Studying Surveillance Through Hybrid Concealment Practices: A Queer Analysis of Digital Sex Work Safety Guides

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Abstract: This article explores surveillance by analyzing the hybridity and concealment in digital sex work safety guides from multiple countries. Sex workers are the "canaries in the digital coalmine" (Sly) as surveillance, including laws and censorship, are "tried out" on sex workers before more "mainstream" users. Through analysis, this paper bridges sex worker voices 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 hyper-marginalized users when participating in digital spaces. These tactics, then, "talk back" through surveillance by centering sex workers' critical positions in their writing about combatting surveilling practices. We must continue analyzing, assessing, and addressing concealment/visibility: who gets to be visible and why and when; how do we weave concealment for imperative safety, privacy, and protection, especially when trying to enact harm reduction against criminalization and connected surveillance practices?

"Surveillance is not total. Things spill out, escape, mutate."

~ Kafer & Grinberg, "Queer Surveillance"

"Remember: Whores told you."

~ Bardot Smith, "Algorithmic Warfare" Workshop

Activist Orientations

I cannot write about surveillance without writing about sex work decriminalization. This means that any work I do exploring and engaging with surveillance, especially "queer surveillance," and its impact on hypermarginalized groups such as sex workers, must align with sex work activist aims. The ideas expressed in this piece are rooted in the need for decriminalization as the way to address the primary sources of harm for sex workers. As my analysis will show, it's not that sex work itself is inherently risky (any more so than other forms of work), but criminalization that *makes* sex work risky. The surveillance efforts involved in both maintaining criminalization and enacting punishment, oppression, and violence in the name of criminaliza-

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tion deserves attention.

I am a technical and professional communication (TPC) scholar who has an interest in texts not usually codified as "professional" for how they work against/within systems of oppression. My blatant call to sex work decriminalization activism is one move to discuss this issue openly and aid in reducing stigma about discussing sex work. My research stems from the desire to center sex worker voices to help complicate our scholarship. For this piece, I turn that lens towards queer surveillance.

Digital Sex Work Safety Guides & Queer Surveillance

Other work I do in TPC revolves around digital sex work safety guides, with a particular focus on how sex workers navigate documents of compliance such as terms of service. As I read more safety guides, I noticed a pattern of "hybrid concealment" tactics shared across documents, particularly to work around, with, or through surveillance systems embedded in online platforms. Also, sex workers make clear in their writing that it's always already safer for certain individuals (namely, white, conventionally attractive, cisgender women) to be visible as sex workers. As a queer, cisgender woman, with friends who have been in and out of the industry, I began to ask myself:

> How/are "hybrid concealment" tactics shared in documents, such as digital sex work safety guides, and used to combat surveillance? What can these guides teach us about queer surveillance and criminalized groups?

In its simplest form, surveillance can be about being observed by others and even oneself. However, my analysis works from Morgan Banville's definition of 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" (32). This definition and Banville's methodological framework of "interlocking surveillance" ––combining surveillance and intersectionality––is particularly important to queer surveillance, especially when we discuss criminalized groups who are often hyper-surveilled. Gary Kafer and Daniel Grinberg argue that queer surveillance offers three "propositions" for future research: queer surveillance requires a more "expansive view of control, power, and violence" (596), that a queer surveillance lens can help illuminate contours in the way surveillance is "encountered, imagined, and endured" (597), and that queer surveillance requires us to examine the ways "minoritarian subjects contest sorting and monitoring systems" (598). Analyzing sex worker created safety guides for their use of hybrid concealment is one way to extend the conversation about the tactics sex workers use to "contest sorting and monitoring systems" (Kafer and Grinberg 598) that work together to criminalize, deplatform, and oppress them.

I approach my analysis from the stance that "sex work is work." Though people engaged in sex work use various terms for their work, sex workers, organizations, and activists have been lobbying for years to un-

derstand sex work as labor and, therefore, to have the same labor rights as other jobs. Though not all people who engage in exchanging sexual services for resources identify with or refer to themselves as sex workers (D'Adamo), I follow Itchuaqiyaq, Edenfield, and Grant-Davie in claiming that sex workers *are already* professionals and, therefore, produce professional writing such as sex work safety guides. For example, in one interview, Kara, a current sex worker, highlighted how sex workers need to "conceptualize issues in a labour context...When we're talking about violence against sex workers, it's an occupational health and safety issue" (van der Meulen 154). Approaching sex work as work helps us with a more nuanced understanding of the surveillance impacts and surveillance affordances of criminalized work.

Hybrid Concealment

Hybrid concealment, then, is something to consider when dealing with communities whose work is criminalized. Here, I view hybrid concealment as a specific safety tactic for a hypermarginalized group, sex workers, to use to maintain safe working conditions through specific decisions about how much information to reveal and when, utilizing both visibility and concealment in several ways on the same platforms. If hybridity is an "always already" condition for any subject position (Bhabha) then we must interrogate and attest to who gets to be hybrid, when, and where. We need to account for whose hybridity is stigmatized and, in turn, surveilled. My analysis shows that sex workers use concealment ethically to protect themselves from surveillance practices, both visible and invisible, extending "queer surveillance" to include criminalized groups.

Rather than focus this article on sex workers experiencing these oppressive tactics, which sex workers themselves have discussed in length (Smith; Blunt and Wolf; Blunt and Stardust), this article focuses on the publicly available safety guides sex workers have created to work around, with, and/or against these surveillance practices. Focusing on documents is in keeping with the aims that Grant calls on for solidarity with sex workers. She advises, "rather than narrow in on sex workers' behaviors, turn your questions outward. What are these people doing that might harm sex workers? Why not help them, rather than sex workers, change their behavior?" (130). Rather than ask for labor or change from sex workers, we can look at the processes, the documents, and the workflows that may harm, oppress, and enable violence against these groups. Also, by analyzing the documents already created *by and for* sex workers that are in circulation, we can understand and learn about the work already being conducted to combat surveilling technologies and practices. Using "hybrid concealment" as a framework to explore "queer surveillance," I argue that hybrid concealment is a useful tactic to employ while negotiating surveillance technologies, especially for criminalized groups.

Sex Workers & Surveillance

Sex workers are the "canaries in the tech coalmines" as surveillance, including laws and censorship, are "tried out" on sex workers and their digital spaces before moving to more mainstream users (Sly). Olivia Snow, professional dominatrix and research fellow at UCLA's Center for Critical Internet Inquiry, writes

about how sex workers are the "test subjects" for novel surveillance technologies because they are "excellent scapegoats; we're not only criminalized but also highly stigmatized, so the general public is less likely to hear us, let alone believe us." Though the ability to conduct sex work in online spaces has offered safety and security not afforded by street-based sex work. However, as highlighted in multiple safety guides, the need for digital privacy is paramount to that safety working (Henry and Farvid; Nelson; Middleweek). However, privacy is not the only surveillance concern. Being a "test population" for a variety of surveillance tactics online from data sharing, to shadowbanning, to platform governance means that sex workers are experts on the impact of, negotiations with, and resistance of surveillance technologies.

Activists have made clear that using online platforms to conduct sex work offers safety in some ways, but also means contending with the affordances and constraints of more visibility. As Melissa Gira Grant, former sex worker and now journalist and advocate, explains: "where the internet has opened up opportunities for [sex workers] to take control of their work by increasing their direct access to customers, it has also given law enforcement, politicians, and assorted anti-sex work types a highly visible and vulnerable place to attack" (65). Surveilling sex workers enables these attacks to be carried out, especially when legislation, such as the 2018 FOSTA-SESTA bills, legalize even more surveillance in the name of combating sex trafficking (Blunt and Wolf). The distributed surveillance mechanisms––from visible laws to invisible data sharing––all have outsized impacts on criminalized groups who have fewer protections due to criminalization.

There are a wide range of surveilling technologies and tactics used on/against sex workers that sex workers have been writing about for some time. They've reported on companies using cross-platform data sharing to ban their accounts (Grace), Airbnb using tracking data to deny sex workers' stays (Parham; Dickson; Holmes), and crowdfunding platforms flagging funds to attend conferences such as the Feminist Porn Awards as "adult content" (Chiel). Reports have been filed about how Amazon's use of facial recognition software to find child sexual ads also gets "vast amounts of information about the marginalized consenting sex worker community from publicly posted ads and sex trade forums, often without their knowledge" (Brewster). The examples mentioned here are also in addition to more traditional forms of police surveillance. As a scholar and sex work decriminalization advocate, I cannot separate sex work criminalization from the way that sex workers are surveilled.

The fact that sex work is criminalized in most places is inseparable from the ability to surveil sex workers. Many surveilling techniques are used under the guise of "safety" and, more recently, specifically with "child safety." Sex workers have sounded the alarm on recent legislation, from FOSTA-SESTA, to EARN It, and now the Kids Online Safety Act (KOSA) arguing that these are thinly veiled laws that will increase surveillance and negatively impact all users, with an outsized impact on LGBTQIA+ youth. Fight for the Future, a digital rights group, shared an open letter stating "all the benefits of accurate health information, social networking, community, and access to help in a questioning or crisis situation will be eliminated for all LGBTQ youth" if KOSA passes. KOSA will require age verification documentation, which is

collecting sensitive data and information from *all* users.

As the arguments against KOSA show, these laws impact communities beyond those stated as its targets, which include laws criminalizing sex work. There is a history of prostitution laws being wielded against women and queer people. As Grant explains, "Laws against prostitution are used to target a class of people as whores whether or not they are selling sex, and in areas of their lives far outside what they do for a living" (128). For example, we've already seen how tactics used on sex workers have also been used to track and share data on women seeking abortions and, generally, on women, queer people, transgender people, disabled people, and communities at the intersections of these identities (Snow). "Marking" people as sex workers, regardless of whether they are or not, is complicated by aggregated data online. Since "all algorithmic interpretations produce their own corrupted truths" (Cheney-Lippold 12), the reliance on algorithms to "mark" those people, communities, and even professions as deviant, has dire consequences.

Since these surveillance tactics are used across marginalized identities and in varying contexts, it's important to adopt a queer framework of surveillance that specifically accounts for "non-normativity." I'm not arguing that "queer" itself is always necessarily disruptive, as shown in arguments around "homonormativity" (Duggan) for example, but that queer can be applied to sexual and social practices which includes "taboo" occupations, such as sex work (Barnard).

Sex Work and (Queer) Surveillance Assemblages

The argument that sex workers are over-surveilled and that consequences from over surveillance are unevenly distributed has been well-established. From the immediate workplace impact of security cameras inside of legal "adult establishments" like topless bars (Dewey) to surveillance being an aspect of "sex work governance" (Johnson and Porth) with impacts beyond legal prosecution, sex workers, researchers, and activist groups and organizations consistently show the practices and impact of surveillance on sex workers' work, personal lives, and health.

Despite the use of surveillance to police sex workers' actions and bodies and to conduct academic research on sex workers, surveillance studies as a field has interrogated the way surveillance is being used against sex workers. For example, Khan argued that feminist surveillance studies should be concerned with how, and to what extent, surveillance is being conducted "in the name of feminism" (191). Particularly, she cited the importance of how "feminist [sex work] prohibitionist discourse participates in the 'surveillance of sexuality,'" (191) of an already stigmatized group, perpetuating the ways in which academic researchers and scholars can also surveil.

Sex work and worker surveillance also goes beyond the legal prosecution of street-based sex work and bleeds into online actions. Part of online surveillance comes in the form of content moderation, tagging, flagging, reporting, algorithmic bias, and data sharing across sites. Blunt and Stardust argue that "whore-

phobia, like other biases, is by design within the algorithm. Sex workers are specifically targets of men weaponizing content moderation reporting tools, which results in the deplatforming and invisibilization of sex workers" (359). The impact of this type of surveillance is detrimental. For example, Myers West found content moderation consequences were "particularly detrimental to users who are already in a marginal position in society" (4375). In line with Myers West's findings, Blunt and Stardust explain "deplatforming is a form of structural violence that predominantly impacts populations already vulnerable to policing" (359) such as sex workers. Content moderation, and the surveillance inherent in those practices are just one example of ways sex workers are surveilled online.

My analysis of sex work online safety guides complicate Kafer and Grinberg's work on queer surveillance by centering sex worker voices. If we must remain "attentive to the differential modes by which queerness is elaborated and experienced as a function of changing racial, gendered, and sexual norms" (Kafer and Grinberg 594), then the work, knowledge, and experiences of criminalized groups are paramount. For example, sex workers are not a monolith and have a diverse range of races, ethnicities, genders, and sexualities with varying disabilities, habits, beliefs, and goals. Their wide range of experience and viewpoints, from a variety of backgrounds and contexts, means that the experiences, work, and writing they do are a rich and useful opportunity to study the ways we can navigate surveillance systems. I argue, then, that it's important to focus on sex workers at this moment because they have been negotiating the impacts of surveillance technologies long before the "average civilian" and the current legal landscape, with increasing legislation aimed at creating even more surveillance, is dire.

One potential of "encountering the queerness of surveillance" can be to complicate it through sex worker voices and experiences, particularly in how sex workers navigate surveillant practices that adapt to queerness. It is within this call that I situate the importance of studying criminalized groups' "everyday mutinous practices" (Kafer & Grinberg 598) to both honor the work sex workers have been doing and to build coalitions for combatting unjust practices. I also want to extend Kafer and Grinberg's work to include hypermarginalized groups at the intersections of race, gender, ability, age, class, and more, such as sex workers. Sex workers are hypermarginalized because of "their intersecting identities derived from their criminalized work, race, gender, ability, and other identities" (Itchuaqiyaq et. al. 2). With the term "hypermarginalized" I want to call attention to the ways marginalizations can intersect in various and diverse ways across different institutions, contexts, publics, and over time. My analysis here is just a starting point for engaging the ways that queer surveillance is enacted, contested, negotiated, and constantly adapting to criminalized groups.

The following analysis extends "queer surveillance" scholarship (Kafer and Grinberg) to study how sex workers work within/against the surveillance assemblages (Haggerty and Ericson; Trottier) used against them by utilizing the "hybrid concealment" necessary for hypermarginalized users when participating in digital spaces. These tactics, then, "talk back" through surveillance by centering sex workers' critical positions in their writing about combatting surveilling practices.

Artifact Selection

I chose three publicly available safety guides from multiple countries. Since this work directly involves a criminalized population who are on "platforms hostile to them, using payment platforms that make their income precarious, and needing additional protection measures" (Bhalerao et al. 548-549), I did not use a web scraper to go beyond paywalls or into any sex worker only spaces. Instead, I did a manual search in an incognito window for "online sex work safety guides." From there, I chose safety guides specifically shared through sex worker activist organizations: the Global Network of Sex Work Projects (NSWP), Hacking/Hustling (based in the United States), and United Kingdom-based Beyond the Gaze (BTG).

It was important to include safety guides from outside of the United States not only because sex work is a global profession and various countries have different levels of criminalization, but also because it's important to include global and cross-cultural perspectives in surveillance work. Though these three artifacts are not an exhaustive list, they are a starting point to analyze how "hybrid concealment" is at work to negotiate surveillance practices and how "hybrid concealment" can help show how surveillant goals to impose norms often fail or are incomplete.

Artifact 1: Global Network of Sex Work Projects

The first guide, NSWP's "Digital Security: The Smart Sex Worker's Guide," is a 30-page document that reports on findings from global research with NSWP partner organizations and makes recommendations to various stakeholders. Even though this guide is not a traditional "How-To" with specific and targeted suggestions, it still enacts examples of hybrid concealment through its discussions about surveillance in the guide.

Unlike the other two guides I'll discuss, the NSWP guide explicitly addresses surveillance. For example, it highlights how technology "such as mobile applications and biometric surveillance practices, can also be used to find, count, identify, track, trace, and punish sex workers" (4). This explicit discussion of biometric surveillance practices and their connections to punishment show how surveillance systems use multi-pronged approaches, even outside of law enforcement, to locate criminalized populations, rendering the need for these groups to negotiate being simultaneously visible for work, but untraceable by institutional gazes.   Not only does the NSWP guide name surveillance, but it also addresses a major concern of hybrid concealment: who gets to conceal, how, and when? In the guide's discussion about data protection, they observe how some platforms and technologies require data sharing or personal information to even access the service and that "the risk is higher for sex workers who live in precarious settings... since they cannot afford to choose privacy over securing work" (13). This guide makes clear that sometimes concealment as protection is *not a choice* as sex workers in certain situations must choose between taking a privacy risk or losing income. The inability to choose privacy over income points to ways that navigating these systems is not simply about visibility/invisibility, but instead about making strategic choices about when and *how visi-*

ble one can become.

A possibility to combat these types of choices is by involving the most impacted users in evaluating these technologies. This guide is blatant about how "the meaningful involvement of sex workers and other key populations... has not yet been extensively achieved" (20), but how this practice is integral in addressing the impacts of surveillance, especially privacy and safety concerns while using online platforms.

Sex worker-led projects have already been creating recommendations. The guide shares France's Jasmine Project as an example of *how* to include sex workers in planning and design. For this project "new users must be vetted by a sex worker-led group or current users to be included" (22). The vetting system, then, is a form of ethical exclusion (Walwema et al.) to enact a hybrid concealment to keep the group safe. Excluding non-sex workers is a necessary act of protection and a way to remove a piece of the surveillance assemblage used to find, trace, expose, and punish sex workers: people from outside of the community who may, intentionally or not, reveal safety schemes and other important information.

Overall, this guide's focus is on educating sex workers, organizations, and policy makers about the challenges sex workers face in keeping themselves safe online. Negotiating, contesting, and reducing the harm of surveillance is one major aspect of this online safety. By weaving information between institutional and non-institutional audiences we can see how sex workers both "refuse neat categorization" (Kafer and Grinberg 598) while also coalescing enough to create policy recommendations.

Artifact 2: Hacking/Hustling

The next guide is a U.S. based guide from Hacking/Hustling, a group of sex workers, advocates, and survivors fighting technological violence. "Online Worker Safety Hazards and Cautions: A Practical Harm Reduction Guide on Why and How Sex Workers Can Protect Ourselves at Work," is a shorter, shareable three-page poster. Where NSWP had a thorough, in-depth, and more theoretical approach, Hacking/Hustling has simple, straightforward tactics.

This guide is much more traditional with images and short descriptions explaining, for example, what a VPN is and information about domains. Particularly interesting is a section on "What if Law Enforcement Takes Your Device?" which has the most explicit examples of hybrid concealment. One piece of advice is to make sure that notifications aren't visible on the lock screen, which enables messages to be concealed and only accessible by unlocking the phone. With these locking/unlocking concerns, the guide also suggests having a number or gesture-based lock rather than a fingerprint, which would collect biometric information. Police can't force an individual to put in their number, but "can force your hand onto a device to unlock it." Here, we see specific tactics aimed at hybrid concealment––the guide doesn't suggest not using phones for work or completely handing over a phone when dealing with law enforcement. Instead, it suggests tactics for concealing information during detection to avoid being surveilled further.

This guide also makes suggestions for payment processing. Since payment processors use email addresses to link accounts and share data, the guide recommends "keeping your personal and work contact information separated in your payment services." Again, hybrid concealment involves being visible in certain ways. By keeping email addresses and accounts separated between professional and personal, sex workers are attempting to reduce the harm caused by payment processors' surveillance techniques.

The guide doesn't only suggest keeping accounts separate. It also recommends using separate SIM cards or devices, utilizing a VPN, and using encrypted services. The guide makes clear that even joining "in-vite-only" forums "or startups promising perfect security (which doesn't exist)" requires taking these security measures. These tactics point to how, in many situations, users can't fully avoid or escape surveillance practices and, instead, aim for harm reduction.

In keeping with queer surveillance, these tactics also show how contesting surveillance practices isn't always straightforward and that tactics need to shift and change depending on the platform, the policies, and the overall situation. As Kafer and Grinberg proposed, we can see the "messy and clandestine" ways that surveillance is negotiated by looking towards these sex worker guides (598). If queerness is "an animating difference" (598) created through regulation, then sex workers' (whether they identify as LGBTQIA+ or not) experiences, knowledges, documents, and insight offers to complicate queer surveillance by insisting on simultaneous imperceptibility and acknowledgement which relies on fluid visibility/invisibility.

Artifact 3: Beyond the Gaze

Lastly, the UK-based Beyond the Gaze (BTG) project was a three-year project (2015 – 2018) examining the working practices of online sex workers in the UK, safety, and regulation. From the study, they created a 45-page manual called "Safety and Privacy for Online Sex Workers." The guide begins with an introduction and the "Top Tips" for safety before going into more depth around specifics from screening clients, to using social media, to avoiding payment scams, and more. For the purposes of this article, I'll focus on their "privacy" section and how the guide is circulated.

Hybrid concealment is at work in multiple areas of this guide. First, there are specific directions to share the guide link with other sex workers, especially those new to sex work. They suggest posting the link specifically to sex worker only forums or sending directly to other sex workers. The tactic of sharing this type of resource over forums is one way to keep these resources circulating within the group, showing how hybrid concealment is used not only as a safety practice, but also to safely share and circulate information within the community.

This guide also highlights the crucial point that "we have also purposefully omitted some practices that some sex workers use, and we have avoided giving too much detail on some safety procedures to protect your practice." The need and care to purposefully avoid giving too much detail and not exposing certain

practices is paramount. Revealing certain safety protocols can be dangerous and harmful because those tactics then can be accounted for in future changes to surveillance practices. Choosing which safety protocols to share and which to only share orally and in other less permanent ways is a stark example of hybrid concealment's importance. This form of hybrid concealment is also another way we can "call into question the design and expanse of surveillance systems" (Kafer and Grinberg 598). Having multiple options to circulate information while trying to protect that information is another way of probing at the limits of surveillance and continually adapting to the ways that surveillance systems shift and change to accommodate user tactics.

Since sex workers have so many surveillance concerns, a common theme among these three guides is the need to have a separate work name, email, social media sites, and contact information. For example, the BTG guide suggests having a "work persona with separate phones, social media accounts, and emails" (3) and to make sure to know if any payment options "might compromise your privacy (see privacy section)" (3). The privacy section details other precautions to take. For example, it highlights how information can be gleaned from anything in a video background such as, "leaving out addressed letters, bills, items with your, your partner's or family's name on or details of other places of work/study and family photos" (21). These suggestions are an example of hybrid concealment because they consider unintentional disclosure that can occur in these computer-mediated environments.

Once again, sex workers embody the way "queer surveillance" moves beyond LGBTQIA+ identities and, in these instances, specifically targets a "non-normative" and criminalized occupation further complicated by multiple intersections of race, ethnicity, class, ability, age, gender, and more. However, the diverse negotiations sex workers need to continuously make means they are an invaluable source for learning more about queer resistance to these surveillance tactics.

Hybrid Concealment & Implications for Surveillance

All three guides not only address specific tactics to enact hybrid concealment but use it in their practice of creating and sharing the guides. They also highlight that taking on a "queer surveillance" lens can help us understand the ways various hypermarginalized groups contest surveillance and expand the ways that we understand the impacts that surveillance has on criminalized groups. If "the identity categories ascribed to minority subjects are always at odds with their lived experiences" (Kafer and Grinberg 598), then we need to not only acknowledge when surveillance systems label groups as "deviant," but listen to those directly impacted by those systems.

Since sex workers are the "canaries in the tech coal mines" (Sly) then these safety guides and features aren't relevant or useful for only sex workers. These protections can work for civilians, too. VPN's, paying attention to privacy and data settings and collection, and more of this advice is useful for multiple users. For example, Snow shares how the same tactics she uses to keep herself safe online as a professional domina-

trix can be used to safely navigate the internet for information on abortions. We need to honor the immense work that sex workers and sex worker organizations are doing around safety and privacy, often warning us long beforehand about issues that may be coming, particularly regarding online surveillance.

Most importantly, however, is how these guides point to (as has been argued over and over) the need for decriminalization. Sex work itself is not an inherently risky activity. Instead, the stigmatization and oppression of sex workers due to criminalization *makes* sex workers experience negative outcomes. With criminalization's inescapable ties to surveillance assemblages, we cannot discuss one without the other. We must continue analyzing, assessing, and addressing concealment/visibility: who gets to be visible and why and when; how do we weave concealment for imperative safety, privacy, and protection, especially when trying to enact harm reduction against criminalization and connected surveillance practices?

Overall, these safety guides show we have experts on negotiating, contesting, and navigating surveillance: sex workers. Olivia Snow reminds us that "those seeking to surveil us have been refining the tools to do so for a very long time. This is exactly why sex workers are preyed upon first: because those in power know nobody will listen to us." As researchers, scholars, activists, and members of our communities, we need to not only listen to sex workers, but include their voices, compensate them for their work, and make sure they can affect law, policy, and the design of these technologies that overwhelmingly affect them. As surveillance systems get more adept at accommodating queerness, across intersections of "queer," it becomes even more imperative for us to create coalitions and include criminalized groups most impacted by these practices. One way to "talk back" through surveillance is through queer liberation that includes sex work decriminalization.

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