

Sexwork in Cyberspace:
Geographies of Desire in Digital Economies

Written by Danyelle Hamilton

2013 - 2017

Booklet adapted from an 80-page undergraduate
thesis at Vassar College available to read in full
at digitalwindow.vassar.edu.

“Women’s tactics of resistance to violence and social control are admirable. Tactics of resistance help women to negotiate within the rigid confines of their social space, but they present little challenge to power and authority of sex, money, and law. The importance of hearing the multifaceted voices of women in the sex trade is...that they highlight contradictions in the micro practice of power in the everyday life.”

– Lisa Sanchez, 1997

This booklet is part of a larger mission to alleviate stigma against sex workers. Conversations inclusive of the work done by camboys, dancers, houseboys, strippers, call girls, performers, prostitutes, webcam models, elite escorts, street hustlers, pornography actors, and phone sex operators act to demystify their labor and reclaim their power.





In July 2013 MGF issued the press release “College Girls Are Paying Tuition Bills With Their Social Networking Skills on MyGirlFund.”

It noted a significant increase in college-aged women joining their site— of the 6,000 models, 25% were 18 to 22 years old.

MGF is a US company and website founded in 2007, functioning as an online community, adult social network, and erotica-based business. Website users are designated roles as Models or Contributors based on gender, allowing only women to “model” and encouraging men to be contributors. Girls and guys, as the website refers to them, make a username to protect anonymity, and restrictions allow only cisgender women eighteen and older to model.

Contributors send credits in exchange for suggestive, nude, or pornographic messages, photographs, and videos made by the model. Models also perform live, one-on-one webcam sessions. They determine the value of their content and set goals to encourage guys to contribute to their fund, with targets ranging from buying a new computer to paying this month’s rent to going on vacation. The range of goals and content offers begins to shed light on the diversity of models. Girls “cash out” as often as they choose and receive 65 percent of the contributions they’re sent.

Website founders prefer to emphasize the “girlfriend” aspect (casual conversation and sending non-pornographic photos) MGF imitates rather than the live “sex cam” or porn chat aspects other adult websites like OnHerCam, iFriends, Streamate, and ExtraLunchMoney advertise. MGF Director of Business Development says, “Guys and Girls interact on a daily basis, sharing their lives, reciprocating affection and exploring desires just like they would in a real world romantic relationship. Virtual or not, it’s a true girlfriend experience” (“MyGirlFund’s Member Survey” 2013).

THE "FRONTIER" IN AMERICAN HISTORY

"What the Mediterranean Sea was to the Greeks, breaking the bond of custom, offering new experiences, calling out new institutions and activities, that, and more, the ever-retreating frontier has been to the US...at the end of a hundred years of life under the Constitution, the frontier has gone, and with its going has closed the first period of American history" (Frederick Turner 1893).

Turner's frontier is literally the expanse of "open," "free," or "uninhabited" land that extends westward from Atlantic to Pacific— its settlement is the cultural representation of America and is thereby crucial to the construction of American nationalism, character, and life. Despite the lapses and romanticism in Turner's language, including failure to recognize indigenous communities, women, children, family structures, racial minorities, urban spaces, government subsidies, and religious sects, this allegory can still be useful.

Frontier 1) is a transitional space that presents constituents with new social, economic, and/or political opportunities; 2) is liminal in terms of its rules and regulations; 3) has a dynamic population, range of opportunities and flexible or nonexistent regulatory schema; 4) often joins outsiders or people who would otherwise remain disconnected; 5) and allows individuals and society to transgress cultural divides, come together, be transformed through new opportunities, and ultimately create new cultures (Turner 1893, 35).

The internet fits the frontier model, representing big changes in tech and fostering industries, economies, and societies in unregulated, dynamic, flexible, and essentially "free" spaces. The "dangerous wilderness" of cyberspace has also been analogized to the frontier as it can be risky and confusing, with clickbait, hacking, and malware and high tech, difficult to navigate pages and tools. This unregulated, lawless new "land" fosters informality in the purest sense.

A sex worker is defined here as a person who trades sex for material goods like money or food, but it's difficult to define because both sex and work are fluid terms (Murphy and Venkatesh 2006). Definitions problematically generalize, and I fear contributing to biases already held against marginalized communities. Characteristics of sex workers vary by individual and change with time and place. Sex work exists "on a continuum, engaging people from all walks of life at different points of their life cycle, and represents a strategic response to changing life circumstances" (Katsulis 2008). Sex work doesn't have to be for-profit or formal either, think of people negotiating romantic encounters with significant others and not considering it sex work. I encouraged interviewees, MGF models, to speak towards their self-identification as sex workers, but none of the women even referred to themselves as such.



Their work is very much unofficial and part of the informal sector (aka grey, submerged, secondary, or shadow economy). The term was first used in 1971 by an anthropologist studying self-employment in Ghana, where he noticed labor relationships based on kinship, not contracts, and informal learning. Other informal economy jobs include domestic laborers, street vendors, and home-based workers. These economies encompass such a range of constituents, labors, and spaces because the definition, "unregulated by the institutions of society, in a legal and social environment in which similar activities are regulated," is incredibly broad (Portes et al. 1989, 12). It's this unregulated nature that makes it difficult to define and study.

Economist Edgar Feige estimated two trillion dollars' worth of activity in the informal sector in 2012, double what Friedrich Schneider estimated in 2009 (qtd. in Koba 2013). Spreading neoliberalism further exacerbates these numbers and has consequences on the employment of women (and men, though the difference gender makes is profound) across the globe. With globalization, we see not improvements of labor conditions in periphery countries, but a worsening of

those in wealthier nations (Jain and Elson 2011, 72). Yet informal sectors in the US and other core countries are understudied, with focus remaining on periphery countries, despite the informal economy (per capita) being high in core countries (Schneider 2013) and informal economic activity here spanning a range of social classes.

Informalization in core countries in North America and Western Europe is a result of advanced capitalism, which creates new kinds of informal economies, professional yet creative: programmers, planners, developers, essentially freelance, digital work (Sassen 2009, 66). “These changes could be seen as an important moment in the trajectory of global development” (Graham 2014). In the meantime, further deterioration of markets and welfare/labor rights is expanding informal economies and forcing the lower class to come up with “adaptive solutions” in face of a stagnating formal sector (Portes and Hoffman 2003, 41). This is just one of four schools of thought concerning the informal economy:

1. Dualistic– the informal, perceived as entirely independent from the formal, involves marginal work that allows the poor to make an income and have a safety net during crises.
2. Legalistic/Neoliberal– the informal is the sum of all small entrepreneurs excluded from the formal because of high costs and bureaucratic barriers.
3. Voluntarist– small-business owners choose to run informally based on cost/benefit analyses.
4. Structuralist– the informal is a means of keeping labor costs low through a structure of subordinate microbusinesses and individual workers (Chen 2012).

Structuralists ask us to pay attention to the subordination of classes under capitalism; this awareness “re-connects economies to society, to concrete individuals in specific settings...the search for a fuller understanding of the wide range of activities that are somewhat economic is necessary for overcoming the damage resulting from the artificial separation of economy from society” (Miller 1989).

This damage from separation (lack of regulation) impacts working conditions and labor status manifesting as under the table payments, deficient or nonexistent benefits, below minimum wages, safety hazards, health risks, illegal or taboo work, and/or tax fraud. These conditions are often found among small firms or the self-employed because smaller institutions are under the radar and easily evade governmental regulations— giving workers more autonomy but also less visibility and protection.



Women are disproportionately represented in the informal sector (and even fall into the lower end here) because a significant portion of work done by women involves social, reproductive, and domestic labor and “they tend to be less equipped in terms of education and training, have less access to resources, still face various forms of direct and indirect discrimination and bear the brunt of family responsibilities” (International Labour Organization 2002, 32).

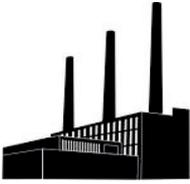
Waged work has long been separated from the home and “the concepts of ‘work’ are shaped by the gendered sites where it is performed” (Nelson and Seager 2005, 78). The feminization of occupations is due in part from historical spatial segregation, but also from the “embodied nature of work,” which “influences the gendered construction of spatial (and social) divisions of labor, and vice versa” (Nelson and Seager 2005, 83). Work done by women in their homes is unpaid, often unrecognized, and work outside the home available to women is limited, segregated, and underpaid.

Finding place to begin the story of the world's oldest profession is not easy, but a majority of adult sites like MGF are situated in the US, where there's an estimated 68 percent of membership-based adult sites and 42 percent of free adult websites (Zook 2007, 103). Men and women both trade sex and it started long before the gold rush, yet historical record indicates an enormous increase in documented accounts of sex work by working class women at this time. The discovery of gold on the west coast in the mid-nineteenth century brought forty-niners, mostly young, single men, westward. The predominance of bachelors created an enormous demand for the company of women and thereby opportunities for them to gain income and, at least a sense of, independence.



Pop-up mining towns with saloons, dance halls, and game lounges for men's recreation also housed many of the single American women who came to the frontier (Johnson 2000). Chinese, Hispanic, and French women also participated in prostitution here because of "their exclusion and displacement elsewhere, which, of course, is one of the best explanations for why women engage in prostitution in all contexts" (Laite 745). Demand remained for gold products, but the frontier's supply was limited. Frontier-like spaces with an initial flexibility and dynamism and new employment opportunities and social situations often fall apart quickly to develop in still fresher frontiers. When gold was no longer viable frontier folk migrated from ghost towns to urban centers. This mass exodus into more populated places prompted the rise of third-party organized prostitution.

URBANIZATION AND EXCLUSION IN THE PROGRESSIVE ERA



A shift from smaller, agriculturally based towns to bigger, industrialized cities largely characterized the nineteenth century. Urban areas offered mobility and exposure to more kinds of people and activities, and the urban working class joined high-class citizens in the leisure economy (Brents et al. 2010). The diversity of the city also managed to foster a so-called “corruption,” where places like NYC were criticized for fostering prostitution. “From 1870s to the turn of the twentieth century... various localities in the United States and Japan regulated the public disorder of prostitution through zoning, medical, and brothel regulations. This created boundaries between poor vice districts and ‘respectable’ upper-class neighborhoods” (Brents et al. 2010, 44).

Exclusion was most widespread during the Progressive Era, characterized by social and political reform and activism, which normalized upper class stigmas against the working class. Criminalization of prostitution spread across the US in the 1920s resulted in loss of work and wages for sex working women (Brents et al. 2010). Their illegal status meant they could no longer work streets and clubs freely. Loss of mobility had consequences on their lives, destroying social networks, pushing them to city fringes, and decreasing earnings, as former customers became inaccessible (Katsulis 2008). And criminal status jeopardized their safety, as violence from customers occurred out of sight and police surveillance and violence increased with enforcement. The literal move to the city’s outskirts is one distinct shift in the shifting frontier of sex work.

POST-FORDISM AT WORK

Large-scale manufacturing in early industrialized cities began to move to periphery countries, and core nations like the US came to rely more on an economy fueled by specialized service jobs. Post-Fordism became characterized by small-batch manufacturing, information technology innovations, and feminization of the labor market. Service workers took jobs in workplaces that were small and localized and held these short-term positions without opportunity for advancement. Neoliberal reform in the 70s and beyond encouraged free markets, decentralized government, less public spending, and lower taxes, resulting in “a proliferation of a wide range of business to meet market demands, including sex-related businesses” (Brents et al. 2010, 5). Sex workers embody post-Fordism in their creative and social expressions, construction of “communities of interest,” collaboration, and interdependence. Despite the flexibility and cost efficiency in these positions, decentralization offers less stability and security.

VICE TOURISM IN NEVADA



The emergence of brothels in the twenty-first century correlates with a rise in tourism in post-industrial, consumerist-cultured US: “In an economy with widening income disparities, the wealthy and the not so wealthy seek escape and adventure in their leisure time, and the poor find jobs providing it” (Brents et al. 2010,

3). Today Nevada is the only state with legal prostitution despite the rest of the west coast being known for liberal politics and opposition to centralized government.

Sex workers might seek out third-party organizers (brothels, pimps) because they often lend protection, dependability, clientele, or room and board. Brothel owners can be flexible, permitting women to hold outside jobs, working just one or two days a week, allowing them to come and go as they please.

“Brothels with the capital to do so are beginning to adopt marketing strategies that are more like mainstream businesses,” using internet tools, for example, to stand out amongst competitors, reach new markets and access streamlined and affordable advertising (Brents et al. 2010, 435).

Increased use of personal computers in the mid 80s and internet accessibility ultimately had an immense impact on the structure of commercial sex work outside brothels as well: “The Internet has allowed sex workers to advertise services to a larger clientele” and “accessibility and ease of use in facilitating the sale of sex is luring sex workers into the sex trade who may otherwise have never entered; displacing streetwalking sex workers in their 30s and 40s; causing the market for commercial sex to expand; and reducing the need for pimps” (Dank et al. 2011, 218). Similarly, MGF’s Director of Business Development speculates an influx of women joining because it is akin to “what many are likely already doing on social media sites like Facebook, tumblr and Instagram” (MyGirlFund.com 2013). By this, we can assume he means connecting with an online network and sharing, videos, photos, and other content, not necessarily of the pornographic persuasion.

Subject: RE: Getting discouraged: “We have good days, good weeks, good months, good years, and we have bad days, bad weeks, bad months, and bad years. I’m tellin’ ya, ain’t no rollercoaster like a sex work rollercoaster bc a sex work rollercoaster don’t stop LOL.” – Gwen V., Model

I spoke with models about their education, location, marital status, and how they use MGF. The responses could be viewed by website admin so models likely used some self-censorship and did not criticize MGF policies or administration to avoid temporary or permanent account closure. The results are certainly not representative of all models or even internet sex work more broadly but it does provide a valuable case study to elucidate the organization and implication of this type of sex work. I spent 15 months (2013-2015) observing and collected surveys in February and March 2015.

A majority of the models I spoke with are in their early to mid-twenties and live in isolated, rural to urban areas or on the fringes of larger metropolises. Two participants have one or more children and many of them have an associates or bachelors or are pursuing their next degree. All but one said MGF was their first exposure to transactional sex, where one model had tried exotic dancing, another said she had worked at Victoria’s Secret. Every participant agreed MGF gave them the choice to decide what kind of content to offer and more independence and freedom than other forms of employment available to them.

These models characterize a different kind of class formation and come from a wider range of geographic locations than the usual urban setting of street-based sex workers. This suggests MGF is a new kind of frontier for sex work, spatially more expansive and drawing different demographics of sex workers. In most regards they seem less disadvantaged, exercising more autonomy and control over their labor environments than those typically in street-based sex work and informal economy.

Brothel workers in Nevada claim their work is not drastically unlike other forms of labor, and that sex work is preferable to other kinds of work for the flexibility, stability, and wages. One-third of women working in a Nevada brothel had never previously engaged in any kind of sex work, they came directly from other non-sexual, service related positions, with just the experience of having worked for people. Many women leave low-wage service positions to pursue performing for higher pay and have called "straight jobs" (non-sex work) "exploitative, exclusionary, and without hope for social mobility or financial stability" (Dewey and Kelly 2011, 75).

Similarly, MGF, unlike street-based sexwork, is easier to access and offers a kind of autonomy to models. "They are free to set their own prices for the content and interaction they chose to provide. They work when they want to from the privacy of their own homes" says an MGF spokesperson ("College Girls Are Paying Tuition" 2013).



"I moved to the country a few years ago, to a small homestead just a few acres of woods and pasture, a small farmhouse, a barn...The nearest town is over 30 minutes away. Living in the country and milking a cow twice a day turns out does restrict your employment possibilities, so I made do with different economies— trade and barter, DIY, etsy, farmer's markets, thrift stores. I think MGF is another such economy to add to the list." — Hermione B., Model

Other models view employment on adult paysites as entrepreneurship: "I definitely [have] more independence and freedom [than other jobs] to work how I want. But being a successful camgirl still requires a lot of work. You may end up working A LOT MORE than a regular 9-5. It really is like any other privately-owned business built by an individual. The success of your business depends on how hard you are willing to work." — Red, Model

CosmoGirl too uses MGF alongside other e-commerce sites, she says MGF is “a huge part of my income, but I also run my own etsy shop, which is another huge part of my financial life. I can stay home with my kids AND work at the same time! It’s a lifesaver...I can also work from my phone so that means while I’m taking a bubble bath or out shopping, I’m still working!” – CosmoGirl, Model

“I am allowed to stay in my comfort zone and I have never felt pressured to do anything that I would not do normally. I usually talk to guys anywhere from 30 min-3 hours before they buy content. It can be time consuming, but I think it makes the process of buying videos more enjoyable for the guy and it makes me feel better "knowing" who bought my content. I can work a couple hours a week and make more money than I do working 30 hours a week waiting tables. However, it's not something you can put on your resume...It can be challenging but it is definitely the best job I have ever had. I get to explore my sexuality and decide who I want to work with.” – Painter, Model

“I choose my hours and setting. I have creative control, and I am in charge of everything I do and say.” – babykittygirl, Model

Webcam modeling allows them to work their own schedules, earn income from multiple sources, “know” buyers, explore their sexuality, and alleviates the spatial limitations of rural living and mobility restrictions when caring for children.

If spatial restrictions aren’t the most concerning, it might simply be safer for the worker. For street-based sex workers articulating and receiving a set price may be more difficult in the presence of a client because of intimidation or threats of violence: “Sex workers on the streets are more prone to drug addictions and more willing to take less money for sex work. Street-based dates are also more opportunistic and service-based, which tends to involve lower prices. Online dates, in contrast, garner higher prices in part because sex workers advertise their prices ahead of time, which forces

johns to more or less accept the requested prices” (Dank et al. 2011, 218). Models generally have more power in delineating content prices and payment options through the website. “I like the site layout and the guys here. A lot seem to know that freeloading just isn’t going to fly here” says model babykittygirl. They are also covered by the site’s privacy policy, which protects their identities through usernames and restricting outside, personal contact.

“[MGF offers] direct, safe interaction with the customers, the ability to build actual working relationships with them, and the thrill of impromptu custom sessions. I've only just started, but it's already wonderful to not have to fit into someone else's ideals (unless I want to hehe).” - Betty, Model

“Being a camera gal allows me the freedom to set my own work schedule...and when I’m being tortured by my own body, I am allowed to make the call to stay in bed,” - Bubbles, Model

“I decide when I work, I don't have to worry about being fired due to my disabilities if I can't work and I can just hang out and chat on those days and maybe make some new friends/potential customers.” - Claes, Model

Difficulty finding employment that pays a living wage or that offers flexibility to women, especially who are pregnant, have disabilities, are parenting, or in school has led people into online frontiers, and is largely a failure of current markets and economies to fully and flexibly employ women throughout all stages of their life. Some models have noted a sense of camaraderie among other young women who find themselves in similarly trying circumstances. These communities help to heal the damages of disjointed social structures that many of these women experience, from exclusion in other workplaces, zoning laws in their cities, and stigma against sex workers.

There is not one woman owner, administrator, or moderator on MGF. Models are governed by rules created by and for men and are constantly surveilled by administrators who actively prohibit dissonance. "Cyberspace has a recognizable geography, but it remains an elusive space, rather than a community," a mirror, reflecting real space geographies and the wills of its creators (Starrs 2014).

Women are exploited by structures of supply and demand in sex work, where men create a demand through desire for pornographic products and women fill supply with their bodies. They must live and work in a system where "men hold the important decision-making positions in all social, political and religious institutions," and "construct culture, pass laws, and enact policies that serve their interests and give themselves the power to control women...in public and private spheres" (Donna Hughes, November 2000).

"Domination of women's personal (bodily) space and of the material and social space of the local sexual economy is one of the primary strategies of power employed by customers, perpetrators of violence, and the state within that context. The lack of control women have over the material and spatial environment where sex trade practices are carried out is one of the key ways in which they are disempowered to make decisions about their own body and left vulnerable to violence" (Sanchez 1997, 576).

There is a difference between liberating and liberal, where liberal empowerment is not always liberating. Women may become entrepreneurs, for example, but will not necessarily challenge gender inequality or damaging patterns of access to and control over resources; or virtual space is liberal but not liberating, because it mirrors real, sexist, unequal spaces; or MGF offers women new opportunities of entrepreneurship and employment, but the rules of the workplace are not of their own making.



Models have no representation in MGF administration, keep only 65% of their sales, are always working to please clients, and are subjected to account suspension or closure as punishment for breaking site rules, all of which limit supposed freedom. Their autonomy is further mediated by a capitalist production of the female body in an exploitative, dominating, and violent space, where it becomes “not the opposite of, or limit to, neoliberal governance, rather [individual autonomy] lies at the heart of its disciplinary control...reshaped so that it is compatible with governance” and “any apparent increase in individual autonomy in fact represents an intensification of a certain disciplinary power” (McNay 2009). (Neo)liberal, but not liberating, and a lot of former models can prove it.

The Tumblr blog “Change MyGirlFund” allows models to anonymously air concerns about management or share harassment stories; it’s a self-proclaimed “safe place.” The blog’s administrators encourage models: “tell about your experiences, warn girls about men that have hurt you, give us suggestions on what we can do to make the site a safer place for us...[we’ll] get support's attention one way or another.” Users write:

“Support don't give a fuck about most of their money pigs (us girls) they always favour the men.”

“I've reported so many men's profiles on MGF because of them breaking rules and absolutely none of them have gotten shut down.”

“I was kicked off the site after standing up against MyGirlFund when they allowed a guy who had convinced models to shave their heads on cam without paying them. There were several models that could attest to him doing this but staff still didn’t believe and allowed him to continue scamming on their site. Additionally, there was a model who was stalked by a member. The site silenced her instead of trying to help her.”

MGF administrators who claim models are given “total autonomy” are clearly at odds with these women and align more with the likes of users on CamSitesReviews.com...

This site is just one of many that target men joining camsites as contributors, viewers, and clients. They offer suggestions on the best adult paysites and tips on how to use them: “Tip #7) Women on cam sites are devious and will avoid performing some things if they can get you to stay on. Learn how to command women to do things you can only dream of today... Tip #10) Lazy performers are such a bitch. Learn to quickly screen women and instantly tell which ones will perform well.”

This language is unquestionably sexist and offensive but touches on clients’ perception and expectations of models, the male desire to “command” women, and the acute focus on the monetary value of a woman’s body.

If this is an accurate depiction of the space models articulate as fostering independence and openness then there is a delusion to the liberal, utopian view of this kind of employment, a delusion which is magnified and exploited by MGF founders and operators.

Adult paysites like MGF result from increased use in personal computers, rise of internet ventures and online advertising, and the continued exclusion of women from work and sex workers from workplaces. While the women who pursue sex work have changed, the reasons for forging into this new frontier are the same— flexibility, expression, creativity, and social connectivity. For sex workers, these possibilities might include an escape from street-based violence, less intervention by third-parties, flexible work hours, ability to come and go, opportunity to work from home, a larger customer base, higher pay, and fewer regulations.

The virtual sex work frontier, however, remains similar to sex work in real space based on principles of spatial exclusion, for what likely pulls college-aged girls, mothers, and pregnant women into this kind of work, work many of them attest to never before participating in, is the unavailability of flexible employment that pays a living wage. Virtual space is characterized by the same patriarchal ideas that govern women's roles in society, and those who make and monitor virtual frontiers, the site's male administrators and clients, control the autonomy that is heralded as the single most important reason for models joining.



On a demographic-specific level, the women are pursuing degrees or professional certifications, in their early to mid-20s, exploring commercial sex work online not out of necessity, but out of partiality, acting as creative professionals, exploring selling sex and one's body as performance, complicating ideal images of motherhood, and interrogating modesty with digital dances and dildos. My argument, then, is neither one nor the other but multi-faceted like the women and their work.

Understanding the dynamics of burgeoning frontier spaces is useful when imagining and creating workplaces that are inclusive of the needs (social, sexual, economic) of all people, and while I cannot provide exact dimensions for an ideal future, I can offer this research and a few limited suggestions from the models and myself.

To start, we should be able to explore sexuality, virtually, without commodification. East Van Porn Collective, for example, was “underground,” “DIY,” and “anarcho-feminist,” and SuperCult and SuicideGirls make so-called “alt-porn.” But often the products are still a commercialization of sexual acts. Instead we should aim to: “resist the competitive structure of the entrepreneurial voyeur of porn and displace conventional forms of capitalist valorisation with forms of association and solidarity that aren’t organised to commodify immaterial sex” (Maddison 2013).

With this, spaces for sex(work) could exist that are inclusive and liberating, yet critical and radical. They would further allow men, women, queer, trans, non-binary, non-conforming people to play as both model and viewer. And they would invite input from models to improve privacy policies and terms of use, since “users generally have no right to participate in the formulation of the terms,” yet must “agree to these terms in order to be able to use the platforms” (Fuchs 2011, 143).

More than anything, it seems, these women wanted to be heard by administration, to be involved in decision making regarding the distribution of their content, and to be allowed the opportunity to organize and cooperate with other models. In a broader sense, their ideas could be foundational in establishing a more democratic internet.

REFERENCES

- Brents, Barbara G., Crystal A. Jackson, and Kathryn Hausbeck. *The State of Sex: Tourism, Sex, and Sin in the New American Heartland*. New York: Routledge, 2010. Print.
- Dank, Meredith, Bilal Khan, P M. Downey, Cybele Kotonias, and Deborah Mayer. "Estimating the Size and Structure of the Underground Commercial Sex Economy in Eight Major US Cities." (March 2014): 3-303.
- Dewey, Susan, and Patty Kelly. *Policing Pleasure: Sex Work, Policy, and the State in Global Perspective*. New York: New York University Press, 2011.
- Fuchs, Christian. "New media, Web. 2.0 and Surveillance." In: *Sociology Compass*, vol.5, no. 2 (2011).
- Graham, Mark. "Digital Labour and Development." *Zero Geography*. 2014.
- Hughes, Donna. "Men Create the Demand; Women Are the Supply." Lecture at the University of Rhode Island, Valencia, Spain. November 2000.
- International Labour Organization (ILO). "Decent Work and the Informal Economy International Labour Organization." ILO, Geneva 2002.
- Jain, Devaki, and Diane Elson, eds. "Globalization, Labor, and Women's Work." *Harvesting feminist knowledge for public policy; rebuilding progress* (2011): 71-72.
- Johnson, Susan L. *Roaring Camp: The Social World of the California Gold Rush*. New York City: W. W. Norton & Company, 2000.
- Katsulis, Yasmina. *Sex Work and the City: The Social Geography of Health and Safety in Tijuana, Mexico*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2008. 6-148. Print.
- Koba, Mark. "\$2 Trillion Underground Economy May Be Recovery's Savior." CNBC. 2013.
- Laite, Julia. "Historical Perspectives on Industrial Development, Mining, and Prostitution." *Historical Journal*, (2009).
- Maddison, Stephen. "Beyond the Entrepreneurial Voyeur?: Sex, Porn and Cultural Politics." *new formations: a journal of culture/theory/politics* 80, no. 80 (2013).

- Market Wired. "College Girls Are Paying Tuition Bills With Their Social Networking Skills on MyGirlFund."
- McNay, Lois. "Self as Enterprise. Dilemmas of Control and Resistance in Foucault's Birth of Biopolitics." *Theory, Culture & Society* 26, no. 6 (2009): 62-65.
- Miller, S. M. "The Pursuit of Informal Economies." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 493 (1987): 26-35.
- Murphy, Alexandra, and Sudir Venkatesh. "Vice Careers: The Changing Contours of Sex Work in New York City." *Qualitative Sociology*, 29, no. 2 (2006): 129-154.
- Nelson, Lise, and Joni Seager, eds. *A Companion to Feminist Geography*. Malden: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2005. 78-83. Print.
- Portes, Alejandro, and Kelly Hoffman. "Latin American class structures: Their composition and change during the Neoliberal Era." *Latin American Research Review* 38, no. 1 (2003): 41-82.
- Portes, Alejandro, Manuel Castells, and Lauren A. Benton, eds. *The Informal Economy: Studies in Advanced and Less Developed Countries*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989. 31-55. Print.
- Sanchez, Lisa E. "Boundaries of Legitimacy..." *Law and Social Inquiry* 22, no. 3 (1997): 543-80.
- Sassen, Saskia. "Cities Today: A New Frontier for Major Developments." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 626, no.1 (2009): 53-71.
- Schneider, Friedrich. "The Shadow Economy in Europe, 2013." University of Linz, Visa Europe, ATKearney.
- Starrs, Paul F. "The Sacred, the Regional, and the Digital." *Geographical Review* 87, no. 2 (1997): 212. *JSTOR*.
- Turner, Frederick Jackson, 1861-1932. *The Significance of the Frontier in American History*. Madison State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1894.
- Zook, Matthew. "Report on the location of the Internet adult industry," in *C'Lick Me: A Netporn Studies Reader*, ed. Amsterdam: Institute of Network Cultures (2007) 103-121.