"Don't Watch this Video!"
Online Privacy, Porn, *Sutura,* and Health among Senegal's Digital Dissidents

by

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Abstract

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This dissertation explores how *sutura* – the Senegalese ethic of discretion – has transformed within shifting landscapes of digital media use. In historically contingent ways, *sutura* has predicated one's moral legitimacy, legible gender identity, and national belonging on one's ability to shield aspects of life considered "intimate" from public view. Those who disrupt gender expectations may be construed as lacking *sutura.* This can undermine their claims to moral belonging. What happens when social media allows users to share intimate life with wide audiences in real time? What does digital media use entail for *sutura,* and for the configurations of gender and moral belonging invoked in its name? I show that fears of non-consensual digital exposure and image-based sexual abuse have grown in tandem with the importance of digitally mediated intimacy as a site for defining oneself as an ethical Senegalese subject. This affects sexually stigmatized Senegalese acutely and paradoxically. For example, sex workers face high risks of non-consensual exposure online. Yet others may accuse *them* of transgressing *sutura* through purported "digital dissidence," indiscreet or excessively embodied online behavior.

Rather than provoking straightforward censorship, perceived digital transgressions of *sutura* produce unlikely collaborations between "digital dissidents" and institutions that seek to align everyday practices with national ideals of ethical intimacy. Drawing on over 18 months of ethnography and participatory action research, I trace these unlikely interactions across multiple sites: from digital sexual health programs, to Muslim youth groups, to pornography production.

In this dissertation, *sutura* is more than an object of research. I argue that *sutura* challenges the intransigent analytical distinction between "communication" and "health." Moreover, it illustrates the gendered operation of health/communicative inequities. Magnified by anxieties about social media's capacity to multiply affective or erotic attachments, *sutura* may be invoked to conflate communicative excess with bodily excess, and associate both with gendered

illegibility. However, digital dissidents reject the devaluing of their communicative practice. For them, *sutura* is not a boundary dividing the "intimate" from the "public," but rather, a practice of collective protection. They reframe digital privacy as mutual aid. I argue that digital dissidents' reimagining of *sutura* disrupts dominant paradigms in digital privacy policy that emphasize individual awareness and responsibility. If we heed the expertise of those most vulnerable to digital harms, we can better leverage digital health strategies to promote health equity. By reclaiming *sutura,* digital dissidents gesture to an alternative digital future, one marked by the equal distribution of digital privacy, health, and protection.

To my parents

and

those who sense the not yet in the now

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*Pseudonyms, for *sutura*

Introduction

To pay rent, support her grandchildren, and save money to start a restaurant, Mame Diarra combines income from sex work with stipends from non-governmental organizations (NGOs). She receives funds from Senegalese civil society and public health organizations to conduct *sensibilization* ("awareness raising") for other sex workers in Dakar. Funders hire her to identify and gather local *professionelles du sexe* (PS) and lead them in HIV/AIDS prevention education workshops, usually held in friends' apartments. She cannot hold workshops in her own home because she lives with family who do not know she practices sex work. To each session she brings a binder of close-up photographs of STI discharges and pustules. When I shadowed Mame Diarra from 2017 to 2018, discussion often continued long after she had finished flipping through her visual aids.

One theme that came up frequently was the benefits and harms of digital technologies for sex workers. Mame Diarra was aware that she was not as in tune with the latest trends or technologies as her younger peers. She did not have an Instagram account, for example. And only later, during the COVID-19 pandemic, would she try using WhatsApp for video calls with clients. But she had decades of experience, both in trading sex and preventing her family from finding out she traded sex. She felt it her responsibility to add the Internet to her list of awareness-raising topics. "Some clients bring two phones and hide one" she would often say. This was less a description of standard client practice, than a way to underscore how mobile phones added extra risk to the already uncertain dynamics of sex work.

To encourage shy attendees to participate, Mame Diarra always polled participants about what strategies they used day-to-day, and then highlighted for the group those strategies she found most effective. For example, some younger sex workers required clients to leave their phones outside the bedroom; this was a measure of protection against non-consensual filming, publication, and image-based sexual abuse (sometimes called "revenge porn").[1]

"Jamaano ji, *sutura* amatul," she would tell younger sex workers in her awareness-raising sessions. "In today's times, there is no more discretion." No one else will protect you, so "*sutura*l sa bopp," she would also urge. "Protect your *own* discretion:" or otherwise translated, "Keep *yourself* discreet."

Sutura is the Senegalese ethic of discretion or modesty. In historically contingent ways, one's honor, Muslim piety, and national belonging all depend on one's ability to shield aspects of life deemed intimate – such as sex – from public view (Packer and Friend 2021; Mills 2011). One secures both moral legitimacy and a claim to Senegalese national belonging by upholding *sutura*. Mame Diarra fears the technical affordance of internet-enabled mobile phones to share non-consensually obtained images with broad audiences in real time. Such devices pose a particular threat to *sutura*.

Mame Diarra urges acts of self-protection amid the absence of *sutura* and protection granted to sex workers. However, for Mame Diarra, *sutura* is more than an individual act. "Sutural sa bopp, sutural sa morom," she likes to say. Keep yourself discreet, provide discretion to your peer. For example, friends have forwarded Mame Diarra sex tapes or intimate videos that she suspects were not filmed and/or distributed consensually. While she admits that sometimes

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[1] There are many motivations for non-consensually creating or circulating sexual images of another person online. The term "image-based sexual abuse" is a more useful and capacious term than "revenge porn" (see McGlynn and Rackley 2017).

she has been seduced into wanting to find out who is in the tape, Mame Diarra now warns sex workers against redistributing a sex tape to friends via WhatsApp if consent is in question. That recirculation would violate the ethos of providing *sutura* to your peers.[2]

She also uses the term *suturalante* (keeping each other discreet). She uses this phrase in two ways: to urge sex workers to protect each other, and to frame her own work of raising awareness. Mame Diarra conceives her NGO-funded work as a form of *suturalante,* promoting discretion within her community. "Always in workshops I tell them we have to *suturalante,*" Mame Diarra told me in an interview over WhatsApp. "We have to help each other and be part of the same cause." Yes, taking precautions with clients' cell phones are acts of self-protection. But starting conversation about digital age discretion advances *collective* protection. For Mame Diarra, keeping her community safe is part of *sutura.*

If *sutura* can index protection in the digital age, it can also be invoked to inflict technology-assisted violence. In July 2018, "Kocc Barma" – the pseudonym used by the founder of Seneporno.com, said to be Senegal's first porn website – gave an online interview. He cited two motivations for founding seneporno.com. One economic: "to satisfy my hundreds of thousands of followers." The other moral: "better to sacrifice the people who have already ruined their lives and save thousands of others…my objective is to purify Senegal. No one dares to make sex tapes anymore" (Seneweb news 2018).

Here Kocc Barma claims to purify the nation through porn. After flaunting his number of followers, he claims he wants to end the digital practices that supply content to those followers. He also claims to separate "ruined" women from "others," creating and policing a digital boundary between women who do have a future and those who do not. Ruined women do not have *sutura.*

The website went dark for a while. Then in 2019, news sites announced Kocc Barma's comeback. Reactions to Kocc Barma's comeback interview ranged from cheeky emojis, to applause for exposing Senegalese women's hypocrisy, to death threats (see Faye 2019). In one example of the latter category, there is a slippage in the topic of online comments: from women with no future, to the figure of the homosexual: men who never had a future to begin with. One commentator (no pseudonym given) addresses Kocc directly with the informal pronoun "tu:"

> *Un jour tu va mourrir dieu va sortir tes vidéos et tu verras pourkoi god à dit madoulene et soutouralal sa morom la tu comprendra*

> One day you will die God will take down your videos and you will see why god said ignore and *sutura* your peers then you'll understand (Faye 2019).[3]

To which another commenter replies:

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[2] Not all sex workers agreed with Mame Diarra on this point. Some did not see a problem in sending such videos to other sex workers, especially if they found the videos upsetting and wanted to unpack their feelings with people who would understand.

[3] The term *madoulene* connotes a kind of public secrecy, of "knowing what not to know" (Taussig 1999). My interlocutor Penda explained the term through a hypothetical; "If I see someone urinating in the street, I just pass by. I don't say anything about it. It's none of my business."

> *Reply_author: bane soutoura ? l'islam dit bien quil faut couper la maind es voleurs et tuer les homosexuels aucune soutoura ,soutoural lenn senn bopou mo gueun*

> Reply_author: what *sutura*? Islam rightly says one must cut off the hands of thieves and kill the homosexuals theres is no *sutura*, *sutura* yourselves that's better (Faye 2019).

Then commentary pivots as commentor "Bob" declares, "vivement le Wikileak version Sénégal" (Live Wikileak, Senegalese version), again heralding Kocc Barma's righteous revelation of salacious truth hiding behind appearances of a respectable Seneglaese nation (Ibid.)

 Sutura is weaponized to justify the exposure of marginalized communities. Both commenters use *sutura* as a verb. The first urges Kocc to give *sutura* to others, critiquing Kocc's acts of exposure. The second implies that "homosexuals" do not have *sutura* to begin with; "what *sutura*?" they ask. In other words, they are always-already pornographic. Like sex workers, they are outside the moral community and cannot claim its protection against digital harms. By this logic of exclusion, the person exposed, not the exposer, is responsible for *sutura.*

 Notably, neither Kocc, nor the Seneweb interviewer, nor anyone in the preceding comments mentions sexual orientation. Within the rubric of *sutura,* the linkage between porn and homosexuality pre-exists the conversation. It need not be explicitly stated by the first speaker in order to be legibly invoked by the second. Homosexuality is tacitly understood as pornographic.

> CATEGORIES : Senegalaise │ Amateurs │ Africaines │ Grosses fesses │ Masturbation │ Solo │ Partouze │ Grosse │ Mature │ Lesbiennes │ Grosses bites │ Anal │ Webcam │ Camera Cachee │ Celebrites │ Leumbeul/Mapouka │ Compilation │ Deguelasse │ Gay │ Ejaculation │ Fellation │ Transexuelles │ Malienne │ Guineenne │ Ivoirienne │ Massage │ Nigeria/Niger │ Togolaise │ Beninoise │ Burkinabé │ Camerounaise │ Congolaise │ Gabonnaise │ Gambienne │ Ghana │ International

Categories page from Seneporno.com's earlier iteration (Seneporno.com 2018)

 But there is also a "gay" tag on the site Seneporno itself, both in the site's earlier version, pictured above, and the post-"comeback" version (Seneporno.com 2018, Seneporno.com 2020a).[4] The intention to purify Senegal through porn is enacted through violent exposure of homosexuality.[5] On July 17, 2020 the "gay" tag – called a category on the site – linked to six videos. Four of these named particular individuals and provided their phone number and/or neighborhood of residence in the thumbnail image. The thumbnail itself performs exposure.[6] In

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[4] In chapter four, I will discuss the function and multiple resonances of "tagging" on seneporno: in particular, how tags index and enregister linkages between nationality, morality, and particular modes of exposure.

[5] I am aware of the dangerous tendency to equate porn with violence. I do not wish to reinforce that simplistic, misleading equation. Here I speak specifically about the non-consensual production and circulation of images.

[6] This video both enacts violence and incites further violence by outing and doxxing a particular individual. I open with it because it lays bare the all-too-real stakes of weaponized *sutura.* However, to mitigate the potential that this dissertation would provide another conduit of access to the doxed individual, I will not reproduce screenshots here. The title of the cited video includes the name of an individual, so I have chosen to use only the first half of the clip's title in the corresponding bibliographic citation.

one of many videos that interpolates Kocc Barma, one video's title declared that a "goor-jigeen" had threatened Kocc to take his video down. Another video announced that two members of a "network of góor-jigéen directed by _____ "had been "stopped in the middle of the sexual act" (Seneporno.com 2020b).[7] Previously, a sex worker friend and interlocutor named Penda had encouraged me to watch at least five different videos on Seneporno to become familiar with the site. I asked her if this should be included in the five, hoping she would say no, and provide an ethnographically-compelling reason to not view a video advertising homophobic violence. She said she was curious what the "gay" category would contain, so I should watch it.

The clip follows more of a narrative arc than many videos on Seneporno. White text scrolls upward against a black background, informing viewers that "the network lead for three years by ____ without being investigated by the authorities." The scrolling text repeats the name of the purported leader of this "network" and provides a phone number. Then the clip shows a fuzzy screenshot of a text message conversation on a smartphone. The words are difficult to decipher, but the final message interpolates Kocc Barma and reads "Kocc won't forgive this." Next, a shaky camera shows a yellow taxicab against a dark sky. It zooms in on the backset window. Light reflects off the window, bouncing back at the videographer and the viewer. Then a chorus of staccato yells, "eh! Eh! Eh!" "Get out of the taxi!" The image shakes. Light flashes but illuminates nothing. The next discernable image is of a young man in a white tee shirt. He raises his hands and says slowly, *maangi jegglu* ("I'm deeply sorry"). Another man seen from behind grasps young person's neck. The young man's slow, soft apology fades into the sharpness of voices yelling "get out!" "Goor-jigeen!" and a rhythmic repetition of "eh, eh, eh!" The faces of the exposed are visible. The faces of the exposers are not. As of July 17, 2020, this video had 23.7 thousand views.

This dissertation explores *sutura* in the digital age: both its use for protection and its use for harm. If *sutura* predicates moral legitimacy, national belonging, and gendered legibility on the protection of the "intimate" from public view (Mills 2011), what happens as social media facilitates the sharing of intimate life with wide audiences in real time? What does digital media use entail for *sutura,* and for the configurations of gender and moral belonging invoked in its name?

I trace how fears of digital harms like image-based sexual abuse have grown in tandem with the importance of digitally mediated intimacy as a site for defining oneself as an ethical Senegalese subject. In particular, I explore the consequences of *sutura's* transformations for sexually stigmatized subjects positioned at the margins of the ethical. They are often primary targets of unwanted digital exposure.[8] Yet, others may accuse *them* of what I call "digital dissidence": being indiscreet, excessively embodied, or lacking *sutura* online. I argue that members of sexually stigmatized communities like Mame Diarra, and those accused of digital

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[7] Ironically, under this video is the disclaimer: "NB: your video was published without your consent? to have it removed from the site, you can send a message by Whatsapp to _____" (Seneporno.com 2020b)

[8] The experiences and perspectives of Mame Diarra and other members of sexually stigmatized communities resonate with global sex-worker lead research. This research shows that sex workers experience disproportionate burdens of digital harms like digital surveillance, image-based sexual abuse, and deplatforming (Hacking//Hustling Collective, Stardust, Garcia and Egwuatu 2020). Indeed, as scholar-activists suggest, if tech is safe for sex workers, it will be safe for everyone (Stardust, Garcia and Egwuatu 2020).

dissidence, are key voices in articulating alternate digital futures, futures in which the right to online protection is equitably distributed rather than contingent on one's position in gendered hierarchies.

Social media practices challenge taken for granted demarcations of *la vie privée* ("private life") by creating "digital intimate publics," communities where we engage the personal images and data of quasi-strangers (Cf. Dobson et al 2018). Digital pornography and youth online dating constitute particularly flagrant transgressions of *sutura*, redirecting broader anxieties about "network promiscuity" (Payne 2014) – or the possibility for multiple, simultaneous affective attachments– onto the most marginalized members of society. The figure of the digital dissident consolidates a wider set of apprehensions about the implications of digitally networked life. However, rather than provoking straightforward censorship, perceived digital transgressions of *sutura* produce unlikely collaborations between sexually stigmatized communities and various institutions that seek to align everyday intimate practices with national ideals of ethical intimacy. Such institutions include NGOs fighting sexually transmitted diseases through peer education on dating websites, and Islamic youth groups that consider whether digital porn can ethically be used to prevent premarital sex. Drawing on 20 months of ethnography and participatory action research, I trace the historical roots and ethical-political implications of these unlikely interactions.

Apprehensions about digital media stoking "network promiscuity" reanimate *sutura's* longstanding, double edge: to protect and to marginalize. My chapters focus on those for whom this double edge matters most. Chapter one considers *les jeunes filles* ("young girls"), a group whose modesty and discretion must be secured at all costs. Pedagogies of digital media use for teens seek to consolidate normative national ideals of intimacy by imparting particular embodied dispositions of navigating the Internet and viewing online images. Chapter two considers digital activists who epitomize *sutura's* transgression, but whose online labor advances nationally important health projects. Chapters three and four consider women who have complex relationships to digital pornography. Porn, as I explore below, epitomizes *sutura's* transgression through something akin to what Linda Williams calls "on/scenity;" especially since the advent of home viewing and the Internet, porn brings visibility and accessibility to representations of sex that were once hidden from view (Williams 2004a).[9]

"Digital dissidents" become central to projects of crafting and securing national, normative ideals of intimacy. At the same time, they enact novel forms of privacy, protection, and health online, sometimes through self-acknowledged activism, and other times through their daily efforts to craft livable, ethical, and enjoyable lives.

"Sutura": A Social Shifter

Sutura can be a quality someone possesses or lacks (e.g. da fa nyak *sutura* ("he lacks *sutura*")). *Sutura* can be an action performed with one's words or with one's body (e.g. *sutural* sa morom ("provide *sutura* to your peer")). While it can be cursorily glossed as "discretion" or "modesty," my main concern is not to secure a definition for *sutura.*

Sutura is what Deborah Durham calls a social shifter; both its meaning and political effects change depending on social, political and historical context (Durham 2004). Like all

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[9] Williams (2004a) devised this term in part to speak to a historical moment, a moment when internet porn and home viewership were changing sites and modes of engaging pornography. I find the term useful, however, to speak more broadly about the practice of making visible that which is often shielded from view.

social shifters, *sutura* does different things, for different people, at different times. This is my chief focus: tracing what *sutura* does for Senegalese with different relationships to normative ideals of digital intimacy.

As I described earlier, *sutura* protects, and it also excludes. The juxtaposition of the opening anecdotes captures this double edge. *Sutura* can be explicitly invoked to shield someone from unwanted exposure – to prevent neighbors, friends, kin, or online followers from knowing something about a person who does not want to be known. It can also be weaponized to deny certain people this protection. The people thus denied are usually sexually stigmatized or sexual minority groups, such as sex workers of sexual minorities. *Sutura* may be invoked to distinguish who can claim moral legitimacy, national belonging, and Muslim piety, and who cannot. This differentiation has implications for digital privacy. As privacy scholars might say, the right to digital privacy is unequally distributed (Arora 2019); the fault lines of *sutura* shape who will be protected from unwanted online exposure and who will not. I trace how this differentiation occurs. I explore its impact, both for digital dissidents who are excluded from *sutura's* protection, and for the formations of national belonging and normative ideals of digital intimacy that emerge through this exclusion.

Of particular interest is how those excluded from *sutura's* protection reclaim the ethic, expand it, or even transform it. Their visions of *sutura,* I suggest, point to new possibilities for digital sociality that more equitably distribute digital privacy and health. Moreover, the ways digital dissidents reimagine *sutura* invite us to consider what constitutes "digital privacy" in the first place.

Sutura: an Entry Point

The responsibility for upholding *sutura* has fallen and continues to fall disproportionately on women (Packer and Friend 2021, Mills 2011, Packer 2019). Women are charged with protecting family honor and maintaining social bonds. Women secure their *sutura* in several ways: by shielding potentially scandalous events from curious eyes, but also through modest dress. *Sutura* can be an embodied act. *Sutura* highlights embodied communication and provides an effective counter to intransigent ideologies bifurcating language and bodies, a point to which I will return below.

Sutura has also long been about community protection. Women who experience violence but refrain from naming perpetrators receive material and social support so that kin may shield them from retaliation from their accuser (Packer and Friend 2021). While the 2000s have seen robust activism against sexual assault, women rarely name the accused for fear of breaking *sutura* and being rejected by kin and community when they need protection the most. The recent public ridicule of Adji Sarr, a young woman who named political opposition leader Ousmane Sonko as her rapist, illustrates this point.

Public opinion quickly turned against her. Backlash intensified after she gave a televised tell all interview. TikTok parodies of the interview followed, underscoring how her appearance through media transgressed *sutura* and highlights her un-virtuous femininity (Packer and Friend 2021). In a contradiction all too familiar to digital dissidents, these TikTok parodies and YouTube dissections of the interview further circulated the very thing that pushed Sarr over *sutura's* line: excessive media circulation.

In historically contingent ways, *sutura* has conflated communicative excess with bodily contagion and assigned both to subjects who trouble gender norms. For example, at the height of

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the caste system, the *géwel* ("griot") was marginalized for his excessive talk and storytelling. The *géwel* was also seen to have contaminated blood and could not be buried in Muslim cemeteries. *Géwel* corpses were tucked in the trunks of baobab trees so as to not contaminate the blood of honorable, *sutura*-possessing Senegalese. Furthermore, the *géwel*'s dual communicative and bodily excesses rendered him a dishonorable man. Within precolonial Wolof value systems, a dishonorable and impious man was not a man at all (Mills 2011). Art historian Ivy Mills argues that, in this sense, gender illegibility rendered the géwél "queer." A similar fate could befall a Muslim wife who exposed her family's secrets. *Sutura* violation stripped her of legible femininity (Mills 2011).

On one level, the term "queer" here can be applied to communicative and bodily practices that transgress gendered social order or legibly gendered social roles. However, as I explore in more depth below, digital dissidents' labor often stands as the constitutive outside of the heteronormative organization of communicative practice. It upholds that organization through transgression. However, in the ways they reimagine *sutura,* digital dissidents gesture to a future beyond this stalemate, a future that can be felt – if not fully actualized – in the present. I will return to queer's paradox and possibility below.

Sutura's history also contains a contradiction that continues to shape contemporary life; Wolof nobles depended on the *sutura*-lacking individuals they marginalized. Nobles were honor-bound not to speak about themselves. This would render the private public. So they employed the services of géwél to speak for them. Nobles' honor and piety depended upon the communicative labor of impious, queered subjects. The heteronormative social hierarchy depended on queer communicative labor to reproduce itself.

I argue that this historical interdependence gets replayed in institutional instrumentalizations of queer(ed) subjects' online intimate labor. Institutions such as NGOs instrumentalize *sutura*'s outsiders; NGOs once hired gay men to contain HIV through online sex education. Cybersecurity task forces seeking to catch the founder of a Senegalese porn website and prevent non-consensual publication of intimate videos highlight the legal porn production and viewership to refute accusations of censorship.[10] Sex education programs use the specter of digital pornography in pedagogical efforts to transform teens into modern, pious sexual subjects. By using bedsheets called *draps porno* – textiles onto which screen shots from porn films are printed – women remediate the labor of porn actors as part of a material culture of pious femininity.

Sutura and "Vulnerable Populations"

In the early months, my dissertation fieldwork felt disjointed. I was traveling back and forth between Dakar and Kolda, looking at the use of digital media technologies in sexual health education. In Dakar, I was studying a program for MSM. In Kolda, I was studying a program for teens. Then some of the MSM digital activists put me in touch with sex workers, with whom they

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[10] 10 Awa Ndiaye, the president of Senegal's Commission for the Protection of Personal Data (CDP), declared in a press conference that the CDP's goal was to get the founder of the website Seneporno to reveal their true identity so that the CDP could ask them to take down videos that were posted to the site without the consent of those who made those videos. Ndiaye affirmed that the CDP had no intention to take down porn websites, conveying, "Me, I think that a pornographic website, excuse us for the term, exists in our country, exists in countries around the world. Pornographic websites are, if they are properly registered, legal. They show adults who want to be there…It is not our role to judge and it is not our role to issue any reprobation regarding that" (Ndiaye 2018).

were forming an association of *populations clées* ("key populations"): that is, populations deemed by international development agencies as "key" in the fight to contain the spread of HIV.[11] While all three groups were termed "vulnerable populations," perhaps this was three separate projects, not one book-length work.

Map of Senegal by Shaund – Own work based on the United Nations Cartographic Section Senegal Map, Commons.wikimedia.org[12]

Then, on a bumpy bus ride from Dakar to Kolda, I re-read Ivy Mills' 2011 dissertation on *sutura.* The three groups I was working with were connected; not just in their status as "vulnerable populations," but in their resonance with one of *sutura's* key historical through lines: dividing people based on whether they could or could not claim discretion's protection. Gay men in the 2010s homosexuality panic were always-already without *sutura.* Both their bodies and communication practices were excessive. For women, in contrast, *sutura* was theirs to lose (Mills

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[11] In a 2021 press release on International AIDS day, USAID cited structural barriers to health facing "key populations, writing, "we know that key populations -- including sex workers, transgender people, incarcerated people, men who have sex with men, and people who inject drugs -- face disproportionate structural barriers that impact their ability to access HIV services. USAID provides services in locations where key populations can be served without discrimination, supports clinical services in the community and online, and establishes alternative pick-up points for life-saving medication" (USAID 2021a).

[12] This image is derived from products of the United Nations Cartographic Section. Modified versions of UNCS maps may be used provided that the UN name and reference number do not appear on any modified version, and a link to the original map is provided. UN Maps derived, CC BY-SA 4.0, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=22747760

2011). Sex workers, for example, had lost it. Young unmarried women had to keep *sutura* at all costs. Was *sutura's* boundary-making power not uncannily similar to the way contemporary public health governance apportioned its HIV prevention resources and organized its sexual health programming, in its venn diagram between three vulnerable populations, two of them "key"?

Senegal has long been heralded in public health and international aid circles for keeping its HIV prevalence rate below 1%, and for being the first Sub-Saharan African country to begin providing antiretroviral drugs in 1998 (Diouf 2007).[13] International aid and public health agencies also note the elevated rates of "key populations" – including female sex workers (FSWs) and men who have sex with men (MSM) – as compared with *la population* générale ("general population") (Regional Meeting on Key Populations 2015). As of 2020, UNAIDS lists HIV prevalence rates among Senegalese aged 15-49 at 0.3% for the general population, 27.6% for MSM, and 4.6% of sex workers (UNAIDS 2020). USAID's HIV/AIDS prevention programs and funds are concentrated on key populations (Regional Meeting on Key Populations 2015, USAID 2021b). Youth in southern regions also receive particular investment from the Senegalese state, in collaboration with a host of international aid partners like IntraHealth, USAID, Marie Stopes, and more; the Southern region of the Casamance, which includes the region of Kolda, is officially marked and popularly stigmatized for its rates of of *mariages précoces* ("early marriages") as compared with the nation's youth as a whole. When I began substantive fieldwork in Kolda, a government report cited Kolda as the region with the highest early marriage rate in the country at 68% (Ministère de la femme, de la famille et de l'enfance 2016). While not framed as a key population like MSM and sex workers, young women in regions like Kolda also received special attention and funding; their youth needed to be protected, less they become pregnant while in school, a fate which – as I had learned from preliminary fieldwork there – often kept young women indoors, afraid to go outside, for fear of whispers and gossips: that is, fear that after losing *sutura* through her sexual mishap, she would no longer receive the benefit of discretion from her peers and community.

Sutura is a potent, complementary analytic to Charles Briggs and Clara Mantini-Briggs' notion of "health/communicative inequities." This term challenges the deep-seated binary distinction between communication and health. It addresses how communicative and health inequities "emerge simultaneously, one powerfully shaping the other and often exacerbating its effects" (Briggs and Mantini-Briggs 2016) and call "health/communicative justice:" a term that reflects how health inequality is co-constituted by the valuation of particular modes of communication over others (Briggs and Mantini-Briggs 2016). Transgression of *sutura,* as Mills argues, was a dual transgression: communicative excess and bodily contagion. Indeed, for the *géwel,* these two ills were inextricably linked. One signaled the presence of the other. They did not exist apart.

Sutura brings into frame how the marginalization of particular embodied performances and the marginalization of particular modes of communication happen in concert. That is, *sutura* – its history, its direct invocations, its implicit animation of social relations – magnify the co-constitution of health inequities and communicative inequities. Moreover, *sutura* brings together queer theory and the concept of health/communicative inequity. The alignment between *sutura*

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[13] Public health and non-profit agencies also note health disparities between rural and urban Senegalese, between men and women, and between criminalized populations and the general population (See Diouf 2007).

and public health governance of key populations will provide an analytic to think through the *heteronormative* operation of health/communicative inequities.

Chapter divisions mirror the ways that *sutura* is invoked to divide Senegalese people into groups based on their perceived discretion or lack thereof. I divided the chapters to show how public health agencies designate different "populations" based on HIV/AIDS risk – to themselves and to the *population génerale* ("general population,") from which certain groups are analytically distinguished. Each group has a particular relationship to *sutura,* and a particular role in the governance of digital life and/or sexual health. Thus the chapter divisions reflect resonances between *sutura* and the governance of sexually stigmatized and/or "vulnerable" populations.

The first chapter explores sex education programs devoted to forging modern, ethical media subjects. The second explores how queer men's online labor became crucial to a disease-containment project crucial to the nation's position. The third and fourth chapters both address sex work, and pornography in particular – deemed the most indiscreet form of sex work and, to the extent that *sutura* secures national belonging, the least Senegalese. Of course, the circulation of ideas, people, and digital artifacts trouble such boundaries. Indeed, the very tenuousness of these boundaries – between discreet and indiscreet media practice or between ethical and unethical relationships to pornography – provides insight into the relationship between *sutura,* public health governance, and digital circulation of images, bodies and persons.

"Queer": a Paradox with Possibility

In this dissertation, queer is a paradoxical analytic. On the one hand, I use the term "queer" to highlight transgression. For this I follow Sokari Ekine and Hakima Abbas, for whom "queer" serves "to underscore a perspective that embraces gender and sexual plurality and seeks to transform, overhaul, and revolutionize African order rather than seek to assimilate into oppressive hetero-patriarchal-capitalist frameworks" (Ekine and Abbas 2013:3). "Queer" can index transformation or the aspiration to transform. When I speak of queer digital intimacy or queer online practices, I mean that these intimacies and practices rub up against repronormative notions of futurity, time, nation, or health communication; that is, they rub up against "reproductive futurism" (Edelman 2004). In this vision of the future, "the child" must be protected, and the child embodies the possibility of a future itself. Queer online practices are those that rub up against normative ideals of intimacy and the national imaginaries grounded in those ideals.

The "dissident" in "digital dissident" indexes this friction. Digital dissident sex workers "queer" digital practice if that digital practice transgresses normative ideals of intimacy that ground an imagined national future in a particular model of the family.[14] Likewise, I will devise the term "queer biocommunicability" to describe how digital dissidents transgress normative ideals of how one should signify about and through the body in the name of health. "Queer," in this sense, connotes that which counters those intersectional oppressions – racial capitalist,

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[14] Both the figure of the sex worker and the figure of *l'homosexuel* trouble ideals of the procreating family as the bedrock of national progress. Scholars who develop queer analytics for sex work point out that sex work often "queers" the family; for example, sex work forces us to consider transaction and emotional attachment together, the political economy of intimacy, among other notions that expose the fragility of our national/normative ideals of intimate life (Laing, Pilcher and Smith 2015).

patriarchal, heteronormative– that make it harder for my interlocutors to live, work, plan, and play.

(Unlike Ekine and Abbas, I do also occasionally use "queer" as "a nonexhaustive umbrella for non-heteronormative sexualities and gender identities" (Nyek 2020, 1). But I have found that I gravitate to the term queer over, say, MSM or LGBTQ+, when someone's non-heteronormative sexuality expresses, enacts, or otherwise is deeply linked to particular dissident. In the work that follows, the two uses of the term queer often if not always overlap.)

On the other hand, digital dissidents also uphold the normative ideals they transgress. First, they do so as a foil, a figure against which pedagogical actors can craft normative ideals of digital intimacy and good media subjecthood. As a foil, they are made to stand for the unruly network promiscuity that sex ed programs, among other pedagogical forms, seek to tame. Here I am also indebted to Senegalese scholars who have traced the historical formation of the figure of "the homosexual" in Senegal (M'baye 2013). Logics that position sex workers and gay men as digital dissidents are not, or at least are not primarily, about sex. As the ongoing effects of structural adjustment policies render intimate life highly uncertain (Archambault 2017, Meiu 2020), there may be a need for a figure, an *Other,* who can crystallize the anxieties this uncertainty produces. The figure of the digital dissident, like the figure of the homosexual, fulfills this role. The digital dissident distills apprehensions about, among other things, network promiscuity (cf. Payne 2014), that potential for multiple, diffuse online attachments that threatens an already-tenuous hold on the ideal of *la vie privée* ("private life") as a distinct sphere that can be secured and defended.

Digital dissidents also uphold the heteronormative order of things through their online labor. For example, in chapter two, MSM peer educators used expressions of playful queer eroticism – precisely that which transgresses ideals of digital intimate conduct – to achieve desired health metrics of HIV/AIDS prevention. Queer erotic expression and play help achieve a disease prevention project that, I show, reiterates heteronormative logics of containment.

Is "queer" merely a structural trap? Is there a way out of this paradox, by which digital dissidence both transgresses and upholds heteronormative ideals of morality, ethics, and digital intimacy? If, by "way out," we wish to transcend constraint, we set ourselves up for frustration. But other scholars of gender in Senegal, following thinkers like Saba Mahmood (2004), suggest that this liberal ideal of freedom is hardly the only way to think about agency and embodied labor (Gilbert 2017, Packer 2019). Gilbert and Packer both decenter a structure/agency lens on heteronormative patriarchy. For Packer, transgressive gendered performance by women soccer players increases their suffering. Within these women's Sufi ethos, suffering brings them closer to God. Thus, by engendering suffering, performances of gender dissidence help them cultivate ethical Muslim selfhood (Packer 2019). Queerness transgresses but does not transcend. Moreover, it is this very lack of transcendence that, by enabling suffering, yields a political subjectivity at once dissident and pious.

Not unlike these soccer players, many of my interlocutors experience possibility within the paradoxical conditions of queer digital intimacy. Two thinkers are particularly helpful in articulating this kind of possibility: Jose Esteban Muñoz on queer futurity and Naisargi Dave on queer ethics. For Muñoz, queer futurity is about the kind of possibility that has not yet arrived. It cannot be actualized within the current configuration of power relations. Yet this possible world can be sensed, glimpsed, or even sensorily *felt* in the present moment, often through aesthetic

practices or performance (Muñoz 2009). Queer futurity dwells in the realm of the virtual: a space differentiated from the actual, but real all the same (Deleuze 1997).

MSM peer educators feel a possible queer future in the present through activist projects. As I explore in chapter two, they envision their own NGO. In this NGO, digital play and connection and eroticism are not means to an end. They will indeed inform and educate. But erotic play and expression also enact a community of support and mutual aid. While positioned at odds with *sutura's* heteronormative discretion, this erotic play in fact enacts protection, a value at the core of *sutura* itself. The eroticism deemed dissident in fact embodies the ethic of *sutura.* But this activist project cannot be funded in the present. (Currently, the project has been waylaid for other reasons, too; digital association seems just too dangerous, given threats of digital surveillance and exposure). Yet this not-yet-arrived possibility can be glimpsed in the present: in brainstorm sessions, on parchment paper mind maps, on excited discussions about what they could do with $1000, and in eruptions of applause when someone makes a good suggestion. It is also glimpsed in the present through online interactions with sex ed interlocutors. Solidarity emerges in these interactions, too: not in the formalized sense of a funded mutual aid network with a president and treasurer, but through moments of palpable, virtual connection.

For digital dissidents, queer futurity is coterminous with queer ethics. When the two coincide, ethical projects approach what Naisargi Dave calls a "radical ethic" (Dave 2010: 373). To understand queer activisms in India, Dave turns to Foucault's "ethical turn" in his second volume of *The History of Sexuality* (Foucault 1985). Drawing on this ethical turn, Dave makes a distinction between sexual morality – something more fixed, calcified, policed by institutions – and ethics, emergent and shifting with the demands of everyday life. And bringing in Muñoz, ethics also shift with the everyday demands to imagine a possible future. Moreover, the "depth of radical imaginary possibility within the workings of power is the space of the ethical" (Dave 2010:371). Rather than sitting outside present moral imperatives, the very impact, the weight, the intensity, of sexual morality as a presence in activists' lives creates the conditions for their "radical ethic." The moral weight of *sutura* creates the conditions for MSM activists to problematize its conventional forms and imagine it otherwise: as an ethic of community protection and mutual aid. The moral weight of *sutura* animates a "radical imaginary possibility:" the root of both queer ethics and queer futurity.

To sum up, the term "queer" invokes this paradox and its possibility. When I refer to sex workers and MSM activists as queer, or their digital practices as queer digital practices, or their modes of signifying about the body as queer biocommunicability, I indicate *both* the transgression-reinforcement paradox that ensnares them, but also the possibility this trap leaves open. This possibility sits in Dave's "space of the ethical." It is the chance to critically reflect upon *sutura's* moral imperatives. Indeed, those whose everyday ethics differ most sharply from idealized sexual morality might be best primed to "invent[t] formerly unimaginable possibilities (Dave 373). MSM digital activists are able understand that their online erotic play with interlocutors does something their NGO funder does not recognize within the NGO's moral (and financial, and epidemiological) imperatives. "Inventing" once impossible futures reaches beyond present moral imperatives into the realm of the not-yet, but also creates something real in the now; MSM activists can sense and feel this possible future in the trust and connection that develops in online play. The ephemerality of these online solidarities highlights the barriers to erecting and institutionalizing an NGO, but also enacts the kind of connection-building that this

NGO is all about. Radical possibility can be felt in moments of online play and connection in which strangers come close.

A Queer Analytic for Health/Communicative Justice

Sutura is more than an object of study. It is also an analytic framework that magnifies the heteronormative operation of health/communicative inequities. As mentioned above, digital dissidents are construed to have both excessive communication practices and improperly public bodies. I develop the framework of "queer biocommunicability" to articulate how particular modes of health communication are devalued within heteronormative regimes of care. This devaluation may be stoked by anxieties about "network promiscuity" (Payne 2014); fears that social media's capacity for multiple affective attachments and split attention could destabilize the couple form, the boundaries around "the intimate," or even a nation's future, if that future is tied to particular notions of family and intimacy.

Embracing queer biocommunicability – forms of health communication deemed excessively or improperly embodied – may be crucial to ensuring that digital communications promote, rather than impede, health equity. For example, in chapter two, a conventional model of health communication bifurcates information from erotics, language from embodiment. This replicates the intransigent opposition between "health" and "communication." In a form of "queer biocommunicability," peer educators create erotically seductive digital personae. Construed by some as overly embodied language at odds with *sutura*, digital seductions actually facilitate effective health communication by maintaining beneficiaries' attention during pedagogical interactions. Seduction helps the NGO reach its health metrics. Desire yields data. Embracing the embodied nature of health communication promotes health outcomes for this "key population."

To separate health and communication as analytically distinct entities would obscure what makes digital activist labor distinct: both distinctly important and distinctly threatening to the heteronormative status quo. The concept of queer biocommunicability counters this unproductive analytical distinction, and highlights how health/communicative inequities can reflect, construct, and lend the appearance of reality to heteronormative hierarchy.

Within peer educators' definition of *sutura*, digital communication *is* health. In 2016, they brainstormed guidelines for an independent NGO. Their mission statement reanimated *sutura*'s other valence: community protection. Pseudonyms protect themselves and others. Erotic seduction attracts young people into mutual aid networks. Thus, activists contend, seductive health communication does not transgress *sutura*; it exemplifies *sutura*. Moreover, digital connectivity is not just a medium for linear information transmission from experts to patients. Rather, for activists, digital connectivity constitutes care in and of itself. *Sutura* does not only challenge the health/communication split; it reimagines what constitutes care in digital health practice.

Much as digital dissidents are well-placed to imagine alternative approaches to digital privacy, they are also well placed to imagine alternative approaches to digital health. Since their bodies are highly marked, deemed always-already too embodied, too erotic, they recognize and experience the co-constitution of language and body. Their digital communication is deemed too embodied. But rather than shy away from this, and try to bifurcate "information" from eroticism, they lean into that co-constitution of body and text. For it is the eroticism of language, and the embodied nature of information, that makes digital health approaches work. And MSM peer educators use *sutura* as an analytical framework to articulate why this is the case. Digital dissidents leverage the very site of their marginalization – *sutura* – to promote health/communicative justice. Their vision

could be instructive to digital health practitioners, and anyone else interested in how digital communication strategies can hinder or promote health equity.

Colonialism, *Sutura,* and Ethnographic Positionality

Sutura's history is intertwined with the colonization of Senegal and its legacies. As a white American ethnographer, my presence created opportunities for more explicit discussion of such colonial histories and presents than might otherwise occur. For example, as I explore in chapter three, my presence as a white US anthropologist viewing porn images of Black women provided occasions for vendors to comment on histories of racialized visual engagement with African women's bodies.

Sutura itself developed from a combination of precolonial ethics and Muslim norms of modesty (Mills 2011, Packer 2019). While a deep engagement with the colonial historicity of visuality and commodification in Senegal goes beyond the scope of this introduction, I note here that French colonialism in Senegal consolidated focus on women's discretion. Discretion, in fact, was a technique of disciplinary control. By the postwar era, disciplining family life had become a key disciplinary tactic by the French colonial regime. The virtuous wife had become the pillar of the "modern African family;" she stabilized both the family and the nation (Fouquet 2011, Yade 2007). This discrete wife and mother had economic importance to French West Africa (AOF); stable families nourished productive workers (Fouquet 2011: 319, Yade 2007). So not only did she symbolize the modern colony, her virtue and discretion maximized the value to be expropriated from the colonized labor force.

In contrast, promiscuity destabilized families, AOF colonial administration posited, leading to less productive workers (Fouquet 2011: 322). The discrete wife did not circulate in urban spaces at night, lest she be mistaken for a "fille de la nuit" (girl of the night). This term for sex worker conveys the conflation between promiscuity and indiscreet movement outside the home (Fouquet 2011*,* see also Coly 2014). Colonizers frequently conflated social and spatial mobility with sex work; both exemplified indiscretion.

Elsewhere, too, respectability politics respond to imperialist hypersexualization of Black women (Miller-Young 2014, Nash 2014). In Senegal, digital age *sutura* responds to and remediates the opposition between indiscreet "fille de la nuit" and modest wife. The uses and ethics of digital porn exemplify this dynamic. For example, in chapter three, I describe how Senegalese women purchase clothing and bedsheets printed with photographs of porn actors – those digital dissidents that epitomize indiscretion. When deployed in the context of marriage, this fabric remediation of digital dissident labor actually contributes to the wearer's piety, insofar as a strong marriage brings one closer to God. This dynamic of "virtuous vulgarity" mobilizes the moral otherness of porn actors to cultivate digital intimate ethics for the wearer of these *draps porno*. Virtuous vulgarity relies upon the promiscuity/discretion opposition, mobilizing it through novel forms of digital embodiment in which a virtuous woman wraps images of a digital dissident around the curves of her own body.

For many interlocutors*, Sutura* is a quintessentially Senegalese value, co-constitutive of Senegalese identity and national belonging. This reification is part of colonialism's legacy. The colonial apparatus covers its tracks, obscuring its own influence on respectability politics. This parallels how, in porn's sexual economies in the United States, essentialist claims to Black female hypersexuality conceal this ideology's origins in the selling, forced migration, and forced labor of human beings (Miller-Young 2014), when commodified Black bodies were desired for

the transgressive pleasure of contact with the less-than-human (cf. Spillers 1987). My own viewership of these images in *draps porno* provides small moments where colonial influence on discretion – and in turn, its influence on the high stakes of making vulgarity virtuous – comes into the light. My presence animates more direct conversation about the intensity and repetition of white viewership of Black women's bodies. *Sutura's* colonial past and present asserts itself in moments spread across this dissertation.

Object, Ethic, Method

Between 2015 and 2019, I divided my 20 months of fieldwork in Senegal between Islamic and NGO sex education programs, informal networks of urban sex workers who produce or engage with porn images, and a digital health NGO working with MSM. This multi-sited approach reflects how *sutura* crosscuts multiple sectors of Senegalese society.

Sutura is both an object of study and a methodological imperative. Exposure of my interlocutors' sexual practices or identities could bring discrimination or violence. This necessitated collaborative ethnography. For example, in my work with queer digital health activists, we examined their archive of digital health conversations together. If they considered a conversation indiscreet, they instructed me to look away. These gaps and silences did not hinder inquiry. Rather, they revealed the presence and effects of *sutura*.

My methodology emphasizes participatory research at every point of the research process: from the formulation of research questions, to data collection and analysis, to evaluation. Participatory design sessions proved particularly useful. For example, in a human centered design workshop at a youth center in Kolda, Senegal, teens devised a peer-led education module called "*sutura* and Facebook." This module both shaped actual sex education pedagogy in Kolda and informed the guiding research questions for this project.

Following a summer of follow-up research in 2019, I continued to correspond with several of my key interlocutors via WhatsApp calls and voice messages. They kept me up to date on emerging developments, such as the rise in image-based abuse against (presumed) queer men, through publishing acts of violence against them online. We also discussed how the COVID-19 pandemic shaped work and everyday life. For example, sex worker interlocutors like Mame Diarra shared how the closing of bars and restaurants in the pandemics' early lockdowns pushed a shift to online sex work, mostly via video and phone calls. This provided some harm reduction measures against COVID infection but increased other risks and harms: risks to digital *sutura*. These threads deserve deeper analysis. For now, rich fieldwork on digital dissidence in a time of COVID goes beyond the scope of this dissertation, which is primarily based on fieldwork conducted between 2015 and 2019. However, in our continued correspondence after primary fieldwork, my interlocutors periodically reflected in WhatsApp conversations on what had changed with the pandemic. As it has for many of us, abrupt changes in how we communicate, interact, and protect our health draw experiences in the "before times" (e.g., pre-COVID) into relief. The pandemic periodically enters the narrative in this capacity, providing seeds for future fieldwork, and moments of retrospective reflection on fieldwork past.

Digital Privacy

The centrality of *sutura* across so many institutional sites, coupled with the rich historical work that has been conducted on the ethic, makes Senegal a powerful place to explore an issue that affects anyone who engages in digitally mediated interactions: the insufficiency of current

privacy policies and laws to ensure we retain agency over the circulation of our digital data, bodies, and selves. Multi-disciplinary research has amply illustrated that individualist approaches to privacy are insufficient. Emphasizing individual internet users' awareness and responsibility of various permissions and disclosures obscures the nature of "networked privacy;" privacy depends in part on the actions of members of family, friends, kin, community, and broader networks of relations (Marwick and boyd 2014). This has spurred some scholars of cybersecurity to think about privacy as a civil right (Baik 2021), "collective privacy" (Mantalero 2017), privacy as a common good (Regan 2002), and a "relational theory" of data governance that decenters the emphasis on the individual "user" (Viljoen 2020). In turn, there have been calls to "decolonize privacy;" this would mean seeking models of personhood and relationality outside Europe and the United States on which to base data protection approaches. Calls for "non-elite conceptualizations of social media privacy" similarly look to historically marginalized communities – such as those who bear disproportionate burdens of digital surveillance – for guiding approaches to data protection (Quinn, Epstein and Moon 2019).

Indeed, Senegalese queer digital activists and porn performers know that whether *droit à la vie privée* ("right to private life") is considered a collective right or an individual responsibility depends on one's position in *sutura's* gendered hierarchy. Digital dissidents' keen perspectives, especially their active transformations and reclamations of *sutura* as collective protection, make *sutura* more than a "case study" of privacy. Digital dissidents' navigation of *sutura* may point to alternative digital futures, futures in which privacy is not an individual responsibility or burden, but a form of mutual aid.

Pornography as a Topic of Anthropological Inquiry

Little ethnographic work has been conducted on pornography outside Europe and North America, with a few notable exceptions (Hoek 2013, Hoek 2019). In a follow up article about the digitization of Bangladeshi "cut pieces," Hoek thinks carefully about porn as boundary maker. *Which* boundary becomes salient to makers, distributers and/or viewers is contingent on a range of factors, including material mode of producing and distributing porn (Hoek 2019). I build upon this line of inquiry. National belonging becomes a key interpretive framework for pornography. Orientations to porn – among its producers, consumers, and those who identify as neither but nevertheless interact with the conceptual category –presents valuable insights into the relationship between digital image-making, viewing, and national belonging.

Scholars of porn have highlighted the need to "internationalize porn studies," inviting researchers to study porn contexts outside European and North American in order to interrogate broad themes like technology, rights discourses, obscenity, and personhood (Jacobs 2014). Likewise, recent scholarship has also highlighted the need to center pornography as a "proper" subject of anthropological and/or ethnographic inquiry (Friend 2021b, Miller-Young 2014, Padgett 2019). Indeed, pornography is a topic that engages fundamental anthropological interests in personhood and exchange.

However, definitions of what constitutes "ethnographic" porn research must be contextually attuned if we are to fulfill both of these needs at once. Ethnographic research cannot always involve set visits. The contours of the field site for porn research must be informed by those to whom illicit images matter. In contexts where ethics like *sutura* actively work to obfuscate the links between making, viewing, and transforming illicit images, ethnographic

fieldwork cannot – and perhaps should not – make these links legible. Revealing these links undermines *sutura's* protective dimension.

Sutura and porn formed a mobius strip. When one was palpably present or explicitly discussed, the other exerted its force. With guidance from Penda and others, my "on the ground" ethnography of porn in Senegal engaged a wide range of actors invested in crafting ethical orientations to illicit images. If porn is about the "frenzy of the visible," the drive to maximize display (Williams 1989), I focus on the experiences of digital dissidents who alternately conceal and reveal the hypervisible. They do so as they produce, work with, and circulate porn images, or as they consider what it might mean to pursue work with porn. By zooming in on moments and sites where *sutura* exerts its force, in dialogue with longstanding literatures on secrecy in West Africa, I show glimpses, shadows, and traces of the hypervisible.

Analysis of porn is part and parcel of analysis of Muslim ethics of digital image interaction. Technology does not only mediate Islam; technologies, forms, and practices of mediation are crucial to how people cultivate piety (Buggenhagen 2010, Hirschkind 2006). This literature foregrounds those perceived to have successfully cultivated piety through technology, including those who refute claims that social media undermines Islamic ethics (Husein and Slama 2018). Few scholars explore media practices of ethical outsiders. Ethical outsiders are the focal point of my study. First, understanding their aspirations and ordinary ethics is important in and of itself. I integrate digital media – and pornography in particular, as quintessential high-risk digital activity – into the ongoing effort to understand how people at the margins of moral virtue cultivate dignity and ethical selves, often torn between more stable "moral imperatives" and the shifting ethical demands of everyday life (Dave 2010).

Speaking about porn and ethics can trigger pained flashbacks to the "sex wars:" debates that split scholars into pro- and anti-porn camps, and devoted a great deal of time to securing a definition of pornography (Padgett 2019). But porn ethics need not follow this script. On the contrary, following my interlocutors' lead, I explore their nuanced efforts to forge ethical orientations to digitally distributed intimate images, and how these orientations shape broader understandings of digital personhood and sexual ethics. In doing so, I expand the terrain of "on the ground" porn studies to include not just porn actors and producers, as in Mireille Miller-Young's groundbreaking work with Black American porn performers and directors (Miller-Young 2014), but a broader range of actors: both those empowered to define ethical standards for others, and those living at the margins of the ethical.

Digital Intimate Citizenship

My work on digital intimate citizenship is indebted to George Paul Meiu's elegant synthesis of recent work on intimate publics and intimate citizenship (Meiu 2000). Under late capitalism, intimate life is often the basis for political recognition, rather than or in addition to collective civic participation (Berlant 1998). Berlant and Warner's (1998) term "intimate public" captures this process whereby, contrary to the conception of a neat public/private divide, managing the intimate domain of the private becomes the very condition of public participation and recognition. An intimate public describes a "nation whose survival depends on . . . the intimate domains of the quotidian" (Berlant 1998: 4; cited in Meiu 2020).

The economic impact of structural adjustment policies rendered the domain of family life one of acute anxiety and uncertainty (Thomson, Kentikelenis and Stubbs 2017). This anxiety, coupled with political pressures for leaders to drum up a scapegoat for economic suffering,

places particular pressure on racial or sexual Others. These Others become figured as dangerous threats onto whom are displaced a wide range of anxieties; alternately, these figures become positioned as Other precisely through this process of displacement (Partridge 2012, Mack 2016). The figure of the "homosexual" has played this role in Senegalese politics from the colonial period to the present, positioned as "strangers in their own land" (M'Baye 2013: 109).

Media studies scholarship has insightfully adapted notions of intimate publics or public intimacy for social media practices. Authors trace the transformations and iterations of intimate publics and public intimacy into the terrain of social media (Dobson 2018, Elliot 2018, Evans and Riley 2018). Critical analysts of social media (and digital media more broadly) have illustrated the intermingling and co-constitution of family and civic participation, labor and intimacy on social media platforms. Digital intimate publics entail public participation through the digital circulation of intimate data, images, or information. Illusions of a neat separation between "publicity" and "intimacy," or public and private, become increasingly difficult to uphold (Dobson et al 2018). Crucially, the implications of this are unequally distributed across lines of race, class, ethnicity and sexuality; for the already sexually marginalized, digital public intimacy is often moralized as "excess" – as overwrought emotion, unseemly "oversharing," or the improper circulation of what is properly private (Payne 2014). Yet it is precisely such intense affects that fuel social media usage and thus undergird the platforms themselves (Dobson 2018). Indeed, as members of the hacker//hustler collective note, sex work helped build the internet; this makes the deplatforming of sex workers all the more egregious (Stardust, Garcia, Eguatu, Yin Q 2021). This invites parallels with *sutura* and digital dissidents. In section one, profits derived either directly or indirectly (e.g., via international aid and NGO networks) via social media monetization depend on users marginalized as excessively connected. This pairing of dependence and marginalization will become important to analyzing digital intimate citizenship among digital dissidents who work with or produce illicit images.

Queer theoretical work on digital intimacy and digital intimate publics have concentrated their analytical frameworks and case studies in the Global North. This limits the scope of their engagement with colonial histories and lived presents that, as Section II shows, directly come to bear on experiences and imaginaries of digital intimacy. To address this blind spot, I draw on longstanding bodies of work on secrecy in Africa, and particularly, George Paul Meiu's contemporary work in Kenya. Meiu repositions homophobic violence in Kenya within a broader set of practices he calls "intimate exposure," performative acts of unmasking the intimate that draw attention to the purportedly "hidden" practices of moral decay lurking behind national ideals of propriety.

I use the term "digital intimate citizenship" to capture the productive intersection of Meiu's line of inquiry and Dobson's. This term is a composite of digital intimate public and intimate citizenship. Digital intimate citizenship captures the process by which moral belonging and/or national belonging depend on how one manages the digital production and circulation of intimate images or information, including but not limited to sexual images.

Digital intimate citizenship affects diverse digital dissidents. Porn actors confront claims that their acts of circulating intimate images online exclude them from moral belonging and legible Senegalese femininity. These interlocutors negotiate and expand *sutura,* making it capacious enough to accommodate their digital intimate labor. They reinterpret its enabling assumptions to claim digital intimate citizenship. For those who circulate porn images but do not identify as sex workers, nationality is a key framework for interpreting porn images and the

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ethics of digital image-making more broadly. For teenagers, especially *jeunes filles* ("young girls"), I show that becoming modern media/sexual subjects is part and parcel of their role as symbols of Senegalese modernity.

Digital intimate citizenship forms a backdrop for a HIV/AIDS prevention program employing gay men to conduct online peer education. Online expressions of queer eroticism help them reach their target numbers of messages sent and interlocutors reached. As Marlee Tichenor has shown, the production of health data and "tightly regulated evidence" is crucial for Senegal to procure and maintain global aid funding (Tichenor 2016:105). If queer expression and play online help MSM peer educators reach data benchmarks, then this queer digital intimacy in fact becomes linked to a national investment in health metrics. While queer online eroticism might render peer educators digital intimate non-citizens, it is precisely this eroticism that makes them important to national health projects.

A Note about Belonging and Citizenship

At times, I will move between the terms "belonging" and "citizenship." Both, for my purposes, highlight processes of inclusion and exclusion. Belonging is "an ongoing negotiation of who has a right to be included, who may claim such rights, and who may not" (Meiu 2017: 5). Belonging highlights "collective repertoires for defining, legitimating, and exercising the rights of some bodies against others" (Sheller 2012: 21: cited in Meiu 2017:5). *Sutura,* as digital dissidents experience it, differentiates bodies with a right to protection from unwanted online exposure and circulation from those who lack that right.

Amid a proliferation of "citizenships" – e.g., biological (Petryna 2002, Rose and Novas 2004), therapeutic (Nguyen 2010), and intimate (Plummer 2003, Meiu 2020) – I do not wish to simply add one more term to the list. But "citizenship" is useful for a few reasons. First, it is helpful to think of digital privacy and its gendered, exclusionary force in terms of rights and responsibilities. As digital dissidents understand better than anyone, whether digital privacy is considered collective right or individual responsibility depends on one's position in *sutura's* gendered hierarchy. As in the disturbing taxi episode, some people are considered to lack the right to digital privacy (or privacy whatsoever) due to sexual orientation. They do not warrant *sutura's* protection.

Citizenship – and rights/responsibilities discourse – will ultimately help me link discussions of *sutura* as unequally distributed collective protection to applied, policy conversations about digital privacy policy at this dissertation's conclusion. Digital intimate citizenship facilitates translational work between *sutura* as collective protection, and conversations about digital privacy as mutual aid.

Second, it magnifies links between right/responsibility discourses and dynamics of nationality and self-making, the latter of which are so central to digital dissidents' engagement with online sociality and expression. For example, I will discuss a case study in which a porn website misattributes one's nationality in addition to posting a video without that person's consent. To draw from Ong's formulation, one's national affiliation, and self-making as someone valuing *sutura,* is literally made up within web(sites) of power. Digital intimate citizenship helps me make the connection between this painful process and the rights/responsibility discourses that hold sway for policy makers who have stated (if not actualized) commitments to preventing such violations. In summary, digital intimate citizenship is a term that will allow me to move between

interlocutors' experiences of exclusion from *sutura's* protection, to policy conversations about what equitable digital privacy protections might look like.

Chapter Overview

The first chapter focuses on a group whose *sutura,* honor, and digital ethics must be protected: *jeunes filles* ("young women"). I explore sex education pedagogies used to forge modern media and sexual subjects. This exploration foregrounds the national ideals of normative digital intimacy to which digital dissident practices are compared.

The chapter traces media ideologies, artifacts and practices across multiple sites of pedagogy. These sites include NGO and government funded youth centers in the southern region of Kolda, community-based organizations, and Islamic youth groups. Across these sites, young women are instructed to "break taboos" about sexuality, all while retaining *sutura.*

Digital media is both a topic of ethical debate, and a pedagogical tool for developing embodied dispositions of ethical media-sexual subjects. I trace the circulation of online animated videos, characters, and games used in sex ed programs in government and NGO-funded health centers as well as in community-based organizations. With titles such as *corps* ("body"), *sexualité* ("sexuality"), and *pairs* ("peers"), these materials feature a host of animated characters. Some characters model the embodied dispositions with which one should view – and speak about – digitally remediated images. Others stand as "traditional" foils for these modern subjects. Here, modern sexual subjects are modern media subjects.

Online pedagogical materials construct and model a particular model of health communication. This particular biocommunicable model – that is, a metapragmatic model of how health knowledge is produced and circulated (Briggs and Hallin 2007) – bifurcates information and desire, particularly regarding images. A modern, ethical sexual subject should be able to look at a diagram of anatomy that includes animated depictions of a woman's breasts without flinching. To speak unflinchingly and knowledgably about STDs, sexual desire, puberty, and other topics is not a transgression of *sutura*; on the contrary, it is through awareness raising with purportedly value-free "information" about the relationship between media and sex (among other topics) that unwanted pregnancies will be prevented, and young women's honor – and *sutura* – will be protected. I watch these videos *in situ* with youth peer educators, exploring how the metapragmatic model of health communication emerges in dynamic interaction with everyday events of engaging pedagogical media, and everyday events of "breaking taboo."

Given that the authorized model of digital health communication bifurcates information from desire, one might expect pornography to have no place in either sanctioned sex ed pedagogy or sanctioned sexual subjectivity. In fact, "porn" – a concept defined in multiple and contested ways – does have a place. Pedagogical engagements with "porn" sometimes involve moral denunciation, but they rarely stop there. Interlocutors entertain the possibility of porn as harm reduction and debate the moral status of digitally mediated bodies as opposed to those "in the flesh." Invoking Islam as a religion that "has no taboos," awareness-raising sessions held by youth center peer educators and Islamic youth groups actively seek and debate the ethical implications of digitally remediated bodies and acts of viewership.

Often propelled by humor, the sex educators in this chapter engage thoughtful discussions of porn's complexities. Such discussions mark a contrast to US and Canadian discourses of porn as, in and of itself, a public health crisis (Webber and Sullivan 2018). They

also illustrate the possibility for conversations about pornography ethics to exceed a pro-porn vs anti-porn dualism.

Chapter two follows a group of queer men who conduct HIV/AIDS peer education on online dating websites, first with funding from an NGO, and then independently. The NGO program is no longer active. And due to increasing fears of online violence, the activists have directed their energies to other advocacy tactics. This chapter is a window into what online advocacy used to look like. It is also a window into hopes and aspirations that persist, amid decreasing odds that they will be actualized through a formalized program or agenda.

"Men who have Sex with Men" (MSM) are one of the *populations clés* (key populations) in public health programs. These activists were once employed to conduct online health education. They conducted this work with full knowledge of *sutura's* paradox: queer Senegalese are more vulnerable to unwanted online exposure and violence, but they also are more likely to be blamed for lacking *sutura*. Indeed, this logic infuses a set of stated and implicit expectations that privilege a de-eroticized, purely informational digital self as proper sex education messenger, even on dating websites where erotically charged communication is common practice. Especially among NGO funders, information is framed as a bulwark against claims that the program "promotes homosexuality." Much like notions of health information in chapter one, this presupposes that information is affectively neutral and value-free. This metapragmatic bifurcation of information and desire is not only impractical in online health communication; it also jeopardizes health outcomes. Online peer educators who eschew all erotic expression or flirtation struggle to attract and maintain online interlocutors' attention long enough to assess whether their messages about HIV testing, prevention, and treatment have been understood and are likely to be applied in interlocutors' daily lives.

In fact, online queer eroticism deemed "indiscreet" advances a disease containment project, a project central to Senegal's international positioning. This online eroticism, part of what I call "queer biocommunicability," helps the activists and their funders pursue their goals of reaching desired disease-prevention metrics. Expressions of queer eroticism – precisely that which is widely deemed anti-*sutura* – is more effective at sustaining interlocutors' interest. This allows peer educators to make sure their interlocutors understand the information and assess whether they have the support to use that information to seek adequate care. In short, queer erotic expression advances health goals. Desire yields the data. In a country where health metrics are crucial to the nation's positioning in international aid circles (Tichenor 2016), queer biocommunicability advances a health project that is important to the nation's present and future. I explore the resonance between this interdependence and earlier forms of interdependence between *géwel* and *sutura*-possessing Senegalese. Online queer eroticism in fact reinforces a health project that is rooted in a heteronormative project of containing queer bodies and queer communication. But in line with queer ethics and queer futurity, online peer educators can glimpse a possible future beyond this paradox. In moments of ephemeral connection with interlocutors, they experience moments of solidarity. This solidarity, they argue, is what the ethic of *sutura* is actually all about.

My interlocutors reject framings of online eroticism as indiscrete. On the contrary, Activists believe they epitomize *sutura's* ethics when they use pseudonyms and erotic identity play. These practices protect themselves and their peers from unwanted exposure. Moreover, it is these practices that help them attract online interlocutors to expand a community of support. The activists frame *sutura* as collective protection. In doing so, they reanimate one of *sutura's* key

valences and expand it to include historically marginalized communities. Their reformulation of *sutura,* I suggest, is, could help inspire an alternative vision of digital privacy as mutual aid.

I then turn to fieldwork conducted with women who sell sex and/or sell images of digitally remediated sex. Pornography links chapters three and four. Porn performers are the ultimate digital dissidents. They practice and monetize on/scenity. I address pornography less as a category to be secured than as a powerful window into marginalized women's ethical negotiations of digital images, digital discretion, and national belonging.

In chapter three, porn actors' digital dissident labor contributes to the material culture of feminine piety. Géwél casted vendors sell bedsheets and lingerie printed with screenshots from porn films to married women and newlyweds. Clients wrap photographs from the sex industry around their beds or their own bodies. Within a particular logic of seduction, pleasing one's husband is central to piety (Gilbert 2017). Thus, *sutura*-violating porn images become integrated into practices of cultivating feminine virtue. While *sutura* projects strict boundaries between the discrete and the pornographic, material cultures of the digital tell a different story. As long as these *draps porno* (porn sheets) are viewed only by vendors, the married couple and – in some cases – an American ethnographer, porn and piety remain compatible. This is what I will call "virtuous vulgarity." Within *sutura*'s auspices, women can leverage porn's on/scenity to build *graw* ("hardcore") eroticism. I show that by wearing photographs of digital dissidents, women seek to consolidate moral legitimacy. In turn, this moral legitimacy may yield negotiating power within patriarchal constraint.

The hardcore potency of *draps porno* does not just come from the shock of the photographic. In dialogue with bell hooks' concept of "eating the Other" – white consumption of other ethnicities (hooks 1992) – I argue that *wearing* the Other derives power from eroticized racial or national difference. As vendors market sheets with photographs of white bodies or purportedly non-Senegalese African bodies, they both magnify and repurpose colonial histories of reified difference.

In chapter four, I turn to the experiences and perspectives of sex workers themselves. Through interviews and focus groups with sex workers within or adjacent to porn production, I trace how they navigate and reshape digital-age *sutura*. How do they take advantage of the economic opportunities of publicly circulating images of intimate acts, without sacrificing their claims to *sutura*, honor, and femininity? Rather than rejecting *sutura* wholesale, they make *sutura* more capacious to accommodate digital dissident labor. They take substantial risk through porn to provide for their families. Since motherhood is crucial to Muslim femininity, they contend, the risks they take for the good of their children prove their commitment to moral femininity.

They also encounter the un-making of digital intimate citizenship through various digital harms: for example, one woman has her nationality literally mis-labeled by a tag on a porn website, inflicting a double assault to *sutura* through online exposure, on the one hand, and through denial of national belonging, on the other. They also explicitly call people on the double standard: why blame us for non-consensual exposure of our intimate lives?

In the case of Mame Diarra and others, sex workers enact *sutura* as collective protection, embodied by the term "*suturalante"* (*sutura* each other).[15] While the aforementioned double

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[15] Sex workers like Mame Diarra engage and discuss the benefits and risks of online sex work – and online activity in general – amidst state and NGO-sponsored health programs for sex workers. Sex workers recognize the

standard places a disproportionate burden of *sutura* on vulnerable groups like sex workers, by educating each other and informing each other of the importance of doing so, they enact *sutura* as mutual aid.

Some digital dissidents stretch or alter *sutura's* definition to position themselves within its auspices. Some, like Mame Diarra, transform it by reanimating and expanding its emphasis on community protection. Interlocutors magnify and push back against the hypocritical weaponization of *sutura* to non-consensually expose, rather than support, marginalized communities. Some reclaim those digital practices that others may portray as lacking *sutura* – too erotic, too exposed, too queer – as exemplars of *sutura*. I argue that these reclamations of the ethic can inform both digital health practice and digital privacy policy making. Through their expansions and interrogations of *sutura*, digital dissidents gesture to an alternative digital future, one marked by the equal distribution of digital privacy, health, and protection.

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importance of protecting one's community from digital harms: a protection that may both advance and extends beyond disease prevention goals.

Interlude: The *Kankourang*

On my first day in the southern central town of Kolda, the director of the Centre Conseil Ado (CCA) in Kolda did not have time to show me around. He was meeting with some national NGO representatives. He delegated the task to Delphine, a 16 year-old dressed in a pink velour jumpsuit. When we found a taxi, she insisted I sit in front as the guest and her elder.

"The CCA," she said to the driver from the backseat, without looking up from her phone.

It is a cliché to fixate on members of "Gen Z" and their phones but, then again, the mobile phone – its role in digital health, in aspirations for girls' future and Senegal's future – was part of the reason I was here. While in Berkeley, I had stumbled upon "clickinfoado.sn," an online sex education platform. In collaboration with the Senegalese government, it was created by the technology for development NGO RAES and a Dutch organization Butterfly Works, based on a sex education curriculum by Population Council. I had been struck by how the site's animated cartoon video episodes modeled "proper" sexual behavior and media behavior in tandem. Indeed, as I argue in this chapter, to become a good sexual subject requires becoming a good media subject.

I had followed the clickinfoado cartoons to this youth health center. The man I interviewed at the Ministry of Youth had said this CCA was the most dynamic of the adolescent centers spread throughout the country, due in large part to Ahmed, the Kolda CCA's director. Ahmed trained peer educators like Delphine to lead community meetings in Kolda's neighborhoods on sexual and reproductive health topics.

I would later remark on Delphine's almost encyclopedic knowledge of which restaurants would let her charge her phone without buying anything. (She didn't have electricity at home). So "being on one's phone all the time" is a significant achievement of resourcefulness and persistence.

In addition to star peer educator status and an in at most restaurants in town, Delphine also had top marks at school, a pile of badges from leadership conferences she'd attended, and an impressive collection of lip glosses that she wore when not acting in official peer educator capacity (makeup was not allowed when acting in official capacity as a CCA peer educator).

The taxi was slower and clunkier than the *jakata* motorcycles that darted by, driven by young men in their teens or twenties, some of them Delphine's classmates. We pulled up to the CCA, a pink and white single-story building. It had a hand-written sign designating the Ministry of Youth. I got out of the front seat and moved toward the wrought iron gate when Delphine said, "there's nothing going on today. We can do the tour another day."

I would have to wait for another day to see the midwife's waiting room with its stream of Indian soap operas on the TV set, the counseling room with its shelves of pamphlets on STDs and female genital cutting (FGC), or the mediation room, where an older man in his thirties reconciled pregnant teens with their families. For now, I followed Delphine to the nearby open-air stalls of used clothes and sundry household goods. Delphine flipped through stacks of used jeans, teasing the owner that the price should be cut in half. Next door, she helped me halve the price of a fan.

"I'll find you a taxi," she said. Apparently, that was it.
We returned to the paved road. Delphine insisted I wait for a taxi, not a *jakata.* So we started walking in the direction of my hostel.
Suddenly, she grabbed my arm.

"Run!" she shouted.[16]

With humidity worse than Dakar's, I could not think of a less enticing prospect. I also had no idea what we were running to, or from, and how a languorous stroll in town had yielded this sudden urgency. But Delphine was undeniably cool. So I ran.

I trailed Delphine back through the market of fans and jeans, past the CCA, to a dirt road.

"Why are we running?" I shouted.

"It's the kankourang! Women can't see it!" Delphine shouted back.

What's a kankourang" I thought. And why it was for men's eyes only? But by now Delphine was several strides ahead. I had the adrenaline of someone afraid, but without the actual fear. I think I was grinning as I ran.

Delphine finally stopped running in front of an auto mechanic shop. She doubled over, panting and laughing. I caught up to her and she used my shoulder to steady herself.

"Delphine," I said, breathless. "What's a kankourang?"

She slapped my back and laughed harder. Once she'd caught her breath, she told me the short version. The Kankourang is a masked figure that accompanies young male initiates on their circumcision ceremonies in *la brousse.*

"There are pictures on YouTube," she added.

"But I thought women were not supposed to look at it?"

Delphine looked at me for a beat but didn't answer. Did online mediation mitigate the force of prohibition? She offered me a tissue to wipe my forehead. We walked back to the main road.

As Delphine and other experienced peer educators would say, "you always have to break the ice" before approaching topics of sexual health. This run through town broke the ice for ethnography, much as a joke or a game did for discussions about the menstrual cycle. (Though Delphine and I would not develop a sustained working relationship. She was preparing for her baccalauréat exam, traveling to various leadership retreats, and had other things going on.)

I would later learn that the Kankourang is a highly contested figure of adolescence, a visible symbol of *adda* ("custom"), a charged word at the CCA. In some parts of the country, like the beachside tourist-heavy town of Mbour, people did not flee but actually chased *after* the Kankourang. In some cases, the Kankourang did not actually accompany the initiates, but was a stand-alone event capable of generating a mixture of excitement, fear, and exhilaration on its own. But in Kolda, Ahmed would later explain to me, "there is a lot of custom." He and many other sex ed facilitators would say that the challenge of educating youth is teaching them and their families to keep the good parts of *adda* and eliminate the bad. FGC falls within the bad. Counting beads on a necklace in order to track your cycle and prevent pregnancy falls within the good. Young people were ideal emissaries of this message of editing custom.

Unlike the interlocutors in the other chapters of this dissertation, adolescent girls were not ethical outsiders. On the contrary, they were symbols of Senegal's aspirational position as a leader in reproductive health. Kolda was the hotspot of international aid activity. Its USAID-constructed bridge was plastered with signs pointing visitors to various NGOs' regional headquarters. With dynamic Ahmed at the helm, Kolda's CCA stood as a key force for

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[16] It is hard not to think of that other anthropologist who engaged in impromptu running with new interlocutors: Clifford Geertz in his article on the Balinese Cockfight (Geertz 1972). Our run through town lacked the element of legal pressure. We did not unite through a shared – but unequally experienced – vulnerability before a legal regime. However, the two events share a sense of exhileration.

addressing and editing custom, but also for sparking discussion about a wide range of sexual health topics that many United States sex education programs do not address.

Delphine flagged down a *jakata* this time. While the driver and I absorbed the shock of the bumpy ride, I took a moment of reflection: to YouTube or not to YouTube the thing I had just fled.

Chapter 1: *Sutura,* Porn, and Pedagogy in the Making of Modern Media Subjects

In Durkheim's canonical account, "taboo" does not simply impose an absence of speech. It is a project of containing mobility, contagious mobility (Durkheim 1912). It is about regulating circulation. Taboo prevents "extraordinarily contagious" sacred forces from "escaping the places they occupy and invading all that passes within their reach." Constantine Nakassis addresses taboo through Derrida's conception of iterability: that is, the capacity for an utterance to be detached from its context of enunciation and reattached to a new one. Taboo places a limit on the mobility of utterances; 'taboo speech' exemplifies the "recalcitrance of events of semiosis to being cited" (Nakassis 2013: 55). The illocutionary force of a prohibited semiotic event will always be achieved even if an utterance has traveled to a new context with different felicity conditions. In summary, taboo places a limit on circulation.

I take up this longstanding interest in prohibition and circulation, but ask, what about the communicative act of asserting the *existence* of taboo in the first place?

I became interested in taboo-breaking as a communicative event while doing fieldwork on girls' sex-ed initiatives in Senegalese NGOs – first in Dakar, and then in Kolda.

"Sexuality is taboo," I would hear over and over again from parents, teens, and health center workers alike. *Kenn du wax ci sexualité.* ("No one speaks about sexuality.") This was a central cause, people argued, of the elevated rates of teen pregnancy in Kolda compared to the urban metropole. Kolda is a region in southern Senegal officially marked by and popularly stigmatized for teen pregnancy and underage marriage (Look 2009, Ministère de la Femme, de la Famille et de l'Enfance 2016).

Here people seemed to be projecting and breaking a speech prohibition in a single utterance, a taboo on some totality called *la sexualité.* Yet there was also a sense of a complete saturation of sexual images. The culprits? Smartphones, laptops, and other mobile devices. For parents and educators, the concern was that sexually explicit images could circulate into bedrooms, outside the watchful eye of kin, or the surveillance of institutions. For example, on YouTube, young people might see videos whose titles present an enticing prohibition-qua-invitation: *boul xol,* or *boul xol video bi* ("don't watch" or "don't watch this video"). These links lead viewers to, among other things, videos of women dancing the *leumbeul*, a common dance involving articulated movement of the hips and buttocks. Once prevalent Internet cafés were a purportedly safer, socially surveilled space for Internet access.

Teens themselves also expressed concern about the unpredictable circulation of sensuous image-objects. "Now with the internet you can see anything you want," one young man told me. He recounted the time he was sent a nude photo not meant for him. "It wasn't someone I'm in a relationship with, but I still felt sexual desire." This is the peril of digital iterability. It detaches desire from its context of production (a couple form) then makes it mobile. Desire reattaches itself where it doesn't belong, in a viewer's own body.

As a referent, sexuality is nowhere, interlocutors suggested. But as affect, it is everywhere. Does this opposition hold in the everyday pragmatics and ethics of images and sex ed pedagogy?

As I mentioned in the interlude, the platform clickinfoado.sn was created by the technology for development NGO RAES, with support from Oxfam, One World, and Butterfly Works. The content, modules, teachers' guides, and educational diagrams are based on Population Council's *Grandir en Harmonie* ("Grow up in Harmony") reproductive health

curriculum (RAES 2022). An instructional guide for teachers introduces the concept of experiential learning; on clickinfoado, "virtual peer educators communicate directly with youth about reproductive health subjects" (RAES 2022).

On clickinfoado, sexuality is regulated not by imposing a taboo but by "breaking" one. It counters a particular kind of circulation (affectively potent images) with another – in the form of "information," defined in narrow biomedical terms and construed as affectively vacuous.

The site invites identification with a number of class-identified characters. These include Astou, a girl from an upper-class family and "Boy Jinné," drawn with angry eyebrows, whose plotlines include getting women pregnant and trying to treat a painful STI with a *gris-gris* amulet, to the shock and dismay of doctors (RAES 2017b).[17] In one of the many pedagogical cartoons, characters voice the idealized model of health communication, or model of "biocommunicability" to cite Briggs and Hallin (2007), where all is said. There is no shame.

One of clickinfo's chatacters: "Boy Jinné, 22 years old, Delinquent" (RAES 2017f)

One video episode entitled *Connaître son corps!* ("knowing your body") in the French version and *xam sa yaram!* ("know your body") in Wolof features a remediated scene of viewing (RAES 2017a). Robert and Balla, two young men, are looking at pictures of female reproductive anatomy on the internet.[18] The upper-class, educated Astou walks in on them. At first, they're

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[17] During my fieldwork at the CCA, peer educators and I accessed and played clickinfoado.sn episodes from HTML files saved onto a USB drive. This ensured we could play episodes, host screenings, and run *causeries* without internet access. The original website from which we downloaded the content, clickinfoado.sn, is inactive as of May 2022. Screenshots of the website can be viewed via the Internet Archive's "Wayback Machine" tool. Written transcripts for the video episodes discussed in this chapter are available, as of May 2022, via the website senegal.clickinfoado.org under the "professeurs" tab. I provide screenshots to give readers a sense of the animation style.

[18] In a mystery I have yet to solve, during my fieldwork, the episode entitled *sexualité* – accessed from the clickinfoado.sn website – went from a duration of about six minutes, to a duration of roughly three minutes. And in the *corps* episode, the anatomical drawings that Robert and Balla look at in the episode – and Senegalese youth watch through Robert and Balla's eyes – eventually disappeared from the clip. These diagrams of reproductive organs remained accessible as separate documents via clickinfoado.sn's repository of teaching tools. I was not able to affirm with certainty the reason for these two changes. Unless otherwise noted, the viewing events I describe

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ashamed, thinking that she will think they're up to no good. But Astou assures them that if it's just for "information," there's no problem. Robert agrees: "Yes, and it goes beyond the computer now, cell phones, ipods etc, offer so much text, images and videos on all kinds of subjects! If a student wants to learn, he can do it with a single click!"

The digital apparatus (computer, cell phone, etc.) is transformed from vehicle of dangerous iterability – decontextualization and recontextualization of desire – to a neutral portal that has absolutely nothing to do with context, because information is biomedical truth that purportedly transcends context. This cartoon also reflects the paradox of remediation (Bolter and Grusin 1999); we claim experiences of immediacy in the very moment of mediation. I return to this dual media education/sex education video in depth later in the chapter when I explore how young Senegalese people interact with it in real time.

A metapragmatic model of mediation undergirds a biomedical regime of truth. It relies upon the erasure of a number of semiotic steps. It belies the way that bodies have been inscribed within a particular metapragmatic model of health communication within complex assemblages of NGOs, government priorities, discourses of development and modernity, and media ideologies. This in turn advances a developmental telos.

Another clickinfoado module, *sexualité,* features Astou, a high-class urbanite girl, and Ouzin, a boy who moved from a small village and now sells pay-as-you-go phone credit. Astou assumes a mentoring role:

> ASTOU: You know that by phone you can now learn lots of things about your body, for example, on the risks of diseases, about sex…all you have to do is send a text message!
>
> OUZIN: Sex? Oh la la! What are you talking about? Sex, only adults have the right to talk about it!
>
> [Video cuts to the photograph below]

> NARRATOR: In the traditional locale where Ouzin grew up, talking about sex before a certain age is considered impolite, improper, taboo. Only the paternal aunt can speak

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involved the earlier iteration of the clips: the unabridged *sexualité* episode, and the *corps* episode where viewers see the drawings seen and discussed by Robert and Balla.

about sex, about initiation into sexuality to a girl who is going to be married. (RAES 2017c)

The willingness to circulate health information reflects and constitutes Astou's modernity. Taboo – as a blockage to the circulation of information – indexes Ouzin's traditionalism. Moreover, it constitutes a delegitimized model of health communication.

This international development focus on linear progress from uninformed traditionalism is nothing new. But what is interesting is the pivot point – the point where Ouzin's biocommunicability is redeemed:

> ASTOU: A gris-gris to protect you against diseases! It's like you're not part of the 21st century!
>
> Balla, a poor urban youth, Enters,
>
> BALLA: On the contrary, it's right for our age! Sexual desire, for example, is something that can seize and affect us, and that's natural! Haven't you felt something rise in your body when you see a pretty girl?
>
> OUZIN: Uh…yah…I guess; but I have to wait until I have a wife to think about those things!
>
> OUZIN THINKS: It's true that sexual desire overcomes me sometimes. But I hesitate to speak about it; maybe I shouldn't.
>
> NARRATOR: To get certain information about sexuality, Ouzin pretends to be ignorant to push his friends to tell him more about it (RAES 2017c).

It is precisely the point at which Ouzin admits and then vocalizes a bodily experience of desire, when he is brought into the informational fold. His modern subjecthood is redeemed. Here the performance of *breaking* taboo, not taboo itself, has the containment effects attributed to taboo in other anthropological accounts. By staging communicative events of taboo breaking, Ouzins can turn into Astous. Traditionalists can be reformed.

Taboo-breaking works as a performative dispensation (Mazzarella 2013); that is, it tethers purportedly mobile, unruly, circulating desire and affect to a stabilizing order of signification. This order of signification is called "information." This is one version of the "dialectical…relationship between the social meaning and the sensuous potential of cinematic image objects" (Mazzarella 2013, 26). But it inverts the formulation; instead of performative dispensations of prohibition (e.g., film censorship, in Mazzarella's case), we see a performative dispensation that both projects and destroys a prohibition (i.e., the taboo on discussing "sexuality"). Taboo-breaking does not sterilize affect but inscribes it within a particular symbolic order. Information can provide the fix amid the flux of desire.

Animated cartoons afford a degree of transparency between metapragmatic modeling and pragmatics of health communication. These cartoon characters ventriloquize biomedical truth claims and developmentalist teleologies. This transparency is upheld by the rendering of media as immediate – providing unfiltered access to information-qua-truth "with a single click."

But what is the relationship between this metapragmatic modeling and actual pragmatics of health communication? How does each act on the other? In this chapter, I follow clickinfoado.sn cartoons to community-based organizations and CCAs where they are used in actual sex education classes and community forums. I explore the ways in which metapragmatic models and actual pragmatics of health communication diverge and how that divergence is construed. Following clickinfo provides an entry point to understanding pedagogical formations of good media-sexual subjects and digital citizens. These subjects are both outspoken and discrete, subjects who break taboos while maintaining *sutura*.

Porn and *sutura* re-enter the conversation in revealing ways. From the above clickinfoado.sn clips, it might seem that porn is the antithesis of good sexual subjectivity and good digital intimate citizenship – the foil to a reference-focused model of informationalized bodies. Indeed, sometimes they function this way. But ethical relationships to porn often exceed mere denunciation. Media ideologies of the body and its digital remediation are unstable and contested. One interlocutor will query, is a digital woman a woman? Could watching porn be a moral harm reduction tactic, since it implicates one person rather than two people in premarital sex?

Overview

In this chapter I argue that the ethical project of forging modern media/sexual subjects – that is, subjects with *sutura* – requires nuanced, subtle ethical orientations to digital images and remediated bodies. I focus on pedagogies that forge modern sexual subjects who epitomize both *sutura* and digital intimate citizenship: *les jeunes filles* ("young girls"). Unlike the following three chapters, this chapter focuses not on digital dissidents but on the deterrence of digital dissident practices. For teen girls, *sutura* is theirs to lose. This chapter will help articulate the normative ideals of ethical digital intimacy to which digital dissident practices are compared.

The directive to "break taboo" reflects and enacts a metapragmatic model of health communication in which all sexual health topics can be turned into referential objects denuded of affective power. This metapragmatic model is part of a developmental telos; modern media/sexual subjects, or digital intimate citizens, emerge through acts of referring to extra-contextual aspects of sexuality, and interacting with digital media with the corresponding ethos. The modern, modest taboo-breaker is a discrete but forceful public speaker. She can move through a crowd of elders and spark discussion about child marriage. This *jeune fille* embodies *sutura*. She resists "excessive" sexual expression by treating all sexual topics – especially those involving digital remediation – with a combination of emotional restraint and confidence.

Porn – as concept and/or as actual media object – presents the possibility of that images' erotic and affective potential cannot be transformed into affectively vacuous "information." However, porn is not merely demonized. In overlapping NGO and religious youth group settings, pedagogical treatments of the information/affect binary often include nuanced, and often highly contested ethical orientations of porn. To make oneself a modern, ethical media-sexual subject means wrestling with the uncertainty and instability of digital embodiment. Pornography exemplifies this uncertainty. Porn does not subvert the developmentalist teleology of empowerment-through-information as much as it shows its internal tensions, its contestations. Everyday ethical negotiation of digital age *sutura* resists moral closure. Pedagogical orientations to porn illustrate this most effectively.

From the CCA to Islamic Youth Groups

When I presented findings from preliminary research to a community-based organization in Dakar, the audience helped direct my research attention. I presented insights that the organization already knew; parents rarely talk to their children about sex. If I wanted to find something more interesting and timelier, the executive director suggested I look at *daayira,* Muslim educational institutions and youth groups. Some *daayira* youth groups are based in neighborhoods, others in universities. Each of the Muslim brotherhoods has *daayira,* and all of the young members of that Dakar organization participated in one. These groups, the director advised, were crucial and under-researched players in sex education. So I followed his advice. The middle portion of this chapter traces the resonance between NGO/clickinfoado pedagogies and *daayira* pedagogies. The two converge around the issue of pornography in particular, and more broadly, questions of digital mediation more broadly.

Educators and participants ground performative taboo-breaking in a common claim of Islamic texts: complete transparency. "Religion doesn't hide anything," one *daayira* member would tell me in a living room gathering after one night's meeting, to encourage me to ask any question I liked, even ones I might find awkward. Conversations seeking to prove this principle could become quite explicit, in fact; I recall one particular conversation after business hours in my neighborhood community non-profit in which a couple older men were trying to convince a younger unmarried man that according to Islamic teachings, a husband should not leave the bed until his wife expresses satisfaction with the sexual encounter.[19] The young man made a show of putting his hands over his ears and walking out to get some air, prompting the older men to double over with laughter.

"You see, *waxtaan ci bir u sey warul nekk taboo*." ("Conversation about sex should not be taboo.") The Wolof term "sey" can, perhaps conveniently, mean either marriage or sex. In this context I was quite certain he meant the latter.

Contributions

Nuanced discussions about porn ethics suggest that it is possible to engage with porn as an ethical question without rehashing an "anti-porn" vs. "pro-porn" dualism. This dualism remains with us in popular debates on pornography, even if this dualism does not fully capture the complexity of the so-called "sex wars" of the 1980s (Bracewell 2016). These ethical negotiations also contrast with recent porn panics in the United States and Canada that frame porn, in and of itself, as a "public health crisis" (Sullivan and Webber 2017; Webber and Sullivan 2018). Here, porn does indeed play an important role in pedagogical formulations of good media subjects and good sexual subjects. But its role in Senegalese pedagogy invites careful attention as young women, NGO sex educators, and youth religious leaders debate, among other topics, the extent to which the intent of the viewer affects the sinfulness of porn.

Furthermore, its compatibility with *daayira* provides a potent counterpoint to rash generalizations about an intrinsic opposition between religion and comprehensive sex education. This is not to overshadow how virginity is enshrined, or how pregnancy prevention talks are directed at girls more often than boys. My intention is not to counter assumptions about sex ed in Muslim West Africa with a reactionary idealization. But the ethical orientations described in this

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[19] In this chapter I am less concerned with validating each claim about Islamic teachings or locating the text or Sufi leader who issues each directive. Rather, I focus on how and to what end people cite religion as both justification for "breaking taboo," and as part of a taboo-breaking communicative event.

chapter suggest possibilities for nuanced, empathetic approaches to pornography in sex education.

Finally, the sex education pedagogies discussed in this chapter chart a sharp contrast to the piecemeal sex education system in the United States; in many states, abstinence-only curriculum dominates. Even if "break the taboo" communicative events presuppose certain tradition/modernity dichotomies, it often lends itself to a kind of empathetic attention to youth needs. This empathy should inspire reflection among educators and policy makers elsewhere.

"Youth" in "Africa"

Youth is a social shifter; the meaning and political effects of the term are contingent on shifting political and social relations (Durham 2004). At the CCA of Kolda, peer educators are quizzed on the question early in their training; "what is an adolescent?" The correct answer is twofold. Youth is: a) a category of people aged 15-24 and b) a period of transformation both physical and psychological.

Youth are compared to a *pont,* a "bridge" between childhood and adulthood. Youth can be an economic force for national development, if they get access to and take advantage of educational opportunities, and if they behave with moral correctness: hence the emphasis on *sutura* when conducting *causeries* ("chat sessions" or community discussions) and other peer education activities – no lipstick, no tank tops, etc. The category of youth is defined as instability. An instability that requires structural integrity and solidity if it is to secure progress from Ouzin to Astou.

The longstanding body of work on youth in Africa cautions against trivializing "progress." A sense of linear progress and even movement toward a telos can be one temporality of many that operate in the lives of young people. In some renderings the coterminous promise and impossibility of linearity in time renders "progress" as a veil of false consciousness imposed by a failed economic policy, such that imagination is an escape, an imagined transplantation of that promise to a somewhere-else that provides the resources to fulfill that promise (e.g. Europe, migration destinations). But key works on youth in Africa highlight that progress can be a cultivated disposition and/or a sensory experience. For Jennifer Cole, Malagasay young people who call themselves *jeunes* (intentionally using French as a mark of cosmopolitanism) long to feel a sense of motion through time and expansion through space (Cole 2010). This longing has a history. Consolidated by the teleologies left over from the modernization theory at work in an erstwhile state bureaucracy, there is a sense that youth must *move* outwards against the centrifugal pull of the ancestors toward a social nucleus. By "moving forward and outward in space to capture desired physical properties associated with being modern," youth resist being "crushed" (Cole 2010: 65). A tradition-to-modernity telos gets spatialized in a visceral way. Some of Cole's interlocutors talk of experiences of "suffocation" at home that propel them into the sexual economy. Other works on youth migration, movement and mobility similarly direct focus to youths' efforts to *experience* forward movement or advancement (see Fioratta 2015, Masquelier 2012)*.* This work invites anthropologists to take "progress" seriously, as more than a kind false consciousness.

Notions of progress – as aspirations that animate and act upon the everyday – run through work on technology and concealment, especially in conditions of uncertainty and widening social inequality. Julie Archambault's ethnography of cell phones and secrecy in Mozambique attends to the role of technology in playing with existing norms privacy and disclosure, engaging

both stated and unstated moral standards of sexual practice (Archambault 2013, see also Pype 2016). This builds on the robust literature on epistemologies of secrecy in Africa (Cf. De Jong 2007, Ferme 2001, Newell 2013), to which I will return with more depth in chapter three. Archambault's piece is particularly suggestive for pedagogies of youth sexuality, not least because of its title, "Cruising through Uncertainty." Archambault argues that in postwar Mozambique the cell phone's technological affordances for arranging quasi-anonymous and clandestine hookups allow people to maintain an "epistemology of ignorance," the public secret that women often exploit men for financial gain (or rather, for the prevention of financial *loss* amid limited employment opportunities and the decline of patriarchal authority and the co-constitutive givenness of financial support). Ideals of self-sufficiency remain, as does a projected ideal of the neat separation between romantic and financially motivated sexual relationships. Archambault notes ways in which gossip constantly threatens the stability of this public secret. Citing Michael Gilsenan, Archambault describes the affordances of the cell phone in terms of a gap:

> The phone only imperfectly conceals the workings of the intimate economy, the inequalities on which it rests, and the interdependencies it foments and reproduces…the phone helps bridge "the gap between form and substance, ethos and the actualities of the political economy … at the same time [individuals] directly experience and know that it is a false 'solution' to the problem. (Gilsenan 1976, 213) (Archambault 2013: 96).

Cell phones allow just enough concealment to let people to live and love in peace when deep inequalities jeopardize one's ability to fulfill the national ideals of proper intimate conduct. Hence "cruising" takes on a double meaning here. Young people use cell phones to seek out lovers and partners. It also connotes the feeling people get or cultivate of living easy, playing it cool. Amid the stress and uncertainty of the day, "people expend a lot of energy in making it look as though everything was running smoothly, as though individuals were effortlessly cruising through uncertainty" (Archambault 2013:98).

One could ask whether an appearance of cruising, an "as if" cruising, counts as "feeling the future in the present," a Muñozian queer futurity to which I alluded in the dissertation's introduction. Archambault describes cruising as a cultivated feeling that makes life into something more than merely getting by. This challenges the sharp boundary between narrativization and experience, and between "as if" becoming and "in the now" being. Youth avoid feeling the "failure to become" as a specter constantly weighting on the present. Teleology, here, is one of the temporalities that allows someone to *feel* a projected "as if" lifestyle in an uncertain present.

In Senegal, the stakes of forging modern sexual/media subjects – bridging childhood past to adulthood's future – are particular high in southern regions like Kolda. These are the regions where *adda* ("custom") is seen as having the tightest grip; Ahmed called Kolda Senegal's "center of custom." If girls in southern regions of Kolda can become educated moral citizens, this aligns everyday forms of intimacy with national ideals of intimacy, in a nation where health statistics are key to securing aid funding (Tichenor 2016).

Understandably, scholars are fatigued with "moral panics" about youth sexuality. They are fatigued with conflations between youth internet use and sex itself, for such conflations and such emphasis on individual behaviors deflect attention to structural relations of inequality and

the structural conditions of network promiscuity (Chun 2007). But within and amidst expected intergenerational anxieties about youth at once vulnerable and dangerous, a population to be afraid of and for, are several less expected experiences of digital media ethics. These experiences can nuance our understanding of the everyday ethical orientation to digital images and embodiment. These orientations are shaped by teleologies of the modern, exemplified by the Astou and Ouzin contrast. But what does a modern orientation to images actually entail? Where does porn fit in?

The Centre Conseil Ado (CCA) de Kolda

There are CCAs throughout Senegal, including multiple CCAs in Dakar's suburbs. But my contact at the Ministry of Youth directed me to the CCA of Kolda, in particular, because it was known to be one of the most "dynamic" CCAs. To be called *dynamique* by CCA Kolda's director, Ahmed, was the highest compliment. Ahmed, a man in his early forties, was always moving. In his truck, which had AC but a couple cracked windows, he lead "caravans" to neighboring small towns. He'd put a boombox in the back and invite the leaders of the *groupes de jeunes filles,* "groups of young girls," to ride in the back. Blasting Mbalax hits, the caravan would arrive in a town, greet town leaders, assemble a group of peers, and the girls would lead presentations about the dangers of Female Genital Cutting, or the importance of preventing child marriage. Sometimes teenagers would share the truck bed with stacks of chairs, a video projector, speakers, and projection screen. Film screenings of *clickinfoado* video clips about puberty or HIV were followed by teen-facilitated discussion. On foot, Ahmed would organize *visites à domicile (VAD),* visits to families' homes either in other villages or around Kolda. Members of *groupes de jeunes filles* would discuss similar issues door-to-door, speaking Pulaar or Manding depending on the family.

At his desk at the CCA building in the center of town, Ahmed would receive national and international NGO workers visiting Kolda for site visits. He would assemble CCA staff and query why a particular program was taking so long for completion, or why a clickinfo.sn film screening had not received a higher number of participants. Ahmed rarely chastised staff or peer educators. Sokhna, a peer educator who became my closest friend in Kolda, hypothesized that this increased the potency of his critiques.

Creating a new sign for the CCA (photo by the author)

Ahmed expected no less dynamism from his *groupes de jeunes filles.* The members deemed most articulate, who demonstrated the most mastery over reproductive health topics, might be promoted to the title of *pair educateur* (peer educator). Some of the most successful peer educators were sent by Ahmed to leadership conferences and meetings in Ziguinchor or Dakar. If the open lobby of the CCA building was empty or nearly empty, it was either because Ramadan had slowed the pace of activities, or because peer educators had been sent on a *caravane.*

After Delphine's running tour of Kolda, I received a more structured tour of the CCA's facilities and programs by Marie, who was charged with the clickinfoado programming when I first visited in 2015. The CCA hosted a counseling room where any teenager could come to talk about a problem with staff. The counseling room had stacks of pamphlets and brochures on types of contraception, flip chart on the biological and social hazards of FGC, and posters on each wall advertising the *ligne verte* one could call for confidential health information. The CCA also had a HIV testing lab and an office for the *mediateur* – an aspiring social worker who would both receive individuals or families in his office or walk to a family's home if a girl became pregnant, to help her navigate relationships with her parents and/or her sexual partner. Finally, the CCA hosted a *sage femme*, a midwife. In the waiting room, a volunteer showed a steady stream of telenovelas on a small television set.

CCA director Ahmed gave me the opportunity to be a peer educator-in-training. Experienced peer educators mentored me in both content and skills – how to "animate" a shy group. They gave me corrections when I was rehearsing an explanation of the menstrual cycle in Wolof. Especially at the CCA in Kolda, "youth empowerment" is not an empty phrase on brochures and grant proposals. Women command the respect of intergenerational crowds of family, peers, and national and international health actors. As I battled my own shyness and haltingly explained the role of the endometrium, my admiration of peer educators deepened.

Jeunes Filles, Taboo-Breakers

The CCA formed *Groupes de jeunes filles* to educate young women about reproductive health and instruct them to be evangelists on reproductive health within their communities. Part and parcel of this goal is the creation of public speakers, of *"animatrices*." These "animators" could draw a crowd and get that crowd talking. A good *animatrice* was like Astou, willing to address topics – like the menstrual cycle – that might make others cringe.

They were also about *capacitation des filles* (girls empowerment). They forged speakers – candidates to take over the radio show *parole des jeunes* when its current host graduated and, everyone assumed, left for college in Dakar. The members are taught to speak confidently, like Astou in the *corps* clip, at every meeting. Older girls coach and critique them – on their cadence, on their mastery of the content, and on their appearance (no lipstick, neat hair). Astou was the model of a well-educated girl who could look unflinchingly at animated drawings of reproductive organs alongside male classmates. *Corps* modeled digital comportment but the capacity to discuss *la sexualité* as an object of knowledge and of reference. This includes desire. (In one multiple choice game that accompanies clickinfo episodes, Ouzin**,** who the homepage tells us came from a small village and now sells pay-as-you-go phone credit – must choose which feeling – friendship, love, desire – that corresponds to his emotions. Players select a

feeling, drag and drop it into the outline of Ouzin's body, until they make the correct choice (RAES 2017e)).

Grounded in the knowledge that "religion doesn't hide anything," members of *groupes de jeunes filles* are taught to overcome their *kersa* (shyness) in speaking of pregnancy, desire, birth control, STDs, and in their speaking, period. When Ahmed attends an "animation," he observes who speaks well and who can animate the crowd. If parents are reticent, an effective *animateur* or *animatrice* walks between rows, gets eyes to follow them, and teases and jokes to break the tension. An *animatrice* is also detail oriented. One never forgets to bring the speakers, and to turn on mbalax music to attract people in the neighborhood to rows of folding chairs, in advance of a neighborhood discussion on teen pregnancy or FGC. Under Ahmed's guidance, the *groups de jeunes filles* become trained public speakers. Star peer educators can take their skills to leadership retreats in Ziguanchor, Casamance's coastal city, or even Dakar.

Animation was one task I dreaded as a peer educator-in-training. The sheer novelty of my presence helped to gain the audience's attention. Animation was often done in teams. I would introduce myself by saying that I had come to Kolda to learn how communities discuss reproductive health issues, because in the United States, sex education is not always comprehensive. If the discussion involved a clickinfoado clip, we would screen it on a fold-out freestanding projector, and I would simply ask broad questions like, "what did you take away from the film?" My animation partner and I might call on people in the audience, synthesizing and adding on to their comments along the way. A particularly astute or impassioned answer might draw cheers from the attendees. Within the hour, we would follow up with a synthesis of key points. For example, if the topic was *grossesses précoces* ("underage pregnancies"), the session would culminate in a wrap-up summary of the economic and educational impacts of an unwanted pregnancy, and the importance of seeking prenatal and postnatal care at community health posts. Finally, like any other peer educator, I would receive feedback from Ahmed afterward: the points I forgot, or the moments I did not speak loudly enough. Often this feedback often happened over the booming sounds of mbalax music that both opened and closed neighborhood discussions. I never felt singled out in front of the peer educators.

Animation is not wholly dissimilar from mediation, the job of MSM and sex workers employed by NGOs and health agencies to conduct STD and HIV prevention. Like these "key populations," youth subjects-in-formation are taught the importance of *sensibilization,* awareness raising. The information with which one raises awareness is purportedly scientific and value free; one is charged with carrying this neutral information from knowledge-producers (scientists) to communities. But an *animatrice* is not bound by the same requirements of anonymity required in mediation. Animators make noise. They blast music from Ahmed's speakers to attract people to rows of folding chairs before a neighborhood discussion. They speak in a loud, clear voice; if they don't, Ahmed corrects them and/or instructs another peer educator to demonstrate how they *should* have articulated that point about FGC. Young women are positioned as community leaders.

Very rarely did Ahmed receive complaints or criticism from elders that young women or youth in general were speaking out of turn. Their assertiveness, loudness – what *géwel* were so penalized for – is celebrated.

Know your Body!

While comparing the French transcript of the clickinfo.sn video *corps* ("body) and the Wolof version *xam sa yaram* ("knowing your body"), I remarked on these words by the voiceover narrator:

In French:
> *Le sexe est un fait naturel, mais il est bon de faire comprendre aux jeunes la différence entre l'érotique et le pornographique, la vie sexuelle saine et le vice. Et surtout leur faire comprendre qu'il n'y a pas que le sexe dans la vie.*

> Sex is a natural thing, but it is good to help youth understand the difference between the erotic and the pornographic, healthy sexual life and vice. And above all make them understand that sex is not the only thing in life (RAES 2017a).

In Wolof:
> *Mbirum sey dafa book si niit waaye war na nu jangal xale yi ni nu wora doxale. War na nu leen xamal itam ne mbiru sey du moom rekk am soolo si aduna.*

> Sex is part of people, but we should teach youth how they should behave. We should also teach them that sex is not the only thing in life (RAES 2017d).

I brought this passage to the attention of Amadou, the new coordinator of clickinfoado.sn programming. I wondered aloud what the video meant by "the difference between the erotic and the pornographic." Interested, he proposed organizing a film screening and *causerie* for members of the *groupes de jeunes filles.* However, he specified that we should invite the more experienced members and some peer educators. A discussion of pornography is more "advanced," he said, than other clickinfo.sn topics like puberty or HIV/AIDS. He also said that I should help facilitate the discussion as a peer-educator in training.

One of the most affable young men peer educators had turned out an impressive number of members of *groupes de jeunes filles*, and the other senior peer educators hanging out at the CCA also joined in. I recognized a high school senior I had interviewed with her mother. She had actually seen this *corps* clip before, so I invited her to help facilitate. We arranged white plastic chairs in rows while he fiddled with the projector and speakers. It looked for a while that the image would work but not the sound. But eventually, after 15 minutes of technical difficulties, we loaded the *corps* module and projected the picture of three animated adolescents – one girl and two boys – onto the wall. Later iterations of clickinfoado – like the version for Mali – would use more advanced animation techniques. Delphine admitted that the two-dimensional pictures made the characters less *dynamique,* and less engaging to watch.

"All that moves is their mouths!" she had said. But this is what we had to work with. Amadou gave a short introduction, and then asked each attendee to give their name and which *groupe de jeune filles* they were part of, and their club title (president, vice-president, etc).

We closed the heavy metal door of the lobby to block out as much sun as we could. Then he rolled the clip. *Corps* begins as two boys, Robert and Balla, look at a computer screen. We do not see the screen at first. Robert and Balla look straight ahead toward the viewer (Indeed, in clickinfo animation, the characters can only look forward. They cannot turn their heads). The

clip alternates between the voice of a narrator, and the three characters slow, carefully pronounced French.

The two characters begin their dialogue.

Robert: Certaines personnes qui nous trouveraient en train de regarder ces dessins, pourraient penser que nous sommes des vicieux, n'est-ce pas?

Balla: Tu ne pourras jamais empêcher ce type de personnes de toujours penser du mal, à propos du sexe! Nous pourtant, nous voulons seulement comprendre certaines choses, nous informer, nous éduquer!

Robert: Certain people who would see us looking at these pictures, would think that we're depraved, right?

Balla: You won't be able to stop these kinds of people from thinking badly about sex! We, however, we just want to understand certain things, inform ourselves, educate ourselves! (RAES 2017a).

Robert and Balla: "We however, we just want to understand certain things, inform ourselves, educate ourselves!" (RAES 2017a)

Then the picture switches from animation to a still photograph of young men sitting in front of big, boxy computers, presumably in a Cyber Café, once common in Senegal, now relatively rare with the proliferation of smartphones and, for wealthier families, personal ownership of computers.
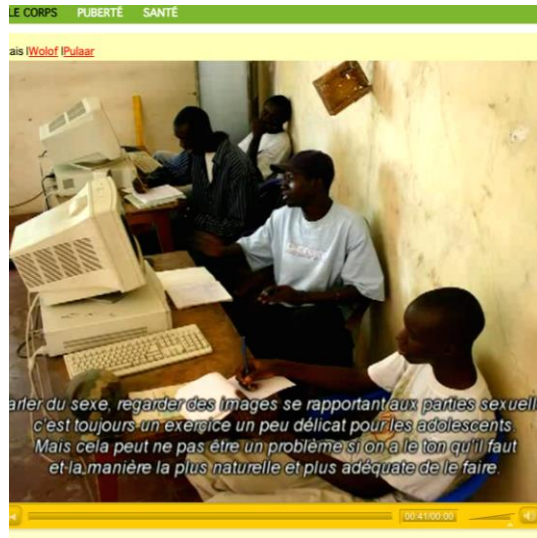
Screenshot from *Corps* (RAES 2017a)

Over this image the narrator states:

> *Parler du sexe, regarder des images se rapportant aux parties sexuelles c'est toujours un exercice un peu délicat pour les adolescents. Mais cela peut ne pas être un problème si on a le ton qu'il faut et la manière la plus naturelle et plus adéquate de le faire.*

> Talking about sex, looking at images depicting sexual organs is always a delicate exercise for adolescents. But it does not have to be a problem if you have the right attitude and the proper way of doing it.

> *Robert: Et l'Internet, quand même, c'est une source inépuisable de connaissances !*

> *Balla: Oui, et cela dépasse l'ordinateur maintenant, les téléphones portables, les Ipods etc, offrent quantités de textes, d'images, de vidéos sur tous les sujets! Siun élève a la volonté d'apprendre, il peut le faire, en un seul click!*

> *Robert: A condition qu'il y ait l'accès à l'Internet, et qu'il n'y ait pas de coupures d'électricité!*

> *(Rires)*

> Robert: And internet, even, is an inexhaustible source of knowledge!

> Balla: Yes, and it goes beyond the computer now, mobile phones, iPods offer so many texts, images and videos about all subjects! If students have the desire to learn, they can do it in a single click!

> Robert: As long as they have internet access, and there isn't an electricity failure.

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(laughter)

This is Bolter and Grusin's paradox of remediation – mediation that covers its tracks. Information promises direct, unmediated, and uniform access "in just one click!"

Astou enters. Her arrival signaled by her appearance on screen, next to the boys. The characters do not walk or move save for their mouths, to indicate who is speaking. Astou is an upper class, well-educated high school student. "She's like a peer educator," Delphine had said when scrolling through the descriptions of clickinfo's cast of characters. In this clip and several others, she comes down on the side of more discussion, more direct discussion, of sensitive topics like rape, HIV, and pregnancy. This is why Delphine likes Astou; She is confident and rarely embarrassed.

In this clip, the boys get embarrassed. They try to click out of their anatomy pictures – the online source of which the clip never discloses – but Astou convinces them to keep going. They will all examine reproductive organs together

The clip provides an anatomy lesson; as the boys finally agree to let Astou in on their watching experience, the teens' explanation of the menstrual cycle and internal vs. external anatomy run over anatomy drawings, in the same animated style, labeled in French. But the clip also both describes and enacts one of the key edicts of the CCA's *groupes de jeunes filles; briser le tabou* ("break the taboo"). Hesitation is repeatedly voiced then dismissed, as the episode draws a clear distinction between the reticence of "tradition," and the unflinching, how-things-work pedagogy of modernity.

Astou uncharacteristically asks if she, Balla and Robert are not a bit too young to be discussing such things. Robert counters that "there is a sexuality specific to adolescents that one must simply know about!"

> *Balla: Juste! Dans les initiations traditionnelles, toutes ces choses étaient pourtant enseignées, expliquées, mais comme des secrets à garder pour soi! Mais maintenant il y a tellement de sources d'information!*

> *Astou: La preuve, nous sommes là devant l'Internet; Il suffit de cliquer pour que la sexualité n'ait plus de secret pour nous! On peut même utiliser le télé phone portable pour avoir des informations sur tout!*

> Balla: Exactly! In traditional initiation rites, all of these things were still taught, explained, but as secrets to keep for yourself! But now there are so many information sources!

> Astou: The proof, we're here before the Internet; we just need to click for sexuality to no longer be a secret for us! We can even use the mobile phone to have information about everything!

Tradition is not the absence of knowledge about the body. Rather, tradition is a particular mode of *communicating* about the body. It is a mode of circulating – or failing to adequately circulate – embodied knowledge. Balla specifies that "all these things" were discussed in traditional

initiation rites but kept "secret;" knowledge was circulated but closely circumscribed. In the Wolof version of this episode, the narrator references *kersa* – the Wolof ethic of shyness – as an impediment to adolescents pursuing information as Astou does. The internet – disseminated via mobile phone – indexes the unlimited, unrestricted, and omnipresent circulation of information. Modernity is the willingness to de-regulate information circulation and access.

Astou exemplifies this de-regulation in her insistence that the boys unflinchingly look at and discuss anatomy in her presence. Digital and mobile technologies are both reflections and enactments of this form of circulation. They afford information "about everything," and they afford direct, unmediated access to information "in just one click!" Modern sexual and digital subjects are framed as those who access information in unmediated, unrestricted ways. Modern sexual subjects have mastered a particular kind of biocommunicability: a mode of circulating health knowledge marked by purportedly unmediated access to and circulation of information.

In this clickinfoado episode, internet education and sex education were co-constitutive. Both combined to forge pedagogies for the formation of modern subjects. The young characters punctuate point-by-point anatomy lessons by calling out secrecy as the hallmark of traditionalism. They metapragmatically frame disclosure as modern sexual subjectivity. At the same time, they enact the subjectivity they describe by unflinchingly explaining why and how menstruation occurs.

However, the narrator also suggests the danger of adolescent sexual curiosity. Amidst discussions of male reproductive organs, the narrator makes the distinction between "the erotic and the pornographic, healthy sexual life and vice" cited at the start of this chapter (RAES 2017a). Healthy and unhealthy sexuality gets framed as that most slippery of distinctions: between the erotic and pornographic. Information – unmediated and value-free – is the instrument for keeping young people in the side of the erotic. This distinction between erotic and pornographic also proved the most engaging part of the CCA causerie.

When the clip finished playing, Amadou opened up the doors to let in the breeze. The sudden sunlight made some of us squint. Amadou began the discussion with the usual open-ended question, "what lesson did you take away?" A silence followed. "Don't be shy," Amadou encouraged. Only then did I notice that Aissatou, an experienced peer educator in her early twenties, had walked in, charging her phone in the wall outlet.

"No reason to have *kersa* ("shyness") waay!" she echoed. "Daba? You didn't learn anything?"

If clickinfoado constructs information as affectively vacuous and value neutral, everyday acts of taboo-breaking often worked through intense affects of shock, humor, embarrassment, and delight. Asserting the existence of – and breaking – a taboo thus did not only occur through educational diagrams and formal sex education settings. Humor and friendly teasing also played a role.

Aissatou looked directly at one young woman, who smiled and laughed. She answered in a phrase:

"Parts of the body."

"And what else?" Aissatou's coaxing manner mirrored the shyness-breaking of the episode itself. The girls seemed to loosen up. Aissatou teased out the lessons, phrase by phrase:

"The boys have *kersa*."

"Astou helps them with the internet."

"Menstruation happens when the egg isn't fertilized."

"The sites that are created to corrupt young people…that happens when you don't have a good foundational education." The episode had indeed mentioned websites created to corrupt youth; the internet could be a dangerous place, or an informative place, depending on one's behavior, intentions, and awareness (RAES 2017a).

Eventually I asked the question I was most interested in. I walked slowly from one side of the room to the other as I'd seen other facilitators do. "The commentary says you must know the difference between erotic and pornographic. What do you think the difference is?"

There was silence, and then a laugh from Clara, who was also my neighbor in Sare Kemo. I did not want to put Clara on the spot with such a question, so I let the silence linger. Then Amadou pierced it.

"Let's go, *les filles*! What is the difference between eroticism and pornography? In your opinion?" A participant in a polka dotted dress was the first one to propose definitions.

"*L'erotique* is discussion, it's dialogue. Like what we're in the middle of doing. The act of explaining," she said. "But *le porno* shows it."

Then the participant who had spoken up about corrupting youth added, "it's the difference between theory and practice."

Then responses started to flood in. And we spend the bulk of the remaining time on this topic. For a time, a consensus emerged: the erotic does not involve sexual penetration, whereas the pornographic does. The erotic is about caresses, flirting, words. Another consensus: porn is not "jolie à voir." It's not nice to see.

For a time, there was little explicit discussion of media, mediation, or technology. For many, the distinction seemed to be about the kind of sexual relations. But for the first young woman who responded, in light of the episode we just watched, ideologies about mediatized bodies appeared to animate the erotic/pornographic distinction. What we were in the process of doing, a *causerie* – discussion, explanation – occupied the realm of the erotic. Awareness-raising was part of the erotic. Eroticism was part of the pedagogical. This take framed the practice of awareness-raising as a kind of erotic practice – but not eroticism separate from information; not a clear body/language split. But discussion-qua-eroticism stopped short of "showing" sexual acts. In this sense, her comment reflected the emphasis of the *corps* clip itself. Images of bodies could be safe, informational. Eroticism indexed the informational realm, encompassing both image and text. In contrast, porn is what happens when you don't turn a mediatized body into an object of reference.

The discussion veered away from media as technological object when the affable peer educator spoke of immodest dress as pornographic – improperly showing and displaying a lack of *sutura*, she said. "Showing your cleavage is like selling yourself." This received a round of applause from the attendees

Then a young woman who had yet to speak raised her hand. She spoke slowly, deliberately.

"Pornography is about cinema. You can even look at the etymology," she said. "'graph' means expression – writing or pictures. The erotic is sensual. Pornography is savage. There's no love. It's like they are wild animals."

With this, the room erupted in cheers. Participants stamped their feet against the floor. Some slapped the backs of their neighbors. Applause echoed through the CCA.

"Ok, ok!" Amadou tried to quiet everyone down. The discussion had moved from awkward silence, to roof-raising laughter, to applause in the space of about ten minutes. Indeed, this last

comment marked a turning point in the discussion. Like other participants, its speaker displayed an affect of disgust toward pornography, aligning the erotic/pornographic distinction with distinctions between the romantic and the grotesque, and the human and the bestial. But what differentiated her response, and what I imagine commanded attention, was a rather erudite discussion of the "graph" in pornography. She turned our focus to representation, to mediation via film. And to the role of different kinds of images: those that had a place in awareness-raising and those that did not.

One of the participants brought us back to Astou's comment in the episode: that she, Balla and Robert had learned these things in school, just without the images and diagrams. The girl in the polka dot dress said that this was completely accurate; we learn anatomy in school with diagrams.

"Maybe the teacher draws something, but it's hard to see," she said. Others agreed.

"Because that's where taboo enters in," she continued.

Taboo was not only about what words one utters; it is about what pictures one shows. One must break taboo visually. As a final point, the girl who made the lauded "wild animals" comment affirmed, "the problem in Senegal is that adults think images will make us *yaqu* ("ruined"). But they won't! It's just information."

This term *yaqu* runs throughout *causeries* in Kolda and elsewhere. Here it means ruined or corrupted, with perhaps a particular emphasis on lost virginity. It can also refer to rotten fruit and broken appliances. But diagrams, unlike porn, are information. The "erotic" is dialogue, as one of her peers had said earlier in the *causerie*.

Porn here becomes a foil for salutary images. Both the *corps* episode and the conversation that followed it set up erotic/pornographic, health/vice as binaries in which each term is defined in relation to the other. Porn highlights the value of information and diagrams that turn *la sexualité* into an object of reference – one that can be spoken about rather than viscerally shown. In this sense, the comment that only porn "shows" sexuality comes into focus. Both informational diagrams and porn are images. The former are still transgressive within these young women's sex education experiences thus far; they have learned the names of internal and external anatomy with the fuzziest of illustrations. But the more blatant images in clickinfoado still discuss rather than show. Clickinfoado images become part of the domain of salutary reference, when defined in relation to their bestial, love-less counterparts. In this sense, porn is integral to pedagogy. As a foil, it is crucial to the formation of good media-sexual subjects. It helps turn Ouzins into Astous.

"Corps" again, during Ramadan

The clickinfoado.sn materials are not reserved for Senegal's CCAs. Various reproductive health NGOs, youth organizations, and community organizations also received copies after the platform's launch. When I visited a small community non-profit in one of Dakar's working class neighborhoods with a friend of mine who worked there. The reproductive health educator Rokhya, who ran sessions for local teenagers, was acquainted with clickinfoado, and occasionally screened the episodes for teens as a conversation starter. One such conversation she started with the very same episode, *corps*.

Organizing activities during Ramadan posed particular challenges. Mid-afternoon cooking tasks increased for the young women the organization wanted to target, as they would need to prepare both the *ndogou* ("break-fast") and lunch for after sundown. Since *koor gi* was a

hectic time, the technology had to be seamless. No space for failed connections, wobbly Wi-Fi, or issues with the projector. Rokhya called upon a program coordinator who doubled as tech support. A young man in his early twenties, Mame Cheikh was tall but hunched his shoulders enough to be eye-level with many of his co-workers. Gregarious but self-deprecating, he was a favorite recipient of affectionate teasing by the center's older teachers and volunteers.

Mame Cheikh took a seat at the U-shaped table in the center's main meeting room. He loaded *clickinfo* and fiddled with the projector until Balla and Robert appeared in clear-enough definition on the wall. He began the clip to test the sound. His attention drifted between his phone and the animated conversation about anatomy and the Internet. He passed cups of steaming *attayah* tea to the older people in the room, as a few young women scooped beignets into plastic bags to sell out front. Then, when an animated diagram of female reproductive organs came onscreen as Robert and Balla spoke, Mame Cheikh stood up from his seat:

"But I can't look at that during Ramadan!" he said loudly. "I'm a single man. It could *"yeg dara ci sama yaram"* It could spark something in my body.

Rokhya laughed a little and reassured Mame Cheikh. "But it's just to give information. To raise awareness." Unlike the diagram of internal female parts, this animated picture included some visual context; the animated drawing included a woman's thighs and breasts.
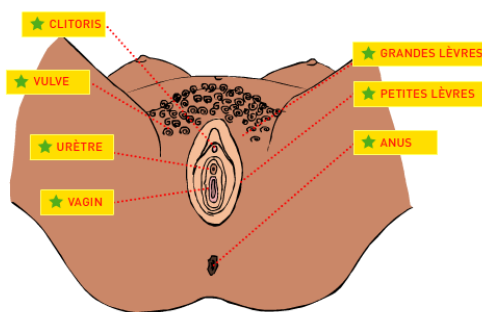
Diagram for *corps* episode (RAES 2017a)

Rokhya shared a laugh with Modou. In his late fifties, Modou worked for a marketing company but lived in the neighborhood. He could often be found surfing the net here late into the evening, enjoying some time away from the duties of home.

Mame Cheikh, like many other young people I spoke with in Dakar and Kolda, had learned about anatomy in school but without more than a diagram sketched on a blackboard. Mame Cheikh tried his entreaty again, "I can't watch this during Ramadan!" But Rokhya would not remove the image from circulation. So Mame Cheikh removed himself. He walked outside to the little balcony outside the room.

I was not quite sure how to regard Mame Cheikh's discomfort: an expression of genuine fear about impure thoughts? An enactment of virtue by looking away, then walking away from the animated image? A provocation, knowing what Rokhya would say? Perhaps some combination of these?

In this interaction, Mame Cheikh exposes what Charles Briggs has called the "structural rift between pragmatics and everyday pragmatic modeling." His reaction to the anatomical diagram challenges the binary between information and desire, reference and affect. Information, for him, is not a prophelaxis against the erotic. However, in line with Briggs, this structural rift is

not recognized by NGO personnel as such. Rather, Mame Cheikh's incorrect reaction is slotted into a "typology of deviations from an expected relationship of pragmatic-metapragmatic congruity" (Briggs 2011, 221). The deviation assigned to Mame Cheikh? Rokhya put it this way while Mame Cheikh was on the balcony: " He hasn't integrated awareness." That is, he has been exposed to the framework of informationalized of bodies, but he has not integrated it into an embodied disposition. He has yet to retrain his mode of attending to image-objects.

Here Carlo Caduff's term "body in-formation" (Caduff 2012, 342), created to describe the dynamics of biosecurity, is particularly resonant for this ethnographic context. It evokes two things that are going on at once. First, it captures the active cultivation of an embodied disposition. As the animation cuts away to a photograph of young men seated in an internet café, pencils in hand, the narrator states: "But [Sex] need not be a problem if one adopts the proper attitude." One can cultivate the proper attitude, the proper "informational" mode of attention to sensuous image-objects. Second, bodies themselves become *informationalized*. De-pornifying porn. Robert says: "We simply want to understand certain things, inform ourselves, educate ourselves" (RAES 2017a).

But Mame Cheikh's reaction seems to ask, can the "informational" quality of images neutralize what William Mazzarella calls their *tendency,* their ability to ignite questionable feelings or desires in viewers (Mazzarella 2013)? Can an image ever be "only information?"

Mame Cheikh counters the notion of information as antidote to sexual attraction or thoughts. At the same time, he counters the construal of "information" as extra-contextual in keeping with Pigg's (2001) observations. He embeds it in time, in season, in religion; it is Ramadan. Expectations for mental clarity and purity are higher. An image is different at different times; its informational and affective impact is not constant. And the affective impact of "information" is not necessarily neutral.

Mame Cheikh's reflections do not stop there. He follows up his pushback against common development approaches to "information" with a profound reflection on the image and on the digital. Without prompting or teasing from Rokhya or Modou, he poses a question, to the room or perhaps to himself aloud, "If I think about the woman in the picture, is that the same as a woman?" I ask what exactly he means by this. "A woman on the screen, and a woman…it's the same thing?" he wonders

Mame Cheikh's question brings together media ideologies and an investment in cultivating an ethical Muslim self. He queries, in effect, is a digital woman a woman? Is the on-screen woman flesh, or the representation of flesh? Within the context of his concerns about Ramadan, there are ethical and moral implications to the possible distinction. If there is a distinction between "a woman" and "a woman on the screen," looking at the image of body parts is not given the same moral weight as sexual contact with an offscreen woman. Mame Cheikh hits upon the uncertainties of digital embodiment, and the ethical and theological importance of those uncertainties. This conversation foreshadows a flashpoint in sex education pedagogies explored further below; how do hierarchies of sin meet media ideologies of the image?

What can we learn from two contrasting viewing events for the *corps* video episode*?* Each highlights the contested distinction between flesh and representation of flesh. The Koldoise who pointed out the "graph" in *pornographie* got unanimous applause. Her reception indicates a general acceptance of her distinction. For Mame Cheikh, the distinction is unclear. And this lack of clarity has ethical consequences. His colleagues' reassurances about "information" and "awareness-raising" are not enough to settle his theological and media ideological questions

about images' tendency. Information does not de facto quell the visceral potency of images, his reaction suggests; on the contrary, images used for educational value *highlight* the uncertain status of "women on the screen." Mame Cheikh's reaction not only indicates an (inevitable) rift between metapragmatic model of informational health communication, and the actual pragmatics of educational images. It also highlights the central and contested role that educational images play in the cultivation of pious media-sexual subjects.

The Internet as Tool

In 2016, I delivered a brief report about my preliminary fieldwork findings to the Dakar community-based organization where Mame Cheikh's contestation of dominant ideologies of transparency occurred. While the board and volunteers of the center listened politely, what I reported they already knew well; children rarely feel comfortable talking about sex or reproductive health with their parents. They seek out their *bajaan* ("paternal aunts") or friends, with whom they feel more at ease asking questions on topics like periods and pregnancy risks. The director and co-founder of the center gave me a crucial piece of advice; go talk to young people in *daayira.* No study of education in *santé de la reproduction* ("reproductive health") would be adequate without including their perspectives.

Daayira, broadly defined, are Quranic schools. The term can also refer to Islamic youth groups that educate members about various aspects of spiritual and ethical practice. This chapter focuses on this second meaning of *daayira.* While an in-depth exploration of their history and contemporary role in Senegalese life goes beyond the scope of this chapter, I note that Sufi leaders, including those in *daayira,* have become enmeshed in international development projects prized by NGOs, a point to which I return below (Guner 2021, Hill 2017).

Most members of Mame Cheikh and Rokhya's organization who were still in their twenties were members of *daayira* – some in their home neighborhoods, and some at the Université Cheikh Anta Diop de Dakar (UCAD). One reproductive health volunteer took me to his *daayira* for me to observe their meetings and later ask questions to their *oustaz,* a term that designates someone possessing particularly profound Koranic knowledge.

I attended *daayira* meetings in Dakar's *quartiers populaires,* its working-class neighborhoods, as well as *daayira* meetings in the suburbs. I also attended a few meetings in Kolda. Some of these meetings were devoted to prayer. At these I was a silent observer, sitting with the rows of women behind the rows of men on wicker mats. Sometimes bored, sometimes uplifted by rhythmic chants. Other meetings were devoted to a particular topic: the intricacies of fasting during Ramadan, the correct way to practice ablutions, or how best to coordinate fundraising for annual pilgrimages to the capitol city for their brotherhood. (I attended meetings for *daayira* in both Murid and Tijaniyyah brotherhoods.) An *oustaz* might give a discourse, drawing on Islamic texts. Questions would follow. Women would often ask questions by writing them on notecards and passing them to the men to read.

When a few women *daayira* members in a working-class neighborhood of Dakar took me under their wing, they taught me how to keep my headscarf from falling off. They also urged me to write my own questions. But I could never gather my thoughts in time. Also, I often struggled to understand the Wolof of speakers who were far away and whose lips were obscured by rows of students in front of me.

Occasionally, an *oustaz* would cover topics more in my wheelhouse: gender roles, the dangers of sex before marriage, and in one meeting in a Dakar suburb, "the Internet and Islam."

On that particular occasion, a group of about 20 people in their early twenties sat in rows on wicker mats, laid out in the courtyard of a member's family's house. Another friend from Cheikh and Rokhya's organization had brought me along. Children played soccer outside the courtyard gates. A delicious breeze tugged at our headscarves. It seemed an overwhelmingly broad topic. The crux of the *oustaz'* argument, which my friend helped me reconstruct after the event's conclusion, went like this: Allah has always given humans the *juuntukaay* ("tools") they need. When they needed food, God gave them plows. When they needed to get from place to place faster, God gave them cars. When they needed information faster, God gave them the Internet. Like any *juuntukaay,* the Internet can be used for good things: information for a school assignment. And it can be used for bad things: sending photos of your body to boyfriends. The Internet itself is not good or bad. Facebook has not committed any *bakaar* ("sin"). But *people* commit *bakaar* on Facebook. They use it for bad purposes. Allah gave you the tools you need, and the principles you need to lead a good life. Use tools as part of a good life.

This sermon, like many, placed the onus of digital age-discretion on women. For instance, the *oustaz* highlighted girls' indiscreet exposure through intimate photos, not boyfriends' indiscreet exposure or encouragement of internet-facilitated intimacy from their partners. And unlike some others, like the discussions about porn during Ramadan, it took a hardline stance against premarital online intimacy. But more striking was the oustaz' techno-constructionism, or perhaps, techno-neutrality. It recalls the familiar aphorism, "Guns don't kill people. People kill people." Don't blame the technology, the logic goes. Blame the person using it for ill.

This outdoor meeting happened two years before Christopher Wylie would whistle-blow Cambridge Analytica and expose the company's data harvesting and assistance to the Trump campaign, before Facebook, a Cambridge Analytica client, would pay millions to the Federal Trade Commission for privacy violations. It would have been fascinating to ask the *oustaz* whether, given this scandal, we might say that Facebook had committed *bakaar* – and more specifically, a *bakaar* of *sutura*, of violating *la vie privée.* I did not have the presence of mind at the time, and I was not well-versed enough about data privacy issues (which scholars had been warning about long before the Cambridge Analytica scandal broke). And anyway, it would have been hard to fit this question on a notecard.[20] But I did want to talk with more oustaz, and the

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20 One avenue for future research is the changing role of large tech companies in Africa regarding data governance and digital privacy, amid ongoing concerns about "data colonialism" or "digital colonialism" in Africa: that is, the exploitative extraction of data from Low- and Middle-Income Countries (LMICs) (see Elmi 2020, 2019). Senegal is one of the African countries that continued on Facebook's Free Basics program after the extensive protests about the program in India attracted international media attention (Nothias 2020). The Free Basics program allows users to access basic internet services through Meta. It also highlights, argues Nothias, tech companies' increasing involvement with civil society actors, and marks the ambiguous line between social media company and internet provider (Nothias 2020). Meta (formerly Facebook) began a partnership with Senegalese government's Commission de Protection des Données Personnelles (CDP) (Commission for the Protection of Personal Data); the CDP described this partnership as crucial to the protection of Senegalese citizens' personal data (CDP 2021). The CDP's director also called for Meta's help in the work of regulation, sharing in a press release a request that Meta "helps us to better do our work as regulators without forgetting the awareness-raising component because that is the only way to avoid so many abuses on social media." This request for the social network to help regulate abuses on social networks was followed, in 2022, by the launch in Senegal of a Meta-supported "pedagogical kit for responsible usage of the internet," in 2022. The kit is an "awareness-raising" program for young people (CDP 2022). What are the terms on which Meta would help the Senegalese government regulate? Does an awareness raising campaign

conversations that followed revealed that the intersection of media ideologies, media erotics, and Muslim ethics is contested terrain. Its uncertainties and tensions provoke ongoing theological inquiry within *daayira* and within the personal reflections of their leaders.

One evening, I accompanied new friends Ndeye and Rokhya – no relation to the reproductive health educator, Rokhya – to their *daayira* in another of Dakar's working-class neighborhoods. It was a conversation about proper ablutions. I sat in the last row, catching only snippets here and there – the distance from the speaker and the Arabic words making comprehension challenging. Afterward, Ndeye and Rokhya invited me for dinner at Ndeye's house.

We arrived at Ndeye's house, on the top floor of a large apartment building situated between a large thoroughfare and a quiet courtyard. Six other girlfriends were seated on mattresses on the floor, bantering about their various classes or training programs. They interrupted and talked over each other in the style of friendly debate I'd become accustomed to. Ndeye wedged me between two other members of a different *daayira*. They asked what I was doing there. A fair question. I told them that I was a student from the USA. I was studying *sexualité* and Islam in Senegal, and now, the role of *daayira.*

What do you mean by sexualité? One woman asked. Another fair question. In fact, the question exposed how little I myself know about what I meant by the concept, or what it means to interlocutors. Ndeye helped me out.

"Sometimes we think of *sexualité* as just sexual intercourse. But it's broader than that. It's marriage, relationships between men and women, how we're educated, what the Koran says about men and women." After Ndeye's thoughtful opening, conversation soon became a bombardment of questions about universities in the US, marriage in the US, jokes (with a note of seriousness?) about whether I could match-make a connection between a Senegalese woman and a Muslim American man.

"You see?" Ndeye's friend said. "Religion doesn't hide anything." From Islamic texts one can find guidance on how to handle every developmental stage, Ndeye and her friends assured me. They cited as an example that there are instructions about at what age to place sons and daughters into different bedrooms. The women members of the *daayira* added that this did not necessarily translate into discussion of *la sexualité* between parents and children. "Dafa xawa tabou," Ndeye said. It's kind of taboo.

"That's why we have to discuss these things," her friend added. This would become a common refrain in overlapping *daayira* and NGO pedagogy circles; break the taboo. Draw on the "nothing hidden" model of Islamic texts and teachings, to break the intransigent taboo.

What role, if any, did porn play in this "taboo-breaking?" Did porn break the taboo? Or did it serve as the counterpoint to referential discussion of *la sexualité,* the desire-inciting alter to proper sex education? These were questions that I would come to later. In 2016, they percolated in improvised and semi-improvised conversations, like the following one with two *oustaz* on the breezy balcony of Ndeye's house.

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complement calls for better regulation, or distract from such calls? The CDP/Meta partnership raises interesting questions about the extent to which partnerships between tech corporations and African government entities place responsibility for data privacy on individual users, and how government and civil society leaders in LMICs are responding to growing critiques of "data colonialism."

About a month later, we again assembled in Ndeye's house after prayer. Two oustaz from Ndeye's *daayira* – Mohammed and Alassaan – paid a visit. They greeted Ndeye and her girlfriends in the living room, some by name. We squished in tighter to make room on the floor. I noted the contrast between the orderly, gender-separated rows of just 30 minutes before, to the overlapping bodies and overlapping speech of this after-hours hang out.

Ndeye, who always looked out for me, alerted the Oustaz that I was doing research for my thesis, and could I ask him a few questions. My research on *seuxalité* and Islam would not be complete without the perspective of *oustaz*, she said. So Mohammed, Alassaan and I went out onto the balcony. Ndeye brought us three plastic chairs to sit on. Ndeye returned to the living room. I'd hoped that Ndeye or Rokhya would be part of the conversation too, in case I stumbled discussing sensitive topics in mixed company. But there was a lovely breeze. Laundry flapped on lines hanging from apartments across the courtyard. Both *oustaz* had comforting smiles.

"So it's ok if I ask impolite questions?" I asked.

"In Islam there is no taboo around sexuality," Oustaz Mohammed said. With this, they gave me permission to ask my most impolite questions. This permission was grounded in confidence that Islamic texts provide all the *juuntukay*, all the tools, for dealing with sex in society. NGO-funded and *daayira* pedagogical sites converged in this assertion of – and commitment to – a "no taboo" space. In as much as they asserted the preexistence of such a space, they also performatively created one through their declarations, and through their generous invitations for an ethnographer to be impolite and unreserved.

At this point, early in my exploratory fieldwork, pornography had yet to emerge as an explicit topic of interest. I had yet to consider what it might be like to produce or distribute porn in Senegal. Rather, porn emerged through a conversation about pedagogy. The oustaz served a pedagogical role in the *daayira*, passing on their deep knowledge of Islamic texts and teachings to the other members. Adding to the "no taboo" question, the other Oustaz, Alassaan, said, "young people should learn everything, but they shouldn't learn on the internet…watching it can corrupt you." To my surprise, this assertion did not turn into a "kids these days" argument. While pornography was tinged with risk, Alassaan's assertion did not stand as taken-for-granted fact. Oustaz Mohammed pushed him on it.

"But, you have to know what it is that you're avoiding, no?" Oustaz Mohammed said to Alassaan. "If people ask you if pornography is bad, you need to do your research so you know what to tell them." He added that "you should research [porn] to see if it is natural. Or if it is enhanced." I asked what he meant by natural and enhanced. He meant the duration of the sexual encounter. That's how you can tell, he said, if it is "natural" sex or doctored for viewers. I asked if "natural" was better, and why. He didn't address "natural-ness" per se, but pivoted:

"You should see if there are acts prohibited by the Koran."

I wondered if there was a slippage in the term "natural" here. There is natural as a claim to un-mediation, the natural as realism. Then there is the natural of *actes contre nature*, acts against nature.[21]

"Looking once is *gestu* ('research')," Mohammed said emphatically. "Looking twice is a sin."

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[21] Article 319 of Senegal's penal code criminalizes "acts against nature" among persons of the same sex (L'État du Sénégal 1977).

So, it seemed, Alassaan and Mohammed differed in their ethical orientations to porn. For the former, mere contact with porn – through viewing – corrupted. Viewing was a sin, a *bakaar*. For Mohammed, viewership – as "research" – was part of one's responsibility as a pious educator in order to orient others. If there is something that Allah refuses, you should be aware of it, so you can avoid it.

"Have you already done this *gestu* ("research") yourself?" I asked, looking in Mohammed's direction. They *had* said I could ask impolite questions after all. Both Mohammed and Alassaan laughed. Mohammed slapped the balcony a few times, still laughing. He answered that he had indeed conducted research to see if the duration of sexual encounter was too long, which would indicate the use of enhancing drugs.

"What if research incites *yeg yeg* (sexual desire)?" I asked.

"That's why you should watch only once," Mohammed replied.

Now that it really seemed that nothing was off limits, I repeated something that Ndeye had said about sex before marriage – to the raucous laughter of her friends – that it might be good for men to have some sexual knowledge and "know the world" a bit before marriage. Alassaan said, "as long as you educate yourself before, you'll know how to have sex." Apparently he disagreed with Ndeye. But in the context of our conversation, I wondered what "education" meant. Diagrams? Reproductive health class in school?

"As in, through research?" I said, intentionally playing on the ambiguity we had embedded into this term. Alassaan looked away. Mohammed laughed.

"It's getting late," Mohammed said. "Ndeye should walk you to the bus stop."

Does contact with porn itself corrupt? Or does one's intention matter? If one's intention is to gain knowledge in order to orient other members of the *daayira,* can viewership of porn actually be part of an ethical sexual practice? While there were no "taboos" in Islamic teachings about sex, while we had all the tools we needed to resolve any problem, there was still plenty of room for ambiguity, disagreement, contestation, insinuation, detours, and polite endings to impolite conversations.

A common thread emerges across NGO pedagogy and *daayira* pedagogy spaces. This is not the porn as public health crisis that has hit the United States and Canada in the late 2010s (Sullivan and Webber 2017, Webber and Sullivan 2018). There, Webber and Sullivan show, "public health" is invoked by anti-porn activists to equate porn itself with detriment and damage. Whereas in Kolda and Dakar, in *daayira* and NGO-subsidized health classes, porn indeed requires an ethical response. But it does not inspire straightforward denunciation. It animates debate about ethical online-erotic practice. It requires pedagogical intervention. If interlocutors frame porn as contaminating or a sin in and of itself– like Alassaan – peers question their assumptions. Or in the case of clickinfoado.sn – a single animated episode can animate a trans-regional conversation – across Kolda and Dakar – about both the definition and ethical demands of porn, about the "graph" in pornography, and the relationship between image and flesh. Porn plays a role in public health and pedagogy, but for my interlocutors, porn itself is not synonymous with "public health crisis" in the same way it has become in the US and Canada anti-porn movements. In effect, what emerges is a more subtle engagement with pornography, one that neighbor embraces a clear-cut pro- or anti-porn perspective. This subtle engagement illustrates that porn and public health can animate debate, without this debate lapsing into frustrating and over-simplified oppositions. This is one of many ways in which Senegalese

Muslim pedagogy can inspire alternative approaches to issues of sex ed concern: online engagement, images of sex, youth engagement with images of sex.

Porn Debates in the Modern Daayira

In 2019, a friend connected me with his childhood mentor, an *oustaz* in his mid-40s, who worked in a *daayira* and school in a Dakar suburb. If I wanted to talk about internet and sexuality, or porn and virtue, he was the one to talk to, my friend said. So we arranged a meeting at Oustaz Nyang's *daayira.* We chatted in his office, plastered with some of the same posters I had seen in Kolda's CCA: an advertisement for an anonymous hotline for youth and a STOP MGF (Female genital mutilation) poster. In fact, Oustaz Nyang had just come from an international African summit on MGF, the high-profile conference I'd seen posters for along the Dakar's oceanside roadway.

In the summer heat, he had removed his conference button down. This was his break time. As he made *attaya* tea, he shared his vision for the "modernization of *daayira*" and how a causerie about internet and sexuality could fit into that vision.

"I want a *mosquée branchée*," Oustaz Nyang summarized. Translated literally, in common parlance "branchée" means connected to the internet. It can also index "connected" in a broader sense, as Oustaz Nyang elucidated. Imams should understand how to *use* the internet, Oustaz Nyang said, "not just say – this will bring you to hell." He wants imams to know statistics on MGF. And the internet can help gather this "information," he said.

"If you have one mosque that can reach 100 people, what will you have when you have 10 mosques that understand the consequences of MGF?"

This, a mosque where imams used the internet to gain information about female genital cutting, was a *mosquée branchée*: a mosque that was connected to the internet and connected to the broader development discourse. Indeed, internet access and use were part of this development discourse, especially if it facilitated information about reproductive health. This *mosquée branchée* mirrors Oustaz Nyang's broader mission "la modernization des daayiras," modernization of *daayira.* Like the mosquée branchée, a modern *daayira* also privileges awareness-raising and counciling over prohibition. Rather than saying, sex is bad, or *boul khol* ("don't look"), one provides mentorship to a young person. What Oustaz Nyang meant by this would become clearer over the course of the *causeries.*

Oustaz Nyang listened to my blurb about studying Islamic perspectives on sexuality and the Internet. He nodded as he listened. He poured tea back and forth from glass to glass to cool it. With great organizational skill, he made the following proposal. He would organize a series of three *causéries*: one for older religious leaders, one for young people, ideally *oustaz* themselves, and one "mixed" causerie with older religious leaders and young people. "Because people have a tendency to blame each other for causing bad behavior," he said. Perhaps intergenerational dialogue among people, all committed to Islamic ethics, would counteract this tendency.

Oustaz Nyang's aspirations resonate with the broader involvement of Sufi leaders with NGO projects and related notions of "development" in Senegal (Guner 2021, Hill 2017). He envisions *daayira* as key institutions in development projects, and in particular, development projects around reproductive health (like MGF) that frequently receive foreign funding. *Causeries* about the internet, he affirmed, could fit nicely into this schema, advancing his vision for a *mosquée branchée.*

We shared a round of tea and I shared what I had been doing in Kolda. He said the clickinfo.sn project could be very useful to a modern *daayira,* and I promised to send him the html files. In return, he shared with me a Wolof proverb which, he said, spoke to this broader goal of awareness-raising; *"ba sa gimin xasawee, sa doom u bajaan moo la koy waxaal."* This meant, he explained, that if you have something unpleasant to say, your cousin will say it for you. Your cousin has *cal* (teasing relations) with that person, and through humor can soften the discomfort of sexual topics. *Cal,* he said, was invaluable in awareness-raising work.

"It breaks the ice," I said, parroting a phrase I'd learned at the Kolda CCA.

"Exactly!" Oustaz Nyang said.

Oustaz Nyang and I agreed that the intergenerational *causerie* was the richest of the three. Sometimes contentious, but very rich. We held it on the covered rooftop of the *daayira*. When a discussion got heated, participants talked over each other. The cross-talk highlighted fault lines, while sonically blurring their boarders in the echoey space. Disagreements did not always correspond to generational differences. Here I will highlight one of the more heated exchanges, that just so happened to address pornography. (In point of fact it was premeditated. I had shared my interest in conceptions of pornography with Oustaz Nyang in our planning meeting. He said that if he raised the topic in the *causerie,* "the discussion will be hopping!")

At the *causerie mixte,* there were five people in their twenties or thirties in attendance, all of whom were selected for their expertise and level of engagement in the *daayira.* And three Imams, including one longtime friend of Nyang's, and one young man who Nyang describe as a *murid pur et dur,* a "Murid to the bone." Notably, he was closer in age to the groupe of *jeunes,* but Oustaz Nyang had classed him with the Imams due to his staunch stands on the topics we would discuss that day.

The attendees greeted each other, chatted, and assembled in a circle of plastic chairs. The wind provided some relief from the July heat. Something about the roof made voices echo. This echo gave solitary speakers a sound of gravitas, but made cross-talk more cacophonous and individual points of view harder to disentangle. The conversation covered a broad swath of topics, including whether women held some responsibility if they were raped, and the importance of listening to people, even if they were in difficult situations (e.g. an unmarried or underage pregnancy). Porn provided one of many through lines.

In fact, Oustaz Nyang used it as a conversation starter. No proviso, no preamble;

"Porn, is it a sin?"

Here the young people and the imams – two groups undercut by the one very young imam in his late twenties – diverged. The youth broadly agreed that it is *bakaar* (sin) if you do it in front of other people. If it's you alone in your room, it's more debatable. But another older Imam countered, "Bakaar, bakaar la" (sin is sin).

Oustaz Nyang insisted, "but should we say "boul xol boul xol" (don't look, don't look), or should we orient youth?"

After our preliminary conversations, I knew which option Nyang supported: orientation and awareness-raising over prohibition. Though what "orientation" consisted of I was unsure.

The young Imam, the "Murid pur et dur" as Nyang called him, responded with a definitional question.

"But what is porn? The way women dress is porn! Gestures are porn!" He leaned forward when he spoke. His emphatic voice echoed. This transitioned the porn conversation into a

conversation about rape; namely, whether women bore some culpability for the rape if they were dressed without *sutura.* After several minutes of impassioned debate among men of varying ages, one of the young women spoke in a voice whose slow cadence and soft volume contrasted with her interlocutors. While Khadidja disapproved of what certain women wore these days – "it's a lack of *sutura*" – she said that "men have more responsibility" in a situation of rape. The rapidity with which talk of porn slid into talk of rape – with women's lack of *sutura* making the link – saddened me. I was grateful to Khadidja for saying what she did. Though my role was as note taker, I might have inserted myself into the debate had she not.

Porn reappeared later in the *causerie*. Oustaz Nyang recentered it in the conversation.

"Adolescents who aren't mentally mature, is it better for them to watch videos online than have contact with girls?" he asked. One of the youth – who had not weighed in when the topic was introduced earlier, said simply, "if someone has desire, then get married." Khadidja had largely let the crosstalk build rather than enter the fray. Then she spoke up again.

"But if *menul tey sa bopp* ("if that person can't control I") watching theater is better, rather than ruining someone else."   *viter bopp* means self-control but often indexes avoiding premarital sex in particular. This time, the "murid pur and dur" did not contradict. He leaned back in his chair.

The hour drew to a close with expressions of shared interest in repeating the session with a larger group. After thanks and departures, I debriefed with Oustaz Nyang in his office. I told him I was struck by the young Imam's different posture (both discursive and ergonomic) in the later discussion of porn as compared with the former.

"Do you think he was more open to the idea of different levels of sin?" I asked, referring in particular to the porn moment.

"You see," Nyang commented. "They will start to change."

This inference is striking. Given how Oustaz Nyang situated the *causerie* within a broader schema of the modernization of *daayira* and the *mosquée branchée*, he suggests a directional movement away from "sin is sin" and "don't look" to porn as harm reduction. An adamant condemnation of porn will not be an enduring stance, he suggested. This stance, too, can be changed through awareness-raising and chat sessions. Khadidja pointed to pornography's role as a harm-reduction tactic, a last resort that could spare another person from "ruin." Oustaz Nyang added to this and suggested its place in modernization teleologies. His view testifies to how porn's relationship to modernization is contested across – and within – sites of pedagogy.

"Sutura and Facebook"

The digital dissidents of chapters two, three, and four fear being blamed for themselves lacking *sutura* through their very presence online. Many reframe *sutura,* not as a policing of the boundary between intimate and public spheres, but as a collaborative practice of community protection. In Kolda, *jeunes filles* may also be faced with *sutura* as an individual responsibility. In keeping with *sutura's* gendered history, this responsibility falls more squarely on them than on their male peers. However, they encounter *sutura* differently than digital dissidents; *sutura* is theirs to lose. Thus they are taught in sex education pedagogies to embrace their roles as principle guardians of *sutura* by guarding their digital image tightly. Though, in some subtle and not-so-subtle ways, the sex ed module *"Sutura and Facebook"* suggests possibilities for undercutting the sole focus on young women as guardians of *sutura.*

The idea of "*Sutura and Facebook"* was sparked after CCA staff viewed the *corps* clip, complete with its meta-discussion of viewing images online. Amadou, the leader for clickinfoado.sn programming at the time, said to me, "*sutura ci Facebook amatul.*" Sutura on Facebook is gone.

"Is that really true?" I challenged. Squabbling had become a pattern with us.

"If you look at some of these girls' phones, men are all you'll see," he said. Did he mean text messages from men, photos of men, messages *to* men, or something else? I wanted to push on the supposition that young women were those most responsible for restricting digital circulation and viewership of their bodies. Amadou proposed we make a causerie out of this discussion; "We call it, *Sutura and Facebook.*"

Amadou and I got approval from Ahmed to put together the *causerie*, complete with interactive hypothetical scenarios and small group work. I solicited the help of three other peer educators, two *jeunes filles* and an affable, quick-to-laugh young man. While Amadou and I did the bulk of the organizational work, the three other peer educators suggested themes, questions, images, and videos to prompt discussion. Other peer educators also piped in with comments in passing, drawn in by the *causerie's* attention-grabbing title.

Throughout the process, planning participants conveyed their own feelings about *sutura and Facebook.* Aissatou, for example, emphasized girls "lack of awareness." She recounted a familiar tale of unintentional, disastrous circulation: A young woman took a nude photo of herself, and unintentionally, with the tap of a button, sent it to an entire WhatsApp group of her friends.

"That is a lack of *sutura,*" she said. But she also added that it was a "manque de sensibilization:" a lack of awareness-raising. For Aissatou, that is what this sex ed module would address. It would "raise awareness" so that fewer accidental sacrifices of *sutura* would occur. Notably, she focused this awareness raising on *jeunes filles.* Why? Because "men are *bandits,*" she said, connoting the theft of an image, but perhaps also the theft of *sutura.* While men are bandits, she wanted to focus awareness-raising on women. First, because that was the structure of the entire CCA model, to change girls' behaviors and raise awareness so *they* know how not to get pregnant. (If pregnancies occurred, the mediator (filling the role of a social worker) would then visit the partner's house to see if and how he would be supporting the child.) It should be noted that many young men participated in peer education programs. But the *groupes de jeunes filles* – the main entry point into the CCA fold – were for girls only. In keeping with women's disproportionate burden for upholding *sutura,* the dangers of young men sending selfies to others rarely came up for discussion.

Our plan was to split the *causerie* attendees into three groups and help moderate small group discussions. Each group would have a hypothetical scenario and discussion questions. Group three's scenario covered the much-discussed selfie situation; a girl sends a nude selfie to her boyfriend. The discussion questions for this scenario got personal. Group two's scenario gestured to young men's responsibility. The scenario queried, is it justified to send an intimate photo to your friend, without the consent of the person visible in that photo?

I was the most pleased with the scenario we devised for group one. Group one's scenario directed *causerie* participants to a video of a popular celebrity dancing, her rear end facing the camera and the viewer. Discussion questions probed whether someone *other* than a woman held some responsibility for *sutura.* The questions might have been left more open ended. Looking back, they show my investment in the topic quite plainly.

These scenarios were not selected unanimously. I was working on selecting images for group three, the selfie topic. I identified two images from a google search – one showing a girl in a bikini making a peace sign, another with a group of women wearing headscarves. Amadou looked approvingly. "These women have *sutura*, this one does not," he said. Placing the images side by side seemed to invite – or at least make possible – a binary distinction between discretion and indiscretion. Might a third image trouble this binary and open up the conversation? I found one with a young woman wearing a form-fitting dress – tight, but showing little skin. Amadou saw me struggling with the layout of the third image on the page. Amadou said to just leave it as it was. And we did. As others had said of our intergenerational daayira conversation, *"Causerie day xumb!"* peer educator Amadou said, in reference to our selection of images. The *causerie* will be hopping! But Amadou was satisfied. We had our list of invites. We printed copies.

<div align="center">

GROUPE 1
Le Vidéo YouTube de Ndeye Gueye Junior

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Regardez le clip YouTube qui a pour titre, "Vidéo: la danse trop osée de Ndeye Gueye junior à l'anniversaire de Sidy Diop"

Qu'en Pensez-vous?
1) *Est-ce que Ndeye Gueye Junior "da fa sutural ceram yi"?*
2) *Est-ce que le Camaraman "da fa sutural" Ndeye Gueye?*
3) *Le fait que le publique filme Ndeye Gueye, y-a-t'il de sutura?*
4) *Parmi les trois (Ndeye Gueye Junior, le camaraman, ou le publique), qui a plus de responsabilité de maintenir la sutura? Ou bien, est-ce qu'il s'agit de la responsabilité partagée?*
5) *Est-ce que cet exemple est pertinent à ta propre vie? Si oui, comment? Si non, pourquoi?*

<div align="center">

GROUP 1
Ndeye Gueye Junior's YouTube Video

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Watch the YouTube clip entitled "Video: the too daring dance of Ndeye Gueye Junior at Sidy Diop's birthday"

What do you think?
1) Does Ndeye Gueye Junior *"sutural"* her body?
2) Does the Cameraman "*sutural"* Ndeye Gueye?
3) The fact that the public films Ndeye Gueye, does that show *sutura*?
4) Among the three (Ndeye Gueye Junior, the cameraman, and the public) who has the most responsibility for maintaining *sutura*? Or is responsibility shared?
5) Is this example relevant to your own life? If yes, how? If not, why not?

<div align="center">

GROUPE 2
L'histoire d'Amadou, Ousman, et Fanta.

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Amadou et Ousman sont des très bons amis qui ont grandi ensemble. Un jour à l'Université, Amadou dit à Ousman, « chaque jour tu sors avec une fille différente ! Il faut être sérieux. » Pourtant, Ousmane s'est tombé amoureux d'une fille qui s'appelle Fanta. Ça commençait à devenir sérieux entre eux et il même pense au mariage. Un jour il prend une photo de lui et Fanta en trains de s'embrasser. Puis il envoie cette photo à Amadou par Whatsapp pour montrer qu'il est vraiment sérieux de cette fille. Mais par accident, sans se rendre compte, Amadou publie la photo sur Facebook…..

Qu'en Pensez-vous?
1. *Quelles pourraient être les conséquences de la publication de cette photo sur Facebook?*
2. *Dans cette situation, est-ce qu'il y a de la « sutura » ou d'un manque de « sutura » ?*
3. *Est -ce que la confiance entre amis peut être justification pour un partage de photos sans le consentement d'une des personnes concernées?*
4. *Est-ce que cette situation est pertinente à ta propre vie ? Si oui, comment ? Si non, comment encore ?*

GROUP 2
The Story of Amadou, Ousman and Fanta

Amadou and Ousman are very good friends who grew up together. One day at the university, Amadou said to Ousman, "every day you go out with a different girl! You have to get serious." Then Ousmane fell in love with a girl named Fanta. It started to become serious between them and he even started thinking about marriage. One day he took a photo of himself and Fanta kissing. Then he sent the photo to Amadou on WhatsApp to show that he is really serious about this girl. But by accident, without realizing, he published the photo on Facebook…

What do you think?
1. What could be the consequences of publishing this photo on Facebook?
2. In this situation, is there *sutura* or a lack of *sutura ?*
3. Does trust between friends justify an exchange of photos without the consent of those concerned?
4. Is this situation relevant to your own life? If yes, how? If not, how so?

GROUPE 3
L'histoire de Nafi et son copain Babacar

Nafi aime faire « selfies » (se photographier sa bopp). Ça lui donne du plaisir de voir les commentaires et appréciations de ses amies sur Facebook. Un jour elle fait une selfie nue devant le miroir. Elle envoie la photo à son copain Babacar par Messenger….

Qu'en Pensez-vous ?
1) *Y aurait-il un danger de se photographier nue ? Si oui, énumérez les dangers possibles.*

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2) Est-ce que le fait de faire des « selfies » peut être positif ? Si oui, quels seront les plaisirs ou les avantages ?

3) Dans l'histoire de Nafi, peut-on parler de « Sutura » ?

4) Est-ce que vous faites des « selfies »? Pour toi-même, pour envoyer à quelqu'un , ou pour publier?

5) SI on fait des selfies (habillé ou non), quelles précautions prendriez-vous ?

GROUP 3
The story of Nafi and her boyfriend Babacar

Nafi likes making selfies (photographing yourself). It gives her pleasure to see comments and compliments from her friends on Facebook. One day she took a naked selfie in front of the mirror. She sends the photo to her boyfriend Babacar on Messenger…

What do you think?
1) Is there a danger in photographing youself naked ? If yes, discuss the possible risks.
2) Can taking selfies be positive ? If yes, what could be the pleasures or advantages ?
3) In Nafi's story, can we talk about *sutura ?*
4) Do you take selfies ? for yourself, to send someone, or to publish ?
5) If you take selfies, what precautious would you take ?

On the day of the *causerie,* several members of various *groupes de jeunes filles* arrived at the CCA and assembled into rows. Amadou asked them to form three groups, because today we would be doing a group activity. To introduce the event, Amadou took a poll to see who among the group used Facebook. All the hands went up. Then he took another poll, what is *sutura?* He asked. Various members proposed definitions, before Amadou summarized, "so, it's a secret. The ability to keep a secret."

We then distributed the handouts and struggled to explain the activity over the growing din of friends chatting. Because we embraced a pedagogical approach of small group work, I was not able to observe answers to all the questions, nor was I able to see for sure which questions the groups addressed. I caught snippets and fragments. Group one seemed particularly studious. A couple members scribbled on the handout or in notebooks. One of the older peer educators, a mentor to the *groupes de jeunes filles*, said "no Ndeye Gueye lacks *sutura* on her body," repeating part of the (rather leading) question. The group continued down the list, similarly inserting the language from the question into their yes or no answers. The older peer educator read out question number two, to which another member replied "No, the Cameraman does not *sutural* Ndeye Gueye." The rest of the group nodded and continued to question number three without further discussion. I continued milling about, asking if other groups needed help (they did not). When I returned to group one, the sober and studious tone had given way to more lively discussion.

"She should *sutural* herself," one member said.

"But maybe she didn't know she was being filmed."

"She's an artist. She should know someone would be filming. Everything ends up on Facebook."

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I left the conversation reluctantly to find chairs for some latecomers, then returned to an impassioned exchange:

"Young men are bandits! They do *montages* all the time."

By montage, the group indicated a type of image-based sexual abuse: placing an image of one's face onto an indecently exposed body. A *montage* makes a visual amalgam of one woman with *sutura* and another without it. This was a common fear: that images could be manipulated and one's reputation undermined.

By highlighting montage, this young woman emphasized the *perpetrators* of image-based sexual abuse, as well as the Internet as a domain where such abuse is likely to occur. During my fieldwork I was not able to identify or explore concrete examples or cases of "montage." But the montage point emphasized the distributed responsibility for *sutura* in a sex educational setting that usually focused on young women's responsibility to maintain their own *sutura.*

Marie, my close friend and an experienced peer educator, deepened this emphasis on shared responsibility later that night. I went to her house and showed her the handouts. She had not been a part of the process of making them or designing the workshop. First, she laughed.

"Amadou used these images?" she asked.

"He wanted it to be *xumb* ('hopping')," I said. I asked her what she thought about group one, the Ndeye Gueye Junior group. Marie took a beat to consider the video of Ndeye Gueye Junior, her rear directly facing the camera (and the viewer), and the questions that followed.

"Everyone should *sutural* themselves," she said. "But it is necessary to *sutural* your peers." I had heard this phrase before from Mame Diarra, sex worker and sex educator: *sutural sa bopp. Sutural sa morom.* It neatly expresses a notion of shared responsibility. It emphasizes that *jeunes filles* are not just responsible for *sutura,* but that they are also entitled to its' protection.

In Kolda, young women are trained to be at once outspoken and discrete. International aid money and NGO personnel time are invested in programs forging digital subjects who embody both values. *Jeunes filles'* communicative capacities are important to their communities; they indeed play a key role as community-based health workers. They are also important as symbols of modern media-sexual subjectivity as defined by health statistics and digital literacy. But amid these demands and this heavy symbolic load come moments of possibility. In group one's discussion and Marie's reflection I found gestures to a kind of *sutura* in which responsibility for digital protection was not just a matter of *jeunes filles'* personal responsibility. Rather, *sutura* could be a shared obligation, a distributed practice.

Conclusion

The CCA, and the other sites of pedagogy through which clickinfoado content travels, charge *jeunes filles* with an important task; break taboo but maintain *sutura.* On numerous occasions, peer educators and facilitators urged them to let go of their *kersa* ("shyness") that held them back from discussing things like periods, birth control, or sexual desire. Take the microphone. Animate the crowd. Speak confidently with one's elders. But always dress properly, avoid lipstick, and *sutural* your body. Only those with *sutura* are worthy taboo-breakers. Conversely, it is through fearless (yet discreet) awareness raising with purportedly value-free "information" that unwanted pregnancies will be prevented, and young women's virtue – and *sutura* – will be protected.

The fearless but discreet *jeunes fille* becomes a figure of modern sexual-media subjecthood: the Astou to tradition's Ouzin. This *jeune fille* would be at home in a "modern *daayira*" that addresses gender issues at the core of international development agencies' agendas (e.g., to end FGC). To forge modern sexual subjects is to forge good media subjects. This extends from NGOs to *daayiras.*

Discourses of taboo-breaking project enact a particular metapragmatic model of health communication. They do so with the aid of pedagogical videos whose animated characters and plot lines enact this health communication model. This biocommunicable model, exemplified by Astou, Ouzin and Balla viewing diagrams online, involves denuding online images of their "tendency," that is, their capacity to stir immoral impulses in viewers (Mazzarella 2013). Video episodes bifurcate information from desire. With an embodied disposition of a modern media subject, this bifurcation is possible, the characters suggest. In somewhat circular logic, by performing this bifurcation, as Astou does in that clip, one marks oneself as a modern subject, the counterpart to the "traditional" Ouzin.

Of course, *in situ* viewings of these clip expose divergences from the sanctioned metapragmatic model. When a viewer asserts the erotic potentiality of online images, that viewer may be chastised for deviating from sanctioned health communication model. It is the viewer who is at fault, not the model of health communication.

Clickinfoado's metapragmatic modeling of affectively-vacuous information belies uncertainties about the relationship – or even co-constitution – of "information" and "desire." Indeed, forging modern media-sexual subjects requires nuanced engagement with the "tendency" of images. Pedagogical treatment of pornography exemplifies this nuanced engagement. Reckoning with uncertainty may sometimes involve denunciation of pornography as the unhealthy antithesis of the informational image, or as a cautionary tale of what will happen if sexual desire is not named, discussed, and tethered to information's order of reference. In this case, *briser le tabou* ("breaking the taboo") does exactly that; it tethers unruly desire to a more stable order of meaning, one which advances the developmental telos that Astou and her animated friends enact episode by episode.

But porn also raises more thorny questions for my interlocutors. Is a digital woman a woman? What is the moral difference between contact with a woman "in the flesh" and visual, sensuous engagement with the digital image of a woman? Does intention matter in encounters with porn, or is contact itself polluting? The power of the pornographic image – and the digital image more broadly – is an issue of explicit debate.

Media ideologies about digital personhood intersect with theologies of harm reduction. Is it better to sin alone if it spares the virtue of others? If so, this requires a consequential distinction between a woman face-to-face and a woman remediated online. This distinction is not stable. It is contested. While clickinfoado's teleologies require images to be denuded of affective power for young people to avoid danger and become informed citizens in control of their sexual desire, questions remain outstanding as to whether and how pornography fits into digital intimate ethics.

Educators, *jeunes filles,* and their interlocutors draw on Islamic teachings to "break taboo" and consolidate *sutura* at the same time. Islam "hides nothing," interlocutors reiterated. This includes pornography. While porn sometimes serves as foil for salutary, informational images, porn also can be an invitation for young people to consider the complexities of digital personhood and the contested ethics of digital images.

If performative acts of taboo-breaking enact particular media ideologies of information, they also reinforce a focus on *jeunes filles* as the ones most responsible for *sutura.* Plenty of sex ed sessions emphasized that the best course of action is to *tey sa bopp* ("restrain oneself"): that is, to practice abstinence. But this should not undermine acknowledgement of the nuance and depth of sex education offerings in "dynamic" Kolda. Ahmed is indeed "dynamic," and so are the sex educators, *jeunes filles*, and young religious leaders. Invoking their religion which "has no taboo," they dive into embarrassing, sometimes cringe worthy topics, and often in intergenerational settings no less. In particular moments, young women considered *sutura* as a matter of shared responsibility, relieving some of the pressure on *jeunes filles* and implicitly pushing back against the idea that if their nude photo leaks, it is solely their fault.

Furthermore, sex educators' discussions of porn present a more nuanced view than recent moves in the US and Canada to construct porn as, in and of itself, a public health crisis (Webber and Sullivan 2018). Perhaps sex educators in Kolda can provide inspiration to those frustrated by piecemeal sex education programs in the US. Kolda's dynamic peer educators could inspire dynamism elsewhere.

Chapter 2: the Griot and the Digital Activist

NOTE: This chapter explores online health advocacy methods that were used during the earlier stages of my fieldwork. As of spring 2022, activists rarely use the online education and coalition building strategies discussed in this chapter. My interlocutors have largely turned their activist energies elsewhere due to rising fears of online harassment and image-based abuse. Due to these risks, I use composite characters in this chapter to further mask the identities of my interlocutors. While risks and fears of technology-assisted violence have dampened attachments to online methods, the activists retain their vision of *sutura* as a mode of collective protection. Past online practices provide a window into this enduring vision

Mamadou, a Senegalese student in his early thirties, has conducted online peer-to-peer sex education since the mid-2000s. For five years he received a stipend from a Dakar-based NGO called Agency for Sexual Health in Africa (ASSA).[22] With a grant from an international development organization, ASSA employed Mamadou and seven other "men who have sex with men" (MSM)[23] as *Pairs Educateurs Numériques* (PEN*),* or digital peer educators. PEN sent HIV/AIDS prevention messages to peers via dating websites and Facebook. This program was designed to address a key health disparity; MSM have a HIV prevalence rate of 27.6% in contrast to a rate of 0.3% for the Senegalese population as a whole (UNAIDS 2020). Both PEN and administrators at ASSA agreed that conducting HIV/AIDS prevention on the internet would provide more *sutura* – a Wolof term glossed as discretion or modesty – than would handing out pamphlets in a hospital. With the relative protection of a pseudonym, one could obtain information online away from the gaze of family or friends, lowering the risk of unwanted exposure.

Sutura is a key framework through which digital health actors understand and describe digital privacy. *Sutura is* "my right to private life," according to one PENs' definition. *Sutura* is the assurance that one's queer sexuality remains "my life, my private life," according to another. "It's none of anyone else's business," a third summarizes, "people have the right to privacy. It's a human right. That's what *sutura* really means." *Sutura* – and the right to privacy – is especially crucial for sexual minorities. Homosexuality is criminalized in Senegal. Exposure of their sexuality could incur social shame, expulsion from family networks, and/or physical violence (Kassé 2013). Indeed, especially during preliminary fieldwork in the summers of 2015 and 2016,

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[22] *Sutura* is both object of study and methodological imperative. Collaborative ethnography was a precondition for this research. If they considered a conversation indiscreet, they instructed me to look away. These gaps and silences did not hinder inquiry. Rather, they revealed the presence and effects of *sutura.* Exposure of my interlocutors' sexual practices could bring discrimination or violence. I attempt to minimize this risk in writing about PEN's experience through multiple degrees of anonymization and minimal use of recordings. The latter precaution reflects PEN's own articulations of the double edge of digitally mediated *sutura*; while online pseudonyms may provide anonymity and discretion, digital recordings entextualize sensitive discourse into media objects that, if data security were breached, might circulate in unanticipated and unauthorized ways. During a catch-up session in 2019, one PEN reminded me of this risk, and in turn, reminded me to write with *sutura*. I seek to fulfill my promise to amplify their critiques of dominant care frameworks for English speaking audiences, without sacrificing *sutura. Sutura* as method is an ongoing negotiation. PENs' anxieties about the dangers of online circulation and online participation have increased from the time I began fieldwork to the time of this dissertation's publication. As a final precaution of *sutura*-as-protection, I use composite characters in this chapter to further reduce the risk of unwanted exposure.
[23] For now I use terms that the PENs use to refer to themselves: (1) MSM, taken from NGO and public health circles (2) gay and (3) LGBT. The PENs use the two largely interchangeably.

online health education was sought after for its perceived privacy. Online health education promised the protection of *sutura*.

If pseudonyms provide the protection of *sutura* and privacy for MSM seeking support online, pseudonyms also afford opportunities for erotic play and experimentation with digital personae. Mamadou's PEN Facebook profile, for example, uses the profile picture of a blonde, white man and the pseudonym "Craig." In Mamadou's words, he gets many more responses to his Facebook messages as a *tubaab* "white person/foreigner," than as a young black man. He calls his strategy *un piège* "a trap." First, he entices the interlocutor and invites him for a sexual encounter: usually unprotected sex, sometimes a threesome. Then he copies and pastes a paragraph with information about HIV prevention and treatment, adjusting the explanation according to whether or not the interlocutor accepted his invitation.

Mamadou would then submit this "trap" message, along with the other conversations he conducted online, to ASSA for review. PEN were required to reach a certain quota of messages each month to receive financial compensation. These quotas also ensured ASSA would meet target goals set by its funding agencies. To count toward this quota, messages must address a list of topics of what ASSA's small staff defined as "scientific" and "objective" information: modes of HIV transmission, prevention, and treatment, and information about testing opportunities.

Ideally, PENs should also disclose their pedagogical intention from the start. Along with discretion, transparency and objectivity were basic principles of digital sex education.[24] Each month the PEN were to fill out a spreadsheet marking the *nombre d'individus touchés* ("number of individuals reached") which sex ed topics they covered, and whether the interlocutor had had previous conversations with PEN.

Mamadou's *traps* occupied an ambivalent status as an HIV/AIDS prevention strategy. On the one hand, ASSA did not reject erotically charged messages. When I remarked in an interview on the intense eroticism and identity-play of some PENs' communication, staff member Aissatou told me that "everyone has their own strategy" for reaching their quota. Here she framed erotic seduction as a means to a pedagogical end. However, during the time I observed the PEN at ASSA, I heard an oft-repeated sentiment; their goal was to "inform, not hit on" online interlocutors. They should ideally display this pedagogical intention up front, not hide it behind some sexy white avatar.

In team meetings, staff often urged PEN to increase their levels of "professionalism" – a catch-all term that included punctuality but also cautioned against excessively erotic or duplicitous digital communication. For example, staff drew attention to the behavior of younger gay Senegalese men who wore makeup or dance in ways construed as effeminate on Facebook; this figure of the more ostentatious *nouvelle generation* "new generation" exemplified a lack of *sutura*.

These performances provided the counter example against which PENs' professionalism was evaluated. "You have to be an example to the new generation," NGO staff would repeat. "You must conduct yourselves with discretion." Implicit comparison between *sutura*-lacking online performances and PENs' online communication was sharp criticism. Many PENs recalled being told, at least once during their tenure at ASSA, "your private life is your private life, but don't bring that into your work." Erotically charged online communication improperly brings

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[24] ASSA's non-MSM programs include a health information hotline for teens and a partnership with a company that makes informational sex education videos.

"on-scene" what should be kept off. This reflects the broader societal logic of *sutura* that frames queer eroticism as improperly public and indiscreet.

In summer of 2019, during a catch-up session in a café, a former PEN explained *sutura's* paradox in its current digital iteration; "people have the right to privacy. It's a human right. That's what *sutura* really means. You can do whatever you do in your room. But a photographer comes and publishes a photo online. But when the police come, it's you that they arrest." He reiterates and amplifies Mills' analysis of *sutura*'s paradox. Queer Senegalese are most vulnerable to violent online exposure.

Yet, the very existence of gay men in public space is seen as a violation of *sutura,* a violation of the boundary between public and private life. This means that the person exposed, not the person who exposes, is morally at fault. Excess and immodesty seem to inhere in gay men regardless of their actions. Understandings of queer eroticism as improperly public illustrate the double edge of *sutura* and digital privacy. *Sutura* provides protection to PENs through pseudonyms. At the same time, *sutura's* paradox forms a tacit backdrop for online health education.

Notions of PENs' potential for indiscrete excess signal the presence of what Charles Briggs and Daniel Hallin call a "biocommunciable model," a particular model of how health communication is produced, valued, and circulated (Briggs and Hallin 2007). The term combats unproductive tendencies to view "health" and "communication" as empirically and analytically distinct, rather than co-produced (See also Briggs and Mantini-Briggs 2016). Health inequities are reinforced when one mode of communicating about or through the body is deemed legitimate, and others are not (Briggs and Mantini-Briggs 2016).

Those who fail to employ the dominant model of communication may be excluded from care access or be deemed failed health subjects; the term "health/communicative inequity" captures this co-constitution of health inequity and communicative inequity. Likewise, "health/communicative justice" requires recognition of the multiple, legitimate ways that people communicate about and/or through the body. The biocommunicable model prized as transparent conceives information as denuded of eros, and privileges a bounded, singular digital self as the information messenger. In this chapter, I explore the historical underpinnings and real-world stakes of this biocommunicable model: for PEN, for sexual health outcomes, and for debates about what digital privacy means in the context of peer-to-peer digital health.

Sutura illustrates the importance of placing digital health and digital privacy in historical perspective. In historically contingent ways, *sutura* has elided communicative excess with bodily contagion. Those perceived to improperly manage public/private boundaries through their words or embodied practices are viewed as contaminating bodies (Mills 2011). For example, *géwél* "griots" in precolonial caste systems were seen as speaking brashly, loudly, without *sutura*.[25] Likewise, their blood was contaminated. Their corpses were not buried in cemeteries but instead tucked in hollow tree trunks. This protected "honorable" Senegalese from their contagious blood (Mills 2011, 119). Furthermore, communicatively excessive, dishonored subjects may also be construed as illegibly gendered and in this sense queer; one who speaks without *sutura* is not an honorable man, and in turn, not legible as a man at all. (Mills 2011, 120). This equation – communicative excess + biological contagion = queerness = dishonor – has shaped forms of exclusion and marginalization from precolonial social orders to moral panics about

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[25] *Géwél* held many functions at the height of the Wolof caste system: from officiating weddings, to telling the history of noble families, to sharing song and poetry (Mills 2011).

homosexuality in the early 2010s. It also forms the backdrop for contemporary public health frameworks addressing HIV/AIDS. Some PENs' experiences of constraint during their time at the NGO reflect *sutura's* persisting exclusionary logic.

This chapter is based on interviews, participatory action research, and collaborative analysis of PENs' corpus of online conversations, conducted both during and after the peer-educators' collaboration with ASSA. This chapter illustrates two key points about digital peer-to-peer health initiatives. First, while stakeholders' perceptions of digital health communication as private and secure are crucial to digital health initiatives, digital privacy may become a site where health/communicative inequities are reinscribed. For PEN, restricting the use of eroticism and identity play in online peer education would impede their ability to build interpersonal relationships with online interlocutors. In turn, this jeopardizes the successful delivery of health services. Second, as the case of *sutura* and digital health shows, a historical perspective is crucial to understanding the relationship between privacy and digital health. By understanding privacy as a fundamentally unstable and historically contingent term, we can better understand how to harness digital communication approaches to address health disparities.

Chapter Summary

First, I explore the connections between *sutura's* gendered history and contemporary systems of HIV/AIDS care aiding sexual minorities in Senegal. I illustrate that the ambivalent position of digital health activists like Mamadou strongly resonates with that of the *géwél* (griot) in the Wolof caste system. Both *géwél* and eHealth activists risk being stigmatized for being improperly public. The containment of HIV contagion – a contagion associated with MSM – resonates with the containment of *géwel* bodies. Construals of *sutura's* queer(ed) dissidents resonate with fears of bodily contagion and of communicative excess.

Second, I show that this resonance helps us understand PENs' experience of constraint on their online peer-to-peer health communication. The ethos of "inform, not hit on" bifurcates "information" from erotic connection. This information/erotics split reanimates *sutura's* illusion of containment: containment of queer bodies and of unruly queer communication. Media ideologies about "network promiscuity" (Payne 2014) amplify historically rooted fears of queer communication as excessively public. This ethos of health communication portrays information as a mechanism of containing excessively public queer communication, and a singular digital self as information messenger. The idealized digital self projects a neat separation between language and bodies. It transforms a space of connection into a space of containment by ostensibly extracting the (dangerously) erotic from the informational.

Third, I show that restricting online eroticism jeopardizes the delivery of health services. Erotic play helps attract interlocutors' attention. Erotic play also helps sustain discussions of health information on websites designed for dating. When they eschew such communicative tactics, many PEN find it harder to make and maintain connections with online interlocutors. They also struggle to assess whether the HIV/AIDS information has been understood by interlocutors and whether it is likely to be implemented. Flirtations build relationships and sustain conversations. Eroticism makes health information "stick." In other words, obtaining health data depends on desire.

I use the term "ethic of transparency" to describe PENs' understanding that, to conform to NGO expectations, they should quickly and repeatedly affirm their intent as solely pedagogical. The psychosocial risks of deception for beneficiaries must be taken seriously.

However, I argue that uniformly elevating this "ethic of transparency" over the "ethic of connection," regardless of care context, jeopardizes digital health outcomes. This in turn risks widening the sexual health inequity this innovative program aimed to reduce.

Fourth, debates about the meaning of *sutura* and privacy provide fodder for PENs' radical reimagining of both terms. Through workshops to create their own non-profit, PEN brainstormed a mission statement and best practices. In the process, they reimagined what *sutura* and digital privacy could mean. Erotic pseudonyms are not improperly public, they suggested, but valuable modes of protecting vulnerable communities from unwanted exposure. Likewise, seduction helped bring more queer Senegalese into networks of mutual support via online interaction. They framed both *sutura* and digital privacy as cooperative practices of collective protection for marginalized communities. They rejected portrayals of queer Senegalese as transgressors of privacy. Instead, they argued, marginalized groups must receive its protection. Since queer eroticism amplified networks of mutual aid, such eroticism exemplifies *sutura.* PEN reclaimed *sutura* as an ethic of mutual aid.

Queer Technical Affordances for Digital Privacy and Health

Exciting work on the "queer technical affordances" (Shaw and Sender 2016) of particular digital platforms has charted a middle ground between media determinism and constructionism.[26] It attends to the ways in which particular actors and social movements mobilize digital features in situated communicative practice, negotiating and sometimes undercutting the assumptions about relationality embedded in applications' original design (Shaw and Sender 2016; Dame 2016; Murray and Sapnar Ankerson 2016).[27]

This body of work attends to forms of intimacy that emerge from contingent engagements between infrastructures, users, media ideologies and situated social practices. Digital media afford both multidirectional erotic attachments and the crafting of multiple selves; for example, platforms may allow users to project selves that diverge from offline characteristics, thus challenging dominant conceptions of the bounded, singular self (see Boellstorff 2008; Waskul 2003). These affordances are crucial to enacting *sutura* as cooperative care. This care takes the form of mutual aid networks that develop out of flirtatious banter or pseudonymous identity play.

Unlike the robust body of work on profit-making and queer digital sociality, there has been little ethnographic research exploring the interface between queer digital affordances and healthcare, international development, or other institutions explicitly devoted to improving lives (for an exception, see Race 2018). As Tichtin (2011) has argued, humanitarian programs that define persons as worthy of care primarily due to their disease profile may actually cause harm to those they intend to help by undermining broader relational systems that co-produce those persons. More broadly, attempts to uplift through humanitarianism (Fassin 2011) human rights promotion (Englund 2006) and development (Ferguson 1990) have unintended consequences

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[26] Here I use the term 'affordance' in line with scholars of science, technology and media who understand technologies (digital or otherwise) as neither determining transformations in social relations, nor wholly constructed by social relations. Tracing an intellectual lineage to Gibson's (1979) "theory of affordances", usage of this term signals a contingent, co-constitutive relationship. Technologies "may be both shaped by and shaping of the practices humans use in interaction with, around and through them" (Hutchby 2001: 444, as cited in Juris 2012).

[27] In speaking about media ideologies that apply to both Facebook and dating websites, I do not wish to gloss over the very real and consequential differences between the two platforms. In this chapter I am mostly concerned with media ideologies of bodily-communicative excess that shape situated practices across structurally divergent platforms.

when they ignore salient ethical and political concerns. This chapter examines queer technical affordances – for seductive deception, for the multiplication of personae – within these fraught zones of compassion and harm. When health policy prevents peer educators from making use of these queer technical affordances, I argue, it jeopardizes digital health outcomes.

PENs' use of queer technical affordances also responds to recent calls to "decolonize privacy studies." Calls to "decolonize privacy" recommend de-centering the concepts of personhood and social connection that undergird European and American data protection legislation (Arora 2019). Indeed, while longstanding research shows that "networked privacy" depends as much on the actions of one's social network as one's own decisions to "opt in" or "opt out" of data collection schemes (Marwick and boyd 2014), privacy policies continue to presuppose individual control over information. Policies like the EU's General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) foreground individual responsibility, awareness, and decision making (Arora 2019). California's recent consumer privacy law, likewise, is insufficient to address situations in which one is not the primary user of a technology; for example, an individual cannot opt out of being monitored by a neighbor's doorbell camera (Wong 2021). When, in the name of protecting *sutura* and *la vie privée*, PEN built mutual aid through erotic play and pseudonyms, my interlocutors harnessed queer technical affordances for the kind of alternative privacy that "decolonizing" initiatives invite. Crucially however, PENs' marginalized position within Senegal's digital ecosystem reminds us that decolonizing privacy requires addressing inequalities both between nations and within them.

The Emergence of MSM Digital Health

Even before an NGO offered to pay them, Mamadou and other PENs told their contacts on Facebook and dating websites about the importance of wearing condoms. Then ASSA obtained grant funding to conduct similar online outreach with MSM.

I first met Mamadou and his colleague activists in the summer of 2015. At the time, they wanted to apply for external grant funding, as they said their ASSA stipends could not buy enough pay-as-you-go internet credit to do good online sex education. Furthermore, they wanted greater license to discuss topics besides STDs, including homelessness, legal rights, and employment protection. Knowing, however, that grant agencies would only support HIV/AIDS prevention-related issues (for reasons explored below), we began a collaborative analysis of their personal archives of online conversations. A portion of these they had submitted to ASSA to meet their quotas. They also retained them in word documents for their own records. I would meet with each PEN to conduct a collaborative discourse analysis of HIV/AIDS prevention messages, looking to identify correlations between human rights abuses and impeded access to HIV/AIDS testing. If we could prove there was a relationship, perhaps this would bolster their applications for grant funding. In parallel, we agreed that I could write about this work for my dissertation.

The information-only ethos signaled a dominant "biocommunciable model" of health communication. This biocommunicable model attempted to extract information from embodied encounter, implying that data is both value-neutral and affectively vacuous. This conforms to what Briggs and Hallin (2007, 49) call the "biomedical authority model" of biocommunicability. According to this linear metapragmatic model of how health communication works, biomedical experts like doctors produce knowledge about bodies and illness. This knowledge is endowed

with the weight of objective truth. Thus "scientific information" applies to any social context, as it is deemed independent of context (Pigg 2001). In health education campaigns, information travels linearly through health communication texts – like pamphlets – to patients or various publics, who must accept and apply it or risk being labeled non-compliant, an attribution disproportionately leveled at marginalized groups (Briggs and Hallin 2007).

Senegalese civil society engages with MSM primarily through the lens of disease containment (Kassé 2013).[28] A coalition of CNLS personnel, doctors, NGOs, religious leaders and MSM peer educators mobilized after the arrests of alleged MSM in 2008, first to help the activists who were arrested, then to formulate strategies to improve quality of life for gay Senegalese men. However, within this coalition, HIV/AIDS prevention remained the issue of common ground (Kasse 2013). The current configuration of aid privileges disease containment as point of consensus.[29] The information/erotics split was hardly the unique creation of ASSA; it emerges within the context of civil society.

Claims to information's objectivity protect NGOs like ASSA against accusations that they "promote homosexual values." In line with understandings of scientific knowledge production prevalent in international development contexts (see Adams and Pigg 2005, Pigg 2001), information is deemed value-free. Furthermore, as I will discuss further below, information is also considered the instrument of containing HIV for heterosexual Senegalese; thus, engagement with queer Senegalese can be justified through its benefit to presumed-heterosexual Senegalese.

PENs fit into this protocol as *relais* "relays" between authoritative producers of health knowledge, and the "target population," or MSM. At ASSA, PENs served as biomedical quasi-experts who have knowledge about and access to the "target population" that the authoritative producers of health knowledge do not possess.[30] During a coffee break at an early meeting of the the proposed new non-profit, one PEN elected to the board summarized how he viewed the PENs' role at ASSA: "Prevention, treatment, we know it all. But our role there was as *relais* 'links.' Because [ASSA] couldn't talk to people like we could." In keeping with many international aid agencies' ideological constructions of truth prior to language and information prior to politics, the job of a digital *relais* was to forge a language in which to convey extra-social biomedical facts, or as Pigg puts it, "to move bits of information from one social location to another by finding the right words in another language in which to package it" (Pigg 2001, 483).

True to their assigned role, each PEN developed a cut-and-paste message of information about modes of HIV transmission, modes of prevention, testing opportunities, and access to confidential medical care with an MSM-friendly doctor. Each month, PENs were to fill out a spreadsheet noting how many *nouveaux individus touchés* ("number of new individuals

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[28] Homosexuality is criminalized under article 319 of Senegal's penal code. Scholars, journalists, and human rights activists have documented ongoing, but ever-changing forms of discrimination against "les homosexuels" in Senegal (see Niang et al 2003). These include highly publicized events accusing men of violating *sutura* by displaying "sexually immoral behavior" in public space, as in the journal Icône's coverage of a so-called "gay wedding" (Leral.net 2008). The same year, nine men were arrested for sodomy while gathering in an HIV/AIDS educator's apartment building (Outright International 2009). Mills (2011:25) rightly points out that it was the news outlets, not the activists, who violated *sutura* by publishing news articles about intimate life.
[29] Vinh-Kim Nguyen has shown how colonial logics of hygiene and classification continue to shape inequalities of care in contemporary West Africa (Nguyen 2010).
[30] See Pigg (2001) for insightful analysis of the ways in which language ideologies casting sexuality as prior to discourse shape how "translation" of biomedical expertise becomes legible as such.

touched/reached"), what health topics they discussed, and region of origin (if known), among other categories.

While at ASSA, PENs also implicitly understood that they should not have romantic or sexual relationships with online interlocutors. Offline should be limited to HIV testing sessions, which PENs should advertise via the same digital channels. ASSA's emphasis on information-only conversation presupposes the possibility of denuding informational exchange and digital selfhood of erotic charge.

In an effort to police this separation between information and sex, data and affect, the dominant model of digital health communication presupposed a particular kind of digital self as its pedagogical emissary. This digital self was (1) not erotic and (2) congruous with offline attributes. In line with NGOs' focus on "transparency" – as embodied by spreadsheets and quotas – the dominant biocommunicable model presupposed congruity between actual and virtual selves. Since romantic relationships between PENs and interlocutors were frowned upon, portrayals of romantic intent online as part of an "informational" conversation occupied shaky ground.[31] A "professional" digital self was an informational and singular self. According to the idealized model of health communication, an informational self did not deviate sharply from offline characteristics. As one PEN would later put it in an interview about the progress of their nascent independent NGO, "the reality is that on these sites you rarely put your real location or other things. It's a site for [romantic] encounters. It's like that….but as PEN, we had to pretend it wasn't like that." In other words, he experienced friction between an idealized biocommunicable model of selfhood and the reality of situated communicative practice on dating websites.

Situated online practice involved erotic engagement that may or may not correspond to markers of "offline" self. Whereas a friction between metapragmatic model of health communication and pragmatics of health communication is an expected feature of communication-in-context, this incongruity is often viewed "according to a typology of deviations from an expected relationship of pragmatic-metapragmatic congruity" (Briggs 2011, 221). In this case, if one perpetuated pragmatic-metapragmatic incongruities, one risked being labeled unprofessional, excessive, or indiscreet. Within this logic, digital discretion and digital privacy shift in valence form something that protects sexual minorities, to a boundary that sexual minorities themselves transgress.

Eroticism and Peer-to-Peer Health Outcomes[32]

Ironically, the NGO depended on this kind of erotic seduction to achieve health data metrics like monthly quotas. Stakes are high as future aid funding – and the positioning of the Senegalese nation within international aid circles – often depend upon reaching health metrics (See Tichenor 2016). In other words, "getting the data" depends on desire. Mamadou exemplified transgression of the idealized model of health communication: transgression of its projected information/erotics split, and its emphasis on a singular self. Furthermore, when

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[31] I should underscore that not all online eroticism was meant to invite an offline sexual or romantic encounter. Erotic, playful online talk was often simply a part of the common language of dating websites. Also, as I explore later in this chapter, erotically-charged communication was a way of developing closeness – and not only in an erotic sense – with online strangers. It was a way to build connection. PEN were well aware of the isolation that some online interlocutors likely faced. They understood the emotional and psychological value of online connection.
[32] This section expands upon my earlier discussion of information and desire in MSM peer education (Friend 2020).

Mamadou performed as Craig, information emerged and was made meaningful and actionable through erotic seduction and a play of multiple personae.

In the first of our discourse analysis sessions, Mamadou and I sat in an empty conference room. He told me more about Facebook, and more about Craig. Mamadou had three Facebook accounts.[33] One he used for friends and family who did not know he is gay. Another he used to keep in touch with friends who did know he is gay. Before he began a long-term monogamous relationship, he once used this profile – with its profile picture of a muscular chest that he downloaded from google images – to meet potential romantic partners. A third profile featured Craig, the blond, white man with sunglasses.

The following is one of Mamadou's *pièges* "traps." As this section focuses on the PENs' communicational *tactics*, I summarize the interlocutor's text as an extra confidentiality protection, while still providing sufficient context for the PENs' utterances.
Interlocutor asks if the photo is Craig Education's own.

(1) Craig Education 21:12

oui pourquoi?
"yes why?"

Interlocutor says the question was not meant to offend, and then asks if Craig Education has been in Senegal long.

(2) Craig Education 19:14

bientot 5ans

"almost 5years"

Later, the interlocutor asks if Craig Education is good at sex.

(3) Craig Education 19 :15

oui mais a 3 et sans capote
tu es partant?

"yes but in a threesome and without a condom
are you game?"

Interlocutor apologetically says that he does not have experience being a *passif*.
Interlocutor asks for justification for the lack of condom use.

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[33] When we worked together, Mamadou showed me only his Craig account, the most relevant for analysis. As of April 2022, it is against Facebook's terms of service to have more than one personal account (Facebook Help Center). This opens up several empirical questions about the technological affordances of particular platforms for facilitating or restricting distributed personhood.

(4) Craig Education 19 :20

nous resentons plus de plaisir sans protection

"we feel more pleasure without protection"

Interlocutor asks if Craig Education is interested in having sex.

(5) Craig Education 19 :22

oui mai est ke tu es partant avec ma proposition
"yes but are you ok with my proposition"

The interlocutor hesitates, expressing doubt about the consequences of sex without a condom. The interlocutor asks for reassurance from Craig.

(6) Craig Education 19 :32

bon c cool, cetait juste un teste mai je suis la pour la prevention, i faut tjrs bien se proteger et proteger aussi tes partenaires avec du preservatif afin d eviter le virus du vih sida et les ist, il faut aussi tjrs utiliser des Lubrifiants a base deau pour eviter es dechirures et faciiter la pénétration par voie anal ET aider les gay a aller faire leur teste de dépistage afin de connaitre leur statue de sérologie

"well it's cool, it was just a test because I am here for prevention, it's always good to protect yourself and also your partners with condoms in order to avoid the HIV AIDS virus and STDs, it is also necessary to use water-based lubricants to avoid tears and facilitate anal penetration AND help gays take the HIV test to know their serological status"

Once Mamadou-as-Craig divulges his pedagogical purpose, he shares his copy and pasted pedagogical message. He concludes the encounter not with a sexual invitation, but an invitation to a *dépistage*, or HIV testing session. In the following conversational turn, the interlocutor calls this information "cool" and thanks Craig for sharing it with him.

This informational-erotic encounter relies upon an incongruity between virtual and actual selves, a sort of distributed personhood. Mamadou explicitly crafted his white "Craig" personae to attract larger numbers of interlocutors and reach his quota. One might say that he catfished toward pedagogical ends. The term "education" in his pseudonym refers to sex education, a nod to the pedagogical element of this seduction.

There has been significant work on the role of play and "deception" in self-presentation on dating websites (Hancock and Toma 2009; Markowitz & Hancock 2018; Sharabi and Caughlin 2018). Indeed, Mamadou rather offhandedly mentioned that he found it "fun to be white online," as it made him desirable and, he said, flooded his inbox with sexual propositions. This chapter is less concerned with qualifying Mamadou's cross-racial embodiment as either

play or deception. It may be both: a deception for the purpose of pedagogy, and the pleasure of embodying a position of racialized power with its accompanying erotic charge.

Mamadou's encounter highlights key features of effective online health communication in the context of this program. First, information emerges and is made meaningful through projected erotic encounters. It is within the imagined potential sexual situation of a threesome with a white man without condoms that sexual health information is not just "transmitted" but weighed, considered, and applied to possible practical situations. This frustrates attempts to disembody information and delink "network promiscuity" – in the sense of multiple affective attachments via online communication – from sex.

Institutional interpellation needs affective force to hit its mark (Mazzarella 2009). To position an interlocutor into the safe sex public health apparatus, the message needs affective charge. Mamadou's colleague Modou affirmed this principle when he defended the use of flirtation in e-health; "they are more likely to pay attention, and actually listen to what you have to say … you need to remember why people came [to the website]." It is both the interaction's eroticism and its situatedness in an actual (projected) sexual encounter that made digital sex ed affectively potent and pedagogically effective. As Modou and other PENs attested, the flirtation approach worked best for digital health peer-education.

Mamadou's cross-racial embodiment highlights the multiplicity of selves, the distributed personhood, that often facilitates this seductive pedagogy. Mamadou reveals himself to be a sex educator, but he never overturns his earlier claim to Craig's veracity. Mamadou (as Craig) creates a doubly duplicitous version of Craig who knowingly seduces the interlocutor into the kind of unprotected sex that both Mamadou and the pedagogical, NGO-employed "Craig" educate against. This layering not only highlights the complex dynamics of power and pleasure involved in online activism, but it also renders more dramatic a rather prosaic point; congruity between actual and virtual selves rarely holds in actual communicative practice. First, the actual/virtual is rarely a strict dyad. Second, it is the play between multiple selves – current and projected, actual and virtual – that imbues health information with impact. This multiplicity of selves is expected, but nevertheless transgressive within normative frameworks of digital health communication.

While Mamadou's strategy may have been unique among the PENs, the incongruity between virtual and actual selves was commonplace. Many PENs knowingly seduced interlocutors with whom they were contractually bound not to have offline sexual relationships. The PENs distinguished this as the *approche flirt* "flirtation approach" from the *approche directe* "direct approach" which presented no romantic or sexual intention and divulged a pedagogical intention from the outset. In practice, the two were not always easy to distinguish. Even the direct approach sometimes involved revealing physical attributes (height and weight) and sexual preferences. However, in the activists' rubric, only the flirting approach included an invitation or intimation of an offline encounter.

For Mamadou's colleague Mohammed, another PEN, the incongruity between virtual and actual selves is less in embodied attributes like race, name, national origin, but in intention. In one online peer-education message, Mohammed expresses erotic desire for his interlocutors. Mohammed says he will "feel his love when he comes" over to his home. Mohammed affirmed to me, "I can't actually have a relation with [my interlocutor]." When Mohammed says enticingly that his interlocutor will "feel his love when he comes," he extends an offer he does not intend to keep. However, Mohammed felt an emotional connection with this interlocutor.

Mohammed's explanation of this digital relationship is both cryptic and evocative: "c'est emouvant" (it's moving). Mohammed does not specify the "it" to which he refers, preferring to leave me guessing what about the interaction moves him. Regardless, the gap between projected encounter and actual constraints on contacting the interlocutor highlights a fissure between actual and virtual selves more subtle and more commonplace than Mamadou-as-Craig's trap. Mamadou's cross-racial seduction simply highlights the multiplicity of selves at work in digital encounters.

The PENs' sex education is, like labor more commonly labeled "sex work," a form of communicative and emotional labor that relies upon and produces sexual and erotic connection. It bears much in common with other accounts of digital sex work like exotic dancers in second life (Procter 2015), cam girls (Bleakley 2014; Senft 2008), and M$M, gay men who using dating websites to arrange sexual encounters for pay (Tyler 2015). PENs employ flirting strategically. Like cam girls, they create a sense of intimacy through multiple layers of mediation (see Bleakley 2014; Senft 2008). They create what Procter (2015, 160) calls "pseudonymous intimacy", a sense of familiarity and closeness with interlocutors facilitated, not impeded, by the use of a pseudonym and other employment-specific elements. Like sex workers in the virtual world *Second Life* in Procter's (2015) analysis, the impact of their choice to perform other-wise to what one is – even if that choice then reinstates heteronormative identity – is to expose the fragility of our reliance on the coherence between what one is and what one does" (Procter 2015, 160). The PENs' pseudonymous intimacies disrupt notions of the bounded self, and the NGO's conservative view of virtual practices in which virtual selves, with some allowance for anonymity protections, transparently reflect offline aspects of identification (race, body type, nationality) and intention (to inform rather than have an offline sexual encounter). In summary, the PENs' 'sex ed as sex work' unsettles notions of the bounded, singular self, presupposed and projected by ASSA's quota and transparency requirements.

ASSA depends upon the communicative labor of these digital seductions to enact a disease containment project. Mamadou uses cross-racial embodiment to achieve his quota. He disrupts the assumed parallelism between virtual and actual selves, virtual and actual bodies, within his professional capacity as an informational messenger. The PENs' self-making challenges dualisms between language and the body, information and erotics, even as it makes the NGO's informational project possible. Digitally circulated information gains its power to affect others through online erotic play or encounters (Friend 2020). These encounters often depend upon the mobilization of multiple virtual selves that may or may not match PENs' intentions or their offline characteristics of race, age, physique etc. The NGO digital health initiative relies upon the PENs' erotic connectivity – with its multiple intimacies and distributed digital personhood – to advance a disease containment project. "Getting the data" depends on desire.

If erotic seduction helps ASSA achieve its quotas, why would Mamadou and his colleagues face accusations that their digital communication is improperly public, excessive, and "lacking *sutura?*" If such tactics ensure that ASSA reaches its professional goals, why would Mamadou fear being labeled unprofessional? Below I place the dominant biocommunicable model of digital health communication in its historical context. *Sutura's* historical trajectory illustrates why and how digital privacy comes to marginalize queer communicative practice. Throughout its history, *sutura* has conveyed queer communication and queer bodies as excessive. Both transgress the boundary between "public" and "private." The information/erotics

split common to NGO models of health communication reanimates *sutura's* illusion of containment: that is, the impetus to prevent queer bodies and communication from exceeding a projected public/private boundary.

Histories of Queer Health Communication

The expectation that PENs project an informational, transparent self not only protects against claims of "promoting homosexual values." It also reanimates historically rooted anxieties about embodied communication and gender dissidence. Here I explore *sutura's* illusion of containment. This helps clarify how *sutura* – and digital privacy – become sites of contestation that reinscribe health/communicative inequality.

Sutura has long conflated perceived transgressions of that boundary with bodily contagion and associated both with gendered illegibility or non-normativity. Art historian Ivy Mills (2011) highlights the parallels between the specter of the *góor-jigeen* (literally translated as "man-woman") in contemporary anxieties about homosexuality, and the role of the *géwél*, or griot, in precolonial Wolof social orders. Both figures were marginalized for their perceived violations of *sutura*. The *géwél* – the brash public speaker buried outside cemeteries to prevent contamination of honorable blood – was a biological and communicative threat to be contained.

To maintain honor, nobles were confined to speak with restraint, with discretion, with *sutura*. They used *géwél* as spokespeople to communicate what they could not. Nobles employed *géwél* to violate *sutura* so they themselves would be spared from doing so (Mills 2011:120). *Géwél*s' communicative indiscretion preserved nobles' honor.

Mills (2011) argues that media portrayals of homosexuality during recent contemporary moral panics reanimate *sutura's* legacy. Moral panics convey gay Senegalese, like *géwél* in centuries past, to be impure and biologically contaminated, a threat to be physically contained. At the same time, they are accused of communicative excess, violating *sutura* by purportedly making their sexual practices and/or identities visible beyond the sphere of *la vie privée,*("private life"), for example, the two accusations combined in a widely mediatized incident. A group disinterred the body of Madieye Diallo, whom they had accused of homosexuality, from its resting place in a Muslim cemetery (Faye 2009). Journalists accused the man of indecent exposure, of "lacking *sutura,*" though it was in fact the news media that breached privacy through intrusive and sensationalist coverage of the disinterring, not to mention the act of disinterring itself (Mills 2011, 119).

Mills (2011) describes the transhistorical links between perceived *sutura* violations and queerness. She argues that the *géwél* is a queer figure in Wolof social orders. Diverse cultural forms represent the *géwél* as illegibly gendered, insofar as *géwél* use both words and bodies in ways deemed inconsistent with normative masculine roles (Mills 2011:119).[34] Within this regime, one who has no legible gender has no legible social role.

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[34] Women, like *géwél*, were and continue to be shaped by sutura's equation between discretion and normative gender, albeit in very different ways. These different ways from the core of chapters two and three, which discusses how aspiring porn actresses and women otherwise involved in the production or circulation of explicit images negotiate *sutura*. The position of women-identified *géwél is particularly thought provoking.* In brief, at the height of the Wolof caste system, while the *góor-jigeen* and *géwél* were always-already dishonored, always-already queer, and always-already reduced to the status of bare life, for *ngeer* "noble" women, honor was theirs to lose (Mills 2011). Indeed, women bore the greatest burden of *sutura*. Women were in charge of holding family

Queer(ed) subjects violate the heteronormative model of biocommunicability: that is, expectations for how legibly gendered bodies should signify in the name of health. This transgressive communication might be usefully called "queer biocommunicability." This term expresses how particular communicative practices transgress the legitimated model of communication about and through the body. Today, men who identify as or are assumed to be queer are accused of excessive communication, while in the *géwél* case, excessive communication rendered one queer. *Géwéls*' transgressive communicative practice, inextricably tied to their purportedly contaminated, unhealthy blood, exemplifies queer biocommunicability. Likewise, as I discuss in the following section, the focus on stemming contagion of HIV so it does not spread from MSM to the "general population" (e.g. heteronormative Senegalese, those with *sutura)* resonates with concerns about the *géwel's* contaminated blood.

Briggs and Hallin (2007, 51) note the ways in which mastering the authorized model of biocommunicability can ensure one's access and right to care. Conversely, "biocommunicable outsiders" – those who do not communicate with or about their bodies according to dominant models of health communication – may be excluded from that citizenship. Both *géwél* and Madieye Diallo during the 2010s moral panic are biocommunicable outsiders within heteronormative communication regimes. They appear to jeopardize the public/private boundary that *sutura* continues to evoke today. Their speech and their purportedly polluting bodies signify too much, too publicly, excessively. Within a regime in which legible womanhood and legible manhood co-constitute both honor and socially recognized personhood, this queer biocommunicability justifies exclusion or violence as *géwél* lose their status as fully recognized social persons.

Three points about *sutura,* as gendered honor, are crucial to understanding digital privacy and digital health in contemporary Senegal. First, excessive connectivity is associated with queer(ed) subjects. This parallels contemporary media ideologies casting queer and other marginalized communities as excessively connected (Payne 2014, 60). Second, the *géwél* received protection and patronage from the nobles who employed them (Mills 2011). Care and marginalization co-exist. This co-existence persists within Senegalese public health logics that grant limited services – namely HIV/AIDS prevention – to a criminalized group.

Third, the *géwéls*' transgressive communicative practice was appropriated as vital communicative labor to maintain heteronormative arrangements of power. Through a relationship of opposition, *géwél* queerness highlighted nobles' legible masculinity. Furthermore, nobles could not maintain this *sutura*, honor, or manhood, without *géwéls.* These brash individuals spoke what nobles were honor-bound not to. Their transgressive communication labor allowed the heteronormative hierarchy to reproduce itself.

This is the central paradox of the "illusion of containment" (Mills 2011, 120). Heteronormative systems depend upon the queer bodily-communicative excess they reject. To the extent that heterosexist configurations of power appropriate and instrumentalize transgressive embodied communicative labor, queer biocommunicability is the constitutive outside of heteronormative configuration of power. This labor both transgresses and upholds to the order of things.

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secrets. If they exposed to public view an infidelity, whether theirs or another's, they would suffer a social death and dishonoring, relegating them to a position of bare life not unlike that of the *géwél*.

Like *géwél* before them, the flirtatious, seductive digital health peer educator provided crucial communicative labor to a system that implicitly called their communicative practice into question. Mamadou's erotic identity play unsettles common NGO wisdom that divests pedagogy of eros (or tries to). Yet, his erotic "excess" is essential to ASSA's project. His seductions facilitated peer-to-peer counseling, which was crucial to health outcomes and health metrics.

Containing Contagious Bodies

The criminalization of homosexuality in Senegal makes MSM healthcare fraught. "Information" proves a key tool in addressing these tensions. As mentioned in the first section, sticking to supposedly affect-free and objective "information" helps protects organizations involved in MSM health from potential claims that they promote "homosexual values." They cannot promote such values, since information is deemed value-free.

Furthermore, contemporary NGO and public health construals of MSM bodies as contagious bodies resonate with the heteronormative logics of *sutura*. The impetus to bodily containment – once conveyed through *géwél* burial practices containing contaminated blood – is reformulated through the use of condoms to prevent exchange of bodily fluids.[35] This is not just to protect MSM, but also to protect heterosexual Senegalese who may come into (physical) contact with them. Within Senegal, many health officials and MSM themselves observe that some MSM enter into heterosexual marriages (Kassé 2013). This raises the specter of HIV contagion passed from MSM to unwitting heterosexual Senegalese women: that is, women with honor, women with *sutura*. As the state AIDS agency official assigned to "key populations" told me in an interview, public health initiatives must "break the chain of transmission so it does not affect the general population." Such contagion logic flags contact as the site of heath intervention.

Some PENs were acutely aware of the association between gay bodies and contagion. Cheikh, who once had sexual partners who were women, felt this acutely. Cheikh appreciated that individuals working at state HIV/AIDS agencies may also aspire to promote human rights in addition to disease prevention. However, he also registered the limitations of individuals to confront broader systemic logics that reduce a person to a contamination threat, and reduce care to contamination prevention.

One afternoon during the summer of our collaborative discourse analysis, he expressed discontentment with ASSA's quotas, restrictions, and small stipends. Cheikh situated sexual health programs for MSM within broader societal constraints.

"They see us as a danger, but really it's us who's in danger, from the homophobes." What kind of danger? I asked.

"They really want to protect the women," he said. "But I am a father, so of course I have responsible behaviors."

Cheikh inferred that the possibility that MSM have sexual relations with women instilled public health actors with fear; such sexual relations link the "general population" and the "key population." Irresponsible behaviors (in this case, sex without condoms), he wondered, may be most threatening when it escapes the bounds of a marginalized group into the "general

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[35] Of course, such contagion logics are not limited to Senegal; there has been a historically persistent, transnationally mobile presumption that gay sex pollutes the family and the body politic (see Crimp 1987).

population." Regardless of the actual precautions taken, he was aware that MSM who have sex with women also carry the symbolic load of contagion and threat.

Cheikh's colleague Jean was also aware of his status as contagion threat. To play it safe, he limited his online peer education conversations to disease containment. He dutifully employed the normative, sanctioned model of eHealth conversation in his digital outreach work. He avoided erotically charged inuendo. He limited discussion of health to sexually transmitted diseases, the "contagion" at the heart of NGO and state projects of containment. He self-consciously split information from eroticism.

During a discourse analysis session held at Jean's boyfriend's house, we analyzed his personal archive of sex education messages. In this archive, he metapragmatically signaled the de-eroticized biocommunciable model within the conversations themselves. While other PENs use classically dating-app style greetings like "hi baby," Jean does not. Often he uses an AIDS ribbon as his profile picture, instead of the more typical image of a muscular man.

Jean shared the following message conducted on a dating website. This message stood out to Jean because it was a relatively rare example in which a non-flirtatious opening lead to substantive exchange. However, Jean felt unable to provide the support the interlocutor sought because of his perception of ASSA's focus on disease containment only. In this exchange, the interlocutor told Jean that a friend of his was suffering violence and intimidation because of his sexual orientation. Jean responded :

> *On diré qu'il ne respecte pas c droit de s soigné mais a notre niveau on peu pas faire gran chose car son slimite sur les ist kil essay d'approché les associations gay XXXXXXXX Je m'en duter. Mais je suis la pour vous orienter et vous informer sur tous les forme de dépistage au vih du sida et les lieux adéquat pour un meilleur déroulement dans la confidentialité, l'anonymat et discretion si interessé laisse votre message ou bipé le XXXXXXXX*

> One could say that he does not respect his right to healthcare but in our capacity we cannot do very much because we are limited to STDs he should try to get in touch with the gay associations XXXXXXXXX I doubt it. But I am here to guide and inform you about everything related to HIV/AIDS testing and the suitable places for a better experience of confidentiality, anonymity, and discretion if interested leave a message or call XXXXXXXXX

Jean referred the interlocutor to associations where his interlocutor's friend could receive support. However, he positioned these associations as entirely separate from his work as a PEN, underscoring, "we cannot do very much because we are limited to STDs." Jean was uncompromising in his sole focus on sexually transmitted diseases, and his role as one who "informs." He stated that he could not intervene on the broader "the right to healthcare" due to the limits of the PEN program. Not only did he carve off health from other aspects of living, but he carved off sexually transmitted diseases from healthcare more broadly. He was aware that his "population" posed a threat of transmission in the eyes of his employer, and he dutifully directed his energy toward addressing that threat in his messages. He did not seduce or flirt. He did not address an interlocutor's most pressing concern. He focused on contagious disease rather than a

more capacious vision of 'health.' The message successfully deployed the idealized biocommunicable model, the one which bifurcated information from desire.

Jean was often unsure whether his interlocutors would apply that health information in their daily practices, a point to which I will return below. His online interlocutors often signed off quickly; conversations did not last long. Unlike Mamadou, Jean was unwilling to flirt or seduce as a tactic to build "rapport" and sustain interest in health topics on a dating website. His employers' contagion anxieties affected Jean's approaches to digital communication, as he self-consciously limited discussions to health, and limited discussions of health to disease containment.

For Jean, an information-only approach to online health communication avoided topics like discrimination, and other human rights issues that profoundly affect, but do not explicitly reference, HIV/AIDS care. Not only does such an approach avert suspicion that HIV prevention for MSM "supports homosexual values." It also centers care of queer Senegalese around the threat of contagion. Jean's conversation is striking because the interlocutor raised an issue – violence and discrimination – that would indeed affect access to and quality of healthcare. However, Jean felt NGO pressure to limit himself to discussing STDs. This reflected and perpetuated *sutura's* legacy, in which queer (or queered) individuals were framed, first and foremost, as contagion threats to be contained.

Containing Improperly Public Communication

When ASSA's backer's funding cycle ended, so did remuneration for the PENs. The PENs held two meetings in the bare but spacious meeting room of a colleague's NGO and held informal hangouts in cafes and homes around Dakar thereafter. In the official meetings, they elected a cabinet, thought up a new name for their association (keeping the title "PEN"), brainstormed what their mission statement would be, and investigated the process of applying for official non-profit status. When this application process stalled, devoted cabinet members met with me in follow-up meetings in Dakar cafés extending into 2019. I attended these meetings as a *personne de resources* ("resource person"), drawing on participatory design research techniques to help facilitate brainstorming sessions.

At the first meeting, the elected secretary spearheaded brainstorming for a mission statement. He collected ideas on a piece of parchment paper. Colleagues raised hands to suggest additions. It was in these meetings where the participants' experiences with idealized models of health communication emerged with the most clarity. Brainstorming for the future involved reflecting on the past. Suggestions for what their organization would do were often articulated through frustrations with the constraints they had felt at ASSA. More broadly, these critiques addressed *sutura's* double edge in contemporary Senegal.

PEN attributed to ASSA the following assumption; the extensive use of flirtation, seduction, or eroticism constitutes communicative excess. It brings the private (e.g. sex and eroticism) into the public (professional health contexts). PENs' brainstorming sessions for life beyond ASSA provided a window into the ways in which media ideologies about social media amplify *sutura*-steeped anxieties about improperly public communication. *Sutura's* longstanding policing of the domain of *la vie privée* converged with media ideologies about dating websites; their form of address is at once impersonal *and* intimate. This kind of address threatens efforts to create and police a neat, public/private divide. In the context of HIV prevention, it threatened efforts to bifurcate information and erotics. ASSA's information/erotics split reanimated *sutura's*

illusion of containment. Limiting online peer education to purportedly neutral, affectively vacuous information contained two threats; contagious bodies via HIV prevention, per the previous section, and improperly public, excessively erotic communication. This model positioned informational, "professional" messages as the antidote to contagious queer excess.

Early on in the meetings, the elected secretary-general raised the topic, what digital tactics should be used to reach online interlocutors, now that there are (for now) no spreadsheets to submit? One colleague spoke up: "I think flirting is OK. Before it was strange." Another added on, "personally I don't hit on anybody. I always say I am a PEN. But I don't see anything wrong with hitting on people." Then he added; "We are very careful about *sutura*…everything within *sutura*!" This last comment was met by nods and expressions of agreement.

"Yes!" Modou said. "That's what it's about!"

This comment, widely appreciated, clarifies that flirtatious conversation does not lack *sutura,* unlike implicit comparisons between online seduction and ostentatious youth performance on Facebook might suggest. On the contrary, PEN prized *sutura*. They protected themselves and their interlocutors from unwanted exposure. They rejected any notion that flirting is unprofessional, indiscrete, or otherwise not in keeping with *sutura's* emphasis on protecting *la vie privée*. *Their* version of *sutura* would be about anonymity and confidentiality, not about constraining eroticism.

Much as language ideologies frame particular uses of language as more or less valuable (Hill 1998), media ideologies (Gershon 2010) associate digital media with communicative-erotic excess. Media scholar Robert Payne has described social media as "promiscuous media;" social media sites facilitate "network promiscuity," multiple social attachments that divert our attention in multiple directions (Payne 2014). They afford a kind of distributed personhood across different profiles, accounts, or platforms. Social media also facilitate intimate sharing with strangers in real time. In Briggs' terms, the configurations of communication that dating websites make possible may challenge the normative biocommunicable model of linear, dyadic sender-to-addressee communicative flow. Crucially, accusations of excessive connectivity, improper publicity, or "over sharing" are most often leveled at historically marginalized groups like queer communities, women, and people of color (Payne 2014, 60).

Valuing de-eroticized "information" with a singular digital self over other types of exchanges reflected a media ideology rendering digital media as promiscuous media. PENs felt this media ideology as a tacit backdrop in their time at ASSA; it infused the emphasis on "information." This media ideology surfaced in comparisons between the PENs and the *nouvelle generation* "new generation" of MSM who posted photos in makeup or danced in ways construed as effeminate on Facebook. These displays violated *sutura* par excellence. One NGO member described the group of PENs themselves as tending toward excess, saying that "sometimes, *noom, danu ëppal* "them, they're excessive/too much/ out of bounds," referring *both* to their tendency to seduce interlocutors online, and what he saw as an irresponsible making public of their sexual orientation through ways of dressing, walking and talking. He stated that PENs must be "examples to the new generation" and must maintain "discretion." Through a comparison to ostentatious *sutura*-lacking Facebook performances, the NGO cast PENs' digital erotics as improperly public communicative excess. It framed overly flirtatious online health communication as exceeding the private/public boundary projected and policed by *sutura.*

At an informal meeting among the PEN, Mohammed mentioned that he would sometimes consider withholding his more sexually explicit online conversations from ASSA's quota review.

He would hesitate because he wanted to avoid a lecture about lacking *sutura.* Certain online conversations in his archive contained explicitly sexual speech and contained description of his physical attributes.

Once, during our previous one-on-one collaborative discourse analysis session, he mimicked the hypothetical response he imagined getting from ASSA staff: *lii, da fa ëpp* "this, this is too much / this, this is excessive".[36] Here he reconstructed a slippage between description of online conduct as too much/excessive, with a more fundamental claim about MSM's lack of discretion. Mohammed's reflection pointed to a preconception that erotically charged or seductive health communication lacks *sutura.*

The information/erotics split reanimates *sutura's* centuries-long illusion of containment. Information, as defined by prevailing NGO frameworks, promised to transform the potential contaminant – a queer, digitally connected body – into a safe sex messenger, that is, an instrument for containing queer bodies and preventing them from infecting the "general population." NGO emphasis on the informational script accompanied conceptions of *sutura* as the foil to the ostentatious new generation of social media users. There is synergy between the containment of excessive digital communication – "network promiscuity" – and the containment of the contagious potential of MSM bodies.

Sutura's gendered through line helps us understand why digital privacy became such a point of contestation in this digital health initiative. Both queer bodies and queer communication threatened the boundary *sutura* projected between public and private life. This perceived threat continued to operate within health program committed to helping queer Senegalese. While all agreed that pseudonyms provided *sutura* to PEN, some models of health communication framed erotic health communication as itself jeopardizing *sutura*. PEN rejected this framing when they brainstormed for their own independent organization. This new organization never materialized and the activists' energies are now, as of 2022, directed elsewhere. Still, discussions about the potential organization revealed PENs' perceptions of the tacit assumptions about *sutura* undergirding NGO disease containment frameworks.

Balancing the "Ethic of Transparency" with the "Ethic of Connection"

In this section, I explore how restrictions on erotic communication jeopardize delivery of health services. As "Craig's" seduction suggests, digital health projects relied on seductive eroticism to achieve their quotas. PENs like Mamadou and Mohammed suggest that erotic and playful online health communication helps build interpersonal relationships online. Without such relationships, many interlocutors sign off early before the uptake and comprehension of health information messages can be assessed. PENs acknowledge the limitations of this de-eroticized form of health communication. Yet, some – though not all – once engaged in this form due to expectations about "professionalism." Some PEN engaged in a form of health communication

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[36] In contemporary parlance and discussions of new media, *sutura* stands in a cluster of terms pertaining to discursive boundaries. "Epp" can be defined as excessive, too much. It also implies being outside limits or boundaries; its opposite is "yem," or, that which stops at the right point, that which is within bounds. A child who cannot sit still or is too loud could be chastised, "da fa eppal." So too could someone who is too anxious and cannot relax. When I speak about "excess" I invoke this cluster of terms which resonate in complex ways with transgression of boundaries of verbal expression and/or embodied signification. I track uses of terms "ñyak sutura" and "da fa epp/eppal" not as proof of linear historical continuity or causality, but as invitations to examine rhetoric and its material effects more closely. Interestingly, to critique posts that circulate private WhatsApp messages beyond their intended audience, young people may either describe a particular post or photo as "da fa eppal," or Facebook and WhatsApp as themselves "too much/excessive."

that does not as easily build strong interpersonal relationships online. Since this communicational issue jeopardizes the uptake of health information, devaluing erotically charged digital communication risks widening precisely the health inequities that digital health strategies are deployed to reduce.

At the brainstorming meetings after the end of ASSA funding, the question of online eroticism, seduction, and play came up. According to both those who did and those who did not use flirtation, one drawback of the "direct approach," that is, an approach without flirtation or seduction, was that conversations were often short. Conversations often terminated before the beneficiary's comprehension of HIV/AIDS prevention information could be assessed. I asked why this was so. "Because they will sign off once you copy and paste the information," explained Amadou, one of the younger peer educators. "They don't say anything." Other peer educators affirmed this from their own experience. PENs perceived this approach to hinder efforts to evaluate comprehension, uptake, and possible future implementation of health information. Unsurprisingly, on dating websites, pedagogical greetings did not grab interlocutors' attention. Without this initial attention, one could not build the rapport needed to introduce – let alone sustain interest in – health topics.

As discussed above, Jean refrained from flirtatious banter and immediately identified himself as a peer educator. He showed me the message he uses in many conversations; "I am here to guide and inform you about everything related to HIV/AIDS testing and the suitable places for a better experience of confidentiality, anonymity, and discretion if interested leave a message or call XXXXXXXXX."

Jean often received no response to this message. When interlocutors simply signed off after the health information is conveyed, he had no way of knowing whether they would seek testing resources, or whether the interlocutor had understood that opportunities for safe testing and care exist. Notably, unlike Mamadou, who sustains long conversations, Jean's messages were of short duration. If one is unwilling to flirt or seduce as a tactic to build an interpersonal relationship, "this makes it difficult," Cheikh agreed. "People are on here for dates, so when you start with AIDS right away, they might just move on." Interlocutors may "move on" to other accounts before a PEN has a chance to send the complete health information. According to Cheikh, following the ideal form of professional online communication – to inform, but not hit on, interlocutors – made it difficult for him to fulfill his professional duty as an effective health educator.

Cheikh also encountered a high level of mistrust. For example, in another message, he introduces his presence on the site this way; "I am an educator here to provide you with reliable information about sexually transmitted diseases, HIV testing and prevention." In the following message, the interlocutor asked whether Cheikh is a journalist, conveying his suspicion that Cheikh is there for a scoop rather than for connection. Later in the conversation, the interlocutor stated that he is interested in Cheikh (under a pseudonym). Cheikh asked if his interlocutor was interested in "the information that I'm giving you or me." The interlocutor clarified that the interlocutor was interested in Cheikh himself. Cheikh affirmed, "I am here solely for work." Then the interlocutor signed off. Cheikh had no more chance to explore if and how the interlocutor will implement the HIV/AIDS information.

During the brainstorming session, Amadou shared his experience. He used an AIDS ribbon as his profile picture during his time with ASSA and refrained from seduction. His messages were short, and his copy-and-pasted health information rarely received a response from

interlocutors. In one message we analyzed together, his interlocutor stated politely and in French that he was pleased to make Amadou's acquaintance. Amadou answered likewise, then added this message: "OK I advise you to never have sexual relations without using a condom to prevent STD/AIDS." As in most of his messages from his time with ASSA, he received no response. The conversation ended there. At the brainstorming session, Amadou confided in his peers that he often did not know whether prevention messages like this one were actually reaching his interlocutors.

For many PENs, if one intertwined flirtatious banter with health information, the interaction itself became pleasurable, playful, and compelling. Interlocutors were less likely to sign off if eroticism was infused throughout, a proponent of the "flirting approach" said later in an individual interview. HIV/AIDS information was less likely to cause an early sign off if it was well integrated into erotically charged conversation befitting a dating website. One message conducted by PEN Modou exemplifies this approach. In it, the interlocutor asks if the PEN would like to get to know him better. Modou agrees, then asks his online interlocutor to tell him about the interlocutor's sexual desires. The interlocutor describes several sex acts. Modou responds:

(1) BISOUS:[37]

moi aussi j'aime bien encaisser un gros sexe, caressé
"Me too I like to hold a large penis, caressed"

Interlocutor makes a sexual invitation to 'BISOUS.'

(2) BISOUS:

lol… aimes-tu faire l'amour sans préservatifs ?
"Lol…do you like to make love without condoms?"

Interlocutor responds that he enjoys protected sex with men.

(3) BISOUS:

ah je sais que y'a plus de plaisirs sexuels sans préservatifs mais J'ai peur du VIH/sida. As-tu entendu le VIH/sida ?

Yes I know that there is more sexual pleasure without condoms but I'm afraid of HIV/AIDS. Have you heard of HIV/AIDS?

Interlocutor responds affirmatively, defining HIV/AIDS as a transmissible virus transmitted through unprotected sex

(4): BISOUS:

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[37] As in previous conversations, the pseudonyms have been changed.

comment peut-on faire pour éviter de cette maladie ?
What does one do to avoid this disease?

Interlocutor recommends condoms.

(5) BISOUS:

oui c'est vrai mais quel type de gel tu utilises pour faciliter la pénétration a l'anus ?
"Yes that's true but what type of gel do you use to facilitate anal penetration?"

Interlocutor mentions shea butter.

(6) BISOUS :

la beurre de karité n'est pas bien pour l'anus car ça peut amener une infection sexuelle moi j'utilise le gel lubrifiant à base d'eaux.

Shea butter is not good for the anus because it can bring a sexual infection me I use a water-based gel lubricant

Interlocutor asks where one can find such lubricant.

(7) BISOUS :

tu peux appeler sur ce numéro de serveur à partir de 08h du matin jusqu'à 17h30 l'appel est gratuit XX-XXX-XX-XX-XX ils vont t'aider à avoir des préservatifs et gel lubrifiant gratuit et anonyme.

"You can call this number from 8 am in the morning until 5:30 pm the call is free XX-XXX-XX-XX-XX they will help you get condoms and gel lubricant free and anonymous"

Interlocutor expresses thanks for the information and says he will call the number tomorrow.

In this conversation, Modou initiates a seduction, but in the midst of sexually explicit flirting, begins a quiz of the interlocutor's HIV/AIDS prevention knowledge. In the process, he identifies a misconception he wants to correct. Modou provides information and a concrete point of access to safe sex supplies. The interlocutor registers this information and conveys a plan to access those supplies. Modou both conveys health information and ensures comprehension of that information. This is one example of intertwining flirtation with information. Information becomes meaningful and actionable as part of an erotically charged exchange. In contrast to Cheikh's and Jean's experience with the *"inform, don't hit on"* approach, this strategy provides an opportunity for Modou to evaluate whether the interlocutor is able to implement this information.

These examples and reflections point to the limitations of a particular notion of privacy and *sutura.* If privacy means keeping the sexual outside the "professional" space of health communication, this jeopardizes the quality of peer-to-peer online communication. In turn, this jeopardizes sexual health outcomes. Elevating what I call an "ethic of transparency" – the one-to-one relationship between online and offline personae/intentions, without the use of erotic seduction over the "ethic of connection" – jeopardizes one's ability to leverage digital tools to reduce health disparities.

Concerns about "catfishing" are important. For whom might seductive "traps" be experienced not as play, but as betrayal? This is an important question to consider in the design and implementation of digital health communication strategies. For now, I suggest that elevating transparency between personae above all other ethical priorities marginalizes queer communicative practice and jeopardizes eHealth outcomes. The case study of *sutura* and eHealth suggests the need to balance the "ethic of transparency" with the "ethic of connection." This approach would allow playful interaction to build strong interpersonal relationships online without deceiving beneficiaries about peer educators' intentions. By lowering the risk that beneficiaries would sign off prematurely without responding to informational messages, stakeholders could better assess beneficiaries' understanding of health information.

In summary, in response to a perceived biocommunicable model grounded in an exclusionary form of *sutura,* some PEN refrained from the kind of flirtatious, erotically charged communication techniques that, PEN contended, increased the quality of educator/beneficiary exchange. This quality of exchange is crucial to the delivery of health services, as it creates an opportunity to both give and assess the comprehension of health information.

Reimagining *Sutura,* Reimagining Digital Privacy

When the PENs invested energy in planning an NGO, they knew it would focus on HIV/AIDS by necessity. If it engaged in anything beyond disease risks to the "general population," the organization or its funders could be accused of promoting homosexuality. Nevertheless, PENs imagined a vision of digital healthcare otherwise. This vision embraced a diversity of health communication tactics – including the erotically charged. It also reframed *sutura*: not as a containment of excess sexuality, nor even as a dividing line between two spheres (public and private). From these workshops emerged a vision of *sutura* as collective protection. This form of digital privacy was not an individual responsibility but a practice of mutual aid.

Here are some of the ideas that individual PENs suggested over the course of brainstorming meetings. Some extended ASSA's approach. Some went beyond.

1. The organization would still prioritize *sutura*, maximizing anonymity and confidentiality whenever possible. All PENs would continue to use pseudonyms. They would likewise encourage interlocutors to use pseudonyms and review their privacy settings on Facebook and on dating websites.
2. It is up to each individual PEN to develop his own strategies for attracting and engaging with interlocutors online.
3. The organization would not discourage PENs from meeting online interlocutors in person.
4. Each PEN could produce a different number of conversations each month,

depending on depth of conversation, internet access, and time.

5. The PENs would try to expand into regions beyond Dakar in order to provide psycho-social support to MSM without access to Dakar-based MSM HIV prevention associations.

While disease prevention continued to be part of their vision, PENs imagined digital connectivity as more than just a means to the end of health message delivery. Digital connectivity was itself a form of "psycho-social support." It could facilitate solidarity. This conviction resonates with efforts in queer theory and activism to reclaim promiscuity from heteronormative logics of risk and intimacy. Writing at the height of the AIDS epidemic, Douglas Crimp pointed out that gay Americans maligned for "promiscuity" in fact innovated and spread risk reduction practices, protecting themselves and one another (see Crimp 1987). Likewise, multiple digital connectivities – conceptualized by Payne (2014) as network promiscuity – can amplify a network of support. In this sense, digital connectivity *constituted* health.

Health/communicative injustice happens when one model of health communication is invested with authority, and communicative practice that does not reflect this model is discounted as unintelligent or illegitimate (Briggs & Mantini-Briggs 2016). The potentiality of queer biocommunicability lies in multiplicity. To establish intimacy and confidence with interlocutors, the PENs embraced multiple biocommunicable models. All strategies that build connection and intimacy were fair game, even those that involved seduction. In practice, the "flirting approach" and the "direct approach" were not always clearly distinguished. Some conversations included gentle flirting alongside a straightforward HIV/AIDS information. However, what was important to PEN was to push back against the policing of digital health communicative practice.

At the first brainstorming session, Amadou described the objective of the new organization: *toucher ceux qui sont a l'ombre* "touch those in the shadows." This meant reaching out to those geographically far from Dakar-based associations, and to anyone who *ne s'affichent pas* "don't announce themselves [as MSM]" without a pseudonym. "They may be alone," he said. "Especially in rural areas." Here the term "touch" reveals a shift in the meaning of "contact:" from contact as contagion, to contact as a form of care and solidarity-building. Digital connectivity is a form of "touch" distributed across a network of technologically mediated relations (see Schwartz 2018). By developing different virtual selves and/or embracing flirtatious play, the PENs can attract and *touch* a broader range of MSM and build a network of solidarity with greater geographical reach. Furthermore, touch – in the sense of connection, contact, and support – is not simply fodder for a pedagogical message, though it is that too. Connection is an end in and of itself.

This focus on connection reflects *sutura's* other valence: collective protection. The PEN take this valence of community protection and apply it to those usually excluded from *sutura's* protective auspices. This HIV/AIDS prevention tag line reflects this valence: "I am here to guide and inform you about everything related to HIV/AIDS testing and the suitable places for a better experience of confidentiality, anonymity, and discretion if interested leave a message or call XXXXXXXXX." This message emphasizes "discretion" for vulnerable populations. As Amadou put it, the PENs aimed to bring others "in the shadows" into the collective protection of digital

health educators and allied providers. This collective protection spans digital and face-to-face spaces; his phone number promises to connect the two. It links beneficiaries with on-site testing.

Erotic pseudonyms also form part of privacy as collective protection. They do so in two ways. First, they are modes of hiding in plain sight. Far from transgressing *sutura,* erotically charged pseudonyms are ways to protect peer educators against potential harassment. They are also ways of reaching out to others "in the shadows," catching their attention, and bringing them into *sutura's* protective fold.

This vision of privacy as collective protection rejects the "illusion of containment" (Mills 2011, 120). This illusion is at the core of both historical and contemporary invocations of *sutura* to justify marginalization of queer biocommunciability. It is possible, PENs suggest, to have discretion without isolation, protection without hierarchy. The activists' aspirational vision for an NGO extracts *sutura*'s promise of protection from its history of heterosexist exclusion. Digital privacy becomes a cooperative act of collective protection. "Everyone has their role to play," Cheikh said simply at the final workshop.

Conclusion

Digital privacy is a crucial component in peer-to-peer digital healthcare for marginalized communities. Pseudonyms and anonymity were key features of the ASSA program that PEN wanted to continue when they were imagining an independent organization. At the same time, digital privacy is a contested term, inflected by *sutura's* history of gendered exclusion. This history frames non-heteronormative sexuality as both bodily and communicative excess that must be contained. As this legacy reverberates in HIV/AIDS health systems, erotically charged digital health communication appears improperly public. Thus, sexual minorities risk being positioned as digital privacy's transgressors, rather than its beneficiaries.

However, policing eroticism in digital health communication jeopardizes health outcomes. PEN identified erotic speech – including erotic seduction and identity play – as a valid and powerful tactic for creating and maintaining interpersonal relationships with online health beneficiaries. Without such relationships, they struggled to gain interlocutors' attention or maintain it long enough to either share information or gauge comprehension of this information. Interweaving flirtatious speech and health information was a powerful strategy to deepen interlocutor engagement and gauge comprehension. Denuding health communication of eros jeopardized PENs' efforts to improve sexual minorities' access to health information and safe HIV testing facilities. Therefore, it jeopardized the potential of digital communication tools to promote sexual health equity. Digital health communication must balance an "ethic of transparency" with an "ethic of connection" in order to both protect beneficiaries from the psychosocial distress of deception and ensure that peer educators can build the interpersonal relationships necessary to make health information meaningful and impactful.

Digital privacy is a contested site where health/communicative inequities are reinscribed along heteronormative lines. From these contestations, however, emerged a new vision of *sutura* as the cooperative protection of a marginalized community. As I discuss in the dissertation's conclusion, prevailing approaches to digital privacy and security place the onus on the individual to opt in or out of data use regimes. They frame privacy as an individual right and responsibility. PENs' vision of *sutura* as collective protection helps identify the limitation of this approach for digital peer-to-peer healthcare. The interlocutors who participated in the PEN program

understand that whether *sutura* is framed as individual responsibility or collective right depends on one's position in *sutura's* gendered hierarchy. PENs' non-profit organization did not come to fruition. Due to fears of online violence and image-based sexual abuse, digital health methods no longer seem as viable as they did when I began my fieldwork. However, PENs' vision of *sutura* as collective protection and mutual aid will provide a foundation to conceptualize digital privacy policy otherwise.

Interlude: An Ethnographic Blunder

"There is no porn in Senegal!" affirmed Cheikh, an HIV/AIDS activist with whom I worked on an eHealth project. However, in 2018, the Commission for the Protection of Personal Data (CDP) announced in a press conference that it was redoubling its investigation of "Kocc Barma," the self-proclaimed founder of Senegal's first porn website, seneporno.com (Senepeople.TV 2018). This had prompted me to ask Cheikh about Senegalese porn.

I squinted at Cheikh in disbelief. Cheikh smiled and nuanced his statement. Actually, there was plenty of porn in Senegal, he said. "Why do you think we're always running out of memory on our phones?" he quipped. What he meant was that there was no porn made by Senegalese *actors*.

"Senegal is a place of *sutura*," Cheikh explained. "Of course people watch it, but it comes from other countries: The US, or countries of n*yak*. Those people don't have any *sutura*." The term *Nyak* is a derogatory term for other West Africans in other countries outside Senegal, such as Mali or Cote d'Ivoire. When used as an insult, *nyak* may designate these West Africans' lack of discretion, and in turn, their moral inferiority compared to the more restrained and modest Senegalese. Porn, it seemed, unequivocally crossed the line of *sutura*. As discussed in the introduction, porn violates *sutura* due to what might be likened to "on/scenity" (Williams 2004a); it makes more visible or accessible what was thought to be "off scene."

For Cheikh, porn's transgression of *sutura* aligned it with the countries whose citizens purportedly lacked modesty or discretion. In the most damning statement about those who transgress *sutura* through porn, Cheikh said that if you were to willingly circulate a porn video online of yourself, "doo nit" [you're not a person]. This phrase can be used to chastise a child who is behaving outside accepted social codes. At its core, however, it suggests a negation of social personhood.

Cheikh's definitive response exemplifies a widely held view, one that persisted alongside the CDP's face off with the founder of seneporno.com, a porn website (Senepeople.tv 2018); pornography – a flagrant transgression of *sutura* – negates membership in the Senegalese moral community and may negate one's very social personhood. Cheikh's comment exemplifies how Senegal's reputation as a "place of *sutura*" shapes normative ideals of how one should or should not circulate images of one's body online. I call this phenomenon "digital intimate citizenship," or the moral citizenship one secures by aligning one's digital intimate life with normative ideals of desire.

Perhaps Seneporno's founder was an outlier, easily discounted as a bad apple. Some of my interlocutors speculated that Kocc actually resided in Canada, more evidence that he had been influenced by western countries' moral laxity.[38] Perhaps Kocc Barma is the exception that proves the rule of porn's fundamental un-Senegaleseness. But I also wondered if Senegalese porn production was more common than Cheikh suggested.

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[38] I came close – by one degree of separation – to interviewing Kocc himself. This connection rebutted popular claims and said that, on the contrary, Kocc lived in Senegal. The Canada story was a plant, a red herring. But Kocc remained elusive, to me as to CDP. Was he an individual? A team? Was Kocc a "he" at all? In news interviews Kocc actively cultivated enigma as part of his persona. I return to this persona, and what it tells us about porn's significance to digital dissidents, in the following chapter.

I wondered whether a lack of online presence did not signal a lack of porn, but just the effects of *sutura* on porn. How did sex workers think about porn, and was porn a salient fixture in their ethical orientations to digital image-making and intimacy? If Senegalese men and women did in fact produce porn, how did they navigate *sutura,* and (how) did they claim the forms of legible gender and citizenship predicated on *sutura?*

Mame Diarra, the friend and sex worker activist mentioned in the dissertation's introduction, doubted I would find much about porn in Senegal. "Senegal is a country of *sutura*," after all, she said. But she wasn't sure, and if anyone knew something about it, her friend Penda would. She told me that Penda practiced both *massage simple* and *massage complet* (massage involving sexual services), and that Penda had travelled widely in West Africa.

Mame Diarra arranged for me to meet Penda at an upscale pizza restaurant in a quiet residential neighborhood in a Dakar suburb. A tall young man opened the restaurant door for Penda and pulled out a chair for her at my table. Penda wore jeans and a long sleeve shirt that covered her head to toe, but emphasized, as she would later describe proudly, her "coca cola bottle" figure. She exchanged greetings in a hushed voice. She commanded attention not by speaking forcefully, but by making me lean in close.

The young man, her cousin, chatted with me about learning English for business. Penda was more interested in my Wolof. Usually, my language proficiency provided an ice breaker or source of humor. Penda used it as invitation to understand why exactly I came to Senegal, and why I came to Senegal to interview *her.* I spoke broadly of wanting to understand women's experience in Senegal, especially regarding sexuality, in hopes of challenging American stereotypes about African women. Penda nodded. This was a satisfactory answer, for now. She invited me to her house around the corner. Any further discussion would require somewhere *"un peu plus discret"* (a little more discrete), she said.

She introduced me to her family members and pointed out her massage room for clients, [ME6]? Immaculately clean with colored fairy lights strung along mantle pieces. Money was tight, and she wanted to rent out the room. Then she ushered me into her bedroom, the air thick with *thiourraye* incense. I sat on the edge of Penda's bed as she lounged back on a cloud of perfumed pillows.

"I am interested in what it's like to be in pornography in Senegal," I told her. "What peoples' experiences are and their perspectives. What are the *avantages et inconveniants.* I'd like to have a conversation with people about that."

"Men na nekk. Amul benn problem," she said. It's possible. Not a problem.

This was unexpected. After Cheikh and Mame Diarra told me that I might never meet anyone involved in pornography since it so flagrantly violated *sutura*, this seemed too easy.

Penda moved closer and showed me her Facebook page on her phone.

"Her, she's a lesbian. Look at the photos she's posting. People gossip about her but she doesn't care. She doesn't care what people think."

According to Penda, those who "don't care" about posting photos which could reveal non-normative sexualities or gender identities to wider Facebook publics, might be involved in porn work. Penda linked pornography to visible exposure of transgressive sexual identities or practices. Both are digital dissident practices. This assertion inverts and complements Part I, in which non-heteronormativity was deemed inherently pornographic, always-already exposed.

Penda asked me how I wanted to describe my project to the friends she would contact on my behalf.

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"I'm a researcher who wants to have a conversation with them about their perspectives on pornography."

"Waxtaan," she repeated the word for "conversation" in Wolof.

"Yes, *waxtaan*," I said.

Penda nodded and told me she would get in touch with them right away. With a warm smile, she said that she was glad that Mame Diarra had put us in touch. She escorted me back the way we came. I was halfway out her front gate when Penda said, still smiling, "how much do you think you can pay?"

Apologetically, I estimated the relatively small amount my research grant could afford for compensating research interlocutors.

"But how much for the entire film?"

I fell silent. "The film?"

My heart started to race. I went over in my mind what I had said in Penda's room, while looking through the images of different potential "interviewees." Penda had pointed out body types and highlighted the defiant willingness to expose.

"I think there's been a misunderstanding. I just want to have a conversation with them."

"Right, a conversation," she repeated the word. "But how much for the whole film at the end of it?"

I tried to clarify that I wasn't making a porn film. I just wanted to talk to people who made porn films. Penda stopped smiling and squinted at me. As she would later explain to me, "having a conversation" could sometimes serve as a euphemism for engaging sexual services for pay.

"That won't be so easy," she said. "Because this is a country *sutura*."

Apparently discussing porn was not as viable as filming it. The remuneration or other rewards of an ethnographic conversation – unlike those of a remunerated sexual conversation on camera – did not justify risking *sutura*.

Penda could see my embarrassment and disappointment. She shared a reassuring phrase that would become a common refrain throughout our research collaboration.

"Don't worry, I'll explain it to you."

Mireille Miller-Young and other scholars studying porn have had to reckon with the attribution that they are "academic pornographers," especially if they choose to print porn images in their manuscripts (see Miller-Young 2014, Williams 1989). In my first meeting with Penda, the "academic" modifier was superfluous. I was assumed to be a porn producer.

As Penda would later explain to me, there are towns known for sexual tourism, where *tubaab* (white and/or French) people seek Senegalese sexual partners. She had associated me with this camp. My body and nationality positioned me within a complex history shaped by the colonial mythology of African women both as abject objects to dominate, and as hypersexual objects of forbidden desire (Fouquet 2011). As I discussed in the introduction, the French colonizers manipulated *sutura* to promote a particular image of the respectable colonial subject – exerting control over women's bodies to control the colony itself (Packer 2019, Packer and Friend 2021). In my persistence to pursue a topic that Cheikh and others said was not "really Senegalese," I ran the risk of replicating what George Paul Meiu calls the logic of "intimate exposure" (Meiu 2020), in which one makes visible aspects of intimate life and justifies this

exposure on the grounds that, for the good of society at large, it reveals some deeper truth obscured by the cloak of respectability.

My ethnographic blunder taught me a lesson that I thought I had already learned, but apparently needed to review; *sutura* must guide all research, especially when studying sexually stigmatized communities or practices. To press Penda for contacts would have exerted pressure on *sutura's* other valence: protection. Those who fulfill its imperatives to circumscribe practices coded as intimate can receive social and material support; for example, survivors of sexual violence who do not name their accuser can receive material support from family and community, and community members may help prevent future contact between abuser and survivor (Packer and Friend 2021).

Thanks to Penda's guidance and expertise, some interviews with current and former porn performers would indeed become possible under the protective auspices of *sutura.* However, set visits would not be feasible, safe, or in keeping with *sutura*. Penda, like the porn performers I would later meet, told me that even if pornography made by consenting adults was technically legal, such visits would endanger myself and others by drawing unwanted attention. Plus, it was unlikely that directors would let me conduct such observation in the first place.

Many performers do not know where their films will be shown. Likewise, porn consumers rarely know where or how the films were produced. So instead of connecting the dots between sites of consumption, production, and distribution, I turned my focus to the *experience* of this disconnection and unpredictability. What did it entail for performers to not know where their films would end up? How did they protect themselves from unwanted exposure amid the unpredictability of digital circulation? These questions form the backbone of chapter four.

Rather than seeking some "hidden world" of porn, I would seek to understand the worldmaking force of *sutura*: how it produces, regulates, and governs discourses on sex, and how it fosters particular modes of circulating, concealing, and regulating illicit images. And rather than seeking to "just have a conversation" about porn – as if porn existed outside of language and mediation, and as if "conversation" was ever "just conversation" – I would seek to understand how 'porn,' – like culture itself, per Kamala Visweswaran, is "an effect of the circulation of its descriptions" (Visweswaran 2010, 3). Such descriptions would include images classed as *le porno* disseminated via seneporno.com, the sites remediating seneporno.com, cloth items displaying pornographic images sold to young women for their wedding nights, and cybersecurity discourses signaling porn as a data security issue rather than a censorship issue. Just as *sutura* can show us the silhouettes of porn worlds, its shadows and contours, porn worlds can help understand how *sutura* becomes reified into a political fetish that can make or break worlds.

As scholars of porn have asserted, porn's forms of self-commodification have much to teach us about the commodification of intimacy within late capitalist markets more broadly (Padgett 2019; Miller-Young 2014; Williams 2004). In what follows, I place literatures on secrecy in Africa in dialogue with key directions in Black feminist thought. I am interested in how Senegalese interlocutors alternately reveal and conceal porn's hypervisible sex, and how such acts engage histories of white consumption of Black subjects, histories given specific form through *sutura.* I do not seek a fixed definition for "pornography." Rather, I analyze the relationship between porn – variously conceived – and *sutura* as a window into emerging practices of citizenship and ethical self-making within contexts of commodified (public) intimacy.

Chapter 3:
Wearing the Other: Remediating Digital Dissident Labor on Pornographic Textiles

Alongside shoes, electronics, and cookware, one can find all the material components of *jongué* in Dakar's Khadim market.[39] *Jongué* refers to the art of feminine seduction: in the kitchen, in the bedroom, and in ways of speaking and moving. The term often but not always carries sexual connotations. For example, *jongué* is also a popular brand of bouillon seasoning. Billboard advertisements and TV commercials display women dressed in the colors of the Senegalese flag, pounding spices or holding kitchen utensils, while standing in or sitting on an oversized cooking pot. These advertisements link cooking prowess and femininity, and associate both with the Senegalese nation.

"Jongué in your pot!"

Jongué also describes one's ability to attract and excite men. This ambiguity often lends plausible deniability to conversations about sex. It is closely related to the term *mokk pooj,* which similarly links cooking and sexual desirability, (Gilbert 2017), but emphasizes the material culture of seduction: clothing, incense, potions, and special meals. *Jongué* boullion advertisements visually highlight the link between *jongué, mokk pojj,* and nationhood.

Anthropologist Veronique Gilbert has written about what she calls "Senegalese lingerie" sold in Dakar markets, which she places at the intersection of pleasure and power (Gilbert 2017). Monochrome sketched images of sexual positions adorn coffee cans and bedsheets alike. Vendors of these items, she shows, challenge the notion that pleasure is somehow foreign to or absent from "African sexuality." She joins Signe Arnfred and others in situating respectability politics in Africa within histories of colonial domination (cf. Arnfred 2004). Furthermore, Gilbert connects these items to Muslim piety, insofar as pleasing one's husband is part of being a

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[39] Khadim is a pseudonym for the location where my interlocutors work.

pious Muslim wife. Indeed, as my own interactions with vendors also show, *Mokk pooj* helps one cultivate legible femininity and a pious, ethical self. Along with this ethical standing comes a particular kind of power. Through playful seduction, a woman can leverage negotiating power with her husband. This includes, but is not limited to, obtaining money to spend as she likes (Gilbert 2017).

When I made my own visit to one of the open-air markets where *mokk pooj*'s accoutrements are sold*,* the fabrics I encountered did not only display monochromatic, cartoonish stencils of sex positions. Instead, I found what vendors call the "new model" of *jongué/mokk pooj* fabrics. These newer, more expensive items swapped out cartoonish stencils for glossy photographs: namely, screenshots of porn videos featuring Black, white, or interracial couples. By tracing the digital-material transformations of these commodities from artisan, to vendor, to wearer, I would come to understand that the shift from old model to new, while in some ways only an intensification of *jongué's* seductive power, also demands new ethical formulations of digital embodiment and intimate citizenship.

Finding *Draps Porno*

The market's covered interior is ringed by open-air stalls of shoes, clothes, and jewelry. On one afternoon visit en route to the fabric stalls, I passed pots and pans stacked in sparkling pyramids. *Marchands ambulants* ("walking vendors") nimbly stepped around milling shoppers. In the humid afternoon heat I headed toward the dense center of the market. But by the time I reached the special occasion fabrics – *jongué's* most visible outer layer – the humidity had sapped much of my patience. I found a vendor without other customers, glamorous in a polka-dotted outfit in the same fabric she featured at the front of her stall. I initiated some small talk and bought a round of *attaya* tea for Arielle, who ran the store with her mother. Sheepishly, I announced that I was in Senegal in part to learn about *jongué* and what it shows about women's lives. I told her I had heard of special fabrics with pictures on them, fabrics that were *jongué* .

Arielle called over Kiné, the younger vendor from the stall across the aisle, who kindly offered to find a *marchand ambulant* ("mobile vendor") who sold such things. Kiné returned with a middle-aged woman, a garbage bag slung over her shoulder. After the most succinct of greetings, she began unfolding crisp white sheets. But what she unfurled onto the floor of Arielle's stall were not the cartoonish, monochromatic figures I had seen in a news exposé about *les secrets des femmes* ("women's secrets"), but actual photographs of sexual intercourse between Black, white, or interracial couples. Women's faces were visible in some images. Men's were largely out of frame. The glossy sheen of the photographs caught the light, the sharp edges of the rectangular shapes recalling the screens from which they were downloaded. In some, the URL of the website of provenance could be seen on the bottom of the image.

As the vendor laid out pillowcases that matched the sheets, Arielle called out, "Kiné come stand in front." Arielle and Kiné stood shoulder to shoulder in front of the vendor, facing outward to the market of shoppers. From behind the shield they had made, the vendor suggested a price: 12,000 CFA, or about 24 US dollars. "It's the *nouveau modèle* ("new model"), she said. This justified the unusually high price, she said. Kneeling down from her, I glanced briefly at an image of oral sex, and then averted my eyes.

I paid the asking price. (Being a *marchand ambulant* was even harder financially and physically than being a vendor with a stall like Arielle.) The vendor re-folded the sheets, images

facing inwards, running her open palm over the surface to create four sharp edges. Now all outsiders could see is a crisp white rectangle.

An example of *draps porno,* featuring phrases in French and Wolof[40]

After the vendor departed, Arielle and Kiné disbanded their phalanx. Their posture relaxed.

"It's not bad, but it's a little vulgar," Arielle explained.

This was the first of many times I'd encounter a narrative of "virtuous vulgarity." Like Arielle, most vendors perceive the items I'd seen as merely more *graw* ("hardcore") techniques of *jongué.*[41] If revealed within a married couple behind closed doors, *draps porno* can help a wife cultivate piety, insofar as strengthening one's marriage brings one closer to God. From that piety and status, she can gain negotiating power and economic leverage (see Gilbert 2017). However, to keep the vulgarity virtuous, the fabrics must be discreetly concealed at every step along the route to the marital bedroom. In the market interaction, the concern about the images was not – or not only – their *tendency,* their capacity to ignite unseemly desires in viewers (Mazzarella 2013), but rather the risk of exposing the images to unintended audiences. Our interactional context in the market stall anticipated a future viewing event in which the more

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[40] As I will describe below, some vendors expressed uncertainty about whether the images were produced and/or re-circulated with the consent of the women pictured. To balance the imperative of *sutura*-as-protection and the importance of images to this chapter, I recirculate the photograph in focus enough to see the images are photographs, but not close enough to discern identifiable faces.

[41] *Graw* is a Wolof word that can be used to designate something serious, major, or sometimes "shocking." After consulting various Wolof-speaking sex workers and market vendors I feel confident in my translation of *graw*, in this particular context, as "hardcore.' The term will return in chapter four.

sexual desire generated, the better. Those involved in a transaction facilitating this viewing event – the vendor, myself as buyer, and Arielle and Kiné – were authorized viewers. Arielle and Kiné used their own bodies to block unauthorized viewers. In doing so, they enacted discretion.

A skirt in *draps porno* style, worn by the author

Discrete Exposure

This market episode exemplifies what I call *discrete exposure.* Discrete exposure refers to an act of *sutura* performed at the very moment of exposing porn's hypervisibility. It is an act of concealment during a moment or process of revelation. As exemplified by Arielle and Kiné, discrete exposure is often an embodied act. Here *sutura* is not something you have, but something you do: notably, something you do with your body. It can also be a collaborative act, one that engages the bodies of others. Discrete exposure ensures proper alignment between actual practice and normative conceptions of intimacy. Discrete exposure also maintains alignment between *jongué* and *sutura.* It is often a crucial action at various steps along the circuit of *draps porno*. By preventing unauthorized viewership, it keeps vulgarity virtuous.

The materiality of fabric is crucial to understanding how discrete exposure marries *sutura* to *jongué*. *Draps porno* are defined by successive moments of folding and smoothing. Artisans and vendors alternately pleat and iron out the textiles. Then customers keep them on a high shelf – or at least that is what is advised by sellers – and then iron them out. When it's time to use them, customers smooth porn images onto their beds. Or they wrap the images around their hips, creasing photographs of women in the sex industry against their own bodies. Fabric pleats contract and expand. They alternately conceal and reveal pornographic photographs. While porn suggests the "frenzy of the visible" (Williams 1989), a drive to maximize display, pleating highlights interplay between concealment and revelation.

As I discuss further below, this concealment of revelation imbues the sexual with a particular kind of power. As George Paul Meiu describes, synthesizing a long history of scholarship on secrecy practices in Africa, concealment endows the sexual with a "vital

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exuberance," a life force, an energy, a "power" that can be deployed toward various ends (Friend 2021a). But how exactly do concealment practices interact with the power of *jongué?* How is this power deployed, and by whom?

Chapter Overview

I argue that the power or vital exuberance of concealing and revealing the sexual converges with *draps porno*'s other source of erotic potency: exotified Others. Vendors market textiles adorned with foreign bodies: white bodies and/or (purportedly) non-Senegalese African bodies. Some customers bet that exoticism of white bodies printed on fabrics will increase men's desire. Other interlocutors request photographs of African bodies. Many assume porn performers are non-Senegalese; if *sutura* defines Senegalese identity, no Senegalese person performs in porn. They displace the stigma of porn onto other nationalities, casting performers as moral and national Others. Performers' violation of *sutura* imbues their bodies with eroticized transgression and Otherness. Contact with the Other –image against skin– may reinforce nationalist hierarchies. I draw on bell hooks' concept of "eating the Other" – the white consumption of other cultures and ethnicities (hooks 1992, 374) – to understand practices of "wearing the Other" and to understand the power these practices generate.

I trace four moments of folding and unfolding porn images. These moments organize the chapter into sections. First, artisans download and screen-print porn images onto sheets and lingerie. They remediate and re-materialize digital dissident labor onto fabric. Second, women vendors direct artisans to select images of Black and/or white porn performers according to customers' requests. They discreetly fold the finished fabrics for transport. Their marketing tactics convey the erotic potency derived from the visceral contact with Otherness. At the same time, their discrete exposure ensures the compatibility of this hardcore eroticism with *sutura,* making vulgarity virtuous. The third moment is ethnography itself. Vendors' conversations with me, a white American ethnographer, bring into explicit discussion the history of racialized consumption of Otherness. This history *draps porno* implicitly engage and remediate. As my blunder with Penda made embarrassingly clear, my positionality as white anthropologist is complexly tied to libidinally-invested commodification of racialized Others. As vendors poke fun at or interrogate my interest in *draps porno,* they highlight repeated white consumption and hypersexualization of Black bodies. In these conversations, they gesture to the mechanism of colonial power that helped shape *sutura,* a mechanism concealed behind essentialist claims about Black women's hypersexuality perpetuated by US porn industries (Miller-Young 2014). Finally, customers crease these images of the bodies of Others – digital dissidents – onto their beds or around the curves of their own bodies.

The power of *draps porno* gets deployed toward three ends: first, to reinforce the exclusion of digital intimate citizenship. The assumption that the women pictured are from non-Senegalese countries displaces the stigma of porn onto other nationalities. Second, vendors and wearers reappropriate histories of white consumption of Black women's bodies to intensify the piety and negotiating power generated from *jongué.* Vendors and wearers derive part of *jongué's* power of negotiation and economic leverage from wearing or otherwise displaying images of Otherness along racial and/or national lines.[42] The foundations of this othering lie in

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[42] My discussion of "wearing the Other" also takes inspiration from Michael Taussig's *Mimesis and Alterity* (Taussig 1993). I extend thanks to Meredith Evans for helping me articulate this connection. Taussig highlights the two elements of mimesis: imitation and sensuous, bodily contact. *Draps porno* exemplify mimesis' double valence

(neo)colonial visual regimes, as authors like hooks and Hortense Spillers help articulate. Vendors and wearers repurpose such regimes in the hopes of generating negotiating power for the users and wearers of *draps porno.*

The third end pertains to *sutura* itself. When using *draps porno,* one cultivates virtue – and co-constitutively, power – through images of transgressive, quintessentially foreign bodies. By "wearing the Other," that is, wrapping the images of other bodies engaged in sex against one's own flesh, a kind of "composite body" emerges. This composite body hardly "blurs" the distinctions between (equally real) actual and virtual experience. This is a common oversimplification and misrepresentation of virtual embodiment (Boellstorff 2011). But the creation of composite bodies makes it more difficult to claim or police boundaries of the "private" as a space threatened by some external media incursion. One cultivates virtue as a legibly Senegalese, *sutura*-posessing woman by bringing porn – the epitome of transgressively "public" hypervisibility – into that apparent bastion of domesticity: the bedroom. Crucially, this does not incite the kind of "media panic" that Wendy Chun sees in the pervasive belief that the internet penetrates some kind of pre-existing private sphere (Chun 2007). The use of "hardcore" *jongué* is not alarming for my interlocutors. More often it fits comfortably within the rubric of *sutura* and marital duty. Integrating porn into *jongué* performances does not rupture *sutura.* Rather, *sutura* stretches or expands to include ethical self-formations founded on hypervisibility in intimate life. This is where the displacement of colonial hypersexualization changes the composition of *sutura,* even if digital *sutura's* exclusionary force continues in new forms.

This version of *sutura,* like the one envisioned by the digital health activists in the previous chapter, defies a more conservative notion of digital personhood that projects a one-to-one correspondence between virtual and actual bodies. Composite personhood does not undo the

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as women purchase the textiles to have visceral contact with a photographic copy. The potency and power of mimesis, argues Taussig, something akin to Walter Benjamin might call an image's "aura," is rooted not just in the visual but in the tactile. The fact that photographs re-materialized onto fabric enter the scene of sexual encounter epitomizes this observation about tactile, visceral contact with the copy. Taussig also provides a language through which to articulate the complicated relationship between virtuous vulgarity and colonialism, though *draps porno* also raise new questions. The colonizing West makes the colonized into an Other. This Other, Taussig argues, possesses a "sensuous excess" at once desired and erased. Excess is an evocative term for this chapter and for any historically attuned analysis of *sutura.* The French constructed Senegalese women as dangerously hypersexual. She was a figure of sensuous excess that could be desired but must also be controlled and driven from public space. The identity of the colonizing West depends upon the "safeguard[ing] of the border" between self and Other (Taussig 1993:150). This border is untenable; "The self enters into the alter against which the self is defined and sustained" (Taussig 1993: 237). This is at the core of colonial power. Colonial power seeks to control the mimetic process. Yet, the distinction between original and copy becomes blurry and "mimesis becomes alterity" (192). Virtuous vulgarity reproduces the contradictions of colonial impulse to control mimesis, with a difference. What vendors, artisans, and wearers do, in different ways, is take the colonial production of Black women as a figure of hypersexuality and sensual excess and deploy it to new ends. Wearers and users of pornographic bedsheets and fabrics must at once secure a moral "border" between virtuous self and excessive, impious, digital dissident Other, and derive power from that excess through tactile contact with the image of that Other. What Taussig did not account for was a visceral contact in which the self *wears* the Other. This chapter engages the stakes of this particular kind of visceral contact. What's more, what about when the Other is white? What happens when artisans facilitate mimesis' dual imitation of and contact with that white Other through multiple acts of remediation and material transformation? As Taussig notes, ethnographic writing can enact mimesis (Taussig 16). As I explore below, my presence as a white American ethnographer provides a stage on which interlocutors involved with *draps porno* can explore the contradictory colonial history of white construction of and sensuous contact with African alters.

displacement of colonial abjection through hypersexualization, nor does it undo the exclusions of citizenship haunted by that abjection. It does, however, suggest possibilities for *sutura* otherwise: a *sutura* that does not presuppose the demarcation of separate intimate and public spheres.

On Boundaries and Boundary-making

Porn is notable for its ability to chart boundaries between bodies, persons and worlds (Kipnis 1996). So too is porn's purported antithesis, *sutura*. Both *sutura* and porn are analyzed for their ability to parse, in politically contingent ways, normal from abnormal, insider from outsider, and socially recognized persons from entities relegated to bare life (Mills 2011). This resonance permeates the history of imperialism; Hortense Spillers argues that the slave owner's visual gaze erected and policed boundaries between human and "Other:"

> Slavery did not transform the black female into an embodiment of carnality at all, as the myth of the black woman would tend to convince us, nor, alone, the primary receptacle of a highly rewarding generative act. She became instead the principal point of passage between the human and the non-human world. Her issue became the focus of a cunning difference – visually, psychologically, ontologically – as the route by which the dominant male decided the distinction between humanity and "other" (Spillers 1987: 206, cited in Nash 2014: 40).

The visual logics developed through the buying and selling of human beings established not only boundaries of racial difference and sexual alterity, but also the very division between human and non-human. These are the roots and legacy of "pornotroping" (Spillers 1987), and of a "Black feminist archive" that conflated pornography – and visuality itself – with subjugation (Nash 2014). This is also the legacy that authors like Nash and Miller-Young address in their re-evaluation of the complex and often surprising relationship between pornography and the reification of Black female sexuality as hypersexual and animalistic.

Lotte Hoek raises a crucial point in her 2020 follow up to her ethnography of Bangladeshi cut pieces: while porn indeed is a potent boundary maker, exactly *which* boundary or boundaries become salient to viewers and producers cannot be assumed a priori (Hoek 2020). Which boundary or boundaries is salient depends on material modes of producing, circulating, and viewing porn. This became clear to Hoek through tracing which distinctions –class, race, and/or nationality – mattered in the days of cut pieces, and which came to matter with the rise of online pornography. I argue below that nationality becomes one salient boundary in orientations to porn, orientations which – as other scholars have observed – are haunted by projects of colonialism and slavery (Fouquet 2011; Packer 2019; Packer and Friend 2021). This boundary in turn becomes the subject of intense anxiety and contestation. I trace the importance of nationalist frameworks for interpreting illicit images, and the consequences of those frameworks for digital dissidents.

Ethics in Contemporary Porn Research

By exploring the relationship between *sutura* and nationalist interpretations of porn images, I aim to re-center ethics within on-the- ground porn research. Jennifer Nash and Mireille Miller-Young have directly charted a course for porn research outside both the category-securing preoccupations of the 1980s, and the contemporary currents of pro-porn research that gloss over

racist hierarchies and oppression in (US) porn industries (see analysis by Padgett 2019). Perhaps as part of this effort to chart new research possibilities, they shift focus away from the ethics of moral self-making, onto the complex relationship between political economy, pleasure, and difference. The "political economy of pleasure" (Miller-Young 2014) and the complex relationship between race, representation and pleasure (Nash 2014) became the central objects of study, with concerns with ethics and moral personhood relegated either to the back burner of contemporary research, or to historical background.

Miller-Young and Nash both address how respectability politics emerged as a response to imperialist hypersexualization or commodification of Black women's bodies. Jennifer Nash (2014) analyzes Hortense Spillers as one of the cornerstones of what Nash calls the "Black feminist archive," a body of seminal Black feminist scholarship that regards dominant visual representations – and visual representations themselves – as transhistorically wounding to Black women, replicating what Spillers calls "pornotroping" – or the transformation of Black bodies into "flesh" (Spillers 1987). Nash invites closer attention to such dominant representations. Black women orient themselves to racist, even wounding representations in complex ways, sometimes in ways that – often unsettlingly – provide Black women an experience of "ecstasy," related but not reducible to pleasure. I draw from Nash an attention to complex orientations to co-constitutive projects of racial and sexual alterity.

Jennifer Nash joins Mireille Miller-Young in examining the extent to which many Black feminists' treatment of porn as dehumanizing may be complicit in the disciplining aspects of respectability politics (Miller-Young 2014, 195; Nash 2014). Their attention to the complexities of porn production and reception are an attempt to decouple practices of visual interpretation from both colonial violence and the forms of respectability politics that responded to it. I seek to bring these concerns to bear on porn ethics. *Draps pornos'* material interrelationship between respectable bodies and digital dissident, eroticized Others provides a rich opportunity for tracing the complex ethical formations that emerge around, despite, and through colonizing projects.

Porn and Personhood in Anthropology

An anthropological study of pornography can elucidate moral and ethical conceptions of personhood and the image. Ethical orientations to porn - among its producers, consumers, and those who identify as neither but nevertheless interact with the conceptual category- bring into relief morally charged ambivalences about the agency of images. These can manifest as uncertainties about an image's potentiality as "merely" a representation of a person or a sensuous engagement with that person. They can manifest as anxieties about an image's "tendency" (Mazzarella 2013), its potential to stir immoral impulses in viewers. In other contexts, illicit images are understood to communicate with occult spiritual forces (Meyer 2015). Alternately, the obscene can inspire uncommonly public discussions of moral transgression or illicit desires (Allison 2000).

Consolidating personhood into objects of exchange is one of the most enduring lines of inquiry in the disciplines of anthropology. Multiple strands of anthropological theory show how political formations, social change and stability, and economic systems hinge on how objects come to consolidate and mobilize social relations (Gell 1998; Mauss 1925; Strathern 1988). Studies of pornography enrich this anthropological legacy. They bring questions of personhood, exchange, and the image into relief.

For instance, to what extent does the image of an unknown but palpably visible woman, ironed onto a bedsheet, *represent* her body, referring to an individual outside face-to-face contexts of exchange or performance? Or does it rather consolidate the agency of her person into the object itself? Or can it do either, depending on the interpretive frameworks and moral orientations of those who can see and touch the cloth onto which those images are ironed? And what of the intimate labor that produced the image? What forms of value production are attendant in the production, uploading, downloading, and material transformation through fabric, and subsequent circulation of the image produced from this labor? These questions permeate the analysis that follows.

Secrecy: Labors of Cloth and Digital Intimacy

I recognize the "power" of *sutura* in the way George Meiu thinks about power in his work on "queer objects" in Kenya. Meiu brought this line of thought into relief when I interviewed Meiu in 2021 (Friend 2021a). Concealment endows the sexual with a kind of power, a "life force," a "vital exuberance," an excess to be mobilized for various purposes (Friend 2021a). Meiu sees this kind of thinking on concealment, sex, and power in works ranging from Audrey Richards' study of Bemba initiation (1956), to 20th and 21st century work on concealing and revealing sex (Beidelman 1997; Heald 1999; Nzegwu 2011), to late capitalist contexts, in which the ideal of "transparency" may run counter to everyday life and aspirations amid widening socio-economic inequalities. For instance, in Mozambique, young people use mobile phones to purposefully cultivate opacity and uncertainty about the effects of economic hardship on their intimate relationships (Archambault 2017). *Sutura,* too, can be a way of concealing the sexual and imbuing it with power. *Draps porno* entail the careful alternation between revealing and concealing explicit sexual materials. One must effectively manage and channel the vital exuberance of porn's hypervisible sex. Furthermore, *draps porno* fuse the labor of digital intimacy with the labor of cloth-making.

Fabric has a special place in ethnographies of secrecy. Scholars of secrecy in Africa have observed how the often-gendered labor of concealment can be embedded in cloth and clothing. In her seminal study of secrecy and violence in Sierra Leone, Mariane Ferme notes the significance of cloth in both gender relations and in politically efficacious practices of concealment. The gendering of such labor is complex and multi-layered. Ferme observes that men often receive the greatest gain in capital from cloth production, as they dominate in the most visible and lucrative stages of cloth's transformation. Nevertheless, "women's labor and resources were embedded in its production" (Ferme 2001, 53). Its moments of display depend on the gendered labor that brought it into being. Ferme also writes that "both cloth and hair could become sites of concealment as special objects and substances were woven into them or hidden under them" (57). The labor of concealment and the labor of cloth accompany special substances.

In her work with HIV positive women in Nigeria, Kathryn Rhine describes how women's bodies becomes mediums of secrecy. To conceal HIV positive status, women adorn their bodies with beautiful clothes, makeup, and tattooing (Rhine 2016). Cloth and clothing, like other forms of conspicuous bodily display, constitute a core form of gendered labor on which women rely to secure or maintain networks of kinship and support, and seek social and economic capital. Clothing signals both beauty and moral legitimacy. It opens opportunities to pursue romantic

relationships as its conspicuous beauty and power of concealment co-create the figure of the "good woman." Concealment through conspicuous adornment produce a power that women can mobilize to pursue their desires – for material security, for familial bonds, etc. In both Rhine's and Ferme's work, cloth produces power and political effects through a play of concealment and revelation.

I bring this work on cloth and concealment to bear on digital intimate labor and its inequities. As I discussed above, members of historically marginalized communities are more likely to be accused of "oversharing" online; their vlogs may be deemed too emotional, their posts too personal (Payne 2014). However, this "digital excess" is lucrative for algorithms that monetize our ability to incite affect online and increase clicks (Dobson et al 2018). Queer and/or racialized digital intimacy generates a kind of excess affect that fuels the platforms that discredit their modes of expression. However, research on the commodification of digital intimacy and digital intimate labor has been concentrated in the Global North. This limits the conceptual scope and contextual nuance of an otherwise salutary line of inquiry. My exploration of the labors of cloth + digital intimacy moves to expand this conceptual scope. If racial hetero-patriarchal regimes can co-opt the "excess" of queer digital sociality, the digital intimate labor of *draps porno* – queer insofar as it plays with *sutura's* heteronormative force – may derive vital excess from those very regimes.

I. ARTISANS: FROM SCREENSHOTS TO SCREENPRINTS

Jaq, a part-time multimedia artist, laid a crisp white bed sheet onto his worktable. The sheet itself was imported from France, or maybe China – he wasn't sure.

"But this is all me," he said, gesturing to the shelves of stencils, paint, and brushes behind him. To watch Jaq work in his basement atelier, I leaned against a wall decorated with West African masks. Jaq plugged in a clothes iron. Then he opened a manilla envelope and selected a photograph from the middle of the stack: a grainy, pixelated couple in missionary position.

"Come closer, you can't see from there."

I leaned over the far end of the worktable. I wanted to be close, but not too close. Jaq placed the photo face down on the sheet and applied the steaming iron, running even pressure over the cardstock *ndank ndank* ("gently, gently"). He unplugged the iron and peeled off the cardstock to reveal the image, which had somehow gained clarity in its transfer from paper to cloth. Eyes closed, mouth wide, the woman grasps her ankles.

"Et Voilà," Jaq said.

He repeated the appliqué process with a selection of other images from the envelope, evenly dispersing the scenes at various angles, so that from any side of the table – and the bed the sheets would eventually cover – one could view an image right side up.
Then he moved on to text, painting blue and pink paint over stencils in both French and Wolof:

> *Ya Saf té Nekh koye* ("you're hot with a sweet dick")
> Baise moi très bien et fort ("Fuck me good and strong")
> *Je t'aime fort* ("I love you very much")

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I had met Jaq through a vendor who worked at Dakar's Khadim market selling the accoutrements of *mokk pojj*.

The sheets Jaq prepares are known as the *nouveau modèle* ("new model") of jongué and mokk pojj. Jaq explained that *les draps porno* attract customers from all over West Africa. That's why some sheets have only French stencils. But "the Wolof makes it more Senegalese." Senegalese women are *too* good at seduction, he said. "Senegalese women are so *jongué*!" While Jaq suggested *draps porno* were "all him," the process of transforming illicit images into the material culture of pious, Senegalese *mokk pooj* required the labor of vendors, clients and their kin, and crucially, the intimate labor of the women whose images Jaq downloaded from online porn, displaying women whose origins were often unknown.

After the image-ironing was complete, Jaq added stencil designs depicting a variety of sexual positions in matching colors, "pink for the woman, blue for the man." Sheets with only stencil designs and text cost about 8,000 CFA (~ $16 USD). The *nouveau model*, the new model with *les vraies images* ("the real images") costs between 12,000 and 15,000 CFA (~ $24-30 USD).

As Jaq continued to intersperse the "real images" with the pink and blue, I asked him about his process. How do you select the images? Where do you get them? My recent conversations with Penda, plus rising concerns about image-based sexual and other leaks on the porn website seneporno.com, imbued a few questions with urgency. Do your clients prefer images made in Senegal? Can you always distinguish leaked images or videos from consensual films?

His answers came in pieces, between brush strokes. He'd now moved onto printing a *petit pagne* lingerie skirt with photographs, the "real images," to match the sheets. I returned to my spot in the corner of the workshop and let his pictures, and narrative, take shape.

"…I don't go to any particular site, I just find images wherever"
"…I'll search *porno Senegal* or *porno noir* ('Black porn')."
"What you search for, the internet provides."

Once the sheets were complete, we drank tea while we waited for them to dry. Jaq helped me understand his answer fragments. When I asked him if he had confidence that the results

reflected his search terms, he repeated that normally, with the internet, "loo dug, mu indi" (what you enter, it brings you) but also that "it's a little *doy war*." It's a little unpredictable. Likewise, he sometimes could divine nationality by visual analysis alone, but not all the time. I was surprised that he went searching for *porno Senegal* at all, given the common belief in the impossibility of Senegalese porn. Jaq indicated it was not impossible. Jaq differs somewhat from vendors for whom Senegalese porn (or at least, unmasked porn displaying one's face) was an impossibility. For them, *only* non-Senegalese women would lack *sutura* in this way. What is the significance of the fact that Senegalese women might be among those who appear in his search results? What did his comment about obtaining images "wherever" suggest, if anything, about perceptions of the women pictured in these photographs?

As I have discussed, *Sutura* is about modesty but it is also about protection. By maintaining its social contract, one secures social support. But if they commit acts of on/scenity, they jeopardize the claim to moral belonging which would grant them *sutura's* protection against unwanted exposure. Later, when recounting my meeting with Jaq to Penda, she told me what I should have asked Jaq "if she's *nyak,* does *le consentement* ("consent") even matter?" As I had previously learned from Cheikh's use of the term, the term *nyak* can be used as a derogatory term for non-Senegalese Africans. The *nyak* is a figure of wanton exposure against which Senegalese citizens' *sutura* can be defined. For her part, Penda has travelled widely through West Africa and objects strongly to derogatory representations of non-Senegalese West Africans. When she asked if consent even matters for *nyak,* Penda's tone was laced with sarcasm. Her rhetorical question exuded resentment and derision at what she perceived as artisans' callousness and ignorance of what it is actually like to monetize one's intimate labor. While one might speculate from camera angle or other indices whether the images are from porn production houses or cell phone footage – though even that distinction between "professional" and "amateur" can be murky (Padgett 2019) – Jaq does not mention this interpretive labor. Amid concerns about revenge porn, Penda raises the question of whether digital circulation was intended by the women whose images are printed onto fabric.

Furthermore, her comment about *"nyak"* suggests the link between moral belonging, national belonging, and agency over the circulation of one's digital image. Penda suggests that if one is relegated to a position outside the moral community of the nation, one may, in the eyes of others, forfeit a claim to agency over the reproduction and circulation of one's own image. One's consent to digital reproduction or circulation may not even matter. Paradoxically, when others circulate a person's digital image, they deny that person the digital modesty on which moral belonging depends. This is the "double bind of digital intimate citizenship," which I discuss further below in the section on vendors.-By re-circulating thee digital images of women on *draps porno*, Jaq further undermines the possibility for women's discrete management of digital data on which their moral belonging depends.

I now turn to the aesthetic and ethical labor of vendors. Vendors interpret porn through the lens of national belonging. This crystallizes the role of nationality to which Penda's comment alludes. With key exceptions like Penda, many vendors place Senegal morally above other African countries due to other countries' alleged lack of *sutura.* This kind of moral hierarchy matters both for the digital sovereignty of the women pictured on fabrics, and for the *jongué* and negotiating power of the women who purchase those fabrics.

II. VENDORS: MARKETING *DRAPS PORNO*

***Géwels* sing *Tasoo*: Poetics of Virtuous Vulgarity**

Jaq pointed out that the women vendors of *draps porno* "are all *géwel*, who sell those things. Did you notice that?" As I discussed in chapter two, from the height of the Wolof caste system, *géwel* were known for lacking *sutura,* due to both purported communicative excess and bodily contamination. I had indeed noticed that many vendors of *draps porno* were of *géwel* descent. Later, he showed me how he had entered a vendor Ami's name into his phone: *Ami bavarde"* ("Chatty Ami"). Why that description? "Because she talks so much. She'll say anything!" Here Jaq highlights the role of *géwel* and rehearses assumptions about their excessive speech and their tolerance for explicit sexual expression. Jaq, the artisan, is not géwel. He highlights that the historicity of *sutura* and its dissidents infuses the contemporary market for sexually explicit images. While a somewhat derogatory exaggeration, Jaq's comment rightfully highlights the role of *géwel* in the value production of *jongué,* and of virtuous vulgarity. Understanding this role provides necessary background for the economic-erotic circuits through which *draps porno* travel.

Géwel vendors have specialized knowledge about seduction, eroticism, and domestic propriety, knowledge that other women either do not have or wish to disguise if they *do* have it. Songs called *tasoo* exemplify this knowledge and its poetic forms. *Tasoo* are short praise songs sung to women at their weddings. They can also be sung to other high-status guests at celebrations. Non-*géwel* women I asked to teach me *tasoo* routinely giggled, slapped their thighs, and declined. "I don't know any!" Friends would say, as their own kin or friends teased that they actually did know plenty of *tasoo* but were embarrassed to admit it. One friend, a former dancer with many musician friends, agreed to share one with me. Known for being outspoken, fun-loving and a charismatic performer, she whispered it in my ear. She recited the words with such caution, such uncharacteristic restrictedness and discomfort that I apologized for pressing her. I should ask a *géwel* instead, she told me. Invoking the common assumption that géwel speak too much, too loudly, too often, she said that they would be willing and able to share *tasoo* without a problem.

In a sense this turned out to be true. With an introduction from Arielle, I became friends with vendors of *mokk pooj,* some of whom also sold *draps porno,* at the Khadim market. Many of them were géwel. With little prodding, they joyously shared *tasoo* with me and each other. The contexts of performance within the Khadim market, in addition to the songs themselves, say much about the role of *géwel* in cultivating women's virtuous vulgarity. Much as in chapter two, where the outspoken *géwel* facilitates virtue for social superiors, vendors facilitate the virtuous vulgarity of their patrons. Also, despite what critics say about their lack of concern for *sutura,* performances of *tasoo* in the Khadim market show how, even amidst the exuberance of singing and laughing about innuendo, *sutura* is not far from mind.

My friend Claudine shared two stalls with about six vendors. The stalls were at the outer edge of the market facing the street. This made their wares highly visible to shoppers and passengers at the bus stop nearby. Lingerie sets made of colorful string and beads hung from a corrugated metal roof and canvas awnings. Loops of beaded *bin-bin,* worn around the waist to make an alluring rustling noise under one's clothes, covered the tables. From morning until well past sunset, Claudine and the others sat on benches or upturned buckets, stringing *bin-bin* with needles*,* as they waited for customers. Just after lunch, the flow of customers ebbed. I asked Claudine if she knew any *tasoo,* because my friends had been reluctant to share theirs. The flow

of customers had ebbed, so I figured now was my chance. She laughed and called over a vendor nicknamed "the actress." Without explanation or preamble, the actress recited a *tasoo* with a crystalline voice that easily pierced the din of Khadim market:

kuy jend?	Who will buy her?
kuy jend yobbu	Who buys her will take her away
xale bu pare aangi ni	Here is a girl who is ready
kuy jend yobbu	who buys her will take her away
xale bu pare aangi ni	Here is a girl who is ready
xale bu baax te pare	A girl who is good and is ready
xale bu mokk pooj	A girl with *mokk pooj*
waaye ku koy jend	But who will buy her?
ku koy jend	Who will buy her?
kuy jend yobbu....	Who buys her will take her away

A variation of this *tasoo* compares the girl to a Hindu Indian woman, a comparison meant to underscore her beauty. Demonstrating the *géwel's* role as praise singer, "the actress" put down her beading work and interpellated me as the bride. Claudine joined in at the end for a call and response section.

…kuy jend	Who will buy her
xale bu rafet	beautiful girl
kuy jend yobbu	who buys her will take her away
kuy jend	who will buy her
mooy Juliana naka Hindu la	She's Juliana how Hindu she is
[Claudine:] Juliana moom hindu la	*[Claudine:] Juliana she's Hindu*
Juliana naka Hindu la	Juliana how Hindu she is
[Claudine:] Juliana da fa rafet ba mel ne Hindu	*[Claudine:] Juliana she's so pretty she's like a Hindu*

Both variations of this song extoll beauty and the art of seduction (*mokk pooj*) as virtues befitting a good wife. These virtuous arts merit a man who can pay to "buy" her (e.g. a man who is well off and successful, and can provide a desirable life to the good, beguiling young woman. The second variation places the woman being praised above the average woman. She is as beautiful as the South Asian actresses in teledramas widely broadcast on Senegalese television stations, envied for their long straight hair. Notably, the first variation directly invokes *mokk pooj* – the savvy of seduction, facility with its objects and mastery of its mannerisms – as part of "good" character and "readiness" for marriage. *Mokk pooj* ensures marriageability and moreover, ensures that the marriage will endure. It also secures a man who with buying power. The song frames *mokk pooj* as a means to securing a good life. (As Claudine, a single woman, would often tell me in reference to her own romantic pursuits or those of her friends, money is not the only thing to look for in a man; but it is certainly *one* of the factors to consider). *Mokk pooj* confers the capacity to build a relationship that can bring stability and material comfort. The song and its variations place "away" as a desired elsewhere. Eroticism is an ingredient of virtue. And both qualities promise a good life.

Social media itself appears in *tasoo.* The deft use of social media can exemplify or amplify *mokk pooj*; it exemplifies or amplifies virtuous vulgarity. It also surfaces as a point of contention in meta-pragmatic debates about how, where, and in what way *tasoo* should be performed. After "the actress" sang for me, Claudine and the others laughed and slapped her on the back. The performance had broken through the humid, post-lunch slump. Claudine began singing this *tasoo,* and other vendors joined in as they strung *bin-bin:*

Nga baay yaay	You leave mother
Nga baay mbaaye	You leave father
booy sooxla	When you need something
di segg di snap	Look underneath and take a snapchat

I double checked that I heard right: "snap, as in Snapchat?" Correct, they confirmed. The term *segg*, in this context, indicates pulling up one's skirt to show off what is underneath. The reference to Snapchat complements this bodily act of virtuous vulgarity. Claudine later explained to me that Snapchat can be used to take a sexual picture and send it to one's partner or husband. But *tasoo* lyrics rarely have just one meaning. Combined with the term *segg,* the reference to snapchat also describes how you would need to bend over to take a picture under your skirt. Doing so positions your body in a way pleasing to your husband; likewise, it shows your sexual availability to your husband.

Later, I turned to a friend to confirm my translation of this *tasoo.* My friend, a sex worker unafraid to admit she knew *tasoo*, said that the song used to have other lyrics, but it changed because "snap is in style, it's happening now." The reference to the technology for sending pictures serves and enhances the function of the song as, in and of itself, an act of poetic virtuous vulgarity. The combination of *segg* and *snap* also instructs women on how to act seductively when they "need something" from their man, or when their man needs something from them. (My friend clarified that the song can be addressed to the woman, or to her husband.) But of course, my friend affirmed, it is the moments when your partner desires you that you have the most leverage over him! "Segg di Snap" integrates an "in style" technology within a directive to use sexual seduction to gain leverage and negotiating power from partners.

One *marchand ambulant* was walking by during Claudine's song and joined in. With *bin-bin* strung over both arms, she stood in the main shopping thoroughfare and recited the words herself in a clear, high-pitched belt. On the line "segg di snap," she lifted her left leg and with her open hand mimed taking a picture of her groin. Claudine and the others stopped smiling. "Yaw, da nga eppel," one said. (You, you're too much.) They would often use this line to tease each other. But she was not smiling. This was not a joke. The *marchand ambulant* left immediately.

Sutura is crucial to ensuring the virtue of virtuous vulgarity. The need for discretion does not disappear for *géwel,* unlike what many non-*géwel* Senegalese suggested. Perceived by others like Jaq as lacking *sutura*, they in fact devote significant energy to ensuring discretion. The mobile vendor's gesture, along with her performance in the middle of the path of passersby, failed to exhibit the discretion required in the performance of *tasoo.* Of course, Claudine and her colleagues were not actually serenading young women about to be married. Their songs had been elicited by an ethnographer. But as long as they didn't reach the ears of passersby, *jongué* and *sutura* remained in alignment. Vulgarity stayed virtuous. I wondered if it was also not a coincidence that the excess eroticism fell on the reference to digital sexual intimacy. My

experience with *draps porno* suggested that the more hardcore representation, the more precautions must be taken to circumscribe visual and/or auditory access to it. My friends' reprimands to the "too much" vendor suggested that references to digital media within a *tasoo,* as much as if not more than other forms of hardcore *jongué*, must be shielded from unauthorized participants.

Virtuous Vulgarity Goes Hardcore

Ami has almond eyes and radiant skin. Her tight *taille basses* lends a corset-like effect. A vendor currently enrolled in business classes, Ami now rents two store locations – one stall in the open-air market, and one storefront on the second floor of a nearby mall complex. In her indoor mall location, walls are strung with *bin-bin*, mesh bras and panties, and wrap skirts called *petits-pagnes,* to be worn under the clothes. She shares the shop with Anna, a vendor of sequined special-occasion fabrics. Anna's sparkles contrasted with non-descript white cloths in the glass case beside them.

Ami flew between stall and shop, eschewing the lunch I bought for a packet of yogurt she could eat with one hand while descending the stairs. On her next ascent I commented on her athleticism. She wiped her hand across her forehead, a recognizable symbol for hard work.

On a three-minute coffee break she asked me, "so you want to learn about *jongué*?" She placed her hands on the back of a chair, pushed out her hips in my direction, and danced the *leumbeul,* a dance similar to 'twerking' that requires a loose waist and minute muscle control of the hips. "That's *jongué*."

"Ami da nga eppal dé! Anna laughed and shook her head, using the phrase in a playful, affectionate way. (You're too much!)

"So, then are Senegalese women known for being *jongué?"* I asked.

"Is the ocean full of water?" Anna replied.

On Ami's next layover in the mall shop I asked her which items sell the best.

"*Les draps porno,*" she says, pointing behind her. Only then did I understand that the case of non-descript white cloths were actually white on the outside, pornographic images on the inside*.* Unlike what Jaq's comment about *géwel* suggested, *géwel* sold their wares with *sutura* in mind. Ami's exuberant display of *leumbeul* contrasted sharply with the demeaner with which she sold *draps porno.* Clients would specify what they wanted via WhatsApp, and Ami would send photos of the sheets from various angles. If the clients were satisfied with the merchandise and price, they would arrive at the mall store and find their items folded into discrete white rectangles, pre-wrapped in an opaque plastic bag.

In her open-air stall downstairs, it is logistically more difficult to separate fabric with "real images" from the cheaper, less real (e.g. non-photographic) versions. Once, when she tried to extract a green skirt from an upper shelf, the entire stack toppled to the floor, exposing screen-printed breasts in front of waiting customers. Cramped quarters make it difficult to uphold *sutura* in the day-to-day.

Draps porno and matching *petits pagnes* were created for heterosexual married couples, Ami told me. However, Ami does not screen clients for marital status. Regardless, market transactions were carried out by women for women. Such transactions spanned age and generation. Clients who bought *draps porno* from vendors like Ami ranged from older women wanting to spice up their sex lives – and in some cases, fend off the threat of their husband's

infidelity or a prospective second marriage – to mothers buying articles for their daughters' wedding nights.

Draps porno were the most popular and lucrative items in the store. They helped produce "virtuous vulgarity," the material effects that can amplify jongue. Using an oft-cited Wolof phrase for bringing the most jongué you possibly can, Ami and her assistant discussed why they thought draps porno sold the best out of all of their products; "if you don't defar ba mu baax" your husband will find someone else who will defar ba mu baax." Senegalese women are known for their arts of seduction, she and her sometimes assistant affirmed. If draps porno enhance jongué, and jongué is Senegalese, wearing draps porno is a legibly Senegalese act of virtuous vulgarity.

 This back and forth reflects a common understanding among interlocutors at Khadim market. Senegalese women are particularly seductive and attractive and known for their jongue, but men are fickle. You always have to up the ante, and that is exactly what porn sheets do. They up the ante. They make themselves irresistible by making virtuous vulgarity more hardcore. For Ami, to prevent your husband from seeking pleasure in other women, you bring the (images of) other women onto the marital bed. You wear their images on your body. In that way, the couple becomes plural to ensure the couple's survival.

By upping the ante of virtuous vulgarity, Draps porno and lingerie in style porno (porn style) intensify, rather than undermine, claims to legible Senegalese femininity. Like other items of mokk pooj, they could also cultivate pious, ethical selves. As another vendor once told me, "What is religion without marriage?" Marriages need work just like ethical selves do. These fabrics aided that cultivation of self. As long as they were sold and displayed discreetly – that is, without unwanted or unanticipated viewers – hardcore jongué could be just as Senegalese as "the ocean is full of water."

However, just as discretion is hard to ensure when precarious towers of fabric topple onto the floor, the everyday practicalities of circulating draps porno require more subtle negotiations of erotic ethics. In particular, these everyday ethics confront the ambiguities of digital intimate citizenship. Below I explore how vendors interpret porn images through nationalist frameworks. Interpretive practices often separate those who can claim digital intimate citizenship – and con-concomitantly, protection against unwanted circulation – from those who cannot.

Nationalist Frameworks for Interpreting Porn Images

Belonging is often a zero-sum game. Through "techniques of differentiation," belonging constitutes "a set of intertwined practices and collective repertoires for defining, legitimating, and exercising the rights of some bodies against others" (Sheller 2012, 21; cited in Meiu 2017, 5). Belonging differentiates and creates hierarchies; it also facilitates claims to "rights" as limited resources.

"Ethnosexuality" may be one of belonging's key fault lines in late capitalism. Drawing on the work of Joane Nagel (2003), George Paul Meiu defines ethnosexuality as a "homogenous set of sexual drives and erotic qualities assigned in discourse and practices to particular racial, ethnic, or cultural categories of people" (Meiu 2017, 18). Ethnosexuality, argues Meiu, follows a logic similar to Kamala Visweswaran's notion of culture itself. It is "an effect of the circulation of its descriptions" (Visweswaran 2010, 3; cited in Meiu 2017, 20). But what happens when circulatability itself is naturalized as an ethnosexual trait? What happens when the purported

willingness to circulate intimate images of oneself online comes to define the ethnosexuality of non-Senegalese African women?

Vendors interpret the circulation of the cloth items of virtuous vulgarity through idioms of national belonging and moral citizenship. One *géwel* vendor Claudine affirmed she had never seen a Senegalese woman on the sheets because *da nu bere sutura* ("they have a lot of *sutura*") and *da nu bere kersa* ("they have a lot of shyness/reserve"). Vendors assumed the women were Malian, or Ivoirian, or perhaps African American. They grounded this assumption in the belief that the previous digital exposure that made *draps porno* possible in the first place required a lack of *sutura*. For Black Americans were not ruled by *sutura* in the same way, Claudine and others agreed. Standards were simply different in American society. This carried little moral judgement; on the contrary, vendors often expressed envy for the supposed lack of moral restrictions they thought Black Americans enjoyed. "The actress" who had sung me the *tasoo* once said that she had watched enough American TV shows to see that in the US, Black women were "freer." They could live with a man before marriage without eliciting gossip. Claudine and the other vendors agreed with this assessment.

While Black Americans were not compared with Senegalese along lines of *sutura,* non-Senegalese Africans certainly were. Unlike Senegalese women, Ivoirians were certainly featured on *draps porno,* Ami explained in her shop one day. The reason? "They have sexual excitement, mashallah," and were less restrained, less discreet, and more "*graw"* (hardcore).

While she is not a vendor at the Khadim market, Penda has also sold *draps porno*. She took them to Mali to sell, again banking on the international or inter-regional appeal of Senegalese *jongué.* She made the link to *sutura* explicit. "Senegalese women don't make their own [porn images]. Here there is *sutura,*" she said. "Even in the markets. They're not displayed. You ask and they take them down for you."

Most vendors of *draps porno* stated they could not identify the nationality of the women featured on the fabrics just by looking at the images. As Ami put it, "Sometimes there's a skin color, a darker shade, but I'm not sure." The visual appearance of bodies themselves did not convey national origin.

"Some people say you can always tell the difference between different *nyak* (non-Senegalese West-Africans)," another vendor told me. "Also sometimes people have a Senegalese mother and a different father. Not often but there are some cases."

The certainty with which she asserts that she has never seen a Senegalese woman on *draps porno* seems in tension with her reservations about guessing someone's nationality from visual appearance alone. At first, she indicates that face-to-face, one might have a better chance than "like this," that is, in images on fabric. But even this face-to-face analysis cannot be made with confidence, as there are "some cases" of mixed parentage.

Instead, many vendors took the fact of online visibility itself – rather than deduction from visual cues – as the most reliable index of non-Senegalese nationality. For example, Claudine answered my loaded question, Do Senegalese women ever produce images that end up on *draps porno?* "I've never seen one," Claudine answered. "Senegal has porn, but they hide. Other countries, them, they'll do it." On *Draps porno,* women's faces are usually clearly visible. But Senegalese women use masks to hide their face, Claudine told me. If you see a visible face, it is likely that face is that of a *nyak*. A visible face indexes non-Senegalese nationality. Drawing on background assumptions about *sutura* and national difference, vendors assess the women pictured on the fabrics as non-Senegalese West Africans.

The use of the term *nyak* is telling. One cannot always discern with certainty the difference between different West Africans' nationalities through visual inspection. One cannot assess Senegalese ancestry with certainty. But this was not the central question when it came to *draps porno.* The boundary that mattered here was the moralized boundary between Senegalese and non-Senegalese African, between those who possessed *sutura* and those who lacked it. With the background assumption that *sutura* is a defining feature of Senegalese ethno-sexuality, only women *without sutura* would engage in such transgressive digital exposure. Illicit digital exposure and circulation become defining ethno-sexual traits of non-Senegalese Africans.

Vendors reify national difference through their moral orientations to *draps porno.* I once asked vendor Coumba, after a particularly hot and humid day at Khadim market, whether her clients ever worry that bringing images of other women into the home would divert their husbands' attention to other women rather than affirm their own desirability. Could it ever counterproductively hurt their *jongué* or their *mokk pooj,* I wondered, to bring the images of other women into the bedroom? Definitely not, Coumba replied, explaining, "the women on those images, they are different…them, they're *graw* (hardcore.)" Unlike foreign African women, Senegalese women have *sutura* and are less willing to digitally expose themselves. I followed up with a more provocative question. Would using something as "hardcore" as *draps porno* ever reflect badly on the character of the woman who wears them? Coumba chastised me for failing to listen the first time; "Those women on the sheets, they're hardcore! It's not the same thing!"

This second answer put the former in context. Senegalese and foreign women are "not the same thing" as non-Senegalese West Africans in terms of their indiscretion, their lack of *sutura,* and their propensity to on/scenity. This difference provides a bulwark against two risks: the risk of moral contamination and the risk of sexual competition. Since the women pictured on fabrics contrast with *sutura*-possessing Senegalese women, this allows for playful transgression and maximum *jongué* in the bedroom without the foreign women's lack of *sutura* rubbing off on the wearer. Amid physical contact – flesh against fabric – this moral-national separation provides a safe foundation for maximizing hardcore *jongué.* Wearing *draps porno* presupposes and reifies ethnosexual difference, juxtaposing Senegalese wives' virtuous vulgarity against the transgressive exposure of the women printed on fabrics.

Vendors ensured I did not mistake Senegalese women's emphasis on piety and *sutura* for sexual repression. On the contrary, everyone comes to Senegal to learn from their *jongué* expertise, Ami told me one afternoon, as she arranged pearlized *bin bin* waist necklaces on a rack in her stall. They come here because Senegalese women "are not afraid of men," she said. Likewise, Penda noted that Senegalese women are "fearless" in seduction – except when it comes to image production. More precisely, within the regime of *sutura,* women can't "make their own" explicit images to attach to the fabric of seduction. Images must come from elsewhere – other bodies, other countries. Legible, valuable Senegalese femininity draws erotic power from the digital dissident labor of women coded as *nyak.*

Ethnosexual difference is enacted through the care with which the fabrics are handled: the way they're folded, images inwards, the way they're kept (whenever possible) in cabinets or out of customers' reach, the way they're packaged in opaque plastic bags. Each of these actions is a moment of discrete exposure, an act of concealing the revelation of hypervisible sex. These actions complement vendors' discourses about ethno-sexual differences between Senegalese discretion and *nyaks'* excess exposure. Nationalist frameworks of interpretation are crucial to

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both the circulation of and moral orientation to *draps porno.* In turn, both the circulation and interpretation of *draps porno* reify ethnosexual difference.

Justifying the Re-circulation of "Other" Bodies

An implicit assumption underlies the reification of ethnosexual difference; for some vendors, women whose bodies are pictured on sheets or lingerie have already forfeited *sutura.* They have already committed acts of indiscreet exposure. Of course, without those acts of exposure, *draps porno* and hardcore *jongué* could not exist. But just as nobles depend on *géwel* for their expressive excess, and just as chapter two's NGO depends on digital dissidents for crucial embodied communicative labor, the importance of porn actors within the circuits of *jongué* does not morally redeem the actors themselves. This understanding is crucial to the ethics of circulating remediated porn images in the form of *draps porno.*

Claudine said she would feel uncomfortable circulating the images of Senegalese women. She recounted a tale of "revenge porn," in which a Senegalese friend's boyfriend had posted a nude picture of her friend on Facebook after their relationship ended. Claudine wondered, what if she ended up circulating a photo that the woman herself did not mean to circulate? This, Claudine suggests, would be a violation of *consentemen*t ("consent"). Many vendors told similar stories and concluded that Senegalese women and girls must use extreme caution before sending any nude pictures to boyfriends. As one vendor put it, "if the image gets out, you're ruined."

Interestingly, non-Senegalese women did not arouse vendors' fears of further exposing images of non-consensual intimate exposure. Claudine made sure to note that she had nothing against them – she, personally, finds the term "nyak" offensive, and has family in Guinea. But, she said, those from countries that *others* label as "nyak" are hardcore, *da nu graw de!* They are more apt and willing to expose. Ivoirians and others do not "hide" like Senegalese women. In a surprising turn, Claudine referred to women pictured on *draps porno* with a term that Kolda's *jeunes filles* had used to describe women who had lost their virginity; "Those women, they're kind of *yaqu,*" she said. Due to their acts of exposure, the women are ruined. Once fruit is rotten, you cannot make it ripe again. Once a woman has digitally exposed herself, she cannot claim *sutura* again. As such, they do not garner the protection against dishonorable exposure afforded to those within *sutura's* moral community. This reintroduces Penda's provocative rhetorical question-qua-critique; if women are *nyak,* does consent even matter?

The women whose images are featured on textiles are caught in what I have called the "double bind of digital intimate citizenship." Moral citizenship depends upon the ability to manage the circulation of one's digital data and image. Yet only those construed as belonging to the moral community of the nation can claim the agency to determine how, with whom, and how much their data circulates. In other words, preventing transgressive digital exposure ensures moral citizenship. But only people who are *already* moral citizens warrant protection against digital exposure. Thus, if the women whose bodies are printed on *draps porno* already lack discretion, further circulating their image to clients does not transgress the ethos of providing *sutura* to one's peer (*sutural sa morom).* Illicit exposure (e.g., porn performance) places them outside the moral community, just as this exposure indexes non-Senegalese nationality. As moral and national Others, they do not require *sutura's* protection in the same way. These women are digital intimate non-citizens.

The double bind of digital intimate citizenship undergirds the erotic ethics of concealing, revealing, and remediating hypervisible sex. This double bind makes it viable to remediate and

circulate women's intimate images. Insofar as hardcore *jongé* – properly deployed – fuses eroticism with discretion, a familiar interdependence resurfaces. Upholding *sutura* as a national ideal of ethical intimacy depends upon digital dissident labor.

Nationalist interpretation frameworks for transgressive exposure must be understood within *sutura's* ongoing colonial history. As I discussed in the dissertation's introduction, colonization by France amplified the importance of *sutura* as a force for regulating sexual expression. "Wearing the Other" is embedded within the colonial history of *sutura,* as this history continues to assert itself through the persistent opposition between discretion and excess.

Vendors and Artisans displace colonial mechanisms of power onto other nationalities. They displace reputations of hypersexualization – accusations of being overexposed, lacking *sutura* – onto non-Senegalese African women. *Sutura's* colonial history asserts itself in the moments that reify nationalist hierarchies of digital decency.[43] In the following section, I reflect on how my own ethnographic presence creates opportunities for unusually explicit engagement with the history of white consumption and discipline of African women's bodies.

III. ETHNOGRAPHIC CONVERSATION

"They like watching *les noirs"*
Ami and I returned to the market Khadim after another grueling wholesale trip downtown. After speed walking from supplier to supplier to get the best prices on beads, we indulged in a taxi ride back to the market. We retired to her outdoor stall to rest, arranging piles of skirts and lingerie into makeshift reclining chairs. The sunset brought an unusually gusty breeze. We listened to screeching wheels of vendors packing up for the night. Then Ami broke the silence. After I'd asked her so many questions, she said, now she had one for me.
"Americans like porn, don't they?"
I approached her question sideways, stumbling over the words. Internet porn was a lucrative business in the US, I said, thanks in part to the proliferation of websites like Pornhub.
"But they like watching *les noirs?"* Ami emphasized.
I fumbled again. I babbled about the proliferation of tags and niches on American hosted porn sites, many of which indeed advertised black actors and actresses, including the popular "IR" (interracial) genre. Ami nodded along. We returned to drinking our water in silence for a while.
Like my blunder with Penda, conversations like this one, in which vendors poke fun at or try to understand my interest in *draps porno,* articulate an awareness and critique of the repeated white consumption of Black bodies. Such conversations call attention to what bell hooks calls "eating the other," the libidinally charged white consumption of other cultures and ethnicities (hooks 1992). For Ami, my days as her shadow brought this history into present conversation, drawing into relief a mechanism of power that is often concealed behind essentialist claims about the inherent hypersexuality of Black women, claims which are perpetuated by US porn industries (Miller-Young 2014). Ethnography thus constitutes the third key moment in *draps* porno's

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[43] I do not wish to draw a direct causal line between the postwar AOF and the 2019 market for *draps porno. Sutura* continues to change and be changed in the independence period and beyond (Packer 2019). Rather, I want to emphasize that colonialism tangibly shaped *sutura.* In turn, *sutura* shapes virtuous vulgarity and the way porn is perceived and deployed.

material transformation. My positionality as white American anthropologist provides moments for interlocutors to comment on colonial histories of subjugation that infuse acts of racialized viewership.

Previous moments of teasing and making fun gained new resonance after Ami's question. I ran over these moments in my mind. When I was first explaining to Jaq why I was interested in *jongué,* he had asked me if I was accustomed to seeing images like the ones he was ironing onto the sheets in his demonstration. A vendor had once hypothesized that *tubaab* enjoy images with Black actresses because of their "jaifondé," a Wolof word for a generous and shapely rear end. Claudine had once teased, "you *tubaabs,* you like our *jongué* because you don't have any!"[44]

At the time, Claudine's comment had seemed a reflection of the common attribution that whites or Europeans tended to be sexually repressed (though their embrace of homosexuality sat in tension with this attribution), hence the playful invitation to take me under their wing, their promise to show me how to be *jongué,* lest I lapse into the life of spinsterhood that awaited me if I continued to eschew eyelash extensions and wear loose-fitting dresses. Indeed, the *géwel* vendors were my teachers in jongué.

But in light of Ami's question, I wondered if perhaps Claudine was saying something else, too. Perhaps her exclamation – *tubaabs,* you like our *jongué* because you don't have any!" – also reflected her understanding of white consumption of other ethnicities, and their libidinal investment in that consumption: in short, an investment in "eating the Other."

For hooks, the new wave of racist power lurks under multiculturalist credos. This racism outwardly displays appreciation and libidinal desire for otherness. Otherness would add "spice" to sexual encounters, and companies selling clothing and more could capitalize on this desire through ad campaigns set in "exotic" locales. This desire for Otherness was not divorced from colonial abjection as white liberals would like to think, hooks argues. Vendors' comments on my interest in *draps porno* also layered meanings. They had a humorous tone, but beneath or alongside that conviviality, they tacitly highlighted my place in a historical through-line: the throughline of 'eating the other.' This through-line encompassed online viewership of porn featuring Black actors. It encompassed viewership of *draps porno* that remediated and re-materialized those images. I still believe that my interlocutors took me at my word when I told them I wanted to dispel, not reinforce, damaging myths about sexual practices in Senegal, and among Muslim Senegalese in particular. Nevertheless, my acts of looking at *draps porno* – whether on the floor of Arielle's stall or through the glass of Ami's cases – recall a particular colonial gaze. They sit uncomfortably close to the "pornotroping" gaze (cf. Spillers 1987) which commodified, exotified, and dominated Black women in the slave trade, and haunt contemporary visual practices.

José Esteban Muñoz argues that pornography and ethnography are "teleological cognates" (Muñoz 1999, 80, cited in Padgett 2019). Both often presume a fantasy of Otherness. Some have queried flat out whether all ethnographic film is pornographic film (Nichols 1991). My presence as a white American ethnographer provided opportunities for the history of racialized viewership of Black women's bodies to come to the foreground. Awareness of historical through lines of white consumption of blackness emerged in the present, triggered by my visual interest in *draps porno.* Conversations like this one, in which vendors poke fun at or

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[44] Once referring to French nationals during the colonial period, now the term *tubaab* is a social shifter that can refer to all white people, French people, or the French language, depending on a conversation's interactional context.

try to understand my interest in *draps porno,* articulate an awareness of the repeated white visual consumption of Black bodies. Such conversations call attention to the libidinal charge of "eating the other" (hooks 1992). They also call attention to the ways in which *draps porno* remediate white visual consumption through the repetition of digital images in *jongué's* material culture. For Ami, my days shadowing her trips to the wholesale market brought this historicity into present conversation. They provided an occasion to reference white visual consumption of and libidinal attachment to Black women, a power dynamic often concealed behind essentialist claims about the inherent hypersexuality of Black women, claims which are perpetuated by US porn industries (Miller-Young 2014).

Viewing white bodies, and white viewership

Penda also commented on racism in porn. On top of all her other projects and ambitions, Penda once bought *draps porno* in Senegal to sell in Mali. The gambit paid off. She sold the fabrics at a significant mark up. Malians bought the sheets because "Senegalaises yi, da nu jongué de!" (Senegalese, they're so *jongué*!). Senegalese women's reputation for their art of seduction attracted Malian customers. Once again, *jongué* reflects and marks Senegalese nationality.

Which products sold the most? I asked over WhatsApp.[45]
"*draps* mixtes ou bien les blancs," she said. "Mixed sheets" – meaning interracial couples, usually white women and Black men, or all white couples.[46]

It was a question of variety, she told me. To better illustrate this point, she drew a comparison between the appeal of white and interracial porn and another, less hardcore *mokk pooj* product: "cartes marriage." To excite one's husband, and gain the kinds of leverage exciting one's husband may facilitate, a woman can purchase a deck of cards, each one displaying a diagram of a particular sexual position. You toss the deck on the bed, and whichever lands face up closest to you, becomes the position of the day. "In marriage, variety is important. Your husband, he won't look elsewhere [for excitement]," Penda explained.

Viewing white bodies, like marriage cards, add variety. It adds excitement. "When they see [white people] on sheets, they get so excited." Penda said, laughing.

bell hooks, in her invitations to readers to consider cultural appropriation and the ways it can reinscribe patriarchal racism, argues that in "commodity culture, ethnicity becomes spice, seasoning that can liven up the dull dish that is mainstream white culture" (hooks 366). Penda's comparison between white bodies and the marriage cards shares this notion of "ethnicity as spice," an emphasis on intensifying desire through racial difference. But what Penda describes is not the appropriation of marginalized cultural expression. Whiteness becomes the "spice," the

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[45] Here Penda is describing Malian clients. But her comparison between variety in porn actors' race and variety in marital sex positions is illustrative of Senegalese vendors' perceptions of their clients' desires for and uses of *draps porno.*

[46] Vendors implicitly defined *porno mixte* ("mixed porn") as porn involving Black and white performers, a tacit assumption that connects this chapter to a literature in porn studies and the study of porn. Linda Williams, among others, has analyzed the formation of the "interracial" genre, and the ways in which it foregrounds Black/white performer pairings as the quintessential transgressive performance (Williams 2004b). Authors like Celine Parreñas Shimizu explore the formation of genre from the vantage point of the decentering of Asian men's sexual desire and subjectivities within that genre, and in film at large. Shimzu also explores how Asian men performers interact with and exceed stereotypes of their sexual desires or characteristics (Shimizu 2013).

culture to be eroticized via an item with a price tag (e.g., porn sheets or lingerie). Absent is the thinly veiled primitivism undergirding white consumption of other ethnicities, a primitivism that, hooks argues, reanimates the logic of abjection that makes sexual desire for that Other transgressive in the first place. Penda's description of whiteness-as-spice unsettles the logic of white consumption of Black bodies and sexualized Otherness. She describes that for her clients, viewing white bodies increases the potency of *jongué*. The *jongué* brand of boullion seasoning plays on the idea of eroticism and spice. So does Penda's description of wearers' desire for white bodies on pornographic textiles. Wearers of pornographic lingerie and use of pornographic bedsheets draw erotic power – and in turn, negotiating power and material security within their marital relationships – from viewing white bodies.

Penda's involvement in porn *production* – through aspirational explorations, and through our joint interviews and focus groups – gives her a particular perspective on *draps porno.* Her reflections slip fluidly between porn viewership, porn production, and commentary on my ethnographic research on porn. During one such slip, my ethnographic presence became a site for voicing critique of exploitative white consumption.

One day in August 2021, we were catching up on the phone via WhatsApp. Penda prodded me, so when is your thesis going to be done? After giving her my best estimate, we reflected on how much time had passed.

"Remember when you thought I wanted to make a porn film?" I asked

"yes, I just didn't understand. Then you explained it to me," Penda said, matter of fact.

"But were you shocked when you thought I *was* trying to make a porn film?"

"No, it didn't shock me. *Tubaabs* will do 'camera caché' and put the videos on the internet. I had to be careful."

At the time of the "ethnographic blunder" in 2019, Penda had responded favorably to what she first perceived to be my request for a go-between who could hire porn actors and actresses. She had pulled out her phone, shown me photos of women who displayed their sexual orientation – heteronormative *sutura* be damned – and intimated that those willing to engage in queer display would be amenable to porn's hypervisible display as well, echoing a familiar conception of queerness as always-already transgressively public. In short, she had not visibly displayed suspicion of my intentions.

But as I found out in this retrospective conversation, Penda did have suspicions after all. Her circumspection was rooted in background knowledge of white consumption, expropriation, and violent commodification of images of Black Africans. My inquiries about porn in 2021 provided opportunities to magnify and critique this ongoing history.

Another slippage linked the white viewership of Black bodies on fabric to the kinds of exploitation that can happen in *tubaab* porn productions in Senegal.[47] When I asked her if she shared another vendor's opinion that whites enjoy watching "les noirs" in porn, and further, if she imagines that white people watched the films from which artisans printed the images on *draps porno.* Penda demurred, then answered simply, "of course."

"Everyone has a different thing that excites them. It's about taste. There are some *tubaab*, they only like Blacks"

She continued, "there are *tubaab* who come to sell…here there's poverty. If they propose [a pay grade], the girls can't say no."

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[47] I will describe how actors negotiate the risk of such exploitations in the following chapter.

Seemingly without any transition, Penda's discussion of individualized excitement pivots from viewership to production. To better illustrate how personal sexual desire is, she moves seamlessly between discussing *draps porno* and discussing exploitative white production of porn with Black actresses.

My conversations with Penda often hop from topic to topic. She will speak for long stretches and end up in places far afield from my original questions. Often, when I retrace her conversational steps, her associative pathways between statements can be as illuminating as the statements themselves. Here Penda's narrative shifts nimbly from white viewership of Black bodies – the kinds of images that end up on *draps porno* – to exploitative porn production. The former she conveys with a neutral tone. The latter she emphatically denounces as an exploitation of racialized, gendered, economic power imbalance.

Penda does not assume all white viewership of porn featuring Black actors is exploitative. It's not just about violence, she conveys. It's about desire: particularly, individualized desire. "Ku nekk ak li mu yengal" (Everyone has something that excites them.) But her quick shift in tone suggests that sexual violence is not far from mind. Awareness of this violence accompanies Penda's strong commitment to a particular kind of individual freedom, and a theoretical model of action as outward expression of internal desire. This understanding of action and freedom is central to her crafted identity as someone who avoids looking down on anyone's choices and believes that "everyone should do what makes them happy." Penda takes pride in these beliefs, and has often reminded me of them throughout our collaboration and friendship,

Her acknowledgement of white exploitation of Black actresses stands as a caution, or a proviso; whites are free to enjoy viewing, but there is a difference between innocuous viewing and the kind of appropriation bell hooks describes as "eating the other" (hooks 1992, 366), a kind of destructive incorporation of a racialized Other in the guise of enjoyment and transgressive pleasure. Pleasure can be – but is not always – separable from ongoing histories of colonial patriarchy.

IV. WEARING *DRAPS PORNO*

Whenever I would tell a new vendor interlocutor that I wanted to learn about *jongué* and *mokk pooj,* they would tell me what happens when clients take their products home. They would share with me the recipe of seduction, *les secrets des femmes.*

After purchasing their sheets and lingerie, all clients – at least those with *sutura* – hide their folded *draps porno* or printed lingerie on a high shelf or in the armoire, out of husbands' view and children's reach. Women decide to use *draps porno* well in advance. Preparations for their use take all day. They will make *lax,* a sweet milky porridge also eaten on special occasions like baptisms or wedding nights. They will bathe with perfumed soap and spritz perfume on the pulse points. Around their waists they'll wrap *bin bin*, strings of beads that make an alluring rustle when they walk or move their hips. Then they will take the *draps porno* from their discreet hiding place and unfold them on the floor or table. With a hot iron, they smooth out the pleats left over from when the vendors folded the fabrics for discreet transport. They will pass the iron back and forth until the photographs lie smooth. Before their husbands get home, or while they are busy watching television, women will wrap the photographs around their hips. Or they will remove the everyday bedspread and smooth these sheets over their beds, the photographs' color-rich rectangles set against a demure white surface. Such preparations lay the groundwork for

performances of *jongué* when the husband enters the room. But they also constitute *jongué* in and of themselves. Each step demonstrates a pious commitment to their husbands' excitement and to the strength of their marriage. Each step cultivates the wearer's hardcore *jongué*, erotic ethics, and virtuous vulgarity. And for many women, vendors affirmed, this meticulous, multi-step process builds anticipation and brings its own pleasure.

   In 2011, anthropologist Tom Boellstorff queried what the impact of virtual worlds, personhood and embodiment would have on the racist and colonizing forces that order embodied experience (Boellstorff 2011). Virtual worlds like Second Life pluralize spatial orientations and embodied experiences, he contended. Would such pluralizations challenge or re-territorialize colonial configurations of power, or would they combine both effects? Ten years after the publication of that article, *draps porno* presents a complex response to this question, and poses its own questions in return.

   In *draps porno,* wearers' virtuous vulgarity is materially co-constituted by the bodies of Others. These Others include white performers and digital intimate non-citizens, those purportedly foreign, *sutura*-lacking African women. The intimate labor of these Others makes virtuous vulgarity possible. Do images retain their otherness? Do the women pictured retain their status as women, as persons? Or in their material transformation have they been subsumed into the body or personhood of the wearer? What historical and erotic forces imbue these images with their power, their vital exuberance for which customers are willing to pay a higher price? What is the role of histories of white consumption of porn images in the generation of *jongué 's* power? What does this digital re-embodiment tell us about personhood, aesthetics and citizenship?

Animating the Other

   Social media companies' terms of use, users' own expectations of each other, and neoliberal models of the self-as-brand can each demand that users produce a coherent "authentic" self (cf. Gershon 2016). However, like the eHealth activists of Part One also affirmed, women who wear porn images of others on their bodies suggest that desire, power and status may sometimes be achieved by bucking this demand for coherent selfhood. Indeed, recent work on animation and media has emphasized how making and using media (whether coded as "new" or not) involves less a performance of identity, than an "act of alterity" (Fisher 2019; see also Hastings and Silvio 2010; Nozawa 2013). These authors view animation as a complementary analytic to performance. Animation highlights how communicative acts are co-productions of many actors and agents; these co-productions often exceed or undermine a contrast between "virtual" and "actual" life (Boellstorff 2008). For example, in Daniel Fisher's work on complex participation frameworks in indigenous Australian youth use of media technologies, they animate various avatars, alters, and voices – including pseudonyms and famous celebrities – that in fact allow a kind of self-erasure, rather than an act of self-representation. These acts of animating diverse entities allow young people to "be other than themselves" (Fisher 2019: 35).

   Drawing on earlier work of Alfred Gell (1998), these authors writing about media as acts of performing alterity also raise the important question; who, in this distributed network of agents, is animating who? Or what is animating what? For Gell, images and patterns attain life or agency both through the process of their manufacture, and through other agents' engagement with their forms within networks of relations (Gell 1998).

Indeed, both points – media as act or performance of alterity, and reciprocal animation of agents within networks of relations – help make sense of the selves and Others at play in *draps pornos*' network of bodies, digital images, textiles, and labor.

Who is the alter? When vendors like Ami and Claudine market lingerie and sheets printed with porn images to clients, they are selling patterns adorned either with these white Others, or with purportedly non-Senegalese others. When labeled "nyak," linguistic descriptions further emphasize difference.

In all cases, the alter is a *moral* other, albeit in strikingly different ways. "Nyak" lack *sutura.* As such, they are moral outsiders, placed outside the moral community of the nation, which justifies and rationalizes their further exposure and circulation. Exposure indeed is naturalized as one of their ethno-sexual traits. Thus it is fine to expose them further, since they are already highly exposed. While non-Senegalese Africans are evaluated according to the standard of *sutura* and fall short of that standard, non-African actors are assumed to not have to contend with *sutura* at all in their countries of origin. They are more "free," Penda often says. They face less shame if they produce porn. This is one of the reasons why she, and the other interlocutors I turn to in the following chapter wish to emigrate to the USA or France to pursue careers in pornography.

The transgression of *sutura* through on/scenity is part of what gives *draps porno* their erotic charge. It produces something akin to what Mireille Miller-Young calls "illicit eroticism" (Miller-Young 2014). Much as *géwel* expressed embodied and linguistic acts that higher status nobles could not, *nyak* expose themselves in ways Senegalese women would not because, as I heard again and again, "Senegal is a country of *sutura."* Some vendors know that their customers' partners are excited by foreign African bodies due to the reputation of these women as indiscreet. One vendor, for example, prides herself on understanding her customers' needs, and by extension, the desires of her customers' sexual partners. "If the men like *nyak,* I give them *nyak*," she says. Understood through the lens of *sutura,* discourse on *draps porno* conflates national difference with indiscretion. Both factors turn purportedly non-Senegalese African women into figures of hardcore erotism. This status intensifies the *jongué* of the customer who adorns themselves in these images. Like Ami and others, she cannot often tell the national origin of the women on the textiles she buys wholesale from artisans like Jaq . However, verifying the actual provenance of the textiles matters less than the intense eroticism that the *construal* of the textiles' provenance brings to the couple. This is her job: to broker that eroticism through the trade for pornographic textiles.

This may require wearing images of those who are distant from one's own moral principles. But as discussed above, wearing a moral other on one's body or placing them on one's bed does not risk morally contaminating the wearer. The difference is so solid and naturalized and becomes more so through the re-circulation of images in fabric form. Erotic-economic value can be safely gained from images of moral others. This is virtuous vulgarity at work. One performs virtue (and *sutura)* by adorning one's body with Others who lack *sutura.* One derives erotic power, vital exuberance, from digitally-mediated exposure without dangerously exposing oneself. Indeed, theorists of animation clarify that the heuristic distinction between animation and performance does not mean that the former supplants the latter (Silvio 2010, Manning and Gershon 2013). They complement each other. Wearers' performances of virtue – as an expression and cultivation of self – are *animated* by the bodies and sexual labor of un-virtuous women.

Wearing the Other vs. Eating the Other

For bell hooks, "eating the Other" – the white consumption of other races, cultures, or ethnicities – is also a fantasy of transformation; "the point is to be changed by this convergence of pleasure and Otherness" (hooks 1992: 269). In keen resonance with the animation literature, the point is to become "other than oneself": in this case, through intimate contact with an "Other." Donning *draps porno* creates a similar convergence of pleasure and Otherness. Screen-printed images represent otherness along lines of racial, national, and/or moral alterity.[48] Wearing the Other is an act of transformation, too, an act of becoming more erotically powerful through tactile proximity to a moral, racial and/or ethnosexual Other.

Draps porno enhance a woman's *jongué* because she marshals the transgressive eroticism of women in the sex industry, with all its complications and contradictions, including the racism facing Black women in porn's sexual economies (Miller-Young 2014). The labor of white and/or Black women – depending on who is pictured on the fabrics worn, helps "animate" the erotic power of the wearer.

By wearing the Other, women create a "composite body" and enhance *jongué.* Contact with the Other – racial other, or moral/national Other – comes through visceral contact between image and skin, mediated by fabric. Images may overlap one another at the seams, vendors told me. It all depends on where the wearer's body ends. The contours of that body shape how and where the images of other bodies are visible. This composite body brings together self and Other(s), flesh and image of flesh.

At the same time as these racial, moral, and/or national Others animate the *jongué* of the wearer's body, the wearer's performance of *jongué* breathes life into those images. The images literally achieve new contours; a flat surface becomes a curve as the images bend around the contours of a hip, a breast, the corner of a bed. One must resist the urge to think of virtual images as de-materialized; images on screens always entail an embodied interaction with viewers. Still, these once-online images achieve new and potent material form. Her once digital photograph can be touched and caressed.

Forming a composite with images of racial, national, and/or moral alterity increases the power of *jongué.* To keep *jongué* and *sutura* compatible, however, the *sutura*-transgression of worn bodies must not contaminate the *sutura* of the wearers. Separation is affirmed in many ways: both through disavowal of Senegaleseness of porn and through the material act of removing the fabrics from one's body and stashing them away until they are needed next..

In both the case of cultural appropriation and the case of *draps porno*, exoticism provides an "alternative playground" (hooks 1992, 367) for transgressive fantasies; fantasies of *sutura-transgressing,* "hardcore" women, or white women from the Global North. When the Others are purported *nyak,* these fantasies uphold nationalist hierarchies of discretion and reinforce nationalist interpretation frameworks for illicit images. This resonates strongly with hooks' analysis, in which the "alternative playground" of fantasy ensures that "members of dominating races, genders, sexual practices affirm their power-over in intimate relations with the Other"

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[48] As Gilbert has argued, pleasure is complex and should not be kept off the table just because people may not lead with discussions of their own (Gilbert 2017). Still, whereas hooks concentrates on how white people seek to increase their own pleasure through consumption of non-white bodies and subjects, my interlocutors emphasize their skill in reading the pleasure-seeking of partners. This "psychological preparation" of men, as Rama put it, this understanding of their desires and how to ignite them, is crucial to extracting power from *draps porno.*

(hooks 1992, 367). In hooks' case, white consumption of non-white Others affirms subordination through the convenient denial of historical kinship with explicit exploitations of the past. In the case of *drap porno,* nationalized moral distinctions of digital intimate citizenship may indeed be calcified through the trade of *draps porno.* Such distinctions displace the colonial hypersexualization of African sexuality onto particular (foreign) nationalities. Reifying notions of the indiscreet *nyak* – often crucial to the vital exuberance of *draps porno* - obscure the colonial underpinnings of this formulation.

But unlike eating the Other, wearing the Other offers other possible engagements with histories of abjection. In addition to displacing colonial mechanisms of hypersexualization, Senegalese women also derive power, "vital exuberance," from histories of white consumption of Black subjects. Vendors market textiles to customers on the assumption that the bodies displayed were viewed by white, global audiences. Others market whiteness as erotic "spice." Interlocutors thus incorporate colonial history into the material cultivation of *jongué* in multiple and complex ways, not all of which simply replay histories of subordination. Some appropriate racist colonial histories of abjection to build a seductive composite body and claim the negotiating power that body affords.

Finding their Weakness

Rama prefaced her reflection on using *draps porno* by telling me, "Je suis dans le milieu," I'm in the environment, meaning the environment of sex work. This I already knew. This is how we had met, through my sex worker contacts in health NGO networks. But it seemed important to Rama I to emphasize this before she shared her experience of using bedsheets printed with pornographic images.

We spoke over WhatsApp in the fall of 2021. It had belatedly occurred to me that while client lists were off limits, vendors might be willing to tell me if – and how – they had themselves used the products they sold. They would be awkward conversations regardless, but this seemed the least awkward way to broach them.

"I've only used the sheets," Rama said on our call. "It didn't excite me."

She had never worn the slips or lingerie printed with photos, nor had she derived sexual excitement or pleasure from having sex with clients on *draps porno.*

What had prompted her to unfold the carefully pleated fabrics, borrow an iron from her neighbor (without specifying her intended use for it), and spread them out over her bed?

"With men, you need to find out their weakness", she explained. "It's part of *jongué.*"

What followed was a strikingly familiar rundown of a woman's thoughtful preparations for a sexual encounter, marked by foresight, thoroughness, and attention to her partner's desires. Except for the cooking stage, the preparation routine for a paying client differed little from the routine that both vendors and other friends described for their husbands.

"You have to psychologically prepare the man. That's part of jongué. You start preparing in the morning or even before…you have your *churray,* sheets, pornography."

"If you know his weak points, you can ask for money for your mother…he'll say, 'take it!' Whatever you need you can get. You want a million CFA for your mother? No problem."

Rama switches from 'I' to 'you,' situating her own seduction practices within the wider script of the art of seduction. With planning and attention to detail, you can build a multi-sensory experience for your sexual partner. From that experience, "whatever you need you can get." The man becomes pliable, suggestable. You can obtain the material resources you need to support

your family or fulfill other needs and desires. In this way, *draps porno* fit easily into well-established seduction scripts. Porn images are not only compatible with Senegalese femininity; they yield the kind of negotiating power-within-constraint that Véronique Gilbert affirms is characteristic of *mokk pooj* (Gilbert 2017).

Rama's narrative struck me for its elision between *jongué* "dans le milieu" and *jongué* within the married couple. The narrative highlights the common script shared by sex work structured around an explicit monetary transaction, and the intimate labor of marital sex that also can yield monetary results. While Rama started by highlighting her specificity as sex worker, her narrative – marked by a pronoun change to "you" – highlights how *jongué*'s material benefits apply to encounters marked by different relationships between sex and money. Indeed, sex workers are well-placed to articulate the political economy of intimacy.

As always, porn adds something extra.

"Men like what is *graw* (hardcore)…what is new and sexy," Rama told me. The term "graw" indexes "hardcore," an intensified eroticism, and in the case of *mokk pooj* textiles, the photographic/pornographic in particular. Porn makes *jongué* "hardcore."

Often, this hardcore *jongué* harnesses the power of exotified otherness.

She continued, "some men like black and white, some like whites *casé case case*."

Everyone has their own kryptonite. For many, it is viewing white bodies either in sexual relation with each other or with Black bodies. In Rama's appraisal, for many clients, whiteness is "hardcore" and "new." In other words, it pushes past the expected into the domain of the exotic.

With a laugh, Rama told me that sometimes viewing these women is enough to make the man orgasm.

"Sometimes they just look at it and come!" she said.

She does not even need to have sex with clients. (Though she never lowers her rate if it has been previously agreed upon.) If you put in the emotional work of "psychologically preparing" the man, less physical work may be required to attain the same financial return.

In Rama's experience, depending on a particular man's "weakness," *draps porno* can spark the exoticism of otherness. This stokes desire, and in turn, boosts Rama's own negotiating power. Exotifing otherness – in this case, white bodies and/or or interracial porn – boosts the power of concealing then revealing images of hypervisible sex. Rama can then deploy this power to fulfill her financial needs.

Rama's experience is of course particular in that she describes *jongué,* exoticism, and the power of concealment/revelation in the context of *"le milieu,"* e.g. sex work framed as such. But her slippage between psychological preparation for her clients, and for other women and their husbands is revealing. It suggests that hardcore *jongué* follows certain shared principles in both sex work and in virtuous (e.g. marital) vulgarity.

At its most literal, wearing the Other involves turning photographed bodies into clothing. But it also picks up on a key thread in bell hooks' work not specific to clothing: contact. The libidinal thrill of Otherness is rooted in an experience of proximity to what once seemed distant. Using *draps porno* on her bed entails bodily contact with the Other. However, the effects of this contact differ from those hooks describes. For Rama, it lends negotiating power for someone in a multiply marginalized position: sex worker, digital dissident, and someone who, despite their experience and savvy in the *milieu,* is aware of the dangers of practicing her trade, including extortion from clients, as will be discussed further in the following chapter. Furthermore, in deriving power from images of whiteness, Rama harnesses the Otherness of persons with racial

privilege. This draws a sharp contrast with hooks' study. However, our lack of knowledge of the conditions of these women's porn production prevents us from making exultant declarations of reversing colonial legacies. Indeed, the uncertainties about consensual circulation underscore the complex power effects entailed in the process of digitizing and printing, folding and unfolding, concealing and revealing porn's hypervisibility.

CONCLUSION

Artisans, vendors, and wearers materially transform images from the sex industry into novel forms of digital embodiment and intimacy. They download, print, fold, unfold and iron photographs of women who epitomize *sutura's* transgression, wantonly circulating the intimate. Yet, Senegalese women use these images to cultivate legibly Senegalese feminine virtue by applying them to their beds or their bodies. The intimate labor of women in the sex industry co-produces an intensified or hardcore form of *jongué*. Vendors market *draps porno* as items that intensify *jongué* to yield piety and moral legitimacy: and in turn, the power to obtain what *tasoo* songs portray as a good life. This includes access to money and material resources from their partners. *Draps porno* remediate digital dissident labor into a material culture fit for digital intimate citizens.

The "hardcore" edge comes not only from the switch from drawings to photographs. (Though this plays a key part, hence why the "new model" earns a higher price than the old model.) The erotic potency of *draps porno* also comes from eroticized racial or national Otherness. Some of these "Others" are white bodies, specifically requested by some customers for their capacity to incite their husbands' desire: their capacity to, as Rama put it, add variety or spice to the sexual encounter. Some Others are derogatorily referred to as *nyak,* a designation that highlights the immodest indiscretions of (assumed) non-Senegalese West Africans. At the same time, casting the women pictured on the fabrics as moral and national others helps justify their circulation. Only people who are moral/national citizens warrant protection against digital exposure. By textile circulation, artisans and vendors perpetuate the kind of exposure that disqualifies the women pictured from that moral or national belonging. This gestures to the double bind of digital intimate citizenship, explored further in the next chapter.

The eroticization of purportedly foreign Africans must be understood within the context of French colonialism and its felt legacies. *Sutura's* colonial history asserts itself *explicitly* in interactions with me. It also emerges in the formation and reification of African nationalist hierarchies in the first place, which reanimate colonial legacies of dividing Black African women into hypersexual threats and discreet, disciplined subjects. When vendors posit that Black women on *draps porno* are hypersexual, indiscrete foreigners, they in effect displace this colonial mechanism of hypersexulaization onto other nationalities. They displace the stigma of porn onto other nationalities. Thanks in part to this displacement, women purportedly from "Other" nations become downloadable, wearable Others desirable for their transgressive indiscretion.

While porn is known for the "frenzy of the visible" – the drive to maximize display (Williams 1989) – the printing, circulation, and application of pornographic textiles is marked by the interplay between concealment and revelation. This ensures these hardcore items' alignment with *sutura.* The alignment between porn and piety requires care and skill at every step of *draps porno*'s economic-erotic circuit, from downloading to wearing. It requires repeated acts of "discrete exposure:" or embodied acts of *sutura* at the very moment of revelation. Vendors used

their bodies to shield the display of *draps porno* from market passersby. Vendors fold the images into neat rectangles, keep them separate from other cloth (when space allows), and package them in opaque bags. Customers store the items out of reach of husbands and children, unfolding and ironing the sheets to prepare to combine the once digital, now re-materialized bodies with their own. Since porn epitomizes hypervisibility – precisely what makes porn performance undeniably foreign and *sutura*-less – revelation is part and parcel of these products. Acts of discrete exposure are key to maintaining alignment between *jongué* and *sutura.*

In addition, as much previous work on secrecy in Africa reiterates, concealment can imbue the sexual with a vital exuberance and energy, a power that can be deployed toward various ends (Archambault 2017; Friend 2021a, Richards 1956). Indeed, interlocutors spoke to me of the excitement of the day-long preparation for a sexual encounter. Anticipation builds throughout the process of ironing and preparing *draps porno*, until it is finally time to reveal what has been carefully concealed.

bell hooks' concept of "Eating the Other" invokes the violence of incorporation. But this violence that still allows signifiers of difference to circulate but in the form of dehistoricized commodities and/or as extensions of the white subject (hooks 1992). This incorporation is fraught with ambivalence, hooks argues; while whites wish to *become* the other, they maintain subordination hierarchies. This requires separation. In the case of *draps porno,* the materiality of fabric-as-medium affords specific ways of managing this tension. This materiality allows for discrete exposure, for the subtle interplay between concealment and revelation. One keeps *draps porno* in an armoire, on a high shelf. One irons and smooths the items for use. But afterward, you re-fold, re-crease, and re-hide away in the armoire until they're next needed.[49]

In the use of *draps porno*, who animates who? Users like Rama literally give new embodied form to the online images of Others. At the same time, the women whose intimate labor produced those images animates and intensifies the *jongué* of the wearer. This contact animates moral, national and/or racial alterity. This in turn produces virtuous vulgarity, and with it, the capacity to influence partners within unequal relationships of power. One vendor summarized the advantage of *draps porno* succinctly; "If you're a good Muslim, a good wife, what you want you will have."

For much of its history, the academic study of porn meant the study of objectification: the objectification of sex and/or the objectification of performers. More recently, linguistic anthropological work on pornography has highlighted the importance of studying performer *subjectivity,* and the discursive construction of the figure of the porn performer (Padgett 2019, Padgett 2020). This line of inquiry queries, how do performers and others involved in adult industries craft social personae that will create and maintain a fanbase? How do performers deploy indices of social identities to interpolate particular audiences, and position themselves within communities of practice? For some vendors, "Senegalese porn performer" is a contradiction in terms. But for the Senegalese porn actors that feature in the next chapter, this exclusionary vision of digital *sutura* is insufficient. It erases the careful ethical work of crafting digital intimate citizenship in and through porn performance.

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[49] The process of concealing and revealing hypervisible images of eroticized Others almost recalls a repeated cycle between the sacred and profane (cf. Durkheim 1912). Here unconventional sex is the sacred.

Chapter 4: Sex Workers Claim *Sutura* and Digital Intimate Citizenship

Aiwa Ong described citizenship as "a dual process of self-making and being made up within webs of power" (Ong 1996, 738). Digital intimate citizenship follows a similar dual process. On the one hand, sex workers fashion themselves as digital intimate citizens. That is, they seek to align everyday intimate practices with national ideals of *sutura.* They refute claims that they are, or resemble, "nyak" – those who lack the *sutura* on which national and moral belonging depends. Meanwhile, a range of actors – including porn websites, porn producers, clients, and dominant discourses of African hypersexuality – threaten to "unmake" these ethical selves, these digital intimate citizens. From the narratives of porn actors and other sex workers emerges a shared sense that digital media is deceptive, especially in the hands of male clients and web administrators. One might be "made up" if a video of a sex act is uploaded without your consent. Or if you are a porn performer, the video could be circulated to an unanticipated audience. In the worst of outcomes, interlocutors fear, the video could reach your family, eroding your assertions of *sutura.*

This chapter explores how sex worker interlocutors with various relationships to *le porno* negotiate and claim digital intimate citizenship amid threats of being "made up" within websites of power. How do they conduct labor and life amid persistent uncertainties around the questions of if, how, and how far digital images of their body will circulate?

The importance of social media in everyday practices of labor and relatedness raise the stakes of *sutura* for modesty's dissidents, that is, for those whose bodies are deemed too public or excessive. Some interlocutors who contributed to this chapter self-identify as creating porn. Others do not. However due to the challenges of digital-age *sutura, le porno* demands ethical stance-taking for most of the women I spoke with. As in previous chapters, I do not approach "porn" as a category to be secured. The generic contours of *le porno* are discursively produced and contested; indeed, this provides one through-line in this chapter. Rather, ethical orientations to *le porno* provide a window into broader visual and ethical practices of self and citizenship.

At stake is what anthropologist Mireille Miller-Young calls "erotic sovereignty." In her ground-breaking ethnographic research with Black women in the US porn industry, Mireille Miller-Young argues that one asserts erotic sovereignty when one "attempts to reterritorialize the always already exploitable black female body as a potential site of self-governing desire, subjectivity, dependence and relation with others, and erotic pleasure" (Miller-Young 2014, 16). Miller-Young shows that black women in the porn industry both work within and often contest the representational opposition between respectable woman and "ho" – an opposition rooted in reactionary respectability politics, itself part of a longer history of anti-Black violence (Miller-Young 2014, 201). They are aware that this binary structures the plots of porn films themselves, and lowers their wages within a hierarchy of commodified sex that prioritizes white femininity. Rooted in this awareness, they "embrac[e] the political nature of their sexual expression within sex work – their erotic sovereignty – or hol[d] their erotic integrity intact against the disciplinary regimes of the sex industry" (*ibid* 2014). Miller-Young explores how assertions of erotic sovereignty are produced from and can exist within the respectability/promiscuity binary. However, she also foregrounds how "Black women's desires exceed these binaries, and [have] the capacity to destroy them" (*ibid* 2014). She foregrounds actresses who explicitly contest or critique the binary, even as they leverage it to maximize their erotic capital in a neoliberal market that undervalues their labor. Many of her interlocutors explicitly denounce the norms of

respectability and the eroticized stereotypes of Black sexual excess these norms produce; they want to escape or exceed them.

My interlocutors also critique the challenging conditions of digital intimate labor. However, in these critiques, they rarely reject *sutura's* version of respectability politics. They may condemn its limited definitions, rejecting mainstream exclusion of sex workers from its protections. Vitally, some critique how it is wielded *against* sex workers; when leaks or unwanted exposures happen, they themselves are blamed for being indiscreet, and those who expose without consent escape without culpability, many argue. But alongside these critiques of *sutura's* injustices, interlocutors craft ethical selves within *sutura,* not beyond it. Rather than "exceeding *sutura,"* as Miller-Young describes porn actors wishing to exceed the promiscuity/respectability binary, they wish to undo its tendency to blame women and queers. They wish to expand its boundaries to accommodate those who monetize sexual labor in ways more explicit than others. Even those who dream of relocating to countries they see as more hospitable to Black porn actors and actresses – like the United States, the site of Miller-Young's ethnography – they position this geographic movement as, precisely, an expression of their commitment to *sutura.* Traveling to a place more "free," they hope, will prevent exposure of their films to people back home. They will both enjoy living in a place without *sutura* (they suppose), but also respect *sutura* by protecting their families from disrepute.

Ultimately, I argue that asserting *sutura* asserts digital-erotic sovereignty. In a context where multiple actors – individuals, websites, clients – threaten to expose and circulate images without consent, asserting *sutura* is an act, as Miller-Young would say, of trying to maintain "intact against the disciplinary regimes of the sex industry." *Sutura* grants space to mobilize their erotic capital, to deploy the sexual "excess" for which, much like Miller-Young's interlocutors, they are at once stigmatized and valued within regimes of self-commodification. If sex workers can maintain *sutura,* they maintain erotic sovereignty amid networks of actors seeking to "un-make" their digital intimate citizenship. *Sutura* may be something to reform and remake, not something to exceed. On the contrary, it can be wielded as an assertion of erotic-digital sovereignty amid the risk and uncertainties of unpredictable digital circulation.

PART I. THE UNCERTAINTY OF DIGITAL INTIMATE LABOR

For much of its history, the academic study of porn meant the study of objectification: objectification of sex, objectification of performers. But more recently, linguistic anthropological work on pornography has highlighted the importance of studying performer *subjectivity* and the ways in which particular "figures of personhood" (e.g. the "pornstar") are discursively constructed (Padgett 2019). How, these scholars query, do performers and others involved in adult industries craft social personae that will create and maintain a fanbase? How do performers deploy various indices of social identities to interpolate particular audiences, and position themselves within particular communities of practice? Studies of the linguistic techniques through which participants in the adult industry self-commodify do not sit squarely in the realm of objectification; instead, they resonate both with studies of social media subjectivity and Gershon's understanding of mediated self as brand within neoliberal contexts (Gershon 2016).

These questions are particularly applicable to performers who maintain a social media presence, as social media followings become increasingly important in developing one's "brand" (Padgett 2019). For reasons of *sutura,* porn performers in Senegal do not craft social personae on

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social media. Yet their negotiations of belonging contribute much to this study of porn subjectivities. In what follows, I attend to the ways performers seek to situate themselves within the moral community for the Senegalese nation. In other ways, I wish to understand how they craft subjectivities as legibly Senegalese women – and co-constitutively, as digital intimate citizens – by reframing dominant discourses of digital dissidence. This chapter introduces questions of citizenship and belonging to the interest in subjectivity and self-commodification. For my interlocutors, digital sovereignty and erotic sovereignty (Miller-Young 2014) are co-constitutive.

This chapter makes three central claims. First, following Aiwa Ong's early work on citizenship, digital intimate citizenship for sex workers is made and un-made within webs[ites] of power. They articulate the uncertainties of digital circulation, over which they have little control. Clients, websites, and algorithms can all inflict painful exposure and undo the careful work of cultivating *sutura.* Second, amid these uncertainties, asserting \ *sutura* in spaces of digital image-making constitutes acts of erotic sovereignty. Rather than sidestep respectability politics they seek to realign *sutura's* distinct form of respectability politics more closely with the everyday demands of digitally mediated sociality. Digital intimate citizenship and erotic sovereignty are co-constitutive. Third, as they work to reframe rather than transcend *sutura,* sex workers – especially those involved in porn – astutely critique *sutura's* contradictions. They call out the injustice whereby the blame for indiscretion is placed on those exposed without consent – namely women and queers – rather than the people and websites doing the unauthorized exposure. Might sex workers lay grounds for a more ethical *sutura,* a more equitable ethics of digital intimate labor, and in turn, a more efficacious approach to digital privacy policy?

In asking this three-part question, I follow the lead of US-based scholar activists who highlight that sex workers bear the brunt of tech's harms yet drive much of its revenue; therefore, they are some of those best positioned to reform tech policy and redesign tech infrastructure (Stardust, Garcia and Egwuatu 2020). They are experts on tech ethics but are rarely if ever included in conversations on tech policy and design. They rarely get heard on topics that affect them personally: e.g. deplatforming, digital surveillance, and platform capitalism (Blunt, Wolf, Coombes, and Mullin). Stardust, Garcia and Egwuatu ask, what can tech learn from sex workers? What if those with the power and capital to shape tech followed the guidance of those who often experience digital harms first and most acutely? I bridge this line of inquiry with Arora Payal's call to "decolonize privacy"; that is, to unsettle dominant Euro-American conceptions of the self and relationality embedded in US and European data protection regulation, by centering perspectives from low- and middle-income countries (LMICs) (Payal 2019).

It is vital, but not enough, to include Global South policy makers and card-carrying technologists in such discussions on tech policy and design. One must attend to inequalities of experience within LMICs. Digital dissidents have experiences and perspectives that can reimagine national and international data privacy policies. Their expertise can also highlight the broader systemic factors that shape the unequal access to the protections provided by those policies. In line with Decoding Stigma, sex workers like Senegalese digital dissidents bear the brunt of harms like digital insecurity and surveillance. I query, how do my interlocutors' perspectives on *sutura* contribute to the movement to define, legislate, and code digital privacy otherwise?

Sex Work in Senegal

Senegal is the only African country that has legalized sex work. Sex work is also highly regulated in Senegal. Health institutions and the police play key roles in this regulation. Rooted in a colonial-era law (Africa Regional Correspondent 2018), sex workers must first file paperwork with the police. They receive a *carnet sanitaire* ("health notebook"). This registration card permits them to legally practice sex work, provided they attend regular screenings for STIs and carry their *carnet sanitaire* with them while working. They are entitled to antiretroviral treatment free of charge. They are required to take ARVs before returning to work with clients. Sex workers, like MSM, are *populations clées:* considered by public health agencies as key populations in the fight against HIV/AIDS. Both are construed as transmission risks. Both are modesty's bodily-discursive dissidents.

Interlocutors are ambivalent about *carnet sanitaire*. Mame Diarra finds it useful insofar as she knows that those who are registered are aware of the health services available to them. However, she fears for "*clandestines,*" those sex workers without a *carnet sanitaire* who will be arrested if their work is exposed. The registration system essentially creates a two-tiered system for sex workers. Penda has other concerns. She does not like having to register with the police. She fears that family will discover her card, though she keeps it well-hidden in her home and changes its hiding place regularly. Moreover, the government record of her profession will last forever under the current government policy, even if she stops practicing sex work. "What if my son becomes president?" she asked rhetorically in a discussion with Mame Diarra. "There will be a record of what his mother did."

This double-edge sword emerged in a recent in-depth research study on the sex work registration system in Senegal. The study found significant negative mental health impacts of registration on sex workers, stemming in part from the fear that family members will find the *carnet* (Ito, Lépine and Treibich 2018). The study also found that sex workers who had registered with police – and thus practiced their trade within the law – were actually *more* likely to be victims of police violence. Such a finding is not surprising to Penda, Mame Diarra, and their friends. Government documents proving their trade create opportunities for extortion and abuse, they told me. In short, the surveillance that accompanies legalization brings its own risks.

Sex work is legal only in certain settings. Under article 325 of Senegal's penal code, it is illegal to "finance a prostitution establishment," including a "*maison meublée*" (Code Penal). The *maison meublée* refers to a rented apartment or villa where clients seek services of sex workers. This worried certain sex workers during the early lockdowns of the COVID-19 pandemic, Penda relayed to me over WhatsApp in spring of 2020. With bars and hotels shut down, where and how were they to find clients?[50]

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[50] Research studies conducted early in the COVID-19 pandemic highlighted the disproportionate impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on people who trade sex (Lam 2020, Platt et al 2020). The dangers of close contact have contributed to a broad shift of many members of sex working communities to online forms of sex work such as camming, although multiple forms of precarity – lack of internet access, for one – prevents many sex workers from making that shift (Brouwers and Hermann 2020, Platt et al 2020). However, with notable exceptions, much of this sex, tech and COVID research focuses on US and high-income countries (for an exception see Nyabeze, Kudzai, Tafadzwa Ngonidzashe Jakaza, et al 2021). Public health researchers have highlighted the importance of including African sex workers in COVID-19 initiatives, noting that some sex work has moved online (Adebisi, Y. A., Alaran, A. J., Akinokun, R. T., et al 2020). However, there remains little research on *how* sex workers in African countries have used digital media at different points during the evolving pandemic, what new risks digital media introduce to

Tricks and Transformation

"One time, the client….I was in the car, and I looked over and there was a snake. He had turned into a snake!"

Mouna shared this experience at a *causerie* ("chat session") for registered and unregistered sex workers in Dakar. The stated topic was STDs: signs and prevention. This particular causerie had been organized by an experienced sex worker *relais* (peer educator or "link") in a suburb of Dakar. *Causeries* for *professionels du sexe* (sex workers) like this were sponsored by health NGOs and often supported by state public health funding. About five young women sat on host Amy's bed. Others reclined on her couch or sat on the floor. A single fan panned slowly from side to side over the group. In the background on low volume, the TV played a vintage movie – from the 80s or 90s. Onscreen, two men were watching a young woman dance invitingly in a strobe lit club. The pot of atallah tea had begun to steam, and focus on STDs had waned. As it often did, conversation strayed beyond the talking points of papules and pustules, early detection and screening, to other questions of pressing importance best talked out in a group.

Amy had assembled a group of nine *clandestines* for this STD workshop and received a fee for this labor of recruiting participants and being the *relais (*link) between the public health organization and this "hard to reach" population. It was not coincidental that I had made my first contacts among sex worker NGO networks of MSM. NGO projects linked sex workers and MSM into a diffuse network of "key populations." At sexual health information sessions I would come to know several such groups. A few sex workers would become friends and key interlocutors in unpacking *sutura's* effects on digital life, the effects of digital life on *sutura,* and the implications of both for the modes of national belonging and sexual citizenship that *sutura* mediates.

Clandestines tended to be young – late teens or twenties. But older and more experienced sex workers with *carnets* attended Amy's *causerie* as well. It was one of these experienced sex workers who relayed her experience with the snake. Mouna wished to caution *clandestines* about clients. Above all they are unpredictable, she conveyed Appearances deceive. Nice men may not be men at all, but snakes. They can transform their shape and reveal their true essence.

Other sex workers with their *carnets* added to and amplified Mouna's warnings. "Pay attention girls! Now even their watches have cameras." This caution came from Mame Diarra, Penda's friend who had been my first contact in sex worker communities. Mame Diarra had been all over the country as a *relais,* hired by various NGO and public health entities to be a survey collector in research about the social and epidemiological patterns of sex workers migrating between Senegal and its border nations.

After Mame Diarra's mention of cameras, conversation definitely shifted away from STDs to other types of risks. Stories overlapped as participants interrupted each other. Over cups of tea, older participants cautioned les *clandestines* about how mobile technology is cause for

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sex work, and how African sex workers' experiences might have vital lessons for technologists and policy makers. New research could address this gap.

caution. Technological affordances of mobile technology amplify longstanding concerns that clients can deceive, trick, and transform.

Almost all the participants had been asked to be filmed on a camera phone at least once. Clients would offer more money if a sex act was filmed. Others had been exposed without their consent. Several members of the causerie had been filmed by clients without their consent. Once a client hid a phone in his pants pocket and recorded only audio. The client then posted it on YouTube. If the clip had included visuals, the participant said, their family could have easily found out. Audio evidence, she considered, was not sufficient for identification. In Amy's room, participants passionately warned *les clandestines* not to accept offers to film them: don't let them do it.

"If they offer you 100,000 dollars, don't do it," said Mame Diarra, who had taken charge of the discussion from Amy. "They have cameras in their watches," she repeated, a line which seemed to signal the level of deceit or trickery, that should not be underestimated even if a man claims transparency with a line like, "I promise I won't upload it."

My solo interviews with participants, meanwhile, showed more complicated daily negotiations of digital intimacy. Penda, for one, had often been asked by clients to send nude pictures for high compensation. A few times, she obliged and was well remunerated. She was always sure, however, to crop the photo from the neck down. Even if the photo could still be traced to her account, as a free-standing item for circulation it would not be identified as Penda's body. Such negotiations were common, as nude photos received high compensation and appeared, on first glance, as low-intensity labor. However, Penda would come to change her opinion about *any* digitally mediated intimate form, even those not classed as *le porno*. Later she would tell me that the internet had become too dangerous. No matter the sum offered, she would not send the photo.

Other interlocutors would send pictures if they had built satisfactory trust with a particular client. Henriette, a woman in her mid-fifties, struggled to find work as a mature woman. She was frustrated at the low rates that younger women would charge. She also noted shifts in men's preferences for a *taille fine* (slender figure) over the more voluptuous beauty ideal of the *drianke,* for which, in better times, she could once charge a hefty price.[51] So in recent years she shifted from seeking multiple partners, to keeping a few clients and seeing them multiple times a week. She considered one of these men a friend and confidante. When he asked for pictures of her breasts before an intended trip to his family's village, she obliged. "He added CFA 10,000 ($20). I teased him, how long have I been your *caaga* (prostitute)? So he added 10,000 more." I asked her if, like others, she cropped off her face. No need, she said, "him, he's *jup (*straightforward, morally upright)." Economic and emotional conditions change over the course of a relationship and a life. Orientations to and practices of digital intimate circulation may change in turn.

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[51] *Dirinke* signifies more than a voluptuous figure. At and soon after Senegal's independence era, the term *Dirianke* referred to women with political power and influence with whom politicians would curry favor to increase their popularity. *Dirianke* often employed *goor-jigeen* to publicize and amplify their influence (Niang et al. 2003). Today, the figure of *dirianke* most often refers to a woman with a voluptuous figure, especially one with social stature if not political capital.

Without the kind of trust Henriette had in the recipient of her images, women employ discrete exposure by cropping out one's face.[52] Each of these strategies entails the time and labor of interpreting if and how to digitally expose and circulate, such that one's *sutura* remained protected. This is the labor of ensuring that one's digital practices align with national ideals of *sutura* and intimacy. In other words, this is the ethical labor of digital intimate citizenship.

On the one hand, Amy and Mame Diarra lectured young *clandestines* about the importance of *sutura* for oneself. They advised that when you're outside during the day, avoid revealing clothing. Mame Diarra liked to ask causerie participants, "if you saw me walking down the street, would you say, she, she's a prostitute?" Participants would shake their heads no.

Sutura was also an ethic one should provide to others who practice sex work. One never discloses who is *dans le milieu* to someone outside it. Amy and Mame Diarra would chastise peers who unintentionally spoke too loudly, or dressed too loudly, in ways that would invite speculation about their profession. This did not just put themselves at risk; their friends would also come under suspicion by association. Above all, "*suturalal sa morom*," Mame Diarra would say to me and to the young women NGOs paid her to mentor. Protect your peers. In sex work, *sutura* as community protection is a central ethical commitment.

Protection's Limits

The ethic of community protection was not universally applied to all sex workers. At another causerie lead by Mame Diarra, Amy gasped in the middle of a presentation of gruesome photographs of STDs. She asked the woman sitting on the bed next to her – in a voice loud enough to halt the discussion of pustules and odors – "did you see the photo of the girl in X neighborhood?" No one had. Amy proceeded to send the photo to Mame Diarra, who opened it and showed it to the women on her side of the bedroom. Sitting on Mame Diarra's left, I got a clear view of a woman's torso, undressed, the face cropped out save for an angular chin. Amy asserted that the woman lived in this very neighborhood. Others were not convinced it was her. You could only see a chin after all. "No it's her!" Amy insisted. This photo demanded that the attendees take a stance. Whether or not everyone was convinced of Amy's identification, they shook their heads, laughed, grabbed each other's knees in different expressions of solidarity with Amy's conclusion: "today, prostitutes don't have any *sutura*!" Amy told me after the causerie that while she had invited the woman to causeries multiple times in the past, this was it. She would extend no more such invitations.

As I shared in the introduction, some sex workers – and Mame Diarra herself – view such re-circulation as itself a break in *sutura*. Mame Diarra would come to strengthen her conviction that this kind of recirculation among sex workers is an affront to the ethos of community protection. Today, she cautions against it. But this particular episode exhibits a common ambivalence to digital intimacy: perhaps necessary, under particular circumstances, but scandalous and anti-*sutura*. Notably, Amy and the other women amplify the exposure of a presumedly leaked photo, scandalous precisely because it had been leaked beyond its context of production (e.g., the sexual encounter itself). One might claim digital intimate citizenship through the act of taking a stand, through the act of denunciation in the causerie itself. The labor of claiming digital intimate citizenship as a sex worker entails not only the management of one's

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[52] Again, these were comments made out of earshot of peers. Hence, I am careful to ensure that no one's comments or experiences are intelligible to fellow sex workers.

own images, but also the ethical orientations to – and the social performance of an orientation to – the images of others.

Deception for Erotic Sovereignty

If men have cameras in their watches, and some become not just metaphorical but literal snakes, don't trust a pledge not to post the video. Mame Diarra turned to Bintou, and prompted her to share her cautionary tale. Bintou and I had met previously, as – like Penda – Bintou was purported to have special expertise in the use of new media in/for sex.

Bintou put her hand over her face and laughed through her fingers. She declined to tell the story Mame Diarra was waiting for. "*C'est trop*! It's too much!" Instead, she flipped the age script, and began teaching the older attendees about what technology could do – not just do *against* them, but *for* them. She told them of a technology that allows you to disguise your voice.

"You can be a child, you can be a little girl," she said. Amy, Mouna and others who had adopted the role of teacher either laughed, slapped their knees, turned to the person next to them shaking their head in surprise.

"That I didn't know," Mame Diarra said.

Bintou proceeded to outline a lucrative con. Using an imperative "you" form, she went over each step like a how-to guide. "First you disguise your voice into a little girl. Then go on Facebook and identify an older man." The next steps were to start a conversation and flirt. Alternately, you can say that you're "being threatened, or beaten, and you need money." Never give your personal phone number. Use a different sim card. "Then he wires the money, and that's it, *jeex na taq!* That's all there is to it!"

Some listeners doubled over in laughter, others teased Bintou, *da nga sci si de! Bandit nga!* ("you're crafty! You're a bandit!")

Instead of sharing a personal story, Bintou shares a general recipe for flipping the script of tech-enabled deception. Don't get trapped; trap someone else. They can shape shift into a snake, but you can shape shift too. Under the threat of constant surveillance – epitomized by the figure of the camera watch – Bintou captures the *causerie's* imagination.

More Q&A followed Bintou's recipe. Which app? Have you ever been caught? (Bintou never divulged whether or not she's ever put her recipe into practice herself.)

"Technology, it's incredible," a participant said, in awe.

Bintou's recipe for turning the tables highlighted a more commonplace logic: Digital sovereignty and erotic sovereignty are deeply intertwined. The co-constitute one another. To digitally deceive a client marked the extreme steps one might take to claim control over one's digital image, one's digital persona: perhaps ironically, by taking on a digital persona other than oneself. Two can play at the shape-shifting game, Bintou's recipe suggests. An act of deception or becoming *other* – of digital shapeshifting – articulates a bid for claiming technology for oneself. At the same time, this deception was also an assertion of erotic sovereignty. It asserts the capacity to, as Miller-Young puts it, "reterritorialize the always already exploitable black female body as a potential site of self-governing desire, subjectivity, dependence and relation with others, and erotic pleasure" (Miller-Young 2014, 16) Bintou describes her recipe with marked delight in fooling men. She reclaims governance of technology and governance of an otherwise exploitable body: in this case, by concocting a virtual persona intentionally misaligned with her actual body.

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Porn is for *Nyak*

Even as sex workers noted the challenges of negotiating the safety and ethical perils of digital media in their own erotic labor, sex workers morally distanced themselves from a particular category of digital erotic labor: *le porno* ("porn").

After Mame Diarra had finished discussing the signs of various STDs and the importance of early treatment, the tenor of the room became more jocular, full of asides about who in the group is the most *caaga* ("prostitute"). The STD placards were strewn on the floor (unappetizingly face up), and everyone had had at least one cup of tea. The mix of caffeine and laughter emboldened me to ask a bold question; "What do you think about *le porno?*" I could not ask directly if they had done it. This would be seen as an insult in and of itself. It would suggest outright that they lacked *sutura.* But the responses to my question displayed striking unity. They employed phrases like "What kind of mother would risk her family's honor like that?" and "They're like wild animals."

Violating *sutura* through digital immodesty forfeits one's claim to honorable femininity through motherhood and renders that individual almost inhuman. If you are "discreet," having *sutura*, a sex worker emphasizes legibility as a mother who makes sacrifices for her kids. As such, she remains an honorable person and part of the social reproduction of the honorable nation. But by risking public exposure – which could shame your family – one forfeits this claim to honor via motherhood. As one interlocutor put it, she would never do porn because "I care too much about my children's future."

Sututra's ethical framework implies a particular kind of futurity, which might be likened to "reproductive futurism" (Edelman 2004). In this vision of the future, "the child" must be protected, and the child embodies the possibility of a future itself. For mothers seeking to secure their *sutura,* sacrifice for one's children indexes and secures this kind of futurity and moral legitimacy. While sex work may be marginalized and aligned with queerness, the hard work of sex work can be morally redeemed through one's children's future material stability. (This foreshadows a logic of moral purification discussed below, one employed by the supposed founder of Senegal's porn website, seneporno.com, who claims that the website aggregates porn clips to aggregate and separate ruined women from women who still have a future.) In these sex workers' evaluations, moral divisions of futurity maps onto moral divisions of *sutura;* those with discretion and those without.

In resonance with the vendors of *draps* porno, sex worker interlocutors interpreted porn actors' supposed lack of *sutura* along lines of national and moral citizenship. One interlocutor who moves between sex work and other trades once told me she prefers Ivoirian or Malian porn to get ideas for new positions to keep her customers interested. When I asked her why those countries, she told me with a laugh*, "*them, they're hardcore!"

Côte d'Ivoire is not like Senegal, she explained. Here is a country of *sutura.* But them, they have no problem showing everything, Senegalese women wear masks in porn. Only other Africans would be brazen enough to show their faces, she told me.

While she was value neutral toward, or even a bit jealous of, this lack of restraint outside *Senegal*, others in the room with Mame Diarra that day called such women *nyak.* Porn is for *nyak,* they agreed. That is, *nyak* are those most likely to perform in pornography. As discussed in the previous chapter, *nyak* – a derogatory term used for non-Senegalese West Africans – are often accused of lacking *sutura*, thus being less sexually restrained. Indeed, the boundary

between women with and without *sutura* – and concomitantly, the boundary between those who would and would not engage in porn labor – neatly mapped onto national difference.

Most sex workers held a consistent ethical orientation to *le porno.* With some exceptions – notably Penda– many interlocutors who practiced sex work distanced their own negotiations of digital intimacy from *le porno.* They aligned *sutura* with both digital intimate citizenship and repronormative futurism and distanced themselves from porn actresses thought to lack all three. Through communicative acts of distancing, interlocutors reclaimed the moral legitimacy of sex work.

What *is* "le porno?"

While ethical orientations to *le porno* were strikingly consistent, definitions of the term varied widely. Some, like Penda, defined *le porno* as the decisive act of performing in a film designed for distribution. Others viewed *le porno* as any image or video that includes nude or partially nude figures, regardless of whether those pictured intended the media to be circulated. This highlighted a point of contestation. If participants in the *causerie* agreed that porn transgresses *sutura,* does a digital act require the *intent* to circulate widely to qualify as *le porno?*

The lack of coherence around defining pornography is hardly surprising. But this lack of coherence further highlights the importance of *le porno* as a discursive category crucial to claims of moral legitimacy and *sutura* among sex workers. Amid the practical dilemmas of digital circulation – do I agree to nude pictures? If nude pictures of me circulate, what do I do? – *le porno* becomes a phenomenon against which one must take a stand. Taking this stand is part of an ethical project of positioning oneself as a subject possessing *sutura.*

Through a logic of *sutura,* sex worker interlocutors claim digital intimate citizenship and a moral future grounded in family and self-sacrifice. For them, erotic sovereignty is digital sovereignty and digital sovereignty is erotic sovereignty. Respect and legitimacy require assertions of self-determination in a range of situations including sexual encounters with clients and digitally mediated economic transactions. Amid the messy everyday ethics of claiming this sovereignty, they align their marginalized practices with normative ideals of intimacy. They do so by constructing – and rhetorically distancing themselves from – the figure of the *nyak* who produces porn, the ultimate digital intimate non-citizen. Below I turn to another key site at which the figure of the digital intimate non-citizen is created and naturalized: a porn website.

PART II. UN-MAKING DIGITAL INTIMATE CITIZENSHIP[53]

The Porn Performing "Other"

How is the "figure of personhood" (Agha 2011) of the foreign, *sutura*-lacking porn actor made legible through cultural discourses that link *sutura* and national belonging? Through what semiotic practices are the indexical link between non-Senegalese nationality and "hardcore" created, reinforced, and "enregistered" (Agha 2005)? How is the nationality of those pictured in porn media assessed? Through what interpretive practices? And to whom does nationality matter?

To answer these questions I pursue two interrelated threads. First, I show that the boundary-making power of *sutura* – to define who belongs to the moral community of the

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[53] This section expands on a talk I presented at the Lavender Languages Conference (Friend 2021b).

nation, and who does not – coalesces with and amplifies the boundary-making power of online porn tags and video titles. This is a first step to understanding the discursive processes through which an indexical link between non-Senegalese nationality and hardcore lack of *sutura* is codified. Second, I explore how and why Senegalese sex workers invest interpretive labor in assessing the nationality of those pictured in Seneporno films. In my case study, Penda exposes a nationality tag which wrongly identifies the woman pictured in the clip. In her moment of unmasking this "dubious index," she does two things. She draws into relief the commodification of the "foreign porn performer" figure of personhood. She also critiques how one's digital intimate citizenship is unmade within web(sites) of power. In doing so, she contests the displacement of blame from the person (and/or digital infrastructure) who exposes onto the person exposed.

To "Purify Senegal"

Under the pseudonym Kocc Barma, the founder of Senegal's first porn website gave two reasons for founding Seneporno.com in an online interview. One economic: "to satisfy my hundreds of thousands of followers." The other moral: "better to sacrifice the people who have already ruined their lives and save thousands of others…my objective is to purify Senegal" (Seneweb News 2018). He declared:

> *Je ne pense pas trop aux conséquences. Je pense beaucoup plus à satisfaire mes centaines de milliers de followers. En plus, ma philosophie c'est que mieux vaut sacrifier ces quelques personnes qui ont déjà gâté leur vie et sauvé des milliers d'autres. Car, à cause de Kocc Barma, personne n'ose plus faire ce genre de video…Mon objectif, est d'assainir le Sénégal.*

> I don't think that much about the consequences. I think a lot more about my hundreds of thousands of followers. What's more, my philosophy is that it's better to sacrifice these people who have already ruined their lives and save thousands of others. Because, thanks to Kocc Barma, no one dares anymore to make this kind of video…My objective is to purify Senegal. (Seneweb News 2018).
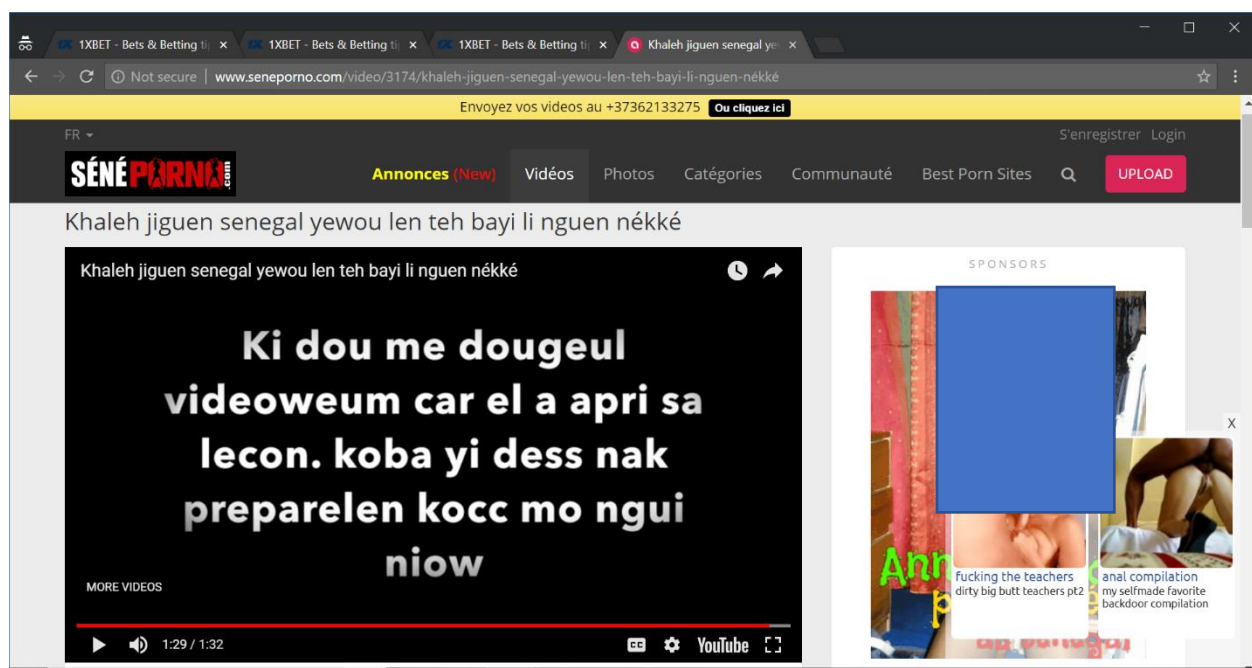
Here Kocc Barma claims to purify the Senegalese nation through porn. After flaunting the number of followers, he claims he wants to end the digital practices that supply content to those followers. Toward that end, there is a phone number at the top of the homepage to which people can send videos. In later iterations of the site, Kocc would include a snapchat for the same purpose.

The idea of purification-through-porn rehashes one of the internet's foundational paradoxes. To quote scholar-activist Gabriella Garcia, "to Big Tech, the sex worker is as indispensable as they are disposable" (Stardust, Garcia, Egwuatu, Yin Q 2021). Women who produce circulatable intimate images fuel both Seneporno's moral positioning *and* its profits. For now, I stretch Garcia's potent statement to include those whose intimate labor is monetized via digital circulation, whether they intended it to be or not.

Kocc Barma charts boundaries between women who have a future and those who do not; "My philosophy is that it's better to sacrifice these people who have already ruined their lives

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and save thousands of others' (Seneweb News 2018). Indeed, digital aggregation might be understood as a technical affordance for projecting and policing the boundaries of a moral community, and a community of digital intimate citizens. He projects a moral imperative to separate ruined women from women with futures. He proposes a technological strategy to achieve that imperative.

On the site itself, Kocc performs benevolence and boundary-making in one go. One video accessed in 2018 bears the title, in Wolof, "Senegalese girls, wake up and stop what you're doing" (Khaleh jiguen Senegal 2018). Notably, the clip is identified as a YouTube clip, suggesting that Seneporno remediated a clip posted to a less specialized social media site. The corresponding clip contains no photo-realistic content, no images of bodies. Instead, white text scrolls against a black backdrop. The final line of text reads; "This person, don't upload her video because she has learned her lesson. But whoever's left get ready Kocc is coming"

"This person, don't upload her video because she has learned her lesson. But whoever's left get ready Kocc is coming" (Khaleh jiguen Senegal 2018).

Kocc Barma asserts his point of view in videos advertised alongside other porn videos. Videos advertised as titillating turn out to be moral warnings. Whereas porn has been described as media that often exceeds attempts to tether it to moral narratives (Mazzarella 2013), Kocc Barma's fake-out attempts to do just that: tether content designed to excite to a moral lesson. He performs morality for the viewer in the precise moment – and precise digital location – where the viewer seeks to either bypass moral imperatives or enjoy the erotic pleasure of transgressing them.

Kocc's threat fixates on women's modesty and discretion. This coheres with women's disproportionate responsibility for maintaining *sutura* and sexual propriety. In his 2019

interview, he articulates the purpose of founding a porn website as, ironically, promoting modesty.

> *KB: les femmes sénégalaises aimaient trop se prendre pour des saintes et stigmatisaient les autres Africaines. Donc, j'ai voulu montrer le vrai visage des Sénégalais... Au début, j'avais juste quelques vidéos sénégalaises, et je ne montrais pas leurs visages. Mais par la suite, je me suis rendu compte que les filles dagnou geuneu rakadiou (les filles étaient de plus en plus dévergondées.). C'est là que j'ai décidé de tout dévoile...*

> KB: Senegalese women love to take themselves for saints and stigmatize other Africans. So I wanted to show Senegal's true face…In the beginning, I just had a few Senegalese videos, and I didn't show their faces. But later, I realized that these girls *dagnou geuneu rakadiou* (they are becoming more and more shameless). That's when I decided to reveal everything… (Faye 2019).

Kocc Barma's rhetoric enacts an "intimate exposure" (Meiu 2021) to claim to "exceptional citizenship" (Grewal 2017). Within the logic of what Meiu calls intimate exposure, one performs an act of good citizenship by exposing facets of intimate life that reveal the immorality purportedly hiding under the appearance of respectability. Such a performative act of bringing the intimate into widespread circulation is noble, not unseemly. There is no shame in exposing women who have shamed themselves. Moreover, if this act of intimate exposure reveals the disconnect between national ideals of intimate ethics and actual intimate practices, Kocc Barma is performing a vital service to the Senegalese nation. He justifies exposing the bodies and intimate lives of women in order to expose "Senegal's true face": the debaucherous feminine immodesty behind the pretense of national moral superiority. The term *rakkadju* is revealing. Glossed by the news website as "shameless," it can serve as *sutura's* antonym. Kocc does not just want to expose the national lack of *sutura*, he wants to *improve* the nation, to "purify " it. Intimate exposure of ruined women accomplishes this, for him, as does "teaching women a lesson," if their morality can be redeemed. According to his own rhetoric, Kocc Barma does not violate *sutura,* he is an exceptional citizen – an exceptional *digital* citizen – for his commitment to realigning Senegalese digital spaces with the normative values of modesty.[54]

When Kocc Barama threatened that for those who have not "learned [their lesson]…get ready Kocc is coming," he implies that the site Seneporno is ready to publish clips from women foolish enough to allow themselves to be filmed, despite the distress it may cause them to find their videos posted online. Not only this, he is "coming" to find those women. Kocc Barma will actively seek and find videos of "shameless" women and publish that shamelessness online. In one of the interviews cited earlier, Kocc Barma also reflected that at first he "didn't show their faces," ostensibly protecting women's privacy, their anonymity, their *sutura,* but later began exposing faces after he discovered how « shameless » women had become (Faye 2019). No longer would he protect the anonymity of women who, his own comment suggests, desire to stay

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[54] Seneporno.com sends contradictory messages about consent. In its current iteration, as of 2022, videos include the disclaimer: "NB: your video was published without your consent? to have it removed from the site, you can send a message by Whatsapp to _____" (Seneporno.com 2020b). I have not assessed the extent to which people have made requests for removal, or how Seneporno has responded to these requests

anonymous. Recall also the violent taxi video I described in the introduction; the video depicted an act of filming men without their consent.

While men having sex with men may have always already lacked *sutura,* women's *sutura* is fragile. It is yours to lose. Once you lose it, those who expose your body are not bound by the same guidelines of protection. Kocc Barma's acts of intimate exposures place women in the double bind of digital intimate citizenship. Kocc Barma asserts that he only exposes women who are already ruined. Within the rubric of *sutura*, women require moral belonging to be protected against unwanted digital exposure. With the threat that "Kocc is coming" for those who have *not* learned their lesson, Kocc Barma threatens to violate *sutura* on the grounds that these ruined women have forfeited their claim to moral belonging and to a future. Women may claim Senegaleseness by setting themselves above other nationalities. But this is a false claim, Kocc suggests. They deform the moral community of the nation in the very act of asserting their membership in it. They claim Senegalese-ness but this is misleading ; they exemplify digital intimate anti-citizenship for their « rakkadju. » Exposing them is not only justified but beneficial then; as an « exceptional citizen, » Kocc exposes them to « assainir le Sénégal, » to purify the nation.

National boundaries through *sutura* and digital infrastructure

Of course, the site Seneporno is much more than the rhetoric of its supposed founder. The site seneporno.com signals its Senegalese-ness in various ways, both within and outside the infrastructure of the website itself. For example, the self-declared founder of the site, chose as his *nom de plume* Kocc Barma, the name of the famous 16th century Wolof philosopher.

 In another example, the opening credits of one film by "Kocc Barma Porduction" emphasize locality. Opening credits run while the viewer looks through the window of a car at famous landmarks from Senegal's capital city, Dakar (Kocc Barma Porduction).
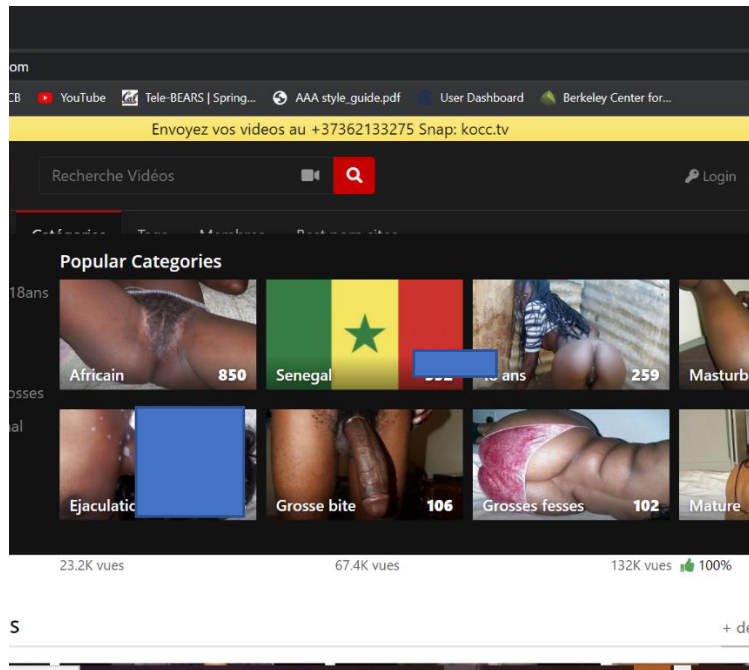
Opening shot of a film by "Kocc Barma Porduction" showing Dakar's Monument à la Renaissance Africaine through the window of a taxi

But the "categories" page is international. It intersperses nationality tags like "Ivoirian" with tags for particular sex acts, ages, and sexual orientations (Seneporno.com 2018). Each category or tag both indexes a particular clip and establishes relationships between clips. Tags make nationality a key taxonomic principle on Seneporno.

CATEGORIES : Senegalaise │ Amateurs │ Africaines │ Grosses
fesses │ Masturbation │ Solo │ Partouze │ Grosse │ Mature │ Lesbiennes │ Grosses
bites │ Anal │ Webcam │ Camera
Cachee│ Celebrites │ Leumbeul/Mapouka │ Compilation │ Deguelasse │ Gay │ Ejaculation │
Fellation │ Transexuelles │ Malienne │ Guineenne │ Ivoirienne │ Massage │ Nigeria/Niger │
Togolaise │ Beninoise │ Burkinabé │ Camerounaise │ Congolaise │ Gabonnaise │ Gambienn
e │ Ghana │ International

Categories page from Seneporno.com's earlier iteration (Seneporno.com 2018)

In the revamped, 2020 version of the categories page, most tags come with a thumbnail image, displaying bodies or parts of bodies, with one notable exception; the "Senegal" tag displays the Senegalese flag (Seneporno.com 2020). The use of the flag, which contrasts with the photo-realism of the adjoining thumbnails, places focus on nation. Interestingly, the tag/category for "African" porn borders the tag/category for "Senegalese" porn. Was "African" an umbrella category of which "Senegal" was a special part? Or did this visual display imply that "African" excluded Senegal? This visual distinction does not inherently enact hierarchy. After all, the two squares are side by side. Yet when Penda looked at the distinction, she told me, "Senegalese think they're superior, you see?" Penda interprets the visual distinction as a reflection of nationalist hierarchies. For Penda and other interlocutors, this visual distinction – in both text and image - between Africain and Senegal reflects and enacts a distinction between Senegalese sex and "Other" sex.

Categories Page on Seneporno.com, 2020[55]

As Esra Padgett (2019) glosses Asif Agha, "'social figures are made of "enregistered voices" that "index stereotypic social personae" (40) recognizable only by speakers and listeners familiar with the indexical significance of the enregistered voice.' For those already familiar with the indexical link between non-Senegalese foreigner and indiscretion, the visual separation between thumbnails, as well as the visual contrast between bodies and flag, helps enregister the social figure of non-Senegalese, *sutura*-lacking porn performer. This provides one example of how the configuration of content through tags and thumbnail images enregisters the stereotypic persona of the non-Senegalese porn-creator. Later in this chapter, Penda takes me with her on an experience of how these tags can *wrongly* index a woman's nationality, wrongly aligning an individual with this enregistered figure.

Kocc Barma says those included on the site have no future. Those who digitally expose themselves have forfeited control over their image. However, the remainder of this chapter show how Senegalese sex workers with diverse relationships and proximities to pornography claim some control amid concrete risks of exposure, and enact a future. Amid risks of unwanted digital circulation, they enact a future by asserting digital and erotic sovereignty.

The Dubious Index

While many sex workers reject porn performers as digital intimate non-citizens, many also peruse seneporno.com, at least occasionally. The most cited reason was to get inspiration to "keep things fresh" for clients, ensuring their services remain in demand. Penda's encounters

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[55] I have obscured any visible faces, due to concerns about the consensual uploading of content to Seneporno. I wish to balance presenting enough evidence on which to base my argument, with the desire not to amplify the circulation of any non-consensual content.

with Seneporno began for this purpose, too. (Porn did nothing for her personally, she specified.) Instead, Penda would often laugh, how "predictable men are!" Like most, she accessed seneporno.com via mobile phone, (of which she had between four or five at any one time, some for family use, some for work.)[56] Penda's experience in particular reveals much about the importance of nationality to interpretation frameworks for transgressive images.

During the summer of 2019, Penda became curious about if and how performing in pornography distributed online could increase her income. We would watch seneprono clips together for both her research and mine: mine for a dissertation, hers to better understand this new kind of sex work she might pursue. (Any erotic charge involved in this co-viewing went unspoken between us.) She was acutely aware of porn's risks to moral legitimacy and national belonging. But performing in porn could help pay for her daughter's private school tuition, currently a significant strain on her resources.

But in fall of 2020, during the COVID-19 pandemic, she told me via WhatsApp that she had changed her mind; she would avoid any practice of distributing images of her body online.

"Social media is out of control right now," she explained over WhatsApp. "If they asked me to show my breasts online, I wouldn't do it."
Penda is keenly aware that videos uploaded to social media – with or without consent of those appearing in them – can also be remediated on Seneporno and other sites. And not long before, one of Penda's clients had secretly audio recorded their sexual encounter and uploaded it to YouTube. A cousin had called her up to ask her, "is this you?" Penda said nonchalantly that it was not. Without the visual, she hoped that this dismissal would be sufficient. She ascribed more ambiguity to sound than to vision. Still, this incident scared her.

We arranged another co-viewing. This time we were watching mostly to help me with the dissertation. Penda knew it was high time I finish. Secondarily, Penda could show rather than just tell me *why* she was sure of her decision not to pursue porn. We switched to a video call. In a rather awkward form of pandemic fieldwork, I flipped my iPhone camera around on WhatsApp, and filmed the Seneporno homepage during our call. I held the camera in my left hand and moved my laptop cursor with my right. I hovered the mouse over the

"Africain" tag. Penda said, "that one."

"This one?" I said as I clicked a video entitled "Mali Bambara Hetero." She watched through my phone, remediating my laptop screen, remediating Seneporno, remediating sex. The clip "Mali Bambara Hetero" runs in a loop.[57] A man and young woman have sex, seated. The viewer sees her face and his back. The woman mutters something softly that neither Penda nor I could decipher at first. Then this brief sequence repeats multiple times. We watch the entire clip twice. Then Penda exclaimed suddenly:

"It's not Mali!...My friend Aida knows this girl very well. She's from a town past Touba. That's in Senegal."
I flipped the camera back around to look at Penda.

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[56] No sex workers I met during fieldwork owned a laptop. Instead they skillfully navigated between multiple sim cards and/or multiple physical devices, often keeping separate phone numbers (and sim cards) accessible to clients and those accessible to family. This technical dexterity enacts and protects *sutura*.

[57] Following *sutura*, I am not displaying this clip, as its consensual production is an issue of explicit debate. I also altered its title but retained an exemplar of each identification marker (Nation, ethnicity, sexual orientation) present in the original.

"I didn't know she was on Seneporno," she said. "It's not Mali it's in Senegal. They think that there are no Bambara here in Senegal."

Penda asks me to film the clip on my phone and send it to her over WhatsApp. Our joint viewing strategy has made it difficult for Penda to hear the audio.[58] With the video on her own phone, the sound quality might be a bit better, and she'd have a better chance deciphering the woman's words.

Before we sign off so I can follow Penda's directions, I ask her why she thinks the clip is labeled Malian if the woman pictured is from Senegal and resides there.

"To attract viewers," Penda answers. "They can take a video where I speak Bambara and call it 'Mali.'"

This explanation suggests that it is easy to dupe viewers into conflating ethnicity with nation. Secondly, there's *sutura.* She tells me, "Other Africans, Malians, Ivoirians, Guineans… they go all the way. They show everything." This notion that those outside Senegal "show everything" – and do not wear masks over their faces – reflects the perception of Aissatou and others that non-Senegalese West Africans are more willing to display themselves online since they do not have *sutura* to contend with.

Because of a presupposed indexical linkage between a particular nationality and a lack of *sutura*, by labeling a clip as Malian one was essentially advertising that the clip would be more *graw* "hardcore" than porn made with Senegalese performers. Penda explained further that this mislabeling as foreign would serve to "hucc" (attract/ draw in) more viewers. Though we do not know exactly who chose this "Mali" title, she hypothesizes that it was a marketing tactic, clickbait.

Nationalist hierarchies of *sutura* undergird this alleged marketing ploy. Since Malians are deemed to lack discretion or modesty, their porn is imagined to be more hardcore, less veiled, more erotically explicit. Here, the nationalization of *sutura* converges with the classificatory function of online tags and video titles; together, they help reinforce the link between foreign and hardcore. Attaching the "Africain" tag to this clip positions it outside the Senegalese moral community. For those aware of the indexical link between foreign and hardcore, this tagging invokes the nationalist opposition of hardcore-non-citizen vs. discrete citizen. The boundary-making power of *sutura* aligns with the boundary-making power of online taxonomic indicators. Penda's act of unmasking a dubious index – a nationality label that does not correspond to the nationality of the performer – draws this alignment into relief.

As requested, I film the video on my phone and send it to Penda. Five minutes later she leaves me an encrypted voice message. With flat intonation, she says:

> Juliana, she's saying, cut the camera. Cut the camera. That's what she's explaining. Cut the camera…I don't understand well because it's kind of soft. What I understand is, cut the camera. That's what she's saying, take the video out of my face. Anyway, you study it. Compare it with other clips. It's not loud.

The repetition in Penda's reported speech mirrors the woman's own repeated pleas for her sexual partner to lower the camera. The woman's insistence reappears in Penda's asynchronous voice message. Penda also confirms that the woman was indeed speaking Wolof. The text of the video

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[58] With a mobile phone she found it hard to search for and select particular clips.

title misattributes her nationality. It is the woman's voice, and her language, that correctly indexes her national origin.

Through attentive practices of listening, Penda exposes a "dubious index." The "Mali" title fails to index a Malian performer. Penda's act of unmasking the dubious index undermines the self-evident status of the social figure of the hardcore non-Senegalese. This figure, suggests Penda, can also be discursively constructed through misleading tags and titles. Furthermore, by highlighting the clickbait potency of the term "Mali," Penda calls attention to the political economy of desire that may, at least in part, motivate this discursive construction. Thanks to the equation between digital intimate non-citizenship and hardcore, mislabeling performers produces "clickbait."

What are the stakes of dubious indices for sex workers? Why is it so important to assess nationality? As discussed above, while Aissatou and others dismiss *le porno* as the ultimate transgression of *sutura*, and the ultimate negation of Senegalese-ness, they confront digital media's role in many aspects of their lives, including sex work. For one thing, advertising services online can be advantageous. The new site *neexna* (or, "it feels good")*,* for example, makes the distinction between *le porno* and non-digitally mediated sex work slippery; advertisements for in-person sexual services can include audio or video. Many such advertisements bear striking resemblance to content on Seneporno.com. Then there are the frequent requests from clients for intimate photos or videos, often with the promise of generous remuneration. As described above, sex workers' common dismissal of porn along lines of *sutura* coexists alongside the uncodified definition of *le porno* itself, and alongside the everday ethics of negotiating possible remuneration for digital intimacies. But all sex workers – including Penda, as evidenced by her shift in calculations from 2019 to 2020 – commit sustained attention and labor into maintaining their *digital sutura,* and by extension, maintaining digital intimate citizenship.

This careful ethical work makes the dubious index maddening for Penda. As Aiwa Ong says of citizenship, digital intimate citizenship, too, is "a dual process of self-making and being made up within webs of power" (Ong 1996, 738). Penda's friend of a friend is "made up" by tags and video titles that misrepresent her national affiliation. This is on top of being "made up" by her sexual partner, who does not lower the camera despite her repeated requests. This act made possible Seneweb's de-contextualization and re-contextualization (see Bauman and Briggs 1990) of her national origin in the first place. Penda knows Aida, her friend that she says knows the woman in the clip, has also practiced sex work in the past. It is possible that the woman in the video is also a sex worker, though Penda is not sure.   Given how hard sex workers like Penda work to restore and maintain alignment between everyday practices and national ideals of intimacy, this misassignment between the video content's label and the woman's actual nationality undermines the ethical work of cultivating digital intimate citizenship. The dubious index undermines the national belonging that depends on digital discretion, on *sutura.* This national mislabeling adds insult to the injury of being filmed without consent, and being digitally circulated on a porn website.

Penda critiques this double undermining of consent: consensual sex and consensual digital remediation of sex. This critique emerges when she mirrors the poetics of the filmed woman's insistent requests to lower the camera. It emerges more explicitly when she tells me, in a follow up conversation:

"There should be consent. You own your body. Only you. You own your body"

The term *moom* – for "own" – recalls Agha's notion that mediatization involves the overlay of communication and commodification (Agha 2011). While Penda's unmasking of the dubious index may not challenge the fundamental association between hardcore and Mali, it points to the economic commodification of that linkage.

Also, Penda knows the ethical work involved in aligning sex work with *sutura.* In this light, both Penda's explicit call for consent as well as her poetic mirroring of the woman's insistent pleas highlight how dubious indices undermine this careful ethical work. By listening to the woman's voice, she exposes the misalignment between textual advertisement and video image, between purported and actual national origin. Penda's interpretive labor exposes and contests one troubling aspect of digital intimate citizenship; as much as one exerts energy to ethical self-making, moral citizenship can be "un-made" through webs – or in this case web*sites* – of power.

PART III: PERFORMERS CLAIM DIGITAL INTIMATE CITIZENSHIP

As Naisargi Dave interprets Foucault (1985) in a study of queer activism in India, morality and ethics can be usefully distinguished: morality as something more fixed, more intransigent, and ethics the more processual work of self-fashioning (Dave 2010:272). Building on Foucault's "ethical turn" between his first and second volumes of *The History of Sexuality,* Dave points out that it is the very depth and reach of morality's institutions and norms, that produce conditions for creativity and imagination. "This depth of radical imaginary possibility within the workings of power is the space of the ethical," Dave argues. Following Dave's inquiry, it makes sense to turn to those upon whose bodies, selves and lives the force of moral power is exerted most intensely. Those who experience the often brutal effects of moral imperatives may be able (or obligated) to put in the ethical work of imagining new possibilities. In this case, it is often those deemed moral outsiders– those deemed by others to have violated *sutura* – who are better able to distance everyday ethical work from moral imperatives. Already barred from moral inclusion, they might more easily recognize that the contingent ethics of everyday life and survival at the margins may override that moral imperative, and/or challenge its enabling assumptions. Porn performers are deemed moral outsiders even by other digital dissidents. They are well placed to critically reflect upon *sutura's* moral norms. But lest I reify the distinction between morality and ethics, porn actors' everyday ethics may exert force upon *sutura's* moral imperative. In both explicit discussion and everyday ethical negotiations, they envision an alternative *sutura* that, while still potent and wide-reaching, is expansive enough to accommodate more diverse forms of digital intimate labor.

Discrete Exposure, Moral Legitimacy, and Digital-Erotic Sovereignty

Grounding her analysis in years-long conversations with Black porn actresses, Mireille Miller-Young defines erotic sovereignty as, "attempts to reterritorialize the always already exploitable black female body as a potential site of self-governing desire, subjectivity, dependence and relation with others, and erotic pleasure" (Miller-Young 2014, 16). She emphasizes erotic sovereignty is "a process, rather than a completely achieved state of being," a process of aspiration and movement toward "self rule and collective affiliation and intimacy." This aspirational movement toward erotic sovereignty is produced by neoliberal constraints and structural inequality. Scholars of Senegal note the importance of the Senegalese ethic *mun,* or

endurance, patience -the capacity to bear struggle. Gilbert's discussion of *mokk pooj* identifies the power of negotiation achieved through seduction, produced from – and consistent with – the ethic of *muñ* (Gilbert 2017). Whereas Beth Packer's study of women soccer players shows how, within a Sufi Muslim ethic in which suffering brings one closer to God, women actively seek out social stigma in order to cultivate their Muslim ethics as gender non-normative subjects (Packer 2019). For Miler-Young's interlocutors, too, generate agency from the overlapping constraints of racist visual regimes, discrimination within the porn industry, and a political economy of pleasure that prioritizes profit over workers' well-being and pleasure. Miller-Young likens this kind of agency to a "dialectical capacity for pleasure and pain, exploration and denial, or for progressive change as well as everyday survival" (Miller-Young 2014, 17).

The interlocutors I interviewed in Senegal bear much in common with Miller-Young's, to the extent that they operate within this "dialectical capacity" for "progressive change as well as everyday survival." For reasons discussed below, sexual pleasure was rarely discussed. However the pleasure of providing for one's family, the pleasure of economic autonomy, rubbed up against the feeling of loss of control of the visual narrative, rooted in a lack of knowledge of who would see the film, where it would go, and what was its scope of circulation.

For non-porn performing sex workers, porn undermines repronormative futurity. But for those within or adjacent to porn worlds, porn is a paramount act of labor toward repronormative futurity; in fact, its sacrifice of *sutura* – its present sacrifice for the good of a future – increases due to porn's higher risk. These interlocutors made claim to the same moral cultivation as the sex workers who expelled porn actors from the ranks of ethical sex worker-citizens: sacrifice for one's children, and citizenship through motherhood. Through acts of discrete exposure, porn actors seek to make digitally-mediated sex work akin to other forms of sex work: a sacrifice for one's children, a means of securing both financial autonomy and intimate citizenship through motherhood.

While the challenges may be greater, porn performers find ways to enact discrete exposure. This is a way of expressing *sutura* in a profession considered its antithesis. Once again, *sutura's* form of respectability politics become crucial to claiming both moral legitimacy and digital-erotic sovereignty, a way of facing both the stigma of digital dissidence and the risks of uncertain digital circulation. For porn performers, assertions of *sutura* are assertions of digital-erotic sovereignty.

Locating Interlocutors

Penda's interest in my project had begun simply as a way to help a well-meaning but confused foreigner. At first, she discussed porn clips mostly as a way to get inspiration for how to keep her clients interested, to maximize her *jongué* . But as our discussions unfolded, her interest became something else. She wondered, might this be a career for her to pursue as well? She had been threatened with arrest in the past and did not want to repeat the experience. So here was another option she had not seriously considered, for herself, until we began discussing it in depth together. Might it be more lucrative than massage seeing individual clients? Our *causeries*, she told me, could help her "weigh benefits and risks" of porn performance. "You're the reason I'm even thinking about this," she said directly. Penda was a skilled interviewer. She detected when I was getting nervous and inhibited, and would take over asking questions when I faltered. Her proximity to porn worlds – even if aspirational or investigatory – allowed her to reframe my questions when I failed to communicate my intention.

Porn worlds were quite separate from other forms of sex work, as comments above took pains to make clear. Even Penda, who took pride in how her travels around West Africa had taught her to suspend judgement about the practices of other people, did not immediately have a wealth of connections that could facilitate interviews. Penda's friend Janelle eventually put us in touch with four people, two men and two women, who had previously performed in porn films. One of these interlocutors invited others to talk with us. This time, Penda helped me explain what kind of "conversation" we were looking for; we wanted to understand how they viewed and experienced their work, the *avantages et inconvenients* ("advantages and disadvantages"), with an eye toward interrogating certain assumptions about porn. These included assumptions from both sides of the Atlantic: common Senegalese assumptions that porn performers are immoral and do not care about their families, as well as common US assumptions that porn performers are usually if not always trafficked or coerced (Miller-Young 2014).

Over the course of *causeries* (group conversations/focus groups) and follow up individual interviews, interlocutors would respond to our queries with a circumscribed view into their aspirations, motivations, and labor conditions. While Penda's ability to break tension through humor increased comfort considerably, I inferred that interlocutors always retained some circumspection about my presence and interest in their work. They simply were also guarded, with good reason, about my academic writing as yet another form of circulation of their selves and stories, albeit one with anonymity protections.[59] They shared some about their on-set experiences, but dwelled longer on the precautions they took to prevent unwanted exposure of their profession to friends and family outside *le milieu,* and their commitments to their family. I was grateful for this partial "ethnographic refusal" (Cf. Simpson 2007). The assertion of *sutura* placed an important check on ethnographic inquiry that could be intrusive at the least, dangerous and reiterative of historical trauma at worst. Unlike in some other interviews, if I received short or vague answers to particular questions, I resisted the urge to reframe the question or circle back to it later. Penda sometimes circled back herself if she believed we had developed sufficient trust with the interlocutor. But in general, I did not press.

The difference in my reasons for having "conversations" and Penda's own sometimes created conflict. Penda approached conversations with the idea that the more they revealed, the better. (She had originally proposed I pose as a porn producer to get people talking.) How then to avoid putting pressure on interlocutors to say more than they wished to in front of me, while still ensuring the conversations had value for Penda? We employed a few different approaches – Penda asked certain more intimate questions "off the record," and I stopped taking notes during those moments. She sometimes took interlocutors aside into a separate room to ask particular questions that they were uncomfortable discussing in front of me, or did not want included in my research.

Most interlocutors talked with us on either one or two occasions. Apart from one man who wished to become friends with both of us, and saw strategic value in having a white American connection, few wished to have extended, indeterminate contact with an anthropologist. Set visits were not viable, as I discussed in the previous chapter. If producers knew my interlocutors were bringing in outside attention, those interlocutors might find it more

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[59] Since a confidentiality breach – even to other sex workers outside pornography – could induce severe stigma and threaten my interlocutors' social support networks, I use composite characters in this section.

difficult to get hired. This also meant that contacting producers for interviews might have a detrimental effect on job opportunities for performers, so we did not pursue that avenue.

But as long as I put in place multiple precautions for identity and data protection – including the use of composite personhood – they agreed to share select details about the *agantages et inconvenients* of their work. More than challenging assumptions, the value they found in this was that I could transmit the message to American producers that there are Senegalese actors willing to act internationally. Perhaps knowledge of Senegalese porn could lead to opportunities to work abroad. While I explained that my dissertation was unlikely to reach this audience, I also offered to share with them what I had learned about the US porn industry through background research, in the hopes that this could inform their decisions going forward. Below I will return to what their aspirational mobility signifies about digital intimate citizenship and *sutura.*

Penda and I conducted two *causeries*, one in Penda's home, and once in a busy restaurant, protected by a blaring TV overhead. I then followed up with four of the participants in individual conversations. Two participants became long-term interlocutors, and one became a friend. All such conversations occurred safely *away* from sets or producers who, interlocutors told me, would have struggled to distinguish me from a reporter or government agent seeking to expose the 'scandal' of Senegalese porn production. I am grateful to these interlocutors not only for sharing insights about their work and everyday ethics with me, but also for their willingness to put boundaries around what they would share. Amid discursive detours and assertions of *sutura,* their perspectives provide important responses to claims by those outside porn performance that performers lack *sutura*, moral legitimacy, and digital intimate citizenship.

"Conversations"

Penda hosted the first of the *causeries* in her living room. I had provided money for Penda's daughter and other relatives to spend the day at the beach so that we could have the house to ourselves. Pend and I put out chips and soda on the coffee table and waited for two women and two men to arrive. Celine was in her early forties, dressed in a pink dress and pink pumps, accented with pink eyeshadow. Mamadou pulled up on a motorcycle, tall and broad shouldered. Cherif, a university student, was tall and slight. His right eye twitched slightly when he spoke. Mami, in her early thirties, was soft-spoken. Mamadou and Cherif frequently interrupted her. After introducing Mami to me as her little sister, Celine teased her, "she has so much *kersa* (shyness) this one!"

Following Penda's advice to "put people at ease" before asking them intimate questions, we chatted for a half hour or so about the weather, and then the exorbitant prices of sheep for Ramadan.

Mamadou and Celine were connected to Penda by one degree of separation, and each brought a friend. It turned out that Mamadou and Penda actually knew each other, as they used to live in the same neighborhood; but it was not until this conversation that Penda found out Mamadou performed in pornography. She knew him as a dad of two young sons, and a freelance construction worker. Porn acting was not the kind of information you shared with your neighbors.

The second group conversation was held at an upscale restaurant. Mamadou and Cherif both attended. Mamadou suggested we sit near the TV. The loud afrobeats music provided a shield between our conversation and the other patrons, a noisy kind of *sutura.* Having grown

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more comfortable with my presence, he invited others he knew from *le milieu porno:* Mounace, a single mother in her forties who had been performing for over ten years. (Mamadou had actually performed in films with Mounace.) He also brought Emilie, the youngest member of the *causeries.* Emilie aspired to be a pastry chef and planned to put her savings from porn into entrance fees and supplies.

Each interlocutor, in both *causeries,* articulated the importance of conducting these conversations in *sutura.* "It's not usual to open your private life to a stranger. I'm here because of Mamadou," Celine told me. Indeed, ethnography was yet another form of circulation interlocutors contended with, and one act of erotic sovereignty was to assert the terms on which I could write about their lives. As Mamadou put it, *"lepp ci sutura la"* Everything within *sutura.*

Money

Interlocutors cited money as the principal reason for engaging in porn performance. "It's not the same as other jobs," Mamadou said. "Waiters, 125,000 CFA ($300) a month they'll make. For us, it could be 300,000 CFA ($600) in a day.

During the month of Ramadan, when I hosted the second restaurant focus group, the work had practically disappeared. But now, "with vacation, jobs are coming back," Celine said. The relationship between seasonal foreign travel and porn work meant fluctuating, often unpredictable work availability. Interlocutors all shared a frustration with long periods up to a month or more without film jobs. Therefore, "everyone needs a backup, and a backup backup job," Mamadou joked. Some sold produce in markets, others ran gyms, one young man filmed and produced non-pornographic films for advertising agencies.

Celine and Mami both highlighted that despite the fluctuations in work, and the economic certainty, one should avoid accepting low pay rates. This required assertiveness and a sense of self-worth.

"You need to know yourself. Know your value," Celine said. After six years as a performer, she now tried to get 200,000 ($400) per film, depending on the intensity and duration of the job.

When she said this, over tea in Penda's living room, the younger Mami remarked quietly that she had not known this.
"200,000?" she asked Celine, surprised. Mami had never received this much for a film job.

Knowing your value comes with time, with age, the others agreed. Celine then spoke directly to Mami:

"You, you're young with a slim figure. You could get much more."

One's "value" was at once the value of commodified sex, and the value of, as Céline would later put it, *l'estime de soi* ("self-esteem"). Celine urged Mami to acknowledge the desirability of her body type. She could commodify this desirability to get the money she needed and deserved. Self-commodification and self-esteem are thus deeply intertwined. Charging high prices – or rather, refusing to settle for low prices – reflected one's belief that one deserves respect. Knowing yourself – in this case, knowing the financial value of your sexual labor – was one way to, to quote Miller-Young, "aspire and move toward self-rule and collective affiliation and intimacy" (Miller-Young 2014, 16). It asserts erotic sovereignty. Self-esteem and self-commodification reinforce each other.

A similar mentoring interaction unfolded between Mounace and the younger Emilie. The exchange started when Mounace pointed out, "You noticed I'm dressed up."

"That, that's quality," Emilie affirmed, pointing to Mounace's dress, adding that she couldn't afford clothes like that.

Mounace asked Emilie why she couldn't. Emilie said that often she would only get the equivalent of $100 for a shoot. Mounace slapped the table, "What!" she exclaimed. She waited a beat, her eyes wide. Then she waited a beat more.

"That is not OK. You have to *aar sa bopp*." You have to protect yourself.

Here protection meant charging a legitimate amount. Protection meant financial protection, but also a protection against exploitation. One can't accept a producer's terms automatically. One must assert oneself, as a matter of good business and a matter of self-esteem.

As Miller-Young reminds us, erotic sovereignty is a process, not an end result (Miller-Young 2014, 16). Nor is it complete liberation from the constraints of neoliberal markets or from the historical subjugation of Black women and Black bodies. Assertions of erotic sovereignty – in the form of demanding good wages – emerge from these constraints. While one might predict that the seasonal fluctuations in the market would require accepting lower pay, Céline tried to convince Mami that, in fact, the opposite is true. If producers offer you less, you must stand your ground. Economic pressure only increases the need for assertions of self-determination and self-worth. The seasonality of labor *demands* assertions of erotic sovereignty through wage demands.

In a crucial difference to Miller-Young's description of US porn industry, for my interlocutors, porn acting did not provide prestige in the broader world of sex work. It did not provide the kind of status or erotic capital that some US performers leveraged for better pay or opportunities in other areas of sex work (Miller-Young 194). Of course, one porn gig could lead to another. And having network connections provided significant capital. But this could not easily be transferred into other sectors. Despite porn's hypervisibility, it was something to conceal, even from other sex workers. Porn's erotic capital could not be leveraged for economic benefit in other forms of sex work; it was non-transferrable. This made it all the more important to try to maximize returns *within* the world of porn, my interlocutors affirmed.

All interlocutors admitted that prices fluctuated. Sometimes they couldn't get the money they wanted. Some producers could not be budged. But the act of asking for a particular price – or the act of refusing a job if the price was too low – were acts of valuing oneself. They were acts of declaring self-esteem and asserting erotic sovereignty.

Especially during the first conversation in Penda's living room, a mentor/mentee relationship seemed to emerge between interlocutors. Indeed, most of the participants in the *causerie*s remarked either at the event or after the fact that it was rare, but appreciated, to have these types of conversations. Conversations in which one could compare experiences, vent about frustrations, and exchange advice. While some of the interlocutors had actually performed in scenes with each other, they rarely compared notes about rates. They usually talked about life outside the sex industry – either because it was hard to carve out time apart from family or friends outside *le milieu* (e.g. the milieu of porn performance), or because they were simply tired and wanted to leave work behind for a while. While these conversations were for my benefit, the ethnographic setting provided an opportunity for collective affiliation between porn performers across divides of age and industry experience.

It turned out that Mami, while young, had been in the business longer than Céline. The women marveled at this discrepancy.

"But you, you're just a child," Céline said to Mami, referring to her age.

Mami had her own explanation for why she received less money for work than someone who had been working half as long; she had not had a mentor to tell her the kinds of things Celine told her now in the *causerie*.

As the living room *causerie* drew to a close, Celine asked Mami whether, given their discussion, she would ask for more money.

"I'll try," Mami said.

Family

In her ethnography of sex workers in Kenya, Louise White highlights how transgressive erotic practices often generate reproductive labor – that is, labor for family and kin – even if transgressive erotic practices are rarely acknowledged in this way (White 1990). This is also how non-porn performer sex workers in Senegal claimed *sutura* and good citizenship; sex work marked a sacrifice made in the present to ensure their children's future. This logic converts non-procreative sex into repro-normative labor. It shows a particular orientation to the future, one in line with normative ideals of intimacy that prize family devotion. As discussed above, for non-porn performing sex workers, this orientation to the future distinguishes sex workers who have *sutura* from those who lack it. Within this framework, porn performers, unlike other sex workers, *risk* their family's future through transgressive erotic practice. due to the threat that heightening the risk of unwanted exposure could bring shame to the family, undermining claims to honor through parenthood. This is a central reason they are like *nyak,* like non-Senegalese, *sutura*-lacking women. They fail to display *sutura* regarding digital circulation. This *sutura* is required to align sex work with dominant conceptions of femininity, reproductive labor, and the sacrifice of motherhood. Through a logic of *sutura* – in which moral belonging depends on legible femininity - this alignment with idealized femininity is required for digital intimate citizenship.[60]

However, porn performer interlocutors reject such ideas. They reject the idea that their erotic labor is out of joint with normative femininity and future-oriented sacrifice. Indeed, both men and women performers tie their erotic labor – what Mireille Miller-Young calls "illicit eroticism" (Miller-Young 2014, 182) – to family and repro-normative futurity. Mamadou, told me and the group over our restaurant appetizers, "I have a son. People wouldn't think of it because, whatever, I'm fit. But he's my world. He's everything. I want him to go far." Mamadou puts a significant percentage of his earnings into his son's education. Other interlocutors conveyed similar sentiments. Apart from Emilie and Cherif, the others had at least one child. Those with children highlighted how their porn work allows them to be good parents and provide for their kids. Emilie and Cherif both agreed that they were building savings to support the family they hoped to have in the future.

They also emphasized both sacrifice and an orientation to the future. "The work is very hard. Your body, mind, - everything. But you must be *muñ* (patient), and God will reward you. Life is work," Mounace explained in the *causerie*. With this last sentence, she wiped her hand across her forehead, a common gesture signifying sweat and hard work.

"Her, she's a true Mourid!" Cherif said of Mounace, patting her lightly on the shoulder.

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[60]Throughout this dissertation thus far, I have noted the particular burden of *sutura* for women. In this chapter, the men porn performers share many of the same concerns as the women interviewees: in particular, how their profession may help or hurt their children. To what extent does gender shape everyday ethics for digital dissident porn performers? This chapter provides a glimpse into this topic, a topic that deserves more reflection and empirical work.

Muñ, glossed as patience or endurance, is as crucial a Wolof ethic as *sutura.* Senegal scholars note how the notion of *muñ* disrupts the submission/liberation binary (Gilbert 2017, Mills 2011, Packer 2019). It conveys a form of decisive action and ethical self-cultivation produced from and often embedded within the productive effects of power. Within a Sufi Muslim ethos, it also exalts suffering as getting one closer to God, as exemplified by the figure of Cheikh Amadou Bamaba, a Sufi mystic who founded the influential Mourid brotherhood (Babou 2007, Packer 2019). Bamba's philosophy exalted hard work, and the suffering it often entails, as part of the cultivation of a pious, ethical self (Babou 2007). The hand across the forehead invokes this legacy.

Interlocutors do not just refute other sex workers' aspersions on their *sutura,* honor, and good citizenship. They also argue that the unique risks of porn work actually *increase* their sacrifice. This in turn increases their claims to honorable moral belonging. Seated at Penda's living room coffee table, Céline made the same hand-across-the-forehead gesture, and began a short speech that prompted nods of assent around the table. She said that while finding clients at a bar is hard too, locating a film opportunity, vetting the director, "oh that is hard! You have to be upright. You have to be direct," Céline said. "You have to think about what you're doing this for." Then she looked at Mami and added, "You're a Senegalese woman."

Mami agreed and added, "I won't work with just anyone. You have to be strong. If they want something I'm not ok with, I will tell them."

One key aspect of porn labor is determining what a director wants and if it aligns with one's moral principles. [61] Interlocutors argue that this exigency is stronger for porn work than meeting a client at a bar or other forms of sex work. Céline again takes a mentorship role with Mami, she makes the link to Senegalese citizenship explicit. This assurance of moral alignment is not only demanding labor, it is also crucial to her affiliation with Senegalese-ness: specifically, moral Senegalese womanhood. The threat of moral compromise places stress on one's convictions. Staying true to those moral convictions reflects legible Senegalese femininity.

At this point Penda inserted herself into the conversation. She congratulated our interlocutors with the exclamation *mashallah,* for how they had even found jobs in porn in the first place. "I don't know how to start," she said. Indeed, the challenge of finding industry connections reflects the sacrifice needed for porn work.

Indeed, each interlocutor had a different story about how they got into porn in the first place. For many, it was happenstance. It took time. Mounace, for example, began working at bars and hotels. One of her clients proposed including her in a porn film. Since she had known this client for many years and trusted him, she felt confident enough to agree. So indeed, getting into porn required patience, and luck. It was not something one simply decided to do. The industry was too under wraps to simply go looking for a porn production house. And interlocutors said that contacting Seneporno was too risky, given its reputation for exposing women online and publishing sex tapes without consent. Penda, later, would ask Céline and Mounace for their advice on how to get started. Otherwise, she would not have known where to begin.

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[61] At the time, I did not ask for clarification about what kinds of things they were not OK with. Later, I asked Penda if she had an idea about what they meant. Penda speculated that perhaps they meant anal sex, but she could not be sure.

Interlocutors asserted the many ways in which porn requires more patience, more endurance, more *muñ* than other forms of sex work. This labor of moral judgement demands sacrifice. This sacrifice and sweat are all for the future of one's family. Thus, they reflect commitment to a future and consolidate claims to moral belonging. For my porn performer interlocutors, porn is not lower on the moral hierarchy than other forms of sex work. If anything, its high level of sacrifice and endurance mark an even greater devotion to family, normative futurity, and a legible Senegalese intimate ethics.

Pleasure

In my conversations with vendors selling *draps porno*, such conversations had emerged without prompting. Miming of sex acts, bawdy jokes, and sex advice added liveliness to humid afternoons of selling and beading. After all, their work was to facilitate pleasure (and co-constitutively, virtue), but discussions of pleasure also enlivened the work of selling itself. But this, I realized, was still in the realm of virtuous vulgarity. While certain exhibits or enactments of pleasure crossed the lines of *sutura* (like the vendor who performed the "snap" tasoo in the aisle of passersby), by and large, pleasure and *sutura* were easy to align, as long as one properly folded and concealed the sheets or lingerie until the marital context had been properly circumscribed. Pleasure and *sutura* can co-exist within legible femininity.

In contrast, porn actor interlocutors rarely discussed pleasure, sexual or otherwise, over the course of our conversations. Even before engaging in the two *causeries,* Penda had warned me that our interviewees would not want to talk about the moments of pleasure that may arise in their work. It's not easy to talk about the sensory experience of sex with a near stranger, she rightly noted. "Du yoon," she said as we prepared snacks and tea for the living room talk. "It's not the way." So when we asked about the "advantages" of the profession, in-the-moment sexual enjoyment did not come up. On the contrary, the men emphasized the intense physical conditioning required to perform. For one thing, one had to spend hours at the gym to achieve and maintain the muscular body type desired by many directors. Physical pain and hardship was emphasized over pleasure. At one point in the restaurant *causerie*, Penda pressed Emilie, who had been quiet throughout the conversation.

"Emilie, you! You like sex, no?" Penda asked teasingly.

Later, when I asked why Penda went against her own advice about discussing pleasure, she said this was to make Emilie laugh, to calm her nerves. Laughter could create comfort, and Emilie was visibly uncomfortable, folding and unfolding her napkin many times over. In response to Penda's provocative question, Emilie replied that she did not even have a boyfriend.

"But when I do, I'm not going to depend on him to buy me clothes, food, anything."

Emilie sidesteps the question of sexual pleasure – and sex itself – to highlight something that gives her pride: her commitment to financial autonomy.

Of course, the discomfort factor is significant. Only after Penda and I had become friends, and after she elected herself my official relationship coach, did she begin to laugh about how she learns new sexual positions by watching porn. To be clear, pleasure's relative absence in our discussions should not amplify the historical elision of pleasure in scholarship on African contexts; this elision is complicit in colonial forms of governing African sexuality (Arnfred 2004). In the interaction with Emilie, she made a discursive detour that re-routed the conversation back to sacrifice.

After this discursive detour, Penda asked the restaurant group if they had preferences about particular actors to work with. Mounace answered yes, and that she had in fact refused to work with one actor with whom she had had a negative experience. (She declined to describe this experience in detail, saying simply, "he's not a good man,"). "Other than him, I do it. My children depend on me."

She has asserted her erotic sovereignty by establishing her limits about who she will work with. But within this limit, her own preferences do not play a role, as it is ultimately an act she performs for the benefit of her children, not herself. Apart from "bad men," all actors are viable scene partners, as it is not her own sexual enjoyment that motivates the work. Present conditions for herself cede importance to future benefits for others. Mounace's comment highlights a key thread. The conversion of porn's illicit eroticism into reproductive labor depends on sacrifice and an orientation to family-as-future. Discussing sexual pleasure in the moment of illicit eroticism, in the illicitly erotic "now," undercuts this temporal orientation and the cultivation of virtue through sacrifice.

This marks another key difference from studies of porn performance in the US; Miller-Young speculates that it may be difficult for her interlocutors to speak about moments when pleasure was absent or denied them. In part in response to dominant narratives about porn workers as universally naïve, exploited, or trafficked, Miller-Young notes how many of her interlocutors assert porn as act of agency, exploration, pleasure and self-determination (Miller-Young 2014). Here, in contrast, interlocutors reroute conversation away from pleasure to sacrifice. This re-routing emphasizes the point they want to get across; through porn labor, they harness illicit eroticism for repro-normative futurity.

The contrast between discussions of pleasure in porn, and both Miller-Young's case and the case of *draps porno* vendors should not detract, in the least, from important work challenging the neocolonial notion that pleasure is "taboo" in "African sexuality" (Arnfred 2004, Gilbert 2017). This notion perpetuates the hypersexuality/repression dichotomy embedded in colonial projects that both fetishize and dominate black bodies. Rather, the contrast reflects the difference between virtuous vulgarity – in which hardcore sits *within* repro-normative intimate labor – and illicit eroticism, in which *sutura*-transgressing sexual labor must be converted into reproductive labor. Interlocutors effect this conversion through devotion to their children's upbringing, temporal orientations to the future, and an emphasis on patience, endurance, and sacrifice. These orientations align transgressive sex work with normative ideals of intimate ethics.

Unpredictable Circulation and Discrete Exposure

Performers do not always know where or how far their films will be distributed. Sometimes, they do not know whether a film is designated for an international audience, or whether Senegalese audiences will have access to the film as well. Even for those who defiantly asserted erotic sovereignty by walking out if the terms of labor are not satisfactory, they rarely negotiated the scope of circulation. They did not stake a claim to collaborate in distribution decisions.

"That, that's for the directors," Mounace explained. "*Sama yoon nekkul ci*" ("It's not my business.")

Because they cannot control, or even reliably discern, the scope of distribution, this makes *sutura* uncertain. This uncertainty necessitates embodied acts of discrete exposure. While interlocutors experienced *sutura's* uncertainty differently, they all articulated the uncertainties of

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digital circulation and the possibility of unwanted viewership of their films. "You have to be very careful. The world today is crazy," Cherif said, implying that you may never know who watches a film.

This "craziness" demands masking. All interlocutors said they have performed on the condition they could wear a mask on their face, usually a black beanie hat with cutouts for their eyes and mouths. In Senegal, unmasked performance was given higher compensation than masked performances. Masking, for the entire group, was a necessary means of preserving *sutura.* Your identity could not leak to your family, even if the video itself did. One takes a financial cut for the sake of *sutura,* to protect ones family from unwanted exposure.

Mounace's directors rarely volunteered information about intended audience – and she is too intimidated to ask. She fears being labeled difficult to work with. Unlike other interlocutors, she does not combine porn work with another occupation. Performing without a mask is unimaginable, despite the financial benefit of performing without one.

Mamadou supports Mounace's sentiment. "I have performed with Mounace. She is *juub* (straight, morally upright)," he said. "This woman protects herself with *sutura*…she knows this is her private life." Acts of discrete exposure circumscribe a "private life" in the moment of hypervisible porn performance. Masking is a form of discrete exposure, a means of asserting one's discretion or *sutura* in the very moment of exposure. The *sutura* of this discrete exposure was amplified all the more by the financial loss it inflicted. This financial loss testified to the actors commitment to the Senegalese ethic of discretion.

The physical anonymity provided by masks made control over digital circulation less important. It was a way to ensure *sutura* despite one's lack of control over digital distribution. Mounace and Mamadou's concerns thus exemplify how assertions of digital-erotic sovereignty through masking respond to and are embedded in porn production's power relations. Directors or producers control the scope of circulation and this information is unknown to many performers. In short, Mounace controls what she can. She crafts herself as a digital intimate citizen, via her commitment to her children and to *sutura* despite the financial benefits of performing with one's face exposed. Céline felt similarly; "I am a mother. I am a Muslim Senegalese woman. Even if it's less money, I won't show my face. Never!"

Discrete exposure, as discussed in the previous chapter, is a means of enacting *sutura* through digital intimate labor. Its version of discretion does not require constructing or policing a boundary between "public" and "private" spheres. (Though the term "private life" continues to resonate with interlocutors, especially when they feel it has been violated). Masking expresses a commitment to *sutura* in the moment of sexual exposure. Interlocutors weigh economic advantage against the risk of unwanted exposure, and choose *sutura* over economic benefit. Amid the uncertainties of digital circulation, they enact *sutura* with the tools they have, their bodies,

Emigration as an Ethic of *Sutura*

Geographic movement is another form of discrete exposure. For example, Mamadou, with his muscle tee and wide smile, was particularly adamant that I communicate to Americans his readiness to perform in porn outside Senegal: *without* a mask. "If I went to the US, or France, I would be like, "I don't care! I don't care!'" He used the term "I don't care!" in English. As he repeated this phrase, he waved his arms over his head, gesturing skyward in an expression of joyful defiance. I asked what, exactly, he would not care about. He replied that he would not

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worry about wearing a mask. The *causerie* participants were aware that performing in a different country did not provide 100% assurance that the film would not be viewed by people back home. Uncertainties of digital circulation could never be eliminated entirely. Nevertheless, the geographical buffer would provide some amount of protection – that other valence of *sutura* that continually returns in digital dissidents' everyday ethics. Both masking in Senegal, and unmasked porn abroad, provide – they hope – a buffer against the risk of shameful exposure to family.

   Cherif, for one, saw geographical mobility as one advantage of having a tubaab researcher in his orbit. After the causerie, in a one-on-one meeting, he asked if I would do him a favor. Would I reach out to US production houses on his behalf? If they were interested, perhaps they would fly him out to perform in the United States. If they would, he would seriously consider performing without a mask. I demurred, admitting that I did not have contacts with any US porn production houses.

   "I have confidence in you," Cherif smiled.

   Interlocutors claimed moral belonging to Senegal by aspiring to leave the country. With geographical distance, they hoped, *sutura* in porn could be more easily assured. Even if one could never be 100% sure that digitally-mediated sexual labor would not get back to kin at home, emigration could provide one more layer of security. Geographical movement was a way to both increase *sutura* and increase financial opportunity. Abroad, *sutura* and economic benefit would not be in direct conflict as they were in porn production on Senegalese soil. This, they said, could be a game changer.

   Through aspirations of migration, performer interlocutors chart a path that is simultaneously outside normative intimacies, yet still committed to *sutura*. With the defiant exclamation of "I don't care! I don't care!" Mamadou anticipates performing with low(er) risk self-exposure. In this speculative future abroad, *sutura* and everyday exposure can coexist. Whether or not geographic distance creates the kind of firewall of discretion they hope for, it signifies a hope that *sutura* can be divested of its stultifying restrictions on exposure, restrictions that limit financial gain from porn performance. Once such limitations are removed, one can make larger financial gains, and in doing so, strengthen one's contribution to one's family's future.

   From this perspective, porn performers' orientation to the future does in fact diverge from that of other sex workers. For those who decry porn as a rejection of what it means to be a digital intimate citizen, each day's embodied labor must enact discretion. One must shield one's body from possible identification – either by masking, or by eschewing porn altogether. But with geographic separation, comes the chance to both expose one's face and body *and* ensure a long-term commitment to one's family. Concealing one's face is no longer a necessary component of repronormative futurity. Indeed, for porn performer interlocutors, family support is the ethical core of *sutura*. Thus, if one reaches US or France, performing unmasked can promote, rather than compromise, one's family's future.

Summary

   Whether interlocutors self-identified as *dans le milieu* of porn or not, they shared a perception of digital media's challenge for sex work in the late 2010s: uncertainties of digital circulation. How far would an image travel? To whom would it be shared? Could you really have trust in someone who asks you to trust them?

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For some, eschewing digital circulation of intimate images was the best, or only, way to ensure *sutura.* Sex work without digital remediation was itself its own form of discrete exposure, and a way to differentiate oneself from the *nyak* or *nyak*-like women who were so hardcore as to risk exposure to their families. For others, like Mounace and Céline, this perspective misunderstood the stakes. The higher the risk, the higher the sacrifice for a future one might not enjoy oneself. And *le porno*, if nothing else, was a risk.

This risk could be managed by its own form of discrete exposure: masking. Masking, too, responded to the uncertainties of digital circulation. Porn actors either did not know, or did not feel comfortable asking the producers to find out, the intended audience(s) for the films. However, they could exert control over their own bodily presentation, albeit at a financial loss.

Physical acts of discrete exposure like masking are key ways to assert *sutura* amid limited knowledge of or control over circulation over ones image and data. Each of these actions constitutes an assertion of digital intimate citizenship, an attempt to align oneself with normative visions of intimacy through acts of illicit eroticism. Though differently defined, illicit eroticism can be converted into repronormative labor; as such, one remains well aligned with the discretion on which moral belonging depends.

This may sound like respectability politics 101, the stultifying constraints on Black women's movement and expression that reacted to the subjugation of slavery and its heirs such as segregation and anti-miscegenation laws in the United States, or in the AOF, constraints that reacted to colonial forms of governance that positioned wives and mothers as bulwarks against both unruly female sexuality and against the unproductivity of single male workers. Indeed, *sutura* in the late 2010s becomes a form of reputation management online. It averts shame and reinscribes family stability as co-constitutive of legible social personhood.

However, this characterization is not adequate to how women with various relationships to online sex work form ethical selves. As Mireille Miller-Young affirms, erotic sovereignty is a spectrum. Sometimes it means enduring the friction between everyday illicit eroticism and hegemonic ideals; in this case, erotic sovereignty is an act of endurance, both economic and ethical. Sometimes, it consists a robust refusal of dominant ideologies of femininity, labor, or respectability. Penda's frequent exclamations of, *sama yaram maa ko moom* ("my body, I own it!"), and with regards to her work, *sa yoon nekkul ci* ("it's none of your business"), the "you" referring to an ensemble of neighbors, friends, and legal institutions determining that bars are OK for sex work, but not apartment buildings. Sometimes, it involves making ideologies of *sutura* more capacious to accommodate "illicit eroticism" (Miller-Young 2014). For example, when those explicitly in the milieu of *le porno* mask their faces, they reject the notion of "la vie privée" as a distinct sphere of life easily cordoned off from public view. This distinction does not apply to the digital sharing of sex acts. But they remain committed to separating family life from work life. They remain committed to discretion. Discretion becomes, for them, an embodied act.

In a somewhat different logic, when they aspire to practice porn abroad, they transform *sutura's* shape without rejecting it wholesale. These aspirations show a mix of defiance and respect for *sutura.* The exclamation "I don't care! I don't care!" performs and anticipates emancipation from *sutura's* constraints. At the same time, through geographic distance, the performer of these lines affirms a commitment to *sutura*; he would only "not care" about showing his face on camera if he was reasonably confident the film would not get back to his family in Senegal. Of course, this assurance is at odds with the otherwise unshakable certainty about the *un*certainty of digital circulation – its scope, its audience, its temporality. Nevertheless,

migration aspirations display a simultaneous defiance of and commitment to *sutura*. A *sutura* that flexibly adapts to scale, rather than a *sutura* that fixes a line between "intimacy" and exposure.

The women and men who shared their digital and illicit erotic practices with me thus represent the breadth of this spectrum of erotic sovereignty, and also move across it amid the vicissitudes of labor and living. Shifts may be sparked by the material contingencies of their lives and by shifts in protections, or perceived protections, provided by technical devices and the online worlds they access. Penda exemplifies the latter when she shifts from pursuing pornography as an intriguing choice, to later refusing wholesale any digitally mediated erotic labor – *le porno* or otherwise – after she witnessed her friend's loss of control of her image and her digital intimate citizenship when a video of a sexual encounter – itself filmed without her consent – was (Penda infers) uploaded without consent to seneporno.com.

These women claim erotic sovereignty – in any and all its forms – through assertions of digital sovereignty. The two are, indeed, deeply linked in a profession where one constantly fields offers of pay increases if you send a picture, uncover your face online, or do something else that stretches the bounds of digital-age *sutura*. For each interlocutor in this chapter, asserting digital-erotic sovereignty looks different, requires different forms of sacrifice.

In all cases, however, *sutura* – in addition to being a form of respectability politics – is also an assertion of digital sovereignty and, in turn, erotic sovereignty. It is an assertion of digital self-determination, whether or not it can be achieved or assured, amid threats that one's digital intimate citizenship can be, building on Ong, un-done within websites of power. For example, Penda's decision to refuse to show her breasts online asserts digital intimate citizenship in the wake of witnessing how her friend's was undone by a collusion of boyfriend and website. The collaboration between them miscast her national origin and essentially refuted any careful ethical work of aligning her erotic practice with *sutura's* norms of eroticism on which national and moral belonging depends. Claiming *sutura* in any form is an act of claiming one's digital intimate citizenship, especially when such claims are made within a broad network of power – including clients, other sexual partners, websites, tags and links – that threaten to "un-make" one's digital intimate citizenship, and with it, one's ethical-erotic labor.

By asserting *sutura* as digital-erotic sovereignty, those involved in sex work critique its disproportionate burden on already marginalized communities. In that seneporno video of violence in the taxi, comments queried, "what *sutura?*" in effect, blaming gay men for always-already lacking *sutura*. In this logic, the double violence against them – physical blows and the violence of digital exposure – did not violate *sutura* because these men never had it to begin with. Kocc Barma's rhetoric echoes a logic of what Meiu calls intimate exposure; posting videos of women to a porn website does not violate *sutura* since it serves a pedagogical function, aligning actual digital-intimate practices with norms of purity and propriety. Porn becomes a technique of purification, or as he puts it, "sanitizing Senegal." Penda and others expose the absurdity of such logics. Penda affirms the unjust un-making of her friend's digital intimate citizenship through two supposed acts of violating her *sutura*: filming her, and uploading the film, without consent. When a young participant at the STD causerie recounts tales of digital cons, she appropriates the tools of digital dishonesty often leveled against sex workers and the crowd loves it. Whether or not such cons are actionable, the act of recounting them gives voice to simmering resentment about how their bodies and labor are digitized and monetized in ways they do not endorse. It is not those who perform sex work who transgress *sutura*, they affirm, but

those wrong doers who would digitize and circulate this sex work who break its social contract. These "digital dissidents" return the responsibility of *sutura* to those who break it. Blaming women and queers may distract members of the public from the actual transgression. But digital dissidents cannot be fooled.

Of course, this counter-discourse has its limits. Sex workers displace accusations of lacking *sutura* onto those in *le porno*. They brought shame upon themselves. Such accusations unravel any utopian claims to a united front, or other such dreamy notions of collective resistance. Counter-claims remain fractured. They retain hierarchy of exclusionary national belonging. This is because *sutura* is not a stable concept. Sometimes claims of individual responsibility for exposure resurface when digital dissidents separate themselves from those they deem *more* dissident. Nevertheless The interlocutors in this section break the historical throughline that places disproportionate burden for *sutura* – unequivocally and uniformly – on women.

PART IV. SUTURA AS COLLECTIVE PROTECTION

Suturalante ("S*utura* each other)" is the word that Mame Diarra uses in her awareness-raising workshops with PS. Looking back and looking forward, Mame Diarra summarized her commitment to promoting *suturalante* online. Regarding the re-circulation of sex-tapes with questionable consent, she affirmed that this is not what sex workers should be doing. Interestingly, she called upon sex workers to reach the standard of *suturalante* set by MSM. "The MSM, they *suturalante*," she said. "You won't see one MSM who exposes another saying, him, he's an MSM." I was obviously not the only one to note resonances between MSM and sex worker stances on *sutura*. Here Mame Diarra takes direct inspiration from the former's approach to *sutura* as collective protection. I will return to this comment and this comparison in the dissertation's conclusion.

I asked a friend of mine, also a PS, what she thought of Mame Diarra's advice. She praised the call for *suturalante*. She also said that incidences of breaking *sutura* do indeed happen among sex workers when there are rifts between friends. Or simply out of carelessness or perhaps a desire for intrigue, one might recirculate a video that was not filmed or distributed consensually. But I shouldn't get the wrong idea, she affirmed; "are we worse than any other young people?"

Her point was well taken. Further circulation of non-consensually obtained footage was certainly not a problem specific to sex working communities. What seemed notable, rather, was the call for solidarity, for *suturalante,* and the comparison to the other "digital dissident" group in this dissertation: MSM. Those who risk exposure every day, those for whom exposure has serious consequences for life and livelihood, must provide *sutura* to each other. This was Mame Diarra's message.

In the introduction, I shared how experienced peer educator and sex worker Mame Diarra enacted *sutura* through acts of awareness raising about, precisely, the fragility of *sutura* for sex workers. But she is not a solo actor. She wants to mobilize groups of sex workers to protect each other. This means protecting each other's identity; do not reveal a friend's job to her parents. You never know if they know already or not, Mame Diarra advises. And mutual *sutura* extends to online interactions as well. If one receives a salacious video, do not pass it on. This is *sutura* as collective protection, and digital privacy as mutual aid.

Sutura as mutual aid takes other, aspirational forms. Both Penda and Mame Diarra aspire to start their own non-profit organizations if they manage to attract enough funding. I have put both in touch with US-based sex worker tech activists who have experience with fund-raising initiatives. Mame Diarra's organization will combine housing for unhoused PS, and job training for PS of all ages, but especially sex workers in their fifties and above, who may, like her, struggle to get clients. Whatever business ventures result from this job training will look like any other business to those outside *le milieu.* No one will know that these stores were run by and for PS, Mame Diarra affirmed; "we will all *sutural* each other."

Penda's plans for an NGO address digital harms. Broadly speaking, her future organization will help women in distress, she told me in conversations throughout our time together in Senegal, and in subsequent WhatsApp catch ups. She will help survivors of sexual assault and abuse navigate legal aid at local legal clinics. She would do the same for survivors of image-based sexual abuse. First, Penda told me, she would need to fully understand what legal avenues exist. Then, she would help survivors navigate those avenues, encouraging them to seek legal recourse even if they blamed themselves for sending out a picture, or even if they feared that they would themselves be blamed for "lacking *sutura.*"

"Lepp ci *sutura* la," Penda said, describing her future NGO. It would all be carried out with *sutura.* No one other than Penda, her clients, and the legal clinic would have to know.

Conclusion

There might appear to be little room for play within institutional frameworks that define national ideals of ethical digital intimacy. To attain good HIV/AIDS prevention statistics, tone down the eros on dating websites. To be a good youth sexual/media subject who can bear the symbolic weight of Senegal's modernity, look at sex ed images with pencils and notebooks, but without arousal; bifurcate information from desire. Health information, and health images can – and must – circulate without affect.

Each of these messages either resonate with or directly invoke *sutura's* regulation of bodily-communicative expression and are disseminated through a range of practices and institutions: for example, Islamic pedagogies, NGOs, nationally and internationally funded youth programs. With the emergence of digital intimate citizenship, one's moral legitimacy and belonging depends on upholding *sutura* amid the shifting landscape of digital connection. One's claim to the rights of national belonging (including *sutura's* protection against unwanted exposure) requires proper management of digital intimacy, image-making, and connection. Excessive or indiscrete digital intimacy jeopardizes the rights and protections that *sutura* has long secured.

Pornography shakes up this picture. It lends insight into interlocutors' nuanced ethical orientations to digital intimate images, data, or bodies that are deemed excessive or indiscreet. For example, the communicative labor of digital dissidents – that is, those often accused of such excess – may become crucial to pedagogical or ethical projects that promote normative national ideals of digital intimacy. On the one hand, pornography is the quintessential transgression of *sutura*. Exemplar of on/scenity – the bringing on-scene what should usually be hidden from view (Williams 2004). It positions the sex worker who created the image through erotic labor as moral and national outsider, even if the national provenance of the image cannot reliably be ascertained by viewers. Porn is the most indiscreet form of sex work, and the most difficult to place within even the most capacious understanding of *sutura*. And yet, the still images produced by porn actors become integrated into material cultures of legibly Senegalese virtue through the circulation of *draps porno*. Porn's transgression can be bought and worn to fashion oneself as one who possesses *jongué*, that most Senegalese practice of seduction that can be deployed to secure piety and negotiating power within patriarchal arrangements. The dynamics of digital intimate citizenship enhances this effect; the racial or (perceived) national otherness of the images, for some, become part and parcel of *draps porno' graw* ("hardcore") erotic potency. As long as such images are displayed on fabrics with *sutura* – that is, without unauthorized viewers – women can embrace the interplay between revealing and concealing porn's hypervisible sex, as they fold and unfold and re-fold images from the sex industry on their beds, or around the curvatures of their own bodies.

Elsewhere, porn has an uncertain place in pedagogies of the good media/sexual subject. In both NGO and *daayira* settings, sometimes teachers denounce porn outright. *Bakaar, bakaar la,* said one invitee to a *daayira* chat session. Sin is sin. But in other moments, porn demands nuanced orientations to the possibility and/or presence of digital erotic images. Some young people and sex educators query whether and how porn might be used as an outlet for sexual desire less sinful than premarital sex that involves another person. Might porn actually be a harm reduction tool? But this poses fundamental questions about digital embodiment and personhood; is a digital woman a woman? In the month of Ramadan, one young man asked this question

directly as he set up a pedagogical cartoon with arousing images; is the act of viewing a digitally remediated woman morally distinguishable from physical contact with a woman "in the flesh"? Such ethical discussions highlight the contested, uncertain relationship between media ideologies of the virtual embodiment and religious ethics of images. And once again, they reflect the multi-faceted role played by digital dissident excess (via actual porn images, or via porn as a concept to be invoked) in the ethical aspirations of subjects who have, and want to shore up, *sutura.* Digital dissident labor becomes incorporated into projects of securing normative ideals of digital intimacy.

Such pedagogies invite dissertation readers to reexamine any latent, lingering assumptions that Islamic pedagogies are inherently restrictive. On the contrary, educators appeal to the fact that "Islam doesn't hide anything" to bring cringe-worthy topic onto the table. As chapter one explores, such communicative acts of "taboo-breaking" create their own expectations for proper sexual subjecthood. These expectations shape how teens, especially young women, act, dress, speak, and attribute responsibility for their safety and well-being. Still, this should not take away from the fact that Senegalese sex ed pedagogies confront, head on, the complexities of digital age growing up. Digital age *sutura* explodes facile dichotomies between Islam and sexual inclusivity.

Sutura, its digital dissidents, and the pedagogical projects that engage with both undermine the analytical binary between "health" and "communication." The figure of the *géwel* (griot), which resonates with and reanimates certain inequities in contemporary understandings of queerness and health, illustrates this with clarity and brutality. The *géwel* was employed as the spokesperson for noble families. By design, the *géwel* spoke too loudly, too much, excessively. This excessive speech made the communicator integral to social life. That is, *géwels'* communicative labor allowed nobles to be quiet and maintain the *sutura* on which their noble status depended. *Géwels'* communicative labor thus perpetuated social hierarchy (an uncanny resonance to the importance of digital dissident labor in ethical projects forging sexual/media subjects today). Still, the *géwel* was considered to transgress *sutura* through this excessive (though essential) speech. Co-constitutively, the *géwel's* body was unclean, polluting. They could not be buried in cemeteries. Notably, their bodies were placed in the trunks of baobab trees, so as to protect the bodily purity – and the *sutura* – of the moral community. The figure of the *géwel* illustrate how the devaluation of particular communicative practices co-constitute the marginalization of particular bodies as inherently sick, inherently contagious. Furthermore, as Mills argues, this dual communicative-bodily transgression rendered the *géwel* an illegibly gendered figure, and in this sense queer; a man without *sutura* was not a man at all (Mills 2011). This figure represents how this co-constitution of marginalized bodies and marginalized communication – or "health/communicative inequities," following Briggs and Mantini-Briggs – helps create and solidify the heteronormative organization of power. Likewise, heteronormative organization of social relations operate through health/communicative inequities.

While today, *géwel*-casted Senegalese can be international music superstars like Youssou Ndour, their association with bodily-communicative excess emerges in those moments when *sutura* is most salient. Recall how artisan Jaq directed my attention to the prominence of *géwel* among the vendors of *draps porno,* those materials of on/scenity. And in chapter two, I showed how the logic of the *géwel* resonates with, or even animates, challenges faced by queer digital activists using dating websites for the prevention of infectious diseases. Bodily/communicative excess both marginalized them and made them crucial to nationally important projects of health

to contain bodily contagion (in the form of HIV). Both *géwel* and digital dissident peer educator deploy queer biocommunicability, the kind of dissident embodied communication that threatens (but sometimes also undergirds) heteronormative projects. Contemporary digital dissidents confronted the possibility of stigma as they created opportunities to employ the health communication tactics they found most effective on dating websites: in particular, eroticism and identity play. They embraced the embodied nature of digital communication, especially as they looked forward to the kind of organization they would want to create.

To separate health and communication as analytically distinct entities would obscure what makes both *géwel* and digital activist labor distinct: both distinctly important and distinctly threatening to the heteronormative status quo. The concept of queer biocommunicability counters this unproductive analytical distinction, and highlights how health/communicative inequities can reflect, construct, and lend the appearance of reality to heteronormative hierarchy.

Sutura is a shape shifter. Digital dissidents adapt, negotiate, transform, expand, and reclaim the ethic. Porn actors in chapter three make it more capacious to accommodate digital dissident labor. They take on higher risk – of exposure, of image-based abuse – to support their families. Insofar as motherhood exemplifies legible femininity, and legible femininity is part of *sutura,* they ask, is not their motherly sacrifice an act of *sutura?* Likewise, aspirations to perform in porn outside the country express a commitment to family honor and discretion, at least as long as images don't travel back to home communities. While the burden for upholding *sutura* has fallen disproportionately on women, sex ed students in chapter one debate distributed responsibility for *sutura*. Do camera people filming actresses bear responsibility too? Do viewers? Is *sutura* really an act of individual responsibility alone? In subtle ways, sex educators and students interrogate *sutura.*

Digital dissidents reclaim *sutura* as a form of community protection and mutual aid. Mame Diarra blends *sutura's* emphasis on individual responsibility with a vision of *sutura* as a collaborative act of protecting one's community. Sex workers must protect themselves from clients' abuses. But they must also "*sutura*lante," she affirms. They must provide *sutura* for each other. This means protecting each other's identities; know whose family is unaware of their profession and keep it that way. Also, if you receive or view a video you think was created or circulated non-consensually, do not pass it on. Do not expand its circulation. Like this act of *suturalante,* the act of educating fellow sex workers about the risks of exposure and image-based abuse is itself a form of *suturalante* as mutual aid. *Sutura's* perceived transgressors reclaim the ethic to protect one another.

The benefits and harms of digital technology are unevenly distributed; this includes uneven effects of digital technology on health equity (Lyles, Wachter and Sarkar 2021, Saeed and Masters 2021). Digital privacy is crucial to making digital health strategies and programs have a positive rather than negative impact on health disparities, but it too is unequally distributed. For instance, digital intimate non-citizens may be less able to claim the right to *sutura's* protection of digital privacy.

Members of the collectives Hacking//Hustling and Decoding Stigma Collective and their allies ask, what would the internet look like if it were designed by sex workers (see Stardust, Garcia and Egwuatu 2020)? Likewise, what would digital privacy and data protection policies look like if they were designed by sex workers? What would it look like if we dispensed with the individualistic framework dominant in the US and Europe, exemplified by the focus on data

protection for the individual consumer in the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) and its derivatives (Arora 2019)? This line of inquiry combines that of Hacking//Hustling and Decoding Stigma, with a conversation on "decolonizing privacy" that directs focus to Low- and Middle-Income Countries (LMICs). This dissertation highlights the importance of attending to inequities within LMICs regarding privacy, not just between countries. So, then, what if privacy policy and tech design were guided by *digital dissidents* in LMICs, some of those who experience privacy's double edge – for marginalization and protection – most acutely?

These questions respond to limitations to existing policy approaches that focus on individual responsibility and awareness. Like the GDPR, California's ambitious but still limited California Consumer Privacy Act (CCPA) protects individual consumers by increasing their right to know how their data is being used by the companies they opt into, and in some cases, get that data deleted from company repositories. However, this focus on the individual has not kept up with technological change. Smart home cameras, for instance, collect data from many people at once, not just the owner of an account (Wong 2021). Privacy scholars have long called for a theoretical framework for privacy that acknowledges privacy as a distributed and relational practice, one which depends as much on the other people in one's social network as one's own "awareness" of data policies (Marwick and boyd 2014).

Arora's call to "decolonize privacy" suggests we look to the Global South for alternative frameworks (Arora 2019). However, as this dissertation illustrates, whether *le droit à la vie privée* ("right to private life") is framed as an individual responsibility or a collective practice depends on intersecting forms of marginalization both between and within countries.[62] *Sutura* may indeed inspire better privacy policies. However, digital dissident interpretations of *sutura* must be taken into account. Their version of *sutura* holds exposers accountable, rather than blaming those who are exposed.

Inspired by the work of collectives like Hacking//Hustling, one of the guiding principles of this research is that sexually stigmatized communities who experience disproportionate burdens of digital harms can and do articulate alternative digital futures. They articulate alternatives both through explicit critique and through their everyday practices of digital intimate ethics. For example, PEN envisioned an alternative digital future. This future would be marked by a new approach to digital health that balances the ethic of connection with the ethic of transparency. This alternative digital future would also use mutual aid networks to ensure equitable distribution of *le droit à la vie privée*.

Mame Diarra, Penda and others reminded me of certain technical challenges in joining tech policy discussions. The online communications mediums through which these conversations happen may themselves pose risks to *sutura*. A grant from UC Berkeley's Center for Long-Term Cybersecurity (CLTC) allowed me and some Senegalese sex workers to respond to this dilemma. With the guidance of Penda and Mame Diarra, I used an encrypted messaging service to facilitate conversation between my sex worker interlocutors in Senegal and US-based activists who strive to create sex worker-led and informed tech design and policy. This coalition-building work continues as of spring 2022 as part of the CLTC's Alternative Futures Project. I have served as Wolof/English translator in these transnational conversations. Among other collaborations, Penda, Mame Diarra and I are currently working to translate US-made

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[62] Senegal's president Macky Sall highlighted this right in a press release about the importance of protecting personal data (Sall 2019).

infographics about violence and discrimination against sex workers into Wolof and French, acknowledging the weight that "translation" carries beyond referential content of the text. An international sex workers' conference has also been discussed. And my Senegalese interlocutors are seeking Americans' advice in their search for funding for a job training program for older sex workers.

I conclude by sharing the global resonance of *sutura* that inspired the CLTC project in the first place. Note the resonance between the two statements on privacy and cybersecurity. Both envision privacy as a form of collective protection. At the same time, the comparison invites reflection on the friction between "privacy" and *sutura,* a topic for future inquiry.

On its website, Hacking//Hustling, a tech justice collective of sex workers, researchers, and advocates, links to an online resource created by the organization t4tech called the "doxxing self-defense kit."[63] This kit calls privacy "a team sport" (t4tech 2022, 11) and quotes the feminist digital security organization Equality Labs: "it is important, even when you are under attack, to give space to your feelings of anxiety and dread, but do not succumb to them. Release them and return to your agency. Because in these situations we can practice a culture of mutual-aid and support around digital security" (Equality Labs 2017, cited in t4tech 2022, 14). This recalls *sutura's* reclamation as collective protection for and by digital dissidents.

Over WhatsApp, Mame Diarra and I discussed her years in advocacy and brainstormed directions for the CLTC project. Mame Diarra expressed interest in a possible transnational conversation that we could transcribe, carefully anonymize, and publish in both French and English. Mame Diarra's brainstorms pointed to *sutura* as mutual aid, an ethos that affects both online and face-to-face interactions. As I discussed above, she now cautions sex workers against carelessly re-circulating intimate videos. "If I give someone a video, spread it around, that's not *sutura.* It lacks *sutura.*" She continued:

> Always in *causéries* I tell them we have to *suturalante.* We have to help each other and be part of the same cause… You know, the MSM, they *suturalante.* You won't see one MSM who exposes another saying, him, he's an MSM. You'll never ever see an MSM expose his peer. But sometimes sex workers have jealousies or arguments. Sometimes they'll go to someone's family and say, this is what they're doing, this is their work….so this is part of the awareness-raising that I do: *sutura.* Protect yourself and protect your peer.

Digital dissidents require *sutura's* protection acutely, and often depend on each other for this protection. Mame Diarra sees lapses in her own community. Her brainstorms for our CLTC project point to this mutual aid as an ideal not always achieved. It is something she urges fellow sex workers to stick to. It is part of her ongoing pedagogy and community organizing. Self-protection and *suturalante* combine in Mame Diarra's education work on image-based sexual abuse. She shared the advice she gives other sex workers in *causeries:*

> Pay attention too to when the client pulls out their cell phone, or if they're hiding it. Have them put it away, and when you're done, give it back to them. Because if not, you

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[63] Link to the kit is active as of May 11, 2022.

risk getting filmed without knowing it. So always I do education about that, about exposure. This is part of *sutura.*

Community organizing and education are part of Mame Diarra's *sutura. Sutura,* for her, involves self-defense against image-based sexual abuse, but also a double act of mutual aid: *suturalante* between sex workers, and the act of calling others' attention to *suturalante.* This extends to the CLTC project, which aims to bring her insights to a global audience.

One challenge and opportunity will be the rough translation between "protection of private life" and *sutura.* "People say *sutura* is "*la vie privée"'* Mame Diarra said. While this is true, she affirmed, "it's not just that. There are other things. There are things you don't want exposed that are not part of your private life, you know?" Here she draws attention to the friction between terms; privacy and *sutura* align but cannot be reduced to mere synonyms. *Sutura* grants more wide-reaching protection, she suggests.

Queer media theory also interrogates privacy's centrality as an analytic for digital life. Benjamin Haber has suggested, for instance, that contemporary privacy discourses cannot account for the "more complicated play of disclosure and withholding" that draws users to platforms like Snapchat and others (Haber 2019, 1072). *Sutura* is all about such "complicated play," especially in the hands of my interlocutors, who deftly negotiate concealment and revelation out of necessity, for connection, and for power. But the many re-workings of *sutura* also invite us to ask whether, how much, and why we may remain attached to a concept of *la vie privée,* as do some of the activists in chapter two.

Mame Diarra's comment highlights future directions for this research. It can dig into the friction between *sutura* and other frameworks for protecting digital data, bodies, and selves. With its own contributions to make to queer media theory, what can *sutura* protect that other data governance frameworks cannot? What resources must be mobilized to enact and sustain such protection? What inequities must be redressed for its protective potential to be realized? And through what routes of advocacy can members of sexually stigmatized communities bring *sutura* to bear on dominant privacy frameworks?

If this dissertation highlights the importance of these questions, the CLTC project may provide an opportunity to engage them directly. We continue to discuss what avenues are best to bring the idea of *suturalante* to a global audience, and what tactics might best help Mame Diarra and Penda actualize their aspirations to create formal organizations of mutual aid. This endeavor centers experts like Mame Diarra: experts on digital benefits, digital harms, and alternative digital futures.

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