in this case] like money (“*Mulher gosta de dinheiro*”). Another sex worker simply states that a client is renting her time in addition to her services (“*Eu trabalho com tempo. Você aluga meu tempo. Junto dos meus serviços*”). Yet another worker responds with a simple “yes” when a client asks if she only has sex for money (“*so fazer sexo por dinheiro e?*”). This conversation continues:

C: If you eat with me and go to a party, would I also have to pay for this?

SW: I don’t accompany like this, but if I did, yes you would pay the regular amount. GPs only go out for money. Really what interests me is money.

C: *jantar com migo e ir pra uma festa, eu tbm teria que pagar por isso?*

SW: *Não acompanho assim, mas caso acompanhasse teria sim. Pagaria o valor da hora normal. (...) GP so sai por dinheiro. (...) Realmente o que me interessa é dinheiro.*

In this last exchange, the sex worker is clear to state that she is not interested in going out on a normal date (dinner and a party), and because she is only interested in money, if she were to go to a dinner and a party, the price would be regular. This indicates that her job is to make money and her time is how she does so.

The practice of renting time and services, and not necessarily sex, comes up in another conversation when a client asks a sex worker about the different things that he

could do with their time, centering on napping. Her responses to his various questions about whether it would be okay to nap are illuminating. She tells him that he can sleep if he wants and that within the time he has rented he can decide: “*Pode dormir se quiser, dentro do tempo acordado, vc decide! Hahahaha*” She goes on to answer another question about sleeping by saying that he can pay for time and use it to sleep without problems (“*pode pagar pelo tempo comigo e ficar lá dormindo, sem problema*”). She ends the barrage of questions by reassuring the client that within the time he rented, all is good (“*dentro do periodo acordado, tudo certo!*”). Importantly, at no time in this exchange or any other did sex workers say they were selling their bodies, their emotions, or something key to themselves, rather, that they were selling time and services and expected clients to pay for them. This aligns their understanding of their labor with perspectives that articulate the particular subject position of workers under late-capitalism is one of performative affect and time. The economic aspect of laboring under late-capitalism is explicated here as an affective performative service, that requires affective and physical labor, in addition to time (Fortunati, 2007; Fortunati & Fleming, 1985; Weeks, 2011).

In another post that establishes a sex worker’s concept of sexual labor, a sex worker states, “My love, I enjoy/orgasm when a client pays the fair amount that I am worth” (“*Meu amor eu gozo quando o cliente paga o valor que é justo do meu cache*”). In this instance, the verb *gozar* (“gozo”) means to enjoy oneself or to orgasm. The sex worker is playing around with the word orgasm, taking it out of the normal connotations to, instead, assert that when a client pays the fair amount that she is worth, she orgasms. This links sexual pleasure directly to monetary value and not to sexual value. It also may

hint that an orgasm from clients is linked to the money that they pay and not to sexual stimulation, highlighting that financial gain relies upon and is linked to economic transactions with others (Weeks, 2011).

The reference to the exchange of money is present in the comments to another post where a client asks a sex worker for free photos at 2:20 a.m. The sex worker, Agata Sub, replies that she would provide the client with an agreed service and in exchange he would give her money. This post ends with a laugh (*“Claro! Eu te atendo e vc me dá dinheiro em troca ahushaushaus”*). By punctuating her straightforward characterization of her job with a lighthearted laugh, Agata Sub signals the simplicity of the transaction: services for money. Likewise, Camila Bonnie posts a meme of Tom Cruise from the 1996 movie *Jerry Maguire* yelling into a telephone “Show me the money!” to make her case that GPs exchange services for money. Camila Bonnie’s posting of the infamous scene in *Jerry Maguire*, where Tom Cruise plays a sports agent trying to get the most money possible, furthers this lightheartedness, and the intertextual reference underlines the ways in which transnational media discourses become part of everyday interactions and language use.

Discursively Establishing Hierarchies of Sex Work

In addition to the monetary value of their work, sex workers on GPGuiaDelas punctuate that their services are of a particular level and respect for their job is required. For example, in a fairly long conversation between client and sex worker, the client is trying different ways to get her to have oral sex without a condom and to offer a discount on her price. What is important to her is that clients appreciate the quality of service and pay a fair price. To close the exchange, she characterizes her work as one of quality and

safety: “it’s what I do and how I do it” (“*Me importo com quem está disposto a ter um serviço de qualidade e pagar um preço justo.... Meu anjo eu trabalho com qualidade de serviço e segurança. Se o que faço e como faço*”).

Another sex worker even more emphatically explicates safety and quality of service as a main part of conceptualizing her work when a client asks why she will not turn tricks in cars (“*Pq não transa no carro?*”). She replies:

In the first place, your car is risky. Second, it doesn’t have even the slightest bit of comfort, nor somewhere to bathe. I am not a lunchbox that you can eat in any place you want. It’s a program. Reserve a motel with a hot tub because I deserve it.

Primeiro lugar seu carro é um lugar de risco. Segundo que não tem o mínimo de conforto, nem onde tomar banho. Não sou uma marmitex que você come em qualquer lugar. Se programe. Reserve um motel com hidro porque eu mereço.

This sex worker distinguishes both herself and the quality of services from something banal and quotidian like eating lunch in your car. By doing so, she demands that she be financially remunerated for her service and taken care of in a hygienic and safe place with access to a hot tub. This also distinguishes her from a street sex worker who may perform tricks in cars. In fact, she elevates her status through a disassociation with places that are dangerous (*lugar de risco*), uncomfortable (*não tem o mínimo de conforto*), and unhygienic (*nem onde tomar banho*).

The elevation of escorting above those who work the streets is also evidenced in a conversation where a client begins by asking for photos of the sex worker’s face to ensure that she is not transgender (“*N trans n né? ND contra. Mais e foda ... Manda uma*

foto do rosto por favor”). The client’s clear distaste for sex with a transgender person, “nothing against it, but it’s fucked,” suggests a hierarchy of sex work. The client assumes—or pretends to in order to get free photos—that the sex worker must be transgender if she is unwilling to show her face. He then quickly links this assumption to the meeting location in Benefica, which is close to Quinta da Boa Vista, a park in Rio de Janeiro near the recently destroyed National Museum. This park is known for transgender street sex workers because trans sex workers are not allowed to work in the sanctioned red light district of Vila Mimosa (“*Pow deixa pra la. Essas da quinta da boa vista me desanima*”). Thus, he questions whether she is a trans street sex worker, something he thinks is “fucked” and not interested in (*Mais e foda*). The sex worker’s reply reinforces the hierarchy of sex work and heteronormative gender identities. Her initial confusion at the request of the client, “I’m a woman...I don’t expose my face.... What are you talking about” (“*Sou mulher... Eu não exponho meu rosto... Do que vc está falando*”) gives way to a deeper explanation and potential angst at being targeted as both transgender and a street sex worker (“*Não sou de quinta de boa vista. (...) Eu não sou puta de quinta nem faço ponto na rua*”). *Put*a (literally translated as whore) has different connotations depending on who is saying it and in what context. In this case, the fact that one sex worker is saying it specifically as she distances and disavows herself from a particularly dangerous and “dirty” type of sex work (street sex workers), means it has a rather negative connotation. She is emphatically **not** a whore from Quinta, **not** trans, and **not** a street sex worker. She goes on to say that she is married and in her house (“*Eu estou na minha casa. Sou casada*”) to further distinguish herself from someone who has to work

the streets and who is trans, though being transgender does not exclude you from being married in Brazil.

These two conversations highlight the hierarchy of sex work: there are escorts who schedule programs in clean and comfortable places because they deserve it, and there are those who work the streets, the everyday “lunch” type of sex worker, who are also automatically marked as non cis-gender. The distinctions between types of sex work are clearly laid out in the following statement as part of a conversation (Figure 2):

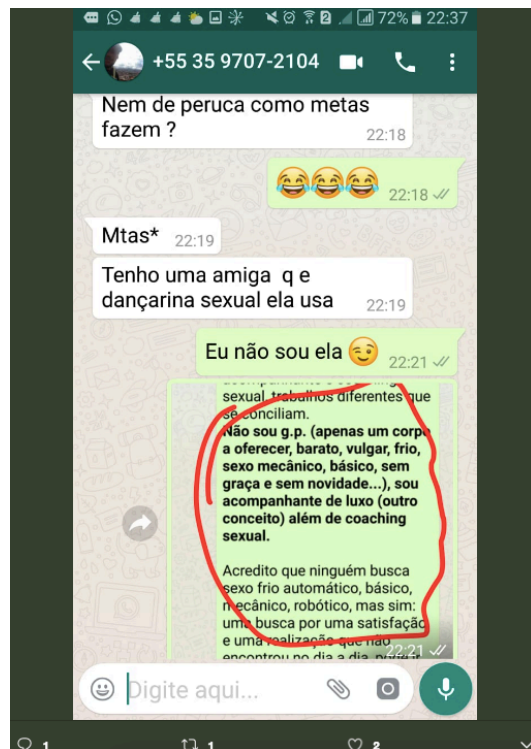


Figure 2.

There are different types of sexual work to reconcile. I am not a sex worker (just a body to offer, cheap, vulgar, cold, basic mechanical sex without grace or novelty), I am a luxury escort (which is another concept) in addition to a sexual coach. I believe people don't look for cold, basic,

mechanical, robotic sex, but rather: they search for satisfaction and something that they cannot find day to day.

By establishing these dichotomies between cold, mechanical, basic sex, and her ability to provide satisfaction outside of the daily norm, this sex worker discursively places herself above types of sex work that may make a less desirable experience. Moreover, she makes an assumption that while people may not specifically look for that type of paid sex, that is what they are getting by going with a sex worker (“g.p” –*garota de programa*) instead of a luxury escort (“*acompanhante de luxo*”), which she specifically states is different (“*outro conceito*”). Unfortunately, these discursive practices are embedded in and recreate a hierarchy of sex work that is largely based on class, race, and gender identity. While there is a broad spectrum of racial identities that do sex work in Brazil, being a luxury escort is reserved largely for those who are cis, white, and not poor. The history of class-gender-race in Brazil has created a system in which middle and upper class women are valued more for their abilities to perform a “girlfriend experience,” that is, something that is not “cold, basic, mechanical, [or] robotic” than those who are mixed-race or Afro-Brazilian, whose perceived hypersexuality prevents them from easily performing the role of “luxury escort.” There is an explanation here that those who are able to offer sexual coaching and “satisfaction [you] cannot find day to day,” are inherently different and better than those who are unable to do so. Thus, the discourse stratifies sex workers under a class-race-gender hierarchy where some are perceived as better workers, meaning they can do more meaningful types of labor and should therefore be paid accordingly.

In these discursive interactions, we also see how sex workers in GPGuiaDelas describe their job as an exchange of money for a service performed during a set time. At no time in the interaction is there a reference or assumption among sex workers about selling something inherent to themselves; rather, it is clearly stated that they sell a service and rent out their time. Additionally, both clients and sex workers seem to be aware of hierarchies of sex work in Brazil: distinctions are made between street sex workers and escorts, cis-gender and trans sex workers, and performing job skills in safe and clean locations that highlight the ways in which the sex industry is subject to the same class stratification as other sectors and larger racial projects (Burbulhan, Guimarães, & Alves de Toledo Bruns, 2012; Carter & Giobbe, 2006; Nelson, 1993). All of these require negotiation strategies on the part of clients and the sex worker, which is the topic of the next section.

Negotiating the Terms of Agreement

This thematic cluster centers on transactional labor, i.e. how much money gets exchanged for which type of sexual services and what the rules, regulations, and terms of agreement are. While the first sub-theme centered on the negotiation of particular acts as part of the labor practices of sex workers, and the second highlighted how sex work is conceptualized by both client and provider, this third sub-theme focuses on the ways in which clients beg for discounts and attempt to negotiate prices, and how GPGuiaDelas uses memes to instruct or complain about price negotiation.

Begging for Discounts and Attempts at Negotiation

A main thread of conversation running throughout the GPGuia's Twitter feed relates to clients asking sex workers for discounts on services. This is different than just

determining the price for a particular service as was evidenced in the previous section. These are specific negotiations for getting the same acts for less money than the sex worker's stated price. For example, this client first attempts to get a photo of the sex worker's face, which she does not send because she is a sex worker. This is very common because most of the sex workers do not show their face on media or send photos that in any way can be used against them. This speaks not only to safety, but also to their tenuous positions as sex workers under the Brazilian law, which codifies sex work as an acceptable individual labor practice, but still criminalizes profiting off of sexual labor (i.e. pimping). In practice though, legality does not equal support and the police, location, race, and class of the sex worker all have a large say in who gets persecuted for paid sexual activity, regardless of the law (Simões & Blanchette, 2014). The client then starts with the negotiations (Figure 3):

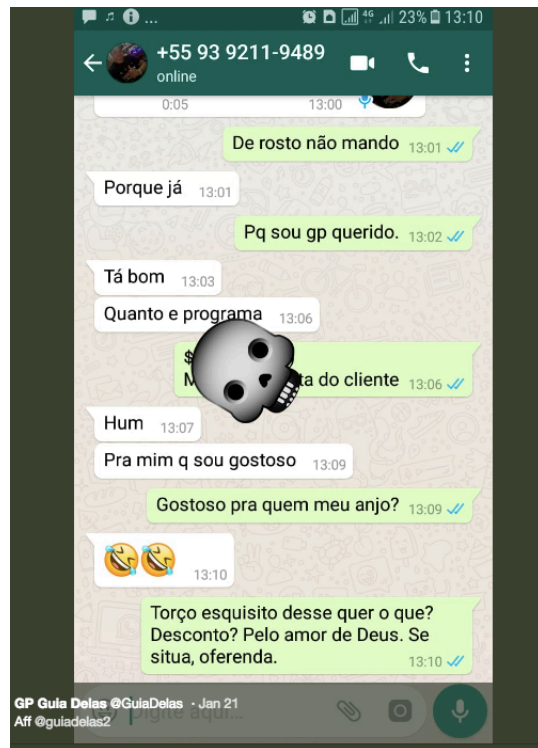


Figure 3.

C: How much is a program? [sex worker lists a price that is blocked out]. Hum.

What about for me, since I'm delicious.

SW: Delicious for whom, my angel?

C: [sends emojis]

SW: What does that mean? A discount? For the love of god.

This exchange evidences two parts of this sub-theme: an attempt to get something for free (a photo), and how clients try to sell their own sexuality as reason for discount.

When clients try to get something for free, most often it is a photo. In this next exchange, the client initially says that they will pay for a nude photo ("*eu pago. Mostra sua foto. Posso ver foto sua nua*"). The sex worker ensures that he is willing to pay by asking if he wants her pricing ("*Quer minha conta?*"). When he responds that he does not intend on paying, she sends him a link to her web site where there are photos for free and where he initially got her contact information:

C: Oi. Boa noite. Eu pago. Mostra sua foto. Posso ver foto sua nua.

SW: Vai pagar pela foto? Quer minha conta?

C: Não né.

SW: Então vc acessa e olha aí.

This example highlights a fairly common trend in the interactions analyzed: asking for free photos after having already exhausted the multitude of free photos posted on the sex worker's web site. It is typical for sex workers to respond by redirecting the clients to their web sites and/or reminding them that they do not work for free. Replies such as, "I don't send anything without first receiving payment," "you'll pay for more photos, and I'll send them," and "I don't send videos without payment first" ("*não mando nada antes*

de receber [pagamento],” “*mais fotos vc paga que envio,*” “*não envio o video sem o pagamento*”) are indicative of this larger trend. The other trend shown in this excerpt is one where clients try to use their own sexuality to reduce the charge.

In the following example, although the use of the Portuguese language is rough at best—a fact pointed out by users in the comments to this post—the gist of the message is that this client thinks the sex worker’s price is too high because he has paid 500 for a week and made another sex worker orgasm multiple times; he claims that she still calls him to this day:

Ñ é perca de tempo princesa amei ficar com mulheres igual a você e gostri tanto que garanti 500 por semana a ela de 100 em 100 e agradei ela na cama a fis gozar varias vezes e ela até hoje me liga.

This client is arguing that his sexual prowess, in addition to his previous transactions, should provide him a decreased rate. The sex worker is not buying it and replies: “for 100 per hour I enjoy/orgasm in my house for free” (“*Por 100 a hora eu gozo de graça na minha casa*”), poking fun at his devaluing of her labor and at his overblown sense of sexual self.

In a similar instance, a client tells a sex worker that he looks like Brad Pitt and spends the conversation trying to get her to agree to his proposed price:

C: Topa 100 p 1h e 30.

SW: Não coloque preço no serviço dos outros.

C: Desculpa. Soh fiz uma contraproposta. Naum precisa fica brava não gata.

SW: O. ok.

C: Ah ok acho q vc já criou bronca Cmg nem vira mais.

SW: Blz. C: tear face emoji. SW: Vc que sabe.

C: Aceita minha proposta a vou aí agora (sends photo of his face).

SW: Não! 100\$ 1h 30 Se situa cara.

C: [Praying hands emoji] Ah por favor.

SW: Vc tá longe de ser o Brad Pitt Se fosse. Crying laughing emoji.

This user attempts two strategies with the sex worker. First, he proposes a price rather than asking her for the price (“*Topa 100 p 1h e 30*”), which is not the norm among sex workers—you do not choose the price for other’s services (“*Não coloque preço no service dos outros*”). Once this does not work, he plays dumb by saying it was just a counterproposal (“*Desculpa. Soh fiz uma contraproposta*”) and tells her not to get upset (“*Naum precisa fica brava*”). His second tactic is to attempt to use his own sexuality in order to get her to decrease her price to match his proposal by saying that if she accepts it now he is on his way (“*Aceita minha proposta a vou aí agora*”). He intertextually links this to a photo of himself, to which the sex worker replies that he is far away from Brad Pitt (“*Vc tá longe de ser o Brad Pitt*”). The use of the crying laughing emoji indicates her disbelief at both his attempt to set the price of the encounter and his ridiculous assertion that she should accept this price because he looks like Brad Pitt. She also uses the phrase, “*se fosse*” or, “as if,” to emphasize the extreme disconnect between what he looks like and how he markets himself. The set up of the post also indicates her incredulity at this exchange: “Look, what am I supposed to do with this” (“*Vê se eu posso com isso*”) a sarcastic rhetorical question indicating the absurd nature of the exchange. More than a ridiculous annoyance though, this conversation speaks to larger societal ideologies of both masculinity and sex work: one, that any woman would be willing to have sex with

someone as long as they looked like Brad Pitt—an icon known for his good looks and sexuality—and two, that sex workers are in fact not working for money, but rather are women wanting to engage sexually with anyone for a price the client sets as long as they look good. Furthermore, his response to her disbelief that he claims he looked akin to Brad Pitt shows a shift in his tactic from looking nice to being nice, which again reasserts particular patriarchal values that women want to have sex with men who either look nice, or need them (Anderson, 2002; Pateman, 1988; Shrage, 2016; Zatz, 1997). To his claim “I’m needy. I want to spoon” (“*To carente. Kero ficar de conchinha*”) on the screenshot of this WhatsApp conversation, the sex worker circles those messages and inserts a large, v-eyed laughing emoji to further indicate just how ludicrous these negotiations are.

Another conversation highlights the “needy” nature of some clients and the annoyance this causes for sex workers. In this instance, the client uses a tactic similar to the one above, where he highlights his own sexuality, but instead of sexuality he bases it on cleanliness: “*Oi Sou limpinho, 20 minutos comigo a mais de 100 é caro.*” Here, he claims that because he is clean, 20 minutes with him for more than 100 is expensive, assuming that she is the one paying his for sexual services, not the other way around. This plays into the tropes mentioned above, that women (and in this case sex workers) are going to jump on the chance to be with someone simply because he is a man, sexy, or clean. The sex worker again responds with sarcasm: “how nice for you that you’re clean, dear. Congratulations”—“*Que ótimo que você é limpinho, querido. Parabéns.*” This sarcastic retort, indicating that being clean is not really an exception, sets up the rest of her response that switches to scolding. By stating that she values her job and will not accept any man who devalues it by crying for discounts, she makes it clear it is her

services he is renting, and she is the one in charge of the transaction. She also emasculates him by saying he is “crying for discounts” (*“Não estou aqui pra fazer descontos. Valorizo o meu trabalho e não aceito homem nenhum o desvalorizar chorando desconto”*).

The use of sarcasm by sex workers is also illustrated in a post set-up with the sunglasses face emoji, which is used to express a feeling of being cool or impressive. The screenshot of the WhatsApp conversation starts with the sex worker telling this client to go look at a pornography web site if he wants to masturbate (*“Quer bater punheta, vai pro xvideos, lindo”*). He takes a photo of some money and sends it along with this caption, “I’m a businessman, baby”—*“sou empresário BB.”* The sex worker, drawing out the word “*Nossa,*” which means damn or wow, replies: “woooooooooow—All this? You’re rich”—*“Nooooooooossa. Tudo isso? Tá ryco.”* Her drawn out wow and comment that he is rich becomes all the more sarcastic when we realize that the photo of the money adds up to \$200 Reais, or about \$51 USD. Given what we have seen in terms of pricing in the data, \$51 would probably not provide much (if any) escort service. The sex worker confirms this later in her response: “save your money so you can buy wet wipes to clean your dick after jerking off”—*“Guarda pra vc comprar lenço umedecido pra limpar a gala depois da punheta.”* What he claimed was an impressive amount of money turns out to be about as impressive to the sex worker as enough money to buy a package of baby wipes. The comments added by two commentators confirm the sheer absurdity of the exchange. Andressa Moraes GP states she is dying: *“Morta with 5 laughing crying sideways face emojis.”* By laughing loudly, this commentator reinforces the idea that the client has either not a clue about pricing, and/or an overblown sense of self, and

expresses appreciation for the sex worker's quick-witted response. Likewise, Alícia Massagem simply replies with four laughing crying face emojis, and Taimen closes out the comments by offering a hearty laugh and saying “good night, thanks!!!” hinting that this was an excellent way to close out the evening (*huahuahuahuahua!!!! Hihihiiii boa noite, obrigado!!!*).

There are a few other, though less common, ways in which clients ask for discounts aside from attempting to set the price themselves, or offering up (or trading) their own sexuality. These include using loyalty as a threat in order to get a discounted price (“*Vc quer me fidelizar? Então fecha nos 200*”); claiming that the sex worker is charging far too much in comparison to her level of beauty (“*Eu nunca pagaria 800/hr hahaha ta maluco. Nem se fosse uma panicat*”¹²); pretending they had seen an incorrect price, therefore asking for less (“*Achei que tinha visto 200. Foi mal*”); simply asking what is the cheapest option offered by the sex worker (“*eu queria saber quanto é a hora qual é o menor preço que você faz*”); or asking if the worker provides financing (“*sim vc faz financiamento*”). These tactics rely on normative aspects of sales in capitalism –i.e. loyalty, comparing price to value, shopping around for the lowest price, and credit financing as a way to pay for goods and services. Therefore, sex workers, who are careful to state that they are laboring in a particular job that requires their emotional, digital, and physical labor, are subjected to the same price negotiation strategies that people use when purchasing commodities. This demonstrates a slippage between their labor and time

¹² A *panicat* is a woman on a popular Brazilian TV show that acts as both a prop and a sexual symbol, similar to the briefcase girls on *Deal or no Deal*, or Vanna White on *Wheel of Fortune*.

being commodified (in their eyes), and their bodies being commodified in the eyes of the client (comments about beauty, assumptions that sex workers want to have sex with handsome and/or needy men). One way in which sex workers contend with this slippage is by instructing clients to value the price set out by a sex worker or a camgirl through the use of memes posted to the site.

Instructing and Complaining Through Memes

Discontent at clients asking for discounts, complaining about pricing, or thinking that all sex workers charge the same amount, is evidenced on GPGuiaDelas Twitter through the use of memes. In particular, three memes stand out.

Contrary to earlier posts that showed a hierarchy in sex work, this first meme speaks in solidarity with camgirls, another type of sex worker. Camgirls live stream and/or post sexual photos and videos of themselves for a fee. The photos are usually nude and while the videos can be pornographic, they are generally considered “soft-core” and appeal to a broad audience.

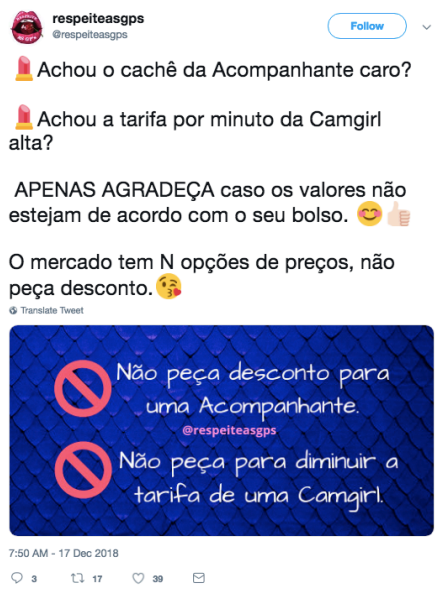


Figure 4.

The set up to this post (Figure 4) states: “Think the price for an escort is too expensive? Think the pay-per-minute rate of a Camgirl is too high? Just give thanks if the price doesn’t fit your budget. The market has N options of prices, don’t ask for a discount.” The meme expresses basically the same idea: “Don’t ask an escort for a discount. Don’t ask a Camgirl to reduce her fee.” This meme is posted not by GPGuiaDelas, but by *respeiteasgps* to the GPGuia Twitter feed. Their name, in addition to the meme, help users of the site be aware that asking for discounts on any sexual service is disrespectful and violates the rules of engagement. This meme serves an instructional purpose to teach potential clients, and to scold current ones, about the dos and don’ts of sex work. By declaring that the market has “N options for payment,” the meme illustrates that there is an unlimited number of sex workers of different types and different price points. The comments support the meme. *BHModels* gives a thumbs up, and user *jose roberto moreira* states, “it’s true, just look for another, there are ones for all budgets” (“*É verdadeira é só procurar outra tem pra todos os bolsos*”).

This meme is well designed for instruction: short, simple phrases, in larger font than is used in the surrounding posts, clear white space to make it visually pleasing and easy to see, in addition to the display of the information that there are plenty of options on the market. It is not sarcastic or annoying, and it makes its point obvious via repetition in both the set up and the actual meme. The intended audience for this meme is clearly not other sex workers but, rather, clients and serves a social-control function via its instructional nature, common to traditional blogging, and I argue, microblogging (Miller & Shepherd, 2004). This is in contrast to the next two memes, which are targeted more towards sex workers consuming the GPGuia’s Twitter feed.

This meme (Figure 5) features a famous U.S. child actor, Miko Hughes. Miko was popular as the sarcastic eye-rolling friend and antagonist to the Olsen twin's character, Michelle, on the TV sitcom *Full House*. Using his character's fame for sarcasm, this meme is first in Italian and then, below, in Portuguese. It says, "You're expensive and won't waste your time with me. It's just a photo, but is there a discount?" In contrast to the previous meme, this one is barely set up ("*Aff disconti*"), and set up in Italian at that. The font is small and on smaller devices the meme would need to be clicked on in order to see the Portuguese text at the bottom. The clip is of Miko's character eye rolling and mocking another character, something he did a lot of in the show. His eye rolling, petulant facial expression, and seeming disgust tell us that this meme is posted for the purpose of complaining about the ways in which clients try to get photos for free.



Figure 5.

What is key in this meme is the last line, “*Só uma foto, mas fez desconto?*” It’s *just* a photo, meaning it is something small, rather benign, and easy to do; and yet, the next line is *but* is there a discount? As a coordinating conjunction, “but” serves to tie the two thoughts in the sentence together and give them equal weight, even though the two ideas seem at opposition. The sentence calls attention to the fact that people know asking for a photo is a small request, yet they still want to seek a discount on top of it. Never mind the fact that sex workers are already annoyed when asked for free photos (as seen in the analysis in the previous section). The “Aff disconti” with an angry face emoji that sets up the meme supports this: “aff” is the onomatopoeic Portuguese equivalent of “ugh” in English. It is used to express annoyance, irritation, or disapproval. Unlike the first meme, which was targeted instruction for how to conduct the transactional nature of the business interaction, this meme is directed at sex workers who are annoyed with clients that ask for photos and discounts. If the first meme was instructive, and this one was an avenue for discontent, the other meme, with Pepe the Frog, speaks to the transactional nature of sex work and is pure sarcasm.

Matt Furie created the Pepe the Frog in 2005 for the comic book *Boy’s Club*. An anthropomorphic frog character, Pepe has been memed in almost every emotion, from sad to angry, and smug to feeling good.¹³ Pepe is a favorite of the GPGuiaDelas Twitter feed, thanks to his popularity and various expressive emotions. In this version (Figure 6), Pepe is dressed in office clothing in a long sleeve, light blue dress shirt with a green sweater over it, a black tie peeking out from the top of the sweater, and is seated in an

¹³ <https://knowyourmeme.com/memes/pepe-the-frog>

office chair. He appears to be deep in thought, eyes large and staring far away past his cigar.



Figure 6.

The meme states: “It’s expensive? Then complain to him” (“*Tá caro? Então reclama com ele aí*”). Clearly, this version of Pepe would not care at all about a complaint. His far away look, both deep in thought and completely spaced out, and his casual smoking, all indicate that a complaint to Pepe would most likely not even be heard, let alone acted upon. It sends the message that complaining about the pricing of sex work is pointless in the first place. There is no set-up to this post, allowing smoking Pepe and the text to speak for themselves.

This sub-theme has shown that there are numerous ways in which clients ask for discounts and negotiate pricing, and various ways in which the GPGuiaDelas Twitter feed uses memes as instructional, cathartic, and sarcastic. This sub-theme also touched on ideas of respect, the next category of analysis.

Respecting the Rules of Engagement

Respect, as a general rule of thumb, underlies all of GPGuiaDelas' Twitter feed: respecting sex work as a profession, respecting sex worker's time and energy, and respecting women in general, all help to create the tenor of GPGuiaDelas. Here, as a category within the theme of transactional labor conditions of sex work, there are two instances in which sex workers and/or commenters discuss respect in regards to the rules, regulations, and terms of engagement in the economic activity of sex work. For example, in a post set up with the word "ATENÇÃO" in all capital letters, a meme shows a woman in lingerie leaning back in her pool chair with her high heels propped up on the brick wall in front of her (Figure 7).



Figure 7.

In English the photo reads, “Escort: Business Encounter. Be objective. Don’t be invasive. Don’t choose a price for the provider of the service! To: Chat – Uol; Free meetings—Tinder!; Free photos so you can masturbate—Google! Don’t take a professional’s time for free!!!” This photo serves an instructional purpose (like the memes analyzed in the

previous section) on how to engage with sex work: clients should only contact a sex worker if they are intent on moving forward with a business transaction, not just to talk or get free photos. The comments, however, elucidate how larger discourses of prostitution affect respect.

Twitter user Roberto Black makes two comments back to back. In the first one he writes, “well said/done”—“*muito bom.*” His next comment reads, “There are dumbasses/idiots who don’t respect GPs you aren’t there because you want to be” (“*Tem caras babacas que não respeita as GP vcs não estão aí porque querem*”). Roberto starts the comment by stating that there are dumbasses/idiots who do not respect sex workers (*tem caras babacas que não respeita as GP*). The first part of the comment supports respecting sex workers, agreeing with the instructional nature of the photo and the tips offered therein. But in the second part of his comment he falls into a common trap of assuming sex workers do not want to work as sex workers and are there against their will: they aren’t there because they want to be (*Vcs não estão aí porque querem*). One of the biggest misconceptions about sex work is that sex workers do not want to be engaged in their profession and are unwilling participants in the exchange of money for sexual services (Anderson, 2002; Liberto, 2009) This however, is not always the case, and the photo that Roberto comments on highlights that by calling the post *Acompanhante: Encontro Comercial*, indicating these are rules for a business encounter. The rules themselves do not suggest that escorts are unwilling participants in their trade; rather, they highlight the ways in which people should value, respect, and engage in a sexual market transaction (Davis, 2015; de Marneffe, 2010; Scoular, 2004).

While Roberto's comments support clients respecting sex workers, he also falls into the rather disrespectful trope that sex workers do not have a choice to participate in their particular line of work. The end of this line of thinking is that it is precisely because they are unwilling workers that they deserve respect, not because they chose to be there, but because "*vcs não estão aí porque querem.*" A comment by sex worker Amazona (@gplarissadias) offers simple support for this analysis of the post. She says, "That simple" ("*simples assim*"), with a black hand clapping emoji and an open smile emoji, indicating that the instructional nature of the post is correct in its simplicity. Roberto, however, signals that respect is deserved because sex workers do not want to engage in sex work. This ideology that Roberto displays is also at play in another conversation.

Rayane Morenaça GP is an active user of the GPGuiaDelas Twitter feed. She sets up this post by stating: Here is everything clearly, dear ("*Aqui é tudo às claras, querido*"). The conversation is a WhatsApp screenshot between her and a client:

SW: Look, photos for free are there [on her website]. Here it's just paid photos.

Olha, amostra gratis tem lá. Aqui só fotos pagas.

C: The card is in my hand *begging hands emoji*. *O cartão ja ta na mao.*

SW: You can buy what you want. I'll only send material after confirmation of the payment. *Vc compra se quiser. Eu só envio material após a confirmação do pagamento*

C: I'm a little unsure/insecure thumbs up emoji. *Tô meio inseguro.*

SW: If you're unsure/insecure why did you call me? You just don't want to pay and think I'm enough of an idiot to send photos for free. *Se tu tá inseguro me*

chamou pra que? Vc só não quer pagar e achou que eu fosse babaca o suficiente pra te mandar foto de graça.

It is difficult to tell if this client is actually telling the truth that he is a little insecure (*tô meio inseguro*) of making the payment. Perhaps it is his first time engaging in sex work, or perhaps Rayane is right that he just wants a photo for free (*vc só não quer pagar*). In the comments we see a direct relation to the aforementioned ideology that respect for sex workers is predicated on the notion that they are unwilling participants.

Rick Jones: It's every creep.... What are these guys thinking? *É cada figura.... Que esses caras pensam?*

Rayane: That I was born yesterday. *Que nasci ontem.*

Rick Jones: The worst part is that these douchebags is that they aren't just like this with just you...some have no fucking clue. *Mais o pior que esses malas não são assim só com Vc...uns sem noção só pode.*

Rayane: Yes. People like that always underestimate everyone. They think that they are smarter and more deserving than others. *Sim. Gente assim subestimam a todos. Se acham mais espertos e mais merecedores que os demais.*

Rayane's comment that this client thinks she was born yesterday hints at the ideology that sex workers are duped into their labor, somehow both infantilized and hypersexualized. Thus, respect is based on their subordinated and forced labor position, which turns respect into pity, effectively rendering it useless. This quickly slips into the "Myth of Maria," where the Brazilian panic surrounding sex trafficking renders all prostitutes, a legal profession, as victims of the global sex trafficking trade (Blanchette, da Silva, & Bento, 2013; Doezma, 1999). Roberto's phrasing and Rayane's lamentation that people

think sex workers are stupid reinforces a disrespectful attitude that accompanies the ideology of sex work being the factor that creates marginalization, instead of viewing sex work as an option for already marginalized communities (Kempadoo, 1999, 2001; Kempadoo & Doezma, 1998).

Conclusion

This chapter has analyzed three key sub-themes in the online discourse of Brazilian sex workers: the negotiation between sex workers and clients regarding what types of services are provided; the ways in which sex workers conceptualize their sexual labor; and instructional conversations on respecting the rules, regulations and terms of sex work. Together, these create the thematic cluster of transactional labor conditions, a discursive field concerned with establishing rules, regulations, and terms of agreement for the economic transaction of sexual labor. In the interactions with clients, sex workers stressed the idea that sex acts are an agreed upon service for a price set by the sex worker, which can include a wide range of sex and non-sexual acts (such as anal sex, threesomes, and napping). In discussing terms of agreement, an important place is given to health in the discourse of sex workers who emphatically state that their health is not for sale, as there is an overwhelming distaste for people who ask for sexual services without a condom. Pricing is another main area that is not up for negotiation; sex workers set their prices and clients are expected to agree to them without asking for discounts or negotiating. Respect for the rules, regulations, and people who do sexual labor is not a frequent theme in the texts analyzed, but it is a salient one. While respecting the rules and regulations of agreement is seen in the posts, respecting the laborers is predicated on an assumption that they are unwilling victims of their trade, rather than respecting their right

to labor. Together, these sub-themes help us answer the first research question: What are the dominant themes in the discourse regarding sex work constructed through social media?

Determining the rules, regulations, and terms of agreement for sex work is based on understanding what acts will be performed, what considerations for health will be taken into account, who is able to set the prices for services rendered, and the ways in which respect is conceptualized and applied to sex work. This thematic cluster reveals a preoccupation with the transactional nature of sex work by the participants on GPGuiaDelas. Sex workers, and GPGuiaDelas as an outlet, conceptualize their labor as an exchange of services for money, a transaction. Using condoms (or at least being hygienic), agreeing to the set price and complying with the agreement, and engaging in acts allowed by sex workers characterize the rules of the transactions. Respecting sex workers' prices, in addition to understanding that their labor is one of choice and not one of victimhood, overlay this thematic cluster. This thematic cluster also provides information on the ways in which sex workers use social media.

Research question two asks: What are the discursive practices of sex workers who use social media as a platform? This thematic cluster reveals that sex workers use social media as a platform for instructing clients on how to interact with sex workers. Through the use of memes and sarcasm, GPGuiaDelas provides insider information on the rules and regulations surrounding sex work. Sarcasm, generally coupled with intertextuality, is used as a scolding mechanism to call out the wrong ways to interact with sex workers, hopefully preventing poor interactions in the future. Sarcasm is also used for community building between sex workers on social media. The structure of Twitter helps them

achieve this by @-ing other sex workers in the comments and allowing users to tie together threads of conversations to help support disciplinary messages.

The public nature of the Twitter feed also helps them reach a wide audience. As a tool for communication, Twitter allows sex workers to interact, instruct, and expose the transactional labor conditions of their occupation. The interaction between the production of discourses by sex workers, and the consumption of these discourses by clients, Twitter users, and other sex workers, works to establish rules, regulations for behavior, and serves community-building purposes.

GPGuia's posts, comments, and @-ing practices also demonstrate the public nature of social media where users are aware of an audience, specified or imagined, when creating digital content (Baker & Moore, 2008). This digital content is produced, consumed, and differently understood by a variety of users. Yet still, the posts on GPGuiaDelas, the use of sarcasm, and the overlay between social media technologies (WhatsApp and Twitter) speak to both an intended audience (current/potential clients and other sex workers), and to the nature of digital labor under late-capitalism, where social media users create, engage with, and change digital content that is then commodified. Interestingly, sex workers who are also digital laborers have multiple levels of working-selves. As evidenced through this analysis, transactional exchanges happen through digital media platforms (WhatsApp), while instructional economic practices happen through another digital media platform (Twitter). This does not even take into consideration the production and maintenance of a website where potential clients find sex workers in the first place. While neither set of labor is paid, affective digital labor is near expected in the current iteration of capitalism, where digital users are coerced into

participating in digital media content creation, alienated from the ownership and regulatory decision making powers, and whose digital content and time are appropriated (Fuchs, 2014). Therefore, sex workers have to dually labor under digital capital, utilizing the architecture of Twitter and the public nature of social media to instruct and regulate client interactions. Their communicative labor is in part a process of economic negotiation that creates use-value and turns it into exchange-value in the late-capitalist system (Fuchs & Sandoval, 2014; Hardt, 1999). The next chapter looks at the related labor of managing relational communication.

Chapter 5

Managing Relational Labor Conditions

This chapter shifts discussion from transactional to relational labor conditions. Where discourse on transactional labor conditions emphasized the economic exchange or business aspect of sex work, discourse on relational labor is focused on managing sex work and gendered power differentials through interpersonal communication practices. If the first cluster dealt with how sex workers set the conditions that establish the transactional nature of sex work as an economic exchange, this cluster deals with salient themes and discursive practices through which sex workers manage the relational dimension of their labor online.

In the negotiation of the economic side (i.e. transactional labor) clients and sex workers are enacting sex, gender, and sexuality ideologies that must be relationally managed (i.e. managing relational labor). Differently put, transactional labor is an economic order of discourse and managing labor is a relational order of discourse. While these orders of discourse overlap, support each other, and often happen at the same time, there are key differences in the communicative practices that will be elucidated in the chapter.

The inductive thematic analysis revealed the following salient themes within the thematic cluster of managing relational labor conditions: 1) managing the loss of time and energy, 2) battling gendered violence that is a result of the stigma surrounding sex work, 3) exposing client's unacceptable behavior, and 4) community building in support of sex workers. In addition, I discuss how the use of social media, as a discursive practice itself, provides a platform for the management of such relational labor conditions.

In the discussion that follows, I will first analyze the theme of losing time and/or energy to clients, which has the sub-themes of (a) dealing with clients who miss appointments, (b) denying repeated requests for free photos, (c) avoiding unpaid chitchat and (d) combatting repetitive attempts for information. Second, I will discuss the ways in which gendered violence against sex workers is coded in the discourse via linguistic and nonverbal expressions of clients, the sex workers' appeals and demand for respect, and the clients sending unsolicited sexual photos. Third, I will turn to the theme of exposing client behavior through the discursive practice of using Twitter, particularly memes, sarcasm, and direct and indirect notifications. In the last section of the chapter, I will address the theme and discursive practices related to community building in support of sex workers.

Given the evidence presented, this chapter argues that the discursive practices of sex workers and clients indicate that gender politics is at the forefront of the relational aspect of sex work. Gender ideologies that overlay the interactions between client and sex worker reduce women to objects at men's command and disposal, reproduce patriarchal ideologies, and enact heteronormative male domination. The struggle for power in the interactions between sex worker and client is evident in this thematic cluster. Sex workers (and their supporters) utilize a variety of discursive practices including but not limited to: direct confrontation, sarcasm, exposure, insulting, redirection, complaining, blocking, commenting, and disciplining to resist and respond to clients' attempts to subvert their working conditions and to enact heteronormative ideologies and violence. Sex workers also utilize GPGuiaDelas as a way to build community in order to alert, protect, and

support each other as they perform a job that is marginalized by both economic and misogynistic systems.

Managing Loss of Time and Energy

A main theme on the GPGuia's Twitter feed relates to sex worker anxiety over losing time and energy to clients for numerous reasons. These reasons include clients making appointments and not showing up, clients asking for photos without payment, clients simply wanting to chitchat (*bate papo*), or making repetitive requests for information. The theme of losing time and energy was the most frequent theme emerging in the texts; it signals one of the main online discursive practices of sex workers who use GPGuiaDelas: to shame, expose, and cathart about poor client relations.

Dealing With Missing Appointments

One of the ways in which clients waste sex workers' time is by making appointments and simply not showing up and not calling. These different set-ups to Twitter posts clearly make the point that a client made an appointment and never showed up: "He made an appointment, I hurried, and he never showed," "He's been in touch numerous times always saying he'll schedule for tomorrow. This tomorrow never comes and it always repeats," "Made an appointment and said he was at my location...stupid idiot...(angry face emoji)," "a client made and appointment and didn't show (snorting steam face emoji)"—"Marcou, me apressou e não veio," "Entra em contato diversas vezes e diz que vai marcar Amanhã. Esse amanhã nunca chega e sempre se repete," "Marca e diz q esta no meu local...Furo Idiota... (angry face emoji)," "cliente que marcou e não veio (snorting steam face emoji)." The angry face and snorting steam emojis, help us understand the sheer frustration on the part of sex workers at clients who

waste their time by making an appointment and not showing up. Their frustration is clearly demonstrated in the conversations with these clients.

For example, in one WhatsApp conversation, a client makes and confirms an appointment for 7 p.m. that same day and then does not show up. After taking a bath and getting everything ready, the sex worker texts him at 6:56 p.m. to find out where the client is. In this exchange, the sex worker states that she is waiting on him (*“Estou te esperando”*) and wants to know if he is on his way (*“Ta chegando?”*). The client, who had confirmed the appointment as late as 6:42 p.m., replies that he decided to stay in (*“Tô resolvendo aqui”*). Her frustration is evident in the next lines with the interjection *“uai,”* which is one of surprise and confusion. She continues by saying, “didn’t you make an appointment for 18h? I took a bath, got ready and I’m waiting!” (*“você não tinha marcado pras 18h? Tomei banho, me arrumei e estou te esperando!”*). The set up to the post further expresses her disbelief and frustration: “He made an appointment, I hurried, and he didn’t show. Besides that, he blocked me without giving reasons” (*“Marcou, me apressou e não veio. Além disso ainda me bloqueou sem dar satisfações”*). Clearly in the set-up and the WhatsApp conversation, this sex worker expresses her annoyance at this client’s complete disrespect for her time. This trend continues in other conversations.

In one conversation, it is a client who expresses his own annoyance at the fact that he has previously made an appointment with an escort and was stood up. He asks the sex worker a number of times whether she is going to show up and keep the appointment. She assures him by saying she gives him her word and takes her job seriously (*“Eu dou a minha palavra! Levo o meu trabalho a sério”*). He agrees and they set up an appointment

for 10 a.m. the next day. Starting at 9:44 the next morning, the sex worker sends this series of texts:

Good morning! Are you walking to the motel? I need to leave here by 10 to get there at 11. Where are you??? ??? You haven't even woken up yet, right? Okay. I'm angry now. It's 10:10 and I should have left here already. I got up early to get ready and be punctual but it was you who stood me up, right?

Bom dia! Vc já esta a caminho do motel? Eu teria que sair daqui as 10h pra chegar aí 11h. Cadê vc??? ??? Você nem acordou ainda né? Ok. Vou considerar como Furo. Agora são 10:10 eu já deveria ter saído daqui. Acordei cedo hoje pra me arrumar e ser pontual mas foi vc quem me deu um bolo, né?

After she spent time assuring him that she would not stand him up because she takes her job seriously, he ends up standing her up and wasting her time. Her explication that she is now angry (*Vou considerar como Furo*), the accusation that he is not yet even awake (*Você nem acordou ainda, né*), and her six question marks when asking where he is make clear her agitation at the inconvenience and lack to respect for her time. Her set up to the post reads: “this clueless fuck had the nerve to ask me not to break the date because he had already gone through that and knew it was bad. Son of a bitch” (*“O sem noção ainda pediu pra não furar com ele porque já tinha passado por isso e sabia que era ruim. Fdp”*). In Brazilian Portuguese, “son of a bitch” is an extremely strong insult, much more so than in English. In fact, the harshness of the insult is more similar to the English “fuck wad” and signals a high level of annoyance, frustration, and intent to offend. In both the set-up and the messages, she notes the irony that he has been stood up by a sex worker before, thought it was bullshit (*“P q eu pensei que fosse uma besteira minha”*), and

wants to be sure it will not happen again; yet, ends up standing her up and causing her to lose time, energy, and, of course, money.

One more example is illustrative of a related trend where clients say they will make appointments and then never actually do. The set-up to this post states that the client was in contact various times and said that he would make an appointment for tomorrow. This tomorrow never comes and it always repeats (*“Entra em contato diversas vezes e diz que vai marcar Amanhã. Esse amanhã nunca chega e sempre se repete”*). During their conversation, the sex worker calls him out for this, “SW: What time? C: I’ll be in touch with you. SW: You’ve been in touch more than once and never know when you want to schedule. Fucker, huh? Fuck.” (*“SW: Que horas? C: Eu entro em contato com você. SW: Entrou em contato mais de uma vez e não sabe que horas quer marcar. Punheta é? Pqp.”*). She continues by saying that he is an ignorant creep (*“vc já é figurinha marcada”*) and that she will not make appointments with him (*“não vou sair contigo”*). The shorthand “pqp” stands for *puta que pariu*—literally translated as “to the whore who had/birthed you,” essentially saying you came from a whore, an attempt to denigrate the specific position of honor mothers hold in Brazilian culture. It carries the underlying insult with it in slang, but translates to “fuck; holy shit; damn it.” What is interesting about her usage, though, is that technically she is the “whore,” but uses that label as an insult to the client’s mother, and by extension the client.

In addition to sex workers losing time to clients who make appointments and do not show up, or those who pretend to want to make appointments, they lose significant time dealing with clients who ask for free photos.

Denying Requests for Free Photos

A common interaction relates to the sex workers' responses to clients who ask for free photos directly from the sex worker even though there are many photos on the websites in which clients get the sex worker's contact information. The responses from sex workers vary, with some replying with sarcasm, some with annoyance or frustration, and all generally redirecting the clients to their websites.

In the example below (Figure 8), a sex worker responds to a client's request for free photos by sending a sarcastic picture.

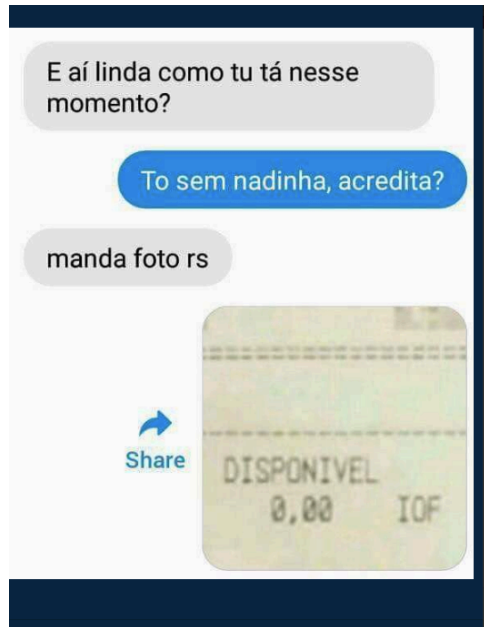


Figure 8.

The client asks, “and you, beautiful, how are you right now?” She responds, “I’m without anything, you?” Assuming that because she does not have anything going on that she is therefore available, he then asks for a photo and laughs slightly (“*manda foto rs*”). She replies by sending a receipt with a 0.00 balance. Her simple pictorial reply stands in for a sarcastic comment, as the photo of an empty bank account signals either that she has

nothing to offer, or that his account is at a zero balance so he will not receive any photos. It also signals that she will not offer anything without payment, something other sex workers say more clearly. Her response elicits a supportive comment from user Shamrock Ruth Kerolin, who writes, “Good... Good. He deserved it!” (“*Boa...boa. Mereceu!*”).

The following exchange exemplifies how clients try to get discounts on pricing and the ways in which sex workers contend with this issue. The client asks if the sex worker has more photos (“*tem mais fotos*”)—signaling that he already saw the photos she has on her webpage—and she responds that she will send more photos if he pays (“*mais fotos vc paga que envio*”). He retorts that he just wants to get laid, not pay for photos (“*Quero transar não quero pagar por foto*”). Her quick retort mirrors his dissatisfaction: “I want to work, not be here sending nudes” (“*Eu quero trabalhar, não ficar enviando nudes*”). She then sends the peace sign, but in this case it seems to be referring to “peace out” as in goodbye, not “peace” as in harmonious relations between people. She confirms this reading of her peace sign in the last message she sends, telling him: “in addition to asking for a discount, you ask for a photo, get a clue dude” (“*Além de pedir desconto, tá pedindo foto, se situa cara*”). Thus, while this client attempts to argue that his time is best-spent getting free photos, other clients attempt to get photos through trickery, which reflects an imbalance of power and is based on a pervasive ideology that assumes sex workers are stupid and frequently tricked into their labor position (Jaggar, 1991; Outshoorn, 2005; Zatz, 1997).

For instance, one client attempts to blame his cell phone service, or lack thereof, for not being able to access the free photos she has on her website, thereby wanting her to

send some immediately. The client starts by asking whether he can see a photo (“*Tá bom posso ver uma foto sua*”). She replies by sending him a link to her web site and saying, “of course, here”—“*Claro Ai ó.*” He responds by saying that he is in the street without Internet and asks again for her to send one to him (“*A to na rua tô sem internet. Manda uma ai*”). She quickly catches on and sarcastically replies: “What a shame. Tell me then how are you using WhatsApp without Internet. By the way, you got my number from the site, right?” (“*Que pena em Me ensina depois como usar o WhatsApp sem internet. Aliás, pegou meu número no site como né*”). Her use of sarcasm, in addition to calling out his nonsensical answer, indicates a frustration at being asked to work for free. Her set-up to the post, “*Fala cadê a cara de pau,*” translates literally as “wooden faced person” and colloquially is a rather strong form of calling someone “shameless.” Utilizing “*fala cadê a cara de pau*” confirms her annoyance and frustration at this obvious attempt to dupe her into unpaid labor. Frustration is also evident in the following exchange.

The set-up to this post, “*Fala sério,*” literally means “speak seriously;” but, here, it signals annoyance through the rhetorical question, “seriously?!” After stating he wants to make an appointment, the client asks for a photo (“*Tem alguma sua amor. Foto*”). She replies by reminding him there are photos in her announcement/web site (“*Foto no anuncio*”). He continues by asking if there is a way she could send one to him instead (“*Mais não tem como mandar uma pra mim meu bem?*”). Her sharp response clearly indicates her annoyance at being disturbed for free photos at 2:30 a.m.: “Ugh it had to be. A jerk off at these hours. Get out of here. Search Google for a photo of a naked woman

and beat off. Ridiculous” (*“Affff tinha que ser. Um punheteiro¹⁴ a essas horas. Vai te catar. Coloca no Google foto de mulher pelada e bate a sua punheta ai. Ridículo”*). Her disgust at the client attempting to exploit her labor and get something for free is also evident in the next sub-theme where clients contact sex workers just to chat (*bate papo*) or ask them to repeat information that they have either already received or is evident on the website where they originally accessed the sex worker’s information.

Avoiding Unpaid *Bate Papo*

Numerous clients contact sex workers seemingly to just chat and ignore the fact that sex workers’ time is their mode of financial support independence. The set up to this post illustrates this discursive practice:

That’s the shitty thing about Twitter, people thinking I have time to chitchat for free in order to “get to know me” without paying...they don’t know the [difference] between a sex worker’s Twitter profile and a girl looking for adventures.

Chato do Twitter...achando que tenho tempo de bater papo de graça e "conhecer" sem pagar...Não sabe a diferença de perfil de puta e de garota do Tinder buscando aventuras....

In addition to complaining about clients who seek to “get to know” sex workers without paying, this user highlights how technology affects their labor conditions. “The shitty thing about Twitter” references the fact that Twitter profiles are available 24/7 (not beholden to “normal” business hours), is near instantaneous communication, and for public figures like sex workers, anyone is able to send direct messages (DMs) to their

¹⁴ Punheteiro translates to British English as “wanker.” Since North American English does not use this term, it is better translated as “jerk off.”

Twitter inbox and/or public Tweets. Thus, utilizing social media as a work tool requires near constant labor to monitor contacts, filter out spam and unwanted communication, and maintain a visible online presence.

A similar response from a different sex worker to a client makes this same connection, explicating the difference between just contacting anyone on social media versus contacting professionals. After the client asks how many [sexual] positions the sex worker does and which is her favorite (“*Quantas posição vc faz e a que vc mais gosta*”), the sex worker first responds: “*Nossa senhora,*” a common expression for extreme frustration or annoyance, similar to “oh god” or “Jesus” in the United States. She then says: “look at these nonsense questions. This isn’t Tinder. (...) I’m not a Jenifer” (“*Olha as perguntas sem noção. Aqui não é tinder não. Aqui é informações. Ou fecha ou não fecha. Ou se não é jenifer*”). The reference to Tinder and Jenifer relates to a wildly popular Brazilian song by Gabriel Diniz, titled “Jenifer.” In this *Forro* song, Diniz sings about a girl he met on Tinder named Jennifer who is not his girlfriend and who will do things his girlfriend will not do (“*O nome dela é Jenifer. Eu encontrei ela no Tinder. Mas ela faz umas paradas. Que eu não faço com você*”). The song is a massive hit in Brazil, where audience members have listened to it over 55 million times on Spotify alone. It is also a favorite reference on GPGuiaDelas with numerous sex workers making reference to how they are not Jenifer, meaning they are not a random girl people find on Tinder or social media to hook up with. The disassociation with both a casual hook up and an affair (both of which are indicated in the song) helps to distinguish sex work as labor from a casual or emotional relation people can garner for free on hookup apps.

Across these examples, the annoyance expressed by sex workers over clients wasting their time speaks to larger issues of gender and power. Male clients appear to devalue sex work, assuming that it is part of the job for sex workers to get to know their clients (*bate papo*) for free, devaluing their labor. Multiple attempts to get free photos also speak to ideologies of women being both constantly available and responsible for enticing men into a sexual encounter whenever men are in the mood. Taken together, part of the annoyance expressed by sex workers towards clients is due to the numerous attempts to exploit and manipulate female sexual labor, which stems from ideologies that devalue women in general and sex work in particular (Bernstein, 2007; Rubin, 1975; Shrage, 2016).

This annoyance over clients wasting the sex workers' time also takes place in other conversations where sex workers block or expose clients for their disrespectful behavior. In one instance, a sex worker states: "Blocked. He called various times. Up until I responded to him. He's in Umuarama. It's not my city. He called me because he wanted to know what is my highest level of schooling. He wants to chat" ("*Bloqueado. Ligou várias várias. Até q atendi. Está em Umuarama. Não é minha cidade. Me ligou pq quer saber em qual curso superior eu sou formada. Quer bate papo*"). This set-up helps us understand the ways in which some clients intentionally ignore and twist the transactional character of sex work even when sex workers provide such information online. This is amplified in an online environment where the stakes for face-saving are much lower than face-to-face communication and acting uninformed can be more easily brushed off.

Moreover, intentionally ignoring available information that is carefully crafted by sex workers again speaks to the ways in which male clients assume their own position as the customer means they hold the power and should be catered to. Put together, in an online environment male clients have far less to lose than sex workers and view themselves as having a right to chitchat because they approach their position from intertwined ideologies of ‘the customer is always right’ and sexist ideologies that women are available to cater to men when and how men desire it. Another way in which clients waste the time, and therefore monetary opportunity, of sex workers is repetitively asking for information.

Combatting Repetitive Requests for Information

In one typical example of this practice, a sex worker complains about a small, but impactful, number of clients who simply do not pay attention to the information available to them on the sex worker’s webpage, and repeatedly ask for the same information. In one post, this worker states: “This only wastes my time, asking for information numerous times and then saying that it’s too much to read and wanting me to repeat everything” (*“Esse só faz perder o tempo, pede todas as informações repetidas vezes e depois fala que é coisa demais pra ler e pede pra repetir”*). This action on the part of potential clients is seen as a waste of the sex worker’s time and, therefore, labor and monetary opportunity. This can be seen clearly in the following post (Figure 9):

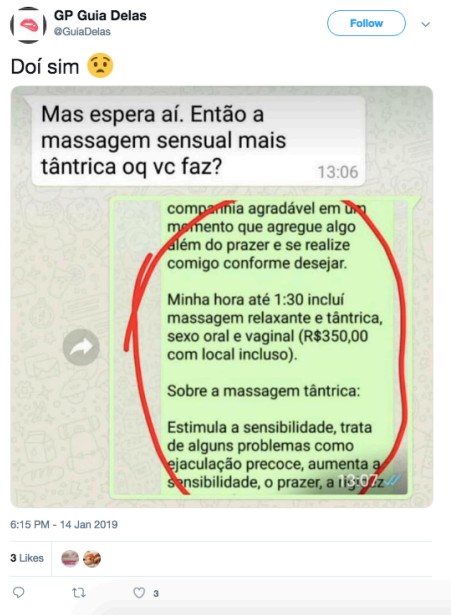


Figure 9.

Though the previous part of that conversation is not included in the screenshot, it is reasonable to assume that this is not the first time this sex worker has explained her pricing to a client given that the pricing list is now circled in this screenshot. Circling something in text messaging indicates it should have been paid attention to in the first place. A rhetorical tongue-in-cheek question, “does it hurt to read?” (“*Será que dói ler?*”) sums up the sheer annoyance and frustration that sex workers have towards clients who use chitchat, do not understand the difference between sex work and hooking up, or ignore, arguably on purpose, available business information to seek free services or reduced prices.

In sum, the texts analyzed show four main ways in which clients waste sex workers’ time and energy: missing appointments, asking for free photos, wanting to chitchat, and repetitively asking for information. As in any other service industry position, time (in addition to services) is the product itself – the result of affective labor practices

(Brouillette, 2009; Hardt, 1999; Lazzarato, 1996). Clients are renting the time (“*algua meu tempo*”) of sex workers. Therefore, missing appointments causes sex workers to lose out doubly on income: both from the client that missed the appointment and also the loss of potential income from a different client that could have been scheduled in that time slot. When clients ask for free photos, they also make sex workers lose out doubly on income: the sex workers already spent the initial labor time to take photos, curate them, and post them to a web site—something they do in order to advertise their services and is not remunerated. But when clients ask for this labor for free, the sex worker also loses out on potential income from selling photos, thereby working twice for free. Chitchatting and asking repetitively for information is asking sex workers to work for free: they are not being paid to *bate papo*, and since their time is the main part of their service, they are being asked to work for free.

There is an important related gender ideology at play here as well: sex work, a job largely done by women, is devalued as a job in the broader labor market. Women’s sexual labor has been historically subsumed as free labor under the related systems of capitalism and white-patriarchy (Fortunati & Fleming, 1995; McClintock, 1993; Nussbaum, 1999; Weeks, 2007). Sex work performed outside of the home is subject to the same discursive and material ideologies that regard all sexual labor as available, free, and part of the work women are required to do. These ideologies, that regard female sexual labor as both necessary and free, create a set of conditions whereby male clients try to exert control over sex workers’ time and labor through trickery and expectations of relational interactions outside the terms of the economic transaction. Contending with a this system has required sex workers to respond to attempts to control their time and

labor conditions through discursive practices that include: direct confrontation, sarcasm, frustration, exposure, insults, blocking future interactions, redirection to other web sites, using intertextuality (Jenifer), and complaining.

Battling Gendered Violence

The second main theme related to managing the relational labor conditions of sex work is dealing with violence, rather than trickery and annoyance. Numerous studies on sex work highlight the physical and discursive violence sex workers must deal with as a result of their profession, subject position, and heterosexism. In the literature, this is related to their multiple intersecting positions in sex work: race, class, location, type of services, age, body type, and more (Austin, 2007; Blanchette & da Silva, 2011; Brooks, 2010; da Silva & Blanchette, 2017; Delacoste & Alexander, 1987; Kempadoo, 2001). In online spaces, gendered violence takes the form of linguistic and nonverbal expressions from clients, the sex workers' demand for respect in response to gendered violence, and the clients' postings of unsolicited naked pictures. Looking at each of these sub-themes helps elucidate the types of violence sex workers routinely encounter on social media—an understudied area.

Admonishing Violent Linguistic and Nonverbal Expressions

Specific violent threats or derogatory language were not that common the GPGuia's Twitter feed. It is important to remember that the thread is shaped by the WhatsApp screenshots the sex workers post: they frame, include, exclude, and shape the limits of the discourse through what they choose to post of their conversations. Therefore, it is difficult to determine if the frequency of specific violent threats happening on this Twitter feed is indicative of the trend in real life for sex workers. Yet, the violent

language that is articulated in the discourse of clients speaks to societal ideologies of sex workers being sexually deviant, worthless, and deserving of physical violence.

The following example elicits the larger ideology that marks sex workers as sexually deviant. A client begins by asking the sex worker whether she does programs with couples (“*atende casal?*”). She responds that she does not (“*não atendo*”), to which he replies, “do you have sex with dogs? I pay well” (“*faz sexo com cachorros? Pago bem*”). It is difficult to know whether this client is serious or is joking but either way, his question about bestiality highlights a long-standing belief that sex workers will do anything for money, including having interspecies sex. The sex worker replies that he should take this money and see a psychologist because he is sick, and that she will be forwarding his message to the police, a clear indication that she took his demeaning question threateningly (“*Pega essa dinheiro e paga um psiquiatra. Seu doente. Será encaminhado pra policia*”).

Other interactions speak to the trope of sex workers being worthless. In the set-up to one post, a sex worker states: “it’s already begun early” (“*ja começou cedo*”) without any emojis or lighthearted paralinguistic markers, making it seem as if the person who posted it is tired of the frequent occurrence. The screenshot of the conversation starts with a person calling the sex worker “Bitch. Cow. Snake. Piranha. Limp tits. I am way too much of a woman to bother/fight with you” (“*Vadia. Vaca. Cobra. Piranha. Teta caída. Sou muito mais mulher*”). These words appear to be coming not from a client but, perhaps, a client’s significant other or even a third woman (not the sex worker nor the man’s partner) as evidenced in the interpretive comments of users. For example, user FLA FLA FLA warns GPGuiaDelas to be careful because they are exposing a third

person who does not have anything to do with the issue (*“Cuidado pessoal... está expondo uma terceira pessoa aí que não tem nada haver com o caso”*). The user is referring to the fact that the readers can clearly see the faces of two people on the WhatsApp user profile: a young male standing behind a young woman with his arms around her waist. She has an engagement ring on and is taking a photo of them in a mirror. Thus, FLA warns GPGuiaDelas may be at risk for exposing a woman who may not have anything to do with the message. But user Casal Sfds1317 RJ picks up on the fact that the message implies that the woman is much more a woman than the sex worker (*sou muito mais mulher*) and thus likely picked up her partner’s phone (*“acho que a terceira pessoa pegou o celular”*). FLA responds, “laughing.....but in whatever form it exposed the cuckold...kkkkkk” (*“RS RS RS.....mas de qualquer maneira expôs o corno.....kkkkk”*). “Corno/a” in Brazilian Portuguese signifies a person who has been cheated on and is an extreme insult. The “o” on the end of “corno” is the masculine ending, signifying that FLA actually thinks his girlfriend cheated on her fiancé/boyfriend, even though the girlfriend was insulting the sex worker. FLA could also mean that the woman in the photo is not the woman who sent the message but rather the girlfriend of her husband. Either way, Ana Clara Ruiva chimes in to argue that the woman in the photo is the one being cheated on. She continues by saying that this person (the woman) does not have self-love/self-esteem (*“pessoa não tem amor próprio”*) if she is going to complain about guys on the web site of the sex worker (*“do que puxar a orelhão do cara que estão no site, atrás dos nossos serviços não”*). She finishes by saying that this person is cursing out the sex worker for doing her job and ends by saying that some people in the

world have no self-esteem (“*vem chingar menina que é acompanhante estar fazendo apenas seu trabalho, é cada falta de amor próprio*”).

Interestingly, in this exchange of comments, except for Ana, who is a sex worker and frequent poster to GPGuiaDelas, there is little concern for the rather vulgar and derogatory comments made to the sex worker by whomever the sender of the message is. Rather, the concern of the users is on whether or not GPGuiaDelas should expose people’s faces and whether or not someone is being cheated on, indicating a complete lack of concern for the power of language to degrade and humiliate. This is especially concerning when the set up to the post: “it’s already begun early”—“*Ja começou cedo*” indicates that this kind of violent language starts early and happens frequently.

Another post that demonstrates this lack of concern for derogatory language involves Sabine India’s post, which is simply a screenshot of a piece of a larger conversation. Readers of this exchange do not have any context for what started this tirade, nor what the sex worker responds since the voice messages she sends to the client are not accessible. But the client’s language is indicative of discursive violence that renders sex workers worthless. The client states: “but you’re still a whore. Not someone to stay with” (“*Mas é uma puta mesmo. Nem pra me hospedar*”). The sex worker replies by sending two voice messages. The client then states: “Fuck off. Whore. Fucking followers of a whore. What shit” (“*Se foda. Puta. Seguidores de puta. Que bosta*”). With these words, this client diminishes this sex worker’s entire identity to just that of a sex worker, and even then, defines her not as a worker but a “whore”—a word used to signify worthlessness. This is also evidenced in the statement that she is not someone to host or stay with someone, effectively objectifying and reducing her to a single-use person. We

may infer that in one of her voice messages she told him she was going to post this to her “followers” since he replies: “Fucking followers of a whore. What shit.” His response indicates that he is angry or, perhaps, impervious to the fact that she will post this exchange to a broader public. While this language is evidently impactful to the sex worker who posted it, the next examples take language further, indicating tangible acts of physical violence.

For instance, there is a post that is simply set up with the words “blind” (*cego*) and the sunglasses emoji—generally used to indicate a feeling of cool, suave, or cheer, but here seems to indicate actual blindness. There, the sex worker begins the conversation, “Good morning! I have new photos” (“*Bom diaaaaa! Tem fotos novas!*”). The client responds with an incoherent set of letters and numbers and says, “send them if you can” (“*Zjh9pu4ttaa [gun emoji] vamos q0zdzrpppeep. Manda ai se poder*”). The client’s violent and fairly illogical response catches some interesting attention in the comments of other users. Nina Gaúcha states, “there are a mountain of them that do this” (“*Tem um monte aqui que faz isso [two wink with tongue out emojis]*”). Sherlock holmes virtual, who comments fairly often to the GPGuia’s Twitter feed is shocked: “Jesus Nina this has happened to you too?” (“*Nossa Nina você passa por isso também*”). The sex worker sends a rather casual response, saying that it does not happen that much to her (“*não tanto não*”) but that she is super good and does not stress because 100% of women go through this (“*mas eu sou super de boa....Nem me stresso, 100% das meninas passam por isso*”). It is rather telling for a sex worker to say that 100% of girls and women go through this. It is impossible to say whether she is referring to sex workers or women more generally; either way, it reveals that women have to get used to this type of

discursive violence that stems from their subjugated position. But Nina actually attributes it to a rather forgivable cause: “it is just abstraction and pretending to have dementia” (“*É só abstrair e fingir demência*”), rendering systemic violence against women and sex workers as a result of losing cognitive abilities thereby making it excusable. However, the sex worker does not seem to consider it just abstraction, as she sends the client a middle finger emoji to end the conversation.

This last example of Twitter conversations most clearly explicates the levels of physical violence threats that sex workers must deal with as part of managing communication about relational labor conditions. The client, who is exposed as Sargento Marcelo, states that he will love to hurt the sex worker (“*vou adorer machucar você*”) and hit/knock her in the face (“*bater na sua cara*”). He states that he is coming into town and will first find a place to stay (“*mais eu vou me hospedar primeiro*”). He finishes by saying he will call her back (“*Aí te ligo*”). The violent and somewhat planned nature of the attack demonstrates a lack of concern for sex workers in particular, and women in general. Luckily, Sargento’s message is disciplined by two users who comment that he is poorly educated and of dubious character (“*gente sem educação e de caráter duvidoso*”). Another user, bringing current politics into play, states that it is written all over Sargento’s face that he voted for Bolsonaro (“*tá na cara que votou no bozonaro*”), Brazil’s extreme right-wing president elected in 2018 and who has come under attack for his draconian social policies concerning women, racial, and sexual minorities. The link between Bolsonaro and Sargento is furthered by the user’s name: “Sargento” indicates he was/is part of one of Brazil’s numerous police or military factions. Bolsonaro has made no secret of his love for Brazil’s military dictatorship and his desire to put the military

back into control. This user, Caíque, changed Bolosonaro to Bozonaro, a popular nickname and meme on the left for Jair Bolsonaro—effectively calling him, and by extension Sargento, a clown (bozo).

While Soraya Caricoa (the poster of the conversation) received support messages from two users, one user, Morre diablo, asks whether the sex worker would allow him to meddle and pose the question: “aren’t you also (or were) threatening when you publish the data of these fringe parties?” (*“Boa tarde Soraya, se me permite a intromissão, gostaria de tirar uma dívida. Vcs também são (ou já foram) ameaçadas quando publicam os dados desses marginais?”*). Morre is referring to the fact that the GPGuia’s Twitter feed makes no secret as to who they are talking to on WhatsApp. They publish the WhatsApp number, often times the name of the user, and even their full WhatsApp profile photos. Important to note here is how Morre diablo seems unconcerned with the threat of literal violence against this sex worker and instead is concerned with the privacy of the person who did the threatening, Sargento. While privacy is a reasonable concern, and one that is raised in other comments on different posts, it constructs the actual threat of real physical violence against the marginalized party, in this case the sex worker, invisible and therefore, inevitable. This lack of respect, its relationship to allowing violence, and its trivialization as part of the job of the sex worker is apparent in another sub-theme.

Demanding Respect

While respect is a theme that undergirds the entire GPGuia’s Twitter feed and all of the themes discussed in this project, there are certain posts that were coded as both violence and respect because the two ideas were directly related to each other in these

posts. Perhaps the most obvious is when a client asks if Nua Luv is available and if he can make an appointment (*“Olá Nua Luv, lhe vi em PhotoAcompanhantes e gostaria de marcar um encontro come você”*). Nua Luv responds, “hello” (*“Oi”*), and the client asks whether they can do the appointment today (*“Vamos. Hoje.”*). She responds that she cannot (*“Não”*), and he responds by telling her he wants to rape her (*“Eu quero estrupar.”*). The immediate violent and gendered response by the client to the sex worker’s inability to schedule an appointment at his convenience demonstrates the danger and lack of respect sex workers face on a regular basis. It also speaks to the aforementioned ideology that women should be sexually available when men want them to be. There are two other examples that best explicate the link between respect and violence.

The initial post is made by Puto da Mooca and elicits 10 comments, a large number for this Twitter feed. The post reads:

I’ve seen some girls complaining about the nasty comments pigs make that end up throwing their self-esteem on the ground. Don’t worry, everyone has their beauty. Unfortunately, we have to live with idiots/dumb-asses who use their anonymity to express their own unhappiness.

Vi alguma meninas reclamando do comentários maldosos que os espíritos de porco fazem e acabam jogando a auto estima delas no chão. Não se abalem, todas tem a sua beleza. Infelizmente temos que conviver com babacas que aproveitam o anonimato para expor a própria infelicidade (shrug emoji).

It is rare on GPGuiaDelas to see entire posts devoted to messages such as this. As observed in in the texts analyzed, the Twitter feed is characterized by screenshots of

WhatsApp conversations and memes. Puto da Mooca is using the platform to express support messages about managing the relational labor conditions of sex work. The comments offer messages of support for Puto da Mooca's message. Lollys sends a GIF of a minion from the movie *Despicable Me* with the words "MUA!" (a kiss) in large letters. Geórgia Theron replies, "There are many unhappy people. The worst infect and make ill those who do not have the maturity for this" ("*É muita gente infeliz! O pior que contagia e adoce quem não tem maturidade para isso*"). Nanda replies with three smiling/hands emojis to indicate their appreciation for the message. Aline Lisboa does something similar by commenting, "beautiful words" ("*lindas palavras*") with a heart emoji and seven clapping hands emojis. Kensei tries to offer a deeper philosophical explanation for the poor behavior named by Puto da Mooca: "There are people who are sons of bitches and unhappy. Who cannot get happy and want others to feel bad in the same way they do. Psychology explains it. People reap what they sow" ("*Tem gnt que é fdp e infeliz. Como não conseguem se sentir bem, querem que os outros se sintam mal de mesma forma. A psicologia explica. A gnt colhe o que planta*"). By expressing their support for the initial posts, these users also therefore express solidarity and agreement for the need to respect sex workers in person and via social media. Puto's focus on self-esteem ("*auto estima*") comes up in another post where respect and linguistic violence come into play.

GPGuiaDelas posts a conversation between a sex worker and a client where the sex worker is scolding the client for their lack of respect. The screenshots of the conversation do not give the entire story, so it is unknown what elicited the following response by the sex worker. But she begins by admonishing the client:

I am a highly cultured person, I do not attend those who are used to an escort who is cheap, vulgar, without education or good lineage. Without education I will never attend you!!!!!! You were born of a woman. At no time was I lacking in education with you. Be a descent man and have respect. I demand respect, and I do not allow disrespect!

Sou uma pessoa culta de alto nível, não atendo quem está acostumado com g.p. (Barato, vulgar, sem educação, sem estirpe.) Sem educação não vou te atender jamais!!!!!! Você nasceu de uma mulher. Em momento nenhum estou faltando com educação com você. Seja um homem descende e respeite. Exijo respeito e não admito desrespeito!

His response provides insight into how he views those who engage in prostitution, which also suggests the type of discourse that elicited the sex worker's strong response. The client states: "Kindness generates kindness. If you were so kind, you would not be on a prostitution site" ("*Gentileza gera gentileza si fosse tao gentil nao tava hein site de prostituição*"). Yet, because the client does not input the personal pronoun before "*fosse*" and "*tava*" (short for *estava*) and the tenses of these words are conjugated the same for both "I" and "you," it is difficult to tell whether the client is saying, "If I were so kind, I would not be on a prostitution site" versus "If you were so kind, you would not be on a prostitution site." Either way, the assumption is that those who engage in prostitution are not kind and do not deserve kindness. The sex worker clearly took his response to mean "you" indicating that she must not be kind because she is a sex worker and added: "Even so, I do not have any availability for you at all, and I do not attend people without education" ("*Sendo assim não tenho disponibilidade nenhuma para você nunca, não*

atendo pessoas sem educação”). She continues: “You are really stupid, my profession does not denigrate me and it does not give anyone permission to disrespect me” (“*Você é bem estúpido, a minha profissão não me degrina e não lhe dá direito nenhum de me desrespeitar*”). Her response highlights larger discourses about prostitution as a job that denigrates its practitioners by its very nature. That is, if you sell sexual services this is in and of itself, a denigrating position. The comments support the sex worker’s defense of her job and the idea that the profession in and of itself is not denigrating nor should it automatically allow for disrespect.

One supporter, Don, writes: “Put his telephone number on Olx saying he is donating an Iphone. This is the best way to punish sons of bitches like this” (“*Coloca o telephone dele na Olx doando um iPhone. Essa é a melhor forma de punir fdps assim*”). Olx is a large person-to-person sales web site similar to Craigslist. Individuals can buy everything from oven mitts to sexual services, from cars to used phones. By putting his number on Olx, stating that he is donating an iPhone, the client would surely be inundated with a barrage of phone calls thereby punishing him through sheer annoyance and inconvenience. This suggestion for an unusual punishment provokes Alessandra Maia’s comment: “sensational” (“*sensacional*”). Amazona thinks it is a great idea, “[three laughing crying emojis] *boa ideia* [thumbs up black emoji].” Lastly, Don adds that if the sex worker does proceed with this punishment, he wants to know how it turns out (“*se fizer, depois me fala a repercussão que deu* [laughing crying emoji]”).

The demand for respect is implicated in these posts through a desire to punish clients who denigrate sex workers based on their profession, and through reassurance that

everyone has his or her beauty and those who want to speak poorly about sex workers are mentally unhealthy themselves and want to drag others down.

Reproaching the Violence of Unsolicited Naked Photos

The last sub-theme under the theme of violence is the sending of unsolicited “dick pics.” Sending unsolicited photos of nude bodies and/or genitals is becoming an increasingly common practice in the digital age (Hayes & Dragiewicz, 2018; Paasonen, Light & Jarrett, 2019; Waling and Pym, 2019). It is the online form of flashing, the illegal practice of exposing your genitals to people without permission, and is generally seen as a way to threaten (usually) women in online spaces through sexual harassment (Waling, 2018). Flashing, and its online counterpart “dick pics,” constitute a form of violence when they are unsolicited and unwanted by one of the parties involved. “Dick pics” are considered a form of “technology-facilitated sexual violence” where people use technology to commit “a range of criminal, civil, or otherwise harmful sexually aggressive and harassing behaviors” (Henry & Powell, 2016, p. 195). In fact, the UK is currently working to criminalize unsolicited dick pics, as laws in some Canadian provinces have already done. The reaction of sex workers to clients who send “dick pics” (DPs) helps us understand why this is a gendered form of “technology-facilitated sexual violence.”

Sex workers posting to the GPGuia’s Twitter feed bring to light this phenomenon by uploading conversations with clients along with the unsolicited pictures that accompany them. This can happen at various moments during a conversation. Sometimes it happens after a client has not received what he asked for, as in the case of a client who asks for free videos and gets turned down by the sex worker who only sells videos (“*Não*

envio o video sem o pagamento”). This client leaves a voice-text that cannot be accessed but can reasonably be assumed to be a continued plea for free videos, given the sex worker’s response (“*NÃO ENVIO*”) in all capital letters. The client then sends a photo of his (a) penis. In another instance, a sex worker does not reproduce any conversation in her screenshot but simply sets up the post by exposing the client’s phone number and stating: “I didn’t ask for a photo cock sucker”—“*não pedi foto punheteiro do caralho.*” In a different conversation, the client attempts to use his DP to convince the sex worker “he” (i.e. his penis) needs her.

GPGuiaDelas sets-up the post with “On top of that [he’s] video calling all the time” (“*Ainda por cima ligando toda hora de chamada de video*”). The WhatsApp conversation starts with the client sending a DP in an attempt to convince the sex worker that he needs her. The client states that if his dick is soft, it is because the sex worker has not made him erect (“*Se ele tá mole e porque vc não fez ele subi*”). The sex worker’s response is direct: “Fuck off. I hate soft dick. You like to send photos of your dick don’t you?” (“*Vai tomar no cu. Odeio pau mole. Gosta de mandar foto de pau né*”). Considering the tone of her comment and the fact that she has not answered his video calls and posted the conversation to Twitter, it seems safe to say that she has no intention of doing business with him. She confirms this after he asks why she hates soft dick (“*pra que essa que*”) and she replies by saying she is going to post his number on Twitter (“*Vou jogar seu número no twitter*”). Unfortunately, he responds with some of the violent language seen in previous sections, telling her that doing so would be ignorant and that he is going to “throw his dick into her pussy” (“*Essa ignorância mulher. Eu joga meu pau na sua buceta*”). Thus, many men send unsolicited photos to sex workers,

forcing sex workers to discipline clients in WhatsApp conversations and to use exposure on a public Twitter feed to control this form of symbolic violence. Clients are also instructed by GP GuiaDelas to not engage in the practice of sending DPs through the use of a meme (Figure 10).



Figure 10.

For instance, in this comic strip meme clients are instructed to not send DPs by the voice of an authority figure, a doctor. The doctor starts by asking the patient if it hurts (“*dói?*”). The patient replies that it does not (“*não*”), and so the doctor brings an item closer. The practitioner then asks, “and now?” (“*e agora?*”), and the client says nothing. In the next pane we see the item the doctor is holding. It appears to be either a text message, or text note written on a phone that states: “sending a photo of your dick in the DM of girls, only makes you a shit!” (“*Mandar foto do pau na DM das meninas, só faz de você um merda!*”). Through the use of an authoritative figure—a doctor—in a setting

familiar to most—a doctor’s office—GPGuia’s takes the form of an influential figure. The comic strip serves as a quick lesson in text messaging etiquette.

Sex workers who flip the script and send DPs to clients as a form of instructional discipline demonstrate another aspect of managing this particular form of gendered violence. For example, in the set up to a post titled “inquirer for a photo” (“*pedidor de foto*”), we note that a client begins by asking for a photo, then saying ok, and finally goodbye all in the span of one minute: “*foto. Ok. Xau.*” The sex worker responds that he is going to become famous, referring to her posting the message publicly on GPGuiaDelas (“*Vai ficar com o contato famoso. Parabéns*”). After again asking for a photo (“*manda foto*”), the sex worker sends him a photo of a penis. By doing so, the sex worker makes two interrelated claims: 1) that continually asking for a free photo is not allowed; and 2) that the use of unsolicited DPs (from either the client, or in this case, the sex worker) is an effective way to end unwanted conversations. Her witty pictorial retort successfully uses the tool at the disposal of male clients (dick pictures) to discipline undesired client behavior.

It is difficult to say if using the master’s tools, so to speak, actually disrupts the patriarchal practice or simply perpetuates it. Yet, we see another sex worker do so in a different conversation where a client is again asking for free photos. This client asks for free photos in order to take a glance at the sex worker (“*Posso dar uma olhada*”). The sex worker responds that the photos are on her web site where he got her number (“*no site onde você pegou meu número tem*”). He asks again for a photo “now” (“*mais envia uma agora*”). She responds by sending a full frontal photo of a penis. Two commenters

seem to appreciate and support the sex worker's use of a DP as both laugh in their comments, "*kkkkkkk.*"

In sum, the theme of violence on GPGuia's tends to come in three main forms: linguistic and nonverbal expressions that are specifically violent, disrespect as a form of violence, and the sending unsolicited dick pictures as a form of violence. The analysis has revealed that clients reproduce larger societal ideologies of sex workers being worthless, denigrated by virtue of their profession, and sexually available at the clients' command. What is also evident is that GPGuiaDelas and the sex workers who post conversations on Twitter utilize numerous discursive practices to fight back against violence, such as exposure, support messages, insults, scolding, memes, and using dick pictures against clients as a form of gendered resistance. These types of discursive practices on Twitter are used to manage aspects of relational labor in sex work and are the topic of the next section.

Exposing Client's Unacceptable Behavior via Twitter

A third salient theme within the cluster of relational communication refers to the sex workers public exposure of clients who attempt to ignore or subvert the terms established by the sex workers whether by the use of rhetoric and trickery or through a discourse marked by violence, misogyny, and male domination. This theme, as shown in the discussion above, overlaps with the themes of loss of time and violence. In this section, I closely examine exposure of client behavior, with focus on how sex workers use Twitter to manage the difficult relational aspects of labor through discursive practices that publicize or threaten to disclose clients' personal information and photos as a form of deterring particular practices among clients. Using sarcastic, patronizing, and demeaning

language as well as memes, sex workers post identifying information to discipline clients who send violent messages, ask for free services, show disrespect, attempt to negotiate lower prices, and, overall, waste sex worker's time. Whether or not they alert the client to the imminent exposure, the fact is that it is used as a threat (or actual practice) demonstrates that it provides sex workers a form of safeguarding against misogynistic clients (a kind of internet blacklist) and offers cathartic release from dealing with gendered violence, anxiety about their job, and managing relational aspects of sex work online. Exposure, as a disciplinary tool, also serves to prevent future clients from engaging in practices of male domination and misogyny that stem from ideologies regarding sex work and gender. Safeguarding, cathartic, and disciplinary purposes are also shown in memes that discuss exposing clients.

Exposure as a Disciplinary Tool

Textual analysis shows that one of the main discursive practices of GPGuiaDelas is to expose behavior that undercuts the sex workers' ability to make a profit or is violent and degrading toward women. Mainly through posting WhatsApp conversations, exposure of the clients' personal information on Twitter can take three forms. First, it can be a simple direct message like this: "*45 99937 8776 divulguem esse punheteiro*" ("45 99937 8776 disclose this jerkoff"). Second, it can be a sarcastic reaction to a client with the explicit announcement to the client that he is going to "become famous" on Twitter. Third, it can be a meme sex workers post to publicly to reveal clients behavior and criticize them online.

There are numerous instances in which sex workers tell clients that they will be exposed on Twitter for their offensive interactions. For example: "Your contact

information is going to be famous. Congratulations,” “I’m going to put your number on twitter” or “You’re going to be famous on the internet for inconveniencing me” (“*Vai ficar com o contato famoso. Parabéns,*” “*Vou jogar seu número no twitter,*” or “*Vai ficar famoso na internet pra deixar de ser inconveniente*”). In other instances, sex workers use more sarcastic, patronizing, and even demeaning discourse to tell the clients that they are posting their telephone numbers on Twitter.

In one exchange, the client starts by telling the sex worker that he is married, lives far away, and wants to exchange messages because it has been a month since he has had sex (“*Eu sou casado moro longe so qeria umas msg to 1 mês s sexo*”). He continues by clarifying that he wants sexy messages (“*Umas mensagens safadas*”). The sex worker responds that she will put his number on Twitter and that way various “*travestis*” will contact him (“*Vou colocar seu número no twiter. Vários travestis vão ficar com vs ok*”).

“*Travesti,*” as a word and a concept, does not exactly translate. It is easy to misinterpret as “transvestite” or “transsexual,” both of which have become derogatory terms in the United States. While the term started as derogatory in Brazil as well, since the 1970s it has not held that negative connotation, and it never meant the same in Brazil as it did/does in the US. For Brazilians, “*travestis,*” derived from the verb “to cross-dress” (*transvestir*), are men who “adopt female names, clothing styles, hairstyles, cosmetic practices and linguistic pronouns [...] [...] Despite all these changes, however, [...] travestis do not self-identify as women” (Kulick, 1998, p. 5). *Travestis* do not follow traditional gender binaries and while they “endure tremendous pain in order to acquire female bodily forms, travestis do not wish to remove their penis, and they do not consider themselves to *be* women” (Kulick, 1998, p.6, emphasis in original). Because they

consider themselves homosexuals, “ardently desir[ing] men,” they “fashion and perfect themselves as an object of desire for those men” (*ibid*).

Travestis are visible in Brazilian culture, being a main face of *Carnaval* celebrations, actors in popular TV shows, a common sight in the populated cities, and even winning the title of Brazil’s most beautiful woman. Despite this visibility and supposed acceptance, *travestis* are an incredibly marginalized, hated, and persecuted group in Brazil, even more so with the current right-wing administration in power. Due to their severe marginalization, difficulty gaining employment, and high rates of lifetime poverty, many *travestis* turn to prostitution as a way to make a living (Kulick, 1998). Thus, when this sex worker tells this client that he will be able to talk to many *travestis* after she puts his name on Twitter, she is both using the designation negatively and referring to a particular subject position in the sex work landscape in large Brazilian cities.

Interestingly, in the disciplining discourse of this sex worker, she invokes dominant ideologies of sexuality—particularly the denigration of *travestism*—to make her case about sexual labor. She disavows herself from the practice of *travestism* by indicating that she will not make her money by exchanging sexual messages with a stranger because she values her sex work to be not of chitchat but of time rental for a service. In doing so, she assumes a hierarchical place in sex work by suggesting that many *travesties* (“*vários travestis*”) will be willing to chat with the client, something below her value. She also marks all *travestis* as prostitutes, implying that the many *travestis* on Twitter will do this form of sex work. She also marks the client as someone that would enjoy homosexual relations, even though *travestis* perform societal femininity. She may also be hinting that the marital status with this client is a problem for her, but

would not be for a *travesti* since they do not fall into the heteronormative binary of marriage as man and woman (Kulick, 1998; Oliveira, 1994; Silva, 1993). Thus, while she utilizes social media to expose the client for wanting to exchange sexual messages, she does so in a way that distances herself from *travestism*, and reproduces sexual hierarchies, hierarchies of sexual labor, and stigmatization. She has not escaped the very ideologies that govern the client's behavior she seeks to discipline.

Another sex worker dealing with a prank call from a client refers to his marital status as a reason why the client should be concerned with imminent public exposure on Twitter. This post only has the sex worker's sarcastic and patronizing reply; readers are not privy to any information on what elicited the response to the client; therefore, the conversation is framed by the sex worker's choice of how to post the conversation on Twitter. The sex worker starts by asking a rhetorical question after laughing, "You're famous, huh" ("*Tá famosinho, heiiiiin*")? The "*inho*" on the end of "*famoso*" indicates a diminutive, an ending placed on words to indicate either affection or to diminish the extent of something. Here, it appears to make fun of the client by saying he is a "little famous." The sex worker's drawn out hein (*heiiiiin*), which means "huh" in the affirmative or sarcastic sense, further signifies her patronizing tone in the question. She continues by telling the client that his face will be on the internet ("*Sua cara tá na internet*"). She then turns to the question of marriage, first making the interjection "*ixi*," which in the North of Brazil signifies that something is either off and/or that it is not believed. She then asks are you married ("*sera que és casado?*"). Continuing with the assumption that he is married, she then tells him that if she goes to the internet soon, his wife will know that he prank called a whore ("*Se for logo logo ela vai saber que anda*

passando trote para puta”). Leaving no ambiguity about her intentions, the sex worker states that he will be famous for pranking a whore (“*Famosos na net por passar trote a puta*”). Marriage seems to be a sticking point with sex workers in their effort to control clients’ attempts to undermine the value of their labor and circumvent established rules. It is mentioned as a reason for explicitly telling clients that they are going to post their faces and make their contact information public via Twitter. This highlights the particularly important ideological place marriage holds in a Catholic country like Brazil.

Indeed, GPGuiaDelas is nothing if not a public exposé board for both sex workers and clients. It has complete WhatsApp avatar photos of clients with their phone numbers clearly displayed in numerous places. Some of the posts that explicitly set out to expose the client’s information appear to only do so in the set-up. For example, a client claims to be in love with the sex worker and wants her to marry him and live together. She tells him that she does not have time to waste and ends the conversation by calling him a “useless idiot” (“*idiota inútil*”). She sets up the post with the title “Disclose his number, he’s needy” (“*Divulguem o número dele, deve tá carente*”). The set-up to another post states: “Who can post to twiter. He’s already called and bothered me many times” (“*Quem puder postar no twiter. Já me ligou e incomodou muitas vezes*”). In this last example, a sex worker seeks help in order to expose the fact that this person has been bothering her and therefore should be exposed.

Another discursive practice of sex workers on GPGuiaDelas is to expose the photo with a phone number of clients who engage in unwanted communication. Whether or not they alert the client to the imminent exposure, the fact that it is used as a threat indicates that it provides sex workers a form of safeguarding against misogynistic clients

and cathartic release through complaining. Exposure is also a disciplinary tool that is wielded to both keep current clients in check and to potentially prevent future clients from behaving in similarly misogynistic ways. We can see the ways that safeguarding, catharsis, and instruction through disciplinary actions come together by looking at memes that discuss exposure.

Memes as Disciplinary and Instructional Tools

Pepe the Frog makes frequent appearances on GPGuiaDelas. This meme (Figure 11) shows Pepe with sad worried eyes, holding up his hands in a heart shape. The text at the top of the meme reads: “Scheduled! Don’t miss without telling us!” Over the heart shaped hands, indicating sexual and/or emotional intimacy, the text reads, “I’m waiting for you.”



Figure 11.

In much smaller font on the bottom it reads, “Don’t mess up so you won’t end up on GPGuiaDelas.” Because this text is much smaller, it could be easily missed. Thus, this meme serves two purposes: 1) instructing clients on proper relational labor interactions; and 2) warning clients of the repercussions of their actions. While this meme subtly warns clients, the next memes put that warning front and center.



Figure 12.

This four paned comic meme (Figure 12) is set-up with, “Become famosoooooous [hand clap emoji sunglasses emoji]”. Throughout this comic, Homer, the loveable dolt at the head of the TV show *The Simpsons*, is depicted scooting further and further into the bush behind him, slowly disappearing until only his eyes and nose barely poke out of the bush. The text (from left to right) reads: “I’m on @GPdelas. I’m famous..[.] Like a sucker! Who should I talk to to get me out of here?” A massively popular show in Brazil, *The Simpsons* is known for its smart social commentary dressed down in a laughable and relatable way (Gary, 2007). Homer slowly disappears into the bush trying to hide, contemplating what it means that he is famous on GPGuiaDelas, mirroring the thought process sex workers hope their clients go through in order to avoid becoming famous. This happens again in a similar meme where Chris from *Family Guy* looks at a tablet that reads, “You are on @gpguiadelas. Sucker! Follow us on Twitter.”



Figure 13.

This four paned comic meme (Figure 13) depicts fake little people that appear to be a mob, with torches and fists raised. The first pane shows the leader of the mob yelling, “what do we want?” The three members of the mob reply, “We just want to be looked for by real clients!” The leader screams, “What will we do?” “Make these busy idlers famous on Twitter!” This discursive practice draws immediate attention to the needs of sex workers getting real clients and the important disciplinary role that exposing information plays on GPGuiaDelas. With four retweets and 10 likes, this is one of the more popular memes on the Twitter feed.

This section has revealed that sex workers utilize exposure as a way to combat losing time and/or energy and violent discourses. They utilize a number of discursive practices including: exposure, sarcasm, patronizing, disciplining, demeaning, direct messaging, memes, and intertextuality. Exposure on Twitter is in and of itself a discursive practice that makes public the private nature of sex work, though not in the traditional way of making the sex itself public; rather, it makes public the gendered

violence lobbied against sex workers and the anxiety about their labor position. One of the ways in which the architecture of Twitter helps GPGuiaDelas is through cathartic exposure and community building.

Community Building

Another salient theme in the texts analyzed center on the idea of building a community of support. It is a main discursive practice of GPGuiaDelas and happens throughout the Twitter feed through posting screenshots, disciplining misbehaving clients, utilizing memes to explain issues related to sex work, etc. All of these are discursive practices that form a network of community through which other sex workers can be seen, heard, and express anxiety about their relational labor practices that stem from ideologies that paint them as deviant, deserving of violence, and disrespected. Moreover, because spaces devoted to sex working communities online are being increasingly targeted (i.e. the shutter of BackPage), building community on Twitter is particularly important for safety. It is also a main function of social media—finding like-minded individuals to engage in conversation, maintain solidarity in the face of difficulty, and provide protection (Boyd et al., 2010). In addition to the very nature of GPGuiaDelas Twitter feed, there is a specific way users build community, which is by other sex workers commenting that a particular client has also contacted them or that they are going to preemptively block specific clients.

The following example demonstrates the way in which GPGuiaDelas reaches out to build community between sex workers. This client has been bothering a sex worker for some time, trying to get repeat information, asking for free photos, and avoiding disclosing his actual location, a tactic used by clients to try and trick their way into free

sexy chat and/or photos. She sets-up the post: “If anyone out there isn’t busy and wants to send him a little message just to tell him he’s famous...I appreciate it. Just to give sustenance” (“*Se alguém estiver desocupada aí, e quiser mandar uma msgzinha pra ele só dizendo que ele tá famoso...agradeço. Só pra dar sustinho*”). Here, she reaches out to the GPGuiaDelas community asking for help disciplining this annoying and tricky client by flooding his inbox with unsolicited messages thereby wasting his time and annoying him, a rather eye-for-an-eye punishment.

Ana Clara Ruiva comments: “These bums sent me a message today, too, it’s good they didn’t mark anything with me, I will block them!” (“*Esse vagabundos já mandou msg para mim, ainda bem que não marcou nada, as vou bloquear!*”). This is in response to a sex worker posting the phone number of a person who contacted her numerous times via different platforms, demonstrating the effectiveness of utilizing GPGuiaDelas as a community protection mechanism.

In another instance, GPGuiaDelas posts about a client who is wasting her time by asking for free photos. After laughing, user Nua Luv comments, “he contacted me today, too, but not to ask for photos, just for details about an appointment.” She ends by saying, “we’ll keep an eye out” and inserting a two-eyeball emoji, visually reinforcing that this client will be watched (“*hahahahaha ele me procurou hoje também, mas ainda não pediu fotos, só os detalhes do atendimento, fiquemos de olho!!* [Two eye ball emojis].”). By using the “we” form of *ficar*, Nua Luv marks GPGuiaDelas as a community that collectively watches out for misbehaved clients.

In a similar vein, Babi Figueiredo posts about a client who wants to have sex without a condom and starts harassing her when she refuses. I analyzed the content of this

post in the previous chapter, so here the comments are our concern. Júlia Gaúcha writes, “This profile is a blessing for us. I also received several messages from him, now I found it here” (*“esse perfil e uma benção para nós kkkkkk heart eyes emoji, praying hands together emoji, também recebi várias mensagens dele, agora achei aqui”*). Júlia characterizes the GPGuiaDelas Twitter feed as a “blessing” since it provides a space for them to check if their misbehaved clients have been contacting others, or to double check that their client is safe in the first place. Andressa Moraes confirms this by saying that this same client made an appointment with her and then cancelled the same hour of the appointment (*“Esse traste já marco comigo uma vez e na hora desmarco flat eyes emoji”*), again indicating a check-and-balance system as one way in which GPGuiaDelas builds community. This happens again in a similar post that states, “this little thief made an appointment and didn’t show” (*“Arrombadinho que marca e não aparece”*). Biah Bianchinni comments:

Yah this little tit stuffed up my [messages] with nonsense, saying it was his first time and crying like a pussy/fag, I could already tell he wasn’t going to go. Made an appointment overnight and just the other day he had the audacity to want to chat.

Sim esse bostinha fica enchendo o saco o sem noção, diz q é a primeira vez e mi mi um viadinho, pelo papinho já vi q não ia. Marco pernoite e ainda no outro dia teve audácia de querer conversar.

Biah’s complaints, highly gendered in their nature, point to an anxiety observed throughout GPGuiaDelas: that of clients using their time, stuffing up their inboxes, and ultimately making sex workers labor for free. This client’s full photo and phone number

make up the entire post, so it is clear that not only do posts like this serve the disciplinary function discussed earlier, but the comments make it clear they also serve a community building purpose by allowing sex workers to create a blacklist system of clients to avoid. There are numerous posts like this, where just one or two sex workers comment about that client who also contacted them, but there is one post that elicits three responses of this nature.

GPGuiaDelas posts a screen shot of a WhatsApp conversation where the client is asking about a fetish. The client asks, “Will you suck my dick until I cum in the movies I’ll pay 800 if you’ll do it” (“*Olá realiza fetiche. Chupa meu pau no cinema pago 800 4 gozadas topa fazer*”). The sex worker’s reply is a voice message so the contents are not displayed; but it seems this client has been asking around because three different sex workers comment. Maddu states, “He sent me a message today too...I didn’t open it, blocked him when he asked if I would do a fetish” (“*Mandou hj pra mim também... nem abri, dei block de cara qdo perguntou se realizava fetiche*”). Andressa Moraes adds, “I’m tired of receiving messages from him too, it’s always the same thing ugghh” (“*Já cansei de receber msg dele também, sempre a mesma coisa affzz*”). Mari Hoffmann PAWG’s comment is the last, “He messaged me too and I ignored him. Trash” (“*Já mandou msg pra mim tb e eu ignorei. Cara lixo*”).

These examples show one of the ways in which the discursive practice of community building happens on GPGuiaDelas: someone posts about a client’s misogynistic, violent, or otherwise annoying behavior and other sex workers are able to not only see that client and be warned, but also to post in the comments about their experience with this client as well. This is a safety mechanism in that it allows sex

workers to “*fiquemos de olho*” (look out) for unscrupulous clients, which really means keeping an eye out for each other’s emotional, mental, and physical safety. It is important to remember that though the clients find the sex workers online, and GPGuiaDelas is an online platform, their sex work is in person and embodied—they meet clients face to face and the services are performed in person, not via a medium. Therefore, keeping a watch out does not just mean in internet spaces, it has physical implications as well. It also builds community through posting and commenting about similar experiences, allowing a catharsis and recognition that other sex workers are in the same situation, thereby decreasing the isolation that sex workers may feel as a result of their marginalized gender and labor position. In this case, catharsis is enacted through the ability to complain, expose, and discipline clients. It also happens through seeing what other workers in a similar labor position are enduring, being able to comment, and have a space for a voice. Community building and discussion of life difficulties are main ways in which people use social media, and it is clear from the data that this is a main outcome of using GPGuiaDelas.

Conclusion

This chapter has focused on the ways in which sex workers on GPGuiaDelas manage the relational aspects of their job. This thematic cluster revealed four themes and discursive practices that help us understand the types of relational aspects sex workers manage in interactions via social media: managing losing time and energy, battling gendered violence, exposing unacceptable behavior, and building community. Sex workers lose time, energy, and therefore money, when clients make appointments and do not show up or call, ask for free photos, want to chitchat, and repetitively ask for

information that is readily available to them on the sex worker's web site. The loss of time and energy is the largest theme on GPGuiaDelas and highlights an anxiety about their working conditions. Their labor is based on renting time and services, they do not get paid to chitchat (like a "Jenifer"), they lose out doubly when clients miss appointments and are not remunerated for repeating information that the client already has at their disposal. Managing these types of interpersonal interactions seem to cause sex workers stress, anxiety, and frustration, as evidenced by the conversations in their screenshots, the public posting of those screenshots, in the post set-ups, and in the comments.

In addition to loss of time and energy, this analysis revealed another key theme and aspect of managing relational labor conditions: battling gendered violence. Violence on the GPGuia's Twitter feed took three main forms: violent linguistic and nonverbal expressions, a lack of basic respect that elicited violence, and receiving unsolicited dick pictures. One of the ways in which sex workers deal with this violence is to scold clients, reminding them that their job is not what denigrates them, but rather the sexist behavior of some clients causes them pain. Another way they manage violent relational aspects is to post to GPGuiaDelas in order to cathart and expose the difficulty with this aspect of the job; and by sending dick pictures to clients as a way to flip the script and annoy their clients. It is an unfortunate reality that sex workers—in all aspects of life—face violence on a regular basis and that violence appears to be trivialized among clients. In this sense, GPGuiaDelas is a platform that allows them to expose and build community in order to deal with this reality of their labor.

This analysis also demonstrated important discursive practices used by sex workers in order to contend with gendered power differences. These discursive practices include: direct confrontation, sarcasm, redirection, blocking, insulting, intertextuality, patronizing, demeaning, disciplining, warnings, commenting, exposure, and support messages. Among these, exposing clients is the crux of GPGuiaDelas—the fact that it exists in the form it does, full of screenshots of actual conversations that put the client’s face and/or phone number front and center—demonstrates the importance of this social media platform for the mental, emotional, and even physical health of sex workers. Exposure as a discursive practice, disciplinary tactic, and community building mechanism, makes public the numerous layers of gendered violence and anxiety-inducing interactions sex workers must manage as an aspect of their marginalized and stigmatized position. The public exposure of unacceptable and misogynistic client behavior works not only to warn other sex workers, but through the exposure, sex workers are also able to complain, release and cathart about their experiences. This type of online discursive practice is possible through social media and highlights another important theme: community building.

The sheer existence of GPGuiaDelas, the ability to post, comment, create content, read, like, scroll through, and @ people, points to the important practice of community building. GPGuiaDelas builds community not only through its existence as a social media platform for Brazilian sex workers, but also through warning other sex workers of dangerous or annoying clients, keeping a collective watch, and through catharsis. Sex workers post about their bad clients in order to warn other sex workers to avoid this client and to express their anxiety and frustration that stems from the interplay of transactional

labor conditions and relational labor conditions. It is during the communicative work of transactional labor that the communicative work of relational labor conditions come out. Clients enact heteronormative, violent, and disrespectful ideologies during their interactions about the economic exchange of money for sex work. Through exposure, commenting, complaining, and disciplining, GPGuiaDelas creates a community of information sharing practices that helps sex workers deal with these difficult relational aspects of their labor. In a job that is marginalized, stigmatized, and precarious, community building is an important way to stay safe, maintain financial independence (by preemptively blocking bad clients), and gain support of those in a similar subject position.

Through these first two analysis chapters, I have discussed how the content on GPGuiaDelas has focused on managing transactional labor conditions through understanding what services are offered, negotiating prices and discounts, and respecting the rules, terms, and agreements of sex work. I have also shown that users on GPGuiaDelas have to manage relational labor conditions by clients who waste their time and enact violence that stems from the stigma surrounding sex work. We have also seen that the platform of Twitter allows sex workers to instruct clients on proper behavior, expose and discipline unwanted behavior, and build community. This chapter has specifically shown how sex workers must vie for power in their relational communication with clients. Clients wasting time and enacting violence stems from women's sexual labor as being historically marked as free, readily available, and required women's work under heteronormative capitalism. These ideologies implicate women's bodies and sexual labor as not worthy of remuneration or respect, and further implicate sex workers as

worthless, stupid, denigrated because of their labor, and sexually voracious. Sex workers have to see through the trickery and degradation in order to assert power over their labor and the bodies that perform that labor. Power is asserted through discursive practices that expose, patronize, and discipline misogynistic behavior. This power is also heavily asserted by making public one private aspect of sex work: the communication between sex worker and client. It is rare in the literature to see the relational communication between sex worker and client in regards to the economic nature of the transaction and the interpersonal nature of the transaction. GPGuiaDelas reveals both through their Twitter feed, allowing readers to see a rather secretive portion of sex work: communicative labor that is shaped by economic orders of discourse and gendered orders of discourse. The next chapter elucidates how sex workers market a desirable sexual identity utilizing available ideologies at the nexus of race, gender, sexuality, and nation.

Chapter 6

Identity Construction and Market Performance

Chapters four and five focused on economic and relational orders of discourse. Chapter four argued that sex workers perform unpaid labor in order to attract, negotiate, maintain, and discipline clients and that social media provide a space in which to do so. The unpaid labor performed through social media highlights the ways in which sex workers contend with their tenuous labor position in late-capitalism that requires, and yet does not remunerate, their unpaid affective digital labor. Chapter five examined how sex workers manage relational labor conditions with their clients through social media. The evidence demonstrated that gender ideologies and politics of power overlay the interactions between sex workers and clients. Sex workers use a number of discursive practices in order to discipline client behavior, enact power, seek catharsis about the difficulties managing relational labor, and build community through their use of Twitter.

This chapter focuses on the identity order of discourse through the thematic cluster of identity construction and market performance. This thematic cluster centers on the ways in which Brazilian sex workers position themselves within the matrix of race-sex-gender through their self-advertisements. A semiotic analysis of these ads reveals how sex workers' performance of their marketed identities, along with the use of images of Marilyn Monroe in memes, reproduce racialized ideals of beauty and sexuality in Brazil. Although self-advertisements and Marilyn Monroe memes are not the most frequent practices observed on GPGuiaDelas, they constitute a significant domain of discourse on sex work. As it will be discussed in this chapter, this identity construction centers gender, sexuality, and race—through both visual and linguistic codes—that speak

to master discourses of racial/sexual ideologies in Brazil, in particular on the position of *mulatas* in the national imaginary about race and sexuality, and on whiteness as an ideal.

This chapter will first provide a review of the salient literature in regards to race, gender, and sexuality in Brazil in order to ground the reader to the specific socio-historic forces that continue to shape Brazilian racial thought and shape the argument. Then, the chapter presents the findings on self-advertisements, followed by an analysis of Marilyn Monroe memes.

Reviewing Race, Gender, and Sexuality in Brazil

Portuguese colonization, slavery practices, and Catholic doctrines engendered a system of racial hierarchy that places Brazilian whiteness at the top and African blackness at the bottom. After the emancipation of slaves in 1888, Brazilian social theorists as well as political elites leading the building of a nation after independence from Portugal in 1822, had to contend with important questions that were being circulated in European and North American social thought: how does the nation come to grips with its slaving past, and how does it understand itself in regards to the racial systems set up by slavery while simultaneously confronting mixed-race heritage? For Brazilian political and cultural elites, this meant creating an understanding that their system of slavery was marked by peaceful relationships, both social and sexual, between masters and slaves. They also described their system as inherently embedded in the climate and geography that sustained it: the tropics. The desire to be seen as in opposition to the North American slave system, allowed Brazilians to applaud their racial mixture as proof that racism did not and does not exist. If everyone is mixed, as Brazilians have argued since the late 1800s, then racism—in the definition of denigrating people of color

due to stereotypes attached to that color—has never existed in Brazil and cannot exist if racial mixture is the norm. Black activist groups and academics have critiqued this racial ideology, termed “racial democracy,” for concealing enduring patterns of racial discrimination and social and economic inequality, particularly for darker skinned Brazilians. While racial democracy is slowly loosing its suffocating grip on Brazilians, it still undergirds and supports racial ideologies to this day (Aidoo, 2018; Freyre 1933/1986; Marcus, 2013; Mountain & Calvo-Gonzales, 2012; Skidmore, 1993, 1999; Telles, 2004).

Racial democracy is coupled with the Brazilian project of *branqueamento*, or social whitening. Beginning in the early 1900s, *branqueamento* was enacted through legal, social, economic, and discursive policies. Its end goal is for the nation to move closer to a white aesthetic (Skidmore, 1993, 1996; Telles, 2004; Marcus, 2013). In addition to an aesthetic, whiteness is also associated with character traits and cultural formations attributed to Europeans that are seen as most appropriate for nation building after independence (e.g. rationality, modernity, enlightenment, pragmatism). This adherence to European Whiteness, coded in positivistic ideology, is best illustrated in the national motto “*Ordem e Progresso*” (Order and Progress). However, while “white” stems from—and is always embedded in—modernity and Europeanness, it is not conceptualized as a purely European ancestry because the ideology of racial mixture and racial democracy would not allow this possibility. Rather, “white” in Brazil was defined as a way to be as close to their European counterparts as possible while still applauding their national identity as a mixed-race nation. “White” as a color category in Brazil does not just mean lighter skin, it is a host of affective and phenotype features coupled with

socioeconomic status, geography, education level, linguistic features and more. Thus, someone who is defined as white in one part of the country with one set of people may not be defined as white in another set of circumstances. Still, the project of whitening the nation is embedded in an understanding of “whiteness” that accepts a spectrum of skin tones, while simultaneously encouraging racial mixture so that white blood can whiten the population. *Branqueamento* holds as its goal that the best features of Africans and Indigenous peoples will prevail through mixture, while racial intermixing will erase the most disavowed parts of non-white. Heavily based on a biological understanding of race, social whitening also depends on discursive ideologies to aid in its project, including educational texts, media texts and the popular imaginary (Bento Silva, 2002; Dennison, 2013; Sovik, 2004). This is where the aforementioned nuances of a host of factors come into play when determining race: the fluidity through which people can identify and be identified allows whiteness to function (by valorizing whiteness and white Brazilians in media, politics, education, etc.) and racism to be seen as a class issue rather than a skin-issue (Marcus, 2013; Skidmore 1993; Telles, 2004). Brazilians are always involved in the complexity of racial democracy on the one hand, and social whitening on the other. They are keenly attuned to subtle differences that may mark someone’s race by also marking their class, status, and, importantly, gender (Goldstein 1999, 2003; Twine Winddance, 2001). The complexity through which social whitening and racial mixture happen, means that, “In effect, the forces that uphold and reproduce the superiority of whiteness in Brazil are the very same ones that destabilize whiteness and fill it with incoherencies and incongruities” (de Santana Pinto, 2009, p. 40). Thus, as whiteness functions to silence and erase categories of difference, it also serves to reify those categories through close

hierarchicazation of people into those very same categories. Importantly, the supposed racial fluidity allowed by racial mixture and racial democracy, is only afforded to particular people. Dark skinned Brazilians cannot shift through the color spectrum as easily as *mulat@s*, and even some white Brazilians. The “spectrum” of race is still polarized on either end by black and white, with fluidity in the middle fixed to some degree. Thus, it is useful to understand that racial categories are moral ones in addition to physical ones (Burdick, 2016), where moral valorizations and conceptual ideologies are placed on and linked to racialized physical bodies.

White women in Brazil are heavily associated with beauty, piety, virginity, and chastity. Their bodies are the only ones that are able to produce white offspring, and thus as a national project their identity is marked as marriageable, reproductively capable, and pure (Caldwell, 2007; Goldstein, 1999; Pravaz 2009, 2012; Williams, 2013). Dark skinned women, as the representation of the opposite of *branqueamento* are coded as licentious, incapable, animalistic, and ugly. Their phenotype features and hair type put them at the very bottom of the color spectrum in Brazil, multiply marginalized (Aidoo, 2018; Caldwell, 2003). *Mulatas*, or mixed-race women, represent the epitome of racial mixture. Through their very existence they represent whiteness mixed with blackness, their skin color marks them as the possibility of whitening and racial mixture: holding on to the desired features of Afro-Brazilians (large buttocks, busts, hips, and hypersexual), but purified by their whiteness. As a result, they are the most sexualized, objectified, and desired. It is important to note that *mulato/a* originally indicated a Portuguese/African mixed-race heritage and was/is deployed as a racial insult. The push towards an acceptance of racial mixture and non-violent (always defined in opposition to the U.S.)

race relations (of which racial democracy is the result) has meant an acceptance of the term by both those who identify with it and other Brazilians. Other racial terms, like *preto* or *negro* have also been reclaimed as a positive identity marker, rather than a negative one, thanks to the Afro-Brazilian movements starting in the 1980s (Agier, 1995; Aidoo, 2018; Burdick, 2016; Edmonds, 2010; Fontaine, 1981; Gonzalez, 1985; Marcus, 2013; Mountain & Calvo-Gonzales, 2012; Skidmore, 1993; Turner, 2014; Williams, 2013).

Within this ideological field, *mulatas* are seen as a perfect mixture, the epitome of *brasilidade*. They have the over-sexualized attributes ascribed to black women—voluptuousness and sexual willingness—but those are complicated by the simultaneous ascription of a greater measure (when compared to black women) of purity and virginity associated with white European ancestry. In dominant discourses, *Mulatas* represent the best of all worlds, where the desired attributes of the European colonizer, African slave, and Indigenous peoples coalesce to create an idealized figure. They also represent the ultimate goal of the whitening project, as the visibility of *mulatas* gives the impression of a country that is further away from Afro-Brazilian culture and closer the European values and ideals of whiteness (Collins, 2007; Goldstein, 1999; Pravaz, 2009, 2012; Telles, 2004). At the same time, their brown skin color maintains their association with blackness and sexual proclivity. Both are possible “as racial exclusion speaks in two voices: it values whiteness and says that color is not important. Hegemonic discourse affirms *mestiçagem* both as a primary national characteristic and as a token of Brazilian openness to non-racialism and multiplicity” (emphasis added Sovik, 2004, p. 316).

In effect, in the Brazilian sexual-racial hierarchies, *mulatas* hold a particular position, and in the self-advertisements on GPGuiaDelas, sex workers utilize this specific sexual-racial positioning as a marketing strategy to attract clients. Concurrently, the popularity of the image of Marilyn Monroe in the discourse produced by sex workers is meaningful. I posit that the use of her image, as the epitome of whiteness and glamour, signifies a commercial appeal to a particular type of national desire for the culmination of the racial mixture and whitening process in Brazil. She represents how beauty—defined in Brazil as a white aesthetic (small nose, small waist, blonde non-kinky hair, and pale skin) that borrows pieces of brownness (large buttocks and curvaceous features) (Caldwell, 2003; Gilliam and Gilliam, 1999)—can be deployed as a white sexuality, while *mulatas* remain in sexualized subject positions, not associated with beauty in the same way as white women in Brazil (Corrêa, 1996). “Monroe conforms to, and is part of the construction of, what constitutes desirability in women. This is a set of implied character traits, but before it is that it is also a social position, for the desirable woman is a white woman” (Dyer, 2004, p. 40).

It is imperative to remember that in Brazil a “white aesthetic” speaks to a complicated overlap between race, gender, class, and phenotype features. Ramos (1957) posited that the “pathology of Brazilian ‘whites’” was constantly managing how to define whiteness against the ever-important European criteria. Therefore, Brazilian whites had to both compare and contrast their whiteness to European standards, while simultaneously positioning themselves against their opposite, Blacks. This led Chaniderman (1995) to theorize that, “the psychology of Brazilian racism should be understood as an intolerance of unbearable similarity, different from the more common

notion of intolerance of difference” (quoted in Sovik, 2004, p. 325). Thus, in Brazil racial hierarchies and racial democracy simultaneously rest on “the valorization of *mestiçagem* as a national feature [joined with] valorizing whiteness through the project of *branqueamento* (whitening) (italics added Corossacz Ribei, 2009, p. 45). Within this system that values a spectrum of racial identification, while also operating with white-black poles, the *mulata* holds a particular place: “her status on the ‘continuum’ is fixed, albeit ambiguous. That is, it is midway (on the threshold, Lacan would say: neither natural, nor cultural, nor individual, nor social) between White and Black- but there it is” (Corrêa, 1996, p. 47).¹⁵

This chapter argues that the women who self-advertise their sex work services on GPGuiaDelas reproduce this racial ideology in order to attract clients. They understand themselves as being embedded in and encoded through a racial system that paints their bodies in particular ways, and they capitalize on this. I also argue that the use of Marilyn Monroe, as the epitome of a beauty standard, may also represent the move towards whitening. Keeping in mind that her beauty (impossible to divorce from her whiteness) and her celebrity status afford her a particular position in order to discipline clients with her unique brand of subversive sarcasm and humor (Banner, 2005; Dyer, 2004). Ultimately, I argue that race, gender, and sex are readily available master discourses through which sex workers understand their subject position, capitalize on it, and deploy race as an avenue for gaining and disciplining clients.

¹⁵ Original: “sua situação no “continuum” é fixa, ainda que ambígua. Isto é, ela está a meio caminho (no limiar, diria Lacan: nem natural, nem cultural, nem individual, nem social) entre o Branco e o Negro – mas aí fica.”

Self-advertisements

The self-advertisements analyzed here feature a set of discursive practices that activate an ideologically charged discourse on sexuality, race, and national identity. The first ad (Figure 14) is a photo posted by Tati Mulata taubate, whose user name immediately calls attention to her status as a mixed raced woman (Mulata) who identifies herself with a southern city in Brazil (Taubaté, located between São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro), where she may be considered darker than were she in the north. Her hashtag #mulata further marks her as part of an online network of *mulatas*, as hashtags create an interconnected conversation among various users on a social media platform.



Figure 14.

The photo is taken from slightly from above, appearing as though Tati took it herself. At first glance, her light brown skin is prominent, as prominent as the bright pink underwear with a small bow on the front. Her legs appear bent at the knees, feet angled in towards each other, creating more visual space to focus on the bright underwear and its concealed contents. Her stomach, flat but not muscular, is a smooth and inviting surface. A hole above her belly button hints that she had/has a belly button piercing. A gray/white

silk-like material is seductively drawn across her upper stomach. It looks like the tie of a robe that has fallen just slightly open. The angle of the photo, brightness of the lingerie, bent knees, smooth stomach, and seductive silk tie work together to draw the eye down to a sexual focal point, the fleshy bump of her mons pubis. The photo is fairly chaste, a combination of sexual and sensual appeals, hinting at a sexual experience rather than directly showing it. Her light brown skin plays into the idealized sexual mixture discussed above: it is sensual but not hypersexual, visually arousing but not overtly grotesque or carnal.

Another sex worker, Brunina Mulata helps us understand the range of positions assigned to *mulatas* in Brazil's racial erotic hierarchy. Bruna is a darker skinned mulata and therefore is in a position that is more stereotypically assigned to black women. Analyzing Tati and Bruina help elucidate the range of possible positions assigned to mulatas in Brazil and the ways in which advertisements draw on available tropes and stereotypes to render them understandable and enticing, even if they are racist and sexist.

Similar to Tati, Bruna/Bruninha Mulata self-identifies her racial identity in her social media user name, again utilizing "*mulata*." She posts three different self-advertisements, one is a short, 27-second video and the other two are photos. Due to the nature of data collecting on Twitter, the video was not saved in its entirety. However, the opening screenshot of the video was saved and serves as the unit of analysis (Figure 15). The video is retweeted by GPGuiaDelas from Acompanhantes Do Vale and is set-up with two simple, but telling emojis: a chocolate bar and a white thumbs-up emoji. The chocolate bar clearly signifies brownness, both in color and sexuality, similar to its connotations in the U.S. The thumbs-up emoji offers support for "chocolate," which here

signifies *mulataness*. The video is of bruna mulata doing a strip tease, slowly, seductively, and purposefully removing her white two-piece string bikini bathing suit.



Figure 15.

Positioned on her hands and knees, Bruna stares into the camera, and we can feel the intensity even through the pixilation of her face, appearing animalistic, a position often linked to dark skinned people in Brazil through jokes, song, and popular discourse (Caldwell, 2003). Her long black hair is in loose waves and swings sensuously around her, caressing her back and falling down over the front of her shoulders. Wavy hair like this is idealized in Brazil for its beauty and sensuality, and due to the complex nature of racial identification, is a main way in which Brazilians assign race. In other words, though she is a dark-skinned *mulata*, her hair is not ‘typically black’—a racist gendered trope that renders Afro-Brazilian hair as dirty and ugly, “*cabelo ruim*” (Caldwell, 2003). Her skin, darker than Tati’s, is slightly wet and gives the appearance of having just exited the pool by which she is stripping. Her white bathing suit barely contains her breasts and buttocks,

and, again, like Tati's, she uses color contrast to draw the eye's attention. There are string lights in the background, offering a sense of soft lighting and a party atmosphere. Her body is toned, stomach not visible in her position. The camera angle draws our attention to her pixelated face and her non-pixelated lifted bottom, marking her identity as private while her "privates" are made public. The original 27-second video has 531 views by the time it is retweeted by GPGuiaDelas, five retweets from GPGuiaDelas, 20 likes and one comment, marking its popularity among sex working communities on Twitter. User anônimo comments, "delicious" – "*delícia.*" The post immediately after this video is also from Bruna Mulata.

Bruna's handle for this post is Bruninha Mulata @mulatinhadovale, using the diminutive "*inha*" to endear us to her. The post is set-up as "*party cone emoji Happy New Year! Champagne bottle emoji Wishing you a lot of peace, health, and success! Lips emoji.*" Bruna stands in profile, the right side of her body towards us, against a backdrop of shattered glass artwork and a long curtain that appears to block the inside porch area from the outside (Figure 16).



Figure 16.

The blue and white of the shattered glass piece of art brightens the photo and complements Bruna's light silver sequined dress. The dress plunges low, hugging her breasts and body tightly. A small piece of the fabric hangs off her breasts and draws the eye towards them. The string ties that keep the dress on, both around her neck and on the side of her thigh, give the illusion of the garment being easy to remove. The dress has a shiny, almost disco-ball like appearance, appropriate for a New Year's Eve post. The dress is short and her toned body is on display. Her left arm is bent up with her hand placed atop her head, while her right is in mirror form with her hand on her right hip. This accentuates the curves of her body, helping her breasts and butt to jut out, offering them as focal points of the photo. A small tan-line can be seen on her rib cage, an indication that her brown skin is enriched in color by hours spent sunbathing, indoor tanning, and/or spray tanning. Her long, wavy black hair cascades down her back and disappears into the curtained background. Her face is, again, pixilated, but unlike the previous post where the intensity in her face is felt through the pixilation, in this photo her face barely registers, the result of the focus drawn to her body.

This post garners 12 retweets and 122 likes as of the time the data were collected, a rather large number for GPGuiaDelas. The comments offer messages of appreciation for her post. Mario Lucio dos Santos says, "My *mulata*, my love for you is unconditional" ("*Minha mulata, on meu amor por você e um amor incondicional*"). Mario comments on her marked racial identity, linking it to his unconditional love for her. Kleber Periera's post sums up the other two posts that wish her a Happy New Year, "With this lovely photo, I don't know how 2018 could have ended better. Much happiness and success for you in 2019." ("*Com essa linda foto, não tinha como terminar melhor 2018. Muitas*

felicidades e sucesso para você em 2019”). Interestingly, though Bruna has made it a point to mark her brownness through the chocolate bar emoji in the first post, her Twitter name and handle, and the light fabric contrasting her skin, only one commenter (Mario) also utilized racial language to mark her. In the Brazilian erotic landscape, because she whitens blackness with her lighter skin and less Afro-marked features, a hyper(in)visibility takes place, where Black is hyper-visible and white is hyper-invisible, thus she occupies both places, marking her *mulataness* as simultaneously visible for its blackness and invisible for its whiteness. Her last post to GPGuiaDelas helps to further explore this concept.

On January 15, 2019 Bruna, here called Bruninha Mulata – again, the use of “*inha*” is present—posts a nude photo with this set-up: “Anyone want to sunbathe with me” (“*Alguém quer tomar sol comigo*”), a sexy rhetorical invitation to accompany a post of her sunbathing nude (Figure 17). For a *mulata*, the invitation to sunbathe nude may have special racial connotations for the particular place *mulatas* hold: she is able to accentuate her brown skin by purposefully making it darker through tanning, therefore changing its lighter natural appearance to a darker one. This suggests how the duality between black/white held within the *mulata* body opens up space to play with different racial positionings within the wide category of *mulata*, within the large spectrum of color in Brazil.



Figure 17.

Laying by the poolside, the photo of Bruninha is taken from slightly above her body from her toes up. The background of the photo is bright green grass on her left side and a languid turquoise pool of water on her right. Bruninha is laying on her back on the edge of the pool. Her left leg is bent up at 90 degrees, toes pointed creating a long line of sight up her brown, water droplet covered, leg. Because her knee is bent, the left side of her body is covered and so our attention is drawn to the pointed toes. Her right leg is extended straight down, resting on the poolside deck and disappears out of shot. The long line of this leg draws our eyes up her body, to notice the curve of her hips and buttocks. Travelling over her stomach, we again see a hint of a bikini line around her hips, and then see her naked breast. Her arms are bent, her hands unseen. Her face is barely visible; we only catch a glimpse of her sunglasses, preserving her anonymity. The 751 likes, 48 retweets, and 27 comments attest to the success of this type of post.

The small detail of Bruninha's pointed foot, as a focal point of the photo, was a highlight of the comments: "Delicious feet!!!" "I loved the detail of the foot! High heel emoji, heart emoji, high heel emoji, heart emoji, three winky kiss face emojis." "I'm the one who wants to... red cheek smiling emoji, hearts around face emoji, three winky kiss face emojis, high heel emojis, sneaky devil emoji" ("*Delicia de pés!!!*" "*Amei o detalhe do pezinho! High heel emoji, heart emoji, high heel emoji, heart emoji, three winky kiss face emojis.*" "*Quem sou eu ... red cheek smiling emoji, hearts around face emoji, three winky kiss face emojis, high heel emoji, sneaky devil emoji*"). The use of high heel emojis in these commenter's posts relies heavily on gendered norms of sexuality—the high heel and the pointed arch it requires are near universal symbols of sexuality and attractiveness for those performing heteronormative femininity (Freeman, 2000; Gamman, 2011; Guéguen, 2015; Guéguen and Stefan, 2015; Morris, White, Morrison, and Fisher, 2013; Steele, 1996). "The shoe's transformative effect on the wearer's body, tightening calves and buttocks, projecting breasts forward, has resulted in its associations with the erotic and fetishism" (Braithwaite, 2018, p. 206). Thus, her pointed toes and arched foot symbolize an inviting erotic sexuality. We are invited to draw our eyes up her leg, a smooth brown shin dusted with water droplets.

Bruninha's skin color is highlighted in the comments. Alexandre G.D.costa writes, "good afternoon *morena* my god how delicious" ("*boa tarde morena nossa senhora que gostoso*"). *Morena* refers both to her brown skin and brown hair. SWEET HOT STICK comments: "my ebony goddess" ("*minha deusa de ébano! Five heart emojis*"). Fabioalves claims, "Oh morena the color of sin, I love how I love you are delicious" ("*O morenaaaa da cor do pecado amO q amO vc deliciaaaaaaaaaa four heart eye emojis*").

The drawn out “a” on *morena* signifies verbal appreciation and emphasis; the same can be said about the numerous “as” on *delícia*. Fabioalves directly relates Bruninha’s racial identity to sin, “Oh *morena* the color of sin” (“*O morenaaa da cor do pecado*”).

The *morena/mulata*’s historical positioning is as the carrier of a desired level of the vulgar sexuality and insatiability attributed to enslaved African women, they are “the major icon of ‘hot sexuality’” (Edmonds, 2010; Goldstein, 1999, p. 568; Turner, 2014). Their particular position on the racial hierarchy in Brazil means that their “blackness and black characteristics, which can be considered ugly in most situations, can in the context of commodified sexuality be eroticized and valorized” (Goldstein, 1999, p. 568). Afro-Brazilian women were both desired and persecuted for what was perceived as their hyper-sexuality, insatiable sexual appetite, and willingness to have sex. The basis of these myths is their subjugated position as slaves. Their “insatiable sexual appetites” were utilized as an excuse for rape and sexual abuse (Aidoo, 2018). But through Brazil’s process of whitening, this hyper-sexuality was tempered in the association of *mulatas* with their European ancestry—particularly in the case of *mulatas* with visible European physical features—and the ideal of white women’s (attributed) purity. Through the body of the *mulata/morena*, an unacceptable level of sin was whitened to an acceptable level of sin—“*da cor do pecado*” (the color of sin). Yet, though the *mulata* represents perfected *brasilidade*, she is still marked as a sin, having undergone a process of fetishization that turns her distasteful qualities into perfected sexualized attributes (Hall, 1997). The *bunda*—or butt/ass—of *mulatas*, perhaps best represents these perfected sexualized attributes.

GPGuiaDelas reposts a meme (Figure 18) by Filosofoei errado and sets it up with a laughing, “Kkkk.”



Figure 18.

On the left side of the meme we see a *mulata* standing with her back to us. She is dressed in a $\frac{3}{4}$ length sleeve purple shirt and a white thong. Her hair is in a classic Afro style, creating a crown of dark hair around her head. Her arms are bent 90 degrees at the elbows, slightly pulled away from her body so that we can see her small upper body and thin arms. A shadow is cast across her back, making her purple shirt appear almost black. Her white thong is high-cut, sitting on her hips and then disappearing between her butt cheeks. Her *bunda* is the focal point of the photo, curvaceous, large for her frame, and supported by shapely legs. Her skin appears smooth, healthy, and vibrant. The photo is taken on a brick paved walk or driveway; yucca and agave plants flank the right side of the photo, their sharp spikes contrasted with her curves and curly hair. The brightness of the sun enhances the photo, making it appear warm and inviting.

The right side of the meme is a black and white photo zoomed in on an older man's buttocks. The location of the photo is unclear, but the man appears to be holding hands with someone to the left of the photo. Nothing on his body is curvaceous, toned, or conventionally attractive. His white skin looks papery and hangs loosely underneath his right butt cheek. Unlike the photo of the woman, where the zoomed out camera angle enhances her curves, the man's photo is zoomed in tighter on his body adding to his flat-backed appearance. It is unclear where the photo is taken, the environment adding little to our understanding of the space. It does appear brightness is shining in on the back right side of the photo, but this only washes the photo out, rather than lightening it up.

Above the photo the text reads, “the ass the guys demand / the ass of the guys”— (“*a bunda q os caras exige / a bunda dos cara*”). The stark differences in the photos purposefully make the joke in the text: guys want a girl with a *bunda* that looks like the *mulata*'s—shapely, sun kissed, and brown—but the best the guys offer is a white, flat, paper looking *bunda*. Historical constructions of race and sex come together in this meme. The older white man, the appearance of his body excused because of his masculine whiteness, embodies Portuguese slavers and the hierarchical erotic-racial system they instilled. A patriarchal prerogative and power position is indicated by the word “demand” (*exige*). Just as Portuguese slavers **demand**ed sex from Indigenous and Black women, these men **demand** a perfect *bunda*, The light(er) skinned Afro-Brazilian woman was abused and raped by white Portuguese slavers, kept close to the house as wet-nurses, maids, and domestic servants. She was both desired for her sexuality and sensuality, and disavowed because of her erotic-racial positioning as non-white. As the middle ground between Afro and Portuguese, the *mulata* represented both the path to social whitening

and the living evidence for the widespread belief in peaceful interracial sex that lends itself to

the construction of Brazilian racial exceptionalism and the myth of racial democracy. Sex and its traditional connection to intimacy and interracial reproduction were used to create a racially complex society and as an effective weapon of subjugation of the enslaved. Sex was attributed a transcendental meaning by many of the nation's white elite and racial theorists; that is, sex and reproduction had the capacity to erase barriers and served as proof that race could be and had been transcended. (Aidoo, 2018, p. 3)

The symbol of the *bunda* cannot be underestimated in this desirable/disavowal dialectic. Its primacy in Brazilian sexual culture is evidenced in Carnival celebrations, advertisements, music, and even international visions of Brazil—e.g. Brazilian bikinis, Brazilian butt-lifts, and Brazilian tans all center on the *bunda* as the erotic symbol of mixed-raced Brazil. Its taboo nature as both the site of excrement and a pinnacle of sexual pleasure, makes it “especially well suited to the transgressive logic of the erotic” (Parker, 2009, p. 134). Importantly though, the *mulata's bunda* is the prime example of this perfected taboo, “while the standard of beauty still privileges whiteness, the standard of sensuality privileges women of African descent” (Williams, 2013, p. 45). The *mulata's* toned, large, and round *bunda* in the meme is the epitome of Brazilian racial-erotic ideologies that both recognize and undermine social norms and erotic experiences; “the *bunda* both complements and completes the erotic images” of Brazil (Parker, 2009, p. 136). Moreover, the juxtaposition of a brown woman who is petite and in shape, with that of an older white male seemingly without a shape at all, highlight the gendered standards

of beauty and physical expectation in Brazil. White men with money may not need to worry about their physical attributes in order to have sex, paid or not, while women have to adhere to rigorous beauty standards, physically altering aspects of their bodies to make them socially suitable as sexual beings and as women (Edmonds, 2007, 2010; Finger, 2003; Jarrín, 2017; Machado-Borges, 2009).

Tati, Bruninha, and this meme indicate one of the ways in which race and sex interact in cultural representations and social interactions in Brazil. Since colonization and slavery, *mulatas* have been used for their ability to gather the most sexually desired aspects of Blackness and carry them into Brazil's ultimate goal of Whiteness. The self-advertisements of Tati and Bruninha are heavily wrapped up in these racial-erotic ideologies through their apposition of bright colors and brown skin, curvaceous bodies, and the primacy and availability of their sexuality on display. "Racialized gender hierarchies also classify women by dissecting their bodies and attributing certain physical features either the category of sex or beauty" (Caldwell, 2003, p. 21). Breast shape and size, buttocks, and hips are attributed to sex, while hair texture, nose shape, and skin color are placed in the beauty category (Caldwell, 2003). For Tati and Bruna, they play up the sexual parts: their breasts, buttocks, and hips are on display for sexual gain. While hair color and texture is used by Bruna to mark beauty. The fact that the advertisements are specifically engineered in these racial-erotic ways to attract clients underscores the importance of using objectification for financial gain. They are sex workers, and as such take advantage of the ways in which their bodies are already encoded with particular racial/sexual attributes. Blackness is associated with hypersexuality and promiscuity. Tati and Bruninha use and play into these ideological constructions of mixed-race femininity.

As producers of discourse, Tati and Bruninha know the racial-sexual landscape under which they must operate, and use these ideologies to their financial advantage. The meme makes this even clearer: the men demand these particular erotic features (*bundas*) and they can pay to have them. Of course, *mulatas* are not the only ones imbricated in the racial-erotic system. White women hold a particular place in the sexual ladder, being allowed more room to be overtly sexual, while also holding the promise of fulfilling of the goal of social whitening, while *mulatas* hold the “proof” of racial democracy (Caldwell, 1999; Gilliam, 1998; Gilliam & Gilliam, 1999).

Since the late 1800s, *branqueamento* has been the social, legal, and ideological goal of creating a whiter Brazil, through immigration, social and legal practices (Mountain & Calvo-Gonzalez, 2012; Pravaz, 2012; Skidmore, 1993). Social whitening works with racial democracy in complex ways:

Whitening and racial democracy, the twin pillars of Brazil’s racial ideology, have been rooted in a profound belief that miscegenation is a historical fact that makes Brazil unique. Whitening took a negative view of Brazil’s miscegenation, and racial democracy promoted miscegenation as Brazil’s solution to racism. At first, it [Brazilian elites] created racial conditions and representations through slavery and whitening but then denied them through racial democracy. (Telles, 2004, p. 45-46)

The twin system of whitening and racial democracy have produced a complicated and convoluted system where there is, on the one hand, importance placed on miscegenation, racial democratization (non-violent race relations), and racial categorization, and, on the other hand, whitening as a goal has produced a bipolar marker

where black is on one end and white is on the other. These two systems function at the same time, sometimes in supportive ways and other times in contradictory ways (Guimarães, 1995; Sheriff, 2001). Therefore, an analysis of whiteness as “an unmarked and universal identity” is paramount (Caldwell, 2003, p. 22).

As a specific marker of skin color, there are few examples of explicit whiteness in the advertisements. In the texts analyzed, there are more examples of whiteness as a visual analytical category than a linguistic category. Whiteness serves as a referent point to which other races, classes, and genders are compared. In addition to images of White sex workers, whiteness is referenced through the popular image of Marilyn Monroe incorporated in the discourse.

As mentioned earlier, in Brazil whiteness is a historically situated social, economic, political, racial, and gendered form of power that constitutes “a social value and a form of status whose power is rendered invisible” (Ribeiro Corossacz, 2015, p. 161). Thus, an analysis of whiteness must look at the ways in which it is both marked and unmarked, an “ongoing and pervasive force” (de Santana Pinho, 2009, p. 45). The following example illustrates some of these dynamics.

Lô Ruiva is a regular commenter to the GPGuiaDelas Twitter feed and sometimes posts original content. She only posts one self-advertisement (Figure 19), which elicits 63 retweets, 322 likes, and 12 comments. She titles the post, “Famous selfie from right now ha I-phone emoji camera emoji” (“*Famosa selfie ‘de agora’ rs I-phone emoji camera emoji*”), with the dates when she is scheduling clients for her time in São Paulo: “I’m scheduling” (“*Já estou agendando!*”). The “from right now ha” (“*de agora rs*”) is a cheeky ploy given the staging, attention to detail, and clothing she is wearing; it appears

far more planned than in the moment. Lô's post highlights the ways in which whiteness is a category imbued with notions of innocence and purity, even as she uses her body to attract potential clients for sex work. Her positioning with the Brazilian erotic-racial system, allows her to leverage her white innocence as beautiful and enticing.



Figure 19.

In the photograph, Lô (short for Lorraine) is on the floor of a bedroom. She is positioned on a rug on a tiled floor in front of a mirror, indicated by the presence of the back of her phone in the photo (demonstrating she is using a mirror to take the photo). She appears young, with her fair skin tight and smooth. She wears dark blue lingerie that is either purple cheetah or flower printed—the photo not focused enough to be able to clearly distinguish the pattern, but the dark color contrasts her snow-white skin, much like Tati and Bruna's light clothing did for their brown skin. The brassiere is detailed with lace along the top of the bra cup, and an extra thin strap that wraps around her chest to the back. The underwear is cut in a deep V-cut pattern with an extra strap on the top

that also wraps around the waist. These extra straps on the bra and the underwear are a classic lingerie technique to make the woman appear as a present –an object with multiple strings to be untied. It also creates extra lines of sight, the thin top strap accentuating her slender waist in contrast to the thicker strap below that shows her ample hip curves. The effect is the same on her bra; the extra strap around the bottom of the brassiere does not serve a functional purpose but, rather, accentuates the thinness of her rib cage in contrast to her breast size. Her breasts, either through size, bra design, or a combination of the two, are pushed together and raised, another classic lingerie technique to make them appear full, amplifying the cleavage and making the breasts appear to be at the point of bursting out of the confines of the bra. She is thin but lacks muscle definition that may make her appear more masculine; instead, she appears soft, pliable, and ultra-feminine in conventional terms. Her long, bright red hair has a very slight wave to it as it flows over her right shoulder and arm.

In both photos, she is not looking directly at the mirror but into her phone in order to take a picture of herself or “selfie.” Her lips are slightly pursed in both photos, eyes seductive and inviting. In the photo on the left, she supports herself on her right arm, body leaning down at an angle, halfway between sitting up straight and lying down on her side. Her face is in profile, partially covered by her flowing red hair. The position amplifies her small waist, large breasts, and the thick softness of her thighs. In the photo on the right, she is still leaning on her right arm but she is sitting up almost straight with her chin pointed forwards, hair cascading down to cover her right arm. This position draws our attention again to her curvy figure, especially her buttocks, which are made to appear larger due to the high double V-cut of her lingerie.

In sharp contrast to the photos of Tati and Bruninha, who took measured steps to conceal their faces, Lô makes a point to show her face, using her light makeup, pursed lips, and seductive eyes as part of the overall enticement. Moreover, Tati and Bruninha did not appear to use mirrors to take their images, taking them either from a camera on a stand, with their arms held up above them, or by a third party. Lô's use of a mirror for a selfie may have to do partially with her age since it is a common social media tactic. It may also have to do with feeling more secure as a white sex worker, than either Tati or Bruninha could feel as mixed-race sex workers. It is also the only advertisement that is taken from a fully frontal angle, as Tati, Bruninha, and the meme all position themselves either from below, from the side, on all fours, from the back, or lying down. Lô's choice to take a "full-frontal" selfie makes this photo appear more casual, as though it is one you may send via sexual texting or "sext" to a partner.

In this sense, Lô's race is rendered invisible, unlike the other posts that were specifically relying on a *mulata* identity in user names and commentary as a sexual lure. The only part of Lô's race that is mentioned is her red hair: "Ruiva" (in her user name) means red head. But no commenters make notice of her race, nor her red hair; instead, they comment on how pretty she is. "Super gorgeous!" "Beautiful and sensual!" "A monument to women you are very pretty"—"*Que maxilhinda!*" "*Linda e sensual!*" "*Um monumento de mulher vc é muito linda.*" The last comment, in all caps from Leonardo, sums up the others, "YOU ARE SEXY"—"*VC É UM TESÃO.*"

Unlike some of the comments for Bruninha, Lô's race is invisible as her whiteness holds a status of non-racial. There is also an air of innocence in these photos, created through her poses, her young age, the lingerie, and long flowing hair. She appears

an enticing innocent, a damsel, as commenter Zeus The Legendary puts it, “Fantastic!!! A simply marvelous princess!!!” (“*Fantástica!!! Princesa Simplesmente Maravilhosa!!!*”). This is made possible through her whiteness, stemming from the colonial project that marked white women as pure, virtuous, virginal, and in need of protection. She emphasizes this virginal purity through her skin color, lingerie, body position, pouting lips, and sultry eyes. She is able to utilize markers of beauty: light skin, long straight hair (good hair—“*cabelo bom*”), a small nose and pouty lips, coupled with markers of sexuality: her pushed-up breasts and curvy hips. Lô’s whiteness affords her the ability to use both categories to her advantage unlike Tati and Bruna, who represent solely the markers of sexuality, which are largely attributed to their mixed-race identity. Her whiteness is an “essential criteria for femininity and true womanhood” (Caldwell, 2003, p. 19).

Through these five self-advertisements and one meme, we can see how a sexual-racial erotic is deployed through the bodies of *mulatas* and white women. Tati and Bruna/inha utilize traditional markers of *mestiçagem* to enhance their appeal to clients, and clients respond accordingly. Arguably, they are the synthesis of Black-White-Indian, “happy-go-lucky, sexually available” women seemingly without “great ambitions or productive capacities” (Sovik, 2004, p. 23). By photographing their bodies in certain positions that accentuate their curves, choosing light colored lingerie to offset their “cinnamon colored” skin (de Santana Pinho, 2009, p. 48), and highlighting their race through the use of hashtags and/or user names, Tati and Bruna/inha utilize the dominant discourse that “over-inscribes with sex [...] the body of the mixed-race mulata” (Turner, 2014, p. 82). Stemming from the colonial project that engendered the sexual contact of

the white Portuguese man and the African female slave, the *mulata* has been assigned by the dominant culture a particular place in the Brazilian sexual-racial hierarchy, as “she embodies the sexual fantasies of the white man: she is lascivious, insolent, and ready and willing to have sex” (Baptista da Silva and Rosemberg, 2009, p. 68 quoted in Turner, 2014, p. 82-83). Through these self-advertisements, Tati and Bruna/inha reify their position as women with “unrestrained desire” due to their racialized bodies (Mountinho, 2004, p. 345). This is not to say that they do so unknowingly, in fact the argument is the opposite: that they are keenly aware of the sexual presumptions of their racialized bodies within Brazilian popular sexual imaginations and exploit that in order to attract clients and therefore, money. Their gendered-raced-classed position already marks them as sexually available, sensual: “the product of spurious sexual relations, the *mulata*, already in the name chosen for it, designates its marks of origin” (Corrêa, 1996, p. 44).¹⁶

In a similar vein, Lô uses her whiteness, the invisible and unmarked status afforded to her through her racial-sexual position, in order to create an advertisement that signals purity, virginity, and chastity, even as she advertises for sex. Her whiteness is “explicitly marked [and] implicitly and carefully manipulated” (de Santana Pinho, 2009, p. 44) in order to draw clients. In addition to the physical beauty aided by a younger age, her age marks her as available for marriage and child rearing, a promise of progeny. It simultaneously encodes her with a sexuality predicated on the desire for sex with younger women—chastity on the one hand and oversexualized youth on the other (Valenti, 2009). The seemingly competing possibility of virginity and available sexual exploration, means Lô’s young age, and the virginity encoded by it, is utilized as a culturally salient tactic for

¹⁶ My translation from the original in Portuguese: “produto de relações sexuais (espúrias), o *mulato* trazia já no nome escolhido para designá-lo a marca de sua origem.”

gaining clients; as Valenti (2009) puts it, “touting girls and girlhood as ideal forms of sexuality is simply another way of advancing the notion that to be desirable, women need to be un-adults—young, naïve, and impressionable” (Valenti, 2009, p. 68). Importantly, the virginal quality is afforded to her because of both her age and skin color. Mixed-race and black women are encoded without virginity, their hypersexualization removes the possibility of a virginal quality, and instead they are always already licentious, vulgar, and ready for sex (Turner, 2014; Valenti, 2009). The staging of the photo with a selfie in her bedroom helps further the association with her young age and with a manufactured “naturalness,” similar to Marilyn Monroe (analyzed below) (Dyer, 2004; Fabris, 2015). Her status as a white woman in Brazil allows for this sex worker’s ability to be more readily associated with a woman who is worthy of marriage or, at least, a relationship beyond casual sex, and imbued with the possibility of virginity (Marcus, 2013).

From Tati, Bruna, and Lô, we see a reliance on available sexual-racial stereotypes: sexually available and hypersexual *mulatas* and virginal chaste white women. The use of these dominant discourses makes sense in an advertising context: in order to be immediately read through available cultural lenses, advertisements use readily available discourses in order to attract the largest amount of consumers. Utilizing these tropes makes perfectly sound business sense, as all three women are running businesses as sex workers. It demonstrates the prevalence and salience of dominant discourses about sexuality, race, and gender in Brazil that paint darker women as sexually available and sexually corrupt, while allowing white women the possibility of virginity, purity, and chastity. These women are using available discourses to sell sex, but those discourses are only rendered legible through the exact bodies they mark. These women cannot escape

the stereotypes surrounding their skin color, hair texture, nose shape, lips, and bodily makeup. They understand themselves through these discourses and then capitalize on that understanding.

Interestingly though, the differences between Tati and Bruna also highlight the complexity of sexual-racial tropes in Brazil: though white and black are defined at the poles, the gradations in the middle allow *mulatas* to inhabit numerous color-positions at once. Lighter skinned *mulatas* like Tati are presented here as softer, even as they are read as hypersexually available. Darker skinned *mulatas* like Bruna, are presented as more animalistic and lewd, an enticing seductress. The primacy of the buttocks in Brazilian sexual culture allows the Afro-haired woman in the meme to be sexually acceptable, instead of disavowed for her “*cabelo ruim*” because her sole purpose in this meme is to be a *bunda*. Her buttocks stands in for her and is an inescapable cultural code for mixed-race sexuality.

Marilyn Monroe as an Intertext in Sex Workers Discourse

One of the most photographed people in history, Marilyn Monroe, holds a particular spot in the cannon of White female beauty and glamour. Her likeness is made into a meme quite frequently on global social media, evidenced by over 10 million search results on Google for “Marilyn Monroe meme.” In Brazil,¹⁷ Marilyn Monroe represents the epitome of glamour –she is the apex of beauty, sensuality, sarcastic wit, and Hollywood stardom (T. Blanchette, personal communication, May 2, 2019). She is the

¹⁷ There is no available academic work on her specifically as she pertains to Brazil aside from Fabris (2015) who looked at a few traveling photography exhibits. Still, Fabris (2015) is not directly concerned with Marilyn *in* Brazilian popular imagination, and instead focuses on how the photography exhibits have perpetuated particular myths and renderings of her. Thus, I rely on work about Marilyn’s representation in general, as there is no work on Brazil in specific.

only celebrity used on the Twitter feed with any frequency, and the rapid succession of six¹⁸ Marilyn memes creates an onslaught of Marilyn's image for anyone scrolling through the feed. The fact that sex workers chose to appropriate such a highly commodified image in order to send their messages related to the transactional and relational labor conditions of sex work are meaningful: "By embodying the desired sexual playmate she, a woman, becomes the vehicle for securing a male sexuality free of guilt" (Dyer, 2004, p. 39). At the same time, her simultaneous cheeky wit allows her to discipline and subvert normative gender assumptions.

In this analysis, I argue that the constellation of Marilyn memes represents how aspirations toward whitening and appeals to racial democracy come together: she has all the perfected elements of physical attractiveness privileged in the imaginary of *the mulata*, the perfect "*brasileira*"—curvaceous, sensual, large busted, and wide hipped—encapsulated in the markers of her white beauty: her platinum blonde hair, demure yet open sexuality, white skin, and surgically perfected whiteness. While each individual meme will be analyzed, it is when they are taken together that they present Marilyn as an icon that is appealing to the aspirations towards a modernizing whitening within Brazil's national discourses on race and sexuality (Handyside, 2010). I also posit that the use of her image is strategic, given not only her whiteness but also her widely understood image as a sarcastic femme; her social commentary coined as "Monroeisms." Her whiteness and humor allowed her to be able to play the "dumb sexual blonde" while simultaneously subverting traditional ideologies of women, gender, and sexuality (Banner, 2005; Dyer, 2004). Because Monroe was able to "embody what the discourses designate as the

¹⁸ Five will be analyzed because the content of one was sent by a sex worker to a client and was analyzed in previous chapters.

important-at-the-time central features of human existence” (Dyer, 2004, p 18), I argue sex workers on GPGuiaDelas use this rendering of Monroe as a way to embody the discourses that are “important-at-the-time” to them, ones of disciplining clients and expressing frustrations about their job.

The Marilyn memes on GPGuiaDelas vacillate between cheeky and sarcastic and work to either allow a moment for catharsis or to discipline misogynistic client behavior. They also assert power in their use of sarcasm, wit, and Marilyn herself, as a pillar of white glamorous beauty is allowed space to speak that is not afforded to other celebrities, and indeed was part of her brand (Banner, 2005). All of the memes focus in on her face and do not show her voluptuous body. The focus on her facial expressions in the photos show Marilyn in different emotive moods in order to channel the message crafted in the text. Her nonverbal and verbal messages come together to discipline clients and express annoyance that comes from sex work.

In this first meme analyzed (Figure 20),¹⁹ Marilyn looks directly at the camera, eyes sultry, piercing, and partially closed. Dressed in a black top and situated against a gradated background, her white skin and blonde hair appear even more striking. Her makeup is classic Marilyn—soft cat eye eyeliner, defined eyebrows and lips, completed with the trademark beauty spot on her right cheek.

¹⁹ Photo originally taken by Alfred Eisenstaedt for the *Life* picture collection at Marilyn’s Hollywood home in 1953.



Figure 20.

As she stares into the camera, the large text inlayed over the meme gives voice to the icon. It reads: “I could be taking off my clothes, but I’d rather lose my patience!” The text is outlined in black and filled in white, both to match the black and white nature of the original photograph and to stand out. The text below the meme is much smaller, something readers could easily miss, depending on the technology used to scroll through Twitter. It reads: “Of course, it’s better to schedule and pay than to be a clown. Still, there is time for this bullshit to come!” (“*Claro que agendando e pagando ao invés de ser palhaço. Ainda está em tempo de para com a palhaçada e vir!*”). The set-up, “*Todos os dias red angry face emoji,*” gives an indication of how the sarcastic meme should be taken: as a complaint against the daily onslaught of maintaining patience in the face of clownish clients. In addition to the cathartic nature of the meme, Marilyn is asserting her power to lose her patience instead of the clothes a sex worker is paid to lose. This assertion works to demonstrate to clients that losing patience is never far from the

surface, so acting in non-clownish ways will ensure they see her take off her clothes instead of ‘taking off’ her patience.

The next meme (Figure 21)²⁰ is set-up with, “annoying/irritating isn’t it.” (“*Desboa nao hein tear emoji*”).



Figure 21.

In this meme, Marilyn wears a white shirt with the collar buttoned to the top. We cannot tell if the bottoms are shorts or a skirt, but they appear to be her frequently worn black/white gingham pants. Her front arm is wrapped around her knees as they are drawn up towards her chest. There is a mirror, tall plant, and perhaps an old candlestick telephone in the distant background. The wall behind her is gray and in contrast to the previous meme, her blond hair seems to fade into the background wall instead of starkly sticking out. The photo is taken at a slight angle, so that we are looking towards her at a 45-degree angle. Her hair is in the classic Marilyn coif—curled perfectly around her face,

²⁰ Unable to find original source image.

creating a picture-frame like appearance. Her makeup is the same as the previous meme, but with no visible beauty mark. She looks away from the camera off to the side, appearing to ignore the camera, though of course the shot is perfectly fabricated. Her lips part slightly, not in her wide trademark smile, but just slightly so we see her perfectly white teeth coming through, an expression of being distracted or annoyed, at seeming opposition with the composition of the photo that connotes a relaxed mood in the comfort of home. The relaxed nature of her pose, clad in her often worn gingham pants, with a slight expression of distraction or annoyance work to support the text that reads: “I hate it when I’m content and someone comes and annoys me.” The verb *desboar* is Brazilian slang for when someone is acting angry, crying unnecessarily, being irritating, or otherwise being annoying. Again, we see the cathartic purpose of the Marilyn memes, complaining about someone ruining an otherwise fine mood. Though we do not see a disciplinary purpose in this meme like in the first, the next is explicitly disciplinary.

In this next meme, Marilyn is associated with Snow White, one of the Disney princesses who can talk to animals while she awaits her prince. Marilyn faces the camera with her eyes closed, lips in a wide-open smile, seemingly happy that the (superimposed) bird is “kissing” her cheek (Figure 22).²¹ She has a small flower tucked behind her ear that looks to be a Common Daisy, a flower that (in the West) symbolizes purity, new beginnings, cheerfulness, and innocence (Bouqs, 2018). The background is completely black except for what appears to be a sheet, curtain, or veil flowing down behind her head—there is no way to tell with certainty. The text reads: “My apologies I’m allergic to

²¹ This original photo is likely from a photo-shoot by Sam Shaw in 1957, though could not be verified. The Snow White photo is from the 1937 Disney animated film, creative commons license: https://disneydelirium.tumblr.com/tagged/snow_white/

clients who are cheap, poorly educated, ridiculous, lack common sense or are morons”
(“*Desculpa sou alérgica à cliente mão de vaca, mal educado, ridículo, sem noção ou retardado*”).



Figure 22.



Figure 23.

Marilyn’s angelic face, happy smile, and association with plants and nature seem directly at odds with the sarcastic tone of the message and, yet, they work together to both

confirm and subvert the male gaze. Normally, we associate allergies with the natural elements shown in the meme—animals and plants. Here, though, she appears exceedingly at peace and happy with nature while at clear odds (allergic) to clients with a host of bad characteristics (cheap, poorly educated, ridiculous, lacking common sense or moronic). There is a clear association here with Snow White, whose white purity is directly embedded in her name and also harkens back to the self-advertisements post by Lô.

Snow White (Figure 23) represents clean untouched beauty. A woman so pure that not only is she named for freshly fallen snow, but she also represents kindness, grace, and innocence. Her ability to talk to animals furthers this association with virtue and gentleness; the huntsman sent to kill her is directly at odds with her love and protection for “helpless” creatures. Her love for animals turns the huntsman/prince’s heart, and he falls in love with her purity, beauty, and innocence. In the original fairytale, Snow White is associated with nature but in the more general sense of a pastoral thematic novel, not in a specific and grounded way as nature becomes her helpers. In the Disney version, however—arguably vastly more known than the short original Grimm’s fairytale—Snow White is heavily associated with nature, “persistently shown surrounded by animals, plants and flowers” (Whitley, 2012, p. 19). This is just like Marilyn is shown in the photo above, with a bird and daisy as the two most prominent features of the picture.

Ultimately, this meme could in fact be read as Snow White, Cinderella, or Sleeping Beauty – the three original princesses in Disney fairytales whose central female protagonists are readily associated with whiteness, nature, purity, and being saved by the male gaze/prince. Taming these three white princesses is a practice in taming nature itself, as Cinderella and Snow White are able to call on the animals to help them

complete their domestic tasks with saccharinely sweet singing, and Sleeping Beauty is aided in finding her prince through forest songs (Byrne and McQuillan, 1999; Murphy, 1995; Whitley, 2012; Zipes, 1988).

The juxtaposition of Marilyn as Snow White/Cinderella/Sleeping Beauty – a sweet and pure white heart—with a sarcastic comment produced by a sex worker to be consumed by the prostitute’s clients—helps to both re-codify the image and subvert the male gaze that saves white princesses. Visually, Marilyn (as Snow White) is associated with princesses who need saving by a strong, forceful male presence—usually coded as a prince or knight with noble goals. Textually, her voice disavows a prince (client) that is poorly educated and cheap, identifying that her body will only positively respond (i.e. not allergically) to a prince (client) who is well behaved and well educated. This is also an economic argument, as princes are associated with elite financial power and higher social status and refined culture. Thus, the voice speaking through Marilyn’s meme is not a passive damsel in distress but an assertive sex worker reminding clients that access to her kindly nature(d) body also calls for financial means and certain affective qualities.

The next few memes that use Marilyn’s likeness depart from the nature princess metaphor and turn towards solidly cheeky texts about her own (or the sex worker’s own) bodily and affective qualities.

In one meme (Figure 24), Marilyn’s face is directly facing the camera; her pursed lips, slightly raised eyebrows, and staring eyes endorse a cheeky reading of the text.²²

“I’m rude, but in a cute way.” — “*Sou grossa, mas sou uma grossa fofinha!*”

²² Original photo from the New York Sunday News 11/30/1952



Figure 24.

This meme utilizes Marilyn’s ability for humorous, timely social commentary by . In a service industry job being rude is often disciplined under the ideology that the customer is always right. Additionally, women’s communicative practices are often painted as rude when women are in positions of power. Because sex workers dominate the discourse on GPGuiaDelas, it works as a platform to assert their power. However, because dominant readings of women as “bitchy,” “bossy” or “rude” often occur when women are in positions of power, the recognition of “rudeness” is tempered by “cuteness.” This is a position classically held by Marilyn: one of tempering her sharp sarcasm, wit, and gender commentary, with her affective displays of cuteness, sweetness, and femininity (Banner, 2005; Dyer, 2004). Her sly smile hints to her awareness that this difficult liminal space must be mitigated.

The next two Marilyn memes are posted together as a set. In the first meme of the set, we see an additional explanation of the self: if acceptance of the body was the key point in the previous meme, the next is about accepting the affective labor of sex work. The text on the meme states (Figure 25): “I may have a mean/angry face, but my services are sweet!” (*Tenho cara de brava mas no atendimento sou um docinho!*). This could also be translated in more modern slang to, “I may have resting bitch face, but my services are sweet!”



Figure 25.

Resting bitch face is a colloquial gendered expression for women who rarely smile and seem to have an annoyed or angry look on their face at all times. Popularized in 2013 from a YouTube video by a comedy duo, Broken People, resting bitch face is an attempt for men to explain why women appear unhappy and for women to stop the sexist practice of being required to “smile all the time.”

The contemporary popularity of the phrase ‘resting bitch face’ reflects expectations on women in the public sphere to perform happiness and ‘just smile,’

as many women are encouraged to do by (typically men) strangers, acquaintances, and loved ones, on the street, at home, and at work. (Jackson, 2019, p. 695)

Women often reclaim resting bitch face as a sort of rallying cry, “nothing’s wrong just because I’m not smiling all the time” (Grushkin, 2014, n.p.).²³

In this meme, Marilyn looks straight at the camera, mouth slightly parted, eyes seeming to stare through the lens. Her expression is actually a little softer than normal “resting bitch face” associations, but it is not smiling nor necessarily inviting—it appears aloof at best, cold at worst. She wears what appears to be a fur beret and stole in a photo taken in the mid to late 1950s.²⁴ Her pearl-drop earrings hang low and her face is softened due to lighting and/or camera techniques. The black background brings out her platinum curls, pale skin, and white beret and stole. The text is sure to explain that while she may appear to be mean/angry/rude, her sexual services are in fact sweet—further highlighted by the vanilla ice cream cone emoji that sets up the post. This hints at the affective labor necessary for sex workers in particular, and workers in current service-oriented capitalism in general: that regardless of their outwardly appearance, they can (and are expected to) shift their affective qualities during their sessions (“*atendimento*”) (Anderson, 2014; Boltanski & Chiapello, 2015). It is also possible that both sides of the affective laboring coin are at play here: the affective labor required to produce resting bitch face in the first place—generally used to ward off unwanted attention from men—and the affective labor to then turn that resting bitch face into a sweet (“*docinho*”) sexual

²³ While all women are subject to accusations of and/or use resting bitch face (RBF), the associations with the angry black woman for black women who deploy RBF cannot be disregarded. See Felicia Harris

<https://digitalcommons.winthrop.edu/sewsa/2016/fullschedule/5/>

²⁴ Photo origins could not be accurately verified, but it appears to be either from a 1953 photo shoot with Michael Ochs or from the Hulton Archives in 1958.

service. The next meme (posted with this one) considers labor and sexual services in more detail.

This photo of Marilyn is from the same photo shoot as the first Marilyn meme analyzed (Figure 26).²⁵ In her Hollywood home, Marilyn is photographed in a plain black shirt, sitting in a white chair against a dark fence background.



Figure 26.

Her eyes are closed and her left hand gently pulls back the skin on her left cheek; this is slight, and has a subtle effect of pulling back the left side of her mouth. It is not quite a smile, nor is it a neutral expression. It could be read as tired, exasperated, or no emotion whatsoever since it is a staged photo shoot. The text offers clues as to how to read Marilyn’s facial expression: “We may have stuck up faces. But inside we’re sweethearts, hoping to find our Richard Gere.” Again, here we see a link to the notion of resting bitch face like in the preceding meme—stuck up and resting bitch face are often linguistically interchanged. The text also indicates a level of waiting, as “hoping to find” (“*torcendo*

²⁵ Photo originally taken by Alfred Eisenstaedt for the LIFE picture collection at Marilyn’s Hollywood home in 1953.

pra encontrar”) signals a present action for a future possible event. Thus, Marilyn resting her cheek on her left hand, gently pulling back her face, in context of the discourse on the meme, is a sign of being exasperated at the current wait for a particular man. We can reasonably assume the “we” referred to in the meme’s text is about sex workers and not all women, as it is posted on a sex worker’s Twitter feed and specifically mentions Hollywood actor Richard Gere who played a character who “saved” a woman from sex work.

Ever since his turn in the 1990 hit *Pretty Woman*, Richard Gere has become synonymous with a rich John who saves a sex worker from her life of prostitution. His character, Edward Lewis, is a wealthy businessman who hires Julia Robert’s character, Vivian (a sex worker), to escort him to a work event. Lewis provides access to etiquette training, a posh residence, and a new wardrobe, but Vivian famously states: “We say who. We say when. We say how much.” In *Pretty Woman*, we see the requirements of heterosexual sex work relationships under late capital: men provide the financial backing, while women provide the sexual services, determine with whom they will engage in sexual transactions, and set the terms of the contract (Radner, 2012). This not unlike the discourse explicated in chapter four on transactional labor, whereby sex workers enact their right to say who, when, and how much, even as the outcome of the business transaction is still dependent on the client’s ability to pay or to follow the agreed upon terms. In late capitalism, the contract between heterosexual couples is largely based on an ability to amass material wealth. Therefore, while Vivian declares that she is in charge of the transaction, she is reliant on Edward in order to amass material wealth (c.f. de Marneffe, 2010; D’Emilio and Freedman, 2012, 2013; Pateman, 1988; Scoular, 2004).

On the surface, then, it seems as though *Pretty Woman* and the type of power she enacts is more emancipatory than tropes of sex work that paint the male client as completely in charge and the female worker as only respondent to the male's desires. However, we cannot ignore the obvious reference to the Cinderella fairy tale and the tired trope of sex workers who need to be saved by men evidenced in *Pretty Woman*.

While Vivian may have refused to live on the terms initially offered by Edward (as his mistress—fully funded), ultimately, his money, charm, and access to lavishness, in addition to her “heart of gold” brings them together (Greenberg, 1991; Radner, 2012). Her prince ultimately rescues her from a life of sex work while she rescues him from a cold heart and a ruthless existence. These tropes of a cold Prince Charming/John and Heart-of-Gold/Sex worker are so codified in literature, opera, and cinema that *Pretty Woman* frequently harkens back to them (Hershman and Stern, 1994).²⁶ Thus, the Gere reference in the meme, coupled with the tired waiting evident through the text and Marilyn's expression, culminates in a reading that sex workers are only engaging in sex work until a man saves them. But who the man is becomes increasingly important in late capitalism: they are waiting to be saved by a man who shows their love by paying for a lavish lifestyle and agreeing to the sex worker's terms of engagement. This may be the case also in Brazil, where Brazilian women looking for rich white foreigners to pay for their lifestyle, either temporarily or permanently, is not an unusual interaction (Williams, 2013). It may also be the case for sex work in Brazil, often seen as one temporary option

²⁶ For a complete analysis of these tropes throughout literature and motion picture see Hirschman and Stern (1994). *Pretty Woman* directly uses the opera *La Traviata* as a narrative arc to tell Vivian's story through Violetta's tragedy. It also recalls *My Fair Lady* (based on William Bernard Shaw's play *Pygmalion*), and directly uses *Cinderella* as a reference point (see Radner, 2012).

for poor white and non-white Brazilian women (da Silva and Blanchette, 2017). But it also reifies the trope of sex workers as helpless, waiting, and ultimately dependent on men.

Posted together, these two memes (“I may have a mean/angry face, but my services are sweet!” and “We may have stuck up faces. But inside we’re sweethearts, hoping to find our Richard Gere”) help us understand the affective labor that goes into sex work: performing particular affective qualities in one situation (“resting bitch face/stuck up”) in order to contend with the socio-political situation of all cis-women, and the shift in this emotional output in order to properly serve a client (“my services are sweet/inside we’re sweethearts”). The access to material wealth is secured in part through these affective laboring practices that work towards the stereotypical end goal of being dependent on a man in order to exit sex work (“hoping to find our Richard Gere”). The use of Marilyn, who is synonymous with white, sexually forward, Hollywood glamour, makes the point that these hopes and affective laboring practices are read through a racialized lens: resting bitch face, sweet services, stuck up faces, princess narratives, and waiting for Gere (a white man who rescues a white woman), are all performed through and read within the context of whiteness. Afro-Brazilian women’s emotional and affective communicative practices are more disciplined and limited (Goldstein, 1999). The ability to hope for Gere, negotiate contracts, get away with being stuck up, and having a chance to exit sex work, are all largely reserved for upwardly mobile white *brasileiras*, “in practice[,...] whiteness allows movement, lowers barriers” (Sovik, 2004, p. 316).

Conclusion

This chapter has attended to two research questions: 1) what are the dominant themes in the discourse regarding sex work constructed through social media; and 2) What are the discursive practices of sex workers who use social media as a platform? This chapter presents the thematic cluster of identity construction and market performance that is made up of the sub-themes of self-advertisements and Marilyn Monroe memes. Five self-advertisements and one meme were analyzed, as were six Marilyn Monroe memes.

An analysis of five self-advertisements and one meme allows us to see how ideologies of Brazil's sexual-racial erotic are deployed through the bodies of *mulatas* and white women. Tati and Bruna/inha use traditional markers of mixture in order to render their brown skin legible within available discourses that position them as highly sexual, available, and desirable. Through the use of hashtags and user names, Tati and Bruna deploy discursive practices that further mark themselves as *mulatas* and the sexual-racial connotations that brings. They do so knowingly, choosing light colored garments, and camera angles that emphasize their physical features usually attributed to the *mulata* body: large buttocks, large hips, non-kinky hair, and a smooth curvaceous appearance. However, there are key differences uncovered between Tati, Bruna and the meme discussing the buttocks that further explicate Brazil's complex system of racial understanding.

Bruna is a darker *mulata* than Tati and appears to play off this darkness in her advertisements. She appears on her hands and knees, an animalistic position; her long hair is wavy and hangs down her back; she darkens her skin color by tanning; and utilizes

equipment and photography techniques that further juxtapose her dark skin with the light colors of her surroundings. Thus, Bruna demonstrates how the particular contexts of encounter matters in regards to reading race. She is darker in comparison to Tati, and surely in comparison to Lô, and yet she is still able to reserve her place in the liminal space of the *mulata*; she is not, in the context of this Twitter feed and the advertisements she creates, black enough to be disregarded. The spectrum of color in Brazil also carries with it a spectrum of *mulatice* (mixedness), where Bruna and Tati can both deploy tropes available to *mulatas* even as they are different, in order to be legible within the racial-sexual landscape of Brazil.

The meme with the woman's buttocks in it also furthers this complication because while she is darker than Tati and not as dark as Bruna, she has "*cabelo ruim*" or bad hair, a particular sign of blackness in Brazil (Caldwell, 2003; Gilliam; 1998). Yet, the colonial project of producing color along gendered lines, has meant that women's bodies are picked apart so the focus can be on singular particular attributes that best serve the context (Caldwell, 2003; Gilman, 1985; Hall, 1997). In this sense, the focus of the meme, through the way in which the woman is positioned, lighting, and the text itself, is clearly on one singular part of her body: her *bunda*. Almost synonymous with Brazil's international image of sexuality, an ample *bunda* is the master image of Brazilian racial sexual relations. Originally attributed to African slave women, the *bunda* has taken on a cultural meaning of its own: its taboo is desired and disavowed, its primacy for attraction in sexual relations cannot be understated (Parker, 1999). Thus, though the woman in the meme has an Afro, and usually hair style is a main way in which women are racialized in Brazil (Caldwell, 2003; Gilliam 1998; Gilliam and Gilliam, 1999), I argue that the focus

on her buttocks in the meme on a sex worker Twitter feed overrides this association, as her buttocks stands in for her entire existence.

In the case of Lô, her whiteness is deployed in a way to create advertisements that mark her as pure, virginal, and chaste, even on a sex work advertisement. Her whiteness is purposefully heightened through her dark lingerie, long straight hair, thin nose, pouty lips, and a young age that signal her availability for marriage, child rearing, and sex. She occupies the tenuous space of virginity in a religious society: desired for its taboo while being carefully guarded (Valenti, 2009). She uses the discourses surrounding whiteness and age to entice clients and render herself sexually legible. Were she to act in the similar animalistic ways as Bruna, Lô would be disciplined as a *patricinha*, a white woman marked as vulgar because she performs *mulatice* (Turner, 2014).

The visual and textual elements in the self-advertisements demonstrate how sex workers utilize their position in the sexual-racial landscape as a marketing tool. Reading race is extremely complicated in Brazil, as it requires attending to a multitude of signs that include but are not limited to phenotypical features (hair texture, nose, lips, skin color), class, educational status, social context, geography, and gender (Caldwell, 2003; de Santana Pinho, 2009; Gilliam, 1999; Htun, 2004; Pravaz, 2012; Skidmore, 1999; Telles, 2004). In fact, Brazilians noted 136 color identities on a spectrum from “snow white” to “black blue,” marking how utterly complex racial identifications are in the country (Marcus, 2013). However, though identifying the exact shade of someone can be highly contextual and shifting, there are still undeniable tendencies to read race and gender together in order to place someone in a particular color-box and also to attribute qualities to them.

Tati and Bruna/inha on GPGuiaDelas, for example, understand that due to their phenotypical features, and position as sex workers, they will be immediately read as not-white. They call attention to this, either as positive self-identification or by attending to an understanding that they are always already read as non-white, and by their user names, hashtags, or emojis. As a light-skinned *mulata*, Tati represents the idealized Brazilian sexuality – a product of white-black-indigenous, whose mixture is immediately imbricated in sexual-racial-historical aspects of power, sex, gender, and colonialism (Aidoo, 2018; Caldwell, 2007; Layton & Smith, 2017). Users comment on their racialized sexuality, and Tati and Bruna/inha use it to their financial advantage. They are careful to conceal their faces, a practical safety act, and also a symbolic act of the hyper-(in)visibility of mixed-race women in the Brazilian context of whitening and racial democracy. *Mulatas* are the step through which whitening can ultimately take place. This is a type of representation that centers the tension between the idea that they are both required for the sexual future of the nation, but disavowed as able to take part in it beyond being considered sexually licentious (Bernardino-Costa, 2014; Goldstein, 1999).

Lô, on the other hand, presents herself as a young virgin through her lingerie, face clearly shown, and age. She embodies (literally and metaphorically), Brazil's ultimate woman—white, young, beautiful, and pure. The fact that she is a sex worker complicates the appeal to purity in this racial trope, but it does not dismantle it because while white women are sex workers in Brazil, it is 1) rarely assumed that they are—unlike dark-skinned and mixed-race women who are more frequently coded as sex workers than white women (Smith, 2014); and 2) she markets herself as a young princess waiting for

her prince—a position reserved (since colonization) for white middle/upper class women (Aidoo, 2018).

Understanding race, sex, gender, and sex work in Brazil thus requires delving into the complications that stem from the dual ideologies of racial democracy and whitening.

In effect, the forces that uphold and reproduce the superiority of whiteness in Brazil are the very same ones that destabilize whiteness and fill it with incoherencies and incongruities [...] gender is a fundamental realm where the meanings of whiteness, blackness, and *mestiçagem* are disputed and confirmed. (de Santana Pinho, 2009, p. 40-1)

The collection of Marilyn Monroe memes demonstrated how her whiteness, affective qualities, and representation as the epitome of Hollywood glamour, all position her as an aspirational goal for whitening. She has a voluptuous figure (a common nickname for her was “The Body”) (Dyer, 2004), the desired parts of Afro-Brazilians. But she is synonymous with whiteness: her dyed platinum blonde hair, thin facial features, and markers of white beauty, are synonymous with a white aesthetic. Her frequent role as a demure, yet sexually open virgin/whore dichotomy further her whiteness, as only white women are available for virginity while black women are available for whoredom (Aidoo, 2018; Pravaz, 2009, 2012). She represents a possible end-game for social whitening and racial democracy: she takes the disembodied and dissected parts of the Afro-Brazilian woman and meshes them together with white upper-class sexuality, making what would be undesirable in a darker body, not only acceptable, but wanted. Her whiteness also affords her a position from which to speak in cheeky, sarcastic, and subversive ways, upholding traditional gender norms as she

simultaneously rallies against them. These aspects make her an appropriate voice box to discipline client behavior and emote about anxieties present in sex work in Brazil. She embodies sex worker discourses, dichotomies, and available discursive avenues for catharsis and chastisement.

The use of Marilyn Monroe helps us understand the ways in which whiteness is both stabilized and incoherent in Brazil. Standards of beauty in Brazil are captured through racial democracy and whitening: “Black or African characteristics such as kinky hair and flat noses are considered ugly. Black is made beautiful in this context by the addition of white features, but whiteness has a high value by itself” (Goldstein, 1999, p. 571). Thus, while the *mulata* may be the symbol of a desired racialized sexuality, white is still the standard for beauty, purity, and the ultimate racial goal. But white is not “white” in the European sense of pure European ancestry. Rather, the ultimate “white” in Brazil is determined through an amalgamation of the desired Afro-Brazilian phenotypical features in a white body. This type of whiteness represents the endgame for *branqueamento* that is part of what creates the national identity, legal frameworks, and social discourse since the early 1900s. This particular type of beauty and glamour are perfectly evidenced by Marilyn Monroe. Her physical features uphold the ideology of whitening in the Brazilian context; her sarcastic wit, coupled with her Hollywood glamour, serves to position her as a possible outcome of whitening through race mixture across time. Thus, the use of Marilyn Monroe memes that discuss the difficulties of sex work and/or of being a cis-woman in Brazilian society paint these issues as ones of white-only and, further, work to solidify a particular physical body as the aesthetic standard (Goldenberg & Ramos, 2002; Pravaz, 2012). The use of her likeness represents an idealized sexuality where the signs

of Afro-Brazilian and Indian sexuality are literally whitewashed, where only white women can be desired for relationships, and a hierarchical place on the socioeconomic/erotic ladder. Non-white sex workers are not seen as deserving of a relationship, nor deserving to be “saved” by a John; rather, they are only desired for their hyper-sexualized performances of erotic racialization.

Yet, GPGuiaDelas, as a Twitter feed produced by sex workers, still uses Monroe in order to construct their own voices. Her humor, affective qualities, and racial identity allow her to simultaneously utilize and discipline traditional ideologies of gender and sexuality (Banner, 2005). By utilizing photos of Monroe that focus in on her facial expressions, coupled with sarcastic or cheeky textual statements, allows GPGuiaDelas to discipline client behavior and vent about the frustrations of their job. Monroe’s glamorous position, a product of her whiteness, makes her “hyperbolically visible, female, and sexual” (Cohen, 1998, p. 26). She represents the duality of gender stereotypes: the virgin and the whore, the good girl and the vamp; the very same subject positions into which sex workers are readily placed. Her position as an icon of femininity, wit, charm, white sexualized object, and forever innocent, allow GPGuiaDelas to appropriate her voice, using her as a ventriloquist to communicate about sex work (Dyer, 2004; Cohen, 1998; Handyside, 2010).

Ultimately, the self-advertisements and Marilyn Monroe memes on GPGuiaDelas signal one way to understand the complex intertwined ideologies of racial mixture as an indication of racial democracy and whiteness. For instance, *mulatas* are hyper-sexualized and thus hyper-(in)visible–hypervisualized for their sexual beauty and availability, and rendered invisible by their non-whiteness. Moreover, though lauded for their sexuality,

and desired for their bodies, *mulatas* are not considered the apex of beauty in Brazil even as they are the apexes of sexuality; this is reserved for white Brazilians. Thus, while mixed-race people are celebrated as “quintessential Brazilians” and “pure” whiteness, in the European sense, is rejected as a racial identity by Brazilians, white celebrities (like Marilyn Monroe) and the discourses that surround them ensure the “hypervaluing of whiteness” (de Santana Pinho, 2009, p. 48-9).

Chapter 7

Discussion and Conclusion

The primacy of digital technology in contemporary society requires attending to the various ways in which different subjectivities and social practices are created, maintained, and transformed through social media use. Sex work, as old a practice as perhaps there is, is one area of social and economic interaction that has been maintained and transformed by the mediation of digital technologies and the enactment of gendered relations of power in online spaces. This study set out to examine the discourse of Brazilian sex workers and clients who utilized Twitter in order to investigate:

RQ1: What are the dominant themes in the discourse about sex work constructed through social media?

RQ2: What are the discursive practices of sex workers who use social media as a platform?

RQ3: What theoretical insights emerge from an analysis of sex workers' discourse on social media?

This chapter will, first, explicate the findings and overall arguments for RQ1 and RQ2. Second, I will present answers to RQ3. Then, I will discuss the contributions of this project to communication studies, feminist studies, Brazilian studies, and digital media studies. Lastly, I will close the chapter with attention to limitations and the possibilities for future research.

Review of Findings

This project has analyzed the discourse by users of GPGuiaDelas, a Brazilian sex worker Twitter feed. A total of 176 Twitter conversations were thematically coded and

grouped into three main orders of discourse (economic, relational, identity) with the following salient thematic clusters: Transactional Labor Conditions; Managing Relational Labor Conditions; and Identity Construction and Market Performance. On the basis of a critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 2013b, 2013a, 1992) coupled with visual social semiotics (Jewitt & Oyama, 2001; Kohler-Reissman, 2008; Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996; van Leeuwen, 2001), the analysis revealed key ways in which producers and consumers of GP Guia Delas produce knowledge about the multifaceted nature of sex work and challenge and reproduce sexual, gender, and racial relations of power.

For example, the analysis of the economic order of discourse that organizes Transactional Labor Conditions showed how sex workers are required to engage in unpaid digital labor in order to negotiate business transactions involved in their jobs. It also showed how sex workers and clients negotiate the nuances of sex work, such as what acts will be performed, how, and for what price. The analysis of the relational order of discourse, centered on managing relational labor conditions, established the types of gendered politics that shape interactions between client and sex worker, and how sex workers use an array of discursive tools in order to vie for power, resist violence and heteronormative tropes, discipline clients, and protect their labor and work conditions. The identity order of discourse centered on the racial, sexual, gender, and nationalist ideologies invoked by sex workers in their construction of identities for the market through self-advertisements and the use of Marilyn Monroe memes. The visual social semiotic analysis revealed that sex workers utilize readily available discourses about their raced-gendered-sexualized bodies in order to attract clients and understand themselves within Brazil's complex racial order. The use of Marilyn Monroe's identity allowed sex

workers to exploit her whiteness, wit, and image in order to discipline clients and vent about the frustrations of their working conditions.

Transactional Labor Conditions

In Chapter 4, I argued that sex workers have to perform unpaid labor in order to negotiate services and prices with clients, and deal with incorrect assumptions about their labor. Social media provide a space in which to interact with and instruct clients on the economic aspect of the job. Additionally, social media provide an opportunity for sex workers to produce discourse in order to contend with their tenuous position in late-capitalism as both sex workers and digital laborers. The unpaid labor required to determine the economic exchange of services for a particular price is part of the service-industry job and highlights the ways in which affective digital labor is required, yet unpaid, in the current iteration of technology and capitalism.

This thematic cluster centered on transactional aspects of sex work: the labor necessary to communicate, negotiate, and manage tensions surrounding prices, practices, and valuation of sex work. Overlapping at times with the theme of “managing relational labor conditions,” this thematic cluster focused on the ways in which sex workers and clients use available discourses related to economics, capital, and consumption in order to exchange money for sexual labor. The economic aspects of sex work were elucidated in the following sub-themes: 1) negotiating what types of services are offered; 2) defining the parameters of sexual labor within a context that devalues sexual labor; and 3) disciplining clients who do not respect the rules, regulations, and terms of sex work set up by the sex worker.

In the interactions with clients, sex workers stressed the idea that sex acts are an

agreed upon service for a price set by the sex worker, sexual health is of paramount importance, and prices are a non-negotiable area. Sex workers expected respect for the rules, regulations, and terms of agreement and used social media as a platform for instructing clients on proper interactions and expectations. Through the use of memes and sarcasm, GPGuiaDelas provides insider information on the rules and regulations surrounding sex work. Sarcasm, generally coupled with intertextuality, was used as a scolding mechanism, and an avenue for community building. The structure of Twitter allows sex workers to interact, instruct, and expose the transactional labor conditions of their occupation while the interaction between the production of discourses by sex workers, and the consumption of these discourses by clients, Twitter users, and other sex workers works to establish rules, regulations for behavior, and serves community-building purposes.

Managing Relational Labor Conditions

Given the evidence presented, in Chapter 5 I argued that the discursive practices of sex workers and clients indicate that gender politics is at the forefront of the relational aspect of sex work. Gender ideologies overlay the interactions between client and sex worker and reduce women to objects at their command and disposal, reproduce patriarchal ideologies, and enact heteronormative male domination. The struggle for power in the interactions between sex worker and client is evident in this thematic cluster. Sex workers (and their supporters) utilize a variety of discursive practices including but not limited to: direct confrontation, sarcasm, exposure, insulting, redirection, complaining, blocking, commenting, and disciplining to resist and respond to clients' attempts to subvert their working conditions and to enact heteronormative ideologies and violence.

Sex workers also utilize GPGuidelas as a way to build community in order to alert, protect, and support each other as they perform a job that is marginalized by both economic and misogynistic systems.

The inductive thematic analysis revealed the following salient themes within the thematic cluster of managing relational labor conditions: 1) managing the loss of time and energy, 2) battling gendered violence that is a result of the stigma surrounding sex work, 3) exposing client's unacceptable behavior, and 4) community building in support of sex workers. In addition, the chapter discussed how the use of social media, as a discursive practice itself, provides a platform for the management of such relational labor conditions.

As demonstrated in the analysis, sex workers lose time, energy, and therefore money, when clients make appointments and do not show up or call, ask for free photos, want to chitchat, and repetitively ask for information that is readily available to them on the sex worker's web site. Violent linguistic and nonverbal expressions, a lack of basic respect that elicited violence, and receiving unsolicited dick pictures was also evident. Managing these types of interpersonal interactions seems to cause sex workers stress, anxiety, and frustration that are dealt with through these discursive practices: blocking, redirecting, insulting, patronizing, demeaning, disciplining, warnings, and sharing supportive messages; public exposure of client's personal information and photos; and intertextual references. Among these, exposing clients is at the crux of GPGuidelas—the fact that it exists in the form it does, full of screenshots of actual conversations that put the client's face and/or phone number front and center—demonstrates the importance of this social media platform for the mental, emotional, and even physical health of sex

workers. Through exposure of clients, complaining, and disciplining, GPGuiaDelas creates a community of information sharing practices that helps sex workers deal with these difficult relational aspects of their labor. In a job that is marginalized, stigmatized, and precarious, community building is an important way to stay safe, maintain financial independence, and gain support of those in a similar subject position.

Identity Construction and Market Performance

Chapter 6 presented the thematic cluster of identity construction and market performance through discussion of two sub-themes: self-advertisements and Marilyn Monroe memes. Five self-advertisements and one meme were analyzed, as were six Marilyn Monroe memes.

The visual and textual elements in the self-advertisements demonstrated how sex workers utilize their position in the sexual-racial landscape as a marketing tool. Reading race is extremely complicated in Brazil, as it requires attending to a multitude of signs that include but are not limited to phenotypical features (hair texture, nose, lips, skin color), class, educational status, social context, geography, and gender (Caldwell, 2003; de Santana Pinho, 2009; Gilliam, 1999; Htun, 2004; Pravaz, 2012; Skidmore, 1999; Telles, 2004). However, though identifying the exact shade of someone can be highly contextual and shifting, there are still undeniable tendencies to read race and gender together in order to place someone in a particular color-box and also to attribute to them particular qualities. Tati and Bruna/inha on GPGuiaDelas, for example, understand that due to their phenotypical features, and position as sex workers, they will be immediately read as not-white. They call attention to this through positive self-identification as *mulatas* via user names, hashtags, or emojis. By labeling themselves *mulatas*, these sex

workers invoke dominant ideologies on race and gender in Brazil that propound an idealized Brazilian sexuality – a product of white-black-indigenous, whose mixture is immediately imbricated in sexual-racial-historical aspects of power, sex, gender, and colonialism (Aidoo, 2018; Caldwell, 2007; Layton & Smith, 2017).

The collection of Marilyn Monroe memes demonstrated how her whiteness, affective qualities, and image as the epitome of Hollywood glamour, all position her as an aspirational goal for whitening and racial democracy in the Brazilian context: in Monroe, one can find the disembodied and dissected parts of the Afro-Brazilian woman meshed with white, upper-class sexuality, making what would be undesirable in a darker body, not only acceptable, but wanted. Her whiteness also affords her a position from which to speak in cheeky, sarcastic, and subversive ways, upholding traditional gender norms as she simultaneously rallies against them. These aspects make her an appropriate voice box for sex workers to discipline client behavior and emote about anxieties present in sex work in Brazil. She embodies sex worker discourses, dichotomies, and available discursive avenues for catharsis and chastisement.

Ultimately, the self-advertisements and Marilyn Monroe memes on GPGuiaDelas signal one way to understand the complex, intertwined ideologies of racial mixture, racial democracy, and whiteness that are at the core of dominant discourses about race and nationalism in Brazilian society. For instance, *mulatas* are hyper-sexualized and thus hyper-(in)visible–hypervisualized for their sexual beauty and availability, and rendered invisible by their non-whiteness. Moreover, though lauded for their sexuality, and desired for their bodies, *mulatas* are not considered the apex of beauty in Brazil even as they are the apexes of sexuality; this is reserved for white Brazilians. Thus, while mixed-race

people are celebrated as “quintessential Brazilians” and “pure” whiteness, in the European sense, is rejected as a racial identity by Brazilians, white celebrities (like Marilyn Monroe) and the discourses that surround them ensure the valuation of whiteness.

In Regards to Research Question Three

Research question three asks: What theoretical insights emerge from an analysis of sex workers’ discourse on social media? I posit that the social media discourses of sex worker provide key insights for digital labor studies, social media studies, and feminist studies of sex work. The analysis of these discourses opens space for the integration of these three areas in order to provide richer context for inquiry. Digital labor studies benefits from research that offers a deeper discussion of embodied affective labor, alienation, and the pervasive logics of late-capitalism; social media studies gains important insights into the ideas of boundary in the digital sphere as well as public vs. private spheres; and feminist studies benefits from the seeing how the different theoretical paradigms each have something they offer and would do better to talk in concert, rather than against each other.

Theoretical Insights for Digital Labor Studies

By articulating their labor conditions as ones of time and services in exchange for money, GPGuiaDelas helps us understand how individual laborers are subsumed under the new guises of late-capitalism that equate work to life (Weeks, 2011). Home and work spheres have become so blended through digital technology that life is now subsumed under work—we labor in our jobs and at home, as digital producers (Fuchs, 2014; Terranova, 2000). GPGuiaDelas demonstrates the pervasiveness of this ideology: customers (aka clients) text at any hour of the day, attempting to dictate when and how

sex workers should be available; clients also express consumer ideologies that the customer is always right and that the worker is beholden to the desires of the customer; and sex workers respond to market demands through online discursive practices that assert their rights as workers, reifying the primacy of work as an identity marker under late-capital. The dual-nature of labor, here expressed as sex work and digital labor, helps us understand how ‘work’ is now a near inescapable requirement, even for those who work outside the confines of regularly defined employment. Sex workers expressed anxiety and frustration at losing out on time and energy, demonstrating that the logic of accumulation inherent to capitalism is not escaped, even for the self-employed. This analysis helps us better theorize the analytical role workplaces have in this new iteration of capitalism: a factory, a company, an office, these are becoming less and less required, especially for digital laborers. And yet, this analysis has shown that independent laboring is still wrapped up in the pretexts of late-capitalism. This opens important avenues for further theorization about the ways in which the ‘work place’ is expanding beyond walls. Moreover, the triangulation between sex work and digital labor offers interesting insights for questions related to affective labor, defining the possibilities and limits of life outside of work, and classic Marxist inquiries related to alienation.

GPGuiaDelas raises key questions for affective labor studies, especially in regards to digital labor. If we take Weeks’ (2011) argument as a starting point, “profits in the service- and knowledge-based economy depend increasingly on simultaneously activating and controlling, on releasing and harnessing, the creative, communicative, affective, and emotional capacities of workers” (p. 56), then GPGuiaDelas demonstrates the discursive mechanisms used for this affective labor: sarcasm, intertextuality,

disciplining, insulting, and exposing are all tools used by sex workers in order to control interactions, assert power, and shape the parameters of their working selves. And while affective labor is part of the work of interpersonal non-work relationships, the ways in which it is expected, consumed, and capitalized on in the work sphere requires deeper understandings of the logics of affect in regards to creating a social experience (Brouillette, 2009).

Moreover, the classic formulation of alienation as a result of not owning the means of production, the instruments of labor, the products of labor, nor your own labor-power (Fuchs, 2014) requires potentially different formulations for sex work and potentially, for digital laborers on the content-creation side. Sex workers and digital laborers are not necessarily alienated from the instruments of labor, if those are defined as affective qualities to produce a particular social experience, interaction, and digital content. Sex workers may very well be alienated from the product of their labor, but if the point of current capital is to create a social experience and digital content for consumption, then the equation of alienation is not so simple: sex workers engaged with the products of one part of their labor (content on Twitter), and we have yet to really answer what the actual product of sex work is beyond sexual satisfaction. Questions of alienation from the self continue to pose problems for sex work studies (Oksala, 2016) partially because we have not figured out what the products of sex work really are. Alienation from the self is becoming a crucial question for digital laborers as platform ownership, censorship laws, and algorithms are still out of the laborer's control. It may well be that affective labor, which is in the control of the digital worker, is so required by capitalism that it also appropriates the self—subsumes the affective self under the logics

of creative accumulation. Digital labor and sex work then have much in common: they are embodied, affective-centered jobs, often done outside the traditional confines of a workplace, and are interdependent on other people in order to (re)produce. This provides new avenues for research on understanding alienation, subjectivity, work, and life in late-capitalism. This may need to start by investigating digital platforms more deeply to understand the types of discursive practices that take place, and the ways in which the public and private spheres, formerly key to a separation of work from life, are being collapsed in digital spaces.

As a Twitter platform, GPGuiaDelas provides unique insight into the usage of social media technologies. Sex workers used the design of the platform—#ing, @-ing, commenting, publicity, and immediacy, in order to contend with the tensions of their laboring position. The intertextual use of memes highlighted communicative practices that speak across geographical and time-space boundaries. For example, the memes using Homer Simpson, or one of the actors from *Full House*, are legible some 20 years after their initial creation in the U.S., in a completely different geographical location and context (sex work) than they were originally intended. They are understood due to expansion of American media, and the seemingly borderless reaches of the internet. It also speaks to the continued consumption of digital labor: the creation of memes is digital labor, the spreading of it through the use of social media's architectural features, and the application of it to sex work are all results of digital labor. Thus, not only does the content of the memes speak across boundaries, but also the product of digital labor travels through multiple digital laboring interactions via social media platforms like Twitter.

Theoretical Insights for Social Media Studies

Similarly, GPGuiaDelas demonstrates the double-edged nature of social media. Sex workers used social media to assert power, discipline, expose, and shame client behavior, in essence, using it to their advantage. They sought out a particular Twitter feed that would provide them space and support for enacting these tactics. Simultaneously though, the 24/7 access of social media and the public nature of a worker's profile, meant that they were also subject to a barrage of misogynistic behavior, contact at any time of day, and being questioned for asserting their power through social media. Thus, GPGuiaDelas demonstrates the ways in which social media is both a mechanism for power for marginalized groups, and a mechanism for continued violence and marginalization. This is partially due to the public/private nature of Twitter and the public/private nature of sex work.

Sex work/ers have historically been scapegoated for anxieties regarding what should be public versus what should be private. In puritanical societies, sex has been coded as an inherently private affair, something that happens in a bedroom, multiple doors and walls away from the public eye. Of course, the hypersexualization of everything from girls to food, troubles this notion of sex being private, as do sex workers. Sex work is demonized for making sex public and for capitalizing on a private act. The discourses that render sex workers sexually deviant and always sexually available support this ideology. Sex workers on GPGuiaDelas use Twitter as a public platform to expose one private area of sex work: the communication between client and sex worker. The academic and societal anxieties about sex work are due in part to a fear about the interaction – is it abusive? Is it completely one sided? Do sex workers hate it (even worse,

enjoy it)? What does it say about heteronormative relationships predicated on monogamy and marriage? Sex workers exposed the quotidian interactions of sex work as work. Gaining clients, negotiating services, demanding fair wages, etc., all expose the communicative part of sex work, and paint it in a somewhat banal light.

We could imagine the same interactions happening with self-employed people in a multitude of sectors, and indeed, as happening between non-paid sexual partners. I posit that it is precisely this banality that is most terrifying to those against sex work: if sex work practices are exposed for being rather ordinary, then its use as a red herring for larger societal anxieties is also called into question, which in turn questions the usefulness of those anxieties in the first place. Utilizing Twitter in order to make public the “private” nature of sex work, also renders sex as somewhat quotidian: 330 million users making their thoughts, feelings, actions, and labor public has become so embedded in our daily lives that it too has become commonplace, much like sex. Therefore, GPGuiaDelas taking place on a public Twitter platform requires us to reconfigure the interrelated debates about privacy, publicity, sex, and information sharing.

Theoretical Insights for Feminist Studies

The discourse analyzed demonstrates key insights for feminist theories on sex work. For liberal feminist, this study has confirmed their viewpoint that freely entered into and fair contracts are a necessary part of a secure and free economic democracy (Jaggar, 1983, 1991; Zatz, 1997). Sex workers assert their contractual stipulations such as requiring condom use, cleanliness, respect, and fair payment for work. They assert their power to refuse to make a contract by disengaging and disciplining clients who attempt to block their contractual specifications. Contract negotiation is a key sticking point for the

sex workers on Twitter: they set prices, set the parameters of the sexual encounter, refuse client fetishes and requests they are not comfortable with, and take offense when the contract is broken by clients missing appointments. In this sense, sex workers agree with the liberalist notion that fair contracts are requisite. One key difference is that sex workers have no state backing in order to punish clients who break contracts, which for liberal feminism is the key job of the state. Because the state is not doing its part in order to guarantee contracts, a stipulation of “erotic exceptionalism” (Davis, 2015), sex workers utilize social media as a disciplinary tool against clients breaking contractual agreements.

Where liberal feminism and the discourse mapped here depart, is the conceptualization of sex workers as tricked into their labor position as a result of unequal access to educational and employment sectors. On the contrary, sex workers demonstrated adeptness at recognizing trickery, calling it out, and working against it. They were quick to catch on to clients’ tricks about everything from poor internet connections to repeated requests for information. Moreover, they utilize memes, sarcasm, rhetorical devices, and intertextuality in order to assert power over their laboring condition and position as sex workers in society.

Radical feminist notions found some support in this study related to violence. Sex workers experienced violence through linguistic and non-linguistic actions, disrespect, and unsolicited dick pictures. Sex workers rallied against this violence through exposure, shame, and disciplinary action. The stereotypes that render sex workers as deviant, worthless, and deserving of violence were observed and stem from heteronormative and patriarchal ideologies.

However, sex workers emphatically resisted the notion that their job denigrates them, a foundational assumption in radical feminism (Berstein, 1999; Overall, 1992). This resistance was shown through dialogue and memes that address the notion of the stigma surrounding their job as being the marginalizing aspect, not the job itself. In doing so, they speak against radical feminist ideologies that paint them as victims.

Marxist feminist will find the most support for their theories in this study. Sex workers articulated their job as a profession, one that requires dealing with the tenuous position of sex work in Brazil and sex work in online spaces. Moreover, the notion that capitalism and patriarchy require the other to exist was also evident in the gendered ideologies that reduced sex workers' identities to be solely related to their laboring position. This position may also paint the discursive acts of sarcasm, discipline, and exposure as evidence of a failure of the system to regulate sex work, and the communicative ways in which workers resists (Katsiaficas, 2006).

One area in which this study enables the perspectives of Marxist feminism is by challenging the notion of affective labor as a natural outcome of women's subject position. True, while women in this study were shown to be the ones engaging in affective labor, it was not based on a position of their gender; rather, it was based on their position as laborers. Affective labor was deployed in order to negotiate the tensions present in digital labor and sexual labor. It was not used to smooth over tensions in a work environment (Gregg, 2009; Hochschild, 2012), but rather deployed in order to contend with being a self-employed laborer in a marginalized position. Affective labor can be seen as communicative work in the digital environment required to negotiate the

multiple tensions of sex work in late-capitalism, not necessarily creating “a girlfriend experience.”

Contributions, Limitations, and Future Research

This section will first focus on the contributions of this project to communication and digital media studies, feminist studies, and Brazilian studies. This project required a trans-disciplinary approach that drew on all of the aforementioned areas. As such, it is the first of its kind, something that has made it richer and has imposed particular limitations. Therefore, next, I will flesh out the limitations and some precautions that must be kept in mind. Finally, I will close with just some of the vast array of potential research avenues.

Contributions to Communication and Digital Media Studies

As a communication study, this project on Brazilian sex worker discourses on social media, contributes to scholarly literature in various ways. There are considerable few research studies on communication and sex work, with some particular areas represented such as journalism (Laite, 2014; Soderlund, 2002); legal and public communication (Carline, 2011; Charisse, 1990; Stiles, 2012); human trafficking discourse (De Shalit, Heynen, & van der Meulen, 2014; Johnston, Friedman, & Shafer, 2014; Marchionni, 2012; Zimmer & Gournelos, 2014); and health communication (Sweat et al., 2006; Thaker, Dutta, Nair, & Rao Prasad, 2018; Xiao, 2015). There have been communication inquiries regarding sex work and digital spaces (Ashford, 2008; Blevins & Holt, 2009; Castle & Lee, 2008; Lopes Silva & Gonzaga, 2015); and scholarship centering discourse or narrative (Amy-Chinn, 2006; Dunn, 2012; Mayer & Richardson, 2010). To date, I have not been able to identify scholarly inquiry into sex worker discourses about their labor or on discursive themes or practices related to sex work. As

the first of its kind in communication, this study has begun to address this gap by centering the discourses of sex workers. This study has also added to understandings of interpersonal communication by uncovering the discursive practices sex workers use in order to discipline, cathart, instruct, and build community.

Research in U.S. and European based communication on Brazil is as limited as the research on sex work. Scholars have studied sports (Bailard & Major, 2018; Buarque, 2015; Smith, Evenes, & Iosifidis, 2015); journalism (García-Perdomo, Salaverría, Kilgo, & Harlow, 2018; Herscovitz, 2004; Kilgo, Harlow, García-Perdomo, & Salaverría, 2018); culture (Pegoraro, 2013; Roth-Gordon, 2012; Silveira, Machado, & Savazoni, 2013); indigeneity (Da silva Pereira, 2013; Oakdale, 2018; Shulist, 2016); and social media (Cardoso, Lapa, & Di Fátima, 2016; Horst, 2011; Nemer & Freeman, 2015). I could not identify any U.S. or European communication literature that looks at the nexus of Brazil and sex work; Brazilian sex worker and client communication interpersonal practices; nor the interplay of social media, sex work, and Brazil. I argue this study adds knowledge to each of these areas.

In addition, digital media labor studies benefits from this project by focusing on layered social media interactions between clients and sex workers. While digital media labor studies is a large field (reviewed in the literature review), works on sex work and digital media are few and have not focused on the ways in which dominant discourses of sex work are deployed, challenged, and changed via social media. This study has shown that sex workers are using social media not only to advertise their services, but also to discipline clients and interact with a community, which is a new finding in digital media studies. Moreover, the investigation of affective digital labor is in its nascent stage, and

this dissertation adds nuance to the argument about how digital labor is conducted between participants via social media platforms. Therefore, this project helps digital labor studies advance an understanding of affective labor as multilayered and communicative, therefore produced and not necessarily inherent: interpersonal interactions via WhatsApp are digital labor, as are postings, commenting, and participating on Twitter. This project has provided new avenues in which to look at affective digital labor: from an embodied perspective that is shaped by available dominant discourses.

The focus on sex workers in Brazil who utilize social media has not yet been approached, and the discourse unearthed in this study provides a deeper understanding about both economic and interpersonal interactions that unfold via digital media, and their required communication practices. It adds to cultural communication studies by providing a nuanced understanding of how cultural ideologies of race, gender, class, and sexuality impact communication.

Contributions to Feminist Studies

As a communication based study, this project adds depth to theorizing about sex work in feminist studies (discussed in depth in the literature review). A communication lens allows feminist studies to see where theories fall apart, where they work, and what new areas are required for the lasting usefulness of feminist theorization about sexual labor.

First, this study provides feminist scholarship a nuanced understanding of how sex workers conceptualize their own labor, which privileges the voices of sex workers themselves, something I critique about feminist sex work scholarship in general. Placing more discourse created by sex workers at the forefront of our feminist studies attends to

our ontological requirement of centering the margins, something we have not done a good job of in regards to this topic.

Second, this study allows feminist from all theoretical articulations to see how their theories are deployed in day-to-day interactions by sex workers. Radical feminist are able to see the types of discursive violence sex workers must deal with; liberal feminist can see how contractual negotiations are paramount to sex working; Marxist feminist gain insight into laboring conditions of sex workers in late-capitalism; and pro-sex feminist can see how sex can be divorced from something inherent to the ‘self.’ Relatedly though, this study takes each of these viewpoints to tasks, requiring both radical and liberal feminist to reconceptualize their tropes of sex workers as victims or being tricked into their job. The study asks Marxist feminist to take into account more deeply the ways in which sex workers labor and ask more nuanced questions about alienation, subjectivity, and personhood; and it compels pro-sex feminists to not forget the ways in which discourses provide meaning-making in regards to subjectivity and labor—it is not just “anything goes and that’s okay.”

Third, the dearth of knowledge about interpersonal communication in sex work interactions is aided by this study. It has added depth to feminist scholarship that looks at the client side of the equation, and helps trouble the notion that all sex working interactions are marked by the same types of violence and stigmatization. True, this study has brought many of those ideas to the fore, but it has also provided an avenue for further theorization about how power is negotiated in the transactional and interpersonal communicative interplay.

Fourth, as sex work practices continue to take place in some version of online spaces, feminist studies has to start investigations there. As a study placed squarely in the middle between digital media, feminist, and communication studies, this project has offered methodological and theoretical insights for how to conduct research about sex work on social media. Work is always embodied labor, but digital spaces are complicating traditional notions of when, where, and how the laboring body may be subjugated. Thus, feminist studies needs to continue to attend to how sex work plays out *in situ*, whether that be face-to-face or via mediated communication.

Contributions to Brazilian Studies

There is no lack of scholarship about sex work from Brazilian studies perspectives. What this project contributes is an understanding of the nexus between Brazilian racial-sexual politics, sex work, and online spaces. Moreover, due to the current political climate in Brazil, this study provides a nuanced understanding of how politics are embedded in and enacted through digital communication technologies, something that will continue to hold importance for groups fighting against continued marginalization. Community building practices discussed in this work may apply to other laboring situations in Brazil and this study could provide theorizations on where to begin research: commenting, @-ing, #ing, and keeping a collective eye out. Finally, because Brazilian politicians and the Christian right continue to attack all sex work as an inherently exploitative version of human trafficking, this study provides evidence for the opposite view: sex work is a constant negotiation of power, and in this study, sex workers themselves considered the stigma as the denigrating part and not the actual labor.

I argue that this study has added depth, nuance, and new information about sex work, digital labor, and Brazil. I also posit that communication, feminist, and digital media studies work well together in order to map the complexity of laboring under late-capital, which is increasingly requiring communicative intelligence. Moreover, I urge U.S. based academics to step outside the normative geographic and subject boundaries that have prevented analyses of Brazil, sex work, and the intersections therein.

I admit I was surprised to uncover the use of Marilyn Monroe memes on this Twitter feed. When I started to investigate scholarship about her, I was interested to find little about her in Brazil, considering the long-standing Hollywood export relationship between the two countries. I think the representation of her and the way in which she was utilized, provide stimulating insights into Brazilian celebrity whiteness, such as *Xuxa*.

Limitations

There are a few important limitations to this study; some that come from outside the critical paradigm (etic critiques) and some that come from inside the critical paradigm (emic critiques). One etic critique is the lack of generalizability. If the reader is looking for a study that is applicable across sex workers online and/or Brazilian sex workers, they will be disappointed. As a critical study, this dissertation never set out to be generalizable, nor engage in aspects of validity, if validity is defined through a social scientific lens. However, if validity and generalizability is defined by being able to link these findings to larger discussions of capitalism, work, and digital labor, then the study is generalizable and applicable across boundaries.

Another limitation is that it is one singular Twitter feed that has since been shut down. Twitter does not provide specific information on why a handle is shutdown, but it

seems reasonable to assume GPGuiaDelas violated codes of conduct by posting full photos and contact information for WhatsApp conversations. It is also possible that it was shut down due to videos of sex acts being performed or nudity. Regardless of the reason, and the fact that GPGuiaDelas springs up in other iterations (GPGuiaDelas2, GPGuiaDelas5), the original Twitter content analyzed is not available anymore. Thus, anyone seeking to double check or investigate my readings of the data would not be able to do so unless it was shared.

Relatedly, due to the rather chaotic nature of collecting data on Twitter, though I was systematic and careful, it is arguable that taking screenshots, printing them out, and placing them together in conversation, is a rather loose form of gathering data. Unless researchers are applying content analysis, tools for collecting data on Twitter are limited for an analysis that requires visual semiotics and multilayered discourse analysis (WhatsApp conversations; Twitter posts; memes; photos; comments, etc.). Although I used the tools at my disposal, more work needs to be done on refining the ways to collect multimodal data on social media.

An emic critique would be one of translation. I am a non-native Portuguese speaker. It is my third language, and I do not speak it as well as I would like. Nuances of discourse, dialogue, particular ways in which words are used, cultural contexts, and usages of slang, were particularly difficult for me to navigate. It required utilizing multiple dictionaries, diving into online blogs and urban dictionaries, sources that some may consider non-academic in order to really parse out what was happening in the speech. Thus, the issue of translation cannot be overlooked and cannot be undermined, no matter my efforts to reduce inaccuracies by having the more complex translations checked by a

Portuguese speaker. Because I am not embedded in Brazilian Portuguese culture (online or off) and context, it is necessary to caveat the issue of translation in the study.

Another important limitation comes from both colonial erasure and my limited knowledge of Brazilian racial politics and historiography. Through *mestiçagem*, Indigenous peoples in Brazil were subsumed under the European preoccupation with black and white. In the tomes of knowledge written about Brazilian race relations, I was unable to find meaningful reference to their continued existence under slavery, modernization, and now late-capitalism. They occupy another hyper(in)visible space: understood as both part of *brasilidade* because they were one part of the *mestiçagem* racial triptych, and yet utterly written out of the rest of the story, relegated to the Amazon and a pre-colonial imagination. Thus, I had little information on what indications of whiteness speak to this erasure, and what communicative acts signal recognition of Indigenous Brazilians. For future research, I plan to rectify this.

Future Research

This study elicited a lifetime of research questions, for which I am grateful. In particular, given the transactional nature of the dialogue expressed in Chapter 4, follow up studies that include interviews with both client and sex worker about their conceptualizations of the labor of sex work would help ground the evidence. It is clear that clients and sex workers both agree and demonstrate points of contention on what sexual labor entails; yet, the nuances have yet to be fully fleshed out. Additionally, the work of digital labor, while demonstrated in the discursive practices of the sex workers on GPGuiaDelas, was not addressed in a deeply meaningful way. Insight into how the work of using digital technologies plays out was gained, but a full rendering of what it

means to labor as a sex work via the digital realm was not addressed in the discourse analyzed. For digital labor studies and feminist studies, this would be a rich area of inquiry.

In regards to relational communication, this dissertation offered key insights into the ways the interpersonal works between sex worker and client. Deeper investigations into managing relational conversations surrounding respect, stigma, violence, wasting time, expectations, etc., would elicit fascinating results. These could also be useful for practitioner-scholars who work with sex workers in order to create strategies for teaching potential clients the correct ways in which to interact with sex work.

Questions on the connections between race, gender, class, sexuality, and labor raised in this study require more work in the discursive realm to identify orders of discourse that shape how sex workers understand their subjectivities in late-capitalism. As Brazil once again turns to the far right, these questions become paramount to livelihood, security, safety, and quality of life. Moreover, as social media expand to connect more people, discourse studies can show how it also shrinks ideologies, implementing them in transnational ways that have broad reaching implications for sex work/ers.

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