

**International
Institute of
Social Studies**

Erasmus

Epistemic Justice in Webcam Modeling Research in Colombia: Exploring Models' Experiences.

A Research Paper presented by:

Diana Carolina Bellon Suarez

Colombia - Chile

in partial fulfilment of the requirements for obtaining the degree of
MASTER OF ARTS IN DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

Major:

**Human Rights, Gender and Conflict Studies:
Social Justice Perspectives (SJP)**

Specialization:

Women and Gender Studies

Members of the Examining Committee:

Karin Astrid Siegmann

Silke Heumann

The Hague, The Netherlands

December 2023

Disclaimer:

This document represents part of the author's study programme while at the International Institute of Social Studies. The views stated therein are those of the author and not necessarily those of the Institute.

Inquiries:

International Institute of Social Studies
P.O. Box 29776
2502 LT The Hague
The Netherlands

t: +31 70 426 0460
e: info@iss.nl
w: www.iss.nl
fb: <http://www.facebook.com/iss.nl>
twitter: [@issnl](https://twitter.com/issnl)

Location:

Kortenaerkade 12
2518 AX The Hague
The Netherlands

Contents

Chapter 1 Introduction	1
1.1. Research problem	2
1.2. Research question	3
1.3. Digital sex industry and webcam modeling	4
1.4. Mapping webcam modeling in Colombia	5
Chapter 2 Reflecting on methodologies and methods to address webcamming	8
2.1. Epistemological perspective and research method	8
2.2. Sampling and Limitations	9
2.3. Risks and ethical challenges	10
2.4. Positionality	11
Chapter 3 Conceptual framework	13
3.1. Feminisms and sex industry	13
3.2. Intersectionality approach	13
3.3. Epistemic (in)justice in the digital sex industry	14
Chapter 4 Understanding webcam modeling in Bogotá	16
4.1. Who are the participants in this research?	16
4.2. Who works in webcam modeling in Bogotá?	19
4.3. What is it like to be a webcam in Bogotá?	19
4.3.1. 'Webcam studios are a curse disguised as a blessing' (Nitro)	21
4.3.2. 'It's a very patriarchal industry... men who are teaching us how to be sexy, hahaha' (Paula)	23
4.4. What other information do they want to share about webcamming?	25
Chapter 5 Demands and aspirations of webcam models in Bogotá	27
Chapter 6 Conclusions	31
References	45

List of Tables

Table 1: Participants in the interviews	16
---	----

List of Appendices

Appendix 1: Platforms and types of digital sex work	33
Appendix 2: Table of bills about webcam modeling in Colombia	34
Appendix 3: Forms of webcam modeling in Colombia. <i>Source.</i>	35
Appendix 4: Non-structured Interview guide (Originally held in Spanish)	36
Appendix 5: Data analysis	37
5.1 Classification matrix of topics	37
5.2 Classification of relatively homogeneous categories	38
5.3 Classification of categories to answer the research question	39
Appendix 6: Informed consent for the interviews (originally held in Spanish)	40
Appendix 7: Participants' quotes in original language	42

List of Acronyms

DSI	Digital Sex Industry
CCC	Constitutional Court of Colombia – Corte Constitucional de Colombia
FENALWEB	The National Federation of Electronic Commerce for Adults through the Webcam System – Federación Nacional del Comercio Electrónico para Adultos a través del Sistema Webcam
WI	Webcam Industry
ISS	International Institute of Social Studies

Acknowledgements

Agradezco a Emma, Sofia, Laura, Paula, Apio, Julieta, Narciso, Marciana y Nitro que quisieron participar en esta investigación, gracias por haberme confiado sus historias y experiencias, por todo lo que me enseñaron en este camino de aprendizaje infinito y por todas las palabras de ánimo para que pudiera terminar.

A mis amigas Andre, Cata y Sari, por intentar descolonizar mi mundo y ayudarme a confiar en mí para construir esta tesis. A Sara, por escucharme/leerme y editarme. A Malu y Nico por ser las mejores pares lectoras que pude elegir en esta aventura. Al grupo maravilloso de poderosas mujeres latinas que me he encontrado en este capítulo de vida, porque sin ustedes este camino en la justicia epistémica y el cuidado no habría sido el mismo y sería muy aburrido.

A mi familia en Colombia y Chile por ser mi polo a tierra, mi vínculo más estable, ese que me enseña todos los días que la distancia no es nada, si hay amor incondicional.

A Becas Chile porque sin esta oportunidad para salir a estudiar en el exterior, este sueño no habría sido posible. A Colfuturo por el primer impulso.

I thank to my family in the Netherlands, for their constant efforts to get me out of the library or to fill me with energy on weekends.

I thank Inés, Karin and Silke for reading me and for their valuable suggestions.

To The Zaaier Grant for the support in sample collection and for allowing me to financially acknowledge the time of the models who participated in this research.

Abstract

This study focused on giving epistemic justice to webcam models in Bogotá, Colombia. It presents the knowledge of webcam models that are being unjustly silenced because of their belonging to the digital sex industry, therefore it highlights their voices and invited them to talk about what is important to them, positioned them as experts and values their knowledge and experiences, challenging the hegemonic discussions that are being held on the subject. In this way, through a qualitative methodology with an approach of epistemic responsibility and a feminist standpoint epistemology, the research look for how do the webcam models in Bogotá understand their work and what are their demands and aspirations.

The main results showed how the webcam industry and social stigmatization by belonging to the sex industry, in combination with other social or identity categories, silence the immense diversity among the people working as webcammers and what is conditioning their experiences; evidencing the need for a polymorphous approach to contextualize the positive and negative experiences in this work. Additionally, their meanings, experiences, work conditions, needs, demands, aspirations, and proposals about how webcam modeling should be approached and regulated in the country. All the participants claimed epistemic justice without reproducing it, and demanded for flexible regulations that allow them to work according to their desires, needs and social categories.

Relevance to Development Studies

This topic is relevant for development studies, to the extent that in the name of development, there is a permanent and preponderant concern for the economic development and the value of certain kind of knowledge over other. However, it is forgotten who is behind this development and their knowledge. People behind are more than just numbers, and their knowledge deserve recognition and must be included in the discussion. Thus, development is not just money and economic growth; development should include human recognition and justice access to everyone according to their specific experiences, needs and features. To know what their demands are we need to hear them.

Digital sex industry has represented a significant economic movement between countries. It is possible to find recurrent discourses about this topic, but little is known about the people who produce sexual content, due the hegemonic discourses which tends to victimise or stigmatise them, speaking for them without them, creating barriers to access epistemic justice, recognition and services. Beyond the hegemonic discourses, this research presents the voices of webcammers in Bogotá, highlighting commons and specificities according several intersectionalities in which they are embedded. Thus, this research reveals their understandings, demands and aspirations, but also other knowledge they wanted to share and need to be heard because it impacts their experiences.

Keywords

Webcam Models/Webcammers, Epistemic Justice, Webcam industry, Intersectionalities, Feminisms, Regulations.

Chapter 1 Introduction

This research was a dialogue with the voices and experiences of webcam models in Bogotá, Colombia¹, using an epistemic justice approach to highlight their knowledge in the discussion about the Digital Sex Industry [DSI].

DSI has become a source of income for a lot of people around the world. Colombia is in second place worldwide in the production of digital sexual content, only after Rumania (Castrillón and Rodríguez, 2021; Fajardo and Mesa, 2018; Morán and Cano, 2021; Quiroz, 2016; Rodríguez and Salazar, 2021). The most common form of production and exporting digital sex content in the country is through webcam modeling or webcamming, which implies streaming transmissions where models from different ages, genders, sexual orientations and expressions, nationalities, ethnicities, and classes, make performances (sexual or artistic) to produce personal online experiences for the clients according to their desires (Betancourt and Gómez, 2022; Jiménez et al., 2022). However, despite being a recurrent activity, it sits in a grey area where feminist, labour, legal and other discussions and opinions converge and where people working in the DSI are exposed.

In 2021, the Constitutional Court of Colombia ["CCC"], in Judgment T-109-21, recognises the labour rights of a webcam model worker. She was dismissed because she was pregnant and was unilaterally disaffiliated from the health and social security service, meaning she could not access medical services after her dismissal. The worker requested reinstating and receiving back pay and social security payments in the complaint. After investigating the situation, the CCC identified the complainant as a particularly vulnerable subject because she was the sole breadwinner with two children and an unborn child and could not find another source of work. Moreover, she was forced to choose this occupation because of the lack of other job opportunities (CCC, 2021).

The CCC also adds that the model was legally marginalised by the absence of regulations about the model's webcam work as part of DSI. Hence, as workers, they are invisible to any institution, exposing them to abuses due to the power relations established during this activity. Thus, they indicate that the absence of regulations makes women's rights as webcam models invisible (CCC, 2021). Even though the defendant presented the relationship with the model as commercial, the CCC recognises the employment relationship between the women and the webcam studio and urges other courts to use an intersectional and gendered approach when making decisions to avoid additional rights violations. Moreover, it determined that the employer must pay the money owed and compensation for the irregular dismissal. However, it decided not to rule on the worker's reinstatement to the webcam agency because it cannot rule out that such work is against her human dignity. Finally, the CCC urged the Congress of the Republic and the Ministry of Labour to regulate this activity following the guidelines established in the judgment to protect people engaged.

This situation raises questions about what happened with the worker's voice and request to return to her job. Why did the CCC not demand the employer fair working conditions to ensure the worker's well-being? Thus, CCC could decide to return her to work and establish a precedent for the regulations, making visible the existence of webcam models in Colombia. In contrast, with the victimisation perspective of the model, the CCC did not hear her demand and continued with the invisibilisation of webcam modeling in Colombia, their rights and work conditions. From this background, my interest in webcamming in Colombia arises. Because despite of many people working in this industry and the money this industry

¹ Hereafter, I will only mention Bogotá.

represents for the country, webcam modeling stands in a grey zone. Additionally, the models' voices have yet to be heard, making epistemic justice approach relevant.

According to Fricker (2021) and Kidd (2017), epistemic injustice is a form of unintentional or naive disregard for the knowledge of another. It is associated with a form of harm because it is a direct or indirect form of discrimination. In this sense, prejudices about people who exercise a specific activity, are part of a particular group or share a specific condition label them as epistemically inferior, with a less valuable speech, knowledgeable, or less able to speak or make decisions. In this paper, then, epistemic justice refers to giving value to the knowledge of the participants, being positioned as knowledgeable and as experts in digital sex work. Thus, this research aims to understand their meanings, opinions, daily experiences, work conditions and dynamics to analyse their understandings, demands and aspirations and identify the elements that should be included when discussing their work.

Thus, this research has six sections. First, presents the background of DSI and the Webcam Industry [“WI”]² in Colombia. Secondly, describes the epistemological perspective and research methods, reflecting and justifying their use. Thirdly, the theoretical framework presents the lenses through which I analysed the results, the feminisms conceptual approaches to address sex work, intersectionality and epistemic (in)justice concepts. The fourth and fifth chapters present the findings, the participants' voices and experiences regarding who they are, their meanings, work conditions, demands, aspirations, and proposals that are being silenced through representation by WI in Colombia and feminist discussions to regulate their job. Finally, it concludes with future research opportunities.

1.1. Research problem

Despite the CCC's exhortation, webcamming remains an unregulated practice. It fosters assumptions and lack of recognition that can affect workers' safety or their access to services or benefits. Thus, literature addresses the DSI and the need to problematise aspects, such as the emergence of new risks of this work and the need to establish regulations and rights guarantees for people who work in DSI (ESWA, 2023; Jones, 2015).

In this research, sex work is understood as the interchange of any sexual activity for agreed monetary, goods or other profits remuneration between adults (Cubides et al., 2022; Dewey and Zheng, 2013; IPPF, 2022), which can take several forms and variations according to the behaviours or actions included, the income, legal status, social stigma or degrees of risk in different countries (Dewey and Zheng, 2013). Digital sex work is one form of doing sex work using technological tools, where contact is possible through platforms or third parties that provide the technology (Jones, 2015; Sanders et al., 2018). Thus, it is "the Internet-mediated exchange of sexual commodities and/or services" (Jones, 2015, pp. 560). Additionally, there are different forms of exercising digital sex work (Appendix 1). Although workers in the DSI typically combine various forms and platforms in their work (Sanders et al., 2018), in this research, indirect sex work contact is the focus, in specific webcam modeling, because it is the main form of producing sexual content in Colombia, which I will review later.

It is essential to consider that some webcam models do not recognise themselves as sex workers or their jobs as part of sex work because they associate it with prostitution, which are frequently considered synonyms (Henry and Farvid, 2017). However, this concept includes the stigmatisation of this practice as an issue and negative phenomenon (Lugo, 2017). Thus, they make differences between their work as webcammers and prostitution because prostitution includes physical sexual contact (Orduz, 2021). Therefore, during this paper, I

² In this research refers to the companies and entrepreneurs that represent webcam modeling in Colombia.

will consider webcamming as a form of digital sex work which does not include physical sexual contact, and I will refer to the participants as webcam models or webcammers.

In addition, workers of the sex industry are typically marginalised and excluded because of the stigmatisation of their way of living sexuality. In this sense, hierarchical systems, such as the one proposed by Rubin (2007), are reproduced according to how sexuality is experienced. In this system, people who commerce sex are at the bottom of the hierarchy and, therefore, have less recognition and legitimacy, deserve less respect and access to institutional services, and are criminalised or associated with the presence of mental illness (Rubin, 2007). Moreover, the concept of intersectionality becomes relevant because this situation can be worse in the case of people who, in addition to working in the sex industry, also identify as transgender or non-heterosexual or do not have a stable partner or have less economic resources, a different nationality or race.

It is relevant to mention that many opinion articles or academic publications refer to webcamming in Colombia. Most of these publications did not consider talking to webcammers (Garrote and López, 2021; Morán and Cano, 2021; Quiroz, 2016; Rodríguez and Salazar, 2021); and when they did, they applied psychological tests or unclear methodologies to obtain information and presented interpretations to support hegemonic discourses about positive or negative repercussions of this job to support victimization or empowerment narratives (Betancourt and Gómez, 2022; Castrillón and Rodríguez, 2021; Fajardo and Mesa, 2018; Jiménez et al., 2022; Negrete, 2022; Obando and Chacón, 2022; Quijano et al., 2020; Quintero, 2021; Ulloa et al., 2022), while models' knowledge was not included to check possible misinterpretations. Thus, it prioritises academic knowledge over webcammers' knowledge. In contrast, news articles present the studios' or businessmen's discourses, with testimonies of famous models to support how financially convenient is this opportunity (Las Dos Orillas, 2020; Parrado, 2020; Rodríguez, 2023). Others present testimonies of models in precarious conditions to highlight the negative aspects of this activity (Agudelo, 2021; Blanquicet, 2020; Infobae, 2022). And others, a combination of these discourses (Salas, 2020; Semana, 2020). Notably, most did not consider the diversity and intersectionalities where the models are embedded.

I highlight the research developed by Orduz (2021), in which through epistemologies of doing, combining observations of platforms and semi-structured interviews with models, where webcamming and its diversity in Colombia was described, and the emotional labour of the workers was analysed and discussed as care work, and from there its feminisation.

Finally, this research aims to apply an epistemic justice approach to dialogue with webcam models' voices using standpoint methodology to highlight and give value to their knowledge and experiences to understand what is happening in Bogotá with WI. Furthermore, according to the diversity of discourses and realities identified in the literature about who works in Colombia as webcam models, an intersectionality approach is needed to understand how specific situations impact their lives according to differences of gender, age, class, among others. In addition, I will apply a critical perspective of hegemonic and binary discourses around the topic without simplifying workers' realities.

1.2. Research question

This research aims to answer this question:

How do the webcam models in Bogotá understand their work? What are their demands and aspirations?

The objective is to explore webcams' stories and experiences using an epistemic justice approach and include all the topics workers consider necessary to talk about regarding their jobs.

1.3. Digital sex industry and webcam modeling

Electronic devices create access to new forms of communication and expression and the possibility of establishing new relationships with others (Murieles, 2015; Niño, 2021; Orduz, 2021; Sanders et al., 2018). Technological development brings deep changes in cultures and the form of living aspects such as sexuality (Murieles, 2015). Thus, in the last 20 years, several platforms emerged to facilitate the connection between people across the world with diverse objectives, such as sharing sexual content. Accordingly, digital sex work emerged, and literature states that it corresponds to the modernisation of sex work (Niño, 2021).

Although it is unclear when digital sex work started, it existed before the COVID-19 pandemic. However, due to lockdown measures around the world, DSI increased using platforms (Appendix 1) created for this or other purposes, becoming the only possibility for many sex workers to continue working during pandemic restrictions (Laing, 2020; Parrado, 2020; Swords et al., 2023). It started to become the source of income for people who lost their jobs and decided to produce sexual content (Infobae, 2022). Thus, webcam modeling becomes one of the principal forms to do it.

Webcamming, known colloquially as camming, offers diverse erotic services and commodities to online customers (Jones, 2020, 2016). It is an indoor and indirect form of sex work without physical contact, mediated by technological artefacts, to offer an exciting interactive experience (Castrillón and Rodríguez, 2021; Jones, 2020; Obando and Chacón, 2022). Camming is performed in rooms technologically and environmentally equipped for this purpose. Contact is established through public or private shows in chat rooms of webcam sites (Jones, 2016).

Webcamming is known as adult entertainment, where virtual erotic relationships are established with people worldwide. Body image is sold over the internet in exchange for money or goods, using cameras to satisfy clients' desires and fantasies, with no time or space limit (Quiroz, 2016). It means camming "like other sex work industries, monetises human desires for sex, intimacy, and pleasure with a unique opportunity for sexual exploration" (Jones, 2020, p. 1). The content of the show is sexually explicit such as masturbation with use of toys, with penetrative or non-penetrative acts. In addition, non-sexual acts, conversations, chats, artistic performances of singing, dancing, and games are offered (Orduz, 2021).

Some views distance webcamming from sex work in its traditional sense by the absence of physical contact, or because of the higher earnings and flexibility (Orduz, 2021). However, the differentiation with pornography is more complicated because webcamming offers the opportunity to consume sexual content in interaction with the clients to satisfy erotic fantasies online (Jones, 2020). Shows are performed mainly by cis women, and literature, research, and media news focus predominantly on them, the 'camgirls'. Nevertheless, recent literature includes transgender, homosexual, heterosexual couples or cis men producing sexual content through webcams (Jones, 2020; Orduz, 2021; Sanders et al., 2018).

Additionally, literature regarding sex work shows prevalence of researching street sex workers more than indoor workers, such as webcams or call sex workers (Weitzer, 2009). In addition, there is a tendency to highlight the benefits of digital sex work because of the decreased risk of physical violence, exposition to sexually transmitted infections (STIs), or labour exploitation, while the needs and new risks regarding this kind of sex work are less investigated (Campbell et al., 2019; Jones, 2015).

However, recent literature shows the risks that digital sex work has regarding social stigma, doxing (access to personal or location information of the models and publishing it which can imply social, physical, economic or psychological harm), harassment or cyberbullying (models' exposure to hostile comments by trolls), stalking (models' being chased), capping (recording without permission), exploitation (long working hours or precarious working conditions), blackmail, and sexual violence (Betancourt and Gómez, 2022; Castrillón and Rodríguez, 2021; Fajardo and Mesa, 2018; Henry and Farvid, 2017; Jones, 2020, 2015; Obando and Chacón, 2022; Rand, 2019; Sanders et al., 2016).

Furthermore, some literature also highlights positive repercussions related to pleasure in sexual life, sexual freedom, development of sexuality, increase of self-esteem and image, financial independence, and fulfilment of aspirations (Betancourt and Gómez, 2022; Castrillón and Rodríguez, 2021; Jones, 2020, 2016; Obando and Chacón, 2022; Quiroz, 2016; Rodríguez and Salazar, 2021). In contrast, mentioned negative repercussions are sexuality disorders, alterations of sexual desires, social affectations due to stigmatisation and prejudice, and mental health issues associated with ego dissociation or psychic fragmentation (Castrillón and Rodríguez, 2021; Obando and Chacón, 2022; Quiroz, 2016).

Finally, I noted that it is necessary to problematise and consider the situated knowledge of the models because, most of the time, literature did not present the participants or general information about them. Moreover, at least in Colombia, the diversity can be huge, and their realities can modify the information obtained.

1.4. Mapping webcam modeling in Colombia

Currently, in Colombia, webcamming is not illegal or legal (Appendix 2). There is no formal pronounced respect for the legal status of this work (Negrete, 2022; Orduz, 2021). However, it is estimated that, in Colombia, the WI generates more than USD 600.000 million and has more than 100,000 models (Rodríguez, 2023), and represents approximately USD 18.800 million in taxes for the country (González, 2022). Discourses around the topic are mainly about these economic contributions because they imply a considerable income for the country's economy. That is why it is represented as a business for adult entertainment, establishing specific relationships between the models, the owners and the organisations part of the business (Rodríguez, 2023).

Some speeches associate webcamming and sex work, human trafficking or sexual exploitation of people who would be working in undignified conditions or for survival, stigmatising people who are working in the DSI (Infobae, 2022; Ulloa et al., 2022), while others make differences between this activity and prostitution, pornography, sexual exploitation and highlight the possibility of earning money and achieving economic independence, without special requirements, in a country where job opportunities are scarce (Pulzo, 2020; Ramírez, 2023; Rodríguez, 2023).

In 2018, Colombia had 30,000 models: women (90%), men (5%), couples (3%), and trans community (2%) (Fajardo and Mesa, 2018). Additionally, most of the agencies were in the country's major cities, such as Medellín 30%, Cali 25%, Bogotá 15% (Betancourt and Gómez, 2022; Jiménez et al., 2022; Portafolio, 2017) or regions such as Eje Cafetero 10% (Armenia, Pereira, and Manizales) and Costa Atlántica 10% (Cartagena, Santa Marta, Barranquilla) (Betancourt and Gómez, 2022; Portafolio, 2017). Currently, the estimation is at least 100,000 models in the country (Rodríguez, 2023) without any recent data about regional distribution.

According to Betancourt and Gómez, (2022), Jiménez et al. (2022), Ordúz (2021), and the Citizen Intervention Observatory of the Faculty of Law of The Universidad Libre (in

CCC, 2021), in Colombia, there are three possible ways to work as a webcammer, all of them unregulated, without legal recognition or protection:

- Studio/agencies: agencies take care of the location and administrative procedures; models must do the shows.
- Satellite: agencies oversee administrative procedures, or rent equipment, models work from home.
- Independent models: no agency intervention.

In all modalities, models interact with the clients through online, while they receive tokens, a virtual currency with different prices according to the platform or webpage that models use, and sometimes the price also depends on the models' success (Orduz, 2021). There are two kinds of platforms: public, where models perform while they receive tokens, and users pay for private shows for special requests; and private platforms, where models cannot perform until users pay for them (Orduz, 2021). Differences between the modalities are the working conditions and the percentages of profit because if they outsource their work, they must share the profits with the studios. This distribution will depend on the type of studios and their intervention in administrative procedures. According to Jiménez et al. (2022), different types of studios/agencies have been identified in the country: 'top' studios, which are generally formally constituted, well-equipped, offer adequate working conditions and fair distribution of profits; 'intermediate' studios, the most common in the country, which can have good or bad working conditions; and 'garage' studios, which offer poor conditions, low payment percentages and take advantage of models' needs (Appendix 3).

Models working for agencies are predominant. It is challenging to know the exact number of studios in Colombia. In Bogotá, it is estimated that 80% of studios are not formally established (Betancourt and Gómez, 2022). For its part, the Government estimates 50,000 studios in the country, proposing recently the need to regulate them, announcing their participation in Lalexpo, an event organised in Medellín, Colombia, to the exponents of the DSI of Latin America, models and companies that distribute technology and sexual tools for the work of models (Semana, 2023).

One of the advantages models highlight about this activity is the absence of requirements. It means it is possible to find models with different genders, nationalities, ethnicities, ages (over 18 years old), body shapes, classes, study backgrounds, among others. However, most are women between 18 and 28 years old (Betancourt and Gómez, 2022; Quijano et al., 2020; Rodríguez and Salazar, 2021). This population diversity implies several difficulties in regulating the activity, including all the circumstances of the workers (Jiménez et al., 2022).

However, in the representation of the WI, in Colombia was created The National Federation of Electronic Commerce for Adults through the Webcam System ["FENALWEB"]. The company is a union of eight associations in charge of protecting the rights of those working as webcammers. In addition, this Federation is advocating for regulation and formality of the WI in the country (FENALWEB, n.d), and has the recognition of the state, such as the company where several agencies have the registration for doing their activities according to tax law and legal conditions (CCC, 2021). This confederation presents itself as concerned about abuses against workers, paedophilia cases, and the use and abuse of drugs or alcohol (FENALWEB, n.d). Thus, FENALWEB works with associations of webcam agencies that offer several services to agencies' models, such as administrative advice, discounts for mental and sexual health care, gyms, and language schools, and the support to be part of the company as part of the agency, without work with independent models.

Furthermore, in 2014, in Colombia, the Webcam University was created by Juan Bustos, recognised as one of the main agents in the WI in Colombia (Fajardo and Mesa, 2018). This University used to offer courses about seduction, persuasion, body expression and

management, makeup, psychology, self-esteem, and sexual creativity (Blu Radio, 2017; Fajardo and Mesa, 2018; Observatorio de la Universidad Colombiana, 2019). The University announced 1000 graduates in 2019 (Semana, 2019), and it was closed by the Education Ministry in 2022 because of the use of the name of the University (González, 2022). It was a unique educational project created for the models (Fajardo and Mesa, 2018).

In sum, webcamming in Colombia involves significant income and interaction between different people, organisations and various conditions in which models may find themselves. In this sense, the CCC was right to urge the courts to use a gender and intersectionality perspective. However, to be able to discuss this topic, the voice of the people working in the WI and their knowledge needs to be valued.

Chapter 2 Reflecting on methodologies and methods to address webcamming.

2.1. Epistemological perspective and research method

This research has an interest in webcammers' voices and experiences, which are marginalised and denied because of the nature of their practice, out of expected social and sexual norms. Frequently, research on sex work follows regular and hegemonic procedures of control of contents with several restrictions regarding the obtention of information and, subsequently, the presentation of results to support the researcher's ideas, perspectives, and political approaches (Dewey and Zheng, 2013).

In this sense, I cannot ignore the fact that my position as principal researcher implies that I am the one who interprets the content presented by the participants and organises it to answer my research question. Thus, according to Code (2017), with an *epistemic responsibility* approach, I aimed to highlight the voices of the diversity in webcam modeling in Bogotá, according to the participants' opinions, produce knowledge with them and learn from them. Thus, the models are experts in their work, and from this standpoint, I problematised the tendency to exclude their knowledge and reproduce oppression and marginalisation. My purpose was to avoid what sometimes happens in research on sex work according to the position or general objectives of researchers that show the information which supports their approaches, silencing the data that does not match them (Chapman-Schmidt, 2019).

Hence, aware of the traditional notion of the asymmetric relationship between the researcher and researched, I approached this research from an epistemic justice approach based on care and concern for the participants. I worked from a feminist standpoint epistemology to highlight the worker's voices from several positions and realities; the focus was to obtain "different kinds of lives can generate less partial and distorted accounts of nature and social life" (Harding, 1993, pp.454) shifting from the obtained knowledge from hegemonic and dominant discourses to highlight and empower the knowledge, voice, and claims of a marginalised group: the webcam models.

For these reasons, this research used a qualitative methodology design, which focuses on reviewing and analysing qualitative data (experiences and stories that webcammers share regarding their jobs) to understand the complexities of this topic from the subjectivities and perspectives of webcam models to "truly explore and understand the interactions, processes, lived experiences and belief systems" (O'Leary, 2017, p. 262) of those individuals, in their autonomy or such as part of particular institutions or groups (O'Leary, 2017).

Furthermore, to avoid "a confirmation of the preconceived understanding of a phenomenon, rather than a new knowledge" (Sörensson and Kalman, 2018, p. 707), I made an invitation to webcammers to share knowledge about their work and experiences. I did online non-structured interviews, with open and non-inductive questions (Appendix 4) around their profile and background, digital sex work, working conditions, feelings, perceptions and daily activities to motivate the conversation, which most of the time was directed by the models. I decided to do open questions that invited them to talk about what is essential for them in their job without inducing or controlling contents, which was facilitated by my training as a forensic psychologist to create an interview guide that enabled the conversation. At the end of the interview, I asked clarification questions to understand any subject or complement data models presented.

Thus, I aimed to facilitate knowledge production regarding webcamming in Colombia by looking at the significative knowledge determined by the participants to obtain

heterogeneous information that answers the research question, and to promote their knowledge's value as the WI experts. It was a constant exercise of *dialogue and negotiation* with the informants focused on the welfare of the participants and their views (Sörensson and Kalman, 2018). It promoted trust in me as a researcher who respects and values all the knowledge presented by the knowers, including their subjectivity and knowledge from a specific position (Code, 2015).

For the analysis of the data, I carried out four activities: i) I constructed a classification matrix of the contents presented by the participants, which resulted in 34 topics (Appendix 5.1). ii) I grouped different contents according to relatively homogeneous categories, which resulted in eight categories (Appendix 5.2). iii) I classified each of the categories into the two central themes to be developed to answer the research question, the understandings and demands and aspirations (Appendix 5.3). iv) finally, this systematisation allowed me to construct a history of the participants' voices, their similarities and specificities according to the lenses of analysis of this research.

Besides, I invited the participants to the draft seminar, and I sent the presentation in Spanish to the participants who do not understand English. Additionally, I requested feedback of the participants on the results to avoid any misinterpretation. I received comments from six participants that were included in this paper.

Finally, with the support of the Zaaier Grant, I paid 15 euros to thank them for their time and participation in this research.

2.2. Sampling and Limitations

One of the main challenges was accessing webcam models because of the nature of the topic. The tendency to stigmatise webcammers and their jobs makes finding participants hard. Although many people knew the owners of webcam agencies and offered to contact them through their bosses, this was not an option for me because of the difficulty of establishing a safe setting for the webcammers to prevent any possible risk regarding their labour conditions. Additionally, to facilitate models' voices, I wanted to avoid the intervention of bosses in their participation. Online interviews made possible to research from the Netherlands with participants in Bogotá.

I first intended to contact cis women webcammers established in Bogotá. These decisions were taken regarding literature about women as Colombia's main population in webcamming and Bogotá as the main city in the country. For this reason, I contacted models through personal contacts, and I posted an invitation through Instagram to invite people to participate. Nevertheless, the reality was different, and the diversity of people in the industry willing to be part of my research was a surprise because they identified themselves with diverse gender identities, living and working in Bogotá.

Therefore, during the interviews, I realised I was reproducing epistemic injustice in this attempt to interview cis women according to hegemonic discourses and practices on theory and news. Thus, I was silencing the experiences of certain voices. Hence, following the epistemic justice approach and my interest in privileging models' participation and considering all the voices as relevant, I decided to diversify the sample with all the informants that wanted to participate because they are the best to discuss what is happening in webcamming in the country. At the same time, they challenged their invisibility, requesting to be part of the research. From this point, I started the snowball sampling, asking models to invite their contacts to participate in the research.

I conducted nine online interviews with webcam models in Bogotá, with heterogeneous experiences, ages, gender identities, classes, backgrounds, and experience in several forms of

webcamming in different studios. However, although Bogotá is a large and diverse city where it is possible to find people from different backgrounds, I had no access to different ethnicities or migrants. So, a limitation of this research was the difficulty of deeply discussing these social and identity categories.

Due to the diversity in this topic and the difficulties of accessing this population, the results of this research pretend to recognise the participants' knowledge, and from this point, their claims and new questions can emerge (Harding, 1993). Consequently, the scope of this research is to produce and recognize the knowledge of the participants that are being silenced because they are part of the DSI. Additionally, it can contribute to the visibility of the people who work in webcam modeling in Bogotá, their demands and aspirations. In this sense, this paper functions as a platform which gives a place in academia to the knowledge of the webcam models interviewed, their experiences and diversities. In addition, this research allows them to read and share their knowledge with each other. Furthermore, this project can be a starting point for defining new research objectives. Finally, this research includes information collected up to August 2023, when the data analysis started.

I am aware that my experience and understanding shape my interpretations of the knowledge shared by the participants. It is a limitation in all research that can increase the bias (Sörensson and Kalman, 2018). For this reason, I invited the participants to several moments of my research to request their opinions, help and review my data analysis and obtain their feedback to try to avoid misinterpretation of the information they provided. It also determines the kind of knowledge that this research can produce, trying to challenge not just hegemonic discourses but also my preconceived understandings about the DSI and hearing and presenting their voices. However, I am aware that I am showing the information that answers my research question, and there is other relevant information regarding models' knowledge that I cannot include here.

2.3. Risks and ethical challenges

An ethical aspect is avoiding the perpetuation of the stigmatisation of workers in the sex industry at any step of the research. That is why my focus is on what they want to share and talk about; the positionality of the informants in this research is as experts in the subject. I am aware that research with workers in the sex industry frequently silences their voices to focus the discussion on theoretical, academic, or political opinions, sometimes overgeneralising or oversimplifying their lives, which can reproduce their marginalisation, discrimination, or stigmatisation (Dewey and Zheng, 2013). This is why this research concerns caring for the informants and their participation. Contributing to their trust is presenting their voice respectfully and carefully handling the information and sensitive data they give during the research. I created a dialogue between their approaches to discuss within or with hegemonic discourses.

On the other hand, to reach my research's objectives and protect the participants' intimacy and welfare, I am not to question or request information about harmful content, violent situations, or traumatic experiences. However, it is necessary to consider the nature of the topic and the possibility that participants include intimate and sensitive aspects of their life stories in their narratives. Therefore, privacy and confidentiality are fundamental to this research. In this project, I presented an informed consent (Appendix 6) to the participants, in which I explained the general research question, the tentative title of the project, voluntary participation and confidentiality, and the use of the information only for the purposes of the study. It also included information regarding the possibility of stopping participation according to their desire and the payment as retribution for the time of involvement in the research. Not all participants signed the consent, but all of them gave permission during the voice

recording. In addition, I showed the participants according to the names they wanted to present themselves.

Additionally, another risk detected during the interviews was the possible existence of narco cartels behind the WI in Colombia, which apparently protect their business more than the models. It can be a risk for the models of the study, and that is why, during this research, some information is presented anonymously to protect the models. In addition, Colombia is a country where narco cartels and armed conflict are always present and crosscut the country's social, economic and political dynamics. However, it is beyond the scope of this research to address this issue in depth.

Finally, an ethical consideration is that English is not the first language of the participants or mine, which can cause the misinterpretation of relevant elements or meanings during the translation between Spanish and English, which can constitute an epistemic injustice. Thus, I will include the original words in the appendix 7. Additionally, this research will be sent in Spanish to each participant.

2.4. Positionality

I am a Colombian-Chilean cis-woman, I have the privilege of participating in this research as an insider, a Colombian from Bogotá, which helps me understand the background and codes of the participants, and as an outsider because I lived the last 17 years in Chile, which allows me not to naturalise situations, political issues or realities.

Additionally, I have worked for 11 years to protect and restate the rights of children and women in legal allegations of sexual violence or human and labour rights violations of adults. During those years as a psychologist, I worked from a hegemonic perspective of victimisation with the privilege of having been heard as a professional expert, as a forensic psychologist doing assessments about the testimonies' veracity and evaluating the victims' discourses to present them in court and trying to provide quality services in response, sometimes without problematising what people needed.

However, in these years, I questioned the possibility of facing and challenging this legal and normative approach that excludes characteristics that could change the treatment or judgment of the cases and interventions. In this sense, I am learning to face these topics from other sides, from a more human, intersectional, and feminist perspective, including people's agency and the concept of epistemic (in)justice, which challenge the hegemonic discourses and procedures that I used to apply in practice.

Thus, in this research, I position myself as an inexpert who has never worked as a webcammer, and I am not the owner of the participants' voices, and it is not my interest to assess the quality of their discourses. I am learning from the participants and trying to produce knowledge with them. I have an epistemic justice approach to highlight this knowledge, but I am also linking this with my technical background to present their voices, support their struggles in an academic setting, and, if possible, show their labour experiences to promote their access to services and justice in a respectful and caring way.

In addition, all my life, I have been far away from feminist discussions. In ISS, I discovered the existence of different feminisms, and I understood that even if I do not identify as a feminist, I can have a feminist approach and have a position. Accordingly, I cannot deny my position that all people should be free to choose what they want to do with their bodies. Recognising that not all people have had the same freedom to do what they want because there are bodies historically marginalised, like women or gender diverse people, different ethnicities or socio-economic positions. Hence, society must provide options to decide what we want to do, and independent of this decision, people must be able to access fair and safe

conditions that fit the plurality of our realities. In this sense, survival reasons should not condition this decision, and we should be able to choose according to our desire without being judged or stigmatised.

Consequently, my intention is not to take sides in the feminist discussion of whether webcamming should be eliminated because it reproduces patriarchal and sexist discourses or to promote this practice as a form of empowerment of those who work in the WI. Despite this, I know those views are predominant in determining access to services, benefits, and social justice. Thus, I wanted to learn from their voices and knowledge and place it in this discussion.

Chapter 3 Conceptual framework

3.1. Feminisms and sex industry

Sex work is frequently defined as feminised labour, predominantly exercised by women (Dewey and Zheng, 2013). Thus, these generalisations or ways of thinking imply "totalising categories" that exclude people's agencies and specificities (Tripathy, 2010). First, the oppression paradigm, which examines sex work and its several forms, results from patriarchy, where sex workers (usually women, but also feminised bodies or those who are living their sexuality outside of hegemonic discourses) are victims because of submission, exploitation, trade, and violence from users (Henry and Farvid, 2017; Weitzer, 2009), predominantly men, but also people acting hegemonic sexuality practices or hegemonic masculinities that reproduce the dominance over certain bodies.

This approach supports the radical feminists and abolitionist perspective, highlighting the exploitative and misogynist aspects of sex work (Jones, 2016). In this view, sex workers do not have any option to avoid the exploitative situation, and if they stop it, they are survivors (Lugo, 2017; Weitzer, 2009). This argument is to request regulations to control or finish this job (Lugo, 2017), to prevent human trafficking or the reproduction of the patriarchy and the power of men over women or feminised bodies (Chapman-Schmidt, 2019).

In contrast, the empowerment paradigm claims sex work is a job where sexual workers receive a benefit (Henry and Farvid, 2017). It includes the sex worker's capability to make decisions to control the situation. From this position, sex work is presented as something positive that brings more profits than losses, sometimes making bad experiences invisible (Weitzer, 2009). This paradigm supports pro-sex feminists who highlight the human agency of people working in this industry and the empowerment developed through this job (Jones, 2016).

Thus, views that challenge this antagonist, binary and categorical approaches, are needed because those can be reductionist, essentialist, and problematic (Weitzer, 2009). Those exclude people's realities, dynamics, and variations of real life that do not allow them to confirm one or another when discussing sex work. In contrast, both can be present in people working in this industry (Jones, 2016; Orduz, 2021; Weitzer, 2009). Accordingly, Weitzer (2009) presents the polymorphous paradigm that shows sex work, implying oppression and empowerment circumstances. In this sense, sex work is a complex one that can combine both perspectives according to the situation and features of the worker. I will use this approach to analyse the knowledge shared by webcam models in this research.

3.2. Intersectionality approach

In this context, social and identity categories should be considered in the analysis. The concept of intersectionality refers to "the interaction between gender, race, and other categories of difference in individual lives, social practices, institutional arrangements, and cultural ideologies and the outcomes of these interactions in terms of power" (Davis, 2008, p. 68). Thus, characteristics such as gender, nationality, ethnicity, age, and class can enhance the gap in recognition, inequality, and access to justice.

The concept appeared with Kimberlé Crenshaw (1991) in a legal setting where black women's different characteristics, experiences and conditions should be part of their rights and anti-racism struggles. However, in recent years, it has also been about deconstructing the dominance of binaries and hegemonic categories (Davis, 2008).

In 2015, the CCC conceptualised intersectionality as an analysis approach and a tool for gender and racial justice. It involves the analysis of overlapping identity categories that produce different types of discrimination that create a particular experience. It highlights the fact that a person belongs to more than one group that has been historically marginalised, which generates a qualitatively different experience of discrimination and inequality (CCC, 2015).

Due to different social identities and categories, which can be disadvantageous or advantageous in particular experiences of the participants, and the power hierarchies in which they are embedded, I will use the concept of intersectionality in this research as a lens to analyse the information obtained.

Workers in the sex industry are silenced by identity characteristics that exacerbate epistemic violence because, in themselves, they are positioned in social structures that are excluded, marginalised, of lesser validation or social power (Ezurmendia et al., 2023). Thus, epistemic injustice is experienced because of the nature of the work and webcammers' position in society. Thus, in this research, due to sample's characteristics, the analysis of results is based on the shared category of working or having worked as webcam models. The results are also analysed from categories such as gender identity, life cycle or age and class. The categorisation of class is not according to the income of the participants but by its allusion to the economic capacity or material conditions that allows them to access specific privileges or services, place them in a social origin, family or educational level.

The above because in Bogota, even most services such as education or health are centralized, it is not the same to be a woman or to identify with a diverse gender identity because structural inequalities of discrimination or gender violence are still experienced (ONU Mujeres et al., 2020). Although Bogota is the city with the highest access to higher education, and cis women have higher enrolment, only 7.9% of trans women have access to this level of education (ATENEA, 2023). Women are approximately three times more likely to have no independent income than men, only 50% of the female labor force of working age is part of the labor market, due to their greater participation in unpaid care work, fewer opportunities than men, significant unemployment, and/or informality (ONU Mujeres et al., 2020). Additionally, young women between 14 and 28 years of age have 15% less participation in the labor market than men, increasing the unemployment rate by 9.3% compared to young men (Ibidem). While for people of different genders data is not available.

Finally, two categories are superficially analysed because they appeared sporadically in the sample. The first is race because one of the models identified themselves as a "*white person*" and other two presented have differences with "*white women*" but did not identify themselves with a specific race. It is pertinent to point out that race is not a category used in the country; on the contrary, the categorization is made according to the ethnic belonging reported by people, in this research, the participants did not allude to this category. The other category is nationality because one of the participants is a migrant. In this regard, Bogota is the city that receives the largest migrant population in the country, mostly young people between 19 and 29 years from Venezuela, specifically 17.6% of the country's refugee or migrant population (Ministerio del Trabajo, 2023).

3.3. Epistemic (in)justice in the digital sex industry

The approaches to addressing sex work and certain intersectionalities can contribute to the denial or unrecognition of sex workers' knowledge by state and society. Thus, the tendency to stigmatise or victimise workers in this industry unvalued their knowledge of their experiences, treat them as "bad victims", "bad witnesses", "bad testimonies", and "non-moral persons" according to the prejudices that they are not living the sexuality how it should be lived (Ezurmendia et al., 2023). Consequently, people working in the sexual industry live in

epistemic violence because their knowledge does not have the same value as others' knowledge; they become an oppressed group whose testimony is not respected (Dotson, 2011). According to Rubin (2007), workers in the sex industry are on a lower level of "*the hierarchical system of sexual values*" (Rubin, 2007, p. 151). Thus, they are subjects of less respectability, and their access to institutional services is conditioned by this stigmatisation. This is the case with the CCC's decision, which assumes a predominantly victimising perspective, accompanied by the need to protect the woman to provide services without considering her desire to be reinstated in her job.

Therefore, sex workers live in constant epistemic injustice. Their knowledge and testimonies are targets of less credibility assessment, silenced practices and elimination (Dotson, 2011). Thus, sex workers are marginalised and denied access to social and political spheres. Consequently, society assumes that they are in positions of vulnerability where they should be protected or do not deserve attention because they expose themselves to these situations. In both situations, their knowledge is not considered as valid. In other words, it is a form of social injustice because it determines positioning in social structures, distribution and participation in decision-making (Ezurmendia et al., 2023).

On the other hand, the DSI is associated with various topics, such as sex work, pornography, sexual exploitation, artistic sex content, and human trafficking (Almanza, 2022; Betancourt and Gómez, 2022; ESWA, 2023). These discourses perpetuate the marginalisation of workers, increasing prejudices, stigmatisation, discrimination, invisibilisation, and barriers to decent work conditions (Morán and Cano, 2021). In addition, looking to interrupt sex trafficking, some initiatives include permanent surveillance or eliminating platforms for digital sex work. It is the case of measures such as the Fight Online Sex Trafficking Act (FOSTA) and The Stop Enabling Sex Traffickers Act (SESTA)³, created to combat human trafficking and sexual exploitation on websites, without digital sex workers' participation. The consequence was the closed of sexual content platforms, or payment platforms such as PayPal eliminated sex workers' accounts without refunding their money (Hillinger, 2023). These measures, in reality, eliminated this labour possibility, care spaces and work tools, while increasing risky situations, surveillance, economic losses, instability, marginalisation and isolated work (Blunt and Wolf, 2020; Hillinger, 2023). An example that makes relevant the consideration of the voices of workers to discuss about DSI.

³ Set of US Laws to eliminate the protection of freedom of speech on the internet because platforms can be charged with civil or federal crimes as suspects of promoting prostitution, making websites prefer to limit sexual content (Decriminalize Sex Work, n.d.)

Chapter 4 Understanding webcam modeling in Bogotá

In the following, I will introduce each of the interviewees and what their interviews focused on. Subsequently, I will show and analyse their voices concerning specific topics that pertain to my research question, in relation to the conceptual framework presented above.

4.1. Who are the participants in this research?

Nine models wanted to participate and share their knowledge and experiences in this research. The only two common characteristics of all the participants are that they currently reside in Bogotá and have worked or now work on the Chaturbate platform, one of the world's leading public webcam modeling sites.

Table 1: Participants in the interviews

Name	Age	Gender Identity	Modality of webcammer	Educational level	Currently webcammer
Emma	22	Non-binary Trans-woman	Satellite Agency	Beauty services professional	Yes
Sofía	23	Trans-woman	Independent	University student	Yes
Laura	23	Cis woman	All forms	Beauty services professional	Yes
Paula	36	Cis man	Satellite Independent	Professional Degree	Yes
Apio	23	Non-binary	Agency Independent	University Student	No
Narciso Miller	21	Cis man	Agency	High School	Yes
Julieta Martínez	26	Cis woman	Agency	University Student	No
Nitro Love	24	Non-binary	Agency Independent	University student	Yes
Marciana	32	No information	Agency	Student	No

Source: Author's Own-October 2023

The first interviewee was **Emma**. They work in a webcam studio and live in a house that belongs to the same studio. They focused the interview on explaining how webcamming is in Colombia and the hostile work environment in webcam studios. Their discomfort is not with the work or its nature, it is with the people they work and must live with. Currently, their migratory status is irregular, which is the reason why they cannot change webcam

studios. Specifically, they are exposed to constant transphobic and xenophobic comments from their colleagues without actions from the owners of the agency to avoid it. They do not have a contract and can work the hours they wish, receiving 60% of the earnings after discounts. They do not have access to medical or other services. However, they mentioned how webcam modeling helps them survive, pays for hormones treatment according to their gender transition, and keeps them active. Their primary demand is that webcamming becomes professional, a serious job with that requires training.

The second interviewee was **Sofia**. Her main interest was to talk about how webcam modeling works in Colombia and what it represents for her. She started producing shows with a couple and with the help of a person who worked as a monitor in a webcam studio and helped them with all the transmissions. Currently, she works as independent, flexible hours to ensure a minimum daily income and shares her earnings with this person behind the camera. Her main criticism is the objectification of the body, although she feels satisfied with the attention she receives from the clients, the economic benefits from this activity, and the possibility of meeting people from different parts of the world and exchanging knowledge. She also talked about her interaction with the clients and how funny it is.

The third interviewee was **Laura**, who worked as a model, monitor and ran a small studio. She currently works in a webcam studio in the evening for eight hours. Laura focused on talking about what is like to work in webcamming, the different modalities, and how important it is to work in a good environment, with people interested in the well-being of the models and not only in the economic production, highlighting her current positive experience in a studio managed by women. She commented on the personal and financial satisfaction this job brings. On the other hand, Laura works as a stylist, trains other models, and knows different studios and their conditions to recommend the best to the models. She commented that the experiences in the studios are diverse, some good, but some bad, it depends on the studios.

The fourth interviewee was **Paula**. She focused on talking about what webcam work is like and her experiences. She highlighted her satisfaction with this job and its positive repercussions on her personal life. Paula problematizes two situations. The first is about the performance of this work by women or very young people who finish school and start working in webcamming without previous experience in other jobs. She links this situation to Colombia's scarce job opportunities for young people and women. She points out that this can negatively affect them and indicates that this should not be their first option. On the other hand, she pointed out that the WI is mainly run by men who have never worked as models but run the studios. In her opinion, this situation should be more equitable, and more women should be running studios and representing the WI.

The fifth interviewee was **Apio**, who talked about their interest in researching the issue of sex work and its regulations during law studies. After they had the option to live this experience as a studio model, they presented how webcam models create a character that tippers⁴ like. Apio highlighted their positive experience in one of the studios because of the diversity they worked with and the working atmosphere amongst them. Then, they worked in a more famous studio that only works with private platforms. The studio had good conditions, but their experience was not satisfactory because they did not earn as much profit from the tippers. In their opinion, their character may not be what the users of private platforms like. Apio pointed out that not receiving as much money affected their ego, so they preferred discontinuing this activity. However, they do not deny the possibility of returning to work as a webcammer. Apio stressed that they do not have any financial need, they would do it for the experience as part of an academic and anthropologic interest. Finally, Apio

⁴ Name of platforms' users because they give tips to the models.

questioned that webcam modeling in Colombia is mainly run by men, who sometimes take advantage of women's conditions and needs. Thus, they highlighted their unease towards studio owners, whose only interest is financial gain but show no intention of guaranteeing stability and rights to models, which is why regulations are necessary. Finally, Apio presented the privilege of being perceived as a 'man' in the WI, even if they do not identify as a cis man, but for this, they receive a different treatment.

The sixth interviewee was **Narciso Miller**, who explained how webcam modeling works and his working conditions. He worked in a supermarket and then decided to work as a webcam model because he could secure the income he needed to live in flexible conditions. He also said that a week before the interview, he bought a camera to broadcast from home so he would work on satellite modality. He has been unable to start activities because the internet is not working where he lives. In his opinion, it is unusual for men to work as models in the WI because they are not able to make specific performances requested by the users or because of their difficulties hiding their work activity. Finally, he presented the need to establish regulations in the DSI.

The seventh interviewee was **Julieta**. She worked as a webcammer because of severe financial difficulties during the COVID-19 pandemic and her homelessness situation. She initially worked in satellite modality using a neighbour's internet and then worked in a studio where she lived without the studio owners noticing. For this, she worked as a model and monitor for approximately 20 hours and slept about four hours. Julieta highlighted all the knowledge she gained from working in the latter studio. Although she had previous computer skills, she was able to practice and develop new ones, creating the web traffic for other models' content and the use of different webcam broadcasting platforms.

The eighth interviewee was **Marciana**, who identified herself as a political subject in the industry. During her interview, she refers to different struggles she has initiated to defend the work of webcam models and sex workers. Marciana problematises a variety of situations experienced by webcammers in Colombia. In her view, the WI comprises large groups of businessmen who reproduce stereotypes and occasionally the dynamics of men's oppression of the feminised bodies of the models, the majority of whom are women. She presents the various risks and unfair working conditions that many models are exposed to in Colombia due to the lack of regulations, her main demands and needs, and how the DSI would be regulated. In addition, she talked about the negative experience she has had trying to unionise webcam models because her sexual content was published to stop her activism and silence her. Finally, she spoke about her job to create meeting groups or networks between sex workers in different modalities so they can meet, share, learn, accompany and take care of each other.

The ninth interviewee was **Nitro Love**, who talked about the complex conditions of the studio where they worked. They explained the decision to work as a webcam model because it is difficult to get another well-paid job in Colombia compatible with their study schedule. In addition, they like to show their body and make money doing something they enjoy and is fun. They also explained that they bought a camera to broadcast independently from home., and that they will start broadcasting the day after the interview because they will be alone at home for a month. Nitro points out that one of the primary needs of webcam models is to have a place to broadcast, which the studios take advantage of because, without regulations, they can do whatever they want with people. They also raise the issue of how dangerous it can be to establish regulations because this can mean more bureaucratic difficulties for the models. They presented themselves aware of several privileges that they have to avoid talking in the representation of others that can be in different conditions. Thus, they presented the risks, benefits, needs, and how people with different gender identities are in the WI.

4.2. Who works in webcam modeling in Bogotá?

According to the participants of this research, people who work as webcammers may have different ages, educational levels, shapes of bodies, social classes, nationalities, and genders. They can work in different modalities and combine them with other forms of production of sexual content, work or academic activities. Consequently, some people are webcammers to survive, others to pay bills and studies, others to pay optional expenses, and others choose it as a full-time work activity because it is a job that satisfies them personally. Most participants agree that anyone can be a webcammer, although staying in the industry is not easy. Thus, participants presented diverse experiences, many of them determined by categories such as gender, age or financial ability to discontinue this activity.

Participants agree that webcamming in Colombia is mainly done by women. This is consistent with the literature and feminisation of this type of activity. However, according to the composition of the sample in this research, it is a finding that the reality of webcammers is diverse, and there are other gender identities like trans women, non-binary people and men present in webcamming whose voices are being silenced. Their knowledge, realities and experiences are excluded because women speak for them when there is a possibility to talk.

In addition, according to participants' voices, gender-diverse people or men are less likely to be able to work in good studios, because studios prefer women. If, in addition, these identities intersect with social conditions such as an irregular migration status, as in the case of Emma, the opportunities are further reduced, and conditions of greater precariousness can imply more invisibilisation. Additionally, it could be noted that Emma's gender identity as non-binary trans woman, can make conditions more difficult than for models like Apio or Nitro that identify as non-binary but, as they presented, continue to look or be treated like men, which gives them a position of advantage.

Furthermore, conditions such as social class can change the situation. For instance, Nitro or Apio said they did not need the job to survive, it allowed them to stop webcamming or Sofía, who can work from home and stop if she wants. In contrast, it is more difficult for Narciso because he must pay life's costs, so he had to work in a studio in complex conditions. Nevertheless, when they have the opportunity and the resources to work from home, like Sofía or Paula, they are alone, far from the WI, which also makes them invisible, and there is no possibility to access their knowledge because they work as independent, and their voices are represented by those who belong to large model groups.

In addition, categories such as sex and gender are advantages or disadvantages in specific situations. As Nitro and Apio put it, being a woman in the WI means more opportunities in studios. However, it can facilitate exposure to risks such as sexual violence due to greater access to bodies or oppressive treatment of male owners, reproducing violence and hegemonic masculinities.

4.3. What is it like to be a webcam in Bogotá?

According to the voices and experiences of participants, there are no job opportunities in the country for young people and women that allow them to study and work simultaneously or have decent salaries to cover living expenses, studies, and other needs. For this reason, webcam modeling for some people has become a job that dignifies the work of many women in the country: *'I'm doing something that dignifies me, I personally feel dignified with my work, so I'm doing something that I like'* (Laura). At the same time, it is an option for many young people because they can access flexible and well-paid working conditions while studying and working simultaneously: *'The issue of accessing a job is very difficult and more for us, young people... and really webcamming ends up being practically one of the two options for young people... the other one being to*

work in a call centre, all the people I know of my age have either worked in a call centre or have worked in a webcam studio' (Nitro). In this sense, categories such as gender and age condition the labour possibilities in the country and make webcamming a possibility. However, webcam modeling is also presented as a job like any other that implies personal, sexual, and work satisfaction: *'The social, psychological and emotional variety that I have found in this work has been very satisfying for me' (Paula).* Thus, some people make this decision because they desire it. It is compatible with what they want to be and what they like to do.

Participants explained the diversity of forms, platforms, work conditions, and voices regarding being a webcam in Colombia is immense. Most of this information was consistent with the review presented in chapter one.

To share their experiences, models were interested in explaining the differences between the platforms, and most of them preferred public platforms and private shows. Paula was the only participant who prefers private platforms. Also, she can be a full-time independent model with the support of her family. In contrast, models like Emma mentioned difficulties having profiles on private platforms, saying that the studio attributed this to their nationality. However, Emma also stated that it is probably not true because the studios preferred sites with higher profit, showing their dependency on the studio to access these platforms. Likewise, models such as Apio or Narciso prefer public platforms because they can profit more, as public shows receive tokens and attract users to private shows to receive more tokens.

In addition, participants like Laura, Nitro, Narciso and Paula explained the combination of webcamming with other forms of production and selling sexual content, such as creating material for OnlyFans, Telegram or Instagram. Furthermore, the participants shared experiences with users or general experiences being webcammers. One coincidence is that Sofia, Apio, and Paula talked about creating a character during the transmission because it is something expected for the users but also with a quote of reality. According to Laura and Paula, it is because even if it is considered a performance, the users expect to interact with someone who exists, fulfilling their desires. The literature presents this situation, such as negative psychological impact, because it would be a psyche dissociation, supporting the victim-narratives. However, the participants present it as fun or a way to develop performance skills comparable to skills in other jobs, thus, it is not negative.

On the other hand, the models presented the differences between webcamming and other forms of sex work. In this sense, Laura points out that webcamming is not sex work because there is no physical contact with the client, as indicated in other research in Colombia (Orduz, 2021). In contrast, other participants understand it as a form of sex work. Moreover, models like Paula and Laura associate it with art: *'I say that webcamming is art (...) it is body art, it is the art of the human being (...) the art of sexuality, sexuality could also be shown as an artistic expression'*, while models like Nitro, Narciso, Apio and Julieta, do not find significant differences between webcamming and pornography *'basically it is also pornography (...) you are doing a live show, and they are watching you...'* (Narciso). Thus, the main difference between pornography and webcamming is the streaming: *'I consider it more like live porn... as a webcam partner says, it's a fancy masturbation hababa, a handjob where you don't have contact with another person, but you can find out specifically what you like for pleasure'* (Paula), and the possibility to access specific content. One of the models, also presented webcam modeling as a trending and a more socially acceptable form of being part of the sex industry, because it is differentiated from prostitution.

Additionally, models such as Nitro highlighted an interesting differentiation between sex work and being a sex worker. They took into account their class status and privileges in order not to be recognised as a sex worker, because this category mixed with others could imply the invisibility of people with fewer privileges or in more precarious conditions who struggle daily to be recognised and to access rights: *'privileged person from the north of Bogotá, to say that I am a sex worker because I use Chaturbate, could be harmful to the struggles of sex workers from*

Santafé neighbourhood in the centre, trans, impoverished... so in a casual conversation I would not use that term towards myself because I feel that it would overshadow the realities of people who are really having a very bad time.... and whose only option is really let's say working with their bodies in dangerous environments' (Nitro), their words are consistent with one of the struggles that Marciana presented in her work with sex workers in impoverished conditions such as those mentioned by Nitro and which, from her point of view, effectively cause harm: *'there are white women who have not even practiced webcamming or have the privilege... because there was a time when sex work... or we are still in a time when digital sex work became a trending topic in which us, who work in these were harmed, because now models or actresses who have had all the privilege of their lives, opened accounts, for example, an Onlyfans and harmed us'* because from that privilege position they highlight just the benefits of exploring or exploiting their bodies, something that cannot be generalised to all the workers in the webcam modeling. Furthermore, it is a more problematic situation in her view because these people are called to talk about regulations in the representation of all workers in DSI in Colombia. It is fundamental because these participants pointed differences between race and how specific models, *'white women'* with different classes or privileges, can access to discuss regulations. In other words, they have recognition and epistemic justice because they are heard as part of the WI. While other workers, with other realities and intersectionalities, are harmed.

Intersectionality of race was presented as well by Julieta to talk about hegemonic aesthetics in Colombia, establishing that *'white'* and *'skinny women'* are the preferred category for top studios, which are also part of the WI, which is reproducing stereotypes. However, most of the participants talked about how, in general, studios do not have physical requirements for the models. Additionally, Nitro refers to their race as *'white'*, while other participants did not mention it.

Finally, for participants, and according to the literature, the most common modality in Colombia is being a studio model. Most of them start their trajectory as studio models while acquiring basic and specialised knowledge or earning enough to be able to buy good technology for broadcast or until they have a place to do it. It was relevant for them to explain how much the cost of a token is and how those are distributed with the studios, but not what their profits are. According to participants, each token is worth 0.05 USD in Chaturbate or public sites. Additionally, they commented that during private shows, models can set a price per minute of the show or a price per show and not all of them imply sexual content. Then, the studios take their percentage, and they receive the difference.

However, it is pointed out by participants that one of the most significant difficulties is accessing safe or conditioned places to work. For this reason, webcam models end up outsourcing their work: *"To be able to practice in this country, unfortunately, I have to outsource my work and depend on someone else, yes? because only some girls who have... or people who have some kind of privilege, can practice from home"* (Marciana) and depending on the conditions that others offer to do so. Thus, the main differences between experiences started to appear.

4.3.1. 'Webcam studios are a curse disguised as a blessing' (Nitro)

All participants presented different working conditions in the studios. Due to the absence of regulations and the different risks they face daily, they reported situations of vulnerability, risk, and injustice when working in studios. At the same time, they also refer to favourable conditions, satisfactory experiences and good practices. It is coherent with the polymorphous paradigm because the models were clear that sometimes, they face complex and exploitation situations while others are positive, learning and enriching opportunities. According to what I learned from them, these situations depend on the models' conditions and their possibility of interrupting the work or looking for another place to work.

The studios define arbitrary working conditions; many do not guarantee workers' security and stability. Main problematic conditions mentioned by the models are long working hours ranging from 7 to 20 hours, unfair profit division between them and the studios, and the chance of not being paid or being paid less than agreed. For instance, Julieta was facing economic hardship, and she needed a place to sleep, so she had to work 18 to 20 hours a day while sleeping a few hours in the studio, she also reported that she did not receive the payment for the whole hours that she was working, and she could not complain about it. Likewise, Nitro had to work 17 hours to not receive fines. Narciso and Nitro had to accept work in bad conditions because their gender identity did not allow them to find another studio at that moment. Thus, gender category sometimes makes access to good studios with favourable conditions difficult because they do not accept people of diverse genders.

In addition, although for models like Nitro, Narciso, Apio or Laura, one advantage of webcamming is the flexible schedule and the possibility to do other activities, in reality, for models who have to work in certain studios, there is a lack of flexibility: *'what I find not so nice, is that you have to follow a schedule, so it's as if you had a kind of contract in which you have to work, I don't know Monday to Saturday, eight hours in the established schedule and if you don't work that day they charge you a fine'* (Sofía), and in case of impediments to comply with the working hours models must pay fines for non-attendance, even if it is for health reasons.

Furthermore, the reference to the importance of having a good working environment in the studios stands out. Emma, Laura and Marciana explained how important it is to have a good work environment. Some studios do not care about the work environment, and some of them promote competition between the webcam models. Thus, while Laura is in a place where she feels safe and where they are concerned about providing her with support and stability to be able to carry out her work, Emma highlights their bad experience and current precarious work situation because they are working in a studio that is not interested in the working environment: *'if I were the owner I would not allow anyone to talk like that in my studio... that no one should express themselves like that about absolutely no one, that no one should be saying comments about a person's body, about their sexual orientation or their health situation'*, while they are receiving transphobic and xenophobic comments from other colleagues who, despite sharing her immigration status or gender identity, are constantly bullying them, while the studios' owners are indifferent to this situation. Emma cannot change their studio because of their migratory status.

Other problematic situation is studios make models sign image rights contracts. It means, studios own models' identities, and keep information to access the webcam sites. So, when the accounts are successful, they broadcast with another person with physical resemblance. Models must then start from scratch with new accounts. Additionally, studios or webcam platforms have contracts in which models waive the rights of the shows and resell videos to pornographic sites. Thus, other sites profit from the videos, and the models do not receive profit and the content remains in the cloud forever. It is necessary to highlight that models with the support of their families did not care about having their sexual content on the cloud.

Moreover, some participants, talked about not receiving training, to avoid hurting themselves, or getting vaginal or urinary infections due to the misuse of sex objects. Also, some reported spinal or hip disease caused by work positions. And one participant reported that some studios use narcotics to keep the models awake. And some participants, explained how studios extort the models and threaten them to publish sexual content if they do not agree to perform risky shows which represent high profits outside the webcam sites' rules⁵.

⁵ The platforms prohibit shows that include blood, fecal matter, vomit, non-sexual and/or large objects, the allusion to incestuous content, or that may promote pedophilia.

Through the participants' voices, it was interesting how necessary is the polymorphous approach to analyse webcamming. Thus, even if some of these experiences can be associated with victim narratives, it is not a work that implies just victimization or exploitive situations because, in different circumstances, it can imply satisfactory experiences, like in Paula's or Sofia experiences as independent models or working in studios concerned about the care, well-being, safety, and physical and mental health of models, that are doing a good job, as a safe place, where Laura is working, with a team that supports her during transmissions. Laura explained that their current studio's particularity is that it is female-run, where only women work as models and monitors, facilitating a trusting and supportive working environment. It was also highlighted by Narciso, who has a current good experience in a studio ran by women who were models, which facilitates the job, flexibility and cares about models' well-being. Also, Julieta presented studios with good and bad conditions, highlighting with Laura the relevant knowledge that working in those places allows reach.

In this sense, participants presented models' exposure to violence, sexual harassment, or violence because the studios belong to men or have male monitors: *'I have known girls in very bad studios, with studios that, let's say you go to an interview, they ask you for nude photos or they ask you to sleep with the boss (...) the truth is that it was a bit bad, in the previous studio my boss was a man, and this man had the habit of having sexual relations with the models in exchange for bonuses'* (Laura) Despite the knowledge regarding experiences of sexual violence, Laura continues to understand her job as an opportunity to dignify herself as a worker woman. In addition, Nitro said, these experiences can also be experienced in other types of work: "because in an office, a secretary can be harassed and that is very serious, but in this job you are working directly with your body, naked, and it is much easier to access sex" the difference is that the sexual nature of webcamming would facilitate access, but it can happen in other type of jobs and the solution is not necessarily the abolition, because this is an argument that sometimes is used by abolitionist approaches.

Models attribute this diversity of experiences in the studios to the lack of regularisation in webcamming and sometimes to how the DSI is managed. Thus, some participants report the existence of large associations that manage webcam modeling in Colombia: *'something that I find very curious about the industry, most of the studio owners are men hababa (...) and the owners of the platforms where one transmits are men... hababa so they are people with a lot of money who are profiting from pornography of... I would think that more men... like 90% of the people who work in the webcam are women and from there down are men and trans people...'* (Paula), showing a critical gender gap concerning those who control the WI and those who work in it.

4.3.2. 'It's a very patriarchal industry... men who are teaching us how to be sexy, hahaha' (Paula)

The WI in Colombia is run by at least three large groups or associations that belong to male entrepreneurs in the city of Cali - Grupo Bedoya and/or Medellin Juan Bustos or AJ Studios, which are also organised in FENALWEB to represent the models or webcam studios.

For one of the models interviewed, the WI is not problematic. On the contrary, the association of the studios with one of these large conglomerates contributes to their recognition and more formality. Another model considers that these groups focus on profits and have no real impact on what happens in the studios. And three other models do not mention it. For the other four models interviewed, the fact that the WI is run by businessmen men who have not been models, focused on the profits of this business from the work of women's bodies or people with diverse sexual identities, without providing minimum guarantees is highly problematic as they are trying to consolidate the sexualisation of the bodies of Colombian people and often focusing on the reproduction of hegemonic sexuality, with

hegemonic bodies, and reproducing male oppression over females or bodies that do not conform to hegemonic expectations just for their benefit. That is why some participants are not part of this WI and live their jobs according to their benefits and satisfaction.

I cannot establish why, for some models, it was necessary to mention this topic, while for others, it was not relevant, or they mentioned it without considering it problematic. Additionally, to prevent any negative consequences for the participants, it is not possible to point out who mention this situation as serious or associate organisations with powerful or criminal narco groups. Nevertheless, it is necessary to problematise FENALWEB's position and the relation of power that has been established between this and the models because it reproduces epistemic violence. Thus, although they claim to represent the models and apparently are fighting for their rights, according to some participants, they have their agendas and can be unsafe places for some workers.

In models' views, it is even more complicated when these people or associations are called to negotiate and represent the reality of webcam models in Colombia. Thus, some participants said: *'This government has shown interest in regulating the industry, but it has made many mistakes, and among those mistakes is believing that sitting down with these people who have created federations and associations'* because they would be groups that represent only the economic interests of the owners, narco cartels or the WI and not the realities of webcam workers who are not part of these large groups or recognised studios: *'So obviously, there is a call for the mobilisation of virtual workers but in addition to that, there are already many organisations created and that is where the state should apply them, allow them to speak... (...) I don't understand what these people are doing negotiating with men, it doesn't make any sense'*. Thus, they exclude the diverse needs and demands, for example, presented by the participants of this research or the situation of models who work in precarious conditions or work in garage studios. Additionally, models who work independently and do not want to be associated with these organisations or young people who are having this experience because they want, do not necessarily know about the existence of these groups, but their decisions can affect their situation and work conditions.

On the other hand, for all the participants in this research, it is problematic that men are the owners of the studios. It is also interesting how most of the models challenge this notion of men's bodies over them, being dominated or oppressed by them because the participants presented how they enjoy their job and the satisfaction that they gain with it, following their desires because they know more about their bodies and their sexuality than men, and sometimes even make fun of the men who think are the owners of webcammer bodies. This problematisation may be associated with different experiences and social or identity categories, such as the type of studio participants have worked in, positions they have held as models, monitors or studio owners, and the educational level or knowledge in specific subjects such as politics, law or gender studies.

It is necessary to reflect on how this information can be used to support victimising narratives and their abolitionist intentions; Or it can be associated with empowering narratives that people in power can use to reproduce violence, perpetuating labour conditions in favour of the webcam industry and denigrating models, in both situations, producing epistemic injustice. In this sense, this information is not intended to support any of these positions. Instead, it presents the voices of the models and their knowledge about their work, and regardless of what others say about or for them, they constantly challenge these views with their experiences and desires.

In this sense, it is worth questioning how involuntary or rather convenient epistemic injustice is when analysing the situation of webcam models in Colombia. While on many occasions we may be speaking out of ignorance, reproducing hegemonic discourses, at other times, the invisibilisation of the voices of webcam models does not seem casual because, in many ways, they do not conform to what is socially or morally expected. In this sense, it is

worth applying a polymorphic approach to the experiences and realities of webcammers. It allows them to highlight their positive experiences of personal and economic gains and negative ones associated with violent and oppressive situations. Thus, it is possible to define their main demands and aspirations, aware that they can change over time, and it is not possible to make generalisations. However, it is necessary to stop speaking for them and make their knowledge and desires visible.

4.4. What other information do they want to share about webcamming?

The earnings of being a webcammer are a double-edged sword because that help pay for services, studios, or expenses like in most of the participant's experiences. However, it is possible to identify the tendency to think that they must become "sugars" for their family or partner to ensure acceptance or try to gain a position sharing the earnings: *'I'm bringing enough support to the home, to the couple or the family... so for my mother to love me or allow me to practice, I have to give her certain luxuries and I become my partner's or my mother's sugar... So that there is permissiveness, then one becomes a person who pays for feelings because of believe that you are not worth...'* (Marciana) It could be understood as a way to try to revert the unbalanced relationships created in their value as part of the sex industry. In addition, the payments of webcamming can be considered 'label' money. It is associated with money laundering, morally prosecutable work, or job instability because earnings are variable, and those associations can reduce credit capacity to have bank loans, rent a place to live or register for social security or health insurance.

Furthermore, taboo or stigmatization regarding this job promotes injustices or the absence of mechanisms to access justice. For instance, institutions like the Police, which should provide order and security, do not work, and there are situations where officers take advantage of their power position, abuse, threaten, are part of the business, or ignore the models. Thus, because the models decided to be part of the sex industry, they deserved what happened and must accept it: *'She is a whore, and she does it because she wants to, then she has to accept what is going to happen'* (Marciana). In consequence, their experiences and testimonies have less value and they do not have access to filing reports. Additionally, the stigma of accepting being a webcammer can imply difficulty of talking to each other: *'You say I'm a webcam model, and they treat you as a prostitute, as anyone, as a cheap woman, so we are also very quiet, so we are even more stupid if we say I am in the industry (...) that's why we almost don't share (...) there is disinformation, but it's because we are a broken phone and we don't talk, and we are not a community, and the community is very closed, it is too closed, all the models are in their studio or independent'* (Julieta), meeting and accompany, and helping each other.

In this research, I detected that the difficulty in sharing experiences between the models is a weakness, which could impede preventing or interrupting risky or not desired situations or fulfilling aspirations. For instance, models who belong to top studios or have previous knowledge to register as freelancers do not have difficulties accessing bank loans, social security, or health insurance. Additionally, some models stated that the difficulty of converting tokens into Colombian pesos impedes independence. In contrast, for others, this is a simple procedure using new platforms that allow this to be done immediately and cheaply. In other cases, some participants report difficulties creating accounts on specific platforms, while for others, it is a simple procedure that is made easier when they know English. Likewise, while some models do not have access to training or meeting groups, others are constantly working to help others or to create safe spaces to share and learn. Thus, for some, it is necessary to have the support of a studio, and others do not understand why there is, for example, the satellite modality because the services offered in this form can be learned and carried out without significant inconvenience.

In that sense, much of this knowledge depends on the background of the models, the opportunities or inequalities they face daily because of social or identity categories such as their educational level, gender or age, or the type of study they have accessed according to their needs. But all this knowledge is also silenced by the epistemic injustice in which they live because although they are part of an industry that is trending, what predominates are the discussions about eliminating the work or regularising it, about what the owners of the industry or the famous models think to promote this work as an option according to their conditions and not about the valuable day-to-day knowledge that the models have of their work, and that could be useful to others who are experts in other subjects within the industry. However, it is different for the participants like Nitro, Apio, or Narciso, which allude to creating community among models during free time in the studios to help, support, and accompany each other as well as the identification of some communities of diverse gender identities who call meetings to share experiences. It is relevant because, in this situation, the category of gender identity is an advantage for the models. Nonetheless, it is problematic that this may be related to the fact that people of different genders have had to learn to create groups for protection and companionship to resist and often survive, making it easier for them to meet, while for the cis women participants in WI, it is less common.

Chapter 5 Demands and aspirations of webcam models in Bogotá.

In the following, I will present that despite the diversity of participants and experiences, they tend to come up with similar demands and aspirations and present ideas of minimal things to do. But, because of the epistemic injustice, they are being silenced in the calls to participation and are represented by the WI and their agendas.

‘We are not so invisible; this cannot remain invisible’ (Paula)

Models participating in this research were grateful for the opportunity to talk about their work freely and to have the place to say everything important to them. Thus, one of the main findings of this research was the demand of the participants to be heard, have their experiences visible and valued, with the aspiration of participate in the definition of regulations according to their realities. This was also accompanied by their interest in respecting other people's situations and not with an interest in representing other people whose experiences and realities are unknown.

Accordingly, the models in this study claim epistemic justice while being concerned about not reproducing epistemic injustice in which they live, avoiding speaking for other webcammers, and being aware of their privileges. This was unexpected, although my assumption was, they live in a situation of epistemic injustice, I did not expect them to be concerned about not reproducing it. In contrast, in my personal and academic experience, it is expected to look for generalisations and the representation of other people.

‘The studies must have good conditions, obligations, they must ensure a minimum of things’ (Sofia)

Regarding Colombia, all the models participating in this research express the need to regulate webcam modeling like any other job. They agree that regularisation and destigmatisation are necessary to prevent situations of vulnerability and exploitation, and to avoid violent situations and promote the autonomy of people engaged in this work. In this sense, participants have a regulatory rather than an abolitionist perspective. They consider that the prohibition of webcam modeling will not eliminate webcamming. On the contrary, abolitionism may perpetuate a lack of protection, exploitation, and violence. Nevertheless, models' narratives are not empowering either. They combine situations where they exercise their human agency and make decisions according to their desire, without coercion or out of exploitative situations, with risky situations and complex working conditions. This approach challenges hegemonic discourses about the harmful consequences of working in the sex industry or, how sexuality should be lived, and empowered approaches.

This finding corresponds to the work approach to sex work by Heumann, et al. (2016) which problematize these binary discourses for leaving out the complexity of sex work. On the contrary, it highlights the relevance of differentiating sexual exploitation from labour exploitation and considering the latter as a continuum, because talking about sexual exploitation victimises workers and hinders their access to justice services or labour regulation narratives to ensure labour rights, leaving them in unsafe labour conditions (Heumann, et al., 2016), as happened in the case that initiated this research, which instead of demanding improved working conditions, the CCC victimised the worker and omitted her demand to return to work.

On the contrary, as Heumann, et al., (2016) states it is necessary “the recognition that sex work is work like any other” (p. 181-182) in which the workers voices and demands are heard to regulate and ensure decent working conditions. However, according to the results of this research, these regulations must consider the digital sex work specificities and the starting points of the workers. For instance, those in precarious conditions and others who are in more privileged positions, both demanding recognition of webcam modeling as a job that should be regulated.

It is pointed out by the participants that being an independent model is their aspiration because it is the best work option, without depending on anyone, and with the highest possible earnings. Regarding this, the intersectionalities that stand out are the class, education level, and life cycle. The economic possibility for participants to have a place to work, acquire a camera to broadcast and access an internet connection are basic conditions. The education level to speak and understand English, facilitates the use of platforms and communication with the users. Concerning the life cycle, many of the participants are students and still living with their parents. Thus, the family support allows them to broadcast from home, while those who do not have it prefer or can only work as webcammers in studios.

In this sense, in the participants' view, many models must outsource their work. It is necessary to regulate studios in Colombia to establish minimum conditions for the safety and care of models because studios cannot continue doing whatever they want without any consequences. Most of them agree on the design and establishment of a labour contract that complies with legal conditions, in which social security, health, and benefits payments are assumed as in any other job. Likewise, an adequate number of working hours, eliminating fines in case of illness, and including vacations and rest periods.

Furthermore, some models state that the studios can establish a minimum payment for those who work, as in any job, and the studios can add the corresponding bonuses when the model receives additional earnings in specific shows requested by the users. In this sense, the distribution of the percentages should be reviewed and fair and not arbitrary, as it happens in some studios. Likewise, the ownership of user accounts and image and identity rights should be included in the contract. As well as the resale of transmissions should not be possible, either by the studios or webcam platforms. Additionally, studios should be concerned about the work environment. In participants' views, the generation of healthy work environments not only contributes to the emotional and psychological stability of the models, but also impacts productivity.

‘I would like it to be more professional, I would like it to be more serious (Emma)

In this sense, several models express the importance of professionalising this work *‘I have always believed in training, the professionalisation of the profession, but from this human perspective of humanising individuals, because we are more than just a body’ (Marciana)*, with a human perspective because models are not only sexualised bodies or tokens. In this regard, they point out the need to access training programs for handling transmissions and technology, learning languages to understand the contracts with the platforms, or interacting with users. Additionally, they claimed training in paying taxes to comply with the legal and tax requirements established by the state. Additionally, some participants presented webcamming as a positive experience, which can involve several satisfactions, but it is still a demanding job, not easy money, which requires varied knowledge, effort, discipline, and organisation: *‘It is not a job for everyone. It is a work of constancy, it is a work of discipline, it is a work of love for what it is done’ (Laura)*.

In addition, the training is necessary to avoid occupational accidents. For instance, use of sex toys and detection and timely treatment of physical illnesses derived from work. Also,

physical and mental health services should be provided, considering possible negative repercussions, for example, harassment, doxing, or the psychological or emotional containment that sometimes must be done to users. In this regard, several models comment that the interaction with users does not necessarily include sexual content; sometimes, the private performances are only to talk, share experiences and support them with their problems. In addition, the interactions imply positive consequences like Positive self-esteem, personal and sexual satisfaction, like presented in the literature.

‘The State should create a roundtable with the workers’ (Marciana)

On the other hand, although this work should be considered another job, models state that this should only be one of many job options for someone. Models present the demand that the Colombian state must ensure the availability of decent job positions for students, professionals, and women in the country, being webcam modeling a decision and not a necessity. Currently, in some participants' experience, it was a good decision conditioned by the reality of the country, their identity or social categories such as nationality, class, and/or gender. Nevertheless, some participants argue that nowadays, even covering their needs or changing their social conditions, they would like to continue working in regulated conditions because of the satisfaction they find in being webcammers.

Some models stated that the Colombian government is interested in regularising webcamming. However, they do it in conversation with prominent businessmen and continue to invisibilise most webcam workers or those in poverty. In this way, some participants demand the epistemic responsibility of the government to find the diversity of models and voices that are needed to establish regularisations: *‘roundtables with the Ministry of Labour and those who work, but those who work from the proletarian trench of poor workers, not with those who enjoy this privilege of top models’*. For example, models like Marciana talked about the existence of sex worker women's networks in Bogotá and Nitro reported the existence of groups of people with different gender identities working in the sex industry who are sharing experiences, training, and taking care of themselves that could participate in making regulations or public policies.

In consequence, the government should try to convene diversity and not only work with large and visible groups that call themselves the ‘owners’ of the WI. Thus, some models express the importance that regularisations cannot include association with these large conglomerates of entrepreneurs who reproduce stereotypes and hegemonic thinking that many models do not want to be part of. Accordingly, it is essential for participants like Nitro or Marciana to maintain the possibility of being an independent model and take be wary of regulations to control or surveil workers. It was presented in research about the security of sex workers in The Netherlands and how new risks are rooted in restrictive regulations of their occupation and continue the precariousness and marginalisation of people working in the sex industry (Cubides et al., 2022). Thus, some models presented as one of the main barriers to establishing inclusive and respectful regulations is that models' experiences and needs need to be heard or known.

Consequently, some models consider it essential to establish dialogue meetings with different actors, the government, public policymakers, the WI, and webcam workers who are not associated with the WI. These meetings can work on webcam models' regulations according to their experiences, needs, and particular characteristics.

Moreover, other models demand the presence and possibility of greater female representation in the WI: *‘I wouldn't say that it should be only women, but there should be a presence of women because there are a lot of men telling us what... how we have to do to look and feel sexy, how we have to masturbate when they don't know how to do it habaha... so I think that female participation should be*

stronger' (Paula). Hence, some models highlighted the need to change power relations and patriarchal social structures in webcam modeling. It is necessary to think about a regulated WI, which includes a diversity of models, and not only pay attention to the self-proclaimed owners of the WI in Colombia. In this sense, the discussion with a polymorphous view in which experiences and situations are contextualised according to the intersectionalities of webcammers is necessary to not reproduce epistemic injustice.

'Being a webcam in Colombia is not something that has to be denied and hidden (...) it is necessary to talk about it' (Emma)

Finally, they present that it is necessary to work on the destigmatisation of sex work and social awareness. This requires social campaigns, including communication strategies created by the workers, their narratives and experiences, and the risks webcammers face if society does not change their views. Thus, access to justice is required without discrimination or stigma. Additionally, one of the participants suggests the needed to create an institution to which webcam models can have access to file complaints, irregularities, or situations of violence. This institution should be able to pronounce and establish restitutive and reparatory measures if necessary.

Chapter 6 Conclusions

This research aimed to dialogue with webcammers in Bogotá to explore, describe and analyse their understandings, demands and aspirations with an epistemic justice approach. Thus, this research ended up being a way in which the approach and methodology became one of the main results of the research. Hence, epistemic justice was an approach, but also a demand for people who work as webcammer to be heard and for their knowledge to be valued to define webcamming and to build regulations that include the diversity of experiences and conditions of this work in the country and be able to access services and benefits required in this work.

It was relevant that the participants expressed their interest in avoiding reproducing epistemic injustice and silencing others' diversities and experiences. Thus, the knowledge participants shared was immense, and their realities and experiences were diverse. Even so, one of the limitations of this research is that there are still more realities that could not be accessed, and therefore, it does not claim to represent all webcammers in Bogotá. However, this is something that the participants often spontaneously allude to, clarifying that they are speaking from their particular experiences. Therefore, this research does not attempt to homogenise their experiences but rather to give an account of them organised into the themes that seem important to them and to me to answer the research question.

Thus, the knowledge shared by participants allows to identify understandings, demands and aspirations and the need to define this work as any other job, in which the people who are part of it must be able to access minimum working conditions as in any other job. Also, because of the diversity of stories, these regularisations should be sufficiently adaptable to the models' realities and social or identity categories, such as class, gender, nationality, age, and others that, in this research, it was not possible to delve into.

Moreover, it was interesting how the models' understandings of their work challenged hegemonic discourses of how sexuality should be experienced, who is webcamming in Colombia and who is in power. Also, the stigma around digital sex work and how this form of work challenges concepts of precariousness, understanding it as a way to dignify women's and/or young people's work. Furthermore, although some models expose unfavourable working conditions that could constitute victimisation or exploitation, they also share satisfying and positive experiences, development of skills and learnings because of this job. It makes applicable the polymorphous paradigm to address webcamming. So, there is also clarity about opportunities for improvement, demands and proposals from the participants to approach webcamming as a work, regularise and de-stigmatise it.

Likewise, with this research, I had to question my ways of obtaining and presenting academic knowledge and my prior knowledge. For instance, regarding the unconscious reproduction of epistemic violence or invisibilisation of situations, following heteronormative or patriarchal ways of thinking and doing in which I grew up. While it is impossible to disregard this completely, and as a researcher, I am aware of my power and privilege to share what I need, this research was a constant exercise in dialogue with the knowledge shared by the participants. Thus, the scope of this research is to give the models the possibility to read each other, their knowledge and specificities they presented according to their conditions, allow them to make decisions or avoid their exposure or interruption of risky or violent situations. Thus, creating and promoting safe places to share experiences and knowledge between the workers is relevant.

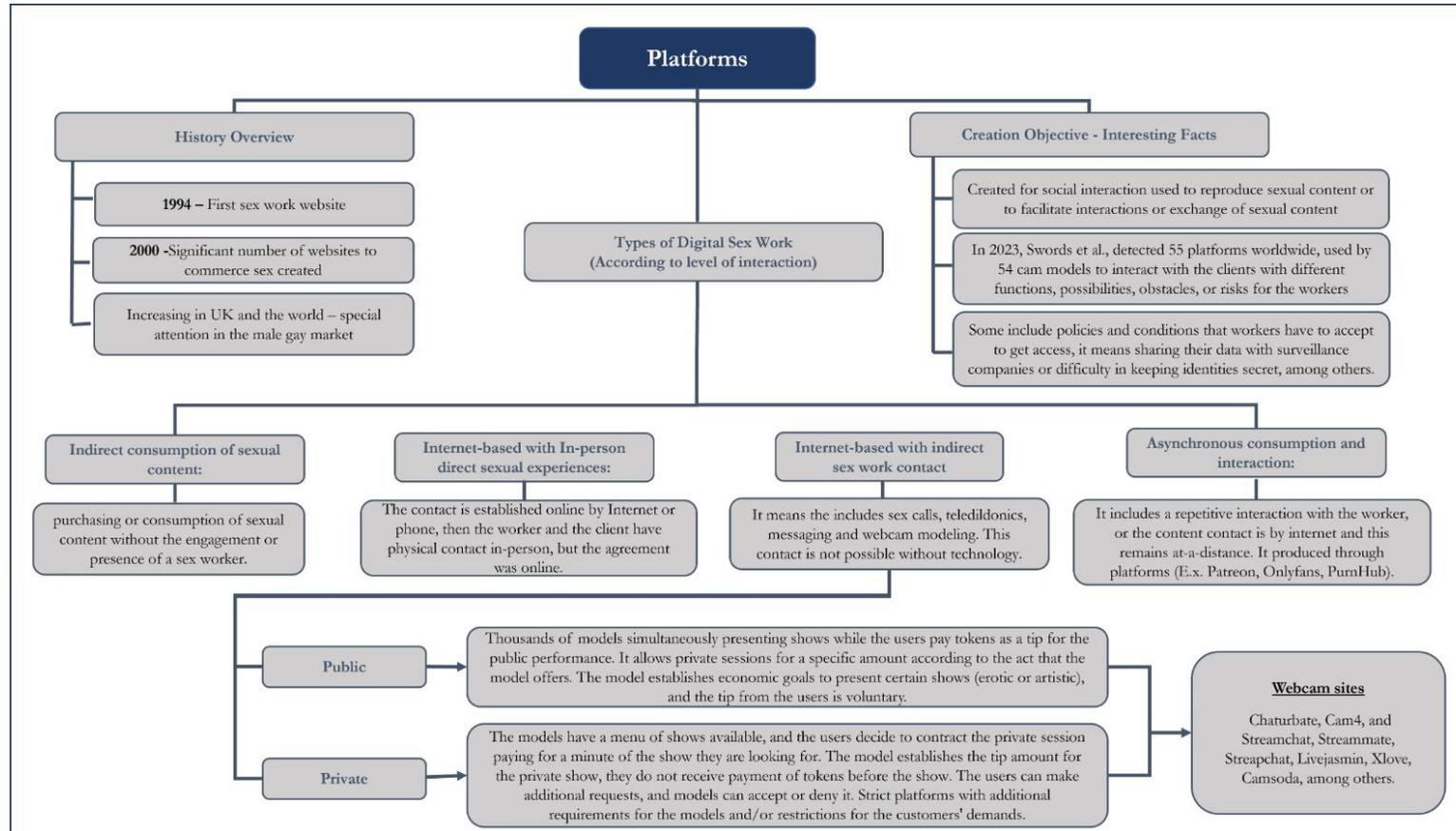
They may subsequently be called upon to present themselves to regulate DSI and policymaking in Colombia. However, these spaces must be created for them and by them without

the intervention of these significant industries, which, in the case of some of the models who participated in this research, do not represent them. In addition, the findings also imply the reflection about how unintentional the epistemic injustice is because it would help maintain the control of the business to certain powerful groups.

Finally, it is necessary for future research to explore other intersectionalities in-depth, as well as continue with this approach to know what is happening in other cities in the country. Undoubtedly, with the current migration crisis in Venezuela, it is necessary to the reality of migrant models and the diversity that this condition implies. Furthermore, it is necessary to continue exploring the topic with an epistemic justice approach to give value to webcammers' experiences, with the possibility to challenge data obtained through hegemonic academic research methods. Moreover, research is needed to include the webcammers and their diversities in the construction of regulations and policies with a bottom-up approach. Thus, a change is required because of the diversity and complexity of webcamming in a country like Colombia. To address this topic, the workers' realities, demands and positions should be considered, thinking that their realities can change every time, and their knowledge and struggles should be heard and included in all the measures that could impact them.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Platforms and types of digital sex work

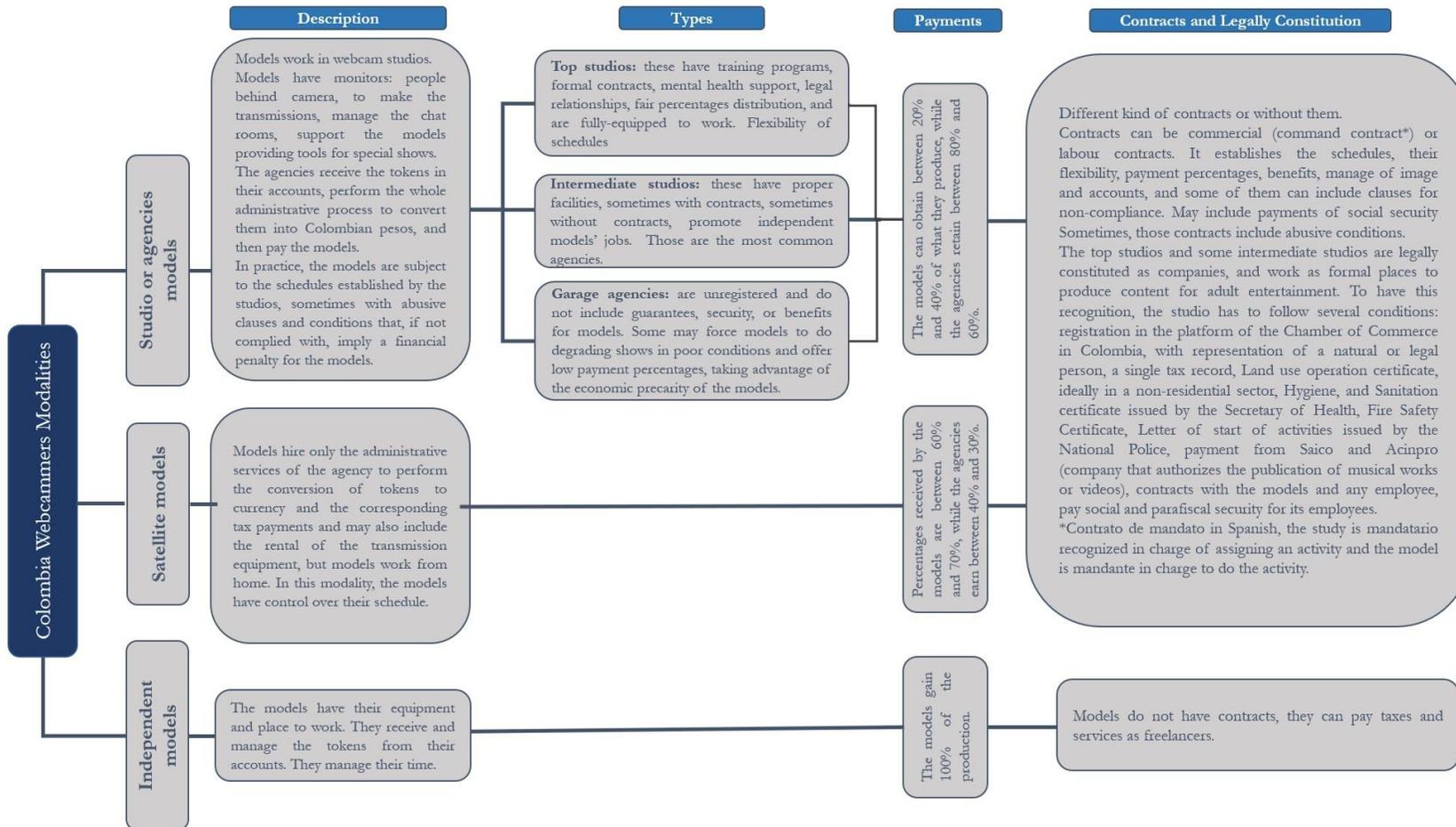


Source: The figure above was created with information according to Jiménez et al. (2022), Jones (2020, 2016), Laing (2020), Nguyen (2019), Orduz (2021), Parrado (2020), Quiroz (2016), Sanders et al. (2018) and Swords et al. (2023).

Appendix 2: Table of bills about webcam modeling in Colombia

Name/number	Topic	Meaning
Article 368 of the Tax Statute in Law 2010 of 2019	Established a tax on legal or natural persons exporting adult entertainment webcam services (Congreso de la República de Colombia, 2019; CCC, 2021; Jiménez et al., 2022).	It regulates the payment of taxes, also adding the need for these agencies to be organized through FENALWEB. This regulation concerns taxes that webcam agencies or independent models must pay. Independently of the work conditions of the models or the social and security realities in their jobs, the kind of contracts or the absence of them, agencies can be formal or informal according to the registration in tax or commercial platforms. At the same time, nothing is compulsory to ensure the working conditions.
Bill 20302 proposed by Senator Jonatan Tamayo Perez in 2020	To regulate webcam modeling in Colombia	It argues the need to handle webcam modeling to combat harmful practices and human exploitation and regulate the economic contribution of modeling to the country. This bill defines modeling as entertainment for adults performed by persons over 18 years old. The bill refers only to models working in webcam studios and explains that these places must be organized through FENALWEB and comply with specific permits for their operation. It also states that the studios must provide decent working conditions for their employees without further requirements. In addition, it refers to the fact that independent models would also have to register with FENALWEB, complying with permits and tax regulations. This project was shelved (Congreso Visible, 2021; Tamayo, 2020).
Bill 052-2022 proposed by the Chamber Representatives Jairo Cristo, Modesto Aguilera, Néstor Rico, Carlos Cuenca, Gilberto Betancourt, Oscar Campo, Victor Tovar, John Pérez, Hernando González, Lina Garrido and Javier Sánchez and Senators Jorge Benedetti, Didider Lobo, Edgar Díaz and Arturo Char.	To regulate the contract of webcam models who work with studios on a dependent basis.	The contract must be in writing and with the substantive labour code. It also includes that studios must comply with hygiene and health standards following the labour code and social security, recognizing constitutional rights and benefits under current labour standards. The project argues the need to regulate this activity to protect the right to have a dignified and fair job, free of discrimination and guaranteeing equality (Congreso Visible, 2023). This project was shelved.

Appendix 3: Forms of webcam modeling in Colombia



Source: The figure above was created according to the information published by ALBA (2021), Betancourt and Gómez (2022), Citizen Intervention Observatory of the Faculty of Law of The Universidad Libre (in CCC, 2021), Garrote and López (2021), Jiménez et al. (2022), Morán and Cano (2021), Ordúñez (2021), and Rodríguez and Salazar (2021).

Appendix 4: Non-structured Interview guide (Originally held in Spanish)

Fecha:

Hora:

Momento	Actividades/Preguntas
Introducción (rapport)	Presentación de la investigadora y de la investigación, consentimiento informado ¿Tienes alguna pregunta?
Inicio	Me gustaría que me contaras un poco de ti, tu edad, lugar de nacimiento, nivel educativo, actividades principales durante el día y cualquier cosa adicional que me quieras contar
Primera parte: sobre el modelaje webcam	Me gustaría que me hablaras del modelaje webcam, todo lo que sea importante para ti
Segunda parte: sobre el modelaje webcam preguntas aclaratorias o si no algo no quedó claro	¿Qué es para ti el modelaje webcam? ¿De qué trata el modelaje webcam? ¿Cómo describirías el modelaje webcam? ¿Cómo empezaste en el modelaje webcam? ¿Cuánto tiempo llevas trabajando o trabajaste en modelaje webcam? ¿Cómo te preparaste para ser modelo webcam? ¿Qué te gusta del modelaje webcam? ¿Qué no te gusta del modelaje webcam? ¿Cómo te sientes siendo modelo webcam? ¿Cómo diferenciarías el modelaje webcam de otras formas de trabajo sexual? ¿Conoces asociaciones o comunidades de modelos webcam?
Tercera parte: condiciones laborales, preguntas aclaratorias o si algo no quedó claro	Me podrías hablar de diferentes experiencias laborales que has tenido como modelo webcam (contratos, horarios, ganancias) ¿Cómo es tu lugar de transmisión? ¿En dónde trabajas? ¿Cómo son las condiciones? ¿Qué es lo que más te gusta del modelaje webcam? ¿Qué no te gusta del modelaje webcam? ¿Qué cambiarías? ¿Qué se debería mejorar?

Muchas gracias por tu participación en esta investigación. ¿Tienes alguna pregunta? o ¿Te gustaría agregar algo que te parezca importante y que no hayamos conversado?

Appendix 5: Data analysis

5.1 Classification matrix of topics

Topics
1 Gender Identity
2 Age
3 Place of birth
4 Occupation
5 Time working in webcam modeling
6 Experience in other forms of Sex Work
7 Meaning of Digital Sex Work
8 Modalities of webcam modeling
9 What is webcam modeling
10 Webcam sites
11 How it works
12 Difference with other forms of sex work
13 Requirements
14 Users profile
15 Relationship with the users
16 Repercussions (positive and negative)
17 Perceptions (positive and negative)
18 Risks
19 Auto protection
20 Learnings
21 Working conditions (positive and negative)
22 Need to speak
23 Talk about experiences of others
24 Regulations
25 Relation with family and friends
26 Community
27 Gender topics
28 Webcam studios
29 Industry
30 Barriers for regulations
31 What is happening in Colombia
32 What is webcam modeling for the country
33 Invisibilisation of webcam modeling
34 Motives to start in the job

5.2 Classification of relatively homogeneous categories

Homogeneous categories	
1. Identification	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Gender Identity Age Place of birth Occupation Time working in webcam modeling Experience in other forms of Sex Work
2. General Information about webcam	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Meaning of Digital Sex Work Modalities of webcam modeling What is webcam modeling Webcam sites How it works Difference with other forms of sex work Requirements to be a webcam
3. Users	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Users profile Relationship with the users
4. Experiences	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Repercussions positive and negative Perceptions (positive and negative) Risks Auto protection Learnings Working conditions
5. Needs and Demands	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Need to speak Talk about experiences of others Regulations
6. Social	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Relationship with family and friends Community Gender topics
7. Industry and webcam studios	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Webcam studios Barriers for regulations Industry
8. Colombia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> What is happening in Colombia What is webcam modeling for the country Invisibilisation of webcam modeling Motives to start in the job

5.3 Classification of categories to answer the research question.

Categories to answer the question	
Participants	Identification
Understandings	General Information about webcam
	Users
	Experiences
	Social
	Industry and Webcam studios
Demands and aspirations	Colombia
	Experiences
	Needs and demands
	Social
	Industry and Webcam studios
Colombia	

Appendix 6: Informed consent for the interviews (originally held in Spanish)

**Instituto Internacional de Estudios Sociales (ISS)
Universidad Erasmus de Rotterdam**

Título tentativo: Trabajadoras Webcam en Colombia: Explorando su perspectiva de las condiciones laborales

Estudiante: Diana Carolina Bellon Suarez

Formulario de consentimiento previo e informado para entrevista online

Estimada/o/e participante:

Usted está invitada/o/e a participar en un proyecto de investigación llevado a cabo en el Instituto Internacional de Estudios Sociales (ISS) con sede en La Haya, Países Bajos. Este proyecto es parte de mi tesis para obtener el grado académico de Maestría en Estudios del Desarrollo con especialización en Derechos Humanos, Estudios de Género y Conflicto, con Perspectiva de Justicia Social.

En esta investigación quiero explorar las experiencias de trabajadoras/es webcam en la ciudad de Bogotá y poder presentar su conocimiento sobre esta forma de trabajo, sus condiciones laborales actuales e ideales. Asimismo, desde una aproximación de justicia epistémica, presentar cualquier otro tema que para usted como trabajador/a/e pueda ser relevante en su trabajo.

Durante la investigación voy a realizar entrevistas/conversaciones online no-estructuradas. Toda la información que se obtenga durante las entrevistas/conversaciones, será utilizada únicamente con fines académicos para esta investigación y serán publicados de manera escrita o pueden ser presentados oralmente en conferencias o seminarios.

Para proteger su privacidad, la información recolectada será tratada con estricta confidencialidad. Además, usted puede decidir cómo quiere ser identificada/o/e en la investigación y ese será el nombre que se utilizará durante todo el proceso. Las entrevistas/conversaciones serán grabadas si usted lo autoriza y posteriormente transcritas usando el nombre con el que usted quiera ser identificada/o/e. Los fragmentos de entrevistas pueden aparecer o ser directamente citados en forma anónima. Posteriormente, la grabación original será destruida.

Su participación en esta investigación es voluntaria y puede interrumpirla en cualquier momento sin ninguna consecuencia. Esto significa que en cualquier momento puede tomar la decisión de no continuar o contestar alguna pregunta.

Por otra parte, usted obtendrá una compensación de 70.000 pesos colombianos por su participación como compensación por su tiempo. Además, usted podrá solicitar el acceso al material escrito (por ejemplo, publicaciones) en el que usted figura. Además, me gustaría que me comunicara cualquier sugerencia que pueda tener, en adición a lo aquí descrito, relacionada con la recolección, uso y almacenamiento de datos personales, particularmente en términos de anonimidad y confidencialidad, así como otras medidas que pueden minimizar o eliminar cualquier riesgo potencial derivado de su participación en la investigación. Si usted tiene alguna pregunta, puede hacerla durante o después de la investigación para que le pueda

explicar en detalle a través del número de WhatsApp +56997396185 o mi supervisora de tesis Karin Siegmann siegmann@iss.nl.

Por último, si usted decide participar en esta investigación bajo las condiciones arriba expuestas, pero prefiere otorgar su consentimiento verbalmente o no desea ser grabado, también lo puede hacer. Tomaré nota de la información sobre su entrevista (utilizando seudónimo).

Acepto hacer parte de esta investigación y manifiesto que entiendo que mis datos serán procesados y almacenados bajo las condiciones arriba descritas SI [] NO [].

Autorizo la grabación de audio de mis respuestas SI [] NO [].

Quiero ser identificado junto a mis respuestas SI [] NO []

En caso de querer ser identificado, que se use el nombre _____.

Firma: _____

Nombre del participante, fecha/hora:

Firma de investigadora:

Nombre: Diana Carolina Bellon Suarez

Appendix 7: Participants' quotes in original language

English	Spanish
P. 21 <i>'I'm doing something that dignifies me, I personally feel dignified with my work, so I am doing something that I like' (Laura).</i>	<i>'Estoy haciendo algo que me dignifica, yo personalmente me siento dignificada con mi trabajo, entonces estoy haciendo algo que me gusta' (Laura).</i>
P. 21 <i>'The issue of accessing a job is very difficult and more for us, young people... and really webcamming ends up being practically one of the two options for young people... the other one being to work in a call centre, all the people I know of my age have either worked in a call centre or have worked in a webcam studio' (Nitro).</i>	<i>'El tema de acceder a un trabajo es muy difícil y más para nosotros, las personas jóvenes... y realmente el modelaje webcam termina siendo prácticamente una de las dos opciones que hay para las personas jóvenes... siendo la otra trabajar en un call center, todas las personas que yo conozco de mi edad o han trabajado en un call center o han trabajado en un estudio webcam' (Nitro).</i>
P. 21 <i>'The social, psychological and emotional variety that I have found in this work has been very satisfying for me' (Paula).</i>	<i>'La variedad social, psicológica, emocional que he encontrado en este trabajo para mí ha sido muy satisfactorio' (Paula).</i>
P. 22 <i>'I say that webcamming is art (...) it is body art, it is the art of the human being (...) the art of sexuality, sexuality could also be shown as an artistic expression' (Laura).</i>	<i>'Yo digo que el modelaje webcam es arte (...) es el arte corporal, es el arte del humano (...) el arte de la sexualidad, la sexualidad también se podría mostrar como la expresión artística' (Laura).</i>
P. 22 <i>'basically it is also pornography (...) you are doing a live show, and they are watching you...'</i> (Narciso).	<i>'básicamente es también pornografía (...) tú estás haciendo show en vivo y ellos te están viendo en directo' (Narciso).</i>
P. 22 <i>'I consider it more like live porn... as a webcam partner says, it's a fancy masturbation hababa, a handjob where you don't have contact with another person, but you can find out specifically what you like for pleasure' (Paula).</i>	<i>'Yo lo considero más como una pornografía en vivo... como dice una compañera webcam, es una paja elegante jajaja, una paja donde no tienes contacto con otra persona, pero puedes encontrar específicamente lo que te gusta para tener placer' (Paula).</i>
P. 22 <i>'privileged person from the north of Bogotá, to say that I am a sex worker because I use Chaturbate, could be harmful to the struggles of sex workers from Santafé neighbourhood in the centre, trans, impoverished... so in a casual conversation I would not use that term towards myself because I feel that it would overshadow the realities of people who are really having a very bad time... and whose only option is really let's say working with their bodies in dangerous environments' (Nitro).</i>	<i>'una persona blanca, privilegiada del norte de Bogotá, decir que soy trabajador sexual porque transmito en Chaturbate, puede ser nocivo para las luchas de las trabajadoras sexuales del barrio Santafé en el centro, trans, empobrecidas... entonces por eso en una conversación casual no utilizaría ese término hacia mí porque siento que permitiría eclipsar las realidades de personas que realmente la están pasando muy mal... y cuya única opción es realmente digamos el trabajo con su cuerpo en ambientes peligrosos...' (Nitro).</i>
P. 22 <i>'there are white women who have not even practiced webcamming or have the privilege... because there was a time when sex work... or we are still in a time when digital sex work became a trending topic in which us, who work in these were harmed, because now models or actresses who have had all the privilege of their lives, opened accounts, for example, an Onlyfans and harmed us' (Marciana).</i>	<i>'Hay mujeres blancas que ni siquiera han ejercido o tienen el privilegio... porque es que hubo una época en la que el trabajo sexual... o todavía estamos en una época en la que el trabajo sexual se volvió como un trending en el que quienes nos vimos perjudicadas como quienes trabajábamos en esto porque había modelos, actrices que han tenido todo el privilegio de su vida, que abren por ejemplo un Onlyfans y nos perjudican a nosotras' (Marciana).</i>
P. 23 <i>'To be able to practice in this country, unfortunately, I have to outsource my work and depend on someone else, yes? because only some girls who have... or people who have some kind of privilege, can practice from home' (Marciana).</i>	<i>'Para poder ejercer en este país, por ejemplo, desgraciadamente tengo que tercerizar mi trabajo y depender de otro, ¿sí? porque solamente algunas chicas que tienen... o personas que tienen algún tipo de privilegio, pueden ejercer desde sus casas' (Marciana).</i>

<p>P. 23 <i>“Webcam studios are a curse disguised as a blessing” (Nitro).</i></p>	<p><i>‘Los estudios webcam son una maldición disfrazada de bondad’ (Nitro).</i></p>
<p>P. 23-24 <i>‘What I find not so nice, is that you have to follow a schedule, so it's as if you had a kind of contract in which you have to work, I don't know Monday to Saturday, eight hours in the established schedule and if you don't work that day, they charge you a fine’ (Sofía).</i></p>	<p><i>‘Lo que me parece muy feo es como que tú tienes que cumplir horario, entonces es como si tuvieras una especie de contrato en el que tienes que trabajar, no sé lunes a sábado, ocho horas en el horario establecido y si no trabajas ese día te cobran una multa’ (Sofía).</i></p>
<p>P. 24 <i>‘if I were the owner, I would not allow anyone to talk like that in my studio... that no one should express themselves like that about absolutely no one, that no one should be saying comments about a person's body, about their sexual orientation or their health situation’ (Emma).</i></p>	<p><i>‘Si fuera el dueño no permitiría que nadie hablara así en mi estudio... que nadie se exprese así de absolutamente nadie, que nadie tenga que estar diciendo, comentarios sobre el cuerpo de una persona, sobre su orientación sexual o su situación de salud’ (Emma).</i></p>
<p>P. 25 <i>‘I have known girls in very bad studios, with studios that, let's say you go to an interview, they ask you for nude photos or they ask you to sleep with the boss (...) the truth is that it was a bit bad, in the previous studio my boss was a man, and this man had the habit of having sexual relations with the models in exchange for bonuses’ (Laura).</i></p>	<p><i>‘He conocido chicas que dan con muy malos estudios, con estudios que, que digamos que vas a una entrevista, te piden fotos desnuda oooo te piden que te acuestes con el jefe (...) la verdad si fue un poco feo, mi jefe era un hombre, en el anterior estudio y este señor tenía la costumbre de que tenía relaciones con las modelos a cambio de bonos’ (Laura).</i></p>
<p>P. 25 <i>‘something that I find very curious about the industry, most of the studio owners are men hababa (...) and the owners of the platforms where one transmits are men... hababa so they are people with a lot of money who are profiting from pornography of... I would think that more men... like 90% of the people who work in the webcam are women and from there down are men and trans people...’ (Paula).</i></p>	<p><i>‘Cosa que de la industria me parece muy curioso, la mayoría de dueños de estudios son hombres jajaja (...) y los dueños de las plataformas en donde uno transmite son hombres... jajajaja o sea son gente con muchísimo dinero que se están lucrando pues con la pornografía de... porque es que como más... yo creería que más hombres... como el 90% de las personas que trabajan en la webcam pues son mujeres y de ahí pa’ abajo son hombres y personas trans’ (Paula).</i></p>
<p>P. 25 <i>‘It's a very patriarchal industry... men who are teaching us how to be sexy, hababa’ (Paula).</i></p>	<p><i>‘Es una industria sumamente patriarcal... hombres que nos están enseñando a nosotras a ser sensuales jajaja’ (Paula).</i></p>
<p>P. 26 <i>‘This government has shown interest in regulating the industry, but it has made many mistakes, and among those mistakes is believing that sitting down with these people who have created federations and associations’.</i></p>	<p><i>‘Este gobierno ha demostrado interés por regular la industria, pero ha cometido muchos errores y entre esos creer que sentarse con estas personas que han creado federaciones, asociaciones’.</i></p>
<p>P. 26 <i>‘So obviously, there is a call for the mobilisation of virtual workers but in addition to that, there are already many organisations created and that is where the state should apply them, allow them to speak... (...) I don't understand what these people are doing negotiating with men, it doesn't make any sense’.</i></p>	<p><i>‘Entonces obviamente, hay un llamado a la movilización de trabajadoras virtuales pero adicional a eso, ya hay muchas organizaciones creadas y ahí es donde el estado debería aplicarlas, permitirle a ellas que son las que hablen (...) no entiendo qué hace esta gente negociando con manes, o sea no tiene ningún sentido’.</i></p>
<p>P. 27 <i>‘I'm bringing enough support to the home, to the couple or the family... so for my mother to love me or allow me to practice, I have to give her certain luxuries and I become my partner's or my mother's sugar... So that there is permissiveness, then one becomes a person who pays for feelings because of believe that you are not worth...’ (Marciana).</i></p>	<p><i>‘Yo estoy trayendo un sustento suficiente al hogar, o a la pareja o la familia... entonces para que mi mamá me quiera o me permita ejercer, yo tengo que darle ciertos lujos y me convierto pues en la “sugar” de mi pareja o de mi mamá... Para que haya una permisividad, entonces uno se convierte en una persona que paga por sentirse porque cree que no vale...’ (Marciana).</i></p>
<p>P. 27 <i>‘She is a whore, and she does it because she wants to, then she has to accept what is going to happen’ (Marciana).</i></p>	<p><i>‘Pues es puta, lo está baciendo porque ella quiere pues tiene que atenerse a lo que va a suceder’ (Marciana).</i></p>

<p>P. 27 <i>'You say I'm a webcam model, and they treat you as a prostitute, as anyone, as a cheap woman, so we are also very quiet, so we are even more stupid if we say I am in the industry (...) that's why we almost don't share (...) there is disinformation, but it's because we are a broken phone and we don't talk, and we are not a community, and the community is very closed, it is too closed, all the models are in their studio or independent'</i> (Julieta).</p>	<p><i>'tú dices soy modelo webcam ya te tratan como prostituta, como cualquiera, como regalada, entonces también nosotros somos muy calladas, entonces más bobas si decimos estoy en la industria... porque una vez lo decimos (...) por eso casi nosotros no compartimos (...) pero hay desinformación pero es porque somos un teléfono roto y no hablamos y no somos una comunidad y la comunidad es muy cerrada, están todas las compañeras en su propio estudio o si no, independiente'</i> (Julieta).</p>
<p>P.29 <i>'We are not so invisible, this cannot remain invisible'</i> (Paula).</p>	<p><i>'Es que no somos tan invisibles, o sea esto no puede seguir siendo invisible'</i> (Paula).</p>
<p>P. 29 <i>'The studies must have good conditions, obligations, they must ensure a minimum of things'</i> (Sofía).</p>	<p><i>'Los estudios condiciones reales, como obligaciones de esos estudios ehbb como hacia las personas que trabajan, asegurar un mínimo de cosas'</i> (Sofía).</p>
<p>P. 31 <i>'I would like it to be more professional, I would like it to be more serious'</i> (Emma).</p>	<p><i>'Me gustaría que fuese más profesional, que fuese más serio'</i> (Emma).</p>
<p>P. 31 <i>'I have always believed in training, the professionalisation of the profession, but from this human perspective of humanising individuals, because we are more than just a body'</i> (Marciana).</p>	<p><i>'Siempre he creído como en la formación, la profesionalización del oficio, pero desde esta perspectiva propia, humana, de humanizar a las individuos porque es que nosotras somos más que un cuerpo'</i> (Marciana).</p>
<p>P. 31 <i>'It is not a job for everyone. It is a work of constancy, it is a work of discipline, it is a work of love for what it is done'</i> (Laura).</p>	<p><i>'No es un trabajo para cualquiera, es un trabajo de constancia, es un trabajo de disciplina, es un trabajo de amor hacia lo que se hace'</i> (Laura).</p>
<p>P. 31 <i>'The State should create a roundtable with the workers'</i> (Marciana).</p>	<p><i>'El estado debe crear uno mesas de conversación con las trabajadoras'</i> (Marciana).</p>
<p>P. 31 <i>'roundtables with the Ministry of Labour and those who work, but those who work from the proletarian trench of poor workers, not with those who enjoy this privilege of top models'</i>.</p>	<p><i>'Mesas que tienen ahoritica el Ministerio de Trabajo con quienes ejercen, pero las que ejercen desde la trinchera proletaria de trabajadora pobre, no con quienes gozan de este privilegio de modelos top'</i>.</p>
<p>P. 32 <i>'I wouldn't say that it should be only women, but there should be a presence of women because there are a lot of men telling us what... how we have to do to look and feel sexy, how we have to masturbate when they don't know how to do it hababa... so I think that female participation should be stronger'</i> (Paula).</p>	<p><i>'No diría que tendría que ser solo mujeres, pero si tendría que haber presencia de mujeres porque son un montón de hombres diciéndonos qué... cómo tenemos que hacer para vernos y sentirnos sexys, cómo tenemos que masturbarnos cuando ellos no saben cómo hacerlo jajaja entonces si me parece que la participación femenina tendría que ser más fuerte'</i> (Paula).</p>
<p>P. 32 <i>'Being a webcam in Colombia is not something that has to be denied and hidden... it is necessary to talk about it'</i> (Emma).</p>	<p><i>'Ser una webcam en Colombia no es algo que hay que negarlo y ocultarlo(...) esto hay que hablarlo'</i> (Emma).</p>

References

- Agudelo, M., 2021. Modelos webcam en la pandemia [Webcam models in the pandemic]. Cerosetenta Univ. Los Andes. URL <https://cerosetenta.uniandes.edu.co/modelos-webcam-en-la-pandemia/> (accessed 10.31.23).
- ALBA, 2021. ¿Cómo saber que un estudio de modelaje webcam es legal? [How do you know that a webcam modeling studio is legal?]. ALBA. URL <https://albastudio.co/2021/05/como-saber-que-un-estudio-de-modelaje-webcam-es-legal/> (accessed 8.1.23).
- Almanza, N.A., 2022. Trabajadoras sexuales: violencias y precariedad laboral [Sex workers: violence and job insecurity]. *Andamios Rev. Investig. Soc.* 19, 39–60. <https://doi.org/10.29092/uacm.v19i48.894>
- ATENEA, 2023. Diagnóstico de Brechas en Bogotá [Gap Diagnosis in Bogotá]. Agencia Distrital para la Educación Superior, la Ciencia y la Tecnología, Bogotá D.C, Colombia.
- Betancourt, F., Gómez, L., 2022. Prejuicios y repercusiones en el modelaje webcam [Prejudices and repercussions in webcam modeling] (Thesis for the degree of psychologist). Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, Bogotá D.C, Colombia.
- Blanquicet, J., 2020. ¿Quién controla el ‘reclutamiento ilegal’ de modelos webcam? [Who controls the “illegal recruitment” of webcam models?] [WWW Document]. *El Her.* URL <https://www.elheraldo.co/judicial/quien-controla-el-reclutamiento-ilegal-de-modelos-webcam-752674> (accessed 8.31.23).
- Blu Radio, 2017. En Medellín las modelos webcam tienen universidad [The webcam models have University in Medellín] [WWW Document]. Blu Radio. URL <https://www.bluradio.com/blu360/antioquia/en-medellin-las-modelos-webcam-tienen-universidad> (accessed 8.2.23).
- Blunt, D., Wolf, A., 2020. Erased: The impact of FOSTA-SESTA and the removal of Backpage on sex workers. *Anti-Traffick. Rev.* 117–121. <https://doi.org/10.14197/atr.201220148>
- Campbell, R., Sanders, T., Scoular, J., Pitcher, J., Cunningham, S., 2019. Risking safety and rights: online sex work, crimes and ‘blended safety repertoires.’ *Br. J. Sociol.* 70, 1539–1560. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-4446.12493>
- Castrillón, Á., Rodríguez, M., 2021. El modelaje webcam: Un asunto de autoestima y sexualidad [Webcam modeling: A matter of self-esteem and sexuality] (Thesis for the degree of psychologist). Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, Bogotá D.C, Colombia.
- CCC, 2021. Sentencia T-109/21 Derecho al trabajo, mínimo vital, estabilidad laboral reforzada, salud y seguridad social – Contrato de trabajo encubierto bajo modalidad de acuerdo comercial, relacionado con la industria del sexo virtual de modelo webcam [Judgment T-190/21 Right to work, minimum vital, reinforced labour stability, health and social security - Employment contract in dis-guise under a commercial agreement, related to the virtual sex industry of a webcam model] [WWW Document]. URL www.corteconstitucional.gov.co (accessed 6.19.23).
- CCC, 2015. Sentencia T-141/15 Derecho a la no discriminación por razón de orientación sexual diversa - Derecho a la educación y principio de autonomía universitaria - Derecho a la igualdad y principio de no discriminación [Right to non-discrimination based on diverse sexual orientation - Right to education and principle of university autonomy - Right to equality and principle of non-discrimination] [WWW Document]. URL <https://www.corteconstitucional.gov.co/relatoria/2015/t-141-15.htm> (accessed 11.2.23).
- Chapman-Schmidt, B., 2019. ‘Sex Trafficking’ as Epistemic Violence. *Anti-Traffick. Rev.* 172–187. <https://doi.org/10.14197/atr.2012191211>

- Code, L., 2017. Epistemic Responsibility, in: *The Routledge Handbook of Epistemic Injustice*, Routledge Handbooks in Philosophy. Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, London; New York, pp. 89–118.
- Code, L., 2015. Care, Concern, and Advocacy: Is There a Place for Epistemic Responsibility? *Fem. Philos. Q.* 1. <https://doi.org/10.5206/fpq/2015.1.1>
- Congreso de la República de Colombia, 2019. Ley 2010 de 2019 - Por medio de la cual se adoptan normas para la promoción del crecimiento económico, el empleo, la inversión, el fortalecimiento de las finanzas públicas y la progresividad, equidad y eficiencia del sistema tributario de acuerdo con los objetivos que sobre la materia impulsaron la ley 1943 de 2018 y se dictan otras disposiciones [Law 2010 of 2019 - By means of which regulations are adopted for the promotion of economic growth, employment, investment, the strengthening of public finances and the progressivity, equity and efficiency of the tax system in accordance with the objectives established on the matter promoted Law 1943 of 2018 and other provisions are issued] [WWW Document]. Gestor Público. URL <https://www.funcionpublica.gov.co/eva/gestornormativo/norma.php?i=159687#73> (accessed 7.30.23).
- Congreso Visible, 2023. Ley por la cual se regula el contrato de los modelos que desarrollan su labor por plataformas del sistema webcam y se dictan otras disposiciones [Law that regulates the contract of models who conduct their work through webcam system platforms and dictates other provisions] [WWW Document]. Congr. Visible. URL <https://congresovisible.uniandes.edu.co/proyectos-de-ley/ppor-la-cual-se-regula-el-contrato-de-los-modelos-que-desarrollan-su-labor-por-plataformas-del-sistema-webcam-y-se-dictan-otras-disposiciones-modelos-webcam/12420> (accessed 8.2.23).
- Congreso Visible, 2021. Proyecto de ley por medio del cual se desarrolla el Artículo 73 de la Ley 2010 de 2019 y se dictan otras disposiciones. [Reglamenta el servicio de comercio electrónico para adultos] - Bill through which Article 73 of Law 2010 of 2019 is developed and other provisions are dictated. [Regulates the e-commerce service for adults] [WWW Document]. URL <https://congresovisible.uniandes.edu.co/proyectos-de-ley/ppor-medio-del-cual-se-desarrolla-el-articulo73-de-la-ley-2010-de-2019-y-se-dictan-otras-disposiciones-reglamenta-el-servicio-de-comercio-electronico-para-adultos/11309/> (accessed 8.2.23).
- Crenshaw, K., 1991. Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color. *Stanford Law Rev.* 43, 1241–1299. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1229039>
- Cubides, M.I., Santos, W., Siegmann, K.A., 2022. Sex Workers' Everyday Security in the Netherlands and the Impact of COVID-19. *Sex. Res. Soc. Policy.* <https://doi.org/10.1007/s13178-022-00729-4>
- Davis, K., 2008. Intersectionality as buzzword: A sociology of science perspective on what makes a feminist theory successful. *Fem. Theory* 9, 67–85. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1464700108086364>
- Decriminalize Sex Work, n.d. What Is SESTA/FOSTA? Decriminalize Sex Work. URL <https://decriminalizesex.work/advocacy/sesta-fosta/what-is-sesta-fosta/> (accessed 9.21.23).
- Dewey, S., Zheng, T., 2013. Ethical research with sex workers: anthropological approaches, *SpringerBriefs in anthropology*. Anthropology and ethics. Springer, New York.
- Dotson, K., 2011. Tracking Epistemic Violence, Tracking Practices of Silencing. *Hypatia* 26, 236–257.
- ESWA, 2023. Conditions, Control and Consent: Exploring the impact of platformisation of sex work. European Sex Workers Rights Alliance.

- Ezurmendia, J., Gonzalez, M.D.L.Á., Carbonell, F., 2023. Me llaman calle: trabajo sexual e injusticia epistémica [They call me street: sex work and epistemic injustice]. *Rev. Derecho Concep.* 91, 37–66. <https://doi.org/10.29393/RD253-2MLEC30002>
- Fajardo, C., Mesa, C., 2018. Trabajadoras ‘sexcam’ en Colombia: Una impresión diagnóstica sobre la seguridad y Salud [Sexcam workers in Colombia: A diagnostic impression on safety and health]. *Rev. Colomb. Salud Ocupacional* 8, 5128–5128. <https://doi.org/10.18041/2322-634X/rcso.2.2018.5128>
- Fenalweb, n.d. Federación Nacional del Comercio Electrónico para Adultos a través del Sistema Webcam [National Federation of Electronic Commerce for Adults through the Webcam System] [WWW Document]. URL www.fenalweb.org (accessed 6.21.23).
- Fricker, M., 2021. Conceptos de injusticia epistémica en evolución [Evolving concepts of epistemic injustice]. *Rev. Int. Filo. Política, Las Torres de Lucca* 10, 97–103.
- Garrote, B., López, E., 2021. Derechos laborales de las trabajadoras sexuales en la nueva modalidad laboral [Sex workers’ labour rights in the new employment modality] (Work for the degree of specialist in labor law and social security). Universidad Libre, Bogotá D.C, Colombia.
- González, R., 2022. Relatos Desconocidos [Unknown Stories]. Colombia, Potencia Webcam 1ra y 2da Parte [Colombia, Webcam Power 1st and 2nd Part].
- Harding, S., 1993. Rethinking Standpoint Epistemology: What is "Strong Objectivity? *Centen. Rev.* 36, 49–82.
- Henry, M., Farvid, P., 2017. “Always hot, always live”: Computer-mediated sex work in the era of “camming.” *Women Stud. J.* 31, 113–128.
- Heumann, S., Siegmann, K., Empower Foundation, 2016. Towards new perspectives on labour precarity and decent work for sex workers’, in: *Exploring Civic Innovation for Social and Economic Transformation*. Routledge.
- Hillinger, S., 2023 “Money shot: The Pornhub Story,” [Netflix Documentary]. URL <https://www.netflix.com/title/81406118> (accessed 20.2.23).
- Infobae, 2022. Sexo por supervivencia: la alternativa laboral que afecta la salud y dignidad de los migrantes venezolanos en Colombia - Infobae [Sex for survival: the labour alternative that affects the health and dignity of Venezuelan migrants in Colombia] [WWW Document]. URL <https://www.infobae.com/america/colombia/2022/12/12/sexo-por-supervivencia-la-alternativa-laboral-que-afecta-la-salud-y-dignidad-de-los-migrantes-venezolanos-en-colombia/> (accessed 5.2.23).
- IPPF, 2022. IPPF Policy on Sex Work. URL <https://www.ippf.org/file/13636/download?token=W1xMCnki> (accessed 5.2.23)
- Jiménez, I., Cárdenas, M., Jaramillo, D., López, J., 2022. Reflexiones sobre el Derecho Laboral y el Trabajo Sexual Digital [Reflections on Labor Law and Digital Sex Work]. Observatorio Laboral Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, Bogotá D.C, Colombia.
- Jones, A., 2020. *Camming: money, power, and pleasure in the sex work industry*. New York University Press, New York.
- Jones, A., 2016. “I Get Paid to Have Orgasms”: Adult Webcam Models’ Negotiation of Pleasure and Danger. *Signs* 42, 227–256.
- Jones, A., 2015. Sex Work in a Digital Era. *Sociol. Compass* 9, 558–570. <https://doi.org/10.1111/soc4.12282>
- Kidd, I.J. (Ed.), 2017. *The Routledge handbook of epistemic injustice*, Routledge handbooks in philosophy. Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, London; New York.
- Laing, 2020. Las trabajadoras sexuales en Chile se vuelcan en las pantallas para adaptarse a la pandemia [Sex workers in Chile turn to screens to adapt to the pandemic] | Reuters [WWW Document]. URL <https://www.reuters.com/article/salud-coronavirus-chile-sexo-idESKBN22J0GC> (accessed 5.2.23).

- Las Dos Orillas, 2020. Los dos millonarios del modelaje webcam en Colombia [The two millionaires of webcam modeling in Colombia]. URL <https://www.las2orillas.co/los-dos-millonarios-del-modelaje-webcam-en-colombia/> (accessed 5.31.23).
- Lugo, P., 2017. El ¿trabajo? sexual [The sex ¿work?], in: Trabajo y Derechos Humanos: Algunos Retos Contemporáneos. Instituto de Investigaciones Jurídicas, México.
- Ministerio del Trabajo, 2023. Boletín Mercado Laboral de la Población Migrante Marco del 2022 - Febrero del 2023 [Labor Market Bulletin of the Migrant Population Framework of 2022 - February 2023]. Subdirección de Análisis, Monitoreo y Prospectiva Laboral y Fuente de Información Laboral de Colombia -FILCO-, Colombia.
- Morán, L., Cano, S., 2021. La necesidad de reglamentar la relación contractual modelo-estudio para la protección de los derechos constitucionales de las modelos webcam en Colombia [The need to regulate the contractual relationship model-studio for the protection of the constitutional rights of webcam models in Colombia] (Thesis for the degree of law). Universidad de Caldas, Manizales, Colombia.
- Muriele, H., 2015. Práctica del Cibersexo en hombres jóvenes modelos webcam, a través de sus narrativas sexuales [Cybersex practice in young male webcam models, through their sexual narratives] (Thesis for the degree of anthropologist). Universidad de Antioquia, Turbo, Colombia.
- Negrete, M., 2022. Dignificación del trabajo de modelaje webcam [Dignification of webcam modeling work] (Work for the degree of professional technician in clothing and pattern making). Corporación Unificada Nacional de Educación Superior Escuela de Bellas Artes, Bogotá D.C, Colombia.
- Nguyen, T., 2019. Online Sex Work Environment: Exploring the Security of Working Conditions the Case of Vietnam (Research paper presented for obtaining the degree of Master of Arts in Development Studies). Erasmus University Rotterdam, International Institute of Social Studies.
- Niño, E., 2021. Modelos webcam, la generación 4.0 de trabajo sexual en Colombia [Webcam models, the 4.0 generation of sex work in Colombia] (Work for the degree of Social Communication with emphasis on Journalism). Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, Bogotá D.C, Colombia.
- Obando, S., Chacón, C., 2022. Perspectivas y Repercusiones Psicosociales del Trabajo Webcam [Perspectives and Psychosocial Repercussions of Webcam Work] (Thesis for the degree of Psychology). Corporación Universidad de la Costa, Barranquilla, Colombia.
- Observatorio de la Universidad Colombiana, 2019. La “Universidad webcam” tiene mil egresadas, y Mineducación no ha dicho nada [The “Webcam University” has a thousand graduates, and Mineducation has not said anything] [WWW Document]. El Obs. Univ. Colomb. URL <https://www.universidad.edu.co/la-universidad-webcam-tiene-mil-egresadas-y-mineducacion-no-ha-dicho-nada/> (accessed 8.2.23).
- O’Leary, Z., 2017. The essential guide to doing your research project, 3rd edition. ed. SAGE Publications, Thousand Oaks, CA.
- ONU Mujeres, DANE, CPEM, 2020. Mujeres y Hombres: Brechas de Género en Colombia. Resumen Ejecutivo [Women and Men: Gender Gaps in Colombia. Executive Summary]. Gobierno de Colombia, Colombia.
- Orduz, P., 2021. De la virtualidad, las emociones y el trabajo sexual: un acercamiento desde el modelaje webcam [Of virtuality, emotions, and sex work: an approach from webcam modeling]. Trab. Soc. 23, 153–172. <https://doi.org/10.15446/ts.v23n1.86705>
- Parrado, K., 2020. El negocio de las modelos “webcam” se dispara en la pandemia [Webcam modeling business booms with the pandemic] - Cultura - ELTIEMPO.COM [WWW Document]. El Tiempo. URL <https://www.eltiempo.com/cultura/modelos-webcam-en-la-pandemia-491058> (accessed 5.2.23).

- Portafolio, 2017. La polémica y lucrativa industria de los modelos webcam en Colombia [The controversial and lucrative industry of webcam models in Colombia] [WWW Document]. URL <https://www.portafolio.co/negocios/modelos-webcam-en-colombia-una-industria-creciente-y-lucrativa-512359> (accessed 5.5.23).
- Pulzo, 2020. La plata que se podría ganar en Colombia si monta un estudio de modelos webcam [The money you could earn in Colombia by setting up a webcam modeling studio] [WWW Document]. URL <https://www.pulzo.com/economia/plata-que-gana-estudio-modelos-webcam-colombia-PP965023> (accessed 5.2.23).
- Quijano, S., Peña, J., Villamizar, S., 2020. Modelos webcam: repercusiones en la vida diaria y percepción de violencia de género [Webcam models: repercussions on daily life and perception of gender violence] (Thesis for the degree of Psychology). Universidad Autónoma de Bucaramanga, Bucaramanga, Colombia.
- Quintero, D., 2021. Dimensiones éticas en el ejercicio ocupacional de la webcam [Ethical dimensions in the occupational exercise of webcam] (Thesis for the degree of Psychology). Universidad Antonio Nariño, Cartago, Colombia.
- Quiroz, C., 2016. Motivación para el Trabajo y Autoesquemas en Modelos Webcam [Work Motivation and Self-Schemes in Webcam Models] (Thesis for the degree of Psychology). Institución Universitaria de Envigado, Envigado, Colombia.
- Ramírez, A., 2023. Aida Cortés se viraliza por sus curvas y gana 500 mil pesos al mes [Aida Cortés goes viral for her curves and earns 500,000 pesos a month] [WWW Document]. Publimetro México. URL <https://www.publimetro.com.mx/entretenimiento/2023/02/13/instagram-aida-cortes-se-viraliza-por-sus-curvas-cuanto-gana-fotos-y-videos-de-onlyfans/> (accessed 5.2.23).
- Rand, H.M., 2019. Challenging the invisibility of sex work in digital labour politics. *Fem. Rev.* 40–55.
- Rodríguez, A., Salazar, A., 2021. Modelaje Webcam Trabajo Informal y Explotación del Trabajador Sexual [Webcam Modeling Informal Work and Sex Worker Exploitation] (Work for the degree of specialist in labour law and social security). Universidad Libre, Bogotá D.C, Colombia.
- Rodríguez, C., 2023. Industria webcam ya factura US\$600 millones y cuenta con al menos 100.000 modelos [Webcam industry already invoices US\$600 million and has at least 100,000 models] [WWW Document]. D. Repúb. URL <https://www.larepublica.co/ocio/industria-webcam-ya-factura-us-600-millones-y-cuenta-con-al-menos-100-000-modelos-3554180> (accessed 8.2.23).
- Rubin, G., 2007. Thinking sex: Notes for a radical theory of the politics of sexuality, in: Parker, R.G., Aggleton, P. (Eds.), *Culture, Society and Sexuality: A Reader, Sexuality, Culture and Health*. Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, London; New York.
- Salas, L., 2020. Modelos ‘webcam’: ¿prostitución o trabajo formal? [Webcam models: ¿prostitution or formal work?] [WWW Document]. *El Tiempo*. URL <https://www.eltiempo.com/colombia/otras-ciudades/modelos-webcam-prostitucion-o-trabajo-formal-478902> (accessed 5.31.23).
- Sanders, T., Campbell, R., Cunningham, S., Pitcher, J., Scoular, J., 2018. *Internet Sex Work: Beyond the Gaze*, 1st ed. 2018. ed. Springer International Publishing: Imprint: Palgrave Macmillan, Cham. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-65630-4>
- Sanders, T., Connelly, L., King, L.J., 2016. On Our Own Terms: The Working Conditions of Internet-Based Sex Workers in the UK. *Sociol. Res. Online* 21, 133–146. <https://doi.org/10.5153/sro.4152>
- Semana, 2023. Gobierno Petro asistirá al polémico congreso de modelos ‘webcam’ en Medellín: “Es un mundo que no podemos esconder” [Government Petro will attend the controversial congress of “webcam” models in Medellín: ‘It is a world that we cannot hide’] [WWW Document]. *Sem. Últimas Not. Colomb. El Mundo*. URL

- <https://www.semana.com/nacion/medellin/articulo/gobierno-petro-asistira-al-polemico-congreso-de-modelos-webcam-en-medellin-es-un-mundo-que-no-podemos-esconder/202319/> (accessed 8.2.23).
- Semana, 2020. Modelaje webcam, matices de un negocio que crece en la pandemia [Webcam modeling, nuances of a business that grows in the pandemic] [WWW Document]. Semana.com. URL <https://www.semana.com/semana-tv/el-poder/articulo/modelaje-webcam-matices-de-un-negocio-que-crece-en-la-pandemia/695459/> (accessed 5.31.23).
- Semana, 2019. 1.000 jóvenes se han graduado como modelos webcam en Medellín [1,000 young people have graduated as webcam models in Medellín] [WWW Document]. Rev. Sem. URL <https://www.semana.com/educacion/articulo/1000-jovenes-se-han-graduado-como-modelos-webcam-en-medellin/629502/> (accessed 8.2.23).
- Sörensson, E., Kalman, H., 2018. Care and concern in the research process: meeting ethical and epistemological challenges through multiple engagements and dialogue with research subjects. *Qual. Res.* 18, 706–721. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1468794117743466>
- Swords, J., Laing, M., Cook, I.R., 2023. Platforms, sex work and their interconnectedness. *Sexualities* 26, 277–297. <https://doi.org/10.1177/13634607211023013>
- Tamayo, J., 2020. Proyectos de Ley 302/20 Reglamenta el servicio de comercio electrónico para adultos [Bills 302/20 Regulates the electronic commerce service for adults] [WWW Document]. Congr. Visible. URL <https://congresovisible.uniandes.edu.co/proyectos-de-ley/ppor-medio-del-cual-se-desarrolla-el-articulo73-de-la-ley-2010-de-2019-y-se-dictan-otras-disposiciones-reglamenta-el-servicio-de-comercio-electronico-para-adultos/11309> (accessed 8.2.23).
- Tripathy, J., 2010. How gendered is Gender and Development? Culture, masculinity, and gender difference. *Dev. Pract.* 20, 113–121. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09614520903436901>
- Ulloa, F., Garlin, F., Cares, M., 2022. Sexo por Supervivencia en Población Migrante [Sex by Survival in the Migrant Population].
- Weitzer, R., 2009. Sociology of Sex Work. *Annu. Rev. Sociol.* 35, 213–234. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-soc-070308-120025>