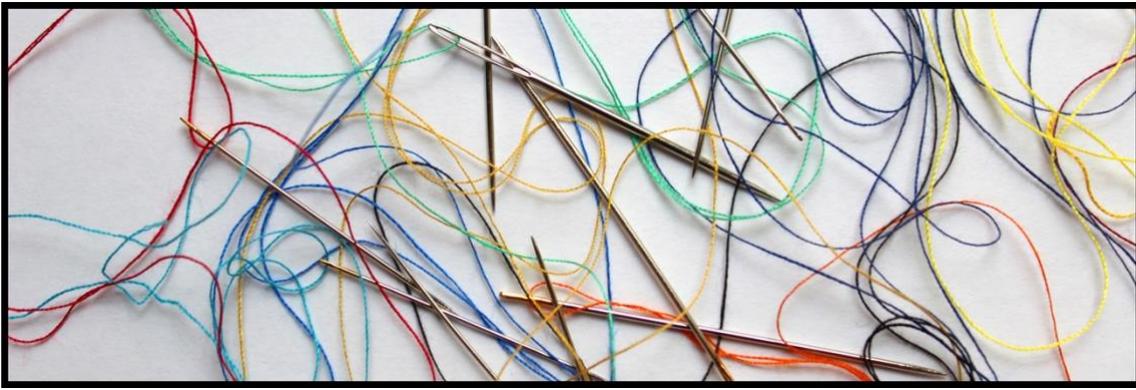


Master's thesis  
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# INTERSECTION OF STIGMAS

THE REPRESENTATION OF IDENTITIES  
WITHIN SEX WORKERS' DISCOURSE



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## Abstract

Sex work is one of the most discussed debates within the current feminist agendas worldwide (Crowhurst, 2017, p. 48). This debate is mainly present in three spheres: in the media, in the political arena and theoretically (Álvarez, 2015, p. 20), and the lack of feminist ontology of sex work contribute to the diversity of standpoints and scopes within the debate. Meanwhile, sex workers in most countries keep waiting for political solutions that could improve their living conditions. This project aims to contribute with knowledge about female sex workers in order to develop a richer debate with a more accurate approach to these issues in Spain.

This project is a critical discourse analysis of the Collective of Prostitutes of Seville. The objects of this study are the manifest where this collective has outlined their demands and the interviews with four active participants from this group. These participants are or were sex workers within Spanish society. By combining a critical discourse analysis with an intersectional focus I have interpreted the participants' representation of their own identity and the diverse identities of sex workers.

Intersectionality provides the relevant theoretical framework for developing intercategories of identities that reflect the different stigmas sex workers face regarding their diverse identities. From a standpoint feminism theory that considers sex workers' own experience as valuable knowledge for contributing to the political debate on sex work, this project offers examples of consequences of working in a non-regulated activity in Spain from their own protagonists. The great migration flows from Latin America influence Spanish social sphere, where racism, classism and the *macho culture* are combined in a system of stigmatisation and discrimination. I argue that this stigmatisation of sex workers is intersectional, as it affects in different ways to diverse women, and ultimately position them out of society. The aim of this project is to contribute to draw the reality of sex workers, which is of great complexity, in order to offer relevant contributions to the debate in current feminist Spanish agenda as well as the political one. In addition, I bring out how intersectionality influence sex workers' discourse when developing strategies against their marginalisation and stigmatisation.

**Keywords:** discourse, feminism, gender, interpretation, intersectionality, machismo, marginalisation, patriarchy, recognition, representation, sex work, stigma.

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# 1. Introduction

On 25<sup>th</sup> November 2019, I attended a protest against gender-based violence in my hometown. Tension was perceived since the beginning of the march: two groups of women shouted at each other several times during the journey. They were holding posters with opposite messages: “*Abolición de la prostitución*” (“Abolish prostitution”), could be read on one of them; “*Derechos para las trabajadoras del sexo*” (“Rights for female sex workers”), on the other. At the end of the journey, the unitary march diverted in two different ones. The group led by trans\* people and female sex workers decided to avoid the other group and took a different way. Many participants joined them, in support of their message. Some others did not even notice what was happening.

By that time, I had already got an idea for the research question of my master thesis.

Much has been written about sex work. Most, in fact, from feminist perspectives, and opinions divert greatly. Sex work is one of the biggest and hardest debates within the feminist community (Crowhurst, 2017, p. 48). Feminist scholarship related to sex work is mainly focused on sexual transmitted diseases, sexual health and prostitution policies (Álvarez, 2015, p. 9). This topic is normally connected to research on human trafficking. The vulnerable and unstable situation that female sex workers suffer around the globe, regarding especially labour stability, rights and freedom, is commonplace topics in such research. Solutions usually come from NGOs, humanitarian entities or the Church.

As Foucault said, the responsibility of a researcher is to think differently (Foucault, 1989, p. 462), therefore, my aim in this paper is to fly away from health and legal issues regarding sex work, on the one hand; and from finding material away from experts or politicians, on the other. Thus, this paper provides an analysis of the feminist perspectives of sex workers within a collective of the issues regarding working in a non-regulated activity.

In the context of the debate within the feminist movement in Spain, I try to address how feminist sex workers experience the issues that emerge from the stigmas they face regarding the intersection of identities; how are they working for the benefit of female sex workers, and which solutions they give from feminism to their struggles. In this regard, the intersections of gender, class and race that influence their representation will be a main element to analyse.

This projects starts with an overview of the main aspects of the Spanish current political and feminist debates about sex work, and it explains the problematics within Spanish legal framework.

## 2. Literature review

The literature review of this project is focused on how concepts related to sex work are interpreted and, therefore, they influence the political debate around the issue. Thus, this thesis should start with the most basic question: *what is sex work?* Here lies the first great debate within the feminist current agenda. The rest of the section explains the different approaches present in this debate and the different legal frameworks that Spain looks at when searching for a solution to the debate.

### 2.1. *Sex, work and sex work*

The concepts of sex and sex work will inevitably influence the way the problem will be approached (Spanger and Skilbrei, 2017, p. 4). There are some points of view that all feminists share. For instance, the fact that the problem with sex work is gendered and produced by a patriarchal system where capital is the protagonist. However, they differ on to what extent sex workers are truly free to decide on participating in the sex industry (O'Neill, 2001, pp. 21-23). Another point in common is the extensive meaning of sex. It would be a great mistake to consider sex as mere sexual intercourse; sexual dance, erotic massage, erotic use of several parts of the body (not only genitals), pornography, sex toys games, and many more are also considered as sex services (Comte, 2013, p. 197). Despite the different forms of sex, scholarship is mainly focused on prostitution, understood as paid sexual intercourse, as the central interest of sex work research (Spanger and Skilbrei, 2017, pp. 5-6).

Pro-sex feminists offer a short definition of sex work: 'performing erotic labour' (O'Neill, 2001, p. 22). Feminism offer valuable knowledge when producing a concept of sex work, nevertheless, there is not a feminist ontology of sex work. Concepts of sex and sex work are produced from different feminist epistemologies (Spanger and Skilbrei, 2017, p. 3). On the contrary, for example, many feminists identifies sex work as traffic in women (O'Neill, 2001, p. 24).

## 2.2. *Feminist approaches to sex work*

Since the 60s, feminists have argued about whether prostitution should be legalised or criminalised, yet sex work started gaining interest as subject of social research a decade later (Crowhurst, 2017, p. 48). Since then, debates about the concepts of sex and sex work have lead political decisions about the topic. Radical and socialist feminism contributed greatly in the first years of sex work scholarship (Spanger and Skilbrei, 2017, p .7). Jacqueline Comte summarises three main feminist approaches to the concepts of sex and sex work that have prevailed so far: abolitionism and neo-abolitionism, sex-positive feminism and decriminalisation (Comte, 2013, p. 197).

### 2.2.1. *Abolitionism and neo-abolitionism*

For abolitionists, sex work is understood as part of a system of oppression of women. Prostitution serves to reinforce a patriarchal institution that affects all women and gendered relations. The sex work industry perpetuates the objectification of the body of women, in benefit of men. Feminist who support this theory are against all forms of regulation. Sex workers, therefore, are considered as victims, not as criminals, unable to quit the industry. According to abolitionists, as the sex worker does not want to have sex with the client, they are coerced to do it, therefore, the sex worker is not performing freely. This is a form of coercion and violence that cannot be considered as work (Comte, 2013, 197-198; O'Neill, 2001, pp. 22-23).

These feminists defend the view that only by abolishing sex work would it possible to effectively end the trafficking of women and children for purposes of sexual exploitation. Abolitionist do not make any distinction between “voluntary” and “forced” sex work. They consider that women who “freely” work in the sex industry are alienated by the patriarchy and not able to recognise their own exploitation. They equal sex work to women trafficking. Neo-abolitionism takes one step further and also ask for the criminalisation of clients (Comte, 2013, p. 199).

They defend sex as an intimate action, whose objective is to share affection between partners who are in equal conditions. If one of them does not share the same conditions as the other, “it attacks the core identity of the person” (Comte, 2013, p. 200).

### *2.2.2. Sex-positive feminism*

Contrasting with the concept of sex that abolitionists offer, this feminist approach denounces that women in a patriarchal system are deprived of sexual freedom and relegated to have sex only with their partners, who are usually men. This stigmatises the ones that use sex outside relationships as “whores” (Comte, 2013, p. 197), in contrast with men, whose image is not socially attacked when they do the same. Stigma can be understood as negative identifications of an individual, usually for reasons of race or gender (Hebl and Barron, 2010, p. 862)

They accuse abolitionists of being essentialist, since they consider that the concept of sex, as a social construction, is not fixed and stable, therefore, it is not necessarily linked to feelings for everyone. The abolitionist concept of sex does not question the norms about sex that have been socially imposed for centuries, whereas the sex-positive feminist approach does exactly this. Sex-positive feminists also consider that the fact that sex clients are usually men means that women have been socially exempted from exploring their sexuality and also to have sex with other people without considering the other’s needs (Comte, 2013, p. 201).

### *2.2.3. Decriminalisation*

Feminists arguing for decriminalisation differ from sex-positive feminists in rejecting sex work as a way to explore sexuality. They strongly believe in the social recognition of sex as ordinary work. Feminists who support this theory aim for recognition of the difference between sex work and women trafficking for purposes of sexual exploitation. Opposing abolitionists, these feminists believe that female sex workers are able to consider several job opportunities and choose to work in the sex industry without being forced. Assuming the opposite is “to deny the right to autonomy and self-determination” (Comte, 2013, p. 202). They argue that there is a tendency to generalise

about female sex workers' situation in a negative way (Comte, 2013, p. 204). Another of their arguments is the fact that many women feel empowered by offering sex services, as they are in charge of their own 'business'(Comte, 2013, p. 203).

Based on this standpoint, they advise that it is criminalisation of sex work what affects sex workers. Through criminalisation, prejudices and negative views on female sex workers are maintained, and this influences the attitude that society, and especially, clients, present towards them, which in turn affect their performance (Comte, 2013, p. 207).

Decriminalisation and sex-positive feminists are opposed to abolitionists, and claim that their concepts of sex and women are inspired by Judeo-Christian epistemologies. A woman who questions her sexual identity and desires out of marriage is seen as a "deviant" or a victim of oppression (Comte, 2013, p. 211). The argument that they point out here is that the elimination of women's sexual oppression cannot be achieved by forcing men to the same repressive sexual norms that currently control women's sexuality (Comte, 2013, p. 213).

### *2.3. Unreliable data for a complex issue*

Many sex workers are trying to move the discourse about sex from a morality scope to a pragmatic one, in order to eradicate the dichotomy free / alienated women (O'Neill, 2001, p. 23). Research is not being very helpful since data about sex work is reliable at a low level. It is easy to find incomplete reports or quantitative analysis that do not address issues around sex work in depth. It is also very common to find research studies which results differ greatly from similar ones. This situation contributes to the simplification of this delicate and complex issue. With no reliable data, theory is all we have to develop solutions (Crowhurst, 2017, p. 57)

Due to this lack of data, theories become powerful through political campaigns that have resulted in laws that do not consider sex work as work (Walkowitz, 2017, p. 20). Many feminists argue that theories collected in Criminal Codes are not enough to legislate about the complex reality of buying and selling sex (Skilbrei, 2017, p. 39).

## 2.4. *Sex work policy models*

Since it is theory that is the most powerful element to create legislation in a region, sex work policies in a country depend on the widest accepted concept of sex. Countries do not usually consider data when developing policy models, due to its unreliability (Wagenaar, 2018, p. 13). The most accepted discourse currently, overall, is neo-abolitionist. Most policies around the world are neo-abolitionist, and even the countries that have legalized sex work present neo-abolitionist elements in their Criminal Code (Wagenaar, 2018, p. 14).

The current debate in Spain is also influenced by international ones. This section will summarize the main policy models of prostitution that are used as example in Spain when debating about sex work: the neo-abolitionist system of Sweden; the regulated model of the Netherlands; and the decriminalized one of New Zealand (Álvarez, 2015, pp. 111-113). This part of the project explains briefly these policy approaches and it compares the results of their implementation on these three different countries.

### 2.4.1. *A regulated labour in The Netherlands*

In the Netherlands, sex work is considered a job just like others. Since 2000, it is legal to buy and sell sex services if you are over 18. Sex workers enjoy the same rights and duties as others. They pay taxes under a strong licensing system (Altink et al., 2018, p. 64). Sex workers are not able to work on their own, as street and in-home prostitution is not permitted. They must be employed by clubs or escort agencies. Brothels must fulfil severe hygiene and fire safety conditions. Undocumented migrants do not have legal access to the sex industry either (Altink et al., 2018, pp. 65-66). Municipalities can introduce their own regulations on sex work (Altink et al., 2018, p. 67).

Since then, “prostitution windows” have decreased drastically, due to the strong control system. However, the situation of sex workers in Netherlands is far from being an example for the rest of the countries: in some municipalities, strict regulations can be found, therefore, sex workers migrate to those where laws are more flexible (Altink et al., 2018, p. 70). Also, since its implementation, this law benefitted “mega brothels” that fulfil the requirements for the license, that is, the ones that are able to obtain great benefit by expanding their business; many sex workers still work without contract because brothel owners do not consider to take economic risks. As a

contract in the sex industry does not allow migrants to get legal residence in the country, most work in an irregular situation (Altink et al., 2018, p. 67). There is not independence for sex workers, because they depend on the brothel. Furthermore, the image of amoral victims still persists of sex workers. The mandatory registration for sex workers force them to be identified, which contributes to perpetrate social stigma (Altink et al., 2018, p. 71).

Sex workers associations have complained about the fact that the regulation does not protect them if the brothel owner violates the legal conditions. Since 2008, the government introduced a new bill against abuse within sex labour, especially for the so-called “mega brothels”. There is no consensus around the bill yet, it is still a draft, but the government raised the legal age to buy and sell sex to 21 years of age (Altink et al., 2018, p. 71).

#### *2.4.2. The neo-abolitionist approach of Sweden*

As an example of a neo-abolitionist state, Sweden illegalized the purchase of any sexual service in 1999. Pandering, managing brothels and similar activities are also penalised. The focus is on the client, not on the sex worker. The Sex Purchase Act was designed by feminist policymakers who defined prostitution as patriarchal violence against women, considering all women victims of the system. This model equates sex work as human trafficking and it is considered as the best way against this practice (Dodillet and Östergren, 2011, p. 14).

However, according to research, this act did not stop successfully sex from being bought by clients. Moreover, the stigmatisation and marginalisation of sex workers increased due to the negative image of prostitution in marriage and families (Dodillet and Östergren, 2011, p. 33). Prostitution persists as an ‘underground’ activity. Globalisation processes such as migration have influenced the demand and supply (Dodillet and Östergren, 2011, p. 34).

#### *2.4.3. Sex workers, architects of New Zealand’s policies*

As well as in the Netherlands, New Zealand took a shift from moral or religious beliefs to a pragmatic decision: to consider sex work as any other work. Since 2003, all sex services are legal (Rottier, 2018, p. 2).

Nevertheless, this model is very different from the Netherlands: it is legal for sex workers to work on their own, from home or in a house with a license of maximum four sex workers. They do not depend on any manager or club. If they are employed by a procurer, this person needs to have a license. The minimum age to buy or sell sex is 18 (Rottier, 2018, pp. 3-4). It also presents similarities: non-residents are not allowed to enter at sex industry in New Zealand (Rottier, 2018, p. 153). This rule makes migrants vulnerable to sexual and labour exploitation as well as irregular work conditions. Detractors of this policy model have used this argument to attack it (Rottier, 2018, pp. 156-159).

The current laws on sex work were designed by the government with the help of the New Zealand Prostitutes Collective (NZPC) (Rottier, 2018, p. 110). Contrasting the Netherlands' system, sex workers have the right to remain anonymous (Rottier, 2018, p. 198). The exact number of sex workers cannot be identified, since many of them do not want to reveal their occupation: the stigma still persists and they are afraid of being judged or dismissed by their relatives. Sex workers do not reveal all information that is requested when they attend hospitals (Rottier, 2018, p. 151). The law did not succeed in eradicating the negative view on sex work, at least, in the short term (Rottier, 2018, p. 197).

It seems that the global tendency that equates sex work with human trafficking does not affect New Zealand. Defenders of this regulation model consider that the only way to stop human trafficking is by dignifying sex work (Rottier, 2018, p. 35). It is hard to say if this law eradicated human trafficking, since no cases have been registered since its implementation, yet sexual and labour exploitation still occur, especially in streets and brothels situated in impoverished areas. Street-based prostitution is not regulated under this law. It is estimated to be 10% of the total and it only occurs in big cities (Rottier, 2018, p. 198).

Opposing this law, many feminists argue that even if they freely choose to work in the sex industry, sex workers with low level education can be victims of procurer that know the law better and take advantage of that situation (Rottier, 2018, p. 199).

## 2.5. *The Spanish legal framework*

All models present inconsistency and negative results. None of them address completely the complex situation of sex workers, which does not contribute to offer straightforward solutions to solve the conflict in Spain.

Two elements must be understood about Spain: first, culture is characterised by a strong Catholic moral. To give an example, in 1956, prostitution was abolished, being justified that “for a Christian nation”, it is necessary to ensure the “protection of social moral and women’s dignity” (Álvarez, 2015, p. 127). This act experienced minor changes during the following years. A big reform was executed in 1995, and introduced in the Penal Code (Criminal Code): prostitution would be legal as long as it is not executed by coercion (Álvarez, 2015, p. 130). This reform was switched by another law introduced in 2003, where all kind of procuring, even if the sex worker agreed, was illegalised (Álvarez, 2015, p. 131). The last modification of the Penal Code related to prostitution was in March 2015, and it was also the hardest one of all against procuring (Álvarez, 2015, p. 133).

Second, the vast number of migrants that Spain receives is important for understanding the Spanish debate about prostitution. Spanish legislation considers that the problem with sex work is closely related to human trafficking, and, more specifically, to undocumented migrants coming to the country that may be easy victims of criminal networks. Therefore, the origin of the lack of legislation about sex work must be also found in migration policies. Spain follows the principles of *permissum videtur id omne quod non prohibetur*, meaning that any activity that is not forbidden in the Penal Code is permitted. In sum, sex work is a legal activity that is not regulated by Spanish law, therefore, it cannot be considered as work (Álvarez, 2015, p. 134).

## 2.6. *The debate on sex work in Spain*

Explained the legal framework and outlined the cultural characteristics of this country, this section provides a summary of the current debate about sex work in Spain.

### *2.6.1. The political debate*

The incomplete legislation in Spain about sex work creates the perfect political arena for debating. This debate is stronger at a local level than a national one. Some parties in Spain have taken the topic seriously at a local level. This is the case of Catalonia: some small parties have taken the chance to reform sex work laws. For instance, Iniciativa per Catalunya and Esquerra Republicana, which nowadays defend ideas close to abolitionism. Convergència i Unió also aimed to prohibited street-based sex work in order to improve road safety. Regarding big parties, PSOE (socialist party), VOX (far-right wing party) and PP (right wing party), present a rather stable opinion in favour of abolishing prostitution (Álvarez, 2015, p. 13). PODEMOS (left to far-left wing party) is the only big party in Spain that does not present a clear opinion on the topic. This party, governing in coalition with socialists, presented a Proposal of Sexual Freedom Law as late as 3rd March 2020, according to which tougher penalties will be introduced for crimes related to procuring, yet laws related to regulation of sex work are not mentioned (Anteproyecto, 2020, p. 64). The Minister of Equality, in an interview, confessed that her desire was to implement an abolitionist law in Spain, yet that matter was too complex and there is a lack of consensus about this issue within the political party (Romero, 2020).

### *2.6.2. The feminist debate*

According to Álvarez, prostitution in Spain is an endless debate, since for decades feminists have not reached a compromise (Álvarez, 2015, p. 18). This debate is considered as “a political problem”, since it affects the public sphere (Álvarez, 2015, p. 19). In Spain, there are two basic discourses: abolition versus regulation. This debate takes place mainly in three spheres: in the media, politically and theoretically (Álvarez, 2015, p. 20). Álvarez outlines the conflict around prostitution as having several characteristics, which are: lack of reliable data; political interest in keeping it as a conflict; opinions are very diverse; the material solutions are not clear but confusing; entities that work for sex workers do so from different areas, different points of view and with different goals; and, in the feminist movement, there is a huge conflict due to the polarisation of opinions about what is the ultimate aspiration of feminism (Álvarez, 2015, p. 22).

The lack of consensus in the feminist debate is explained by the fact that it is impossible that all subjects could participate on equal conditions. Moreover, the different discourses are vast and too different (Álvarez, 2015, pp. 21-22). Sex work is not only a theoretical problem, it is also a pragmatic one, since the real issue is that the abilities of political institutions are not enough to solve the conflict (Álvarez, 2015, p. 24).

Presenting the different sides of the feminist debate, on the one hand, abolitionists consider that specific situations of freedom of sex workers should not be more important than general principles of sex work as degrading for women. The Spanish debate is similar to the international one, they consider that it is not possible to see if a sex worker is truly free to take that option, therefore, it is not enough to legislate in favour of sex work. In Spain, abolitionists have abandoned ideas of “Christian moral” and have substituted them with terms such as gender equality or sacred bodies. Unreliable data contributes to place theory before experience (Álvarez, 2015, p. 44).

On the other hand, pro-sex feminists reject universalist concepts of sex and sex work since they consider moral as individual. Sex workers should not be coerced by feminists either. They also claim for policies made by sex workers, since only they are in the position of knowing sex industry better. As feminism is a theory on equality and freedom, no one should decide on other women’s bodies or decision-making. That is, they place experience before theory (Álvarez, 2015, p. 45).

In sum, Spanish feminists agree in only one thing: the Penal Code must be changed.

### *2.6.3. The role of sex workers within the debate*

In the middle of the theoretical conflict, sex workers associations work for the recognition of sex work as actual work in order to achieve the same rights as other workers. This is the case of OTRAS (“other women”, which stands for Female Sex Workers Organisation), the only trade union of sex workers in Spain, located in the capital. They are not recognised officially as union, however, they are very active and organise protests, political campaigns and lectures around the country aiming to become visible. Most self-organised sex workers in these kind of collectives take the New Zealand policies as model (Álvarez, 2015, p. 46).

In Seville, the city where this project is focused on, the Collective of Prostitutes of Seville is an active association of sex workers that follows similar goals as OTRAS (CPS, 2019). This

collective, self-considered feminist, as stated in its manifest, aims for the recognition of their labour and human rights in order to participate actively and politically in the process of changing the Penal Code (see Appendix, Manifest, 5A). This project considers the voice of sex workers organisations as producer of valuable knowledge, therefore, their discourse will be a right way to analyse and contribute to the debate and the political development.

### 3. Problem formulation

This project will examine how feminist epistemologies influence the discourse of sex workers and, therefore, shape their collective work. The aim of the project can be outlined in the following research question:

*How do feminist sex workers implement an intersectional approach in their work as collective?*

The question will be addressed through researching the discourse and experience of the Collective of Prostitutes of Seville (CPS), as self-considered feminist sex workers, with a focus on how intersectional feminism shapes their interpretation of issues and related demands. The final aim of this project is to research the relation between their intersectional feminist discourse and its application in material issues.

Results will be achieved by addressing two main sub-questions: firstly, *how the intersectional and complex dimension of sex workers' situation is present in their discourse*. This question will be addressed through an intersectional discourse analysis of the manifest that CPS has published and promoted in their social media as their main channels of communication, as well as their notions of feminism and intersectionality. Emphasis in this analysis will be on how the discourse is constructed from their feminist epistemology, how intersectionality is integrated into the discourse, and how their social identities as well as the representation of sex workers' social identities influence their discourse. The second sub-question is *which strategies they build from their representation of identities and issues*. Having analysed their ideology, the next step will be to examine how they apply it to their collective work: what they do in benefit of female sex workers according to their notions of feminism, and how they manage issues of race, gender and or class, among other identities.

## 4. Theories

This project is grounded on an intersectional approach to feminist theory and a discourse analysis that has led to the methodology that it has been used to answer the questions described above.

### 4.1. *Intersectional feminism*

There are as many ways of understanding sex work as many approaches to feminism. If we take, for instance, the notion of gender as central producer of cultural and social inequalities, we can create an argument based on the notion of sex work as constructor of power relations in a structure system where women are socially considered inferior than men (Kantola and Lombardo, 2017, p. 335). As another instance, neo-abolitionist feminists often use post-deconstructionist arguments, locating the scope of the issue on the emotions and their effects, to defend the fact that having sex with someone you do not really want to have sex with, is emotionally damaging, no matter the context and the gender (Kantola and Lombardo, 2017, p. 333). The argument will follow as sex is an action that cannot be disconnected from emotions, it cannot be also considered as labour. Feminists usually combined various approaches, which present different strengths and weaknesses in the arguments, when constructing the notion of sex work (Kantola and Lombardo, 2017, p. 336).

The notion of sex work of this project is based on a standpoint feminist theory since the “subjects” of this project are marginalized women (Haraway, in Harding, 2004, p. 1). That means that the concept of sex work of this project is constructed from sex workers’ perspectives, as they are direct participants in the activity, therefore, they notice and understand certain aspects better, as argued by feminist standpoint theory. This decision could be outlined in a sentence that MJ, co-founder of CPS, gave me in our first conversation: “*We are not research subjects but political subjects*”. This projects takes feminist sex workers’ experience as valuable data, not in order to study them, but to understand how they can contribute with the work to the feminist agenda (Harding, 2004, pp. 2-3). In this regard, I refer to them as “participants”, as they are not being analysed but they are collaborating in this project.

Definitely, the migration situation in Spain, as explained in the literature review (see page 14), influences the transnational approach of the project. As perspectives from marginalised women are valuable, the project focuses on the search for construction of concepts or the lack of them. This means that I focus on how concepts of agency, sorority, empowerment and governance are represented from a transnational feminist perspective and collective ways of producing discourse

are represented (Harcourt, 2016, p. 7). With an intersectional scope, I am able to analyse issues on gender domination and power relations that influence the discourse and practice of the participants.

Kimberlé Crenshaw first introduced *intersectionality* as theory in 1989 when analysing the race-based violence that black women suffer. According to her study, this violence is the result of a system of discrimination where several categories, such as gender, race, education, class, culture, etc., are intersected and compose a hierarchical structure of social inequality (Crenshaw, 1989, pp. 160-167). The term *intersectionality* references “the critical insight that race, class, gender, sexuality, ethnicity, nation, ability, and age operate not as unitary, mutually exclusive entities, but as reciprocally constructing phenomena that in turn shape complex social inequalities” (Hill Collins, 2015, p. 2).

Due to its universalist perspective, intersectionality has been developed and adapted to different fields and disciplines. Many studies on sex work have been conducted through an intersectional feminist analysis in order to detect the intersections of race, gender and other identities that affect female sex workers’ lives and performance (Ebintra, 2015; Bagenda & Rizkallah, 2018; Blanchette & da Silva, 2018). Intersectional feminism explains how power relations relegate women to a position of subordination with respect to men through their class, gender and sexuality status, influenced by cultural and religious arguments (Ebintra, 2015, p. 28).

As an example on how this theory works, Riley, theorising about the intersectional feminist restorative-justice system, argues that intersectional solutions are focused on the survival experience of women. As opposed to the criminal justice system, it does not aim to punish women, but to empower them from their agency to make safe choices. Intersectionality takes women’s experience as valuable knowledge (Riley, 2017, p. 1160), deriving theory from the experience of “multiple intersections”. This knowledge is produced by critically questioning the privileges some individuals hold over others. For instance, having money to pay the fee is a privilege. Combined with a standpoint feminist theory, they are more aware of this power relations since they are directly affected to it. Other feminist theories are not able to address issues related to race and gender as accurately as intersectionality, which helps to find the relevant knowledge within complex contexts (Riley, 2017, p. 1169).

This theory has been broadly used since the 2000s until today, especially in gender and women’s studies, due to their positive results (Hill Collins, 2015, p. 6). Nevertheless, its application entails many challenges due to its complexity, which can be outlined in three main aspects: it is not possible to reduce the complex social reality to fixed categories; a deep knowledge of the context

is necessary to analyse the intersected forms of inequality; and it may be problematic to analyse all the intersected categories within a community that does not present clear boundaries between them (McCall, 2005, pp. 1773-1774).

Despite the challenges, this theory seems to be the most relevant for this project due to the diversity of the collective of female sex workers of Seville. Trans\*, migrants, women from different ethnicities, etc., are present in this collective, as they have stated in social media.



*\*This post was published on the Twitter account of the collective. Translation: Evelyn is Colombian, 45, and she spends her life going from one friend's house to another since the club where she worked as prostitute closed and left her "in the fucking street".*

Despite the fact that Marxist feminism, radical or decolonial feminism are all suitable to ground the gender-base of this paper, I argue that the research at hand should be conducted through an intersectional theory that takes into consideration identities of women in context. In this case, the migration situation of Spain is of paramount importance for the object of study, and the application of intersectionality becomes even more pertinent since intersectionality removes the centrality of only one aspect of the identity (Hill Collins, 2015, p. 10). The methods section describes how this theory has been applied.

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<sup>1</sup> Retrieved May 21, 2020 on <https://twitter.com/ProstitutasSev/status/1267044016547299329>

## 4.2. *Discourse analysis*

A discourse analysis has been conducted in order to disentangle how sex workers interpret intersectional feminism, which representation of issues they hold and which solutions they offer based on their epistemologies.

Discourse can be defined as an “interrelated set of texts, and the practices of their production, dissemination, and reception, that brings an object into being” (Phillips and Hardy, 2002, p. 3). Discourse is the meaning given to reality. Since social reality is produced through discourses, problems and solutions are also framed within and from the discourse. How sex workers’ epistemologies and discourses shape the construction of solutions is the central interest of this project (Phillips and Hardy, 2002, p. 3).

How issues are represented is crucial to understand the influence this representation implies in developing solutions to ‘problems’, which therefore influence how people interpret and are involved in practices (Bacchi, 2009, p. 1). As concepts play a central role in discourse, terms will be key elements to be detected and analysed (Bacchi, 2009, p. 8). Moreover, through discourse, both problems and solutions are constructed. Problems are not elements that “exist”, but they are created and framed by discourse. I have analysed the connection between the representation of issues and the solutions or practices derived from the construction of such representations (Fairclough, 1995, p. 2).

Discourse analysis focuses on language not as mere channel of communication but a channel of connection between saying, doing and being. The latter refers to the representation of an identity. To understand what a person is saying it must be first understood “who” this person is and the context in which this person is producing the discourse (Gee, 2014, p. 2). This notion of discourse also supports my decision of choosing standpoint feminism as theory that leads this project: discourse situates individuals and actions within a context, so does standpoint feminism. Therefore, both theories are relevant for the project as they take into consideration the context (the situation of sex work in Spain, in which most sex workers are undocumented migrants), the variety of identities of participants and subjects (the collective of sex workers) what they say and what they want (their interpretation of issues and its relation with their demands) (Gee, 2014, p. 3).

Since language and discourse are performative, a discourse analysis allows us to understand in depth their feminist epistemologies, which shape their demands and alternative solutions from an

intersectional approach. Discourses are relevant social practices in this project since they both reflect and affect problems and solutions (Fairclough, 1995, p. 2).

As this project mainly focuses on the representation of problems and solutions of the participants, and how diversity of identities are shown in that representation, the process of “recognition” will play an important role in the analysis. To describe a problem does not mean to point it out, but “constructing the problem itself”, that is, projecting issues through a specific organisation of language. Discourse analysis focuses on the interpretation of that information which is extracted from such organisation of language. Recognition means to put values, beliefs, subjects, objects and other elements into discourse with the aim to make them “recognizable”, that is, meaningful; to organise pieces of information in order to create a specific effect in the outsider (Gee, 2014, p. 52 and 55). When I ask the participants to describe a problem and its possible solution, it means to receive their interpretation of the issue, which I analyse afterwards.

The elements of the discourse, which Gee calls “tools of inquiry” (Gee, 2014, p. 45) have been analysed and categorised in this project, in order to examine the identification and interpretation of issues related to sex workers. Combined with a standpoint feminism approach, this application of theory uncovers what we, as outsiders, cannot see. The methodology section addresses how a discourse analysis has taken place, as well as how an intersectional approach to the participants’ discourse has been constructed.

## 5. Research design

This project is a case study compounded by a qualitative discourse analysis of a text and semi-structured interviews of female participants, and the process is presented as follows:

### 5.1. *Case study*

A case study of 4 semi-structured individual interviews with female sex workers from the feminist collective of sex workers of Seville will be conducted. This method refers to “detailed and intensive analysis of a single case” (Bryman, 2016, p. 66). A case could be a single community, a single school, a family, an entity or company, an event or a person. By focusing on a specific single element, by intensive examination, it is easier to detangle the complexity of the nature of an issue (Bryman, 2016, p. 67). This project is focused on the *Colectivo de Prostitutas de Sevilla* (CPS), the Collective of Prostitutes of Seville, as relevant generators of knowledge.

### 5.2. *Individual semi-structured interviews*

Individual interviews seemed to be the best way to approach to information regarding the topic of sex work, since most of the questions were about the personal interpretation of terms and issues. Semi-structured interviews have been used to keep an open mind about the topic, so concepts and categories have been extracted directly from data (Bryman, 2016, p. 12).

I worked with a list of fixed questions, however, as it is a semi-structured interview, I did not need to follow a strict order. Also, the quantity of questions may vary depending on the quality of the answers, since I delved into a particular question when I considered that the given answer is confusing or incomplete. The questions are quite broad in order to give the interviewee space and time to reply. Then, I asked more specific questions in order to enquire into one of the concepts and its meaning. Thus, I am able to go deeper into a concept, especially those directly related to the intersection of categories (Bryman, 2016, p. 212). The interviews have been done by phone and Skype calls. Concerns about interviewing sex workers during a pandemic can be found in the section *Reflections* (see page 33).

### 5.2.1. Interview guide

During interviews, I followed the interview guide outlined in the list below. This guide was helpful to follow in order to address the four main inquiries of this project: sex workers' notions on feminism, their interpretation of issues related to sex work, its correlation with the solutions they offer, and the influence of intersectionality in all of the above.

0. How would you describe your identity?
1. For you, what is it to be a feminist?
2. Which demands from feminism do you have regarding sex work rights?
3. Do you bear in mind the different social identities and situations of sex workers in those demands? If so, please provide example(s).
4. Which would it be the perfect solution to their specific situation?
5. Which activities or events do you arrange in benefit of them?
6. Which difficulties do you face? (regarding language/class/race, etc.)
7. Which solutions do you try to find to those difficulties?

Question number 0 has been used to position the participant in respect to others, as it is important to know who the discourse come from when analysing the different identities of the subjects. This question is number "0" as it has not been analysed since exposing the personal details of the participants will compromise their anonymity (see *Ethical considerations* in page 35). Therefore, the information extracted from this question is the basic and main aspects of their identity. Question number 1 is a broad one in connection to question 2. The aim of both questions is to extract the interpretation the participant makes of feminism with a focus on intersectionality aspects. Question 3 will provide examples of what has been stated in questions 1 and 2. Question number 6 is similar to number 3, since the aim of both questions is to extract the participants' interpretation of problems regarding sex work and sex workers' different social positions. In questions 4, 5 and 7 I ask participants to describe their work, once again to provide examples of how they implement (or not) intersectionality. Question 4 is focused on the hypothetical solutions sex workers from the collective demand to the specific struggles female sex workers may face, whereas question 5 and 7 are more focused on material solutions.

### 5.3. *Analysis process*

The process for analysing data has been as follows:

#### 5.3.1. *Data*

The data for this project has been extracted from the declarations in 4 interviews as well as from one manifest. Their manifest “*Feminist demands and recognitions of about sex work in Spain*” has served as starting point to disentangle the feminist epistemologies of the participants as collective. This manifest was published on 25<sup>th</sup> April 2019 in all their social networks, and it is a summary of their demands regarding sex work. This text will be analysed first in order to obtain a deep idea of how the participants interpret issues related to sex workers and the solutions they demand. The analyses of the interviews will come next. But first, after the empirical data collection, comes the process of coding.

#### 5.3.2. *Coding*

To code is to separate the data into smaller parts and categorise them, giving them “names” (labels), in order to make it easier and more accurate to analyse and compare. This step has been important since qualitative data must not be put into “preconceived” codes, but the data has been analysed before being put into codes. The process of coding is reviewing interviews transcripts, field notes, literature, to eventually label the data collected. To label means to give names and categorise parts of data. These parts of data are the most relevant for the study (Bryman, 2016, p. 568). These are core elements of data where the relevant information rests. The core elements of information in this study will be explained in the next section; in sum, they are the ones related to descriptions of problems, practical solutions and the influence of an intersectional approach on them. Then, these concepts have been categorised. A category is a group of two or more concepts, related to the same issue or sociological aspect. Categories are different because they have different properties, that is, aspects or features (Bryman, 2016, p. 570).

In this study, the categories related to identities are named *intercategories*, since they include more than one category of identity (McCall, 2005, p. 1773). In sum, 5 different categories have been extracted from the coding process: the ones related to key concepts appear underlined; the ones related to language are highlighted **in green**; the ones related to identities are shown in **yellow**; the ones related to problem representations are in **red**; and the ones that represent the solutions and demands are in **blue**. Field notes appear in *italics* between brackets. Any question within another question appear in italics and in **green** letters. The coding tables can be found on the section “Appendix” (see page 71).

### 5.3.3. *Discourse analysis*

Through the coding process, the core elements of the discourse have been isolated. The analysis focus on those core elements extracted from the manifest and the declarations that presents a relevance for answering the research questions. These are:

- Identity
- Intercategories
- Situated identity
- Problem representation
- Social space
- Key concepts
- Style (language and tone)
- Markers
- Cultural value
- Intertextuality (references)
- Direct and indirect mentions
- Solution representation
- Action Statement

The coded elements of the text will eventually be categorised after the analysis, as explained above. A table with the categorisation of the text elements can be found on the section “Appendix” (see page 71). The next section will explain in-depth the categories that have been studied and how the analysis has been conducted.

## 6. Methodology

This section provides further explanation about how the analysis has been conducted, which methods have been used in order to achieve the goals proposed, what the focus of the analysis is and which elements have been analysed from discourse.

### 6.1. *Critical discourse analysis*

In order to analyse the representation of problems and solutions that sex workers provide of the status of sex work, a critical discourse analysis (CDA) has been applied to manifest of CPS and their declarations, with a focus on how the intersections of identities shape those representations.

Discourse analysis, as another form of qualitative content analysis, entails disentangling ways of using language to project values (Gee, 2014, pp. 17-18). Values are influenced by cultural systems, which are constructed from social phenomena such as identities, inequalities or privileges. CDA focuses, for instance, on how some values are more predominant than others, by analysing the process of construction of the meaning. Discourse, therefore, is “shaped by relations of power and invested with ideologies” (Fairclough, 1995, p. 6). This project is interested in how the interpretation of identities shapes the feminist approach to sex work to eventually analyse how the ideological coherence between “what participants say” and “what participants do” is constructed (van Dijk, 1997, p. 2; Fairclough, 1995, p. 28).

For that reason, CDA seemed the most relevant method to achieve the goals. These goals are how intersection of identities shape discourse, so that, this project is focused on issues about representation. Other potential objectives such as interaction, intentions or motivations of the participants are not of relevance for this project, since my final aim is to know how sex workers represent problems and solutions related to the intersections of identities in a sex work environment. CDA provides us with the appropriate analytical approach to know how identities shape discourse (Fairclough, 1995, p. 45).

A CDA applied to an organisational context like this one focuses on how discourses are constructed and influenced by internal or external elements. In the case of this project, intersectional feminism has been the element which has influenced the focus of the analysis, that is, how intersection of identities influence the sex workers' discourse in order to provide a certain

meaning to the problems and solutions they describe (Bryman, 2016, p. 537). When I talk about “meaning” I mean “interpretation” of problems and solutions, in other words, the way the participants see them (Gee, 2014, p. 214).

Through the analysis, a meaning is extracted from a signified, that is, a piece of information constructed and structured in a specific way that results in certain knowledge. This signified is also obtained from a signifier (a word, an image, a group of words or images). To understand the signified we must also understand the context and elements that influences the former (Gee, 2014, p. 215).

The manifest has been analysed by paragraphs. Each paragraph is identified with a number. Letters have been added after the number of each paragraph. Each letter represents an issue or a solution in discourse: 1A, 1B, 1C, 2A, 2B, etc. The data within the interviews has been structured by numbers of questions, by a system of abbreviations and numbers: each letter of each number represents an issue and or a solution, that is, a group of signifiers. María José is represented by the letter MJ; Kenia is represented by the letter K; Beyoncé, by B; and Luna, by L. For instance, if I mention the second issue that Kenia states in the third question of the interview, the abbreviation will be K3B. The whole declaration under this abbreviation can be found in the transcripts of the interviews, in the section Appendix (see page 71). The following core elements of the discourse, described in the research design, have been examined:

By analysing the **identities**, we obtain a rough image of the subjects described by the participant. The elements to analyse could be, for example, the use of words such as *Latina*, *woman*, *undocumented*, or *poor*. That first analysis will serve to obtain the next element, **intercategories**, compounded by the intersections of identities. This element has been useful as a starting point of analysis of the subject, which is compounded by more than one category of identity (McCall, 2005, p. 1773). Following the last example, we can obtain the intercategories *Latina-impooverished-working class* to have a clear view on how this intersection of identity is represented in the environment of sex work and then its influence in the representation of problems and solutions. After obtaining the intercategories, which are the focus of the project and they will be explained deeply in the next section, it is also important to analyse the **situated identity**. Situated identities refer to the recognition of social positions of groups or individuals in a specific space. In this project, the situated identity is focused on the sex workers’ position with respect to the issue described, for instance, if they are in an inferior or unequal position (Gee, 2014, p. 12).

Along with the subjects, the **problem representation** is extracted from an analysis of the elements that describe the problem. Problem is understood as an aspect of a context that is

highlighted due to their influence in the context (Gee, 2014, p. 85). Problems are also tools to measure to what extent other elements (for instance, intercategorical identities) influence the problem itself (Gee, 2014, p. 86). In this regard, it is crucial to analyse the **key concepts** related to the problem. Concepts are elements where the important information rests. They provide meaning to text elements (Gee, 2014, p. 230), understanding text as meaningful parts of the discourse (Gee, 2014, p. 46). In order to understand the context where the problem is established, the **social space** as well as the **cultural value** will be analysed. The social space is an immaterial place where the problem can be perceived. These could be, for example, conversations, work environment, or moments such as “after work”. Cultural value refers to elements from ideologies that the participant states when he or she interprets the problem. For instance, the right to access to a health care system is a value revealed when describing the difficulties of sex workers to access health care.

Moreover, by analysing the **style** of the text, and its main elements (language and tone), I have obtained a more detailed representation from participants, as language style is the way the discourse is presented. Representation is constructed by language, so when analysing language we obtain a clear idea on how participants see something in a specific way (Gill, in Bryman, 2016, p. 530). Elements that have been analysed under this category are, for example, formal or informal style, use of technical vocabulary or slang. The way a participant presents an issue uncover the ideological influence of that representation. By analysing language we are also able to measure the consistency of that representation, to eventually examine the coherence between what they say and what they do. Along with language, **markers** have been taken into consideration for the analysis. Markers contribute to the structure of the text. With markers, ideas and values can be connected and related to other signifiers. Markers modify the style of the text by adding elements of authority or familiarity, for instance. By analysing markers, I can know how the sentences are constructed in order to uncover meanings (Bryman, 2016, p. 79).

Next comes the **solution representation**. This last core category is analysed along with two elements, **mentions** and **action statements**. Mentions, that could be direct or indirect, refers to association of the problem to a particular person or group of people. That is, by analysing mentions we are able to know how participants interpret to what extent these people are involved in the problem, which contributes to the representation of the problem and solution. Analysing the mentions will let us know how the problem and solution are constructed because of the people involved in or blamed for the problem (Fairclough, 1995, p. 72). Under the category action statements, I analysed every element related to performance towards the solution or because of the problem (Gee, 2014, p. 173).

Values, problems and solutions are elements constructed in and from cultural systems that could be explained by relating to other values or discourses. Participants can explain or describe a social phenomenon by comparing or relating it to others discourses, and these could be similar or completely different from the one that is being analysed. This characteristic of texts, called **intertextuality**, makes us able to make connections and associations between texts in order to look for the intersectional influences. Thus, I analyse this aspect in relation to problems and solutions representations (Gee, 2014, p. 46).

Other elements such as feelings or cognitive statements are excerpted from the analysis, as they do not present interests for the goals of the project (Gee, 2014, p. 12). The analysis of all these elements will be always connected with the intercategories, to eventually examine the influence of the intersection of identities in the discourse.

## 6.2. *Intersectional intercategory focus*

As an interdisciplinary approach, there are multiple approaches to how to analyse intersectionality. Due to its categorical complexity, intersectionality entails a challenging methodological approach. The subject of this project presents multiple dimensions of social life and different identities, so it requires a very specific methodology (McCall, 2005, p. 1772).

Following McCall's insights on intersectional methodology, social life is too complex to reduce and categorise it. She presents three approaches to address the complexity of intersectionality: the first one, the *anticategorical* approach, denies that identities can be organised in categories. It aims to deconstruct the master categories, identifying many different identities that result in multiple and conflicting experiences. The second one, the *intracategorical* approach, focuses on those subjects whose identity cross the boundaries of traditionally constructed groups. It aims to create or identify new categories. It is commonly used in comparative analysis. It does not deny categories, but it focuses deeply on how they are produced, experienced and reproduced in real life (McCall, 2005, p. 1773).

Since both of them are suitable to be applied to this project, the third one seems to be the most appropriate, since the *intercategory* approach is focused on relationships between categories and social groups. It uses categories provisionally in order to deconstruct identities. The relevance of this approach rests on the fact that it avoids performing a reductionist process, by interconnecting analytical categories (McCall, 2005, pp. 1773-1774).

Since the aim of this project is to analyse the influence of intersected identities on the discourse of the participants, this project will be a case study at the intersection of multiple categories that eventually will address the complexities of experience. Traditional categories such as “race” or “class” have been used initially to name various points of intersection, acknowledging the diversity and difference within the group. The major complexity of this study rests on what is being researched: the difference within difference (McCall, 2005, p. 1782).

This method is the most suitable one for this project since the aim of the intercategory approach is to explain the difficulties derived from those intersections. Categorisation is inevitable, yet simplification and homogenisation of identities will be avoided. Intersections of categories have been found and analysed, but not categories as such (McCall, 2005, p. 1786).

I will give an example of this method. As stated in the literature review (see page 8), this project is gender-based, therefore, all the interviewees are female. If the data presents the category of class, then gender will be cross-classified with class. The same will be applied to race, ethnicity or ability, for example. Since the intercategories can be countless, it is necessary to limit other dimensions of categories and focus on the relevant ones, since complexity will be too demanding to address (McCall, 2005, p. 1786). The analysis of this intercategory can be found on the Appendix (see page 84).

## 7. Reflections

As every study that encompasses a delicate topic, ethical considerations and limitations are expected. This section outlines the limitations that may affect the results of this project, specifically the ones produced by that fact that the analysis of this study has been conducted partly during a pandemic. Furthermore, this section also shows the ethical considerations I have followed when approaching to sex workers and building trust around them, including an explanation on how sex workers have been directly involved in the research process.

### 7.1. *Limitations*

All projects are limited by the scope selected for each of them. This is an interdisciplinary study. As stated in the literature review (see page 8), it is not possible to analyse every aspect of the issue, due to some limitations regarding time and resources. The literature review is focused on the main aspects, and some other aspects have been rejected from this part, for example, the economic one, since this study focuses on the theoretical positions on sex work. There is also a vast theoretical framework around sex and sex work. Conclusions may be influenced by some books rather than others. Furthermore, my personal preconceived ideologies may influence the results.

A step that entails participant observation would be beneficial for this project, however, it has not been carried out due to deadline constraints. As this is not an ethnographic research, this step may not be completely necessary. However, the lack of enough data for analysing the context, combined with the different epistemologies that we uphold, may create barriers between sex workers and the researcher (Bryman, 2016, p. 575). This is further explained in the next section, “Ethical considerations and trust building”. As stated in the methodology section, it is difficult to take into consideration the diverse identities of women, therefore, it is necessary to limit dimensions of categories other than the main ones and focus on the ones that produce the most relevant data (McCall, 2005, p. 1786; Dewey and Zheng, 2013, p. 25).

At last, different methodologies produce different kinds of knowledge. I am aware that the results may differ if other methods would have been applied to this project (McCall, 2005, p. 1772). For instance, legitimacy as theory seems also relevant to this project, as it is also interesting how

particular actors draw on the discourse to legitimate their positions and actions (Bryman, 2016, p. 537).

### *7.1.1. Writing during a pandemic*

In the middle of the process of my project, Spanish government declared “Emergency State” and official lockdown over the whole nation (Jones, 2020), which forced me to continue my study locked at home. At that time, on 14<sup>th</sup> of March, I was about to contact the sex workers as part of my schedule. Therefore, I needed to change my schedule and research design. The interviews were not face to face but online interviews via Skype. One of them was by phone. I got rejected several times due to the difficult situation. When things calmed down, they offered to collaborate in the interviews. The result was getting the interviews very late on time, which may have affected the results of this project. Researching in the middle of a pandemic has been an obstacle, also, to build trust around them since the distance may not be the perfect situation. The next section will explain further how this trust has been built.

### *7.2. Ethical considerations and trust building*

Several elements are necessarily taken into account when researching with and for sex workers. For example, I will not demonise, victimise or patronise sex workers in order to build trust between us (Dewey and Zheng, 2013, p. 31).

Personal details of every interviewee of this project, such as names, will remain confidential unless they do not mind to disclose them. Although that means that I will be not able to prove that they are who they really are, their anonymity is crucial. This project will use pseudonyms for those sex workers who would like to remain in anonymity (Dewey and Zheng, 2013, pp. 26-28). I will also avoid to give details about their personal life, in order to not to disclose their true identity. The interviewees will be completely informed about the aim and the process of this study, how their input will be analysed and how their contribution will influence the final results, so that they can feel free to give their informed consent (Dewey and Zheng, 2013, p. 29).

This study is not positioned pro or against sex work, however, it considers feminist sex workers as producers of valuable knowledge, and not as mere victims of oppression, taking also their

stigmatisation into consideration. This paper aims to get away from the empowered woman/victim dichotomy of sex workers and maintains a critical view upon their complex situation (Dewey and Zheng, 2013, p. 9).

Being aware of the fact that sex work is a sensitive research field, dominated by prejudices and a stigmatisation of female sex workers, it seems crucial to build trust between the researcher and subjects of research (Spanger, 2012, p. 152). The Collective of Prostitutes of Seville (CPS) is a very active group of pro-sex work activists with presence in Facebook, Twitter and Instagram. They offer an e-mail address on their Social media, from which I have made the first contact with them, since it is the less intrusive way to approach them.

By presenting myself as a researcher in the last semester of my programme, and by being completely honest about my study and my objectives, I built trust between us. I presented myself as an ally who works from gender studies, to position myself on their same field. Strategically, I mentioned, in my first e-mail, that I occasionally collaborate with the Feminist Unitary Assembly of Seville (AFUS), which collaborates with CPS quite often. I showed my interest in their activism as collective as well as individually, which is an “invisible feature” of their personality. I stated that I would like to know how they experience feminism and how they elaborate strategies and solutions for their unstable labour situation. If that strategy of approach would failed, my plan B was to make contact with them through some people I know from AFUS.

As part of the strategy on building trust, I took two pieces of advice from Marlene Spanger. First, I started the conversation by letting them talk about themselves, their hobbies and minor personal interests (Spanger, 2012, p. 152). Second, I never used words and concepts that can relate to negative feelings or controversial concepts, such as ‘prostitute/prostitution’, ‘victim’, ‘criminal’, etc., unless the interviewees introduced the concepts themselves in our conversations (Spanger, 2012, pp. 152-153).

Notions of race, gender and class influenced our relation. I was aware of the social position we all occupy, which is never neutral, and I developed strategies to negotiate a position that would not affect negatively our relations (Spanger, 2012, p. 153). Last but not least, as Spanger has demonstrated, “looks and bodily practices become important in establishing field relations between the researchers and the migrant sex workers”, therefore, clothing is also an important element to bear in mind. I always wore a look as “neutral” as possible, as an example, plain jeans and a simple t-shirt, avoiding make up (Spanger, 2012, p. 159).

### *7.2.1. Involving sex workers in research*

After the email, our first approach was by WhatsApp. María José, as spokeswoman of the collective, wanted to discuss the details of the project before offering me the interviews. I agreed and we arranged a call to discuss the details the next day. In that call, she stated the collective position: they were not many sex workers in the collective and they had not much time. So we both decided to focus the interview on the main aspects and narrow down the scope of the project.

Our second call was after I modified the scope of the project. I gave her a brief explanation of the project and she stated she wanted to make minor changes. She inspired me with her demands. One of her demands, for instance, was to bear in mind that most sex workers were precarious and migrants, so I applied that to the modification of the interview guide.

When we were both happy with the interview guide and the scope of the project, we arranged a third call, this time via Skype, to conduct the interview itself. Afterwards, I called the rest of the participants she put me in contact with. Most of them refused to collaborate alleging time issues. Three of them agreed. The analysis starts with an introduction to these four participants of this project and how their identities were disclosed.

## 8. Analysis

In this section, the analysis of the manifest of the Collective of Prostitutes of Seville and the interviews with four participants who actively collaborate in this association is presented. The analysis contains this collective's representation of the issues related to sex work, as well as their demands and solutions to the problems that may emerge for sex workers. The analysis of this representation will be focused on how the diversity of identities influence their interpretation of issues and strategies.

### 8.1. *Intercategories of identities*

The main focus of this project is to expose how the diversity of identities and experiences influence the collective's discourse. I argue that the epistemological standpoints of the participants are influenced by the diverse identities of the sex workers. Consequently, this will further influence their representation of the issues which ultimately will affect their demands and solutions to them. To address this analysis in depth, this first section will explore the intersection of identities of the participants with a special focus on the intercategories I have found through the data. I therefore start with a short introduction to each of the four interview participants and their expressed identities.

#### 8.1.1. *Introduction to participants*

The first person I interviewed was María José, former sex worker and spokeswoman of the Collective of Prostitutes of Seville. She is visibly cisgender and Caucasian: she was born in Seville and she still lives there. She is the co-founder of the CPS, therefore, she knows well the collective as she has led most of the events that they have arranged since the beginning. As she is used to give interviews, she speaks clearly, with confidence, and a bit aggressively. She shows no fear in her discourse, contrasting with other participants, as she feels herself in a "privileged position" (MJ1D) due to her condition as normative non-migrant woman. She is the only Caucasian Spanish woman in the collective. She mixes a very informal tone with a political style in her discourse.

Kenia is a cisgender woman, originally from Paraguay, another co-founder and spokeswoman of CPS. She is a documented migrant and her discourse is mainly focused on notions of citizenship and political recognition due to her identity. For instance, she describes the collective like this: “We are basically focused on raising social awareness in order to perform a political advocacy at a governmental level” (K4A). She shows a political tone when she states her demands. Kenia and María José, who have been working together for several years, show a similar mixture of informal and institutional language in their discourse in order to be understood by both sex workers and institutions. They are rather explicit, especially when looking for the responsible people of the conflicts and problems.

Beyoncé is a female sex worker, noticeably Ecuadorian and trans\*, who works in the “street”, that is, in industrial areas that are called *polígonos* in Spain. These are big open areas where factories and warehouses can be found. They are normally far away from society and many of them are close to impoverished areas. She looks for clients there. She is a documented migrant who has been living in Madrid for 19 years and collaborates with CPS when they arrange events at a national level. For Beyoncé, a non-normative woman, to be a “woman is not having long hair and nails or to cook food” (B7D). She described to me a bigger spectrum of the concept of woman and stated the differences between “sex” as biological category and “gender” as social construct. Beyoncé is not her real name. Who she is, when and how she works (in the street, at night, at risk, constantly running away from police), as well as her concept of woman, influence her discourse and experience greatly.

Luna was my last interviewee. She did not want to give me any name, so I made one up for her according to what her voice inspired me to call her. *Luna* means *moon* in Spanish: she talks very calmly, so it is the night. She is a trans\* woman from a Latin American country, she did not want to expose which one exactly. She is also a collaborator in CPS. Luna talks to me very slowly and she does not express herself very well. She does not introduce the topics. She “jumps” from one issue to another, as there were so many things she wants to tell me, but she is not able to organise it all in her head. It seems she hesitates constantly, as she is not sure which kind of information she should give to me. Contrasting with the other three participants, she is more shy and she “picks” her words very carefully: she does not trust me.

Luna does not answer my questions in great detail, but she is saying a lot with her attitude. At the beginning of the interview, off the record, she stated that she does not want to be exposed and it is hard for her to offer me the interview. “You know, I’m a trans\* woman”. She is in the middle of the process of getting Spanish citizenship and she is afraid of the police. That is the most

important aspect of her discourse: she speaks in fear. Luna is an example of how intersections of identities influence sex workers' everyday performance.

Even when she says nothing, she says a lot. For example, she replied to the first question with only one sentence, hesitating, looking for the best words to use but avoiding harming anyone (L1A). She complains about how marginalised trans\* people are, however, she is not very explicit when blaming: she states that “Government can do something” (L2B), slowly and calmly, when describing the situation of general precariousness of sex workers. She looks more comfortable from question number 5. She gives me a lot of details on how they have “a WhatsApp group where we support each other” (L5) and how she helps and protects other sex workers: “So right before entering the room, she shares “Live Location” (*on WhatsApp*) during 2 hours. And I know where is she during two hours. And after the service, I call her” (L5).

Taking into consideration that the sex workers share, in general, some similar characteristics in their identities (they are, overall, working class women, impoverished, working in an irregular activity), it is important for this project to analyse the most prominent intersections of categories of identity present in their declarations in order to examine their influence in the discourse of CPS. Therefore, I spend the rest of this part of the analysis on ‘Intercategories of Identities’ to discuss the most important intersecting aspects of their identities according to their own stories, as they told them to me. The categories they mentioned as being important were: documented and undocumented migrants, mothers, trans\* and impoverished. In the following five subsections, I address each of their discourses about these terms in turn.

### *8.1.2. Undocumented migrants and related intercategories*

“We are all migrants” (B3D), Beyoncé tells me. Most sex workers are undocumented migrants who are not able to work legally in Spain. The main issue with undocumented migrant sex workers in Spain is that they cannot be registered in the census, as they are not considered workers. If they are not registered, they cannot access to some facilities, such as renting homes or receiving unemployment benefits: “Women work in the clubs because we can’t rent” (L6A). The solution CPS offers to this problem is “to establish mechanisms that enable the effective registration of sex worker migrants residing in our country”, as stated in their manifest (Manifest, 9B). This text is plenty of references to academic studies, in order to strengthen their discourse.

María José describes another issue regarding undocumented migrants: they think they have no right to health care (MJ3A). They actually have, she implicitly states, as universal health care is

free in Spain. Foreigners do not take for granted health care in Spain due to a lack of information. María José blames authorities directly for this lack of information, “They have no way to know it as authorities don’t inform them...” (MJ3B), since they do not inform these women and they only offer basic services in the club. The origin of the problem, according to María José’s analysis, is that authorities do not know sex workers’ real issues. By laughing at the statement “authorities only come to clubs (...) to teach us how to put condoms on” (MJ3D), she is stating how “ridiculous” it is to teach prostitutes how to use condoms, a basic need in their everyday work and she is criticising that they only cover very basic health care services. Two problems are highlighted later: first, clients “negotiate” with condoms, as a result of the feeling of being in a safe environment, as health care services visit the club regularly (MJ3B). This problem is connected to the second one: authorities’ solutions create problems. As sex workers do not know they can access to the health care system, they are content with the basic AIDS tests authorities provide in clubs (MJ3C). In sum, María José argues that authorities should be more aware of undocumented female sex workers’ issues in order to give real solutions to their situations, indicating that an intersectional scope should be implemented in authorities’ work. She frames the problem with use of irony, and questions the strategies to emphasise the issue. With this language, she is stating that a small mistake from authorities create a huge problem for sex workers. From her experience, her solution to this issue is to teach sex workers how to manage clients (MJ3D). In extension, she defends herself from accusations of professionalising prostitution with this solution.

Analysing the declarations of María José, the lack of information about policies, rights and health care access is the main origin of everyday problems of undocumented migrant sex workers. Luna explains that, as undocumented migrant sex workers think they have no right to access to health care, they practice self-induced abortions if they need to. Her solution is to encourage them to go to the doctor if “they feel very bad” (L7), that is, if they experience a hard pain.

Businessmen take advantage of the misinformation that migrant sex workers receive and they even trick them. ‘Businessmen’ is a concept that is present throughout the entire manifest, as well as in the interviews, as people who run clubs and sex workers flats. Very implicitly, CPS blames them for being procuring. María José explains that “Businessmen tell undocumented migrant sex workers that they have no right to public health care so they need to get a private insurance” (MJ6C). When sex workers pay for the insurance to the businessman, he keeps part of the money. They also tell them that police will investigate their bank account, therefore, they must invest in gold, which is sold by businessmen (MJ6C). María José identifies these lies as a strategy to obtain more money. In sum, to be underinformed as well as the fear of being deported or imprisoned affects greatly sex workers’ lives.

María José also criticises the solutions that are offered to migrant sex workers who are intercepted working in clubs: “They have 90 days to decide if they denounce or not if they are victims of trafficking. If you don’t denounce, you are expelled from Spain, sooner or later” (MJ4F). She also criticises that they do not receive support from the State in the process of denouncing. As they normally do not denounce, depending of the agreement between their country of origin and Spain, they can be victims of what she calls “express deportation”, an expression to describe an imminent expulsion order, a refugee crisis reference (MJ4F). Technically, they cannot receive an imminent expulsion order as refugees. They may be transferred to CIEs (*Detention Centres for Foreigners*), (Manifest, 20C), institutions specifically for migrants who are in Spain in an irregular status, waiting to be transferred to their countries of origin. The word in Spain is literally “internment centre”, which means centre for staying, but migrants are able to abandon that place only until the process of refoulment is finished. Spain has received several condemnations from the European Council of Refugees and Exiles and the European Court of Human Rights for violating various human rights due to the unsatisfactory conditions of these facilities (ECRE, 2020, p.15). In their manifest, CPS asks for the closure of these centres, as migrant women suffer from sexism and labour exploitation there: “Women are also used as workforce in these detention centres and can be detained for unlimited time if they are required for the maintenance of these centres” (Manifest, 23).

During the emergency state due to Covid-19, the government of Spain approved benefits for those who were not receiving an income, called the “minimum vital income”. CPS is collaborating in a media campaign that asks for benefits to be extended to those migrant sex workers who cannot work regularly. Kenia asks specifically for this initiative of the Government not to be a “hunt” (K5B), that is, a strategy of the Immigration Unit of the National Public Prosecution to obtain a list of immigrant individuals to be deported afterwards. She directly accuses the “foreigners prosecution” (K5B), a term that describes the Immigration Unit of the National Public Prosecution, as a way to blame the whole institution for the situation. Once more, they complain about how institutions’ solutions may turn into sex workers’ problems.

Kenia, Beyoncé and Luna are *Latinas*, as many other women who migrate to Spain due to language reasons. Latina, and adjective that refers to migrant women from Latin America, forms an intercategory together with “undocumented migrant”. They experience it in a particular way and they have different demands. Kenia, for instance, as a migrant woman, states that she struggles with “different oppressions” (K1A), meaning she faces different types of discrimination.

### 8.1.3. *“Mother”, a variable that adds a difficulty to the equation*

We are able to see how the intercategory “Sex worker-woman-working class-impoverished-undocumented-Latina” faces many discriminations and struggles due to a reality that the Spanish legal framework aggravates. It is not difficult to imagine that the situation would be harder for those migrant sex workers who also have children. This is present in Kenia’s discourse, who states that “...there are single mothers. They are terrified. They don’t want to attend the social services. Last week, a mate from Pontevedra (*town*) texted us, she is a sex worker, she has two kids. I sent her several food banks phone numbers. That’s what we do, we look for support alliances. We also sent the social services phone number. And she said: “no, no, no, no way, no! I’m not going to the social services because of my kids. My child, his father had gender violence problems with him, and my other child, his father is out of the country. Social services are going to ask me a lot of questions” (K6B). In this declaration, Kenia describes how afraid are mother sex workers of the reaction of authorities, who are not going to be understood by them, as she implicitly states. This fear is grounded on the fact that “Spain has fairly serious history of violating family unity” (K6C). She explains that the origin of this distrust on sex workers as mother is grounded on their stereotyped social image. “Migrant and whore: she is not able to be a good mother. Sex workers are afraid then, when they are migrant, it’s even worse. Single mothers, even worse” (K6D). This distrust prevents mothers sex workers from requesting help from social services when it may be their only possibility to quit prostitution or improve their living conditions. Kenia’s representation of the solution for this issue is to give social workers training in sex work issues (K2A). However, first, “we need to be recognised as workers, they keep seeing us as victims” (K7B).

Luna also tells me about another problem for undocumented migrants like her: they cannot rent an accommodation. She frames this situation as really serious, “it’s terrible” (L3A), especially for sex workers with kids who would compromise their security with clients in benefit of their family. The lack of opportunities to rent force sex workers to work and live in clubs.

### 8.1.4. *Not an easier path for documented migrants*

Although it may seem that the problems of undocumented migrant sex workers would fade away when they obtain legal status, the participants of this project has also identified issues for documented ones. An online form must be filled in order to get the “minimum vital income”, yet sex workers are not able to do that. An NGO or entity must “identify” them as sex workers and

they fill the form for them (MJ7C). María José explains the process, and Luna tells me that she is affected by this regulation as she is, still, undocumented. As she is in the process of getting their regular documents, she is not able to find an entity that recognises her as migrant in their way to citizenship (L3A).

The solution for the distrust and the need for a third-party involvement is the same: as Kenia stated before, "...we look for support alliances" (K6B). The collective put in contact the sex worker in need with an allied entity or person who can give a solution to the sex worker's problem through the social services. As an example of allied association, she talks about APDHA (Association Pro Human Rights of Andalusia), "which is completely aware of the stigmas we suffer and recognise us as workers, they don't victimise us and don't want to supervise us" (K7A).

#### *8.1.5. Trans\* and related intercategories*

Beyoncé is trans\* and she works in the "street". She represents the intercategory "street-whore-trans\*-impoverished". "Street" as category is directly connected to impoverishment, which she refers to with the term "precariousness". Impoverishment does not only refer to poverty, but also to labour conditions, as she clearly explains: "I may make 200 euros but I'm in the street... it is lived in another way. Police harass us. We have to hide behind the bushes. It's not a matter of money, you know?" (B6J). Beyoncé looks for my feedback constantly. She asks for my opinion sometimes, and she waits until I reply, as she needs to be sure that I understand her: "you know? Right?" Her reality is not easy to understand, thus I try to use words to get her approval. I reply "yes", "sure" and "I see" during the whole interview. She is dramatical and emotional in her discourse: she acts and changes her voice during the interview to illustrate better what she means as a way to make me empathise with her struggles. Beyoncé, unlike Kenia or María José, does not use political references or academic terms, yet her focus is similar. As well as Luna, she is shy at the beginning of the interview, informal but educated. Then, she gets comfortable and her discourse style changes, for example, she switches the expression "express services" in question number 2 (B2C) for "sucking for 10 euros" in question number 6 (B6F).

Luna and Beyoncé tell me the specific difficulties they face as trans\* migrant sex workers. The axes of discrimination includes racism, classism and sexism. Beyoncé blames police, laws and politicians for their situation: "One cop once fined me and I asked him: Why are you fining me?"

I did nothing. “You should have had studied”. Excuse me? Do you need to study to impose fines? Violence like that” (B4C). The feeling of superiority of the police towards trans\* migrant sex workers is presented clearly with only one sentence. With the word “violence”, she outlines the discrimination she suffers for being a migrant trans\* woman who work in an irregular activity. As a solution for other trans\* migrant sex workers, Beyoncé explains that she has been participating in a European project called “TransR” (*Trans Rights*) focused on raising awareness about issues produced by the influence of trans\* identities. “I am a woman”, says Beyoncé. “Women with penis, we exist” (B7D). That is the statement she shares with the participants of the project.

Later, Beyoncé tells me that she also feels discriminated by other “whores” that do not work in the street (B6G). She states that some sex workers are not aware of how hard is to work in the street and they perform a superior attitude towards “street-whores” (B6H), for instance, showing off how much they earn: “I’m a luxury escort and I earn 400 euros a day” (B6H), she has heard from them. That is another example of racism and classism.

#### 8.1.6. *Extreme poverty*

Following with the concept of impoverishment, María José explains that they also take into account the economic conditions of the sex workers. According to her experience, the perfect solution for sex workers who experience precarious labour conditions is the “Universal Basic Income” (MJ4H), an initiative that provides each person with the essential amount of money to live with dignity. Here, she refers to the redistribution of wealth as inspirational discourse. An example of activity arranged for those colleagues who are in extreme poverty due to confinement during the emergency state is what Beyoncé calls “The Cash of Resistance” (B5A), an initiative held by several collectives of sex workers that aims to collect funding for those in need.

“Everything pierces us” (MJ4C), says María José, and her sentence outlines this section in which she states, metaphorically, that they face the axes of discrimination.

## 8.2. *Representations of stigmas in discourse*

All participants show something in common in their discourses: stigmas (see page 10 for the definition), and they usually appear as an origin of misrepresentation of sex workers. María José, for example, offers several examples on how stigmas operate, blaming the “abolitionist imaginary” (she means abolitionist discourses) as perpetrator of them: “Abolitionist imaginary” is really... terrible... abolitionist social workers think that you are fucking a client in front of your child” (MJ2C). She, informally and aggressively, accuses social workers who hold an abolitionist ideology of perpetrating a distorted image of sex workers. Below, I discuss the different stigmas surrounding sex work, which they referred to during the interviews. The section ends with a discussion of the strategies they have developed (individually and as a collective) to counter the stigmas.

### 8.2.1. *Whore-stigma*

The origin of the “whore-stigma” is mentioned by the participants several times and it is intersected in each individual. It is outlined in the manifest, “Several pejorative and devaluing statements are maintained over whores, which little time ago were extended to all women. In areas where women as a group have struggled for years to achieve rights, whores continue to be discriminated” (Manifest, 2B). This argument can be summarised with the fact that the stigma sex workers suffer now was suffered by “all” women in the past, highlighting the gender scope of this issue. CPS refers to the dichotomy present in the collective imaginary in the past of “good/bad woman”, when women were merely identified as “good mothers” or “bad whores”. Thus, they refer to feminist discourses to explain where the stigma comes from: from misogyny and sexist attitudes. They implicitly argue that this stigma is originally held by a Catholic moral: “We, male and female workers, need social services to be sensitive to the stigma we suffer, not to be judged on the basis of a certain morality” (Manifest, 12B). This stigma, therefore, entails to identify sex workers with many images: mean, sassy, greedy women, amoral, victims, insane, or all of the above at the same time.

### 8.2.2. *Victimisation*

Victimisation refers to an image that identifies sex workers as mere victims of different abuses: they can be identified as victims of human trafficking for sexual purposes, victims of rape or labour exploitation. “Poor women, forced to work as prostitutes, illiterate, lost, junkies, ruined lives. We need to be saved. That’s how we are seen” (K7B), Kenia explains. According to her, they don’t want to be saved but they want the tools to save themselves and “recognition is the first tool” they have to do so (K4B, K1C).

Kenia identifies discourses as producers of stigmas of victimisation. She also refers to abolitionist discourses as predominant, which influence the image that sex workers have of themselves and they do not “feel they deserve rights” (K1C). The solution for Kenia is to “try to raise awareness within our mates, for them to be recognised as active political subjects, since due to that discourse, which is predominant, many of our mates internalise that stigma and they don’t recognise themselves as “deserving of rights” (K4C). In sum, she aims for changing the image that sex workers hold of themselves to be the protagonists of their own development.

### 8.2.3. *Trans\*whore-stigma*

As well as by social workers, stigma is held by police, as Beyoncé explains. “In fact, the police kind of feel, kind of, resentment right? They feel empowered and they feel very “machos”. Then they go to “get smashed” (*get drunk*) where we are working, uh? They have asked me: “Hello! How long is it? (*she refers to the length of her penis*)” (B3C). In this piece, Beyoncé explains how the same policeman that tries to fine her in the morning, is trying to approach to her out of service. With “resentment” she refers to disgust towards trans\* people, not rancour. As it can be identified in this piece, police do not feel disgusted by the trans\* themselves as they talk to them, but they, trans\* women, are a symbol of what they reject: a person that does not fit in the idea of “real” man or woman, according to their conservative concepts of man and woman. Here she refers to the “macho” culture, a cultural system of values where the ideal “man” is socially superior to women (Consoli and Morales, 2017, p. 1992) The alternative concepts of “man” and “woman” that Beyoncé presents to the policeman provoke him a rejection that he uses to perform violence towards her.

Another example of stigma is present in Beyoncé's story in a hospital. She got a cut in her hand in the middle of the financial crisis of Spain, around 2011, so she went to the hospital. She received the bill before the treatment (B6B). She was forced to pay and sign for the bill before getting the treatment, an unusual procedure in Spain, especially if you are bleeding and clearly in need. Spanish Government, at that time, and due to the financial crisis, carried out several cutbacks in the health care system, including cancelling documented migrants health care cards. "They didn't trust me", she states. "They didn't want to help me before being sure of this migrant... They probably thought that I was a whore. Because trans\* whores, we have this stigma... the stereotype trans\*-whore" (B6D). They decided to make her pay before giving her treatment, as they did not trust she was going to pay at the end. Her solution was to go to another private doctor she knew well.

She uses the term "trans\*whore" to name the stigma that people hold when identifying all trans\* with sex workers. Both stories are examples of how stigmas are translated into direct, different discrimination: for being impoverished, as a consequence of being a migrant, for being trans\* and work in sex; and, therefore, stigmas also create material inequality. These stigmas are produced by a mixture of racism, superiority feeling towards women and more specifically non-normative women, sexism and classism. It is difficult to detect what made the doctor not trust that she would pay.

#### *8.2.4. Migrant sex workers mothers*

The consequences of stigmas are present through the representation of issues. Coming back to the example of distrust from sex workers mothers towards social services, Kenia explains that "when they are migrants, that view is reinforced, since there is a stereotype about migrant women, they are not considered good mothers. If she is a whore, that's even worse. Migrant and whore: she is not able to be a good mother. Sex workers are afraid then, when they are migrant, it's even worse. Single mothers, even worse" (K6D). Here, she highlights one of the main problems of sex workers produced by stigmas: they do not ask for help from social services, as they are afraid of being deported. Sex workers that are single mothers seem to be at double risk. As seen before, María José criticizes how "abolitionist social workers think that you are fucking a client in front of your child" (MJ2C). "Good mother" is a concept that is present in the collective imaginary of Spanish society. Sex workers obviously, cannot be considered "good", not even "mothers". Here she refers

to the dichotomy of bad/good women. The stigma of being a bad mother is too strong to take that risk, as the consequences can be to lose custody of the child/children. In sum, criminalising discourses produce distrust from sex workers towards social services.

#### 8.2.5. *Strategies against stigmas*

I asked the participants to tell me the solutions they offer to the repercussions of stigmas. María José told me these beautiful cases where different identities create alliances against stigma and towards support: some Latinas do not want to go out, they do not want to be exposed and felt observed. “They think they have a notice on the forehead like “I’m a whore”. That’s the stigma” (MJ6A), she explains. Stigmas influence many aspects of their life: where they go, how and when. Stigma is so present in their life that they think everyone will notice they are “whores”. Therefore, they go together with people with “other stigmas”. She is referring to non-normative and non-binary gender individuals. She resumes: “I ask them: “so? They don’t look at you, right?” No, because they look at the other people. You are normal compared to... It’s a way to set yourself free” (MJ6A). María José also told me that they organise “bitcheeky parties”, a made up term that refer to a charity event for collecting money. The term is a mixture between “bitch” (a re-appropriation of pejorative term to designate prostitutes) and “cheeky” (meaning “sassy”, used to normalise sexuality within the social sphere). They hire a local with a bar and room to eat and dance. They collect money from selling drinks and food. Latinas want to collaborate in those events, yet once again, they do not want to be exposed, therefore, they ask for working in the kitchen, “hidden” (MJ5A). As a strategy, the CPS tell them to collaborate behind the bar together with charismatic and “flashy” mates (MJ5B). Here, María José is referring to the stereotype of queer identities, using the concept “sexual diversity”. In this way, Latinas do not become the centre of attention, as they are afraid of being (MJ5C). That makes them feel relaxed and empowered: as they do not feel observed, they can do anything they want, talk to people, enjoy the party. This a form of sorority and care.

As another example, María José also tells me that they arrange workshops in clubs for Latinas about sex and gender issues. She states that, during those workshops, in her speech, they reject the “typical women’s features” and show the diversity within the concept of woman. She also states the results: “The first time they come to a workshop they come in tight jeans, low neckline, heels... you know, they are Latinas. In the second workshop, they leave the heels at home. The

next time they don't wear jeans because it's uncomfortable" (MJ6B). María José is also referring to the stereotyped image of Latina as an example of a conventional woman, that is, to wear tight clothes and heels is part of Latinas' concept of woman.

Then, she offers a hypothetical strategy to end with the whore-stigma. She introduces to me for the first time the concept of discourse, blaming it as perpetrator of social stigmas. "People and media will change their discourse when society stops stigmatising us" (MJ2G). She states that they need to be "at the street, with the people" in order to make a shift in the discourse and social imaginaries. The strategy she uses to achieve that change is through "Whore Pride" (MJ2H), a concept and sentiment that will finish with stigma over whores. She states that feeling "proud" to be a "whore", not due to labour but to the empowerment that this entails as a whore you must manage many issues, will influence the process of changing the social image and stigma of being a whore (MJ2H). She refers here to conduct a similar strategy as "Gay Pride", where knowledge and experience with sex work will contribute to improve its social image. In sum, she establishes a strategy of building a "counter speech", which means to create a different effective discourse to "counteract" the most prominent one nowadays. Part of this discourse, for example, is the use she makes of "sex workers" (recognised as political subject with rights) and rejection of the concept "prostitutes", a pejorative and victimised term.

As María José does, Kenia "re-appropriates" pejorative terms, such as "whore" (K1C) or "fagot" (MJ4J), as part of her political discourse in order to remove the stigma from those words. Both know that language is a powerful tool to change social constructions, thus they also involve the use of the language as a strategy to achieve their goals. Normalising the use of those terms, which are usually used as insults, will gradually undermine the effect they have as "conductor" of stigmas.

### 8.3. *The urgency for recognition*

As we have seen, sex workers are represented in many different ways: as criminals, victims, bad mothers or untrustworthy people, and they are treated in consequence with these stigmas. That is why their main aim is their own 'recognition', and this is presented in the title of their manifest, as it is the most urgent need for sex workers. What they mean for *recognition* is the identification of "sex work" as labour, therefore, of sex workers as workers, as well as political subjects. In this document, they use "sex work" instead of "prostitution" as the strong connotation of the latter

term identifies it with human trafficking for purposes of sexual exploitation, thus it is not considered actual labour but gender violence. According to María José, “people and media will change their discourse when society stops stigmatising us” (MJ2G). Therefore, this demand entails a change in the collective imaginary of sex work.

Beside the manifest, this theme is present throughout all interviews I have conducted. It is mentioned by Luna, for instance, who sarcastically stated that “we don’t have a job” (L6A), referring that sex work is not recognised as such. The importance of this demand is also highlighted in Beyoncé’s declarations about her feminist demands on sex work: “Recognition first, rights later” (B4A). A priori, Beyoncé seems not to care about rights, yet with this sentence she considers that, when sex work will be considered as such, their labour and citizen rights will be recognised consequently.

They state that they do not want benefits, they want rights and recognition. In the manifest, it can be read: “We need measures that allow us to organize ourselves in self-managed spaces and rights to protect ourselves from abuses by the employer and business sector in all its forms” (Manifest, 14B). To accept benefits entails to acknowledge that sex workers are mere victims of gender violence; to claim rights, on the contrary, entails position themselves as political subjects. Kenia uses a political tone in her discourse to reinforce her recognition as political subject: “We need it to go all together against the culprit that is oppressing us, the culprit that leaves us without labour opportunities” (K1A).

“We are not only fighting for labour rights”, says María José, “we are fighting so women are not forced to work in prostitution” (MJ4A). Here, she is implicitly defending herself from accusations of professionalising sex for sale and aiming to make a profit from an unregulated activity, once more. María José does not want their “fight” (meaning work for the benefit of sex workers) to be identified with only better labour conditions, but she means that women can quit prostitution through having their rights guaranteed, as they will have more labour options afterwards and access to unemployment benefits. This sentence is better understood knowing that most sex workers are undocumented migrant who are not able to work legally in Spain. María José implicitly states that their final aim is to abolish prostitution, yet many steps must be taken beforehand, especially regarding migrant sex workers. At the same time, with this sentence, she establishes that their biggest problem is the fact that they are not recognised as workers. She means they are not “only fighting” for labour rights, but they are complaining about the whole situation around sex work. As an example of this complaint, later, she criticises how some entities take advantage of their inferior situation to create and maintain job placements (MJ1B). “All these positions result in more benefits for employers while we are still denied basic rights as workers”

(Manifest, 3E), she states. Labour rights appear in the middle of the manifest as one of the demands, but not the most important one.

In sum, the main representation of this problem is the fact that they can demand nothing if they are not considered as political subjects who would be able to “work comfortably and safely” (B4B), as Beyoncé states. In a comfortable position, “we can work on a labour model full of rights for sex workers. If you don’t recognise us, you can’t work with us. Because then you will give me a model where the businessmen win” (B4E): she also states the consequences. In this sense, “recognition” entails to know the situation of sex workers as well. María José contributes with a political statement: “we are not treated as humans because rights are denied to us” (MJ2A). In this context, she identifies “human” as “political subject with rights”. With this sentence, combined with the other stated above, “We are not only fighting for labour rights, we are fighting so women are not forced to work in prostitution” (MJ4A), she outlines the urgency for the recognition of their work while defending herself from a representation of profiting from migrant sex workers.

#### 8.4. *The aim of decriminalisation*

The identification of sex work as not actual work entails representing the issue as anything else. In this regard, the sex workers interviewed for this project refer to a dichotomy present in debates about sex work: victimisation, upheld by feminist abolitionist discourses, and criminalisation, through current regulations. Participants of this paper opposed to both representations of themselves (victims or criminals) because it simplifies the complex situation of the women: “I can’t tell another woman: “you are not a worker, you are a victim”. What am I doing? I am weakening her, instead of strengthening her” (K1C), explains Kenia.

In the manifest, they demand “the complete decriminalisation of sex work, which implies immediate access to fundamental rights, and the repeal of all laws and regulations that criminalize us” (Manifest, 5C). They state that laws and regulations contribute to reinforce the social image of sex workers as criminals. They are referring, more specifically, to the “Gag Law”, as stated later: “we, male and female sex workers, are persecuted and harassed by local regulations and the “Gag Law” (*Organic Law of protection of Citizen Security*) (Manifest, 1B). “The Gag Law” is a series of regulations with the aim of strengthening citizens’ security. Although prostitution is not

considered a crime by Spanish Penal Code (see page 15), this law fines people for “obscene exhibition”, more specifically targeting women who work in industrial areas and depend of their body to attract clients.

As sex work is not identified as labour, as it is not present in the legal framework, the consequence, according to CPS, may be the impossibility of distinguishing sex work from trafficking for purposes of sexual exploitation, which is a crime (Manifest, 6A). A fundamental aim for the collective is to remove the social image that connects sex work and human trafficking for sexual exploitation purposes. They denounce in the manifest the “tendency to eradicate differences between sex work and trafficking which prevents participation of sex workers” (Manifest, 6B). They criticise the representation of sex workers as victims of trafficking instead of political subjects. In this regard, they consider all types of human trafficking as a serious offense, acknowledging the existence of not only sexual exploitation, but also “labour exploitation”. This demand goes together with one on legal frameworks that distinguish both activities in order to develop effective measures for both issues. They have specific demands for trafficking, for instance, “public administrations must necessarily take into account the difference when intervening, since the responses to each situation are not the same at all” (Manifest, 6F). The term “trafficking”, in the manifest is intentionally used in a general way, with the aim of focusing their demands on the eradication of human trafficking for all purposes and not only for sexual exploitation. That is why they do not specify which type of trafficking they are describing, but they use a general term to oppose to all types of trafficking.

They give examples on how discourses can harm them: “There is a tendency to eradicate the distinction between prostitution and trafficking with the aim of silencing and preventing the participation of those people who have decided to carry out this work” (Manifest, 6B), and they criticise how through regulations, their own discourse is criminalised. María José explains that “the equality laws fine us with 60.000 euros if we give a speech at university because they consider we are promoting prostitution. We don’t romanticize prostitution. We don’t romanticize prostitution” (MJ4D). She repeats the sentence to emphasise her argument. “Romanticize” refers to give a positive image of prostitution. With this example, she is complaining about how regulations, through both legal framework and political discourse, criminalise all activities regarding sex work.

All participants, especially Kenia, use expressions such as “irregular status” (K5A), “undocumented” (MJ4E) to refer to migrants, instead of “illegal” status, “illegal migrant”. “Irregular status” means that, according to law, they are not legally recognised as citizens of

Spain. They are consciously using those terms in order to create a counter speech to those discourses that criminalise migrants with the use of terms such as “illegal”.

### 8.5. *Critique of abolitionist discourse*

The rejection of the representation of sex workers as mere victims and or criminals is clear in their manifest, as explained that “we have the capacity for decision and agency, and we are the protagonists of our lives” (Manifest, 5C). With the term “agency”, understood in this context as the willingness to act in difficult situations, María José is relating to feminist discourses. In this regard, she also accuses to some feminists to be “Saviours” (MJ1B), which can be understood as to make choices for sex workers in order to “save” them from abuses, according to the previous victimisation process that they have applied to them. They do not deny the abuses: “Only rights ensure that we can defend ourselves against abuse” (Manifest, 5A), as they state in their manifest, however, the strategy they offer to finish with this dichotomy is to apply strategies of empowerment instead of victimisation. As argued by Kenia, the strategy should be to “strengthen all women to claim what belongs to them. It’s the only way to face the abuses we suffer when we work in prostitution” (K4D). This “Saviours” approach is identified as abolitionism by María José, who confessed: “I stop being abolitionist when I realised that nobody cared about whores there” (MJ1A).

“Abolitionism” is a meaningful concept that describes an ideology rejected by participants of this project. Although they share the final aim (abolition of prostitution), they consider it as not realistic, thus many steps must be taken beforehand. Abolitionism not only refer to abolition of prostitution, but it is a discourse that entails a complete imaginary that stigmatises and victimises sex workers, and participants consider it “harmful” for sex workers. “Some claim an impossible abolition and/or prohibition that stigmatises us even more, criminalises our working environment and condemns us to precariousness” (Manifest, 3B), they state in their manifest. As such, they also criticises abolitionist feminism as it does “not address the issue properly” (Manifest, 3A).

As seen before, CPS considers that discourses produce material inequality to sex workers and they even accuse institutions that hold this approach of taking advantage of the irregular situation of sex workers, as “former prostitutes carried out social intervention in the work contexts of their colleagues, and which was later taken up by institutional organisations with abolitionist ideology”

(Manifest, 8B). María José criticises NGOs sarcastically, “we got 380.000 euros in funding but we were saving nobody” (MJ1B).

CPS also shows a rejection of neo-abolitionist discourses that punish clients. In their manifest, they state that sex workers are forced “to go to isolated places, with less time and capacity to negotiate, in order to avoid fines” (Manifest, 10A). Current regulations that criminalise sex work force sex workers to be clandestine in order to get more clients (Manifest, 19B). It is presented as one more example of how institutionalism affect sex workers’ lives in detrimental.

### *8.5.1. Abolitionist discourse within hegemonic feminism*

Participants of this project offer an alternative concept of feminism to the abolitionist one. Abolitionism is an approach within the whole system of hegemonic feminism, according to the participants. María José identifies hegemonic and abolitionist feminism with a feeling of abandonment, as “nobody cared about whores” (MJ1A). Abolitionist feminism, then, is described as an “institutionalist and salvationist feminism” (Manifest 4B), which victimises sex workers. Kenia also compares her discourse with hegemonic feminism. She understands hegemonic feminism as the most prominent discourse around feminism, that is, a neo-abolitionist discourse (K2C), and she uses this term as a synonym of “incomplete” or “fake” feminism. She explains that the problem is that they, sex workers, are patronised by feminism, which makes them feel in an inferior position. She acquires an offensive position and an aggressive tone when talking about it, showing that she has been intimidate by abolitionists in the past. She states that feminism should be a “fighting space” (K1A) that “Strengthen ourselves as women” (K1B). In sum, they state that any aspect of feminism that “weaken” women should be eradicated.

### *8.6. The presence of feminism and intersectionality in discourse*

To show her disagreement with hegemonic feminism, Kenia rejects the use of some terms that are usually related to feminist current agenda, such as “empowerment”. She prefers to use “strengthening” instead (K1B), arguing that “strengthening” is more connected to “rebellion”, understood as the offensive position towards gender violence. “Power” is, for her, the representation of what oppresses her, and she advises that “you must rebel against it” (K1B). She wishes to avoid “fashionable” words related to feminist discourses that do not belong to “hers” (K1B). She corrects my question by describing the existence of different feminisms with different methods but the same goal: “each one from their own feminism, but we all strengthen each other” (K1A). As migrant, she holds a decolonial feminism that takes into account issues related to migrant women: “I want my citizenship rights” (K3B). As Kenia, María José does not use concepts like sorority or agency: “I don’t believe in sorority. I believe in “whoririty” . I only trust in whores” (MJ3F). They make up their own terms to make their fight truly theirs. Nevertheless, she implicitly refers to feminist concepts constantly. The term “mate”, for instance, has a special meaning for all the participants. They all refer “mate” to sex workers colleagues but also as an individual that is suffering the same conditions they are suffering or they have suffered. The use of this term shows how sorority plays a role within CPS’ work by feminist influence. As an example of this sorority, María José explains that, due to difficulties to denounce rape, their solution is to make an illustration of the face of the clients who rape and pass it to their mates (MJ3F).

The mere existence of a collective of sex workers that works for other sex workers is a sign of sorority. In their demands, for example, it is included the request for “real and not precarious or feminised work alternatives for women who want to quit prostitution” (Manifest, 7A). By “real” they mean effective alternatives, referring to swap sex work for another type of exploitation, for instance, care and cleaning labour, which entails a low salary and hard conditions (Manifest, 8A). That is another example of the gender approach present in their discourse.

Terms such as “intersectionality” or “intersectional feminism” are never directly or explicitly present in their discourse. However, Kenia, in my interview with her, introduces an intersectional approach to the concept of stigma. She talks about how “trans women suffer from repudiation because they are whores and they are trans. They have even more demands than cis whores” (cisgender women, that is, a woman whose gender is corresponding with her sex), (K3A). She means that the stigmas sex workers suffer depend on their identities. “I, as migrant woman, whore, have two stigmas: whore and migrant. I’ve got my own demand: I want my citizen rights to be

recognised, no matter I'm Latina or not. White women always have more privileges, in comparison to other groups" (K3B).

Looking for more examples on how the intersectional approach is present in their discourse, the manifest declares that the sex workers of the collective "are fully situated within feminism, a feminism that takes into account the different axes of oppression of real women, and therefore, it also deals with borders, schedules and sick leave" (Manifest, 25A). In the manifest, they describe themselves as feminist, and, even though the intersectional approach is not explicitly stated, the "transversal demands" of their feminism give us the clue about whether they take into account all axes of inequalities and implement an intersectional scope into their demands.

As an example of these transversal demands, María José explains that solutions must be adapted to specific struggles: "*Whitish* women, we can't tell other women how to get rid of their "macho". Because the Arab woman has her conditions and religion, and those stuff. No, they know how to do it, we, with our privileges, we can't advise others" (MJ1D). She explains that specific issues must be addressed from specific feminisms. She is building the argument in which only sex workers can develop a "whore feminism". Here, María José theorises about the differences between empowerment and politisation. To be "empowered" is to be able to make your own choices. To be "politized", in addition, is to be aware of the rights they lack: "We are not empowered whores, we are politized whores. Empowered? Those who are in the clubs. Because they face clients. But the power is not for themselves but to defend themselves against the clients" (MJ6A). María José connects the concept of empowerment with agency and considers politisation as the channel to achieve a wider empowerment.

Furthermore, as a trans\* woman, Beyoncé makes references to transfeminism constantly, for example, when she talks about the "right to transition and feminisation" (B2D) of bodies. Feminism is also a way to construct her own concept of woman, a broad concept that is constructed from her experience facing multiple discriminations: "For me feminism is, for example, to have (*female*) friends who don't laugh at me for my physical aspect or for being trans and I have a sexual reassignment" (B1B).

All their interpretation of realities as well as their demands serve also to critique current feminist debates on sex work, highlighting the wrong scope of them: *prostitution Y/N*. Kenia states the urgency for political debate around sex work and acknowledges the need for involvement of authorities: "Without support and social recognition we can't arrive to a political debate, which is really necessary right now" (K4B). According to their manifest, the right focus of the debate would be sex work rights VS clandestine sex work: "The debate is not about deciding between

prostitution, yes or no, the reality is: sex work with rights and protection, or clandestine sex work, with all the consequences that this entails” (Manifest, 25B). With this sentence, they state that the recognition of their rights as workers and as political subjects will make themselves able to create a positive impact in their lives.

## 9. Conclusions

In order to bring out how intersectionality is implemented in the sex workers' discourse, two elements have been analysed: how the identities are represented in their discourse, and, therefore, how that representation influences their interpretation of problems; and which solutions are proposed according to that interpretation. This section presents the answers to both questions: the first part of this section presents the findings about how the intersection of identities influence the collective's discourse as well as the difficulties that sex workers may find regarding stigmas and discriminations; the second part will conclude with the interpretation of hypothetical and material solutions according to the interpretation of those issues.

### *9.1. The representation of identities within sex workers discourse*

Intersectionality is present in this discourse irremediably since sex workers present different identities: Kenia is a migrant woman who upholds a political discourse focused on migration issues. Beyoncé's discourse is focused on trans\* stigmas and presents hesitation about if she is discriminated for being trans\*, "whore" or migrant. Luna is afraid of answering my questions in detail because she is an undocumented migrant and trans\*. María José, in my interview with her, proposed several strategies against the stigma that Latinas, concretely, suffer. They are fully aware of their social identities and stigmas. The intersectional and complex dimension of sex workers is present in their discourse due to the difficult experiences provoked by the fact that they are non-normative women who work in a job that is not regulated but stigmatised within Spanish society.

In this regard, countless intercategories can be found through sex workers experience. However, as it is not the focus of the project to develop new intercategories, the most common ones will be presented in the following part: I focus on "whore" and "street" as identities, part of wider intercategories, and I argue the direct relation of these identities with their stigmas. I finish this part describing how the intersection of identities also entails an intersection and correlation with the stigmas.

### 9.1.1. *“Whore”, an identity and a stigma*

“Whore” is the transversal identity common to all participants and subjects of this project. “Whore” does not only refer to “sex worker”, but to the whole representation that the collective of sex workers makes of their status: a life characterised by difficulties for surviving, the abuses and discrimination they suffer at work and at a societal sphere, their lack of rights, the empowerment within the stigmatisation, etc. “Whore”, as their representation of identity, is referring to a political subject in a complex situation that lacks of rights since they are not recognised as workers. “Whore” does not only refer to a job but to all the consequences of living a life influenced by working in the sex industry.

Through the re-appropriation of this pejorative term, CPS is making a political statement. Sex workers are aware that their representation of the identity “whore” is not shared by society. A “whore” is stereotypically identified as amoral women, “powerless” victims or bad mothers. “Whore” may work as a master status in some cases. Master status refers to the identity that is identified first when you interact with a person (Bruce & Yearly, 2006, p. 187). We take Beyoncé as example, who did not feel trusted in a hospital because she is identified as “whore”. “Whore” works as master status for trans\*: according to her experience, she is directly identified as whore because she is trans\*.

She was discriminated because “whore” also works as a stigma: those identified as whores are coincidentally identified as untrustworthy, unhealthy, poor, amoral... Through the re-appropriation of this pejorative term, sex workers are removing the stigmatisation of this word. Normalising the use of those terms, which are usually used as insults in Spanish society, will gradually undermine the effect they have on sex workers’ life as stigmas. A concept that works in a similar manner, as identity and stigma, in a more specific way, is “street-whore”.

### 9.1.2. *“Street” as identity and stigma*

I argue here that “street” is part of the intercategory of identities of those sex workers who work in industrial areas instead of clubs or flats. Sex workers who perform their job in the “street” may live different experiences, but they all share common discriminations. They present different axes of discrimination compared to other identities. “Street-whore” complements an intercategory of

identities which entails being impoverished and non-educated. As well as “whore”, it may include many identities, for instance, trans\* in some cases. Elitism among sex workers, an example provided by Beyoncé, supports this argument: she is discriminated by non-street-whores that feel in a position of superiority towards street-whores. “It’s elitist”, she states, “Are there levels within the whore?” (B6B). “Elitist” refers to the feeling of superiority within the class system. “Levels” refer to social statuses. “Street” is, therefore, a category built from classism. The fact that a “street-whore” may be discriminated by other “whores”, that is, people who seemingly suffer the same stigma, reinforces the argument that Street works as identity and stigma.

As “whore”, street is also a stigma that works to identify a person with certain stereotypes or simplified identity: a “street-whore” may be seen as a victim or a criminal. “Street” as identity reinforces the image of sex workers as criminals due to the current regulations that fine sex workers for working, literally, in the streets. Therefore, “street” reinforces “whore” as a stigma. In the next section we can see more examples of stigmas that work together in order to reinforce “whore” as master status.

### *9.1.3. Intersections of stigmas*

As well as the example of the trans\*-whore intercategory, “mother” works as a connector of stigmas. Within the whore-stigma, to be a mother is a synonym of being a “bad mother” since the meaning of “whore” does not connect to normative ways to be a mother. “Mother” intensifies the whore-stigma, since it worsens its effects: the participants of this project have shown that material inequalities are produced from this stigma, as mothers do not receive help from social services as they are afraid to ask for it (K6B).

As stated in the research design (see page 24), this project is focused on female sex workers’ experiences. “Woman” is also a transversal category of identity to all participants of this study, which becomes specially important when connected to the category of “mother”: to be a “woman” entails many oppressions, but, for many of them, “to be a mother” does not entail a direct reason for discrimination; however, to be a woman, a sex worker and a mother, reinforce and feeds back sex workers’ stigmas.

The stigma behind “mother” is usually connected to migrant as identity and directly related to the impact of Spanish migration regulations on sex workers’ lives. Therefore, they face an intersection of oppressions: to be a migrant, a sex worker and a woman-mother means to manage multiple discriminations at the same time.

Luna and Beyoncé are both examples of how stigma works: stigmatised women are afraid since stigmas entail discrimination. We can see that in the way a doctor and the police treat Beyoncé (B3C). Luna is an example of how intersections of identities influence sex workers everyday performance, as she fears that the police may know the information she gives to me.

Stigmas work in different societal levels: to be a “whore” means to have specific demands, but to be “mother” and “trans\*” means to have even more feminist demands. As Kenia stated, other women, with more “privileges”, understanding as social position, are less prepared to give a solution to specific discriminations. I reiterate here the importance of standpoint feminism in research to respond to the different oppressions of the diversity of identities of women.

As we have seen, a sex worker may have as many stigmas as identities. This social phenomena has been explained by intersectionality: a woman may suffer as many stigmas as identities if these identities are specially stigmatised. Recent studies about sex workers stigmatisation also supports the correlation between identities and stigmas. I share here similar findings from Emma Ebrinta, who wrote about the intersectional stigmatisation of sex workers in Peru (Ebintra, p. 37). In conclusion, the intersectional stigmatisation of sex workers place them outside the society. The next section will provide the strategies that the collective create for this stigma and the material problems that produce.

## *9.2. Demands and strategies for stigmas and inequalities*

The four participants of this project have offered two types of solutions for the conflicts they have described: solutions at a macro level, that is, political and hypothetical demands which are mainly present in their manifest; and solutions at a micro level, that is, self-managed strategies against stigmatisation of sex workers and the inequalities that this entails.

### *9.2.1. Solutions at macro level*

The hypothetical solutions and demands are mainly presented in the manifest. Mothers and male sex workers have presence in their discourse, however, the intersectional focus of the discourse of the manifest is, in general, on migrant women. Their manifest shows consistency since the discourse is constantly referring to political participation of sex workers in order to achieve equality, however, the solutions proposed are not very detailed.

Overall, in their discourse, they do not focus on criticising certain alternatives of regulation for prostitution, that is, they do not oppose directly to abolitionism, understanding that abolitionists aim for the emancipation and empowerment of women as owners of their own bodies and lives; instead, they show a critique of abolitionism discourses that victimise and criminalise sex workers, contributing to create and perpetuate an imagen of women who lacks of agency.

### *9.2.2. Strategies at micro level*

On the other hand, the intersectional focus is present in a more diverse manner at a micro level in the collective's discourse. CPS demonstrate how aware they are of the intersection of stigmas that their "mates" suffer, as they strategically use the intersections of identities to combat misogyny. Besides the strategy of re-appropriation of pejorative terms, we can find the examples of María José, who encourage Latinas to not to be afraid of exposing themselves. Coherence within their discourse can be found as they take into consideration the different stigmas that are entailed by the diverse identities, as they always refer to stereotypes and stigmatisation when stating the origin of their problems.

Kenia's declarations contribute to explain this issue in depth, as she states that the main problem of sex workers is the fact that they are not "politized". She rejects the notion of "victim" and states that sex workers are normally aware of their stigmas, yet they think that they cannot do anything about it: they do not know they are political subjects who can claim a political power that, in a democratic state, belongs to them. In this regard, she contributes to describe a self-stigmatisation that prevent sex workers from developing their agency and therefore, it perpetuates abuse and

discrimination from clients and club owners. The core work of the CPS is to empower sex workers through politisation.

### 9.3. *An intersectional discourse*

In sum, I argue here that the intersectional scope is present in the discourse of the Collective of Prostitutes of Seville since they make an interpretation of issues that experience sex workers taking into consideration the influence of their diverse identities. Consequently, their proposed solutions to those issues are also influenced by an intersectional approach to the diverse identities.

Moreover, their discourse is clearly influenced by intersectional feminism. No participants have mentioned this term, nor it is found in their manifest. They reject this “academic” term in order to construct their own political discourse, yet the intersectionality is clearly present in their discourse as they show awareness of the diversity within the sex workers and offer solutions specifically adapted to their struggles. Moreover, their feminist discourse is influenced by anti-racist values which aim for the political participation and the redistribution of wealth as main aims for achieving democracy and equality.

The last argument that supports this conclusion is the fact that the CPS’s complaints are not focused on the abuses sex workers receive from clients. The scope of sex workers’ problems is very broad as they present struggles influenced by many factors (economic, political, social, emotional, etc.) and in many spheres: at the political arena, within the feminist movement, in the streets, with their families, at a social level, etc. This broad scope demonstrates the complexity of their situation, therefore, the need for feminist academia to acquire deeper knowledge about sex workers realities in order to enrich the discussion and offer effective solutions to their demands.

## 10. Discussion

With my thesis, I have tried to show the complexity of sex workers experience and contribute with knowledge about their reality. This last section of the thesis describes how this analysis can contribute to expand the scope of the feminist debate on sex work by focusing on theories of discourse to achieve more accurate academic approaches to the reality of sex workers.

### *10.1. Current concerns in feminist critical discourse analysis: the rejection of dichotomies*

I claim for a feminist scholarship that critically analyse the different discourses around women's struggles. Feminism should contribute to knowledge about women. The diversity and complexity of difficulties for sex workers show that feminist scholarship should avoid stablishing dichotomies, as women are not just victims or criminals; mothers or whores; good or bad. The analysis of discourses from feminist perspectives should critically oppose to the simplification of women's realities.

Sex workers conditions are very diverse by influence of an intersectional system of discrimination related to their different identities. The solutions must be, therefore, diverse, and, consequently, adapted to the specific conditions of sex workers. The adaptation of measures for women's specific struggles may lead, for instance, towards a street-whore feminism, led by street-whores, that takes into consideration the different intersection of stigmas from their own perspective. In this sense, I argue that a combination of intersectional and standpoint feminism creates the relevant theoretical framework for analysing discourses that contribute to develop methodologies adapted to specific struggles.

I strongly oppose to feminist discourses that reduce issues to gender-based reasons. As sex workers have demonstrated, they struggle with race-related issues, stigmatisation for not being the "proper mother", EU policies and structural poverty, among other examples. Abuses from male clients or procurers are just two of their multiple struggles. Migrant women from Latin America, for instance, face postcolonial racism in Spain (Miampika and García de Vinuesa, 2009, p. 97), which means that solutions must come from a decolonial perspective. In a globalised world

that has produced a mixture of multicultural identities (Miampika and García de Vinuesa, 2009, p. 92), the mixture of discriminations asks for a combination of methodologies, which means that policing about sex work entails to apply deep changes in the societal system.

### *10.2. Applications of sex workers' discourse in feminist political agenda*

Feminism is a political theory: it should be used to influence the political sphere. In a mainly institutionalised world, the right to have a political voice is the most effective way to influence in the improvement of own's living conditions. Thus, sex workers' voice must be heard and critically applied to solutions to their own struggles.

In this regard, the analysis of discourses is relevant to answer to the question to who can participate in the debate, that is, which sex workers should influence the political sphere. I defend here that those who work in benefit of sex workers and experience their reality directly everyday should have a say: the sex workers' collectives. Furthermore, as the participants of this project have demonstrated, the regulation of sex work will not be effective without a the process of removing the stigmatisation from the activity.

Decoding the complexity of the interpretations of sex workers, a more accurate approach to their reality can be developed, in order to formulate solutions adapted to their problems, and not only to the outside perceptions of them. In order to enrich the discussion on feminist solutions to the realities of sex workers, their in-depth knowledge will shift the focus of the problem from the patriarchy as origin of all their issues to the roots of multifactorial problems, in order to increase the effectiveness of the measures. Transversal inequalities request transversal solutions.

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## 12. Appendix

### 12.1. Manifest coding table

0	(Title) Feminist Demands and Recognitions of Sexual Work in Spain
1A	The current situation of prostitution in Spain seems illogical. We are in front of an activity that does not entail legal recognition nor rights, yet it is taken into account when calculating National GDP as any other labour sector.
1B	At the same time, we, male and female sex workers, are persecuted and harassed by local regulations and the "Gag Law" ("Ley Mordaza") (Organic Law of protection of Citizen Security).
2A	We are a collective pierced by all kind of discriminations and injustices, and, however, we were kept in the margins, away from participation and analysis.
2B	Several pejorative and devaluing statements are maintained over whores, which little time ago were extended to all women. In areas where women as a group have struggled for years to achieve rights, whores continue to be discriminated.
3A	Although we are the new political subject of this country, no (political) party addresses in depth the issue of sex work in its electoral or government programs, no party has listened and taken into account our demands and needs. They decide its position (sex work) without counting on us.
3B	Some claim an impossible abolition and/or prohibition that stigmatises us even more, criminalises our working environment and condemns us to precariousness.
3C	Others avoid positioning themselves
3D	and some people try to instrumentalise us.
3E	All these positions result in more benefits for employers while we are still denied basic rights as workers.
4A	We, sex workers, exist, we have a voice and we demand rights. We do NOT agree with the Regulatory Model which aims exclusively the raising of money and social containment, derived from sexophobic, racist and machista (sexist) conceptions which perpetuate discrimination and stigma. Examples of this are the German or the Dutch model.
4B	Certain sectors of institutionalist and salvationist feminism identify our demands with these models, with the aim of silencing ourselves and maintaining job placements and subsidies at our expense.
5A	This type of regulation prioritises "moving us away" towards controlled places, which are managed by businessmen who exploit female workers, especially migrants with irregular status. What we want and need is a model based on the recognition of rights and full participation in the design of policies that affect us. Only rights ensure that we can defend ourselves against abuse.
5B	Despite the stigma, abandonment and "goodist" policies that violate us, we have the capacity for decision and agency, and we are the protagonists of our lives.
5C	We demand the complete decriminalisation of sex work, which implies immediate access to fundamental rights, and the repeal of all laws and regulations that criminalize us.
5D	We demand that the policies which will be implemented on prostitution to be designed with our participation and from a perspective of human rights and harm reduction. For this, it is necessary to take into account the following points, which we consider minimal and essential, and which we think they should be of consensus (grammar mistake) if they are really of interest our lives and our dignity.
6A	The recognition of rights necessarily passes through the distinction between prostitution and human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation.

6B	In a political context characterised by the use of the prostitution debate within feminism, as well as the use of murders and cases of victims of trafficking, gender and/or institutional violence for electoral purposes, there is a tendency to eradicate the distinction between prostitution and trafficking with the aim of silencing and preventing the participation of those people who have decided to carry out this work.
6C	It has even become defamed and compromised the security and privacy of some of us.
6D	This misrepresentation is part of the discourse that causes a double negative effect on women. On the one hand, trafficking is not effectively combated and victims of trafficking are not protected.
6E	On the other, the rights of those who work in prostitution, regardless of what led us to it, are criminalised and violated (grammar mistake).
6F	That is why we demand that any intervention must be accompanied by a legal framework that does not confuse trafficking and prostitution to be capable of giving real responses to the different situations of people who carry out sex work. Within this legal framework, we understand that there must be specific measures on prostitution and specific measures to combat trafficking. Public administrations must necessarily take into account the difference when intervening, since the responses to each situation are not the same at all.
7A	<b>Sex work measures</b> – Real and not precarious or feminised work alternatives for women who want to quit prostitution.
7B	Access to them should not imply becoming visible as a prostitute, in order to avoid the effects of stigma at the labour, social and personal level.
8A	– We need high-quality financed training courses that would allow social and economic progress and would not condemn women to precarious, feminised jobs, where they will be exploited and impoverished.
8B	We propose to rescue the profile of Social and Health Mediator which was implemented in Andalusia, when former prostitutes carried out social intervention in the work contexts of their colleagues, and which was later taken up by institutional organisations with abolitionist ideology.
9A	– Guarantee effective civil registration
9B	and access to the health care system for migrants, because this is a universal right, regardless of whether or not their administrative situation is regularised. Establish mechanisms that enable the effective registration of sex worker migrants residing in our country. Guarantee access to the public health care system for all migrants, regardless of their administrative situation, throughout the Spanish state and with all the guarantees and rights.
10A	– Cessation of local regulations that fine prostitutes and/or clients, and the Gag Law. This one is usually implemented (grammar mistake) to fine where there is no related local regulations. These practices criminalize and impoverish women more and condemn them to a greater vulnerability (as the UAB Antígona Group (a group of researchers in the University of Barcelona) has already shown in their recent research study) by forcing them to go to isolated places, with less time and capacity to negotiate, in order to avoid fines.
10B	The criminalisation and precariousness to which it leads us, in addition, contributes to ending up working for third parties, in clubs or flats, where economic and labour exploitation is greater due to the lack of rights, compared to employers. Therefore, we demand that all not-paid fines that hold sex workers will be annulled as an act of reparation.
11A	– Establish the foundations and criteria for the debate on prostitution to really take place, so we can listen to each other and reach agreements.
11B	So that, it is necessary that all voices are taken into account and respected, and the active participation of prostitutes is essential.

12A	<p><b>- Access to social services:</b> Women who work in prostitution, especially if they are mothers, face an institution that, <b>if they do not assume themselves as victims willing to be saved, they are stigmatised, criminalised and it takes the custody of their children.</b> We need to be able <b>to access to social services and their resources safely,</b> on an <b>equal situation in</b> comparison with other people with some type of social vulnerability.</p>
12B	<p><b>We need social services' male and female workers to be sensitive to the stigma we suffer, not to be judged on the basis of a certain morality.</b></p>
13A	<p><b>- Labour rights and protection for people who have chosen to work in prostitution.</b> <b>The lack of labour rights worsens, and sometimes even prevents, the access to civil and social rights, leading us to a situation of social and legal defencelessness.</b></p>
13B	<p>As the experience in New Zealand has shown in its subsequent reviews by human rights entities, academia and the magistracy, this is the only way to <b>reduce the vulnerability of our group and to increase our autonomy at work.</b></p>
14A	<p><b>- Working for third parties:</b> <b>In workspaces of third parties, the absence of any type of right is translated into unlimited power for the businessmen, with the consequent abuses</b> that this entails.</p>
14B	<p><b>Many prostitutes do not have the possibility to work independently</b> for various reasons, <b>whether due to their irregular situation</b> or other personal and/or preference reasons. <b>We need measures that allow us to organize ourselves in self-managed spaces and rights to protect ourselves from abuses by the</b> employer and business sector in all its forms.</p>
15	<p><b>- Sex Work (SW) is diverse,</b> so are the people who are engaged in it, and it not only includes a specific type of prostitution: <b>street SW, online/telephone SW, independent SW, third parties SW, indoor SW, outdoor SW, and audiovisual SW,</b> as well as the <b>male SW.</b> <b>We need specific measures for each sector,</b> agreed and negotiated with its protagonists, according to their needs and demands.</p>
16A	<p><b>Measures against trafficking:</b> Placing ourselves within a legal framework that <b>clearly and realistically establishes the distinction between trafficking and prostitution will allow us to articulate concrete measures against this very serious crime.</b></p>
16B	<p>It is also necessary to <b>distinguish between trafficking and human trafficking networks.</b> The latter take advantage of the border policies of <b>"fortress Europe" to profit at the expense of migrants.</b></p>
16C	<p><b>Not all foreign women come through a trafficking network nor all those who come through a trafficking network have been "trafficked",</b> but instead they decide among the few job options they can, preferring to spend their savings to come to Europe to work in prostitution than to stay in their countries at the mercy of violence, hunger or war.</p>
17A	<p>It is <b>urgent and necessary</b> to <b>change the approach to trafficking.</b> That is, trafficking should stop being an <b>instrument of migration control,</b> instead, <b>it should give priority to the human rights of victims.</b></p>
17B	<p>Therefore, <b>we bet for the victim to be able to access rights and protection regardless</b> of whether or not they denounce the trafficker. <b>In addition</b> to this, other actions are necessary, such as:</p>
18A	<p><b>- Take into account all forms of trafficking that exist.</b> According to the latest Council of Europe report, <b>Spain systematically violates the rights of victims of labour trafficking,</b></p>
18B	<p><b>who are undetected and underrepresented.</b></p>
18C	<p>The data provided by the Government for this Report shows that <b>labour trafficking in Spain is as great as trafficking for the purpose of forced prostitution.</b></p>
19A	<p><b>- Stop police raids against irregular status migrants who work in prostitution.</b> They are the majority and (despite the fact that for certain prohibitionist feminist sectors they are all <b>"trafficked"</b>) the immigration law is applied to them, <b>continually</b></p>

	suffering controls carried out on the grounds of racial discrimination and country of origin.
19B	As prostitution does not have legal status, they cannot comply with the restrictions imposed by law and, therefore, they are forced to remain in a clandestine sphere from which they cannot leave, nor access to other jobs if they desire so. If they are possibly victims of trafficking: why are they expelled instead of being protected?
20A	– <b>Cessation of deportations and expulsion orders:</b>
20B	real support without a time limit with social and legal guarantees, so that victims can denounce. Currently, they have 90 days to consider (to denounce), without any kind of help.
20C	If they do not report (which is very likely due to the fear and threats from the traffickers to their families) they are transferred to the CIEs (Migrants Detention Centres).
21	– <b>Guarantee political asylum to victims of trafficking:</b> in the last 10 years, only 25 asylum have been granted to victims of trafficking in all sectors (agriculture, domestic service, textile sector, sexual exploitation).
22	– <b>Guarantee compensation for the victims by the State.</b> In most legal systems, including the Spanish one, the right of victims to claim compensation for the material and moral damages suffered is recognized. However, in practice, many obstacles remain in the process of obtaining an effective remedy. In the case of victims of human trafficking, the real possibilities they have to obtain compensation are very low.
23	– <b>Immediate closure of the CIEs:</b> The functioning of the prison system of the CIES affects differently to women compared to men. Women are also used as workforce in these detention centres and can be detained for unlimited time if they are required for the maintenance of these centres.
24A	– <b>Modification of the current Immigration Law.</b> This law is responsible for the abuse conditions experienced by migrant prostitutes from non-EU countries.
24B	It is necessary to take into account that a restrictive migration policy like this one benefits the proliferation and intensification of trafficking networks and their methods.
24C	The difficulties in accessing to regulatory by migrants in Spain also affect migrant sex workers, limiting their options and putting obstacles in their migration projects.
25A	Our demands do not harm anyone, they do not force us to choose between our interests and those from another sector of society. We are fully situated within feminism, a feminism that takes into account the different axes of oppression of real women, and therefore, it also deals with borders, schedules and sick leave.
25B	We consider that they are compatible with any position on what prostitution should respond to in the future society, to which each of us aspire, they are demands to carry out right now, in the society and realities that we live in the present. The debate is not about deciding between prostitution, yes or no, the reality is: sex work with rights and protection, or clandestine sex work, with all the consequences that this entails.

### 12.1.1. Manifest analysis table

	Identity (subject)	Inter-categories	Situated identity (social position)	Problem representation	Social space	Concepts (Key terms)	Style (language and tone)	Markers	Cultural value	Intertextuality (references to other discourses)	Direct/indirect mentions (what/who is to blame)	Solution representation (demands)	Action statements
0						"Feminist" is used to position themselves within current agenda. "Recognitions" as main aim.	"Sex work" to identify it as labour.			Mention of feminist as theory to position themselves.			
1 A				Illogical and unregulated situation of sex work in Spain.	Administration.	"Legal recognition" of sex work as real work; "National GDP" shows the incongruence of sex work as labour in Spain.	Sarcasm: "seems illogical", introduction.						
1 B	Male and female sex workers.		Criminalised.	Sex workers are "persecuted" and harassed by law.	Workplace.	"Sex workers" as labour category.	Use of slang, "Gag Law".		Human rights, State as protector.	References to State as protector and welfare State.	Direct mention to laws and regulations as origin of problems.		
2 A	Sex workers.		Discriminated collective.	Discriminated and marginalised collective.	Political sphere.	By "participation" they mean political.	"Pierced", "in the margins": metaphor.		Right to political participation.	Intersectional feminism influence but not mentioned.			
2 B	Sex workers.		Discriminated collective.	Stigma persists over sex workers.	Society. Political sphere.	Argument: the stigma they suffer now was before suffered by "all" women.	"Extended", metaphor. "Whore", re-appropriation of pejorative terms.		Gender equality.	They refer to feminist discourses on dichotomies (good/bad woman, mother/whore) and gender equality.			
3 A	Sex workers.		Marginalised.	Political parties don't take into account their demands.	Political sphere.	"New political subject" means individuals with right to influence policies.		"Although" they have the right to make demands, they are ignored.	Right to influence policies.	Political influence and representation.	Direct blame to politicians.		
3 B	Sex workers.		Stigmatised, precarious and criminalised.	Prohibition of prostitution stigmatise and criminalise sex workers.	Society. Political sphere.	"Abolition", meaningful word, rejected by their discourse. "Precariousness", understood as unempowered situation.	Rough terms, "condemn us"... "even more"... in order to strengthen the discourse.			Abolitionist discourse.	Abolitionist discourse creates the problem.		
3 C	Sex workers.		Ignored.	Some parties ignore the problem.	Political sphere.						Direct blame to politicians.		
3 D	Sex workers.		"Used".	Some parties use the debate on sex work to take profit of it.	Political sphere.	"instrumentalise use", that means,					Direct blame to politicians.		
3 E	Sex workers.		"Used".	All positions cause benefit for businessmen and harm for sex workers.	Political/economic spheres.				Basic rights.	Anti-capitalist discourses.	Direct blame to politicians.		
4 A	Sex workers.		Stigmatised.	Regulatory model aim is economic enrichment and does not present a solution for sex workers but perpetuation of stigma.	Political/economic spheres.	Rejection of "Regulatory model", most extended model in Europe (after neo-abolitionism). "Sexophobic"/racist/sexist", social conceptions as origin of problems. "Stigma mentioned for the first time.	"have a voice", means, "have a say", metaphor.			Anti-capitalist, anti-racist discourses, feminism. Catholic moral critique.	Social conceptions as origin of problem.		

4 B	Sex workers.		Silenced .	Some feminist discourses silence theirs; some entities take advantage of that situation.	Political/ec onomic spheres.	"Institutionalist and salvationist feminism" as origin of problems.	They made up terms to designate discourses. Metaphor: "at our expense"			"Institutionalist and salvationist feminism" discourses.	Implicitly, they are blaming entities for creating job placements around sex work (social work).			
5 A	Sex workers, migrants in irregular status.	Whore-migrant-impooverished.	Exploited.	"Regulatory model"	Political sphere/ Workplace.	"Irregular status", it means that, according to law, they are not legally recognised as citizens of Spain.	Metaphor: "moving us away", means, "put aside".			Right to political participation.	Reference to "salvationist feminism" as they want to "save themselves".	Direct blame to businessmen.	New model for sex work that recognise their rights.	"We want and need..."
5 B	Sex workers.		Stigmatised and abandoned.	Stigma and policies that harm sex workers.	Political sphere.	"Goodist" refers to practices that apparently are done in benefit of sex workers but damage them somehow; "agency" as the willing to act in hard situations.				Right to political participation.	"Goodist" (see key concepts); agency is a typical concept related to feminism.		Through their decision and agency, they will participate in political issues. They don't need "salvationist feminism".	"we have the capacity for decision and agency, and we are the protagonists of our lives".
5 C	Sex workers.		Criminalised.		Society/Political sphere.	Fundamental rights.	Political tone.			Fundamental rights to sex workers as political subjects.			Decriminalisation of sex work and rights recognition to sex workers.	"We demand ..."
5 D	Sex workers.				Society/Political sphere.	Fundamental rights; attention drawn to "dignity"	"minimal and essential", referring to basic demands.			Human rights.	Human rights.		Sex work policies must be designed by sex workers.	
6 A	Sex workers.			Not recognition of rights.	Political and social sphere.	Comparison between concepts, "prostitution" and "human trafficking"; attention drawn to "for purposes of sexual exploitation", stating there are more types of trafficking.				Human rights.			This process passes through the distinction between sex work and trafficking.	
6 B	Sex workers.		Silenced .	Tendency to eradicate differences between sex work and trafficking which prevents participation of sex workers (as not recognised as political subjects)	Political debates.	"Gender and institutional violence", key in the argument.			Explanation of the context, then explanation of problem.	Human rights.	Use of prostitution in feminist debates. Gender and institutional violence.	Indirect blame to politicians.		
6 C	Sex workers.		Exposed .	Privacy and security of sex workers compromised.	Society.	"Security" and "privacy" as fundamental rights.		"even" to emphasize.		Fundamental rights.				
6 D	Sex workers.		Unprotected.	Misrepresentation in discourse produce unprotection of victims.	Political sphere. Society.	"Discourses" produce problems.	Military language, "combat"							
6 E	Sex workers.			Rights of sex workers violated due to lack of recognition.	Political sphere. Society.	"regardless of what led us to it" refers to security.	Grammar mistake: rights can't be "criminalised" They refer to sex workers.	"regardless of what led us to it" to mark a reference.						
6 F	Sex workers.			No difference between sex work and trafficking in debates.	Political sphere. Society.	Sex work and human trafficking.				Fundamental rights.		Direct demand to public administration .	Legal framework that distinguish in order to develop effective measures	"We demand that..."

												for both issues.	
7 A	Sex workers	Whore-impooverished	Precarious		Political sphere.	"feminised work" is connected to feminist notions on work.	"Real work alternatives" refers to jobs that allow them to progress.			Feminism.	Indirect mention to government.	Good work alternatives to women who quit prostitution.	
7 B	Sex workers.		Stigmatised.	Stigma over former sex workers.	Society and workplace.	"visible" refers to confidentiality			Safety.			Confidentiality	
8 A	Sex workers.	Whore-impooverished	Exploited, impoverished.	Precarious jobs impoverish and exploit women.	Workplace.	"feminised work" is connected to feminist notions on work.				Feminism.		High-quality courses in order to achieve socioeconomic progress.	"We need.."
8 B	Sex workers.			Social worker's profile is carried out by people with no experience with sex workers.	Workplace.		Mixture of formal and informal style.			Direct mention to "abolitionist ideology" as origin of problem.	Direct blame to institutional organisations but not specified.	Re-implement profile of Social and Health Mediator for former sex workers.	"We propose"
9 A	Migrant sex workers.	Whore-migrant-impooverished		(Implicit: as migrants are not censed, they can't access to health care)	Administration.						All these demands are written for political parties and institutions, though they are not mentioned.	Effective civil registration ...	
9 B	Migrant sex workers.	Whore-migrant-impooverished			Health care.		"regardless" their administrative situation as sex workers can't be in the system		Health care (universal in Spain)			...that allow migrant sex workers to access to the health care system.	
10 A	Sex workers.		Criminalised and vulnerable.	Some laws and regulations criminalise sex workers, forcing them to clandestine work.	Workplace.	They refer to clandestine labour as dangerous for sex workers. "Capacity to negotiate" refers to less freedom to choose clients and perform their job.	Research references.			Rejection of neo-abolitionist discourses that punish clients.		Cessation of those regulations.	
10 B	Sex workers.		Precarious.	Precariousness force women to work for third parties, which entail abuses.	Workplace.	"Club" refers to places where prostitution is offered; "flats" are usually managed by businessmen. "act of reparation" means compensation			"in addition" to explain consequences.			"all not-paid fines that hold sex workers will be annulled as an act of reparation".	"We demand ..."
11 A	Sex workers.		Ignored.	(Reference to ignored problem in political debates)	Political debate.							Stablish foundations and criteria for political debate on sex work.	
11 B	Sex workers.		Ignored.		Political debate.				"so that" to connect one solution to another	Political participation		Sex workers must participate actively on the debate.	
12 A	Sex workers.		Stigmatised and criminalised.	Stigma and criminalisation by social services. Take custody of children	Social services.	"equal situation" refers to the cultural value of equality				Equality ("equal situation")		Safe access to social services.	"We need to be able to access ..."
12 B	Sex workers.		Judged.	Judged by moral.	Social services.				Victimisation.	References to catholic moral: "certain morality"		Social services workers must be aware of the stigma sex workers suffer and not to judge.	"We need..."

1 3 A	Sex workers.		Vulnerable.	Lack of labour rights increase the vulnerability of sex workers.	Work	"Defencelessness" emphasises the concept "vulnerability".						Labour rights recognised.	
1 3 B	Sex workers.		Vulnerable.	Lack of labour rights increase the vulnerability of sex workers.	Work	"vulnerability"		Autonomy.	Arguments supported by academia.			Increase autonomy at work to reduce vulnerability	
1 4 A	Sex workers.		Exploited.	Lack of rights produce labour exploitation.	Work								
1 4 B	Sex workers.		Exploited.	Sex workers can't work legally and that produces abuses.	Work	"abuses", in general, means sexual and labour exploitation.		Autonomy (the opposite: victimisation).	"Empowerment" feminism.	Businessmen as origin of abuses.		Measures to work independently and self-managed to avoid abuses	"We need"
1 5	Sex workers.		"Protagonist" of sex work	Sex work	Work	Many types of sex work as examples.		Diversity				Specific measures for each sector; it is not only prostitution.	"We need"
1 6 A	Migrant sex workers.	Whore-migrant-impooverished	Impoverished with no rights	Trafficking as very serious crime.	Work	"trafficking" intentionally used in general.		Human rights.	Human rights discourse.			Distinction between sex work and trafficking is necessary to have specific measures against the latter.	
1 6 B	Migrant sex workers.	Whore-migrant-impooverished	Impoverished with no rights	Human trafficking networks take profit of European policies	Work	"fortress Europe" is a metaphor that critique the European migration policies.	Metaphor.	Human rights.	Human rights discourse.	Indirect blame to EU institutions.		Distinction between sex work and trafficking is necessary to rewrite policies.	
1 6 C	Migrant sex workers.	Whore-migrant-impooverished	Impoverished with no rights	Situations of trafficking are very diverse.	Work	"trafficking network" as organised crime, compared to "trafficking" which is not organisational		Human rights.	Human rights discourse.			Specific measures for diverse abuses.	
1 7 A	Migrant sex workers.	Whore-migrant-impooverished	Impoverished with no rights	Trafficking is an option for those who can't migrate to Europe.	Migration process.	"migration control" outlines the problem: some people are trafficked as only option to survive		Human rights.	Human rights discourse.	Indirect mention to EU institutions		Priority to human rights over EU migration policies.	
1 7 B	Migrant sex workers.	Whore-migrant-impooverished	Impoverished with no rights	Lack of rights and protection.	Migration process.			"In addition" to introduce demands.	Human rights.	Human rights discourse.		Guarantee of rights and protection.	"We bet for"
1 8 A	Migrant sex workers.	Whore-migrant-impooverished	No rights.	Spain does not take into account rights of victims of human trafficking.	Migration process.		Use of adjectives and adverbs ("systematically") to emphasise the issue.	Human rights.	Arguments supported by reports.	Indirect mentions to Spain institutions		Distinction between sex work and trafficking is necessary to rewrite policies.	
1 8 B	Migrant sex workers.	Whore-migrant-impooverished	Unrepresented.	Victims of trafficking are undetected and unrepresented	Migration process.	Labour trafficking, mentioned several times as serious problem.		Human rights.		Indirect mentions to Spain institutions			
1 8 C	Migrant sex workers.	Whore-migrant-impooverished		Labour trafficking is as serious as sexual exploitation.	Migration process.	Labour trafficking.		Human rights.	Arguments supported by reports.	Indirect mentions to Spain institutions			
1 9 A	Migrant sex workers.	Whore-migrant-impooverished	Discriminated.	Migrants sex workers are continually receiving police controls and being discriminated.	Migration process.	"trafficked", they mean they victims of trafficking.		Human rights.	Critique to abolitionist feminism.	Direct mention to abolitionist feminists.		Stop police raids against migrants.	
1 9 B	Migrant sex workers.	Whore-migrant-impooverished	No rights	As they have no rights, they are illegally in the country so they must	Migration process.		Question to emphasise the incoherence of system.	Human rights.		Indirect blame to Spanish government or institutions.			

				remain clandestine.											
20A	Migrant workers.	sex	Whore-migrant-impooverished	Victims.		Migration process.				Human rights.				Cessation of deportations and expulsion orders.	
20B	Migrant workers.	sex	Whore-migrant-impooverished	Victims.	They don't receive support during the process of denouncing.	Migration process.		"real" (effective)		Human rights.					
20C	Migrant workers.	sex	Whore-migrant-impooverished	Victims.	If they don't denounce, they are transferred to detention camps.	Migration process.	CIEs ( <i>Migrants Detention Centres</i> ), are institutions specifically for migrants who are in Spain in an irregular status.			Human rights.	Anti-racist discourses when mentioning CIEs			Effective support and legal guarantees.	
21	Migrant workers.	sex	Whore-migrant-impooverished	Victims.	Victims of trafficking, political asylum not guaranteed.	Trafficking.	"Political asylum" as human right.			Human rights.	Human rights discourse.			Political asylum to victims of trafficking.	
22	Migrant workers.	sex	Whore-migrant-impooverished	Victims.	Many obstacles and los possibility to obtain compensation as victim of trafficking.	Trafficking.	"Material and moral damages"			Human rights.	Human rights discourse.	Direct mention to Spanish legal system.		Compensation for victims	
23	Migrant workers.	sex	Whore-migrant-impooverished	Victims.	Women as used as workforce in CIEs and detained illegally.	Migration process.	CIEs is considered as "prison".			Human rights.	Human rights discourse.	Direct mention to CIEs.		Closure of CIEs.	
24A	Migrant workers.	sex	Whore-migrant-impooverished	Abused.	Current immigration law as origin of abuses towards migrants.	Migration process.				Human rights.	Pro-migration discourse.	Direct mention to migration policies.		Modification of the current immigration law.	
24B	Migrant workers.	sex	Whore-migrant-impooverished		Current law benefits trafficking.	Migration process.		Adj. "restrictive" to describe regulation		Human rights.	Pro-migration discourse.	Direct mention to migration policies.		Modification of the current immigration law.	
24C	Migrant workers.	sex	Whore-migrant-impooverished		Current immigration law as obstacle in migration process.	Migration process.				Human rights.	Pro-migration discourse.	Direct mention to migration regulations.		Modification of the current immigration law.	
25A	Migrant workers.	sex	Whore-migrant-impooverished	Demandant		Everyday struggles.	"fully situated within feminism", to emphasise. "borders, schedules and sick leave" as everyday struggles.	Metaphor.			Referring to intersectional feminism without mention it.			Take into consideration all intersections of oppressions.	"We are fully situated within feminism"
25B	Migrant workers.	sex	Whore-migrant-impooverished	Demandant	Wrong scope of the debate: prostitution Y/N	Work.					Reference to feminist debate on prostitution Y/N			Right scope of the debate: sex work rights VS clandestine sex work	"We consider/ We aspire"

## 12.2. Interview 1

Transcripts and coding table – María José (MJ)

MJ0	<b>María José. Caucasian woman from Seville. Former sex worker. Co-founder and spokeswoman of the CPS. Mother of one child.</b>
MJ 1A	I learnt what is feminism in the Federation of Associations of Progressist Women of Andalusia, which hold a hegemonic feminism, and at that time I was abolitionist. And I stop being abolitionist when I realised that nobody cared about whores there.
MJ 1B	they (whores) needed rights... Nobody will save them. I was in a Saviours collective. However, we got 380.000 euros in funding but we were saving nobody.
MJ 1C	So I learnt what patriarchy is with “Mujeres de Negro” (Women in Black, a feminist association) in El Pumarejo (Sevillian neighbourhood)... and that was in 2003. I got so “destroyed” in the Federation... I left it and I got depression until 2011 that I met the 15M (indignados movement) and I learn the feminisms and all these things, labour unions, you know, for whores, and I could apply it for the whores.
MJ 1D	“Whitish” women, we can’t tell other women how to reject their “macho”. Because the Arab woman has her conditions and religion, an those stuff. No, they know how to do it, we, with our privileges, we can’t advise others. We can say how we got it but not how they must do it.
MJ 2A	We are humans but we are not treated as humans because rights are denied to us.
MJ 2B	We are afraid because we have no rights.
MJ 2C	“Abolitionist imaginary” is really... terrible... abolitionist social workers think that you are fucking a client in front of your child.
MJ 2D	So they only think in taking the custody of the children as we “live on the edge”.
MJ 2E	Then they don’t take that many children but when it happens, it is very visible where they live.
MJ 2F	So we don’t trust anyone, neither good people.
MJ 2G	People and media will change their discourse when society stops stigmatising us.
MJ 2H	That’s going to happened through “Whore Pride”. Newspapers are changing, very slowly, how they talk to us as “sex workers”, not as prostitutes, we achieve that with our fight.
MJ 3A	Our mates have no papers right now. Their kids “are not” in Spain. They have no right to health card and access to the health care service.
MJ 3B	Do you know why they have no access to health care? Because they do not know they have that right. They have no way to know it as authorities don’t inform them... authorities only come to clubs to test us for AIDS and to teach us how to put condoms on (laughs).
MJ 3C	When clients notice that authorities come to the clubs, they “negotiate” with condoms. “I’ll pay you more if we use it later” (change voice). Why? They have no fear. [Authorities] are cleaning [clubs]! (change voice). That’s what they think. So we are hoping for the clubs to hang a notice like “The condom is not negotiable”!
MJ 3D	Then, we (the collective) go to the clubs and teach how to put a condom with the mouth so the client will not notice. “Aaaaah! (screams) You are professionalizing prostitution!” No way! We don’t want that but we are doing what you (authorities) don’t know how to do.

MJ 3E	We are not professionalizing prostitution, we are avoiding conflicts with clients. Because then the client can be "rude" and can slap her or rape her. Penetration without condom without her consent is rape.
MJ 3F	And then we can't denounce. A year ago, a mate was immobilized by a client and raped without condom. As she is a painter too, she could do an illustration of the face of the dude. We are sharing it to all mates. That's the only tool we have. After hundreds of complaints, we did not get a thing. We have not real tools to defend ourselves. I don't believe in sorority. I believe in "whoririty" (zorroridad). I only trust in whores, whores, whores. In the ones who are not good. The bad ones.
MJ 4A	We are not only fighting for labour rights. We are fighting so women are not forced to work in prostitution as only way to survive in this shitty life. Women must not be forced. Poverty just leads to that.
MJ 4B	Because they have no strength, because they have not support relations... Many of us are in this situation. When I first started working in prostitution was because I didn't know where to call.
MJ 4C	Everything "pierces" us: poverty, sexual diversity, migration...
MJ 4D	The equality laws fine us with 60.000 euros if we give a speech in an university because they consider we are promoting prostitution. We don't romanticize prostitution. We don't romanticize prostitution (she repeats to emphasise).
MJ 4E	When police arrives to a club, they place women to a side and men to another. If you are Spanish, you are not "counted". You are not considered victim of trafficking. If you have legal documents you are not considered victim of trafficking either. They only count the undocumented women.
MJ 4F	Then, they take out those mates, to Seville, to Blas Infante (she refers to the Court of Seville). In Blas Infante, she receives an expulsion order. If there's an agreement between countries, refoulement is imminent. Express deportation or CIE (Migrant Detention Centres), depending on the agreement between countries. They have 90 days to decide if they denounce or not if they are victims of trafficking. If you don't denounce, you are expelled from Spain, sooner or later. And if you denounce, you have to prove it.
MJ 4G	We are 3 whores organised. And the rest, they are groups of support. The CPS, active, we are 3. But we smashed the foundations of the hegemonic feminism and we "withstood the beats". We stood because we created strong alliances, if not, we weren't able to stand.
MJ 4H	We requested the "universal basic income" since the beginning of the collective because that would stop whores to be in the streets.
MJ 4I	Each of us manages a different thing. Kenia knows everything about migration. I'm more in the streets, I'm the one who "plots" where we are messing around and who are we going to fuck. I don't keep silence.
MJ 4J	We made our first meeting, "whore meeting" the 2 <sup>nd</sup> of June of... 201... 2018. What we did was to bring a whore from each collective (of Spain). Participa Sevilla (an association) gave us 500 bucks and the APDHA gave us a "transport scholarship" of other 500. So we called all the people we knew from Seville, the "fagots", people from AFUS (Unitary Feminist Assembly of Seville) to come with us. We met first the whores and then with the allies. We don't only need to demand rights, we have to follow some steps. You have to make the "street fight" and then the institutional one for their rights. You have to make allies because this is not a whore's struggle. This is a women's struggle. We must be in the feminist movement. We collaborate with them (other feminists).
MJ 4K	We also collaborate with the project "Esperanza" ("Hope"), for human trafficking victims. There are not real possibilities to women who want to quit prostitution, not real protection for trafficking victims. Then the Gag Law, nobody talks about it.

MJ 5A	We throw "bitcheeky parties" to collect some bucks.
MJ 5B	And when Latinas see that we are doing things for them, they want to do things too. So in those parties they may say "I'll make the food" So we say: "What? No, no, you are not going to do feminised jobs. Instead, you go behind the bar. To talk to people and be in contact with people. That's it. To stop being shy.
MJ 5C	We put them together with gay mates or trans*. Usually, mates, "the average whores", as we call them, they don't know a thing about sexual diversity or something, so when they are at the bar with trans* mates, who are completed their transformation or they are starting, with hormones, they are confused with masculine and feminine.. she... or he... we drive them nuts! That sets them free, because they don't talk about them, they don't look at them because they feel "normal". They observe others, they laugh... that empowers them.
MJ 6A	We are not empowered whores, we are politized whores. Empowered? Those who are in the clubs. Because they face clients. But the power is not for themselves but to defence themselves against the clients. Some don't want to go out. They think they have a notice on the forehead like "I'm a whore" That's the stigma. So I always tell them that there are people with another stigma. Not for being a whore, but for being different. So I show them different people, so they can see it. So we are in the middle of the street and I ask them: "so? They don't look at you, right?" No, because they look at the other people. You are normal compared to... It's a way to set yourself free.
MJ 6B	So they are setting free bit a bit... the first thing they do is to take their heels off. The first time they come to a workshop they come in tight jeans, low neckline, heels... you know, they are Latinas. In the second workshop, they leave the heels at home. The next time they don't wear jeans because it's uncomfortable.
MJ 6C	Businessmen tell undocumented migrant sex workers that they have no right to public health care so they need to get a private insurance. Many get the private insurance through the owner of the club. They think they have total cover and they pay for years... and when they need something, surgery or something... they realised they paid half the cover and they (owners) kept the rest of the money. Moreover, they are told you can't get a bank account because police will investigate... which is not true, no one will investigate you. But they are told to invest in gold instead. So undocumented migrants buy the gold in the club itself at an extremely high price. So they keep the money until they go back to their countries and they sell them there.
MJ 7A	In Cadiz, a sex worker called me and told me she had been confined in a club for three days, without food and shower. The owner left the club and they are there left. What we did is to put them in contact with feminist networks or neighbourhood support alliances. So we put them in contact with them depending on the territory. And the other way round... if a collective calls me to offer help... I tell them "I have two sex workers there. One need this, the other needs that. I'll give you their phone number". That's how we build support relations.
MJ 7B	We have requested a meeting with the APDHA and the ministry of equality. We don't know if we will get it but you know, we are going to publish in the social media that we asked for it and we didn't get it. If we are not assisted, we will make campaigns.
MJ 7C	To request for the "minimum vital income", someone else has to fill the form for you. We are seeing if the allied associations, as APDHA, Genera, and the Committee of Support for Sexual Workers of Murcia... if they can manage... to get the income.

Interview 1 – Analysis table – María José (MJ)

	Identity (subject)	Inter-categories	Situated identity (social position)	Problem representation	Social space	Concepts (Key terms)	Style (language and tone)	Markers	Cultural value	Intertextuality (references to other discourses)	Direct/indirect mentions (what/who is to blame)	Solution representation (demands)	Action statements
MJ1A	Sex workers.		Ignored.	Sex workers are ignored.	Feminism.	"Hegemonic feminism", she refers to the most prominent feminist discourse.	Informal		Equality.	Hegemonic feminism and abolitionist feminism.	Direct mention to Federation of Associations of Progressist Women of Andalusia that hold a feminism that does not contribute with solutions for sex workers		"I learnt what is feminism"
MJ1B	Sex workers.		Victimised.	Sex workers are victimised but ignored.	Feminism.	"saviour" to critique hegemonic feminism	She states a quantity to emphasise the argument.		Double moral.	Abolitionist feminism, "saviour feminism"	Direct blame to "saviours" (feminists who victimise and do nothing for women)		
MJ1C	Sex workers.			Hegemonic feminism didn't work for sex workers.	Feminism.	"patriarchy" as a system of oppression of women.	Informal		Equality	Hegemonic feminism and abolitionist feminism.	Direct mention to Federation of Associations of Progressist Women of Andalusia that hold a feminism that does not contribute with solutions for sex workers	Feminism that can be applied to sex workers' struggles	
MJ1D	Arab woman			Women's different struggles.	Feminism.	"privileges", advantages over others; "whitish", white privilege women; "macho" refers to a man who entails element from patriarchy	Informal		Empowerment (how to reject the macho)	Hegemonic feminism and intersectional feminism (indirect mention)		Solutions adapted to those struggles. Empowerment instead of victimisation.	
MJ2A	Sex workers		Ignored.	No rights for sex workers.	Work	"humans" refer to political subjects	Informal						
MJ2B	Sex workers		Afraid	Sex workers are afraid because they have no rights.	Work		Informal						
MJ2C	Sex workers		Criminalised.	Criminalisation of sex workers through stigma.	Social services.	"Abolitionist imaginary" refer to the arguments of abolitionism.	Informal and quite aggressive, "fucking"			Abolitionism.	Direct blame to abolitionist social workers.		
MJ2D	Sex workers, mothers	Whore-mother	Afraid	Sex workers are afraid of losing the custody of their children.	Social services.		Informal, "we live on the edge".		Family unity	Abolitionism.	Direct blame to abolitionist social workers.		
MJ2E	Sex workers, mothers	Whore-mother	Afraid	That situation barely happens but when it does, it is made very visible.	Social services.		Informal		Family unity	Abolitionism.	Direct blame to abolitionist social workers.		
MJ2F	Sex workers		Afraid	Criminalising discourses produce no trust from sex workers to social services.	Social services.	"trust", is the key to work for sex workers	Informal		Trust	Abolitionism.	Direct blame to abolitionist social workers.		
MJ2G	Sex workers		Stigmatised	Stigmatising discourse over sex workers.	Media and society		Mixture of academic and informal style.		Comprehension.		Direct mention to media and society.	Society should change their opinion about sex workers through media	
MJ2H	Sex workers		Proud.	Stigma will "disappear" through the concept of pride.	Society.	"Whore pride" is an strategy to finish with stigma over whores; comparison between "ser	Mixture of academic and informal style.		Equality	LGTB and Pride discourses		Discourse change, not criminalisation or victimisation.	

						workers" (recognised as real ones) and "prostitutes", pejorative and victimised term							
M J 3 A	Women, mothers, undocumented migrants, sex workers.	Migrant-working class- uneducated	Inferior position as they do not know their rights	1) Not access to health care services 2) Not recognition of kids in the country	Health care services	Emphasis on kids and health care (problem)	Mates - familiar word to describe the sex workers; Irony (the kids "are not" in Spain); use of irony and laughter		Health care (it is universal in Spain)				
M J 3 B	Women, mothers, undocumented migrants, sex workers.	Migrant-working class- uneducated (they don't know they have that right...)	Inferior position as they do not know their rights	Authorities do not inform of their rights	Health care services		she uses "irregular status" instead of "illegal status" to reinforce the political statement	She asks me before telling me the problem to emphasize	Health care		Authorities (do not inform them of their rights, instead they focus on "unimportant issues")		
M J 3 C	Women, mothers, undocumented migrants, sex workers.	Migrant-working class- uneducated	Inferior position as they do not know their rights	1)Clients negotiate with health safety 2)As authorities' create a "safe environment"	Work in clubs	Emphasis on the client and authorities (blame)	Dramatic to emphasize (change voice to act as a client)	She asks me before telling me the problem to emphasize	Importance of health care ("condoms are not negotiable")		Clients and authorities (as the focus of the problem).	Involvement of clubs and authorities ("are cleaning!")	"We are hoping..." Direct mention to involve clubs manager
M J 3 D	Sex workers		Inferior position as they do not know their rights	Accused of professionalising prostitution	Work in clubs	"professionalising prostitution" is pejorative as it normalises gender violence	Informal and dramatical (change voice)		Protection.		Indirect blame to authorities.	Teach sex workers how to manage clients.	"We teach them"
M J 3 E	Sex workers		Inferior position as they do not know their rights	Rude clients. Rape.	Work in clubs	"rape" refer to "penetration without condom with no consent"			Protection		Direct blame to rude clients.	Avoid conflicts with clients	"We avoid..."
M J 3 F	Sex workers.			Difficulties to denounce rape.	Work in clubs	"tool" refers to the strategy they have to denounce; "whorority" (whores' sorority); reference to dichotomy good/bad women.	Informal. "whores, whores, whores" (she repeats the word to emphasize)		Sorority and support. Human rights.	Feminism.	Direct blame to client-rapists. Indirect blame to authorities.	Make an illustration of the face of the clients and share it to other sex workers.	"We are sharing it with all..."
M J 4 A	Sex workers	Whore-working class-impoverished	With lack of opportunities.	Impoverished women are lead to work in prostitution.	Work.	"Poverty" means lack of cash and resources.	Informal and quite aggressive: "shitty life"		Human rights.	Feminism.		Efficient labour opportunities for women.	
M J 4 B	Sex workers	Whore-working class-impoverished	With lack of opportunities.	No support worsens the situation.	Work.		Informal, personal tone.		Sorority	Feminism.			
M J 4 C	Sex workers	Whore-working class-impoverished	Discriminated.	Multiple struggles.	Everyday struggles.	"pierces" relates to the axes of discrimination	Metaphorical: "Everything pierces us"			Intersectional feminism (not direct mention)			
M J 4 D	Sex workers	Whore-working class-impoverished	Discriminated.	Fines for giving speeches about prostitution.	Law	"romanticize" refers to give a positive image of prostitution	Sarcastic "the equality laws"; repetitions to emphasize		Equality.		Indirect mentions to institutions.	No romanisation of prostitution	
M J 4 E	Sex workers, Spanish/Undocumented migrant	-Women-whore-Spanish-working class-impoverished -Women-whore-Undocumented Migrant-working class-impoverished	Victimised.	Only undocumented migrants are considered victims of human trafficking.	Law		Informal: "counted" means "registered"		Equality				
M J 4 F	Migrant undocumented female sex workers	Women-whore-Undocumented Migrant-working class-impoverished	Victimised or status of "illegal migrant"	Expulsion for undocumented migrants if they don't denounce. Difficulties to	Law	"Express deportation" (an expression to describe an imminent	Mixture of academic and informal style.		Human rights	Refugee crisis language.	Indirect blame to government		

				prove the denounce.		expulsion order – refugee crisis reference							
M J 4 G	Sex workers.	Whore-woman-working class-impooverished	Activists.		Activism.	Hegemonic feminism.	Informa: "smashed". Political tone: "We stood because we created strong alliances..."	No use of markers to delimitate topics	Empowerment and sorority	Hegemonic feminism.	Direct blame to hegemonic feminism.	Counter speech to hegemonic feminism. Creation of strong alliances	"We smashed ..." "We stood because we created strong alliances"
M J 4 H	Sex workers.	Whore-woman-working class-impooverished	Impoverished	Impoverished sex workers.	Economic	"Universal Basic Income", an initiative that provide each person with the essential amount of money to live with dignity	Mixture or political and informal tone.	No use of markers to delimitate topics	Equity and dignity.	Redistribution of wealth.		Universal Basic Income.	
M J 4 I	Sex workers.	Whore-woman-working class-impooverished	Politized.	Multiple struggles	Everyday struggles		Informal "we are going to fuck"		Equality			Each politized sex worker focuses on one or a few struggles.	
M J 4 J	Sex workers.	Whore-woman-working class-impooverished	Politized.	Multiple struggles	Everyday struggles	With terms such as "fagots", used with kindness, they're holding re-appropriation of pejorative terms	Informal and political tone "street fight"		Sorority and solidarity . Re-appropriation of pejorative terms	Intersectional feminism (indirect mention)		Meetings to discuss strategies and alliances.	
M J 4 K	Sex workers/Victims of trafficking	Whore-woman-migrant-working class-impooverished	Victims of victimised	No effective solutions for victims of trafficking and no labour opportunities for sex workers	Everyday struggles		Informal, "Gag Law"		Sorority	Intersectional feminism (indirect mention)	Indirect blame to institutions	Collaboration in projects that work with trafficking victims	
M J 5 A	Sex workers	Whore-woman-working class	Organisers	Lack of funding.	Collaborations	"Bitchy party", a made up term that refer to a charity event for collecting money... mixture between "bitch" (re-appropriation of pejorative term) and "cheeky" meaning "sassy", used to normalise sexuality	Informal.		Sorority and solidarity .	Feminism.		Arrange parties to collect funding.	"We throw..."
M J 5 B	Latinas sex workers	Whore-woman-Latina-working class-impooverished	Organisers	Latina sex workers are shy and afraid to be exposed due to stigma	Collaborations	"feminised job" refer to labour usually reserved for women	Informal and dramatical: "I'll make some food"		Sorority and solidarity .	Feminism.		Be behind the bar and talk to people	
M J 5 C	Gay/Trans* sex workers	Whore-trans*-working class-impooverished/gay	Organisers		Collaborations	"sexual diversity" as an example of gender topic; "transformation" here means transition; "normal" means, within society	Informal, "the average whore", means sex worker who is not informed about gender issues		Sorority and solidarity .	Feminism.		Being by the side of showy people empowers them as they are not standing out	
M J 6 A	Sex workers	Whore-woman-working class-impooverished	Empowered/politized	Sex workers afraid to go out due to stigma	Society	"empowered" (with power, able to choose and do something); "politized" (aware of the rights they lack)	Informal and dramatical: "so? They don't look at you, right?"		Sorority and solidarity .	Feminism.		Go out with people with other stigmas (trans*)	
M J 6 B	Latinas sex workers	Whore-woman-Latina-working class-impooverished	Stigmatized	Stigma	Society		"you know, they are Latinas" reference to stereotype		Sorority and solidarity .	Feminism.		Arrange workshops to reject "typical women's features"	
M J	Undocumented sex workers	Whore-woman-undocumented	Tricked.	Businessmen trick	Work	Implicit concept: "uneducated"		NO use of markers			Direct blame to businessmen		

6 C		d migrant-un- educated working class- impoverished		undocumente d sex workers				to change the topic within the conversa tion						
M J 7 A	Impoverished sex workers	Whore- woman- - working class- impoverished	Organise rs	Sex workers left by owners of the club	Everyday struggles			Informal and dramatical "I have two sex workers there".	Human rights	Human rights	Direct blame to club owners	Build support alliances, put sex workers + association s in contact	"We put them in contact"	
M J 7 B	Impoverished sex workers	Whore- woman- - working class- impoverished	Organise rs		Everyday struggles			Mixture of political and informal tone	Equality			Meeting with Ministry of Equality. Campaign in social media		
M J 7 C	Impoverished sex workers	Whore- woman- - working class- impoverished	Victimise d.	You must be identified as victim to get the "minimum income"	Everyday struggles	"minimum vital income", "extraordinary " benefits that the Government gave to people with no income during emergency state;			Justice			Build support alliances		

### 12.3. Interview 2

Transcripts and coding table – Kenia (K)

K0	<b>Kenia. Female sex worker. Documented migrant from Paraguay. Co-founder and spokeswoman of the CPS.</b>
K 1A	Feminism, better said, "feminisms" I believe in feminisms: we all have the same goal but different oppressions. It's not the same, a black woman is different from a white western woman, or Latina. We have different oppressions but we fight for the same, we fight against patriarchal oppression. For me, feminism is a fighting space and "strengthening".
K 1B	I don't like the term empowerment, because it refers to power. Here's a quote from María Galindo that I really like: "in front of the power, you don't get empowered, you must rebel against it". For me, the term empowerment has lost its sense since it turned into marketing, so does feminism. Now it's fashionable. That kind of attitudes 'empty the content' of our fights. So I always talk about strengthening and rebellion. Strengthen ourselves as women.
K 1C	For us, feminism is a tool of strengthening for women to demand what belong to them, protest about what is oppressing them, recognise themselves as political subjects, recognise themselves as social agents and recognise themselves as protagonists in their own struggles. That's feminism for me. It's a tool and it's necessary for whores. It's necessary because my mate, who is not "politized", who does not recognised herself as worker, who does not internalise that discourse, who thinks she is a victim or a criminal... feminism is a tool to tell her: mate, you are a worker. Strengthen yourself! That's my compromise with and towards other women. I can't tell another woman: "you are not a worker, you are a victim". What am I doing? I am weakening her, instead of strengthen her. For me it's a tool, the strengthening of women.
K 2A	We basically want the recognition of our spaces. Every 8M (8th of March, International Women's Day, a very important date in Spain, full of protests) we have to quarrel with the feminist platforms to be recognised as workers. We reclaim our space because we are feminists too. They deny us those spaces. That's one of our main demands. Our space, our place.
K 2B	We need it to go all together against the culprit that is oppressing us, the culprit that leave us without labour opportunities, the culprit that does not recognise our rights, the culprit that leaves us exploited, the culprit that does not give us labour opportunities. The real economic and social progress. Who is that culprit? The State. The missing State, the corrupt State, it is who we must go against, all together. Each one from their own feminism, but we all strengthen each other.
K 2C	It can't be, from hegemonic feminism, whores are being weakening, they're saying to us: no! You are a victim! I must "supervise you", I must tell you how to perform your struggle. No! We are hoping hegemonic feminism to tell us: yes, mate! You are a worker and I'm supporting you in your struggle, so that you can demand what belongs to you, together. Side by side. Those are our demands.
K 3A	Trans women suffer from repudiation because they are whores and they are trans. They have even more demands than cis whores (cisgender women).
K 3B	I, as migrant woman, whore, have two stigmas: whore and migrant. I've got my own demand: I want my citizen rights to be recognised, no matter I'm Latina or not. White women always have more privileges, in comparison to other groups.
K 4A	We, CPS, were born in December 2017, and as the majority of collectives of sex workers, we were born to raise awareness about all violence we suffer and to demand our rights, logically. We are basically focused on raising social awareness in order to perform a political advocacy at a governmental level.
K 4B	Without support and social recognition we can't arrive to a political debate, which is really necessary right now.

K 4C	We also try to raise awareness within our mates, for them to be recognised as active political subjects, since due to that discourse, which is predominant, many of our mates internalise that stigma and they don't recognise themselves as "deserving" of rights. What that... does... is to weaken them.
K 4D	It's a compromise, not only from us, politicized sex workers, but also from feminism, which should strengthen all women to claim what belongs to them. It's the only way to face the abuses we suffer when we work in prostitution.
K 5A	Today we presented a campaign in regards to the "minimum vital income" to all political parties to be effective for all people in irregular status, because we don't have an income.
K 5B	we could access to this income with all guarantees of confidentiality and with all guarantees, after the emergency state... this is not going to be a hunt from the "immigration prosecution" (She refers to the National Public Prosecution, Immigration Unit). We presented this today with a campaign.
K 6A	In this context of emergency, mates in irregular status don't want to go to food banks since in this context, as there is more control, more police, they are afraid to go out to the street to get food, because they are afraid of being arrested and deported.
K 6B	And then, there are single mothers. They are terrified. They don't want to attend the social services. Last week, a mate from Pontevedra (town) texted us, she is a sex worker, she has two kids. I sent her several food banks phone numbers. That's what we do, we look for support alliances. We also sent the social services phone number. And she said: "no, no, no, no way, no! I'm not going to the social services because of my kids. My child, his father had gender violence problems with him, and my other child, his father is out of the country. Social services are going to ask me a lot of questions".
K 6C	Those women freeze and don't go to social services. Why? Because Spain has fairly serious history of violating family unity. Women's Link has a report on that, of women victims of human trafficking. They do the same with women that work in prostitution.
K 6D	When they are migrants, that view is reinforced since there is a stereotype about migrant women, they are not considered good mothers. If she is a whore, that's even worse. Migrant and whore: she is not able to be a good mother. Sex workers are afraid then, when they are migrant, it's even worse. Single mothers, even worse.
K 7A	From CPS, we look for alternatives, for example, with food banks and neighbourhood alliances. For example, in Andalusia, we collaborate with APDHA (Association Pro Human Rights of Andalusia), which is completely aware of the stigmas we suffer and recognise us as workers, they don't victimise us and don't want to supervise us.  ➤ So they act as an intermediary?  Yes, for example, we have a mate in Málaga. Is there any neighbourhood supportive alliance that may bring food to that woman? Any food bank? We're avoiding to send her to social services. Sometimes they go. But normally they avoid it when they are single mothers. Doctors Without Borders, Red Cross... they are helping sometimes. They are not that afraid of Red Cross. They are terrifying of social services. Doctors of the World, though they are extremely abolitionist, they could learn from Doctors of the World France which is pro-rights... When they are not social services, women try to go.
K 7B	➤ What is the solution to that conflict with social services?  Social services need of training (in sex work issues). But first we need to be recognised as workers, they keep seeing us as victims. Poor women, forced to work as prostitutes, illiterate, lost, junkies, ruined lives. We need to be saved. That's how we are seen. We need to train them, as well as doctors, to overcome that vision, so stereotyped, and to treat us with respect, as any female or male citizen. We feel degraded. Social workers need of training. That's not going to happen until prostitution is recognised as work.

## Interview 2 – Analysis table – Kenia (K)

	Identity (subject)	Inter-categories	Situated identity (social position)	Problem representation	Social space	Concepts (Key terms)	Style (language and tone)	Markers	Cultural value	Intertextuality (references to other discourses)	Direct/indirect mentions (what/who is to blame)	Solution representation (demands)	Action statements
K1A	Black woman/white western woman/Latina		Oppressed, in defense position.	"Different oppressions".	"Fighting space" (everyday struggles)	Use of term "feminisms" instead of "feminism" to reinforce the discourse and the problem; "patriarchal" to name the system; use of "strengthening" instead of "empowerment",	Informal and clear, a bit aggressive. She corrects: "better said"	She corrects: "better said", as a way to reinforce her discourse.	Equality. To "fight against patriarchal oppression, means to achieve equality, as oppressions produce inequality	"Patriarchal oppression" refers to discourses related to "basic" feminist discourse.	"Patriarchal" system.	Different feminisms for different demands, that is, feminisms and fighting "techniques" as solution for different struggles.	Reiterate use of "we fight" to sound direct and clear.
K1B	Sex workers.			Rejection of "fashionable" terms related to feminism as rejection of "marketing" in feminism.	Feminism.	Use of "strengthening" instead of "empowerment"	Informal and metaphorical: "attitudes empty the content of our fights".	Using "for me" several times, she reinforces her opinion.		She refers to a hegemonic feminism when relates feminism to marketing and fashion.	Indirect mention to hegemonic feminism.	Use of "war terms" (strengthening and rebellion) to emphasise full-content signifiers.	"I always use..." to reinforce.
K1C	Sex workers.		Worker/victim dichotomy.	To treat women as victims weakens them.	Feminism.	Introduction to "recognition" as right and tool.	Introduction of "whores" as strong part of the discourse; reappropriation of pejorative terms.	Again, reiterate use of "for us, for me".		She refers to a hegemonic feminism when relates feminism to "attitudes that weaken women".	Indirect mention to hegemonic feminism.	Feminist as a "tool" for their demands: strength, support, recognition.	"I can't tell another woman", as example of weakening attitude
K2A	Sex workers.		"Fighting spaces" denied.	No recognition of workers, then, spaces denied. Conflicts emerge.	Feminism.	"Recognition" (as workers/feminist/not victims) as main demand.	Use of pronouns to reinforce recognition and belong: "we, our".		Equality, recognition of political subjects.	She refers to abolitionists discourses which don't recognize them as workers but as victims.	Direct mention to feminist platforms as producers of discourses against their recognition.	Recognition of space.	"We reclaim our space", as solution.
K2B	Sex workers.		Offensive position.	The State: oppresses them; leaves them with no labour opportunities; does not recognise their rights; leaves them exploited.	Everyday struggles.	"Own feminism" (intersectional feminism).	Political tone.	"Dramatical" tone (she asks before giving the information).	"Economic and social progress", an universal value.	Reference to "feminisms".	She accuses directly the State.	Collaborate together against the State, not against each other.	"We must go against (the State)".
K2C	Sex workers.			Hegemonic feminist discourses weaken theirs. Patronising and devaluing.	Feminism.	"Hegemonic feminism", she refers to the most prominent feminist discourse.	Dramatical performance of discourse (she "acts" as abolitionists and what they should do).		All this part refers to sorority.	She refers to abolitionists discourses which don't recognize them as workers but as victims; also intersectional feminism.	She accuses directly to those feminists who weaken their discourse.	Need of recognition and support from feminists.	"We are hoping..."
K3A	Trans women.	Whore-trans.	Worse position than other women.	Trans women have more stigmas and demands.	Society/Feminism.	She uses "cis", cisgender, to compare to trans* demands.	She shortens "cis", informal style.			Transfeminism.			
K3B	Migrant woman.	Whore-Latina-migrant.	Worse position than other women.	Migrant sex workers suffer more stigmas.	Society/Feminism.	"Stigma", introduction to origin of problems. "Privileges" show the problems.	Political tone. Copy political discourse style.		Equality.	Feminist citizenship discourses.		Citizen rights to be recognised.	"I want my citizen rights recognised"
K4A	Sex workers.		Victims of violence.	Violence.	Society.	Raise awareness as a form of education; violence, referring to oppressions. General term to designate many problems.	Mixture of informal and institutional language, so her discourse is understood by both sex workers and institutions.	Use of "logically" to take for granted what they need is the recognition of their rights (reference to last discourses).	Peace, as she refers to "violence".	Gender violence.		"Raising social awareness about violence to perform political advocacy".	"We are focused on raising awareness".
K4B	Sex workers.			Lack of support and political recognition (as workers). Need of political debate on sex work.	Political sphere.				Democracy.	References to democratic discourses focused on recognition and political consensus.	She indirectly blames the government, entities and abolitionist feminists of the problem.	Support and political recognition to start a political debate on sex work.	"We can't arrive to a political debate".

K4C	Sex workers.			Victimising and stigmatising discourses influence the self-image of sex workers, weakening them.	Society.	The use of the term "discourse" denotes education in this regard.			Right to be informed.	"That discourse" refers to the one that victimise and stigmatise them.		"Raise awareness within our mates" as main protagonists of social change.	
K4D	Sex workers.			Abuses when working in sex for sale.	Work.	"Politized", she means to be aware they are political subjects with rights.			Human rights.	Abolitionist feminism.	She directly mentions feminist people who don't support their demands.	"The only way" to stop abuses is with collaboration.	
K5A	Migrant sex workers.			Irregular status migrants have no perceived income during emergency state since their work is not regulated.	Political sphere.	She refers with "minimum vital income" to "extraordinary" benefits that the Government gave to people with no income during emergency state; she uses "irregular status" instead of "illegal status" to reinforce the political statement		She presents the solution before the problem.	Right to be helped by the government no matter if the labour situation is irregular.	Criticizes discourses on "illegal migrants".	Direct involvement of political parties in the solution.	To present a campaign on "minimum vital income" to be effective to all migrants in irregular labour situation.	"We present a campaign".
K5B	Migrant sex workers.			Immigration Unit can access to all data from migrants in irregular status.	Political sphere.	"Immigration prosecution".		The use of "immigration prosecution"	Confidentiality.		She directly mentions the Immigration Unit of National Public Prosecution	Guarantees of confidentiality.	"We presented a campaign".
K6A	Migrant sex workers.	Whore-Latina	"Irregular" situation, which means, vulnerable due to lack of rights.	Sex workers don't access to food banks as they are afraid of being exposed and arrested. Emergency context worsens the situation due to more presence of police.	Everyday struggles.								
K6B	Migrant, sex workers, single mothers.	Whore-Latina-single mother	Vulnerable.	Single mothers more afraid since social services can separate her from the children.	Administrati on.	"Gender violence problems", vague information, she did not want to expand it.	Dramatical expression.		Security.		She blames social services for the problem.	Put sex workers in contact with social services and NGO-Not effective.	"We look for support alliances"
K6C	Migrant, sex workers, single mothers.	Whore-Latina-single mother	Vulnerable.	This situation is even worse in Spain. As country is known for separating families when mothers are sex workers or victims of trafficking.	Administrati on.	"Human trafficking".	Metaphorical language, "freeze".	She asks before giving the information to add dramatical style.	Family unity.	References and critique to discourses that compare human trafficking to prostitution.	"Spain" here refers to several government that have been perpetuating the problem for years.		
K6D	Migrant, sex workers, single mothers.	Whore-Latina-single mother	Vulnerable, stigmatized.	The origin of this situation is stereotypes.	Administrati on.	"Good mothers", a concept that is in the collective imaginary.			"Good mother".	Direct reference to governments ("Spain") and social services.	She blames stereotypes and governments' decisions.		
K7A	Migrant, sex workers, single mothers.	Whore-Latina-single mother	Vulnerable, stigmatized.	Scared of social services.	Administrati on.	Use of "supervise", as critique. Victimisation; "neighbourhood supportive alliance" is a social structure of volunteers.			Food as right.	Direct mention to abolitionist discourses to criticise them.	Blame on social services. Comparison to intermediaries' attitudes.	Alliances sex worker-collective-intermediary-food bank	"We look for alternatives".
K7B	Migrant, sex workers.	Whore-Latina	Vulnerable, stigmatized.	Stigma and inexperience with sex workers from social services.	Administrati on.	She describes how social services see them: drug addicts, illiterate, "lost" (with no future). "We need to be saved".	Slightly aggressive and ironic.		Recognition as workers.	Reference to discourses that stigmatise and victimise them.	Direct mention to social services and social workers.	Training from sex workers.	"We need to train them".

## 12.4. Interview 3

Transcripts and coding table – Beyoncé (B)

B0	<b>Beyoncé</b> (nickname). Documented migrant. Trans* woman from Ecuador. Co-founder of AFEMTRAS (Association of Feminist Sex Workers) and collaborator in CPS. She has been living in Madrid for 19 years. She works in the “street” (in industrial zones).
B 1A	For me, discovering feminism was a <b>marvellous</b> thing. <b>I have always had problems with certain people...</b> uh... <b>society has been</b> , you know <b>(mean) to me</b> . <b>I've been always claiming for respect...</b> “Why do you do that to me?”, to my friends... “Why did you tell me that?”... “Why can't I be a <b>woman?</b> ”. Right?
B 1B	So when I first knew feminism I thought... that's the <b>place</b> I needed to be. Always. So <b>my representation of feminism</b> is a <b>comfort zone</b> , <b>where I can move safely</b> , right? For me feminism is, for example, <b>to have (female) friends who don't laugh at me for my physical aspect or for being trans and I have a sexual reassignment</b> . You know, right? Feminism for me is <b>people by my side supporting me</b> .
B 1C	“Hey, pal, this happened to me... I don't know how to cope with it...”, you know? Chatting with people, with women, with trans*... it's amazing. <b>I've been recognising things</b> . Issues that I didn't even talk about before.
B 2A	<b>We need to be recognised first</b> , and then, everything will come after that. We are women making a living in a specific way because we need to, so recognising <b>that we are just making a living</b> , <b>that we are not victims</b> . <b>So we need to be recognised as workers</b> .
B 2B	And then <b>we don't have to have those regulations</b> , such as the <b>Gag Law</b> <b>which ruined our lives</b> .
B 2C	<b>Recognition of rights implies...</b> taxes... <b>We are precarious in the street</b> . We <b>earn a little</b> in the street. Right? We do <b>“express services”</b> 10 or 15 minutes, that are cheap. <b>So some mates they can't afford to pay taxes...</b> a month. And there are mates that... <b>we earn for a flat and food... and... no... more</b> .
B 2D	First, <b>recognition</b> of we are making a living and <b>we are working</b> . Because we need it, <b>specially</b> we, <b>trans* women</b> , <b>sex work is our ally to get things</b> , for example our own <b>transition</b> . To <b>feminise our bodies...</b> uh... with surgery... <b>and to maintain our families</b> .
B 2E	There are <b>trans* women with children, they take care of their mothers...</b> I don't know... <b>let us work and decriminalise sex work</b> .
B 2F	<b>“We don't have anything against whores”</b> , yes, but <b>you are fining me!</b> <b>Years harassing us...</b> years! <b>Fucking our incomes</b> . So <b>I'm hoping</b> for this government, in its electoral program, you know? One of those things is <b>the abolition of the Gag Law</b> .
B 2G	So here we are, <b>street whores</b> waiting. A <b>socialist government...</b> they consider themselves, the coalition, <b>extremely feminist!</b> <b>They sold us our ideas...</b> and now what? <b>Whores are not feminist? Whores are not women? What? Aren't we working class, part of the people? We vote too, yes! We voted for socialist parties... ok... cool... now it's time to work for us</b> .
B 3A	We ( <i>the collective</i> ) don't have problems, we are all <b>documented</b> , we got our <b>situation regularised</b> but <b>other mates didn't get it...</b> <b>So we are looking for solutions...</b> <b>so they can be fined by the police</b> .
B 3B	<b>So of course they are afraid</b> .
B 3C	In fact, <b>the police kind of feel, kind of, resentment right?</b> They feel <b>empowered and they feel very “machos”</b> . Then they go to <b>“get smashed” (get drunk)</b> where we are working,

	uh? They have asked me: "Hello! How long is it? Aah... ok ok ok..." (she laughs ironically). Double moral, you know.
B 3D	We are all migr... I work with a couple of trans* Spanish women but the rest... They are not. Sex workers? We are all migrants. I work in Colonia Marconi ("poligono", industrial area)... I've been here for 14 years. We were used to see the police around... you know, bothering us, but, you know... we are migrants, right? That's our price for staying in a place we don't belong.
B 3E	One day, suddenly, the Gag Law arrives, and we, tired of harassment and abuse of police, abuse of power, the insults they gave us, so we decided to set up AFEMTRAS, which is the Feminist Association of Sex Workers.
B 4A	Recognition first, rights later.
B 4B	We need to work comfortably and safely. Police is shit, they are not allies.
B 4C	One cop once fined me and I asked him: Why are you fining me? I did nothing. "You should have had studied". Excuse me? Do you need to study to impose fines? Violence like that. They are not officers of protection, they are officers of oppression. That's it, dear.
B 4D	Recognition first, debate later.
B 4E	Recognising us, we can work on a labour model full of rights for (female) sex workers. If you don't recognise us, you can't work with us. Because then you will give me a model where the businessmen win. And the whores? Exploited! Exploited! "I fight against trafficking but I don't care about whores". The businessman, getting rich, and the whores, working all day long.
B 4F	We pay 80 euros a day to the club for the room. And the street whores... we need houses or rooms... They (politicians) need to meet us and see what's good for us.
B 5A	For example, The Cash of Resistance, with GoFundMe. To give a hand to the mates. We did that at the beginning of emergency state (14 <sup>th</sup> March). Other collectives and organisations they have organised different events. We have no funding, we don't even have one peso (Ecuador's currency, also an expression)
B 5B	and to help with this situation, we started organising ourselves with charities and other organisations that bring food and doing things. So... that...
B 6A	Oh gosh! I know a bunch. We... in general... health care card. In 2011, 2012, if you didn't have a job –we, sex workers, we always have had a job, but, you know, they meant a "real one"– you didn't have a health care card. You know we, migrants, were excluded from the public health care system?
B 6B	<p>➤ Yes, right in the middle of the crisis, after the (government's) cutbacks.</p> <p>Exactly. Exactly. We were excluded. So one day, I cut my hand with a glass, at home, you know? I arrived to the hospital, I waited for three hours. When they assisted me, they brought a bill and told me: "you have to sign here". They didn't do anything in my hand. My hand was "gushing". I went back home, you know? So I went to an independent doctor that we, whores, knew, to help me. He knew us, whores, so I tell my mates to go (there). Like that situation... a lot. A lot. What do you think?</p>
B 6C	<p>➤ I think it is very serious. Did you feel discriminated?</p> <p>Of course, discrimination from the State, we, migrant women, left, excluded from health care. And of course the doctors... then the bill arrived to my house afterwards.</p>

B 6D	Probably, yes, they didn't trust me. They didn't want to help me before being sure of this migrant...
B 6E	They probably thought that I was a whore. Because trans* whores, we have this stigma... the stereotype trans*-whore.
B 6F	There are many stereotypes about whores. "The whore earns one thousand a day". We are "sucking" for 20, 30 or 10 (euros) in the street.
B 6G	For me it's elitist.. "I'm a luxury escort and I earn 400 euros a day" For me that's feel like a kick in the pussy.
B 6H	That's not the reality. I'm going to tell you something... it's not the 90s, it's not the Golden Age of prostitution. We have to leave that in the past and start talking about reality. We don't earn that. There are mates that have a little more money or more clients but a little more. I heard some saying... "a client gave me 400 euros today". And that day I got 30.
B 6I	And you feel devastated... Within the movement pro-rights. Are there "levels" within the whores?
B 6J	I may make 200 euros but I'm in the street... it is lived in another way. Police harass us. We have to hide behind the bushes. It's not a matter of money, you know?
B 6K	Then I have mates with AIDS... with illnesses... STD... it is impossible to access to health care for them.
B 6L	The issue with AIDS is... really delicate. The thing is... you look for... and you look for (solutions) in solitude, right? The only solution you have (public health care), you can't access.
B 7A	I help them with my experience, because I'm a migrant, I suffer from "whore stigma", and a stigma as "woman outside the cannon". I am a woman.
B 7B	I've been working in a project called "TransR" (Trans Rights) giving workshops to trans* women. The workshops were compounded by three modules: Sex work, Feminism and Sex and gender.
B 7C	In the section "Sex and gender" we showed that we, we were women too. Right?
B 7D	What I do is to give them the knowledge I have acquired, it's useful for them. Women with penis, we exist. To be a woman is not to have a long hair and long nails, is not to cook food. Right? Those are roles are indicated by patriarchal systems, the system tells us how we must be, right?

Interview 3 – Analysis table – Beyoncé (B)

	Identity (subject)	Inter-categories	Situated identity (social position)	Problem representation	Social space	Concepts (Key terms)	Style (language and tone)	Markers	Cultural value	Intertextuality (references to other discourses)	Direct/indirect mentions (what/who is to blame)	Solution representation (demands)	Action statements
B 1 A	Trans* from Ecuador. Street whore.	Street-Whore-Latina-trans*-woman-working class-impooverished	Discriminated.	Conflicts with society due to non-normative body	Society.	She mentions the concept of "woman" as non-normative.	Informal.	"You know? Right?" to ask for feedback and "celebrates" my empathy (exactly, exactly". She asks me looking for debate.	Equality.	Transfeminism.	Blame to friends and society.	Claim for respect.	"I've been always claiming"
B 1 B	Trans* from Ecuador. Street whore.	Street-Whore-Latina-trans*-woman-working class-impooverished	Comfortably.		Feminism.	"representation" as what it means to her	Informal. Metaphorical ("comfort zone")		Respect and acceptance.	Transfeminism.		Respect and support.	
B 1 C	Trans* from Ecuador. Street whore.	Street-Whore-Latina-trans*-woman-working class-impooverished			Feminism.	Introduction to "recognition" as key concept in her everyday struggles as non-normative woman.	Informal.		Help and support.	Transfeminism.		Recognise "things" (struggles)	
B 2 A	Sex workers.	Whore.	Victimised. Demandant.	Victimisation.	Society and labour.	"Recognition", it means, regular work status.	Informal, "making a living".		Recognition.	Critique to feminist patronising discourses.		Recognition as workers.	"We need to"
B 2 B	Sex workers.	Whore.	Criminalised.	Regulations against prostitution.	Legal framework.		Informal, "Gag Law", "ruined our lives".		Human rights.		Indirect mention to governmental institutions.	Derogation of regulations.	
B 2 C	Sex workers.	Street-whore-impooverished.	Precarious.	Precariousness in the street.	Economy.	"Express services" refer to the precariousness. It seems like an euphemism.	Informal but educated, "Express services".		Dignity.			Recognition of labour rights.	
B 2 D	Trans* sex workers.	Street-Whore-Latina-trans*-woman-working class-impooverished	Economic support of family.		Economy.	Sex work as "ally" to "transition" and maintain the family.	Informal.			Transfeminism.		Recognition of labour rights.	"we need it"
B 2 E	Trans* sex workers.	Street-Whore-Latina-trans*-woman-working class-impooverished	Economic support of family.	Family needs.	Economy.		Informal.			Transfeminism.	Indirect mention to governmental institutions.	Decriminalisation and recognition of labour rights.	
B 2 F	Trans* sex workers.	Street-Whore-Latina-trans*-woman-working class-impooverished	Economic support of family.	Fines and harassment due to Gag Law produce economic struggles.	Economy.	She refers to the "electoral program" of government	Informal and dramatical: "We don't have anything against whores", "fucking our incomes".		Human rights.	Human rights discourse.	Indirect mention to governmental institutions and police (harassment).	Abolition of the Gag Law.	"I'm hoping for this government..."
B 2 G	Trans* sex workers.	Street-Whore-Latina-trans*-woman-working class-impooverished	Political subjects.	Ignored by politicians.	Political sphere.	She uses "working class" for the first time	Informal and dramatical again.		Political account.	Socialist discourse.	Direct mention to government and socialist parties.	Politicians must work for sex workers.	
B 3 A	Migrant sex workers.	Street-Whore-working class-impooverished	Political subjects.	Undocumented migrants can be fined.	Work.		Informal, "mate"		Sorority	Feminism.		Decriminalisation of sex work.	
B 3 B	Migrant sex workers.	Street-Whore-working class-impooverished	Criminalised.	Afraid of being fined.	Work.								
B 3 C	Trans* migrant sex workers.	Street-Whore-Latina-trans*-woman-working class-impooverished	Harassment.	Police harass as they feel empowered towards the migrants.	Work.	"resentment" refers to disgusting towards trans*, not rancour; "macho" refers to the image of "ideal man"	Informal and dramatical ("get smashed")		"Macho" culture	Feminism on sexism discourses.	Direct blame on police.		
B 3 D	Trans* migrant sex workers.	Street-Whore-Latina-trans*-woman-working class-impooverished	Harassment	Stigma over migrants legitimise violence by police.	Work.	"poligono" industrial area, is the "street" where they work.	Informal and dramatical.		Equality.	Critique to discourses against migration. Racism.	Direct blame on police.		
B 3 E	Trans* migrant sex workers.	Street-Whore-Latina-trans*-woman-working class-impooverished	Harassment	Harassment and abuse of power.	Work.		Informal.	Equality.	Feminism.		Set up a collective of sex workers.	"We decided to set up..."	
B 4 A	Sex workers.		Underrecognized.				Political tone.				Recognition as sex workers.		

B 4 B	Sex workers.		Harassment.	Harassment by police.			Informal "police is shit"			Direct blame on police.	Safe work.	"We need"	
B 4 C	Trans* migrant sex workers.	Street-Whore-Latina-trans*-woman-working class-impoveryished	Harassment.	Harassment by police.	Work.	Recognition of abuse of power as "violence".	Informal and dramatical. "Excuse me? That's it, dear"		Equality	Racism and transphobia.	Direct blame on police.		
B 4 D	Sex workers.		Underrecognized.				Political tone.				Recognition as sex workers to debate on sex work.		
B 4 E	Sex workers.		Exploited.	With no recognition,	Work	"model" refer to business regulatory model for sex work.	Informal and dramatical "I fight against trafficking but I don't care about whores"; aggressive: And the whores? Exploited! Repetitions to emphasise		Equality. Human rights.	Human rights discourse on labour exploitation and decreasing.	Indirect mention to politicians.	Recognition as sex workers to build a labour model for sex work.	"we can work on a labour model"
B 4 F	Street sex workers.	Street-whores-impoveryished	Exploited.	Exploitation.	Work.		Informal.		Equality. Human rights.	Human rights discourse on labour exploitation and decreasing.	Indirect mention to politicians.	Politicians must give a solution to sex workers.	"we need houses or rooms".
B 5 A	Extremely impoveryished sex workers.	Whores-extremely impoveryished	Impoveryished and vulnerable.	No funding for colleagues with needs.	Economy.	"emergency state" during pandemic times.	Informal "we don't even have one peso"		Equity. Sorority and solidarity			Collect funding for colleagues in extreme conditions.	
B 5 B	Extremely impoveryished sex workers.	Whores-extremely impoveryished	Impoveryished and vulnerable.	No funding for colleagues with needs.	Economy.		Informal, not very specific "doing things"		Equity. Sorority and solidarity			Contact with charities.	"We started organising ourselves"
B 6 A	Migrant sex workers.	Migrant-Whore-working class-impoveryished	Excluded.	No access to health care system for migrants as they are not recognised as workers.	Health care system.		Informal and dramatical "Oh gosh! I know a bunch"; sarcastic: "a real job"		Equality. Right to health care.				
B 6 B	Migrant sex workers.	Migrant-Whore-working class-impoveryished	Not trusted.	Stigma. Migrant not trusted (she received the bill before the treatment)	Health care system.		Informal: "gushing", to emphasise.		Equality. Right to health care.			Go to a trustworthy independent doctor.	"I went to an independent doctor" "I tell my mates to go there".
B 6 C	Migrant sex workers.	Migrant-Whore-working class-impoveryished	Discriminated	Discrimination from State and doctors.	Health care system.	"discriminated" refers to a situation where she is not assisted like everyone else.			Equality. Right to health care.	Racism.	Direct blame to Government and health professionals.		
B 6 D	Migrant sex workers.	Migrant-Whore-working class-impoveryished	Not trusted.	Stigma. Migrant not trusted (she received the bill before the treatment)	Health care system.				Equality. Right to health care.	Racism.	Direct blame to Government and health professionals		
B 6 E	Trans* migrant sex workers.	Street-Whore-Latina-trans*-woman-working class-impoveryished	Stigmatised.	Stigma and stereotypes.	Society.	She uses "trans*-whore" as concept to defined the stigma.			Equality.	Racism and transphobia.			
B 6 F	Trans* migrant sex workers.	Street-Whore-Latina-trans*-woman-working class-impoveryished	Stigmatised.	Stigma and stereotypes.	Society.		Informal: "we are sucking...". Dramatical: "The whore earns..."						
B 6 G	Street sex workers.	Street-whores-working class-impoveryished.	Discriminated	Elitism within sex workers.	Work.	"elitist" refers to the feeling of superiority within the class system.	Informal: "kick in the pussy".		Equality.	Classism and elitism.	Indirect blame to classists.		
B 6 H	Street sex workers.	Street-whores-working class-impoveryished.	Discriminated	Stereotypes.	Work.				Equality.	Classism and elitism.	Indirect blame to society.	Reject stereotypes and focus on reality.	"We have to leave that in the past"

B 6 I	Street sex workers.	Street-whores-working class-impooverished.	Discriminated	Elitism within sex workers.	Work	"levels" refer to social stratus.			Equality.	Classism and elitism.	Indirect blame to classists.		
B 6 J	Street sex workers.	Street-whores-working class-impooverished.	Harassd.	Harassment by police	Work				Equality.	Racism and classism.	Direct blame to police.		
B 6 K	Migrant sex workers.	Migrant-Whore-working class-impooverished	Exclude d.	Impossibility of accessing to health care system for workers with illnesses	Health care system.	"AIDS" and STD is used as an example of the consequences of their work and how discriminated they are even in hard conditions.			Equality and solidarity .		Indirect blame to Government and health professionals		
B 6 L	Migrant sex workers.	Migrant-Whore-working class-impooverished	Exclude d.	Impossibility of accessing to health care system for workers with illnesses and no support.	Health care system.						Indirect blame to Government and health professionals	Access to health care system	
B 7 A	Trans* migrant sex workers.	Street-Whore-Latina-trans*-woman-working class-impooverished	Stigmati sed.	Stigma.	Society.	A very specific concept of "woman", "outside the cannon".			Equality.	Transfeminis m.		Help from self-experience.	"I help them"
B 7 B	Trans* migrant sex workers.	Street-Whore-Latina-trans*-woman-working class-impooverished	Stigmati sed.		Society.	"sex work", as work, "sex" as biological category and "gender" as social construct.			Equality	Feminisms and transfeminism .		Workshops for trans* sex workers.	
B 7 C	Trans* migrant sex workers.	Street-Whore-Latina-trans*-woman-working class-impooverished	Stigmati sed.		Society.				Equality	Feminisms and transfeminism .		Show another concept of woman.	
B 7 D	Trans* migrant sex workers.	Street-Whore-Latina-trans*-woman-working class-impooverished	Stigmati sed.	Roles by a patriarchal system.	Society.	"Woman" is not having long hair and nails or to cook food. Bigger spectrum.			Equality	Feminisms and transfeminism .	Direct blame to patriarchal system.	Help from self-experience.	

## 12.5. Interview 4

Transcripts and coding table – Luna (L)

L0	<i>Luna (nickname). Migrant woman in the process of getting regular status. Collaborator in CPS. Trans* woman from a Latin American country. She lives in Andalusia. She works in the street (in industrial areas).</i>
L1	It means to me to help other women and also to fight for my rights... as woman, as whore, you know as ... you know, trans*...
L2A	We had really bad experiences... spaces were denied because of... a lot of places. Because we are whores. We are tired. We, whores, we are not in the political debate and trans* they sometimes call us but then we are not in important things.
L2B	We, trans* women, there are statistics about us, but no one looks for solutions. The trans* women unemployment rate is astonishing, let's look for a solution. Statistics are used in political debates but nothing else. Government can do something.
L3A	Some mates... They don't have a house, we have to call to social services. Everything is so precarious. It's terrible. No help. Without... how can you afford the rent. They gave a phone number, I've got a phone number. I called (to fill in the form to get benefits, she means) and they told me that I can't call to that number, someone has to do it for me.
L3B	<p>➤ Who? An NGO, another entity?</p> <p>Yes... hmm... then you listen to the news... "people are being disconnected"... (she means from hospital due to coronavirus) because... mmm... there are other people... they need to "live more". So I'm terrified. I... if I got an illness I'm sure I won't be connected. Some mates called me... "I feel I can't breathe"... so I tell them... my love, rest... sleep on a side. We try to give a hand... mates call me crying.</p>
L4	We can't fight for our rights, they are denied, so, at least, let's improve the living conditions of our mates in clubs... Food, cleaning, all those stuff... of course, trafficking exists... I don't deny it, it exists. I haven't seen it but it exists.
L5	We have a WhatsApp group where we support each other... "guys, I have a client this afternoon, do you know him?"... she sends the picture... "Ah, I knew him". "How is him?" "He is not trustworthy". Or "Yes, he is going to ask you for... this and that". Or like "I have a client at 6pm... who is available?" "I am available". So right before entering the room, she shares "Live Location" (on WhatsApp) during 2 hours. And I know where is she during two hours. And after the service, I call her.
L6A	We don't receive resources because we are not in the census. And we are not in the census because we don't have a job... and women work in the clubs because we can't rent.
L6B	Normally, you rent a flat, uh? Normally a client's... what's the matter with clients? They want to... uh... fuck... whenever they want to. And if you don't want to, they kick you out of the flat.
L6C	And a woman has to do it, you know, a woman has to do it because she has three kids and you know no one will want to rent you a flat, knowing you are what you are (a migrant sex worker). And sometimes the client arrives with friends. So we are forced to work in clubs.
L7	Some mates, you know, as they think they can't access to health care system, they practice their own abortion, with pills... so we go to the clubs and at least we tell them that, they are going to do it for sure, no matter what we say, but at least we tell them to go to the doctor if they feel very bad. We inform them about their rights regarding health care.

## Interview 4 – Analysis table – Luna (L)

	Identity (subject)	Inter-categories	Situated identity (social position)	Problem representation	Social space	Concepts (Key terms)	Style (language and tone)	Markers	Cultural value	Intertextuality (references to other discourses)	Direct/indirect mentions (what/who is to blame)	Solution representation (demands)	Action statements
L 1	Trans* woman sex worker	Whore-trans*-woman-working class-impoverished	Feminist		Everyday struggles.	"women", very broad concept	Informal	She constantly hesitates	Sorority and equality	Transfeminism.		Solidarity towards other women and fight for rights.	"It means to me"
L 2 A	Trans* woman sex worker	Whore-trans*-woman-working class-impoverished	Marginalised	Spaces and political participation denied because of stigma.	Political sphere	"political debate" as social space where they want to be; sex workers as political subjects	Informal "we are not in important things", political sphere				Very implicit blame on researchers and institutions.		
L 2 B	Trans* woman sex worker	Whore-trans*-woman-working class-impoverished	Marginalised	Sex workers' demands are ignored	Political sphere	"unemployment" is important since if a trans* person possibilities to find a job are low, they look for solutions in prostitution	Informal "let's look for a solution"				Direct mention to government	Change of policies	"let's look for a solution"
L 3 A	Very impoverished sex workers	Whore-woman-working class-extremely impoverished	Ignored	Precariousness and no support	Social services	"precarious" means extremely impoverished	Informal and dramatical: "how can you afford the rent"		Solidarity		Very implicit blame on social services		
L 3 B	Very impoverished sex workers	Whore-woman-working class-extremely impoverished	Afraid	Afraid because of stigmas, "if I got an illness I'm sure I won't be connected"	Health care		Informal and dramatical: "I feel I can't breathe"	"Then" to change the topic; she does not introduce the issues	Sorority and solidarity	Feminism	Very implicit blame on social services	Emotional support by phone	"I tell them... my love, rest..."
L 4	Sex workers	Whore-woman-working class-impoverished	Ignored	Sex workers right denied	Work	She talks about "trafficking" as human trafficking for sexual exploitation reasons	Informal, "Food, cleaning, all those stuff..."	She "jumps" from one topic to another	Sorority and solidarity	Feminism	Very implicit blame on institutions	Improve conditions in clubs	
L 5	Sex workers	Whore-woman-working class-impoverished	Supportive		Work	"Support", help	Informal and dramatical (she fakes a conversation)		Sorority	Feminism		Support and sorority relations through technology	
L 6 A	Migrant sex workers, undocumented	Whore-Migrant-undocumented woman-working class-impoverished	No rights	Undocumented sex workers forced to work on clubs as they can't rent	Work and renting		"we don't have a job" means "our job is not recognised"		Right to have a place to live				
L 6 B	Migrant sex workers, undocumented	Whore-Migrant-undocumented woman-working class-impoverished	Victims	Few options to rent; conflicts with clients who rent sex workers a flat	Work and renting		Informal but a bit shy, "fuck"		Right to have a place to live		Direct blame to clients.		
L 6 C	Migrant sex workers, undocumented	Whore-Migrant-undocumented woman-working class-impoverished	Stigmatised	Needs of sex workers (kids) and few opportunities to rent due to stigma force them to work for third parties	Work and renting		Informal, talking about herself and others (third person) "And a woman has to do it"		Right to have a place to live		Direct blame to clients.		
L 7	Migrant sex workers, undocumented	Whore-Migrant-undocumented woman-working class-impoverished	Underinformed	Lack of information affects sex workers, as they practising self-induced abortions	Health care		Mixture of formal "regarding health care rights" and informal, "very bad"				Inform about right to health care and what to do regarding illnesses.		