Cluster Conversation: Talking Back Through Rhetorical Surveillance Studies: Intersectional Feminist and Queer Approaches

Introduction

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Abstract: While surveillance practices have long histories that pre-date the digital age, recent transnational events have brought into sharper focus the prevalence of surveillance and its targets, especially multiply marginalized communities who are women, LGBTQIA+, disabled, Black, Indigenous, and people of color. This rhetorical moment requires our attention and collective action. That is, our academic scholarship and public discourse cannot ignore or downplay the oppressive lunge toward ever-increasing surveillance. With this cluster conversation, our goal is to invite and enact a talking back to surveillance infrastructures of power in a way that is a "gesture of defiance that heals, that makes new life and new growth possible" (hooks 9; Browne 62). "Talking back," as we use it here, comes from the critical work of Black feminists. We set the stage for talking back to surveillance practices, technologies, and cultures using a repertoire of feminist and queer rhetorics. Our goal is to argue for the sustained and sustainable study of surveillance in rhetorical studies but, more specifically, insist on forwarding intersectional feminist and queer frameworks in that study. In this introduction to the cluster conversation, the editors briefly review major moves and important concepts in the interdisciplinary field of Surveillance Studies. This cluster conversation features nine manuscripts, exploring the following themes: State and Government Surveillance, Surveillance of Women's Bodies and Surveillance Technologies, Surveillance in Schools, and Tactics. Through this cluster, we hope to establish not only the need for rhetorical surveillance studies grounded in intersectional feminist and queer practices but also uplift the voices of emerging scholars and graduate students already talking back.

Keywords: surveillance, technology, bodies, tactics, talking back, intersectional feminist and queer framework

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Introduction

"Surveillance," as a critical term, invokes the systemic observational practices purposefully used to discipline and control bodies. While surveillance practices have long histories that pre-date the digital age, recent transnational events have brought into sharper focus the prevalence of surveillance and its targets, especially communities who are women, LGBTQIA+, disabled, Black, Indigenous, and people of color. This rhetorical moment requires our attention and collective action. That is, our academic scholarship and public discourse cannot ignore or downplay the aggressive lunge toward ever-increasing surveillance. These dystopian possibilities are, indeed, materializing quickly and rendered visible by recent controversies surrounding reproductive justice following the simultaneous overturning of *Roe v. Wade* and *Planned Parenthood v. Casey*; anti-trans and anti-LGBTQIA+ legislation, especially related to healthcare; content restrictions in social media, schools, and public libraries; the ongoing war and apartheid in Palestine; the violent dismantling of peaceful college campus encampments protesting the necropolitical horrors of American-sponsored war; and thorough integration of biometrics and artificial intelligence (AI) into our daily lives––just to reference a few. To grasp the connections between these events and the rhetorical study of surveillance, consider these examples:

1. As we write this introduction in summer 2024, the second anniversary of the *Dobbs v. Jackson Women's Health Organization* has just passed. In the United States, the devastating reversal of federal abortion rights in 2022 has been followed by a constant barrage of attacks on reproductive rights, which allows and encourages surveillance. The list of states increases by the month (see fig. 1). Anti-abortion centers, which rhetorically position themselves as "pregnancy crisis centers," have made use of data-driven Google ads and search engine optimization (SEO) in order to dissuade treatment. Such centers, search engines, ads, and mobile apps also collect valuable data that experts fear may be used as evidence in legal action, which most often targets women of color in urban areas (Abrams and Bergengruen; Gillo, this cluster). Research has shown that abortion bans of all types have the greatest impact on people in marginalized groups (Hartline and Novotny; Foster; Jarman; McGinn Valley et al.). In particular, Fuentes writes how individuals who face systemic racism, especially Black and Indigenous women, and other forms of oppression may encounter compounding barriers to obtaining an abortion.
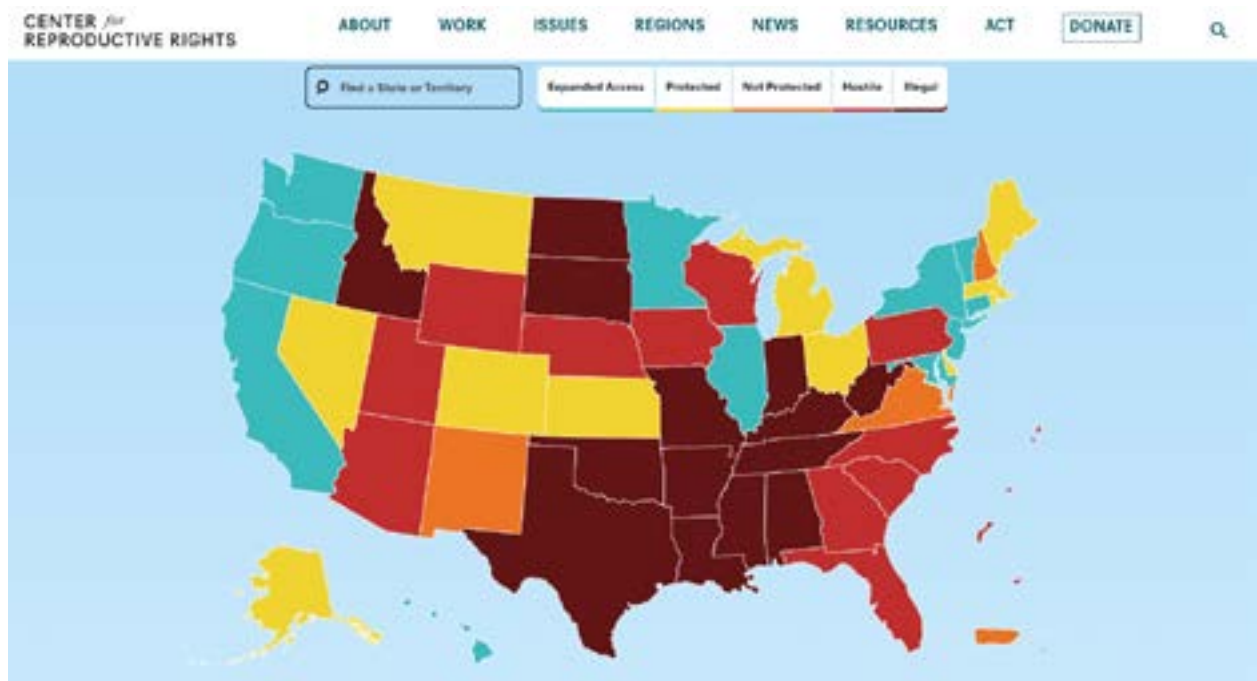
Fig. 1: The Center for Reproductive Rights offers an interactive map tracking abortion-related legislation, court decisions, and policy post-Roe.

2. Similar surveillance practices have been forcefully applied to migrants at the southern border to restrict and control movement. For example, since 2021, Texas' "Operation Lone Star" has received more than $11 billion to maintain what Governor Greg Abbott characterizes as essential in maintaining Texas' right to self-defense. Part of this "self-defense" includes the Modular Mobile Surveillance Systems (M2S2) used by the Texas National Guard, which are "equipped with advanced cameras that can detect the presence of migrant caravans long before they begin crossing the border illegally" (Serano). Sarah Sherman-Stokes has described these kinds of tactics and technologies as the "multimodal nature of surveillance and enforcement" (234), and these technologies are made more palatable by a media obsessed with spectacle. To this end, Camilla Fojas writes, "Media about the border disseminate a culture of borderveillance and mark the integration of immigration surveillance with entertainment modes. Control over mobility, along with the procedures of processing and sorting migrants into citizen and noncitizen, is not merely a news event local to the border regions but part of the drama of everyday life in the United States" (28). The technologies of "borderveillance" paired with deeply rooted xenophobic and racist ideologies make possible Donald Trump's campaign promise to initiate "the largest deportation" in American history a key plank of his 2024 Presidential campaign, and, since winning the election, has pushed for aggressive and immediate action to begin on January 20, 2025.

3. Surveillance is used extensively in Gaza and the West Bank, and that is a feminist and queer issue. Palestinians have been under surveillance since, at least, the period of British colonialism wherein both physical technologies of surveillance (e.g., watch towers, separation walls, prisons) and bureaucratic technologies of surveillance (e.g., census, identity cards) were deployed (Len-

tin). The continuing colonization of Palestine since the founding of Israel has been supported by the growing sophistication of surveillance technologies. In May 2023, just months prior to the October 7th attacks, Amnesty International released their report "Automated Apartheid" documenting a pervasive system of facial and biometric identification that contributes to "a coercive environment aimed at forcing Palestinians to leave areas of strategic interest to Israeli authorities, by making their ordinary lives unbearable" (8). This surveillance regime indiscriminately observes all Palestinians using the familiar rhetoric of "(inter)national security." This rhetoric is used to justify genocide.

4. Keeping the mass surveillance of Palestinians via biometric technology in mind, we must note that mass surveillance is also happening across university campus protests in solidarity with Gaza. As Mir, Klosowski, and Romero write, surveillance occurs during protests in both overt or visible, and covert or invisible ways (see also Guariglia). Many campuses are resorting to similar tactics used on the Gaza strip to identify protestors or "threats" and calling in militarized police forces. Such identification doesn't just include video and audio recordings—protesters may also be subject to tracking methods like facial recognition technology and location tracking from their phone, school ID usage, or other sensors (Mir, Klosowski, and Romero). Similar tactics have been used against student activists before including during the 2020 Black Lives Matter protests.

5. In 2019, *Article 19* released a report documenting how countries like Lebanon, Egypt, and Iran used data collected from dating and social media apps to target and entrap LGBTQIA+ citizens for arrest under "anti-debauchery," "acts against nature," and similar morality laws (Rigot). A study by INSIKT GROUP reported, for example, that across much of Africa and Middle East, the LGBTQIA+ community is "perceived as a threat to society that states are combating through organized crackdowns, surveillance, and censorship." In some instances, governments are partnering with private sector surveillance organizations to target "high risk" groups, which includes the LGBTQIA+ community. Entrapment by law enforcement agencies and criminals is a common theme observed across Africa and the Middle East, with the outing of LGBTQIA+ individuals posing a significant threat due to strict anti-LGBTQIA+ legislation and socially conservative views among the public (INSIKT GROUP).[1] This kind of targeted surveillance of LGBTQIA+ communities, of course, is not exclusive to these regions and is increasingly a tactic used in the West.

6. Surveillance has increased globally with in artificial intelligence implementation in various industrial sectors. From deepfakes (see Feiger), to Olympic surveillance (see Meaker), supply management (see Nitschinger), and more, AI is seemingly ubiquitous. For example, the overabundance of 'smart' devices has caused consumer concern. A UK consumer group called Which? found that there are more 'everyday' items than we realize that are spying on us (see Booth). In their example, Which? tested three air fryers each of which requested permission

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1   For the full global report, please visit: https://go.recordedfuture.com/hubfs/reports/cta-2020-0714.pdf

to record audio on the user's phone through a connected app, ultimately citing personal data and privacy concerns. We've also seen an increase in hyper-surveillance of messaging and applications, with the intent to locate dissenters. For example, after allegedly making disparaging comments about politician Xi Jinping in WeChat, a Chinese instant messaging application, economist Zhu Hengpeng has not been seen in public (see Davidson). Further, in West Africa, surveillance has increased in the name of public health and safety with the creation of a pathogen surveillance model (see Broad Institute). Though the intent is promising and influential, we see medical surveillance as a privacy invasion that has severe implications for bodies who are deemed "at risk" or "not in compliance." This surveillance system was introduced nearly a year after demonstrable increases in spending on surveillance technologies occurred across a number of African nations. A report by the Institute of Development Studies (IDS) and the African Digital Rights Network (ADRN) found that surveillance tech is being used to "single out citizens for harassment, detention and torture for expressing opposing views, violating international human rights law and the technology companies' policies" (see Harrisberg & Bhalla).

We do not share these examples to fearmonger or project a sense of nihilism about the inescapability of oppressive surveillance. These brief and in no way comprehensive examples certainly provide a terrifying but nonetheless important glimpse at the impacts of surveillance on multiply marginalized bodies on a global scale. Surveillance, in these examples, is activated for different reasons, by different authorities, and across different contexts; however, the end goal remains the same: a reification of power and the control of bodies. And, therefore, the rhetorical study of surveillance is an intersectional feminist and queer project.

With this cluster conversation, our goal is to invite and enact a *talking back* to surveillance infrastructures of power in a way that is a "gesture of defiance that heals, that makes new life and new growth possible" (hooks 9; Browne 62). "Talking back," as we use it here, comes from the critical work of Black feminists. Theorizing from her experience growing up in a southern Black community, bell hooks explains talking back as "speaking as an equal to an authority figure" and a "rite of initiation, testing [one's] courage, strengthening [one's] commitment, and preparing [one] for the days ahead" (123; 128). Talking back, in hooks' thinking, is liberatory insofar as the speech act challenges dominate systems of power openly. Rhetorically speaking, we might pair hooks' talking back with the feminist and queer reimaginings of ethos wherein "the physical body, ethos, and subjectivity necessarily intertwine" (Shellenberger; see also Ryan, Meyers, and Jones). Building on hooks, sociologist Simone Browne argues that "talking back [...] is one way of challenging surveillance and its imposition of norms" (62). Browne's work, which has become foundational in the study of surveillance, demonstrates the long histories of surveillance targeting Blackness, and defines surveillance as both discursive and material. Taking hooks and Browne's work seriously means not only acknowledging the need or potential to talk back but also act.

In this introduction, we set the stage for talking back to surveillance practices, technologies, and cultures using a repertoire of feminist and queer rhetorics. Our goal is to argue for the sustained and sus-

tainable study of surveillance in rhetorical studies but, more specifically, insist on forwarding intersectional feminist and queer frameworks in that study. We briefly review major moves and important concepts in the interdisciplinary field of Surveillance Studies. We then call attention to the efforts in rhetoric, composition, and technical communication that take up surveillance and how those conversations have shaped current discourses in the field. After establishing these important genealogies, we explicitly highlight our goals for this cluster, our editorial commitments, and overview the included essays. Through this cluster, we hope to establish not only the need for rhetorical surveillance studies grounded in intersectional feminist and queer practices but also uplift the voices of emerging scholars and graduate students *already* talking back.

Surveillance Studies

Interdisciplinary researchers argue surveillance depends on emergent *social structures* and *social processes* often rendered invisible for the benefit of political, cultural, technological, and educational institutions (Marx). The study of surveillance, unsurprisingly, draws heavily from sociology because, as David Lyon explains, these surveillance structures and processes are "not merely something exercised on us as workers, citizens or travelers, it is a set of processes which we are all involved, both as watched and as watchers" (13). Going further, Morgan Banville defines surveillance as the collection of both visible and invisible data/information derived from those being observed, suggesting an application of power over the observed audience, who are often not informed of such collection ("Am I Who" 32). One implication of defining surveillance as the "application of power over the observed audience" may be viewed through what Mark Andrejevic calls "mass culture," which, "like the mass market that produces it, has long been criticized for being top down, homogeneous, and non-participatory" (28). The term "top-down" is important to emphasize because of the connotations of power/dominance over both living and non-living actors.

Its firm grounding in social sciences as well as the humanities differentiates surveillance studies from, for example, cybersecurity research, which is often housed in computer science and engineering disciplines. This is not to say that surveillance studies doesn't engage with the technical features of cybersecurity; indeed, notable new examples of surveillance systems worthy of rhetorical analysis are "smart surveillance," which has the potential to create new divisions of perceptual labor between humans and computers, as exemplified through the Internet of Things (IOT) items (Ring doorbell, smoke detectors, thermostats, Alexa, Google Home, refrigerators, etc.) (Gates). However, while technologies are essential nodes within the larger network, our actions as the watched and as watchers are essential to understanding the rhetorical structures that maintain surveillance cultures. What surveillance studies does, in our assessment, is make space to interrogate the *need and desire* for cybersecurity, the *need and desire* for tracking technologies, and, of course, the *need and desire* to control bodies.

While surveillance should be studied as a constellation of social structures and cultural processes, Surveillance Studies has not always attended to the complexities of "the social" or "the cultural" in ways that may be familiar to those of us in rhetorical studies. Often discussed as "ubiquitous," these rhetorics flatten

the disproportionate impact surveillance has on systemically excluded communities (Kafer). Put another way, to say surveillance is everywhere and impacts everyone ignores how multiply marginalized communities suffer the brunt of the impact. Surveillance happens at the intersections. Only recently have researchers purposefully engaged intersectional frameworks to better understand how our identities, positionalities, and relationalities influence and are influenced by surveillance (Monahan), especially when considering issues of race (Browne), gender/gender nonconformity (Beauchamp), and sexuality/queerness (Kafer and Grinberg). For example, in their important edited collection *Feminist Surveillance Studies*, Rachel E. Dubrofsky and Shoshana Amielle Magnet argue that intersectional feminist praxis offers a critical intervention in surveillance studies that can address the foundational technologies of disenfranchisement that maintain normalizing structures of whiteness, able-bodiedness, heterosexuality, and cisgenderism under late capitalism (3). Going further, Kafer and Grinberg argue, "Attending to the queerness of surveillance demands vigilance to the ways in which norms mutate across sites of control and how different intersections of queer and trans identity can be rendered threatening or secure in relation to certain abject Others" (595). Such an intersectional praxis attends specifically to the body (and bodies) as realized through surveillance, and a rhetorical methodology, here, presents a tool kit attuned to how discourses of surveillance circulate and take hold in the public imagination and political arena.

Finally, while the focus of a great deal of research demonstrates how systems of power disenfranchise through making certain raced, sexed, gendered, classed, and disabled communities invisible––removing them from the historical record, denying community expertise, silencing dissent––surveillance does the reverse: disenfranchisement by careful observation. Torin Monahan, a leading scholar in the field, echoes this insight and names it "marginalizing surveillance," which marks individual bodies and entire communities "as complicit victims, society outcasts, invasive species, or swarms" and "pulls bodies between extremes of compulsory legibility and exclusionary invisibility" (202). Along with scholars like Monahan and Browne, we insist that any study of surveillance must account for the intersectional difference that calls our bodies and communities into being. This marking of bodies for the purposes of observation, categorization, and control through the strategies of "compulsory legibility and exclusionary invisibility" is, without a doubt, rhetorical.

Efforts in Rhetoric, Composition, and Technical Communication

From this point of view, we believe rhetoric and its collegial fields of composition and technical communication are primed to make important contributions to interdisciplinary conversations about surveillance, especially if we practice our unique repertoire of feminist and queer tactics for talking back. Even with relatively limited uptake, rhetoricians have already contributed important insights about surveillance. For example, scholarship has emphasized the rhetorical surveillance of wearables and other biometric tracking technologies (Banville "Am I Who"; Tham et al.; Hutchinson and Novotny), surveillance in classrooms and pedagogical interventions (Banville and Sugg; Beck et al.; Johnson), data aggregation and commodification (Woods and Wilson); issues of authorship and copyright (Reyman; Amidon et. al), privacy policies as rhetorically designed texts (Banville "Resisting Surveillance"; Pandya and Pigg; Woods and Johnson), internet

infrastructures (Beck; Hess; McKee), identity and government surveillance (Dolmage; Cedillo; Ramos), and more. A range of these topics were addressed in the field's first edited collection on the topic *Privacy Matters: Conversations about Surveillance Within and Beyond the Classroom*, published only four years ago. And, while not always explicitly tied to surveillance, insights from researchers in technofeminist rhetorics also "embrace and enact the interconnectedness of technological practices and gender, race, class, and sexuality, as well as their co-constitution and shaping of each other" (Shivers-McNair, Gonzales, and Zhyvotovska 46) in ways that shore up the important investigations that can be undertaken by feminist and queer scholars of rhetoric.

While scholarship on surveillance has been published in the field since, at least, the early 1990s with articles like Joseph Janangelo's "Technopower and Technoppression: Some Abuses of Power and Control in Computer-assisted Writing Environments" and Gail Hawisher and Cynthia L. Selfe's "The Rhetoric of Technology and the Electronic Classroom," as the citations in the previous paragraphs attest, the majority of rhetorical scholarship on surveillance, and its related concept of privacy, did not take shape until about a decade ago. In her recent book *Working Through Surveillance and Technical Communication,* Sarah Young offers an excellent overview of relevant scholarship and helpfully identifies eleven themes or areas of emphasis:

1. Surveillance in the workplace

2. Surveillance in schools

3. State/government surveillance

4. Medical surveillance

5. Surveillance of women's bodies

6. Surveillance technologies

7. Teaching surveillance

8. Surveillance research and development

9. Tactics of resistance via Certeau

10. Consequences of surveillance

11. Foucault, panopticism, and/or disciplinary power

These areas of emphasis, of course, are not studied in isolation and topics often overlap and intersect. While seemingly extensive, Young notes that, often, scholarly engagement with surveillance is passing, and she encourages working with and expanding our rhetorical vocabularies around surveillance.

Building on this momentum, the Digital Rhetorical Privacy Collective (DRPC) was founded in 2022

by Charles Woods, Morgan Banville, Gavin P. Johnson, Chen Chen, Cecilia Shelton, and Noah Wason. The DRPC's mission is explicitly feminist and queer: bridging scholarly and public conversations about surveillance and privacy to enact coalitional action dedicated not only to ending oppression under surveillance capitalism, but also to building equitable futures for all ("About the DRPC"). This work has begun in earnest through academic dialogue across multiple university and professional communities, and we, Morgan and Gavin, are proud to be a part of this coalitional effort. Coalition, we know, has become a commonplace in feminist and queer rhetorics. As Aurora Matzke, Louis M. Maraj, Angela Clark-Oates, Anyssa Gonzales, and Sherry Rankins-Robertson argue in a recent special issue of this journal, coalition is both a rhetorically powerful tactic and a intentional moving toward the uncomfortable work happening elsewhere. For scholars, that often means moving beyond the purely theoretical work of the academy (Mcclantoc). The DRPC and the coalition of scholars discussing surveillance rhetorically must continue moving toward uncomfortable work if our goal is building equitable feminist and queer futures.

Cluster Conversations

This cluster comes at a time when the field is finding its collective voice and talking back to a pervasive social, cultural, rhetorical, and intersectional problem. Authors examine important issues in contemporary surveillance using feminist and queer methodologies and a range of methods, including rhetorical criticism, interface analysis, discourse analysis, participant interviews, mixed methods language coding, and more. They show us that there are many ways we can talk back to and through our research.

Considering our emphasis on surveillance as controlling bodies and the rhetorical possibilities of talking back as well as *Peitho*'s purpose and audience, we believe it is pertinent to make use of some of Sarah Young's categories to demonstrate how these researchers are intervening and expanding our current conversations about rhetorical surveillance.

State and Government Surveillance

We begin with two articles focusing on State and Government Surveillance (Young's third theme). In "**Digital Surveillance and Control of Chinese Feminists and a Transnational Response,**" **Chen Chen** uses a case study of violence against Chinese feminists, illustrating how contemporary and historic surveillance technologies (digital and pre-digital) specifically impact transnational, non-western communities and how transnational studies support or complicate feminist insights on the rhetorical contours of surveillance. Chen charts the contemporary strategies of surveilling Chinese feminists through textual, affective, and infrastructural dimensions and studies surveillance strategies use the rhetorics of "Da Zi Bao" (Big Character Posters) from China's Cultural Revolution era used to label feminists as traitors to the nation, which thrive in a nationalist affective economy supported by political and technological infrastructures that use technological instrumental power to control information circulation.

To further complicate the state and governmental surveillance tactics across the globe, **Charles Woods** writes about talking back to the use of biometrics for bodily control in "**'A Gesture of Defiance' From the Body: Interlocking Consent and the Privacy Aesthetic at the U.S. Southern Border**." Through an analysis of biometrics policies and practices used by the U.S. Department of Homeland Security Office of Biometric Identity Management, Woods' analysis amplifies how geo-spatial elements and multiple data usages support privacy erosion and unethical surveillance in the U.S. Southern Border. Woods posits that understanding how biometrics perpetuate oppression from an intersectional feminist perspective is a critical element of attuning to the oblique rhetorics of privacy and surveillance; recognizing the influence of ToS documents; understanding the intersection of "the body" and "the digital" as essential for new surveillance technologies; and, considering of the importance of space regarding data collection.

Surveillance of Women's Bodies and Surveillance Technologies

Next, authors engage with two themes as defined by Young: Surveillance of Women's Bodies (theme 5) and Surveillance Technologies (theme 6). In "**Digital Eyes on Bodies: Analyzing Post-Roe Reproductive Surveillance,**" **Emily Gillo**, focuses on the increased hypersurveillance of digital spaces and subsequent erosion of reproductive rights and privacy for people who menstruate and people who can get pregnant following the overturning of *Roe v. Wade*. Adopting a feminist "surveillance of care" framework, Gillo's contribution analyzes, critiques, and offers a critical feminist response to Flo, a popular period tracking app, its cis-heteronormative interface, and its inadequacy in providing privacy protections for its users.

Elitza Kotzeva also examines how surveillance technologies seek to control women's bodies in "**Face-Shaping Power of the Postfeminist Male Gaze, or Lateral Rhetorical Digital Surveillance in Armenia.**" Drawing on feminist surveillance theoretical work, she demonstrates that rhetorical digital surveillance is a product both of a patriarchal synopticon surveillance, where many observe the few, and a gynaeopticon, a type of female peer surveillance. Kotzeva argues that beauty norms solidified via globalized social media objectify the female body, counter traditional cultural practices, and normalize cosmetic surgery for young Armenian women.

Surveillance in Schools

Surveillance in Schools, Young's second theme, explores racialized and colonized workplaces. In "**Cohering Marginality: A Thematic Analysis of Mentorship and Counterveillance Among Black Women Scholars in Rhetoric and Writing Studies,**" **Christopher Morris** focuses on racialized workplace surveillance, which has been shown to negatively affect many Black women who work and attend school at U.S. colleges and universities. As Morris writes in this cluster conversation, many Black women who are profiled, isolated, and aggressed upon on the basis of racial identity have reported both emotional and professional distress in academia. At the same time, however, cultures of Black mentorship in higher education provide professional development and networks of care that counteract racialized workplace surveillance.

Next, **"Writing Centers are Watching: Surveillance, Colonialism, and Writing Tracking Data"** by **Kelin Loe, Angela Stalcup, Shannon Shepherd, and Breeanna Hicks** compliments Morris' examination of surveillance in higher education. The authors write about reckoning with their, and the writing center's, complicit relationship with data surveillance and colonial logics. They examine the forms used in a writing center to collect writer data and focus on how their own "best practices" have contributed to colonial logics of gender and the subjugation of student writers. They present preliminary conclusions about data collection practices and look toward future research at the intersections of feminist, decolonial, and surveillance studies in the writing center.

Tactics

Our final articles explicitly engage with three themes as defined by Young: Tactics of resistance [via Certeau] (theme 9), Consequences of surveillance (theme 10), and Foucault, panopticism, and/or disciplinary power (theme 11). **Amy Gaeta**'s contribution, "**A Disability Theory of Anti-Surveillance Tactics**" sketches how disabled people resist surveillance in everyday life in the liberal democracies of the Global North. Gaeta explores the normalizing gaze of the mass surveillance state and how it operates to sort subjects into 'kinds' of people in ways that amplify pre existing hegemonies, such as white supremacy, cisheteropatriarchy, and ableism. Further contributing to the interconnectedness of technological practices and intersectionality, Gaeta outlines tactics used by disabled people to resist surveillance as well as tactics of her own creation inspired by activist practices and recent events in social organizing.

Asa McMullen examines how Black women use multiple consciousness as a tool to perform sousveillance practices against bureaucratic systems, specifically law enforcement or police. In her contribution, "**'There is Power in Looking': The Oppositional Gaze in Black Women's Sousveillance Practices When Encountering Police,**" she examines how Black women use multiple consciousness to develop an oppositional gaze and become critical Black female spectators to police actions through sousveillance. McMullen argues that Black women's sousveillance practices formed from their oppositional gaze and critical Black female spectatorship give Black women autonomy over their experiences, allow them to show the truth of Black life, resist bureaucratic systems, and create counternarratives to racist narratives of Black experiences with the police.

Finally, in "**Studying Surveillance Through Hybrid Concealment Practices: A Queer Analysis of Digital Sex Work Safety Guides**," **Rachael Jordan** explores surveillance by analyzing the hybridity and concealment in digital sex work safety guides from multiple countries. As Jordan writes, sex workers are the "canaries in the digital coalmine" (Sly) as surveillance, including laws and censorship, are tested on sex workers before the general user population. Her contribution showcases surveillance of bodies, bridging technical communication scholarship with queer surveillance scholarship (Kafer and Grinberg) to study how sex workers work within/against systems of surveillance by utilizing the "hybrid concealment" necessary for hypermarginalized users when participating in digital spaces.

Final Reflections on Our Goals, Limitations, and the Need to Keep Talking Back

Feminist and queer work must always be intentional, and as editors, we aimed to be intentional in our work. We were happy to receive 28 proposals from a range of scholars ready to talk back, but, unfortunately, we could not accept every contribution. While reviewing submissions, we not only considered which pieces would demonstrate unique and actionable analysis alongside intersectional feminist and queer theorizing but considered the importance of uplifting the voices of early-career scholars and graduate students. After selecting contributors, we offered brief feedback and encouraged the submission of full essay drafts. Upon receiving those drafts, we initiated an anonymous peer review among the experts included in the cluster. Gavin had previously participated in a similar peer review as a contributor to a special issue[2] and felt that this model guaranteed a few important things: collaboration across the cluster, deeper engagement of authors, and removed the need for external volunteer labor. Each reviewer provided feedback on two essays using a heuristic designed to make actionable the core tenets of anti-racist scholarly reviewing practices as well as *Peitho's* reviewer expectations (Cagle et al.). Once each manuscript received two thorough reviews, we synthesized reviewer feedback for authors to guide revision. Throughout the process, authors were encouraged to work with the editors to clarify feedback, ask questions, and evaluate their argument within the scope of the cluster. After receiving revised manuscripts, we worked in collaboration with Ashanka Kumari on copy editing this cluster. We cannot express enough gratitude to Ashanka for her careful and encouraging reviews of cluster essays and this introduction.

Editorial intentionality, however, does not mean that this cluster comprehensively addresses the complex issues of surveillance and the need for intersectional feminist and queer approaches. First, we, Morgan and Gavin, recognize the influence our individual positionalities have had on this process. Our editorial decisions will, inevitably, reflect our own biases and ignorances. While we do exist at the intersections of some marginalized communities and brought our embodied experiences to this editorial work, we aim to not recenter our privileged positions as white cisgender academics here. The whole goal of this collection is to call attention to and amplify the ways surveillance happens at the intersections, and, we have done our best to direct authors and ourselves towards the uncomfortable work demanded of us.

Second, there are major gaps in these conversations. Notably, we do not have entries analyzing the surveillance of Black queer and trans communities, the enhancement of surveillance and erosion of privacy facilitated by emerging AI, feminist historiographies of pre-digital surveillance, and a host of other questions both asked and unasked in the original CFP[3]. And while you are reading this after the 2024 U.S. presidential election, these articles were composed and fully edited months before. We do, however, want to emphasize that many of the systemic issues identified in this cluster are, based on campaign promises and early announcements from the Trump transition team, likely to be exacerbated beginning in 2025. This, we believe, further demonstrates the need for talking back and taking coalitional and intersectional action.

2   Shout out to the editorial team of the "Toward a Digital Life" special issue of Communication Design Quarterly (vol 12, no. 2), Danielle Mollie Stambler, Saveena Chakrika Veeramoothoo, and Katlynne Davis.

3   Read the original CFP here: tinyurl.com/RhetSurveillanceCluster

Finally, another noticeable gap is a full discussion of ongoing and genocidal surveillance in Palestine, though we have worked to call attention through this introduction. We originally accepted an essay focusing on these issues; however, the author had to withdraw from the collection because of the increasing violence against Palestinians and the subsequent toll that studying the ongoing situation took on their health. Scholarship is an embodied practice, and if we are going to demand intersectional feminist and queer scholarly frameworks and engage in anti-racist editorial practices, we need to be transparent about the potential harms of doing this work and honor the needs of our colleagues.

To expand these conversations, and considering our growing surveillance society, we believe intersectional feminist and queer rhetorical frameworks are essential in identifying and challenging the contours of the theoretical, historical, and embodied entanglements of surveillance and rhetoric. We hope you find this cluster conversation challenging, actionable, and maybe even enjoyable, and join the uncomfortable but important rhetorical work of talking back.

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