Desirability in the Gay Community: an analysis of Black and Asian navigation through Grindr

Supervisor: Jess Bier

Second reader Maja Hertoghs

Student name: David van der Veen

Student number: 540519

Date: 21/06/2020

ERASMUS UNIVERSITEIT ROTTERDAM

Abstract: Sexual racism in the gay community is still commonly experienced by BIPOC (Black, Indigenous and People of Colour). Previous literature by Han and Choi (2018) have gone more in depth within the BIPOC perspective of sexual racism by explaining how Black, Asian, and Latino users do desirability, a way of making people desire you, within larger racial infrastructures that dominate all gay sexual fields. Focusing just on one gay sexual field, Grindr, we expand on Han and Choi's research by complexifying race, showing how Black and Asian Grindr users do desirability through different racial performatives. Thus, the research question is; how do Black and Asian Grindr users perform desirability? I argue that Black and Asian Grindr users perform desirability through authenticating alterity, the practice of playing within a racialized assumption, and mimicry, the practice of mimicking Whiteness, and thereby these practices add complexity to racial categories but nonetheless reproduce Whiteness. The methodology includes 10 interviews and a document analysis of Grindr profiles from 5 Asian identifying and 5 Black identifying Grindr users. Here the homonormative model consisting of gendered expression and its link to forming race was looked at to analyse for racial performativity. The analysis shows a Black Grindr user authenticate alterity by playing into masculine gendered expression which makes Black alterity, and Asian Grindr user practice this through playing an effeminate gendered expression which makes Asian alterity. They also perform outside of alterity where a Black Grindr user mimics Whiteness through White femininity and an Asian Grindr user mimics Whiteness through White masculinity. This shows that there are different ways for Black and Asian Grindr users to racially perform themselves, thus, complexifying race as users are able to modify themselves through different racial categories in order to perform desirability. Nonetheless users directly reproduce Whiteness through mimicry and indirectly reproduce Whiteness through authenticating alterity. This allows Whiteness to be reinforced on Grindr.

Table of Contents

1. Introduction

When I first came to The Netherlands from Indonesia in 2016, I came with the expectation of being fully embraced in a Western country that is seen as one of the most liberal, free and accepting societies in the world (Wekker, 2016, p.116 & Luyendijk, 2017). As a new openly gay person, I was ready to accept 'Dutch liberal and tolerant society' with open arms. One of the first things I did was create a Grindr account on my phone, so I could start meeting other gay men. This let to my first personal experience of sexual racism. I realised that instead of people embracing my gay identity, other gay men started to put me into more boxes. I was not just the openly gay person anymore, I became the openly gay, feminine and brown person. My gay identity started to intersect with my other identities as I started to become more aware of myself. Furthermore, these additional identities set me in my place on the racial hierarchy of the gay community as layers of intolerance started to build up against me.

The struggle of sexual racism is not just a personal problem, but a societal one. Several other gay BIPOC (Black, Indigenous and People of Colour) in my circle have shared similar frustrations about sexual racism on Grindr. Therefore, this thesis is interested in exploring an intersectional account of racism within the gay community on Grindr as experienced from the BIPOC perspective. Not all experiences are the same but they can still relate. For example, Asian people and Black people will experience different realities when it comes to sexual racism, through different stereotypes and racialized assumptions. They may therefore have different ways of navigating the gay community. Therefore, this thesis will be delving deeper into the experience of Black and Asian people and how they navigate in the gay community.

This is also academically relevant: previous research has covered sexual racism in the gay community, however, not to the extend where there is larger understanding of the BIPOC perspective, beyond sexual racism as isolated incidents. Gilmore (2002) covers a larger understanding of race through the concept of systemic racism in space and geographies. This is where she suggests powers of a territory are key to understanding racism, and that race should be centred in research of spaces and geography as a category of analysis and a state of existence. This is what Han and Choi (2018) have done, going deeper in the BIPOC perspective by centring race to an extend where they unpack Latino, Black and Asian experiences and show them separately, and next to White people. In their research they deconstruct sexual racism as a larger structure that envelopes in all spaces both online and offline, showing it as more than just particular isolated incidents occurring in certain places, rather as a larger infrastructure. They explain how Black, Asian, and Latino homosexual men navigate racism in multiple

spaces through doing desirability, a way of making other people desire you (Han and Choi, 2018, p.147). Having this larger understanding of sexual racism by centring race allows a more in depth understanding of the BIPOC perspective.

While Han and Choi's (2018) research is useful going deeper in the BIPOC perspective by showing a larger infrastructure that affects different groups, their explanation of BIPOC experience in terms of doing desirability and navigation is limited, because it shows BIPOC as static. In their analysis Black and Asian people go through sexual fields doing desirability by existing as bodies without further movement, stuck to their designated categories within given racial assumptions based on their constructs of racial identity. The way BIPOC exist on the sexual field and how desirability is navigated can further be expanded upon by showing movement beyond designated racial categories, showing more flexibility. This would further add to the BIPOC perspective by complexifying race.

Therefore, this thesis will be drawing further from their research of desirability in combination with Critical Race Theory and applying it for the case of Grindr as a sexual field, in order to further complexify race. In understanding the navigation of Black and Asian people in the gay community, we will be looking at exactly what Black and Asian Grindr users do in the sexual field to be desired. This leads to the research question of: how do Black and Asian Grindr users perform desirability?

I argue that Black and Asian Grindr users both perform desirability through authenticating alterity and mimicry, thereby these practices add complexity to fixed racial categories but nonetheless reproduce Whiteness. Notions of race as fixed are complexified whereby authenticating alterity, the act of playing into racialized assumptions, and mimicry, the act of mimicking Whiteness, both allow individuals to modify themselves through racial categorization. Nonetheless they still reproduce Whiteness which reinforces its norms throughout space.

It is expected that Black and Asian Grindr users both perform according to their racial assumptions and also mimic Whiteness in order to be desired. In doing so, however, both Black and Asian Grindr users also reproduce Whiteness because they reinforce the same values that were created to form a White space that they are being sexually discriminated in. Han and Choi mention this in their research, where the dominant group of White men are involved in creating and maintaining Whiteness of the sexual field (Han and Choi, 2018, p.151). If Black and Asian

Grindr users mimic this Whiteness it could therefore be expected they are also partly involved in maintaining it as well, regardless of their intentions.

First in the theory section we will delve into Han and Choi's employment of sexual field theory and desirability theory. The sexual fields theory will help explain the context of where desirability takes place, linking it to White space. Desirability theory will be expanded upon in combination with racial performativity theory. This includes mimicry and authentic alterity. These theories will be a guide to seeing how Black and Asian people practice race through White space to perform desirability.

In the methodology section shows how the interviews and document analysis of the participant's Grindr profiles will be carried out. The interview and document analysis combined help explain how and why participants racially perform the way they do in order to reveal racial performativity on Grindr.

The analysis is where we shall see how racial performativity is carried out on Grindr. This is where desirability is performed by Black and Asian Grindr users involving both authenticating alterity and mimicking Whiteness. It complexifies race as there are different practices that allows Black and Asian Grindr users to racially perform themselves beyond their designated categories. Nonetheless, in practicing the racial performatives that allow them to perform desirability, they reproduce Whiteness and reinforce it on Grindr.

2. Theoretical Framework

By looking at Han and Choi's (2018) employment of desirability in the sexual field, it can be seen how the racial hierarchy exists as a larger structure that creates a White space in gay sexual fields. This is useful in knowing the context of where performing desirability takes place. Looking more closely at how Han and Choi's employment of how desirability theory, it can be seen how race is seen as fixed. This is complexified by bringing in literature on racial performative theory. It shows different practices of authentic alterity and mimicry, that include processes and motives, both allowing a blending in White space.

2.1 Desirability: sexual fields

It is on the concept of sexual fields (Green, 2008) that Green builds his theorization of desire (Green, 2011). Here, Green shows the sexual field as a space filled with competing desires where individuals build on erotic capital in order to pass through. This concept paved the way for understanding larger macro structures that govern and regulate sexual fields, such as in gay

bars or in cyberspace. Han and Choi provide an important adaptation of Green's theory by centering race as the larger overarching infrastructure in the gay community and showing it as a White space. They show this under the section of "the undoubted desirability for Whiteness" (Han and Choi, 2018, p.152)." It was found using the first four steps of desirability theory which include an understanding of the field, knowing other generalizable groups, knowing your position in the sexual hierarchy, and know the other's position in the sexual hierarchy (Green, 2011, p.244). These are the first four steps of Green's desirability theory explain that there is a general tendency for desiring Whiteness in the gay community. It shows that gay sexual fields are mainly a White space, this is useful in knowing the context of where desirability is performed.

It is the fifth step of desirability theory, the part of knowing how to 'play the game' by behaving in a certain way (Green, 2011, p.262) that is expanded on. Han and Choi provide an important adaption of that specific part of Green's desirability theory, they it in the part of 'Learning to play the game" (Han and Choi, 2018, p.153). Han and Choi's (2018) analysis shows that BIPOC can only engage by fulfilling their racialized assumption through authentic alterity, in order to be desired. They play into their racial stereotypes in order to be desired by White men who fetishize them (Han and Choi, 2018, p.155). This limits the navigation of BIPOC in the sexual field, showing race as fixed by only being a fetish. Their navigation through White space can be expanded by showing that there are more practices that modify race, thus complexifying race.

Previous research has expanded on their navigation beyond racial fetishization. Han, Proctor, and Choi (2014) show how Asians deal with racial stigma in the gay community by either passing as White or working away from femininity, which is associated as an Asian stigma, and towards masculinity (p.223). This research however is limited because it only shows the Asian perspective. Another criticism on both research (2014 and 2018) is that neither of the explicate the practices of fetishization, movement away from a stigma, or passing as White as racial performatives. Seeing these different practices explicitly as ways of racially performing oneself helps to show the complexity of race because race then becomes unfixed.

2.2 Racial performativity

Traditionally the theory from Butler (1999) around performativity is used to critique the normalized notions of gender, later resulting in the term gender performativity. It is another way of studying performativity that involves scrutinizing and re-examining the hegemony of

gender binary. Ehler takes the concept of performativity and establishes it as an ontological reality. She brings the same concept of performativity within race and in doing so, race becomes something that is 'done' instead of being an inherent internal (or external) truth of reality framework (Ehler, 2012, p.6).

Previous literature of racial performativity has been covered to a lesser extent. We can see this from Ehler, who has research and published a book (2012) about racial performativity, and Ahmed (1999), who has also talked about racial performativity through the concept of passing. This is the same concept of racial passing that is used by Han, Proctor, and Choi (2014), however, Ehler (2012) and Ahmed (1999) describe it more explicitly as racial performativity. Although their explanation of racial performativity is useful as we will explore later, the concept of racial passing, through which they explain it, is limited to BIPOC who have lighter skin, for example those who are of mixed race: the 'ambiguous bodies'. This thesis is not focusing on mixed identifying individuals or lighter skinned BIPOC who have the ability to pass, however the basic concepts behind racial performativity that Ehler and Ahmed introduce are useful. This includes understanding racial performativity as consisting of motives and a process of moving through space, both leading to a blending in space. This can then be applied to authentic alterity and mimicry as these practices are not limited to lighter skinned and mixed BIPOC and are therefore better concepts that can explain the racial performativity of Black and Asian Grindr users.

Ehler and Ahmed's explanation of racial performativity helps to show the motivation and the process behind it, and together they show a blending in space. Ehler explains the motive behind racial performativity as one that is involuntarily done, where the subject does not realize that they are racially performing a certain way, and voluntarily done, where the subject wants to escape structural disadvantage or enters an 'interracial' relationship and therefore performs a certain way to appeal to Whiteness and act White (Ehler, 2012, p. 58). The process of racial performativity is the literal act, according to Ahmed, of movements though space: the individual can never stop at one point, they must keep on moving (1999, p.94). Together the motive and the process of racial performativity explain the individual's blending into space. Ehler describes it as the individual who endlessly is trying to blend into this White space and never being fully able to fit into it (2012, p.89). As Han and Choi (2018) have shown most gay sexual fields are White spaces, therefore racial practices that allow a blending in space show how desirability is performed in a White space.

There are different ways of blending into space that involves different processes and motivations. This includes the practices of authenticating alterity and mimicry. These practices can be applied to Black and Asian people and are not limited to lighter skinned and mixed individuals who could pass as White. These two practices show race as unfixed because now there are multiple ways individuals can racially blend in White space.

2.2.1 Authenticating alterity theory

The practice of authenticating alterity is similar to fetishization. This is something already discussed by Han and Choi as a way of BIPOC negotiating themselves through the structure of desire. They show that Black and Asian Grindr users deal with overarching racial infrastructures by allowing themselves to play into specific racial assumptions (Han and Choi, 2018, p.155). However, they do not explicate this as a racial performativity. Previous literature by Johnson (2004) helps make the link between authentic alterity and performativity to explicate it as a racial performative. From this the process and the motive can be seen as one way of blending into White space.

Johnson's book (2004) on Blackness and performativity helps make the link between authentic alterity and performativity. He discusses the authenticating of Black texts, and how Blackness materializes through Black texts. Here the demarcations of 'Blackness' around Black texts are unstable as Johnson argues that Blackness materializes beyond just the Blackness of the reader and the text. It also materializes when the readers of the Black text move themselves physically and engage in a place that signifies Blackness such as a jazz or blues club (Johnson, 2004, p.230). The performance of physical movement to the place and engagement within the place along with the reading of text and reader identification, materializes Blackness. As Johnson writes, it is "prioritizing performance as a trope that mediates the blackness of texts and the identity claims of people" (Johnson, 2004, p.229). This shows the importance of performativity in authenticating alterity explicating it as a racial performative.

Authentic alterity as a racial performative practice contains a process and a motivation. Authentic alterity is problematic because it draws essentialist notions for the oppressed race through internalized stereotypes (Russell, 2012, p.82). It leaves out more people than it includes people (Johnson, 2004, p.3). It draws strict lines and regulations on what is considered Black or Asian, as it becomes an escape fetish into the other, another way of being desired by Whiteness and a difficult being to constantly uphold (Johnson, 2004, p.5). Thus, the process of authenticating alterity is constant movement through space within strict regulations of alterity

that must be upheld. The motive of this is to be an escape fetish to overcome larger structural barriers. This shows how and why individuals blend into White space by authentic alterity. This process can be seen more in detail for Asian and Black people through gendered expressions.

Effeminacy

Certain gendered expressions like effeminacy make up regulations for Asian alterity. This involves a racial assumption that Asian guys are meant to be feminine, obsessive with White sexual partners, and sexually bottoms (Han, Proctor & Choi 2014, p.220). Therefore, performing an Asian alterity requires a petite body, submissive behaviour to a White person, and the creation of a flamboyant atmosphere, which attribute to an effeminate gendered expression. This shows the process of practicing authentic Asian alterity involves moving through strict regulations that dictate effeminacy.

Masculinity

The process for Black assumptions includes movement through hypermasculinity. This involves the animal-like body and behaviour, large penis, and top position in sex. Muscles and penis are important sites of Blackness (Ferber, 2007, p.14) and therefore require a disciplinary performativity that associates a person with a large penis or muscles. Activities like going to the gym, doing something actively with sports, or being out in nature (animal-like) are important markers of recreating 'Blackness'. This shows the process of practicing authentic Black alterity involving moving through strict regulations that dictate masculinity.

Allowing the link between performativity and authenticating alterity explicates it as a racial performative, and this helps see the process and the motives behind it. The process as explained by Johnson (2004) requires movement through strict regulations of BIPOC alterity, similarly to what Han and Choi's (2018) paper already shows as way for BIPOC to live up to racialized stereotypes. The process, more specifically, from previous literature shows how these strict regulations are assumed and performed for Black and Asian people through regulations of gendered performatives involving masculinity and effeminacy. The motivation of authentic alterity is to become an escape fetish to overcome the larger structure barriers. Both the process and motivation show authentic alterity as one way of practicing a blending in space. Another racial performative looked at, mimicry, shows another practice that allows blending in space.

2.2.2 Mimicry theory

Mimicry is the practice of imitating the dominant group, in this case mimicking Whiteness, which allows BIPOC to perform outside of their racial assumptions. This concept is introduced by Bhabha as a postcolonial theory, although he does not mention it explicitly as being a racial performativity. Lahiri (2003) in her paper on Performing Identity helps link performativity with mimicry. From this we can see the process and motive behind mimicry as a racial performative that allows individuals another way of actively blend in space outside of alterity.

Mimicry is about the ambivalent relationship between those who are colonized and the colonizer. This is where colonial discourse perpetuates the colonized subjects to mimic those who colonized them (Bhabha, 1984). Specifically, it takes one part of the concept of passing, that is 'acting white' and confronts the colonizer with it. This is where Lahiri explains it as a performative, where strategies are employed by the colonized to actively perform essentialized notions of class and race by "absorbing, negotiating and juggling multiple imagined roles and material embodiments" (Lahiri, 2003, p.409). According to Bhabha, mimicry becomes a threat to the dominant group because they are being mocked, and therefore slowly dismantled from an essentialist idea of what makes the dominant group superior (1984, p.132). The person who mimics Whiteness however will never be fully White, they are White but not quite (Bhabha, 1984, p.132). This is therefore useful for understanding how Black and Asian Grindr users mimic White people, who are the dominant group in the gay community: they will never be quite White.

The process of mimicry is shown in the critique on Bhabha. While Bhabha explains mimicry as a counter reaction to the colonizer's hegemony and as challenge and a form of resisting the hegemony of Whiteness, a main critique remains that he fails to see the consequences of practicing mimicry. One of the consequences of adopting the norms of the dominant group is firstly abjection, this is a result internalization of the dominant group's superiority. Secondly, as a result of internalization, subjects who mimic the dominant group will not be aware that they are reproducing the values of that group and further othering the oppressed group of the colonized (Peimanfard, 2018, p.115). Peimanfard's critique shows that the process of mimicking the dominant group requires a reproduction of their values, and this process does not end because in mimicking you never really become White (Bhabha 1984, p.132). Therefore they are never really becoming the aim of Whiteness, a constant movement with no stop.

The motive behind mimicry is to adjust to the colonizer, to get around the hegemonized world order of the dominant group by being part of the dominant group, a conformer. Often unintentionally because of the internalization of oppression that uplift the colonizers and suppresses local past identifications and memories (Zhang, 2016, p.30). In previous literature, Lahiri (2003) shows through the concept of class mimicry that it is done for two reasons. Firstly, it is to gain access to the resources of the dominant group in society as a way of survival for the oppressed. Secondly, if it is available for consumption, it can also be done as a way of just not being excluded by wider society (Lahiri, 2003, p.417). What this shows is that the motive for people practicing mimicry is be conformers, to escape structural disadvantage and not be excluded by wider society.

Mimicry explicated as a racial performativity by Lahiri (2003) helps show the process which include reproducing dominant values as a constant movement through space, and the motive of escaping structural disadvantage by being a conformer. It shows how and why they adjust to the dominant group present in that space, similarly to the colonized and colonizer concept as elaborated by Bhabha. It is another practice that allows a blending in White space.

Both mimicry and authenticating alterity as racial performatives are useful theories for the analysis to see how Black and Asian Grindr users have different practices consisting of different processes and motives that allow them to blend into White space. It complexifies race as users are able to modify themselves through racial categories. The theories expand on Han and Choi's (2018) research as desirability can be 'done' beyond designated BIPOC spots through racial performativity to blend into the sexual field.

3. Methodology

The primary method of collecting data is through a mix of open ended and semi-structured interviews, and document analysis respectively. The open ended and semi-structured interviews are a similar process to what Han and Choi did in their article (2018, p.151). They specifically interviewed BIPOC people who identified with either a Latino, Asian, or Black identity to show the differing perspectives within BIPOC groups. That is why similarly the interviews here also targeted specifically at people identifying as Asian or Black. The reason for leaving the Latino group out is because in The Netherlands there is not a large Latino group. Although they did not do any sort of document analysis. Bonner-Thompson's article (2017) is a good example of research that did do a document analysis of Grindr profiles and interviews in Manchester, explaining the production of masculinity. Bonner-Thompson focused mainly

on visuality of skin as productions of masculinity when discussing the Grindr profiles. For this thesis it similarly focused on the visual but at the same time considered the categories and texts in helping see the production of a particular racialized performativity. It also takes into account what the users say about the photos and what they intend to portray to the viewers of the photo. This also depended on my own initial impressions and assumptions of the raced body in the image, and discussing it together with the Grindr user what exactly he is trying to show.

The research participants were contacted through several gay BIPOC groups that allowed direct access to multiple sources, and through snowball sampling more sources were obtained. This was done through groups like COC Amsterdam, a Dutch nationwide LGBTQI+ fraternity. There were also several official/unofficial Facebook and LGBTQ+ clubs and groups that allowed full access and contact with members of the group. Participants were guaranteed anonymity: they are referred to in the analysis with an alias.

The participants include 10 Black and Asian identifying people who have used Grindr as late as at least 2020 or were still using Grindr at the time of the interview. For Black Grindr users it is to anyone who identifies as 'Black' in their daily life. For Asians it is anyone who identifies as South Asian, Southeast Asian and East Asian. The reason for not including central Asians or Middle Eastern identifying people is because these groups deal with different stereotypes, therefore it is better to focus on specific groups that are more related such as the ones selected. The participants of this thesis included five Black participants and five Asian participants. Of the Asian group, two identified as East Asian, one as Southeast Asian, one as a mix of East Asian and White, and lastly one South Asian person. The reason for including the mixed East Asian and White individual is because he provides useful insight as well about the issue.

Furthermore, the focus is on gay cisgender identifying and cisgender passing males. This is because transgender and non cis-passing males have additional experiences of racism and discrimination that intersects directly with their non-male look. Nine participants identified as cisgender males and one participant identified as gender neutral but passes as cisgender. The range of the participants age is between 18 to 50, the reason for not going over the age of 50 is because the generation gap might start to widen too much. The location is not a priority since this is not a comparative case of two physical places or cities. Participants were mainly located in the Randstad area of The Netherlands with the exception of one who resides outside of the Randstad. The reason for picking people in the Randstad is because in this area the experience of Grindr might slightly differ due to larger population residing there, and there are also more

BIPOC whereas outside of the Randstad it is still relatively White. One Grindr user was not from the Randstad, but his insight still proved useful because he lives in a student city where it is more international. Additionally, he has also talked about his experiences when visiting the Randstad.

The process of doing the interviews, and document analysis was a challenge considering the unusual circumstances of the corona virus. For precautionary measures, in order to prevent further spreading virus and following the national guidelines set by the Dutch government for social distancing in April of 2020, all ten interviews took place online through video calling. This limited our interaction as some participants also struggled opening up during the interview. Video calling made the conversation less personal and made emotional and personal topics like this harder to share. However, it did help the research in other ways. During mandatory quarantine more participants were joining Grindr, and most participants were opening it more frequently. This made the topic of Grindr more relevant to most participants as they could relate with it daily.

3.1 Open-ended/Semi-structured interviews

The research included a mix of open ended and semi-structured interviews to allow for a less rigid form of conversation since it is a personal topic. Especially given that the interviews are online and at a distance, personal topics discussed like this required adjustment from both sides of the interview. Although there was a guide of questions that allowed for the specific themes of performativity and racism on Grindr to be followed, as with most semi-structured interviews, having an open-ended interview helped in making the interview more personal and casual, allowing for participants and myself to feel more comfortable when discussing personal topics of sexual racism.

The interviews helped the Grindr users discuss why they chose the pictures they have on their profiles, and the profile text and categories. Three Grindr users were not comfortable enough to share their Grindr profile but were able and open to describing and discussing what their Grindr profiles contained and why they made it that way. Understanding why is important because that relates to the racial performative theory which could show their motive. Understanding motives of the movement also partly helps understand the nature of the movement, for example, if one user accepts all racial assumptions made about him as given facts about his race, it is likely that he will follow these assumptions and authenticate alterity. Another example might be a user openly denouncing stereotypes against him and wanting to

perform opposite stereotypes than the ones given to him, this could indicate the user adopting the identity of the dominant group, mimicry.

While analysing the interviews, a homonormative model of behaviour was used to see how race was performed online. The concept of homonormativity includes class and gendered behaviour and its unique relationship in shaping race. However, 'class' performativity and its relation to race was not included in the analysis because that would bring the argument into two separate discussions, therefore the analysis was focused on gendered expressions of race.

Yep and Elia (2012) talk about the new homonormativity model and analyse a TV series with an all gay Black male cast and how they behave exclusively mimicking Whiteness and authenticating alterity. For example, these men are all muscular and involved in sports and activity, they are always involved in the public sphere, while the more feminine men are seen in the household and indoor most of the times. These visual cues of their body and the associated activity and the location indicate their commodification for White viewers to sexualize the Black male, fulfilling the assumption of the Black male as big and masculine (Yep and Elia, 2012, p.903).

Similarly, the interviews were analysed picking up on cues of gendered expressive terms that relate to masculinity and femininity. For example, the participants who liked talking about sports or any outdoor related activity would relate it back to their Grindr profile and how they would try and portray that in there. Some Grindr users would talk about how they message other users, what they would include in their conversations and what they liked talking about. Activities that are indoor related such as cooking, cleaning, or interior design are related to the domestic sphere, therefore considered effeminate. This is similar to how Yep and Elia talk about the feminized characters mostly being bounded to the domestic sphere and interested and involved in domestic sphere topics (Yep and Elia, 2012, p.904). In this case we could see a unique relation to race as attempting to move away from the Black assumption of being masculine, towards adopting a conformed mentality of being a good domestic househusband which could indicate a mimicry of Whiteness. The same topics that were discussed by Black and Asian Grindr users related to masculinity were analysed as well, when they talk about sports and outdoor related activities.

3.2 Document analysis

The document analysis used the same homonormative model and specific cues of gendered expressions that are related to race. There are several parts that are looked at in the document analysis. Firstly, through the pictures, and secondly through the profile descriptions.

By looking whether the individual shows any sport related activity in the picture, the location whether indoor or outdoor, and the type of body they display or try to portray. Referring to the homonormative, indoor related activities, and non-sportive like activities like at the spa, shopping mall, and at home are related to effeminacy. Pictures including actively showing muscles, or doing sports, being on the beach, the gym or outdoors in nature portray a more masculine side.

Then profile descriptions are looked at. Grindr users who write something sport related in their description or make reference to outdoor activities can indicate masculinity. Those who share something fashion related, or domestic activity related like cooking are associated more with effeminacy. There are also specific categories that Grindr gives as options to make viewable. Showing body type as toned and slim are related more to effeminate while muscular and large could be seen as masculine. Then there is also the tribe category, the two infamous tribes being Twink and Jock. The Twink tribe is associated with effeminacy while Jock is associated with masculinity. At the time of writing this Grindr had removed the filtering of ethnicity, however the category of ethnicity itself was not removed from the profile descriptions option, and the filtering was still something relevant during the time of all ten interviews. Therefore, this does not affect the research.

Both profile descriptions and picture help inform each other. For example, I may have had the impression that a Grindr user was portraying an effeminate performative from his picture, this would be further confirmed by his descriptions such as Twink or what he writes in his status that is fashion related.

Together the document analysis and the interviews both complement each other in sharping information as well. While information from the document analysis can be limited sometimes, this is further confirmed by the participant when he talks about the profile. For example, the Twink status and the effeminate profile photo is further confirmed by the participant discussing topics related to fashion and make up that might further indicate effeminacy. Some Grindr profiles were also left blank, were not shared, or were deleted at the time of the interview and therefore a discussion helped in compensating for the missing data. Similarly, there were times

when the participant did not have much to say about their profile either due to the impersonal discussion through video chat or because they just did not want to say anything, the profile description in itself would sometimes be sufficient enough data to indicate a gendered expression.

The gendered expression indicated by the discussion and the profile is also related to the participants race, the race they identify with and how they think about race in terms of racial assumptions about their own race and other BIPOC races and Whiteness. This shows the unique connection between the expression as a performative of the race, also because many participants resorted to talking about gendered expressions when describing racial assumptions of BIPOC and Whiteness. By seeing the connection of gender expression to race it can be seen how race is performed towards a racial assumption, authentic alterity, or away and towards mimicking Whiteness, this thus shows racial performativity. Seeing the flexibility of how race is played through gendered expressions helps complexify race, as it is not fixed because individuals can modify racial categories through these practices.

4. Analysis

Black and Asian Grindr users both perform desirability through authenticating alterity and mimicry, and thereby reproduce Whiteness. Through gendered expressions both Black and Asian Grindr users play into their own racial assumption that authenticate alterity and play outside of their racial assumption in mimicking Whiteness. Both cases, however, directly and indirectly reproduce Whiteness by reinforcing White ideals in space.

It was found that Black and Asian Grindr users both perform masculine and effeminate enactments respective to their racial assumptions, with the masculine enactment being associated as a Black racial assumption and the effeminate enactment as associated with the Asian racial assumption. These enactments are not just associated to their respective racial assumptions, they also link to ideals that allow the reproduction of White femininity and White masculinity, such as Twink and Jock ideals respectively. Black and Asian Grindr users perform outside their racial assumptions and in doing so mimic Whiteness through these ideals. Mimicry directly reproduces Whiteness because they are directly copying Whiteness that allows them reinforce White ideals outside of alterity. We see however that this is also the case for authenticating alterity, which indirectly reproduces Whiteness, because these gendered performances also partly carry the same ideals that allow them to reinforce Whiteness.

First, we see how both Black and Asian Grindr users perform authentic alterity by looking at the association of these enactments with the Black and Asian racialized assumptions, and how they are performed by Black and Asian Grindr users. This shows one way of the active blending into White space. Then we see how Black and Asian Grindr users also perform outside of their racial assumptions through mimicking Whiteness and how all these enactments also partly carry White femininity and White masculinity through racialized gay tribes of the Twink and Jock. This shows another active blending in White space. The different motives and process that create the different racial performatives add complexity to the idea of race as fixed, because there are different practices towards satisfying racial categories that allow the blending in White space. Even in complexifying race, the result of blending in Whiteness results in the reproduction of Whiteness. This can be seen directly in practicing mimicry, however it can also be indirectly seen in authenticating alterity. This causes Whiteness to be reinforced in space, maintaining the infrastructure.

In line with what Han and Choi have researched about multiple gay spaces, there is a general tendency of desire towards Whiteness on Grindr as well. This is something that is expressed by both Black and Asian Grindr users. One Black identifying Grindr user in his in his mid-20s, Jahni, stated: "…it [Whiteness] is an obsession, it's subconscious. The discussion always focused on Whiteness and how, why they are not attracted to us, it always centers around it" (interview 2). This shows that people on Grindr, even without noticing it themselves, are obsessed with Whiteness and White people, allowing Whiteness to be centered on Grindr. Angga, a Southeast Asian identifying Grinder user in his early 20s stated: "I feel like a lot of the applications like Grindr and such are really built for like White gays" (interview 8). This statement also further confirms that Grindr is not just a place with a center and desire for Whiteness, but also a space that reproduces Whiteness, because it is a space designed mainly for White people only. With the general desire towards Whiteness and the built for White people, this attests to Grindr being mainly a White space.

It is important to see how the sexual field of Grindr is a White space as it shows the larger picture of the context where users are performing desirability. It explains why the users perform the way they do on the platform, even without being aware and intentionally blending in and reproducing Whiteness, as can be seen later through the performative practices and the results of it

4.1 Authentic alterity

Black and Asian Grindr users perform authentic alterity by playing into their own racial assumption through effeminate and masculine enactments. First, we see what the Asian racial assumption entails and then we see how it is performed by one of the users. Then we see what the Back racial assumption entails and how that is performed by one of the users. What they each show is how authentic alterity moves them through space by performing the respective gendered enactments through strict regulations of Black and Asian racial assumptions, and this is being done with the motive to overcome structural barriers by being an escape fetish. Both show authentic alterity as the active blending into White space.

4.1.1 Asian assumption and performativity

One White and Southeast Asian mixed identifying Grindr user in his early 30s, Adam, states that:

> … the stereotype of a gay asian in western countries is some one who is very twinky (in every sense of the word), somewhat girly/flamboyant. Submissive and 100% bottoms, always seeking white guys (any white guy) (Interview 9).[1]

From this statement we can see the strict regulations through which the Asian racial assumption is being constructed with, being 'girly' and 'flamboyant'. Liuwei, an East Asian identifying Grindr user in his early 20s, further states that:

> The stereotypes towards Asian, I guess is you get Asian people are more skinny. But I think that's true… the stereotype towards Asian, for Asian it's also the case they are more bottom than top… As for Asian people are skinny, it's true, because Asian people tend to eat more veggies than meat (interview 7).

This statement shows two things. Firstly, it shows that Asians are also seen as skinny and bottoms, pertaining to being submitted sexually to dominate top, drawing further strict regulations on the Asian racial assumption as effeminate. Secondly, it shows that there is an acceptance for the more effeminate enactment as an Asian racial assumption, a racial internalization that allows for an unintentional escape fetish to be realized.

This is shown performatively in the movement through strict regulations as well, with the internalization of the racial assumption. Liuwei's profile shows this effeminate performance of himself. One of this two profile pictures include a photo of him standing indoors, inside a

---

[1] Follow up answer sent through Facebook Messenger

cloakroom looking in the mirror whilst wearing a slightly oversized t-shirt with oversized sleeves. This actively makes his body look smaller because he does not fit in the full size of his shirt. The white t-shirt he wears along with a cartoon on it makes him look lighter and gives him a more youthful look. There is also flamboyancy in the location of the picture. He remarks:

> The selfie I think is more random, it's taken in the cloakroom in the shopping mall... I don't have too much particular reason because I am not really good at making up, or dressing or taking picture of myself (interview 7).

While Liuwei himself claims he does not relate to dressing up or doing any make up, the mirror picture of him in a cloakroom inside a shopping mall is associated with fashion, knowledge of fashion through dress up and style, which attributes flamboyancy and is therefore an effeminate enactment. Together his body size, lightness and youthfulness, and the location of the picture and its flamboyant associations inside a cloakroom portray effeminacy. What this shows is that the individual moves through space within the regulations of the Asian racial assumption given his effeminate profile and thus fulfills his motive of being the escape fetish, unintentionally as he internalizes it. This shows him authenticating the Asian alterity that allows him the blending in Grindr's White space.

4.1.2 Black assumption and performativity

Likewise, these regulations and motives can also be seen for Black individuals that allow them to practice authentic alterity to afford blending into Grindr's White space. Chewana who is in his 30s and who identifies as Black, stated:

> As a Black man then you are with a super big cock, and then you almost rape that White bottom, you abuse him blah blah blah…if you then put yourself as Black top, as dominant and I don't know, hypermasculine and top, that can hold it for ten hours with a 25-centimeter dick, well then you'll get thousands of reactions in five minutes (interview 4).

This statement shows that Black people have an association with masculinity through being big, strong and active given Blackness is expected to uphold hypermasculinity and being top indicating dominance, a big penis indicating big size, and a huge stamina from holding it for ten hours, indicating the activeness and sportiveness. Another Black identifying Grindr user in his 20s, Damien, stated that: "If you are a top then you are masc [masculine], then you are definitely more manly, then you are definitely more muscled or call it what you will" (interview 3). This shows what masculinity entails: it includes muscles, manliness and it is also related to

and stemming from being considered a top in sexual positions. What this all shows are that big size, muscles, manliness and domination in sexual position are the strict regulation of the Black racial assumption.

Within these regulations, this is performatively practiced as a movement through space. Alfonso, who is around his 30s and who identifies as Black, includes in one of his profile pictures a shirtless photo of himself in the swimming pool. In the photo he does not smile and looks with a serious face into the camera. Being shirtless in the pool shows him as an active person by being sportive, it also shows part of his neck muscles which attribute to his muscularity and portray him as strong. His serious face gives him more of an adult look because of an association with less innocence, conveying more maturity. His Grindr profile includes openly displaying categories such as body type and tribe. In the categories he marks himself as muscular and a Jock. This further adds to the muscularity on his photo. His photo and profile description enable him to live up to the strict regulations of the Black racial assumption. This shows his movement through space performatively, enacting active, sportive, muscularity and maturity within regulations of the Black racial assumption.

He allows himself to be an escape fetish, although this is unintentionally motived. When asked whether he follows a masculine stereotype, Alfonso replied: "No, I'm trying to work away from that masculine bullshit" (interview 1). However even in working away from a masculine play, he still noted that his profile enacted masculinity, saying:

> That is something that has been there for a longer time, it had already been there. I probably have not changed it in all these years, so that sort of thing is actually there subconsciously, so I am actually aware of it now because of those things. When you are asked about it, you really start thinking about it (interview 1).

What this shows is that he also unintentionally left the profile performatively playing into a Black racial assumption. Without notice, he performatively moves through the space as an escape fetish. Alfonso mentions:

> From my experience I see two groups, it is either they are all the way into me or totally not. There is no way in between. So, it is still totally going for Blackness, or they [White people] are totally going for Whiteness (interview 1).

This means that the people on Grindr are responding to his profile based on his race, where he unintentionally becomes an escape fetish. From the process of his movement through space,

where he lives up to the regulations of the Black racial assumption, and his unintentional motive, being an escape fetish, he authenticates alterity. This practice shows his active blending in Grindr's White space.

Both cases show the active blending in Grindr's White space through practicing authentic alterity. As they move through space within strict regulation of Black and Asian racial assumptions, and unintentionally or internalized with the motive of being an escape fetish, they practice authentic alterity, one way of blending in Grindr's White space.

4.2 Mimicry

Black and Asian Grindr users also perform outside of their racial assumptions through mimicking Whiteness. The gendered enactments discussed previously are not just Black or Asian racial assumptions, they also represent White femininity and White masculinity through racialized gay tribes of the Twink and Jock. By reproducing these types of Whiteness, a process of movement through space motivated by being a conformer, they practice mimicry. This shows another racial performative that actively blends individuals in Grindr's White space.

4.2.1 Black Twink

Twink is associated with White effeminacy. A Twink is a gay jargon that is used to describe a gay male individual who is often seen as a young boy, who is hairless, and often sexually a bottom. It is also often someone who has lighter skin and blonde hair and is also not super intelligent. A Twink is someone who submits and within gendered expressions is considered effeminate (Tortorici, 2007, p.205). This links Twink to a type of White femininity. Adam further describes Twink as: "…like generally like skinny, hairless, like smooth, kind of thing, very young looking. Like they can be toned but not overly muscular because then you are not a Twink" (interview 9). This shows how effeminacy is done through being skinny, smooth and young-looking, thus portraying a Twink.

As discussed earlier Black alterity is associated with masculinity, so Black Grindr users performing away from alterity do so in a process of enacting effeminacy as a way of moving through space. Damien, who identifies as Black, performs effeminate enactments on his profile that reproduce Twink ideals. One of his profile pictures includes him standing indoors inside a hallway, smiling while wearing a large jacket and a hat, in a brightly lit place. His body inside the larger jacket makes him look proportionately smaller. He even remarks while talking about the picture that: "In my opinion, I look smaller in my photo than in real life" (interview 3). This shows that his photo plays into a smaller size similar to a Twink. He also looks younger from

his smile, indicating innocence. Damien himself remarks: "…sometimes I just find it a bit annoying that people say: yeah, you look very young" (interview 3). This shows that even though he admits he does not like receiving remarks about his younger look, he still comes across as younger to many people on Grindr. The photo is also brightly lit, reflecting white lights in the area, making his skin look smooth and shiny. When asked why he chose this profile picture, he said: "I find myself cute with that hat on… Because if you look at the photo like, like laughing then I look younger and cuter" (interview 3). This shows that he also did have some intention to portray a cuter and younger image of himself to other Grindr users. His profile description also displays his body type category as being toned, which shows he is not overly muscular but still has some muscles. His profile picture and his comments about his profile pictures together with his profile description show him actively performing being toned, cute, younger, lighter, and smaller, which are all enactments of Twink ideals. By enacting the Twink ideals he reproduces White femininity as a way moving through space.

Furthermore, we see his motive as a conformer when he states:

> If you have a photo of you upper body, you know you have a good body post on Grindr, then hundred percent boom boom boom people will message you. If I have a photo where I look younger, then I know okay, then only much older people will react on me. Moreover, I get that a lot, always those older men trying of course always. If masculine… say if I post that then I know I will attract people who are more masculine (interview 3).

He acknowledges that older men do pursue him, even if he does not intentionally want to do this, it is one way of performing desirability on Grindr. The process of his movement through Grindr, that includes reproducing White femininity through following Twink ideals, and the unintentional motive of being a conformer show how he practices mimicry. This this is another way of active blending in Grindr's White space.

4.2.2 Asian Jock

This process and motive can also by seen for an Asian person blending in Grindr's space outside of his alterity. Jock is associated with White masculinity. Alfonso describes it as: "a jock… you are not a boy of 18, 19, 20, I think more after that, but you are not a daddy or something, you are not there yet" (interview 1). This shows that the Jock ideal requires a more mature look than the Twink ideals does. Aarush, a South Asian identifying Grindr user in their

mid-20s, further described Jock as follows: "Muscled, manly, and White" (interview 10).[2] This shows the link between Jock and White masculinity. He further states that:

> … a lot of times it has a to do with race, race is one of the most important factors. So, you see a lot of colorism, the darker you are, the lower you are in the hierarchy ladder… It also has to do with gender. Black gay men are still relatively high on the ladder because they still then have that manliness (interview 10).

This indicates that while race is an important factor in the hierarchy, with Whiteness on top, it is a performativity of manliness that brings you a step closer to that top. In this case the assumption of masculinity, which associated with Black men, brings an individual closer up in the hierarchy to Whiteness. Thus, masculinity lives up to a Jock ideal, and this helps reproduce White masculinity.

This is portrayed to a lesser extent by an Asian Grindr user who shows clear movement through space reproducing White masculinity by being a conformer. Zhangyong who is in his 30s and who identifies as East Asian, enacts masculine performance through manliness that allows him to live up to the Jock ideal. From his profile pictures and profile description it can be seen that he portrays himself more as an outdoor person. From the three pictures he publicly displays, two of them are outdoor, one in nature in front of white ice caps and the other with a town in the background. Him being outdoor and in nature withstanding natural cold temperatures attributes to his manliness. He also describes his profile, stating that: "…I put a bunch of emojis presenting my interests like piano or like badminton, hiking, singing, or like uh uh drinking, um like, like those emojis" (interview 6). Badminton and hiking emojis show him being active in sports as something that he wants to convey to the people observing his Grindr profile. This attributes to his manliness as well. Drinking furthermore is an attribute to his maturity and maliness. Together his profile description and the outdoor pictures follow through with Jock ideals. His movement through space thus reproduces White masculinity as he enacts the Jock ideals.

His motive for doing this shows him unintentionally as a conformer. He stated:

> Yeah of course I would choose the ones that I felt like that people maybe would like… it's not super random, but it's also I made the decision real fast, I just browse through pictures and think maybe this one will work and this one (interview 6).

---

[2] Follow up answer via Whatsapp

From this his motivation shows that the pictures are not purely based on what he likes, but from what others around him in his space like. With Grindr being a White space, he unintentionally conforms to the dominant group, thus being a conformer.

Hence from both cases Black and Asian people perform outside of their alterity through Twink and Jock ideals. They show movement to overcome racial barriers with the motive of unintentionally being a conformer in a process of moving through space that reproduces White femininity and White masculinity. Although they are still seen as Black and Asian individuals, in a White space such as Grindr they both pose a 'partial presence', in other words, they are White but not quite (Bhabha, 1984, p.187), always blending in space through practicing mimicry.

Thus, it can be seen that both practices of authentic alterity and mimicry consistent of different motivations and processes that facilitate Black and Asian individuals in the sexual field. This shows that there are different moves towards blending in Grindr's White space. It adds complexity to the notions of fixed racial categories as now BIPOC can modify themselves in different ways that allows them to blend into a White space.

4.3 Reproduction of Whiteness

Whiteness is reinforced and maintained not just by the dominant White group, but also by BIPOC. Actively blending in Grindr's White space results in Whiteness continuously being reinforced and maintained in the sexual field. As discussed for the theory of mimicry, the critique of practicing it involves a process that directly reproduces Whiteness by reproduction of dominant group values (Peimanfard, 2018). Therefore, mimicry reinforces Whiteness. However, the reproduction of Whiteness is not just isolated to practicing mimicry. Authenticating alterity also reinforces Whiteness because it indirectly reproduces Whiteness by allowing the reproduction of White femininity and White masculinity within the regulations of Black and Asian alterity. This way both processes of mimicry and authenticating alterity that blend BIPOC in Grindr's White space also reinforce Whiteness and maintain it.

Firstly, mimicry reinforces Whiteness because it directly reproduces White masculinity and White femininity. Black and Asian Grindr users do not necessarily perform their respective gendered enactments according to their racial assumption, but in pulling away from this, they are not completely neutral either. As Grindr users practice mimicry, they are pulling away from their respective racial assumptions, but in doing so they are also directly reproducing Whiteness through the Jock and Twink ideals as a movement through space. This is the process where

they directly reproduce White femininity and White masculinity. Therefore, in moving away from their racial assumption, they are in a movement through Grindr's White space, blending and cooping within it, reinforcing Whiteness.

Authenticating alterity also reinforces Whiteness as White femininity and White masculinity are reproduced within regulations of Black and Asian alterities. This is because Black and Asian alterities partly carry Jock and Twink ideals. It is these Twink and Jock ideals that represent White femininity and White masculinity. Asian alterity carrying Twink ideals can be seen going back to the one Grindr user, he stated that Asians in the Western world are: "…very twinky (in every sense of the word)" (interview 9). This shows that the Asian racial assumption also partly carries that Twink ideal that helps it indirectly reproduce White femininity. This means that while the motive is to be an escape fetish, the process of moving through space while upholding regulations of Asian alterity still include an active indirect reproduction of White femininity, which reinforces Whiteness. This is similarly also done within the Black racial assumption which reproduces White masculinity. There is a link between Jock ideals and the Black alterity. They are both linked by masculinity. Jock ideals entail masculinity, and Black alterity includes the strict regulation of masculinity as well. This link shows that performing masculinity also means fulfilling a Jock ideal, which is typically White. Thus, performing masculinity within strict regulation of Black alterity does not just lead to being an escape fetish, but also indirectly reproduces Whiteness. Furthermore, going back to one Grindr user "…the darker you are, the lower you are in the hierarchy ladder… Black gay men are still relatively high on the ladder because they still then have that manliness" (interview 10). This does not just show how manliness helps in facilitating one closer to Whiteness, it also shows that it is Whiteness and masculinity that are both at the top of the hierarchy, manliness is merely a way of facilitating oneself closer to the top. This means masculinity is linked to Whiteness and reproducing it also means reproducing White masculinity. Thus, the process of reproducing masculinity and Jock ideals within regulation of Black alterities allows for the indirect reproduction of White masculinity, thus reinforcing Whiteness. Both cases show that authenticating alterity also helps in indirectly reproducing Whiteness and thus reinforcing it in space.

This shows that reproduction of Whiteness is not just isolated to one racial performative, but all racial performatives. All movements and motives that aim to blend in Grindr's White space result in reinforcing Whiteness on Grindr, whether directly doing so through practicing mimicry or indirectly through practicing authentic alterity. Peimanfard (2018, p.115) suggests

that this further marginalizes BIPOC, therefore it can be speculated that authentic alterity and mimicry both further marginalize gay BIPOC on Grindr as well, as both practices continue to reinforce Whiteness in space.

Now it is clear how and why race is performed and what it does on Grindr. Black and Asian Grindr users have different gendered expressions associated to their racial assumptions and they performatively authenticate this alterity. They also perform outside of their alterities and are mimicking Whiteness. The racial performatives, through different motives and processes, both lead to a blending in Grindr's white space. It complexifies notions of racial categories as fixed, because there are different motives and processes that allow individuals to modify themselves through racial categories beyond their designated spots. The result of this nonetheless show that Whiteness continues to be reproduced by mimicry and also indirectly by authentic alterity, showing that BIPOC are also involved in both reinforcing and maintaining Whiteness. This is how desirability is performed through race and its consequent result on Grindr's sexual field.

5. Conclusion

Thus, having gone deeper into BIPOC experience within sexual racism, it can be seen how BIPOC navigate Grindr's sexual field by performing desirability through different practices of racial performativity that complexify race, with the result showing how Black and Asian Grindr users are also involved in maintaining the White space. This first started with attempting to understand sexual racism on Grindr by going deeper into BIPOC perspective. Expanding on Han and Choi's research of how desirability is done within the BIPOC perspective, race is complexified beyond the designated BIPOC spots. The result of performing desirability shows that Whiteness is also maintained and reinforced by BIPOC on Grindr, adding to what Han and Choi have shown to be the dominant group's maintenance Whiteness in gay sexual fields.

In theoretical section, firstly, previous literature on sexual fields (Green, 2008) and desirability (Green, 2011) as employed by Han and Choi (2018) was explored to see where the research could expand on further complexifying race. What the employment of sexual fields theory by Han and Choi (2018) showed was that gay sexual fields are still mainly a White space, which comes in useful for later understanding the context of where desirability takes place. The employment of desirability theory by Han and Choi (2018) further shows how BIPOC navigate the sexual field, however the research is limited by seeing only one practice for BIPOC, which

is fetishization. This is expanded upon in this thesis by bringing in performativity and explicating it as racial performativity.

Previous research in racial performativity was explicated by Ahmed (1999) and Ehler (2003) who allowed us to see the motive and process behind it. The motive and process are what shows racial performativity and its active blending in White space. This is then related to Han and Choi's research of navigating gay sexual fields which are mainly a White space. Ahmed and Ehler's theory are limited to passing, which mainly involves lighter skinned and mixed BIPOC with the ability to pass as White. Since this thesis is focused on Black and Asian Grindr users, the adoption of authentic alterity and mimicry allow for more flexibility. Both practices are also explicated as racial performatives as shown by Johnson (2004) and Lahiri (2003) respectively through prioritizing performative tropes in authenticating alterity and playing essentialized features of the dominant group in mimicry. Previous literature shows authentic alterity includes the process of moving through space with strict regulations of a racialized assumption with the motive of being an escape fetish to overcome structural barriers, while mimicry includes the process of moving through space by reproducing the dominant group's values with the motive of being a conformer to overcome structural barriers.

Through ten interviews with Black and Asian individuals who use or have used Grindr, and a document analysis of their Grindr profiles it can be seen how and why Black and Asians Grindr users perform themselves racially. The homonormative model helped look for the connections between gendered forms of behaviour and race to facilitate the analysis of the interviews and document analysis.

The analysis shows how and why racial performativity is practiced by Black and Asian Grindr users showing different ways of blending in White space. For authenticating alterity, both races are regulated by gendered performatives, with the Asian alterity being effeminate and the Black alterity being masculine. The case of the Asian Grindr user shows the practice of authenticating alterity in a process that involves moving through strict effeminate regulations that dictate Asian alterity, in this case by internalizing the racial assumption. The case of the Black Grindr user shows the practice authenticating alterity in a process that involves moving through strict masculine regulations that dictate Black alterity, this was done unintentionally. Both did it with the motive of being an Asian and Black escape fetish. This shows one way of blending within Grindr's white space. For practicing mimicry there is a link between the gendered enactments and the White ideals of Twink and Jock. The Black Grindr user, goes through the process of

reproducing White femininity by following Twink ideals. The Asian Grindr user goes through the process of reproducing White masculinity in following Jock ideals. Both are motived to be conformers unintentionally. This shows another way of blending into Grindr's White space. Showing multiple ways of blending into Grindr's White space allows Black and Asian Grindr users to respond and modify themselves through different racial categorizations in order to perform desirability, thus complexifying race.

Nonetheless, the practices show Whiteness being directly and indirectly reproduced by Black and Asian Grindr users, reinforcing and maintaining Whiteness in space. While mimicry allows the users to directly reproduce Whiteness by reinforcing White femininity and White masculinity in space. Authenticating alterity, however, also further allows this reproduction. This is because the escape fetishes found in both Black and Asian alterities are also linked to the Twink and Jock ideals that represent White femininity and White masculinity. Thus, even playing within Black and Asian alterities, Grindr users indirectly reproduce White femininity and masculinity resulting in the reinforcement of Whiteness in space. This shows that BIPOC also contribute to reinforcing and maintaining Whiteness on Grindr's sexual field while performing desirability.

Thus, by expanding Han and Choi's (2018) research, seeing different racial practices of authentic alterity and mimicry that complexify race, and its result of reproducing Whiteness, there is a better understanding of how sexual racism is navigated in the gay community from the BIPOC perspective. It shows that BIPOC experience with sexual racism is different for Black and Asian Grindr users through different racialized assumptions that allow them to practice different racial performatives, but also similar in a way where they require constant navigation through the sexual field in order to blend in space and as a result reproduce Whiteness. More research within the BIPOC perspective could be conducted by exploring how they navigate offline gay sexual fields. This would show another way of racial negotiation through sexual hierarchies in the gay community. This could include other links to building race beyond gendered expressions, such as sociocultural and class expressions that also contribute to forming race, adding further complexity to racialization.

6. Bibliography

Ahmed, S. (1999). `She'll Wake Up One of These Days and Find She's Turned into a Nigger': Passing through Hybridity. *Theory, Culture & Society, 16*(2), 87-106.

Bhabha, H. (1984). Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse. *October*, *28*, 125. https://doi.org/10.2307/778467

Bonner-Thompson, C. (2017). 'The meat market': Production and regulation of masculinities on the Grindr grid in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, UK. *Gender, Place & Culture, 24*(11), 1611-1625.

Butler, J. (1999). *Gender trouble feminism and the subversion of identity* (10th anniversary ed., Ebook Central (Collection)). New York: Routledge.

Tortorici, Z. J. (2007). Queering Pornography: Desiring Youth, Race, and Fantasy in Gay Porn. In S. Driver (Ed.), *Queer Youth Cultures* (Edition Unstated ed., pp. 119–222). Albany, United States: Peter Lang Inc., International Academic Publishers.

Ehlers, N. (2012). *Racial Imperatives: Discipline, Performativity, and Struggles against Subjection.* Bloomington; Indianapolis: Indiana University Press Green, A. (2008). The Social Organization of Desire: The Sexual Fields Approach*. Sociological Theory, 26(1), 25-50.

Ferber, A. (2007). The Construction of Black Masculinity: White Supremacy Now and Then. *Journal of Sport & Social Issues, 31*(1), 11-24.

Gilmore, R. (2002). Fatal Couplings of Power and Difference: Notes on Racism and Geography. *The Professional Geographer, 54*(1), 15-24.

Green, A. (2008). The Social Organization of Desire: The Sexual Fields Approach. *Sociological Theory, 26*(1), 25-50.

Green, A. (2011). Playing the (Sexual) Field: The Interactional Basis of Systems of Sexual Stratification. *Social Psychology Quarterly, 74*(3), 244-266.

Han, C., & Choi, K. (2018). Very Few People Say "No Whites": Gay Men of Color and the Racial *Politics of Desire. Sociological Spectrum, 38*(3), 145-161.

Han, C., Proctor, K., & Choi, K. (2014). I Know a Lot of Gay Asian Men who Are Actually Tops: Managing and Negotiating Gay Racial Stigma. *Sexuality & Culture, 18*(2), 219-234.

Johnson, E. P. (2004). *Appropriating Blackness: Performance and the politics of authenticity*. Durham (N.C.): Duke University Press.

Lahiri, S. (2003). Performing identity: Colonial migrants, passing and mimicry between the wars. *Cultural Geographies, 10*(4), 408-423.

Luyendijk, J. (2017, March 9). In a traumatised Netherlands, faith in the EU is plummeting. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/jun/06/netherlands-eu-immigration-liberalism-european

Russell, J. (2012). Playing with Race/Authenticating Alterity: Authenticity, Mimesis, and Racial Performance in the Transcultural Diaspora. *CR: The New Centennial Review, 12*(1), 41-92.

Peimanfard, S. (2018). Othering Each Other: Mimicry, Ambivalence and Abjection in Toni Morrison's The Bluest Eye. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics & English Literature, 7*(4), 115-120.

Wekker, G. (2016). *White innocence: Paradoxes of colonialism and race*. Durham; London: Duke University Press.

Yep, G., & Elia, J. (2012). Racialized Masculinities and the New Homonormativity in LOGO's Noah's Arc. *Journal of Homosexuality: Sexualities and Genders in an Age of Neoliberalism, 59*(7), 890-911.

Zhang, D. (2016). Representational Ethics: The Mimic Men and the Mimic Men. *Critique: Studies in Contemporary Fiction, 57*(1), 29-40.

7. Appendices

Appendix 1 – Participant overview

Interview 1

Date of interview: 04/18/2020

Duration of interview: 01:00:44

Alias: Alfonso, Racial identity: Black, Age: 32, Location: Randstad

Interview 2

Date of interview: 04/20/2020

Duration of interview: 01:31:14

Alias: Jahni, Racial identity: Black, Age: 27, Location: Randstad

Interview 3

Date of interview: 04/22/2020

Duration of interview: 01:17:59

Alias: Damien, Racial identity: Black, Age: 22, Location: Randstad

Interview 4

Date of interview: 04/22/2020

Duration of interview: 00:54:14

Alias: Chenawa, Racial identity: Black, Age: 22, Location: Randstad

Interview 5

Date of interview: 05/05/2020

Duration of interview: 01:30:44

Alias: Jamar, Racial identity: Black, Age: 24, Location: Randstad

Interview 6

Date of interview: 04/17/2020

Duration of interview: 01:30:44

Alias: Zhangyong, Racial identity: East Asian, Age: 22, Location: Randstad

Interview 7

Date of interview: 18/04/2020

Duration of interview: 01:13:29

Alias: Liuwei, Racial identity: East Asian, Age: 20, Location: Groningen

Interview 8

Date of interview: 19/04/2020

Duration of interview: 00:38:59

Alias: Angga, Racial identity: Southeast Asian, Age: 20, Location: Randstad

Interview 9

Date of interview: 02/05/2020

Duration of interview: 01:07:59

Alias: Adam, Racial identity: White and East Asian, Age: 31, Location: Randstad

Interview 10

Date of interview: 24/04/2020

Duration of interview: 01:12:14

Alias: Aarush, Racial identity: South Asian, Age: 26, Location: Randstad

Appendix 2 – Sample transcript

SP= Speaker

INT= Interviewer

Some of the interviews were in Dutch. These interviews were self-translated into English.

Interview 2 - Jahni

| 10:00-15:00 | SP: It's funny because that same individual was complaining how white men are racists and all of that and so on, he said well oh my preference is this and this. I would've preferred it if he just said okay im not interested in you, you are not my type. I think I would've understood it (inaudible). That would've been a little easier than I don't like black men, as a black men its just weird for me, its just a weird situation, but yeah.
INT: How did you, were there white people that also told you as well, like maybe that oh sorry Im not into black or something like that?
SP: no not really, Ive had a lot of, I expected that I was waiting for it to happen. But there are a lot of older white men who approached me on Grindr, that is a thing, Fetishzation, but there are also some younger white guys.
INT: okay how did they approach you though?
SP: I like black dicks, with a question, do you have a big cock? But that is a general question for all gays anyway, I think that is a shared question.
INT: do they get into the stereotypes?
SP: yeah they get into the stereotypes. So yeah… there was this anonymous profile that sent me, it was very, abysmal, it stated okay, um, something about, um, the N-word basically, I don't know if it was a spam or some type of sick jokes, the profile would kind of every few weeks send me that word. I reported it and it got blocked. It got to me, it shouldn't have, but it got to me, and I was like okay.
INT: That happened in the Netherlands?
SP: yes
INT: What is your feeling then, not just for you, but for just the black community, just black people, do you feel like there is a tendency to desire whiteness before anything else?
SP: yes, yes, it is an obsession, it's subconscious. The discussion always focus on whiteness and how, why they are not attracted to us, it always centres around it. In my social group if they are black gay men, the conversation always automatically it always directs when it comes to a sexual partner or mate around white gay men and how they… and I feel like, I've had those moments, but ive, it's just a bit sad actually when you think about it.
INT: do you think Grindr also kind of perpetuates the system? Or it's like a sex market almost maybe?
SP: it is, on gossip sites it is what it is, it is known as a meat market. It's just meant for sex, it's understandable in one way, and the way how media works… the media is initially is meant for white people, initially that is the whole, that is what I saw in the beginning, and we're just the, we're on standby |
| 15:00-20:00 | SP:- the others are just on the outskirt looking in, and everything has to be revolving around whiteness.
INT: so it is really a white space basically?
SP: it is
INT: because it is a white space, maybe obvious, but what type of guys do you think are most successful on Grindr? |

	SP: hmmm muscular, beautiful but within a range of maybe 25 years to 35. Because if you are too old that is another issue, if you are too young, okay there are some obsession with youth, so okay muscular, six foot one, like five foot eight to six foot one, and bone structure has to be nice and white, that is the main preference. Then if you are not white you have to be at least muscular, there is always a hierarchy. INT: but that is really interesting, That means I guess maybe a black person who is muscular would have a little bit more agency, but still not to the level of a white person I guess? SP: exactly. INT: how do you see yourself then next to other Grindr people? You have this hierarchy in your mind? How do you see yourself? SP: Overweight, Im fat actually. Well, I've been told Im not fat but overweight, but in my mind I see myself as fat. I'm… I'm… INT: what does that do to you when people say that? SP: I feel self-conscious. And I kind of, I kind of, I avoid taking pictures of my body, like below my neck and it makes me, it makes me feel bad as a person. But it is to be expected, on one hand I feel like not everyone is gonna like you, and it is not suppose to, you gonna find people who are gonna be attracted to you. It is a reality eventually. And I think like attracts like in some ways, so eventually, if I can get that other person who is muscular or skinny, I can always find someone who is also on my level and basically, so it is realistically everyone has someone. INT: Bit of a personal question if you don't want to answer it's fine, but what do you feel about yourself? Are you attracted to other black people other white people? SP: Im attracted to black people, Im attracted to all, but my preference I like black men, Im attracted to black men first and foremost, and then I had a whole period where also I like Asians, and I like my white men, they were on the same level but below black men. And then all types of, because we also have this whole skin tone variation INT: colorism. SP: colorism is also a thing. So I like all variation, then comes Asian, I had a whole thing for Asians before that, but I also had a thing for white men because I saw them on TV. Asians because I like my Boys Love. Boys Love is more of an Asian drama, focus on the gay Asian scene. Those combination, I also of course ive seen my white dramas and I think for that kind of influence, ive been raised around black men so, varying shapes, varying size, different skin tone, so I like them, INT: it's quite flexible actually, do you feel like honestly, not just yourself, black people and Asian people, do you feel it's harder as a black men on Grindr or as an Asian on Grindr or do you feel as if it's the same? What do you think?
20:00-25:00	SP: I think it's harder for Asians to be honest. Because with Asians it's a whole perceptions of, it's all about the penis. So with black men, if they don't like your skin tone, at least they will overlook other, they will overlook that for the stereotype of the (inaudible) of the penis size and so. There is always a lane for someone, it's harder for Asians, but if you, since ive read, if you are an Asian bottom, it probably would be easier for you, the concept, the stereotype, as a black top it will be easier for you if you, it will be much easier if you are a black top than if you are a black bottom, there are always these hierarchies. INT: do you think some of it takes away from gay pornography? SP: yeah INT: The submissive Asian bottom and the dominant black big monster something like that? SP: exactly, that's it, the media always influences, to an extend it does influence what we do, and we as men in general, pornography is more centered, and within the subsection, the gay pornography, we focus on that, and we try to make that fantasy become reality and it kind of, we choose the aspects of porn, and then we try to find

	it in reality and then we try to find it in a sexual partner, ive done and im sure a lot of other gay men do it. INT: yeah It is subconscious, I'm also a victim of that, and we are all victims of it. Im just looking at your profile right now… in the past you tried to be more black, you tried to be as black as possible something like that in the past? SP: in the past I felt, my focus were more on black men, that's what I said, and I think I did try to keep a distance from White men because Ive thought, you can feel the creepiness of some of them. What I mentioned with the big black cock, you don't start a sentence that way, I mean you don't start a conversation that way. I mean it's weird. And also I've had my sexual experiences with some white men, older men, ive had like older men at times. The interaction with them, I think it is because of the language barrier it could be that as well I do speak Dutch but mine is a little bit of basics level, intermediate, ja klein beetje nederlands spreken. I've notice their reaction to me in person is weird, first they have a strange, during the sexual act, I know I chose the moment, but the conversation always comes back to how Im black, it's just a slight weirdness about it. And I get it, they want to make me feel hot, maybe they are trying to turn me on at that moment thinking that that will turn me on or they are trying to spice it up a little bit but, it's weird, it's a little weird. It could be off putting, within a setting basically, if we are out and sitting at a bar I definitely don't want to hear that but maybe in the bedroom or something, it could be fun, but it could also the extra mile, I had this one experience with this guy who just touched me skin, while we were in the bed together. I was like 'okay?'.

Interview 9 – Adam

Follow up question through Facebook messenger on 23/05/2020

18:45 INT:	Heyy [Adam]!! Just a follow up question it's really general
18:46 INT:	I'm actually just reasking: can you tell me, what is a stereotypical gay Asian?
18:47 SP:	Ooooof thats heavy
18:47 SP:	hahaah
18:50 SP:	I guess the stereotype of a gay Asian in western countries is some one who is very twinky (in ever sense of the word), somewhat girly/flamboyant, submissive and 100% bottoms, always seeking white guys (any white guy)
18:50 SP:	Im trying to think if I've left out any traits
18:52 INT:	Ohh okay in a general sense more maybe not-masculine
18:53 SP:	yeah I guess you could say that
18:56 INT:	Okayy thanks for answering quickly!
18:57 SP:	No worries 🙂

Interview 10 - Aarush

Follow up question through Whatsapp on 01/06/2020

12:40 INT:	Hey [Aarush] Zou ik je nog een follow up question kunnen vragen :)?
14:01 SP:	Sure :)
14:02 INT:	Je hebt laats gezegd over wat je dacht wat een Twink was --> geassocieerd met feminine stereotype Enzo. Maar wat is jouw idee van een "jock" Dan?
14:06 SP:	Gespierd, mannelijk en wit
14:06 SP:	Zo simpel 🤣

15:23 INT:	Haha bedankt voor je eerlijkheid !😄

Appendix 3 – Checklist ethical and privacy aspects of research

INSTRUCTION

This checklist should be completed for every research study that is conducted at the Department of Public Administration and Sociology (DPAS). This checklist should be completed *before* commencing with data collection or approaching participants. Students can complete this checklist with help of their supervisor.

This checklist is a mandatory part of the empirical master's thesis and has to be uploaded along with the research proposal.

The guideline for ethical aspects of research of the Dutch Sociological Association (NSV) can be found on their website (http://www.nsv-sociologie.nl/?page_id=17). If you have doubts about ethical or privacy aspects of your research study, discuss and resolve the matter with your EUR supervisor. If needed and if advised to do so by your supervisor, you can also consult Dr. Jennifer A. Holland, coordinator of the Sociology Master's Thesis program.

PART I: GENERAL INFORMATION

Project title: Desirability in the Gay Community: An analysis of Black and Asian navigation through Grindr

Name, email of student: David Clemente van der Veen, 540519dv@eur.nl

Name, email of supervisor: Jess Bier, bier@essb.eur.nl

Start date and duration: 20/02/2020 – 21/06/2020

Is the research study conducted within DPAS   YES - NO

If 'NO': at or for what institute or organization will the study be conducted?

(e.g. internship organization)

PART II: TYPE OF RESEARCH STUDY

Please indicate the type of research study by circling the appropriate answer:

1.   Research involving human participants. YES - NO

        If 'YES': does the study involve medical or physical research?   YES - NO

Research that falls under the Medical Research Involving Human Subjects Act (WMO) must first be submitted to an accredited medical research ethics committee or the Central Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects (CCMO).

2.   Field observations without manipulations that will not involve

identification of participants.   YES - NO

3.   Research involving completely anonymous data files (secondary
         data that has been anonymized by someone else).   YES - NO

PART III: PARTICIPANTS

(Complete this section only if your study involves human participants)

Where will you collect your data?

Rotterdam, Amsterdam, The Hague, Utrecht, or Delft (basically anywhere designated as the Randstad) with one participant in Groningen

_____

Note: indicate for separate data sources.

What is the (anticipated) size of your sample?

10-15 people

_____

Note: indicate for separate data sources.

What is the size of the population from which you will sample?

There are around 10,000 Grindr users in The Netherlands

_____

Note: indicate for separate data sources.

1.   Will information about the nature of the study and about what
participants can expect during the study be withheld from them?   YES - NO

2.   Will any of the participants not be asked for verbal or written
'informed consent,' whereby they agree to participate in the study?   YES - NO

3.   Will information about the possibility to discontinue the participation
at any time be withheld from participants?   YES - NO

4.   Will the study involve actively deceiving the participants?   YES -
NO

*Note: almost all research studies involve some kind of deception of participants. Try to
think about what types of deception are ethical or non-ethical (e.g. purpose of the study
is not told, coercion is exerted on participants, giving participants the feeling that they
harm other people by making certain decisions, etc.).*

Does the study involve the risk of causing psychological stress or
negative emotions beyond those normally encountered by
participants?   `   YES - NO

Will information be collected about special categories of data, as defined by the GDPR
(e.g. racial or ethnic origin, political opinions, religious or philosophical beliefs, trade
union membership, genetic data, biometric data for the purpose of uniquely identifying a
person, data concerning mental or physical health, data concerning a person's sex life or
sexual orientation)? YES - NO

Will the study involve the participation of minors (<18 years old) or other groups that
cannot give consent? YES - NO

Is the health and/or safety of participants at risk during the study?   YES - NO

Can participants be identified by the study results or can the
confidentiality of the participants' identity not be ensured?   YES - NO

Are there any other possible ethical issues with regard to this study?   YES - NO

If you have answered 'YES' to any of the previous questions, please indicate below why
this issue is unavoidable in this study.

Because the issue is about racism, therefore race needs to be acknowledged.
_____
_____

What safeguards are taken to relieve possible adverse consequences of these issues
(e.g., informing participants about the study afterwards, extra safety regulations, etc.).

I will contact participants when the thesis is finished. Any requested amendments will be
made if they wish. I will continue keeping contact with the participants so they can
communicate those amendments with my directly.
_____
_____
___

Are there any unintended circumstances in the study that can cause harm or have negative (emotional) consequences to the participants? Indicate what possible circumstances this could be.

<u>No.</u>
_____
_____
___

Please attach your informed consent form in Appendix I, if applicable.

Part IV: Data storage and backup

Where and when will you store your data in the short term, after acquisition?

On Surfspot _____

Note: indicate for separate data sources, for instance for paper-and pencil test data, and for digital data files*.*

Who is responsible for the immediate day-to-day management, storage and backup of the data arising from your research?

I (David Clemente van der Veen) am responsible for the management, storage and backup of the data.
_____
_____

How (frequently) will you back-up your research data for short-term data security?

<u>Every week it will be backed up on a hard drive</u>
_____
_____

In case of collecting personal data how will you anonymize the data?

<u>I will be using alias for their names</u>
_____

Note: It is advisable to keep directly identifying personal details separated from the rest of the data. Personal details are then replaced by a key/ code. Only the code is part of the database with data and the list of respondents/research subjects is kept separate.

PART VI: SIGNATURE

Please note that it is your responsibility to follow the ethical guidelines in the conduct of your study. This includes providing information to participants about the study and ensuring confidentiality in storage and use of personal data. Treat participants respectfully, be on time at appointments, call participants when they have signed up for your study and fulfil promises made to participants.

Furthermore, it is your responsibility that data are authentic, of high quality and properly stored. The principle is always that the supervisor (or strictly speaking the Erasmus University Rotterdam) remains owner of the data, and that the student should therefore hand over all data to the supervisor.

Hereby I declare that the study will be conducted in accordance with the ethical guidelines of the Department of Public Administration and Sociology at Erasmus University Rotterdam. I have answered the questions truthfully.

Name student: David Clemente van der Veen   Name (EUR) supervisor:Jess Bier

Date: 21-06-2020   Date:

Informed Consent Form (if applicable)

I got the verbal consent of all participants

Participant 1 (Alfonso):

00:01:21	1:21 INT: dus nu ga ik even vragen voor verbal consent, ik ga deze gesprek opnemen, dus ik wil je toestemming vragen of ik deze gesprek mag opnemen? SP: ja dat mag INT: Okay dus het word opgeslagen maar het word dus alleen gehoord door mij, en ik ga het niet openbaar delen. Alle informatie word geredigeerd voor jouw veiligheid en je krijgt een alias voor je privacy. En als je iets wilt wijzigen of iets wilt toevoegen kun je altijd contact met me opnemen via whatsapp, email, facebook. SP: Okay INT: Als je het gesprek toch niet fijn vind tijdens de gesprek kan je altijd nee zeggen, dan kan ik de gesprek verwijderen. Als je dingen wilt veranderen dingen erbij wilt zetten kan dat ook, je kan altijd een whatsapp sturen. SP: Okay
00:18:30	INT: als je het niet erg vind kan je de foto delen, screenshot [Grindr profile]? SP: ja

Participant 2 (Jahni):

00:01:20	INT: So I will be recording our conversation, so do you give me permission to record this conversation? SP: yes I do, I give you permission. INT: It will be saved and it will only be heard by me. I'll not share publicly all your information will be redacted, it will be replaced with an alias for your security. If you wish to change anything, a statement or if you want to add something you can always contact me through whatsapp or email, you can call me or skype me whatever. If you want to remove a statement as well that you don't feel comfortable with, I am fine with it as well. If you suddenly want to withdraw of our conversation during the call you can also withdraw. If you want to withdraw after the conversation you can just let me know. SP: okay
00:02:28	INT: I'm also doing a document analysis im looking at Grindr profiles, Im just taking the notes of the Grindr profiles, so I wont be sharing it with anyone, ill be deleting it… So do you give me permission to see your Grindr profiles? SP: Sure

Participant 3 (Damien):

00:01:58	INT: ik ga deze gesprek opnemen dus ik ga je vragen voor je toestemming of ik dit mag opnemen. SP: voor mij mag je dit zeker opnemen. INT: het word opgeslagen maar het word door mij alleen gehoord. Ik zal het niet openbaar delen al je informatie is redacted. Voor jouw veiligheid is het onder een alias geplaats, voor jouw privacy zeg maar. Als je statements wilt wijzegen of iets wilt toevoegen kan je mij altijd emailen of whatsapp. Als je onze gepsrek wilt intrekken kan dat ook.
00:03:19	INT: ik doe ook een document analysis dus ik kijk naar Grindr profiels en ik maak kleine aantekeningen. Mocht je het okay vinden om je Grindr profiel te laten te zien, graag, als je dat niet wilt hoeft dat niet. SP: Ik heb mijn Grindr verwijdert een week geleden maar ik heb nog wel, tenminste de app heb ik verwijdert, mijn account niet, maar ik kan ook zometeen gewoon een screenshot doorsturen.

Participant 4: (Chenawa)

00:02:03	INT: Ik ga deze gesprek opnemen, dus geef je me toestemming om deze gesprek op te nemen? SP: Ja zeker. Alleen ik geef toestemming om gesprek op te nemen ik zou wel fijn vinden dat gene wat ik zeg geanonimiseerd te worden. INT: Ja zeker, ik ga dit even allemaal voorlezen. Het word opgeslagen en er word alleen door mij gehoord, ik zal niet openbaar delen. Al jouw informatie word geredigeerd redacted voor jouw veiligheid onder een alias geplaatst, dus je naam, je plaat, alles, niets word terug gewezen op jouw. Als je statements wil wijzigen of iets wilt toevoegen kun je altijd contant met me nemen, whatsapp emailen. Als je onze gesprek plotseling wil intrekken tijdens de gesprek of erna mag dat gewoon…

	[This participant did not give permission for a document analysis of his Grindr profile]

Participant 5: (Jamar)

00:01:30	INT: So I will be recording this conversation. So my first question it, will you give me permission to record this conversation? SP: yes of course, you can record it. INT: perfect. It will be saved and only heard by me, so I am not going to share this publicly and all your information wlll be redacted and it wil be placed with an alias for your securut. If you wish to change your statement or add something you can always contant me thorugh whatsapp or email. If you suddenly wish to withdraw from the conversation during skype, or sorry during the call or after the call, you can let me know that's fine no hard feelings and I will remove our conversation.
	[This participant did not own a Grindr profile at the time of interview]

Participant 6: (Zhangyong)

00:00:00	INT: I think it's gonna record, so I will be recording our conversation. It will be saved and only heard by me. I will not share it publicly. All information will be redacted and I will replace your name with an alias for your security. Uh if you wish to change your statement or add anything or uh you want to change anything else you can contact me through whatsapp, you can email me. Um I you wish to withdraw from our conversation during the skype interview or later you can also tell, just let me know, I can remove it completely, so it's all flexible for you. Yeah. And if you feel uncomfortable answering any questions, we can skip it, we can, whatever you want, uh, it's fine. So I am gonna ask you if, do you give me permission to record our conversation? SP: yeah sure, if if you like if you're the only person who reviews it but then yeah I understand like maybe you can transcribe it and whatever you do but uh but the actual media itself um yeah INT: don't worry.. I'll be the only one.. uh.. it'll be just be between us.
00:43:00	INT: I actually um I was wondering If you can uhm send the picture now so we can look at it together, so I don't want to save your picture, for your privacy, I want to like delete the picture after this conversation. I'll delete it when our conversation it over, so itll be private for you. SP: okay

Participant 7: (Liuwei)

00:00:00	INT: I think it's gonna record, so I will be recording our conversation. It will be saved and only heard by me. I will not share it publicly. All information will be redacted and I will replace your name with an alias for your security. Uh if you wish to change your statement or add anything or uh you want to change anything else you can contact me through whatsapp, you can email me. Um I you wish to withdraw from our conversation during the skype interview or later you can also tell, just let me know, I

	can remove it completely, so it's all flexible for you. Yeah. And if you feel uncomfortable answering any questions, we can skip it, we can, whatever you want, uh, it's fine. So I am gonna ask you if, do you give me permission to record our conversation? SP: yeah sure, if if you like if you're the only person who reviews it but then yeah I understand like maybe you can transcribe it and whatever you do but uh but the actual media itself um yeah INT: don't worry.. I'll be the only one.. it'll be just be between us.
00:23:06	INT: so you said you experienced the racism on Grindr, how do you present yourself on Grindr? If you don't mind sharing. SP: I have my own picture, like one of them is my selfie in the clock room, and the other one is, is like a picture I took when I was visiting the national museum in Netherlands. So both of them show my face pictures, but the first one, the selfie one, is not really clear, because when I take a selfie my phone kind of overlapped with my face INT: oh I see, can I see it, or if you don't want to share that's fine. SP: can I show it on Whatsapp? INT: yeah sure, that'd be good.

Participant 8: (Angga)

00:00:53	INT: so I will be recording this conversation, so I am going to ask you if it is okay if I record this? Just the verbal consent so it's on record. SP: yeah INT: it will be saved and only heard by me and I wont share this publicly. All the information will be redacted and it will be placed with an alias for your security. If you wish to change a statement or add something you can contact me. If you want to withdraw from the conversation during a call it is completely fine. And if you want to remove our conversation after the conversation that is also fine.
	[This participant did not give permission for a document analysis of his Grindr profile]

Participant 9: (Adam)

00:00:53	INT: so now I am going to ask you, do you give me permission to record our conversation SP: yes INT: it will be saved and only heard by me and I will not share publicly. All your information will be redacted and it will be replaced with an alias for your secutrity. If you wish to change a statement or add something, you can contact me… If you suddenly wish to withdraw from a conversation during our call or after our call it's fine…
00:02:48	INT: I'm also doing a document analysis, I'm looking at Grindr profiles, I'm taking very little notes… So if you would like to screenshot your Grindr profile if you give me permission. SP: that's fine, that's fine.

Participant 10: (Aarush)

00:02:27	INT: Ik ga deze gesprek opnemen, dus ik wil je vragen, geef je me de toestemming om onze gesprek op te nemen. SP: ja INT: het word opgeslagen en het woord alleen door mij gehoord, ik zal niet openbaar delen. Al jouw informatie word geredigeerd en voor jouw veiligheid onder een alias geplaatst. Als je statements wilt wijzigen en als je iets wilt toevoegen, kun je altijd contact met mij opnemen. Als je tijdens de gesprek of na deze gesprek iets wilt toevoegen kan dat… Als je dit gesprek wilt intrekken tijdens de video gesprek of daarna, dan kan dat, dan verwijder ik onze gesprek weetje, helemaal niet erg.
	[This participant did not give permission for a document analysis of his Grindr profile]