

DEFENDING WHITENESS: THE PSYCHIC LIFE OF ANTI-BLACKNESS ON GRINDR

LUIS M. ANDRADE
Santa Monica College

DEVEN COOPER
California State University, Long Beach

On September 19, 2018, Grindr, the most popular gay men’s dating application, released a video titled Kindr to increase consciousness about sexual racism and make the virtual space a comfortable environment for users. This essay archives users’ comments and conversations that occurred prior to and after the release of Kindr to showcase the specificity of and pervasiveness of anti-Blackness ideology, which goes hand in hand, but is more insidious than racism on Grindr that is not addressed by the video. Drawing from recent theorizations of racism and anti-Blackness ideology and “the psychic life of racism” as theoretical frameworks, we utilize virtual ethnography and thematic analysis to suggest that there is a “psychic life of anti-Blackness” that makes navigating the virtual space a psychically injurious place. Specifically, we document and archive texts from profiles that espoused anti-Black commentary, particularly specific language/discourse, fetishization of Black bodies, and a very violent defensive whiteness that make anti-Blackness prevalent on Grindr. The authors ultimately argue that the “play nice” Kindr campaign was only one step toward consciousness raising, but failed to address anti-Blackness as a perpetual ideology that is firmly entrenched and needs specific uprooting to address the discrimination and ideological violence that uniquely occurs against Black people.

Keywords: Anti-Blackness, psychic anti-Blackness; racism; Grindr; defensive whiteness.

Introduction¹

In a recent special issue/forum addressing Lisa Flores' "Imperative of race for rhetorical studies," scholars point to the increased importance of investigating race and racism in rhetorical studies. In particular, Houdek (2018) argues that "the whiteness of rhetorical studies is outrageous" and that specific practices such as a lack of citations and publications of Black scholars perpetuate racial disparities. Houdek refers to Paula Chakravarty et al.'s essay, "#CommunicationSoWhite," which provides quantitative data showing a profound "absence of Black and nonwhite scholars in publication rates, citation rates, and editorial positions within communication studies" (p. 292). In another essay in the special issue/forum, Karriann Soto Vega and Karma R. Chávez (2018) provide a nuanced approach by stating that race should not be studied in abstracted, or metaphysical ways, because though there is an "entire settler colonial heteronormative system from which most white dominant scholarship arises," (p. 329) it is vital to look at "the particularity of racialized groups under consideration, the specificity of racializing processes for different groups, even if the same 'racial scripts' are operating, and the ways certain racial formations negate or erase others" (p. 321). One particular way that Black people, for instance, face marginalization and violence is through ideological anti-Blackness. Soto Vega and Chávez (2018) draw from Jared Sexton (2008)

¹ This essay belongs to a special issue dedicated to the Louisville Project. Deven Cooper joined the Louisville Project from 2004 to 2006 under the direction of Dr. Ede Warner, immediately after high school and, although he was already a very talented debater, Cooper gained significant critical thinking, leadership, and research skills from his involvement in the organization. Participation in the Louisville Project was a pivotal moment in Cooper's life because it was during this time that he started to positively affirm his gay identity and enhanced his knowledge and consciousness about Black identity, anti-Blackness, and racism. In fact, during his first year in college, he remembers witnessing KKK rallies on campus and realizing that white gay cisheterosexual men often perpetuated anti-Blackness in early social media sites and queer spaces. These experiences motivated Cooper to sharpen his intellectual skills and competitive drive, particularly in intercollegiate debate, and become more dedicated to his academics. Although Cooper eventually transferred to Towson University, where he would eventually be part of the first all-Black debate team to win a national debate tournament, the Louisville Project equipped him to produce important scholarship and praxial efforts for the liberation and advancement of Black people. This essay is one of many pieces and projects that reflects Cooper's dedication to challenge anti-Blackness in social spaces.

to show that Black suffering is continuously amalgamated and, consequently, misunderstood when scholars broadly and abstractly study the oppression of “people of color” (p. 321). Soto Vega and Chávez argue that particularized analyses of anti-Blackness in heterosexist colonial spaces should occur to avoid further perpetuating anti-Black research and to fundamentally understand how Black people survive.

This essay echoes Soto Vega and Chávez’ approach by looking at the pervasiveness of anti-Blackness on a very specific site, Grindr, a predominantly gay cisheteronormative male dating application. On September 19, 2018, Grindr released a video titled *Kindr* to increase consciousness about sexual racism and make the virtual space a comfortable environment for users. Grindr is the most popular gay dating application and its popularity has grown over the last few years as other similar applications emerged in the market (Hodgson & Kuchler, 2018). Grindr released *Kindr* as “an anti-discriminatory initiative updating the app’s community guidelines ... in an effort to prevent bullying and abusive behavior” (Gollayan, 2018, para. 1). The video begins with a few persons verbally stating outright racist and discriminatory comments found on Grindr; some of those comments include, “Go back to Mexico,” “You’re the reason why ebola exists and I hope that you catch it and you die,” “I have a preference for light-skinned guys,” and “Whites only.” Then, several individuals explain the reasons why these comments are discriminatory and racist; namely, they denote language of exclusion, outright (non)preferential treatment that is linguistically and psychologically injurious, and marginalizes entire races and ethnicities as sexually unwanted. The video ends with, “It’s time to play nice.”

Despite the release of *Kindr*, racism and anti-Blackness persists in the application. This essay archives users’ comments and conversations that occurred prior to and after the release of *Kindr* to showcase the specificity of and pervasiveness of anti-Blackness ideology, which goes hand in hand, but is more insidious than racism, on Grindr that is not addressed by the video. Drawing from recent theorizations of racism and anti-Blackness ideology and “the psychic life of racism” as theoretical frameworks, we utilize virtual ethnography to suggest that there is a “psychic life of anti-Blackness” that makes navigating the virtual space an injurious place. Specifically, we document and archive texts from profiles that espoused anti-Black commentary, particularly specific language/discourse, fetishization of Black bodies, and a violent defensive whiteness that make anti-Blackness prevalent on Grindr. The authors ultimately argue that the “play nice” *Kindr* campaign was only one step toward consciousness raising, but failed to address anti-Blackness as

a perpetual ideology that is firmly entrenched and needs specific uprooting to address the discrimination and ideological violence that uniquely occurs against Black people. The essay begins with a literature review about Grindr and relevant theoretical frameworks that situate our discussion in recent theorizations of race in rhetorical studies. We then explain virtual ethnography and three main thematic findings.

Literature Review

Grindr

Grindr is an online application where users create profiles with information about them, upload profile pictures, and send direct, private messages to others. The application resembles Facebook, though it largely attracts gay men. There is one trend of research that focuses on quantitative methods to show sex patterns and dangerous uses of Grindr. For example, several studies argue that Grindr allows men to engage in risky sexual behavior, including unprotected and anal sex (Winetrobe, Rice, Bauermesiter, Petering, & Holloway, 2014). Other studies explain that men utilize Grindr to find casual sex partners and to have unprotected sex, which means that there is a high risk of HIV/AIDS transmission from “ongoing transmission-associated risk behavior” (Landovitz et al., 2013, p. 736). Fortunately, one study reports that gay men use Grindr for many reasons that are not sex-related and participants self-report using protection when they have casual sex with users they met on Grindr (Rice et al., 2012). Quantitative studies show generalized data that does not explain racism or anti-Blackness.

Another trend of research focuses on interpersonal frameworks to explain why users use Grindr. Using a “Uses and Gratifications” theoretical framework, Van De Wiele and Tong (2014) report that users utilize Grindr principally for the following gratifications: “social inclusion/approval, sex, friendship/network, romantic relationships, entertainment, and location-based searching” (p. 9). These gratifications show that persons use Grindr to forge new relationships online without feeling physically threatened. Corriero and Tong (2015) apply an “Uncertainty Management” theoretical framework and illustrate that despite the confidential nature of user-profiles, users actively seek information from other users by digging through profiles and having conversations, but they largely report high uncertainty about others’ identities. For the most part, users are tolerant of uncertainty. Other studies show that Grindr makes it possible for users to

“co-situate” or present themselves to multiple audiences in multiple spaces and at different times (Blackwell, Birnholtz, & Abbott, 2014, p. 15). Co-situation is beneficial for users that want to explore their identities and desires, though researchers explain that the virtual nature of Grindr also creates miscommunication, frustration, and misunderstanding about others’ physical cues (Blackwell, Birnholtz, & Abbott, 2014, p. 16).

McGlotten (2013) uses affect theory as a framework to investigate how Grindr produces affective orientations for Black gay and queer men within online gay sex environments that are often detrimental. McGlotten’s original purpose was to investigate Black users’ affective states as well as non-Black users’ affect toward Black gay men (p. 63). The author notes that “Black affects put people and worlds in movement, and these affects are individually expressed, as well as socially performed and recognized” (p.64). Unfortunately, McGlotten finds that virtual spaces, such as Grindr, cause anxiety and paranoia in Black users. Anxiety results from an “arousal or agitation [that] is the result of the complex matrix of interactions online” (p. 66) and this is an important finding because it explains a sort of heightened awareness in white dominated virtual spaces, such as Grindr, that manifests into paranoia and discomfort. The author continues, “For black gay men, going online in interracial environments to feel connected, or to more instrumentally look for dates or hookups, means grappling with a ‘species of fear’ that indexes an antiblack world. ... One’s paranoia is ... a corrective measure of and response to the weighty feeling of the twenty-thousand pound racist atmosphere in which we live” (p. 73). Ironically, McGlotten reports that Black users are frequently optimistic in their search for romantic affect. In all, the study sheds light on racial hurt, rejection, and pain that Black gay men are forced to weather due to an ideological system of violence that overdetermines their intimacy and romantic possibilities.

Anti-Blackness and the Psychic Life of Racism

Anti-Blackness is an insidious, violent ideology that goes hand in hand with racism, but is more specific in the way that it targets Black people (Soto Vega & Chávez, 2018). It is a pervasive ideology that views Black people, communities, or cultures as valueless and inferior. Anti-Blackness is expressed in people’s attitudes, beliefs, behaviors, and structural policies (Dumas, 2015). Theorists argue that anti-Blackness goes hand in hand with racism, which is the structural marginalization of communities that are non-white, but is more pervasive and dangerous because it manifests across cultures and relegates Black people as non-human, often in comparison to other

marginalized groups (Dumas, 2015). In other words, though racism exists against other communities of color, anti-Blackness is perpetuated differently in actions and rhetoric that is siphoned toward Black people (Sexton, 2008). Anti-Blackness prevents the liberal social order from ever truly affirming Black people; in fact, theorists go as far as arguing that it is not in our grammar to comprehend Black lives because of the predominance of white supremacy in all modern institutions and social relations (Wilderson III, 2008).

Daroya (2018) provided a framework—the psychic life of racism—to understand the marginalization of non-white LGBTQ users on Grindr. To understand this framework, Daroya first describes the ways that society writ large perpetuates ideologies of whiteness as superior. Drawing from Ahmed (2007), Daroya (2018) argues that whiteness is not reducible to skin color, but rather to performances that maintain, manage, and (re)produce psychic and systematic behaviors and performances associated with a master white class, including, but not limited to: “body type, gender expression, sexual position, cock size, and height” (p. 68). Hence, a “psychic life of racism” includes “racialized discourses [that] shape how desires and desirability are socially organized and how erotic value is differentially distributed among gay and other homosexually active men in online cruising spaces such as Grindr” (p. 68). Daroya also draws from Butler (1997) to argue that anti-Blackness occurs in a psychic way on Grindr because white bodies are cognitively valued more over non-white bodies and users engage in certain discourses of what is and what is *not* desirable, rendering certain populations as marginalizable, including Asian men that are not perceived as masculine. The author goes as far as arguing that modern racialized systems view white humanity and beauty on a polar spectrum as antithetical and in direct contrast to Black bodies that are sometimes eroticized, but generally perceived as undesirable. In addition, the author describes that white bodies are valued as commodities and favored goods as users consistently voice and write their desires for white bodies.

In this piece, we marry theorizations about anti-Blackness and the “psychic life of racism” to show that the psychic life of racism takes on an additional layer of anti-Blackness—what we will call “the psychic life of anti-Blackness”—that is both specific and incredibly defensive. Whereas McGlotten’s study about Black affect suggests that Black users become anxious and paranoid because of their experiences facing racism on Grindr, the present study unpacks the ways that users construct and defend a more insidious anti-Blackness. We focus on the psychic reasons anti-Black users perpetuate their anti-Black ideology. The findings in this paper will show that users

psychically and intentionally view Black people as undesirable, unworthy of relationships or emotional connections beyond sexual relationships, and, most importantly, take defensive postures to justify their anti-Blackness (what we call defensive whiteness) despite interventions such as Kindr.

Methodology: Digital Ethnography & Researchers' Positionality

A growing body of literature focuses on the utility of digital ethnography to reveal the experiences of marginalized populations (Coover, 2004; Dicks et al., 2005; Pink, 2007). Pink (2007) provides the following definition of digital ethnography:

[D]igital ethnography is not a 'tool box' method that can be applied directly in an already existing format to a research problem or question. Instead, it is an approach to ethnography that involves being concerned with how the 'digital has become part of the material, sensory and social worlds we inhabit, and what the implications are for ethnographic research practice'. (p. 162)

Murthy (2008) states, "good ethnography effectively communicates a social story, drawing the audience into the daily lives of the respondents" (p. 838). Murthy (2008) adds that digital ethnography refers to "telling social stories" as one uses and navigates online, digital spaces such as websites, blogs, and other forums (p. 838). Pink (2007) suggests that much work is needed to identify racism in media and to create "reflexive ethnography" (p. 178). The author recommends "studying-up," a framework that can be used in digital ethnography and described as: "a potential for research [that] appears when we are earnestly trying to address a lack of knowledge or understanding on a subject and shed light on or fix inequalities that we see around us" (p. 179).

We utilized digital ethnography because it is the methodology that best allowed us to uncover the anti-Black language and behaviors Researcher 2 has faced in the landscape of Grindr as a self-identified Black, Cis, square male for several years. Researcher 2 utilizes Grindr for leisure, social networking, and to meet men in his hometown or during travel. Researcher 2 checks his profile several times per day and used a consistent Grindr profile picture when people either sought him out for conversations or when he collected profile information from others during this research. Researcher 2's profile picture at the time of the study shows him in a yellow ASOS tank top, a black fitted Orioles hat, and some Beats head phones. This image is heavily contrasted and semi-faded to highlight and accentuate his muscular frame, including his pectoral muscles. The profile includes headers, including "Racial preference is RACISM period...BE HONEST

W/YOURSELVES.” Other profile information includes height (5’10), weight (190lbs), race (Black), body type (muscular), gender (Cis), and so on. The profile picture and information are typically what attracts other users to comment on the picture or send him direct, private messages.

Researcher 2 collected screen images of profiles, conversations, and interactions with users on Grindr over several months before and after the launch of Kindr. The researcher started taking screenshots of profiles and conversations after realizing several patterns in the language and responses in conversations that were intentionally anti-Black or defensive when users were questioned. Researcher 2 collected dozens of screenshots, though we only show the most telling screenshots in this piece. The researcher stored the images in his phone and later transferred the images to a sharable document (Google Docs) that Researcher 1 had access to. Researcher 2 continues to store images for study, though the researchers examined approximately 30 images at the time of the study. We decided to write this piece together to accompany each other in the process of dissecting the harsh commentary Researcher 2 frequently faced. We planned to write this piece for a few years now, but the fear of confronting the ghosts, residues, and tentacles of anti-Blackness paralyzed us. The following is a short conversation that captures the arduous process of writing this study:

“I cannot write anymore because I am intellectually disturbed by all this,” Researcher 2 tells Researcher 1.

“Of course you are,” responds Researcher 1. “This shit is tough and real. We are analyzing very real, violent, and traumatic language and divorcing our emotions from sifting through this data is impossible.”

“I am here for and with you,” Researcher 1 tells Researcher 2. “Stop writing and analyzing. I will proceed with where you leave off.”

We traded-off during the writing process. Researcher 1 picked up where Researcher 2 left off because there were points when looking at these racist and anti-Black comments injured our souls. Scars remain even after one tries to heal. In addition, there is a sense of dissonance when we write about anti-Blackness because, though we know of the importance of our writing, we know the full reality that the academy is largely anti-Black. Is our writing good enough? Are we good enough thinkers? Is it all even worth it? We write to document what often happens in the confines of the digital. This study mimics McGlotten’s (2013) approach; the researcher utilized

autoethnographic research to study how cyberspace, social media platforms (such as Grindr), and other mediated communication complicate the dating and hooking-up process for Black bodies.

Analyzing Themes

Researcher 1 and Researcher 2 both analyzed the images collected by Researcher 2 to identify repetitive rhetorical or visual cues. Both researchers analyzed the images to pinpoint repetitive patterns, which they then referred to as themes. Researchers indicate that images may show patterns in language and visuals that suggest consistent themes and attitudes (Andrade, 2017). In other words, certain words or phrases may be repeated, certain symbols or pictures may show similar cues, and conversations may use language that overly emphasizes certain words, phrases, or thoughts, which may all show patterns. Such patterns can be illustrated as themes in the visuals that reveal person's attitudes, beliefs, or ideas. Similar to Blackwell, Birnholtz, and Abbott's (2015) study, in the present study, we showcase screenshots from profiles and conversations in the next sections to show visuals of the main themes. Some limits exist to our thematic analysis approach, including fallibility of researchers' interpretations, the risk of entirely subjective findings, or inadequate description of inferences from the thematic coding (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011, p. 241-242). To address these limitations, Lindlof and Taylor (2011) recommend that researchers code themes separately, compare their findings to reach agreement, and to maintain ethical "descriptive validity" by faithfully reporting themes that can be clearly seen in the raw data or images. In all, Lindlof and Taylor (2011) argue that "a major strength of qualitative research remains its wonderful blend of strategic mindfulness and unexpected discovery" (p. 242). We followed Lindlof and Taylor's recommendations and contend that screenshots bring to life the insidiousness of how anti-Blackness operates within online gay publics such as Grindr. We provide the images as verification for our interpretation of the themes that follow.

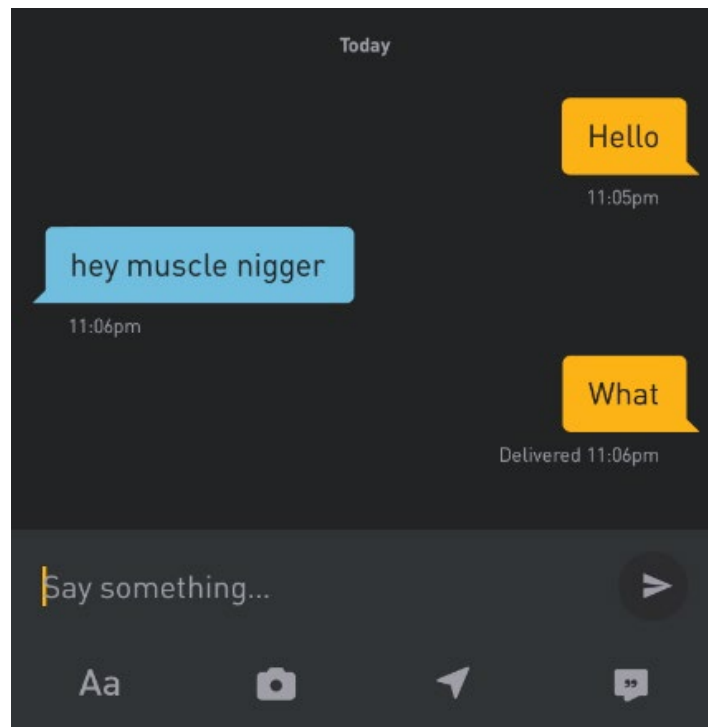
Theme 1: It's All in the Name(s)

One sure way of identifying anti-Black ideology and the ways it targets Black people is through the language, names, and phrases used to single them out, unlike people from other ethnic or racial groups. This section describes a type of anti-Blackness that is linguistically direct and intentional.

One way of linguistically perpetuating anti-Blackness is through the use of the word “nigger,” a term used to demarcate Blacks’ inherent difference in a derogatory way. For example, Figure 1 shows a very direct use of the term “nigger.” As the figure shows, Researcher 2 sent a salutation message, “Hello,” to the user, to which the user responded with “muscle nigger” without reason. In figure 2, a user sends the message, “Let’s see that nigger cock,” without an initial salutation or other conversation phrases. “Nigger” is laden with injurious historical, structural, and psychological value that is used against Black people with the intent to signify them as inferior, other, and marginal. Kennedy (2022) states, “nigger ‘is an opprobrious term, employed to impose contempt upon [Blacks] as an inferior race. ... The term in itself would be perfectly harmless were it used only to distinguish one class of society from another; but it is not used with that intent. ... [I]t flows from the fountain of purpose to injure” (p. 5). The constant and gratuitous nature of linguistic mechanisms, such as deploying the term “nigger” as an offensive and direct dehumanizing tool, orders and structures how communication with non-black users creates the conditions of severe anxiety amongst Black users. Hyper self-awareness and racial paranoia results from such anxiety and the very real threat that non-Black users may resurrect those terms at any moment within any interaction on or offline. This sense of paranoia has been studied by several scholars that isolate the implications for such conditions, including McGlotten (2013), who writes, “Our ‘paranoia’ indexes the ongoing imprinting of racialized microaggressions that produce powerful speculative fears about the effects racial difference can have not only on one’s chances for getting laid but for more ontologically essential longings such as being wanted or loved” (p. 72). In this sense, the use of “nigger” is more than a microaggression. It becomes a macro-aggression because these conversations are linked to well situated pre-existent anti-Black sentiments, as structural ideologies against Black bodies. The terminology and words are interlinked and the mechanism by which anti-Blackness is communicated and causes racial trauma and paranoia for the Black body.

Figure 1.

Snapshot of Grindr conversation



Note: A snapshot of a conversation on Grindr shows text message bubbles from Researcher 2 (yellow bubbles on the right side) and another user (blue bubbles on the left side). Below bubbles, Grindr records the time when the messages were sent. The first yellow bubble says “Hello.” The next blue bubble states, “hey muscle nigger.” The last yellow bubble says “What [sic].”

Figure 2.*Snapshot of Grindr conversation*

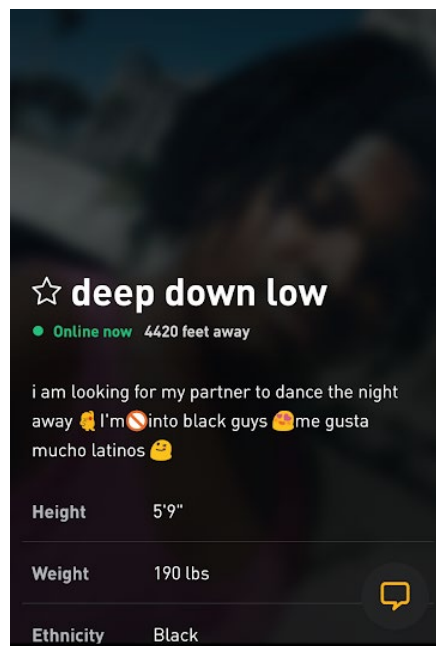
Note: A snapshot of a conversation on Grindr shows text message bubbles from Researcher 2 (yellow bubbles on the right side) and another user (blue bubbles on the left side). Below bubbles, Grindr records the time when the messages were sent. The first blue bubble says “Let’s see that nigger cock.” The next yellow bubble states, “Wow.”

Figures 3-5 showcase the ways that users will intentionally use exclusionary language against meeting Black people or to reveal that they are not into Black persons. The first image, in particular, states that the user is into Latinos, but not Black persons. The second image provides a disclaimer that they are “not racist,” but continues with specifications that they are not into Blacks, Asians, or Islanders. Callander, Holt, and Newman (2012) illustrate that racism is often clouded by “preferences” because users will try to minimize their decision-making to what appears subtle and normal, even though users are intrinsically cutting off an entire population from potentially meeting or hooking up with them. Moreover, the fact that an entire race of people is cut off is interlinked with broader historical exclusion and dehumanization of Black people. Interestingly, although Blackwell et al. (2015) found that users feel comfort using Grindr because they can hide their face, a ruse of confidentiality, Figures 3 and 4 show how some users do not feel the need to hide themselves when they outwardly reject Black people. Whereas facial unrecognition may often allow users to make explicitly racist comments or taking overly defensive postures, some users do

not mind showing their faces in virtual space. Figure 5 does not show a person's face, but it tries to downplay the explicit intimate disavowal of Black gay men by saying "unless you just want to be friends." This gesture only adds insult to racial injury to offer a consolation prize to Black gay users. This rhetoric in figure 5 is not new, but the user attempts to shield himself from racial criticism by implying that they are okay with Black gay men in their company, just not sexually. Desiring Black men solely because of sex is a broader theme that we unpack in the next section.

Figure 3.

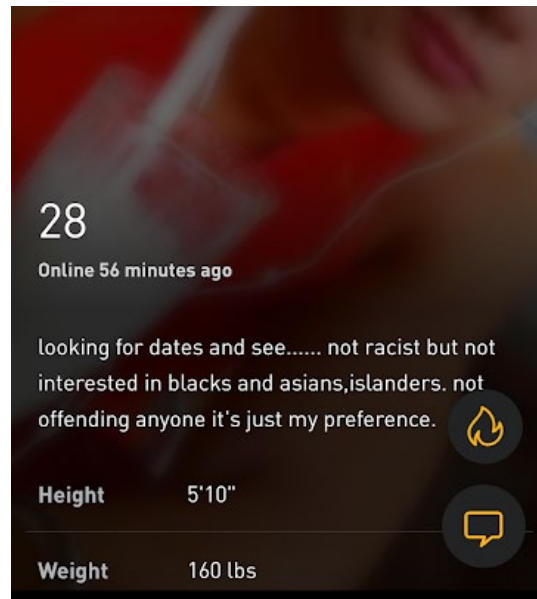
Snapshot of Grindr profile for user "deep down low"



Note: A snapshot of a typical Grindr profile shows a hazy and unrecognizable background image of what appears to be the user's face, varying headers and sentences in white font and different text sizes, and emojis (cartoon figures that represent different words or emotions). The first textual header reads, "deep down low," followed by a sentence stating, "Online now 4420 feet away." The next sentence lines read, "I am looking for my partner to dance the night away (unclear emoji) I'm (emoji with a sign indicating a "prohibited" or "no" word) into black guys (unclear emoji) me gusta mucho latinos [sic]." The next lines include "Height 5'9"," "Weight 190 lbs," and "Ethnicity Black."

Figure 4.

Snapshot of Grindr profile for user “28”



Note: A snapshot of a typical Grindr profile shows a hazy and unrecognizable background image of what appears to be the user's face, varying headers and sentences in white font and different text sizes, and emojis (cartoon figures that represent different words or emotions). The first textual headers read, "28: Online 56 minutes ago," followed by sentences stating, "looking for dates and see..... not racist but not interested in blacks and asians,islanders. not offending anyone it's just my preference [sic]." The next lines include "Height 5'10'" and "Weight 160 lbs."

Figure 5.

Snapshot of Grindr profile for user “UglyJ”



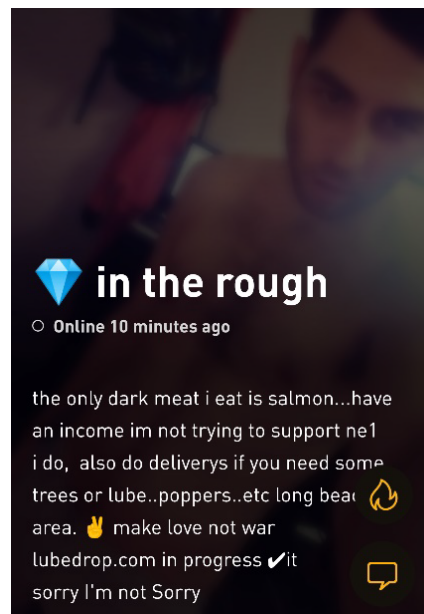
Note: A snapshot of a typical Grindr profile shows a completely black background and varying headers and sentences in white font and different text sizes. The first textual header reads, “UglyJ 25,” followed by sentences stating, “Online now 1 mile away.” The next sentence lines read, “Looking for friend with benefit or just some hot sex white and Latino only and sorry no black men unless you just want to be friends, and if you don’t like it keep it pushin...[sic].” The next lines include “Height 6’1’.””

Sometimes, anti-Black language takes the form of metaphor that reduces Black bodies to figurative or material flesh. For example, Figure 6 displays a user who states his “preference” in terms of food. He states, “the only dark meat I eat is salmon,” which implies that the user doubly does not want Black skin and prefers light skin. Additionally, in figure 7, the user tells our researcher that he looks like he “just came from Wakanda.” Wakanda is a reference to the mythical place from the *Black Panther* film that was released in 2018. The phrase may be interpreted as sarcasm or fetishization, which is unpacked in the next section, but the user undoubtedly demarcates the Black body, the phenotype of Black skin, and the musculature of our researcher as

the defining characteristics that they may be attracted to, as hinted at by the smiley emoticon at the end of the sentence (:]). In this way, the user is able to hint at the fact that he is attracted to Researcher 2 because of his metaphorical look. In both figures, users obscure the historical legacy of how Black men are frequently reduced to the flesh of their bodies to make them fungible within slave society, Jim Crow, the prison industrial complex, and other segments of society for their amusement or entertainment; Black men are not seen as actual humans. Reid-Brinkley (2008) describes that Black men are often reduced to their skin color and that the Black body is encrusted as flesh that is signified as inherently different—non-human—in comparison to non-Black or white bodies (p. 15). The signification process, filtered through anti-Black lens, allows for the metaphors of “dark meat” or “Wakanda-looking” to reduce Black gay men to the flesh of their bodies and, therefore, their dehumanization.

Figure 6.

Snapshot of Grindr profile for user “[diamond image] in the rough”



Note: A snapshot of a typical Grindr profile shows a hazy and unrecognizable background image of what appears to be the user’s face, varying headers and sentences in in white font and different text

sizes, and emojis (cartoon figures that represent different words or emotions). The first textual header reads, “(emoji of a diamond) in the rough,” followed by a sentence stating, “Online 10 minutes ago.” The next sentence lines read, “the only dark meat i eat is salmon...have an income i’m not trying to support ne1 i do, also do deliverys if you need some trees or lube..poppers..etc long beach area. (peace sign emoji) make love not war lubedrop.com in progress (check mark emoji) i’m sorry I’m not Sorry [sic].”

Figure 7

Snapshot of Grindr conversation



Note: A snapshot of a conversation on Grindr shows one blue text message bubble from a user to Researcher 2 stating, “You look like you just came from wakanda (emoji of a smile face represented by :) [sic].” The time stamp is shown under the bubble.

Theme 2: The Erotic Fetishization of Black Flesh

Interestingly, though some people do not utilize the overt anti-Black language discussed in the previous section, many Grindr users will indicate that they are only strictly searching for sex and encounters with Black persons, but no interpersonal or romantic relationships beyond that. This echoes Reid-Brinkley’s (2008) explanation that Black men are reduced to non-human flesh, but it also shows an additional layer of fetishization as the only reason a Black man is courted. Moreover, users are willing to hook up with Black men because of arbitrary expectations that are placed solely

on Black men and not non-Black users. This section explains the different ways that Black flesh is eroticized and fetishized.

Figures 8 and 9 show 2 conversations where users relegate Black gay men solely to sexual or “Friends With Benefits” (FWB) relationships. In figure 8, the user tells Researcher 2 that he prefers relationships with white or Middle Eastern men, but only sexual encounters with Black men and others not in the first two racial categories. When Researcher 2 responds by saying that “We [Black men] are only good in so far as sex,” the user responds by stating that he is “sorry if my profile sounds offensive,” but he is “speaking based on my personal experiences.” The user’s response concretizes the belief that, in his personal experience, Black men are only good for sex. This helps to illustrate that when Black bodies are reduced to the flesh, users’ negative treatment of Black men is irrationally justified and does not warrant any further reasoning. Figure 9 is another instance where a user explains that “Black men are good for a fuck ... and nothing else [sic].” This comes as a result of Researcher 2’s refusal to engage in bareback sex with him (sex without a condom or protection). The users’ response is tied up in several assumptions about Black bodies: 1) that Black gay men have an insatiable drive to covet white gay men; 2) that Black men are sexual property to be used, sold, and bought based on white sexual desire and fulfillment; and 3) that Black men are bound to respect the entitlement driven mentality of white gay men. These are macroaggressive assumptions that frequently show non-Black users’ expectations for Black men. These comments are not singular events, but a persistent concretization and reiteration of anti-Blackness because Black men are given opportunities to have sex or connect with the users only when they fulfill the aforementioned assumptions as expectations.

Figure 8*Snapshot of Grindr conversation*

Note: Figure 8. A snapshot of a conversation on Grindr shows text message bubbles from Researcher 2 (yellow bubbles on the right side) and another user (blue bubbles on the left side). Below bubbles, Grindr records the time when the messages were sent. The first blue bubble from the other user says, “For a relationship I do want a White or Middle Eastern,, but sexual encounters Black are number 1., latinos and it continues [sic].” The following yellow bubble by Researcher 2 states, “We are only good in so far as sex...[sic],” followed by a yellow bubble saying, “Lol even worse bro [sic].” The last blue bubble says “I don’t know how that is worse, I am sorry but I’m just speaking based on my personal experiences., I am sorry if my profile sounds offensive to you but trust me I did it the best politely respectful way without offending any race specially now in days [sic].”

Figure 9*Snapshot of Grindr conversation*

Note: A snapshot of a conversation on Grindr shows text message bubbles from Researcher 2 (yellow bubbles on the right side) and another user (blue bubbles on the left side). Below bubbles, Grindr records the time when the messages were sent. The first blue bubble from the other user says “Boo Fucking Hoo. Its Grindr...not Sunday School. Trust, I’ll get laid (again) while your over inflated ego turns EVERYONE off [sic].” The following yellow bubble by Researcher 2 states, “Lol I’m not worried...I have better options....good luck with ur other STIs [sic].” The last blue bubble says “Ugh. Why are you still talking to me. Black men are good for a fuck....and nothing else [sic].”

Figure 10 illustrates one of the most prevalent anti-Black assumptions—the assumption that Black men have large penises (often denoted as “Big Black Cock, BBC”)—which is another expectation placed on Black men. “BBC” is a race-based sexual expectation that non-black users have for Black men. Figure 10 begins with the statement, “U got big BBC [sic]?” The question mark at the end of the sentence implies that the BBC is a pre-condition to sexual intimacy. When Researcher 2 asked the user, “Is that your fetish?” a confirmation was given, “guilty,” to show that this interaction was indeed premised on the BBC expectation. Later in the conversation (not

shown), Researcher 2 responds by stating that he does not want to be utilized as a piece of meat, to which the user responds “I got good booty” as if such a response justifies the BBC expectation. This conversation shows that Black men are expected to engage in quid-pro-quo exchanges—the BBC in return for “booty.” Wilson et. al (2009) explain that “BBC” language causes race-based sexual stereotyping, or the “inferred beliefs and expectations about the attributes a sexual experience will take on based on the race of the partner involved in the experience” (p. 400). The assumption is tied to other generalizations about Black men, including the belief that they are sexually irresponsible, aggressive and animalistic in nature (Groves et al., 2015). Anti-Black sexual stereotypes have been hedged against Black men to assume penis size as a “positive” attribute paired with aggressive behaviors to justify viewing the sexual practices of Black men as bestial and primitive. However, the irony is that, as Groves et al. (2009) argue, “larger penis size has been equated with a symbol of power, fertility, stamina, masculinity, and social status” (p. 788) for other non-Black persons. Hence, the expectation of large penis size is a status that is imposed on Black men, and, consequently mediated by the ideology of anti-Blackness.

Figure 10

Snapshot of Grindr conversation



Note: A snapshot of a conversation on Grindr shows text message bubbles from Researcher 2 (yellow bubbles on the right side) and another user (blue bubbles on the left side). Below bubbles, Grindr records the time when the messages were sent. The first blue bubble from the other user says “U got a big bbc [sic]?” The following yellow bubble by Researcher 2 states, “Lol is that your fetish [sic]?” The last blue bubble says “Yes [sic].” The next yellow bubble reads, “Lol [sic]” and the last blue bubble says, “Guilty [sic].”

Consistent with the BBC assumption, users often view Black men as and expect them to be masculine and aggressive. In Figure 11, a user tells Researcher 2 that there is “no way” Researcher 2 could be “a bottom” because “not too many black men are bottoms” since they are “usually the more dominant type.” The statements show how Black gay men are sexually stereotyped and scripted into specific categories. Here, this user perpetuates the anti-Black sexual stereotype that all Black gay men are dominant, masculine tops driven by sexual prowess. Moreover, the user’s response implies that he is amazed and shocked, which suggests a(n) (un)conscious complicity with anti-Black sexual stereotypes informed by the user’s potential history with other Black gay men. Grov et al. (2015) see these understandings as “cultural scripts that are collectively developed guidelines that dictate how sexuality is to be performed. Interpersonal scripts are scripts that are developed through one’s socialization process and challenge generic scripts to fit within one’s personal history with others” (p.2). Expectations of Black gay men to be dominant and aggressive intertwine with larger socialization processes within white civil society that produce anti-Black expectations, such as the ideals that a user may not hook up with Black men if they do not fulfill the script of overt masculinity, dominance, and aggression. This has the implication that Black gay men who are bottoms are useless flesh to the non-Black users that have a fetish for BBC or dominant Black men. Black gay bottoms become undesirable flesh that are not worthy or given a chance at sexual or romantic engagement. In all, Black men are expected to principally fulfill sexual desires, including the expectations to have a BBC and to be aggressive, dominant tops.

Figure 11*Snapshot of Grindr conversation*

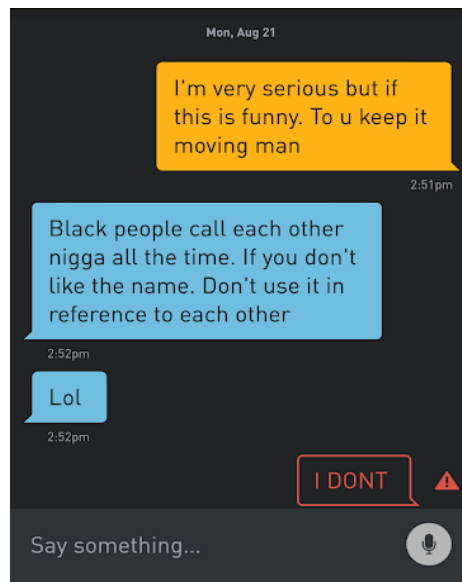
Note: A snapshot of a conversation on Grindr shows text message bubbles from Researcher 2 (yellow bubbles on the right side) and another user (blue bubbles on the left side). Below bubbles, Grindr records the time when the messages were sent. The first blue bubble from the other user says “No way... ur not a bottom... get outta towne [sic]?” The following yellow bubble by Researcher 2 states, “Hmm why not [sic]?” The last blue bubble says “Not too many black men are bottoms... your usually the more dominant type [sic].” The next yellow bubble reads, “Lol that’s kinda racist [sic].”

Theme 3: Defensive Whiteness

This last section describes the ways users, particularly white persons engage in “defensive whiteness.” Previously, in Figure 8, the user had an apologetic tone, implied with the “I am sorry” for his preferences of non-Black users. Beyond apologetics, we found 2 ways that users engage in defensive whiteness. First, some users attempt to justify their anti-Black comments overtly.

Secondly, some users become aggressive when they are questioned or not getting the reaction they want. This section explains both types of defensiveness.

Figure 12 shows a users' attempt to justify their use of the word "nigger" by arguing that other Black people use the term to refer to each other. This defense strategy is not new because people often assume that the term is appropriate simply because Black people use it. Not only is this an appeal to the masses and a bandwagon effect that fundamentally overlooks the potentially negative and injurious underpinnings of the term, but it also shows a type of defensiveness that is blatant and parasitic on Black communities themselves. Unfortunately, when non-Black persons use the term, they forget that "blacks have often used *nigger* for different purposes than racist whites," including as a term of endearment and production of communal ties, to mock disenfranchisement, and to criticize the term itself (Kennedy, 2022, p. 28). However, when used by non-Black people, the word resurrects a power dynamic between masters and slaves. Kennedy (2022) explains that the word "lay at the core of a recollection that revealed to me the pain my mother continues to feel on account of wounds inflicted upon her by racists during the era of Jim Crow segregation" (p. xlv). Moreover, the author recounts an interpersonal conversation with a white person in which "the reference to 'nigger' seem[ed] to have suddenly made him aware anew of my blackness and thus the need to treat me differently than other acquaintances" (p. xlvi). The overall point is that non-Black people forget that the term carries a denotation and connotation that shifts to a powerfully injurious and marginalizing sense when they use it.

Figure 12*Snapshot of Grindr conversation*

Note: A snapshot of a conversation on Grindr shows text message bubbles from Researcher 2 (yellow bubbles on the right side) and another user (blue bubbles on the left side). Below bubbles, Grindr records the time when the messages were sent. The first yellow bubble says “I’m very serious but if this is funny. To u keep it moving man [sic].” The next blue bubble states, “Black people call each other nigga all the time. If you don’t like the name. Don’t use it in reference to each other [sic]” followed by another bubble saying, “Lol [sic].” One last bubble shows red text stating, “I DONT,” with a red triangle containing an exclamation point.

Figures 13-15 show additional instances where users took aggressive, overt postures. In figure 13, the user was upset because Researcher 2 did not respond to the user’s question, “Fuck me too[?] [sic],” implying a desire to have sex with Researcher 2. The user proceeds with an adamant “Yes or no?” and “I know u wasnt down lol bye nigger [sic].” The user climaxed to calling Researcher 2 a “nigger” because of a lack of response or positive response to the demand for sex. In figure 14, the user becomes aggressively defensive when the researcher asks him not to use the term “nigger.” The user persists in calling our researcher a “BOY” and “NIGGER,” respectively

defensively. In both figures, users adamantly defend their anti-Black views and often provide “justifications” for their perspectives. Figure 15 is amongst the most aggressive. The user in figure 15 contacted Researcher 2 with very personal questions and without salutation. Researcher 2 is cautious and tells the user, “I don’t even see your face and you’re asking me personal questions.” Instantly, the user aggressively responds with, “IM SORRY YOUR BEING SUCK A FUCKING GODDAM NIGGER BITCH [sic]” and ends with “hope you choke on a dick.” Figure 15’s user wishes death upon Researcher 2 simply because our researcher cautiously avoided answering personal questions to a completely anonymous person. Perhaps these anti-Black comments are driven by ego and the drive for power; undoubtedly, the aggressive defense of their anti-Blackness suggests a deeply entrenched psychic and (un)conscious perpetuation of their anti-Black beliefs. Users disregard the humanity of Researcher 2 and, as evidenced in figure 15, prefer the death of the Black user. Interestingly, the ultimate aggression happens when every single user that used “nigger” block Researcher 2. Users can Block other users from sending them messages or seeing their profiles. The Block is one way to stifle continued conversation and interrogation of the anti-Black user’s perspective. It is a denial of the humanity and voice of Researcher 2. Blocking also means that the users shield themselves from further interrogation of their anti-Black assumptions.

Figure 13.

Snapshot of Grindr conversation



Note: A snapshot of a conversation on Grindr shows text message bubbles from Researcher 2 (yellow bubbles on the right side) and another user (blue bubbles on the left side). Below bubbles, Grindr records the time when the messages were sent. The first yellow bubble says “Yes [sic].” The next blue bubbles state in sequence, “Fuck me too [sic],” “Yes or no?,” “I know u wasnt down lol bye nigger [sic].” Researcher two responds, “Wow,” in what is now a red box and red letters and red triangle with an exclamation point in the middle. One last blue bubble shows four emojis with a hand that appears to be waving good-bye.

Figure 14

Snapshot of Grindr conversation



Note: A snapshot of a conversation on Grindr shows text message bubbles from Researcher 2 (yellow bubbles on the right side) and another user (blue bubbles on the left side). Below bubbles, Grindr records the time when the messages were sent. The first yellow bubble is cut off and only reads, “least twice now [sic].” Two yellow bubbles follow stating, “Here u go again being racist” and “Don’t Fucking call me that bigeot ass [sic].” A blue bubble follows with, “Yup and when I’m

ALL UP IN YOU.. I'll call you BOY and NIGGER [sic].” A last yellow bubble states, “Wow...[sic].”

Figure 15

Snapshot of Grindr conversation



Note: A snapshot of a conversation on Grindr shows text message bubbles from Researcher 2 (yellow bubbles on the right side) and another user (blue bubbles on the left side). Below bubbles, Grindr records the time when the messages were sent. The first yellow bubble reads “I don’t even see your face and you’re asking me personal questions [sic].” Two blue bubbles follow stating, “Okay [sic]” and “IM SORRY YOUR BEING SUCK A FUCKING GODDAM NIGGER BITCH DAM IM JUSTVtrying to be nice but whatever by you fucking black ass nigger cunt hope you choke on a dick [sic].”

In *White Fragility*, Robin DiAngelo (2011) provides useful explanations for the 2 types of defensiveness that this study depicts. To begin, defensiveness is tied to a sense of entitlement and a fragility that ensues when white people are told that they may be racist or wrong in their beliefs. Speaking as a self-identified white woman, DiAngelo states, “socialized into a deeply internalized

sense of superiority that we either are unaware of or can never admit to ourselves, we become highly fragile in conversations about race. We consider a challenge to our racial worldviews as a challenge to our very identities as good, moral people. Thus, we perceive any attempt to connect us to the system of racism as an unsettling and unfair moral offense” (p. 2). Moreover, DiAngelo argues that white persons face perceived “racial stress” that “triggers a range of defensive responses,” including “emotions such as anger, fear, and guilt and behaviors such as argumentation, silence, and withdrawal from the stress-inducing situation” (p. 2). The author continues to explain, “These responses work to reinstate white equilibrium as they repel the challenge, return our racial comfort, and maintain our dominance” (p. 2). DiAngelo’s descriptions and reasons for defensiveness are a starting point to show a psychic attachment to whiteness, though we see this manifesting in anti-Black commentary because of the specificity of anti-Black terminology and assumptions. In addition, DiAngelo’s findings are helpful to understand the defensiveness of white users, though the present study adds specificity to the anti-Black language and mechanisms in which users deny humanity to Black users. The present study also shows that while white and other non-Black users may, in fact, feel stressed when interrogated, they fundamentally fail to or choose to deny the very psychic and emotional well-being or states of Black users, including Researcher 2’s psychic state.

Conclusion, or why Grindr will Remain an Anti-Black Space

Researcher 2 has tried reporting aggressive and outright anti-Black language. Unfortunately, Grindr follows community standards, such as free speech, that protect people, including their anti-Black comments and profiles. Although hate speech is supposedly illegal on the application and despite the Grindr video’s attempts to curtail anti-Black racism, even when some users are suspended they return. The comments continue. Hence, Grindr fails to prevent anti-Blackness and this present study suggests that the psychic life of anti-Blackness is pervasive and continues. The essay identified three themes that show why the terminology/naming, fetishization, reduction of Black men to stereotypes and unintelligible flesh, as well as defensive argumentative techniques are further perpetuations of a thick and impenetrable anti-Blackness.

A person must have an egotistical, cognitive, and conscious drive to defend anti-Blackness—a psychic life of anti-Blackness. There exists a communicable and (un)conscious, truly deep desire to defend one’s anti-Blackness and racist commentary and perspectives about Black

people. Ignorance is not a defense. Kindr showed users how racism manifests on profiles and users *still* actively choose to use derogatory language, language of preferences, fetishization, and communicative defensiveness to justify themselves. Black men, including Researcher 2, are recognized only in terms of their blackness in the social scene of the gay relationship marketplace. Johnson (2016) argues that “sexual desire is always already a product of cultural and social conditioning, which, in this country, always means the long shadow of white supremacy (and anti-black racism)” (p. 6). And while anti-Blackness, including aggressive defenses of it, may surface because of psychic stress and fragility, it also undermines and invalidates Black men’s anxiety. This expression of anti-Blackness causes internal strife and paranoia for Black men and serves as a constant limit to their intimacy and romantic possibilities with others.

The present study shows that Black men are arbitrarily expected to be objects for sex, dominant, aggressive, and non-romantic. These expectations may seem paradoxical given that they may imply that Black men are still given a fruitful place for sexual stimulation. One of the biggest problems, however, is that Black gay men are only validated if they fulfill certain expectations that are non-human expectations, including sexual encounters that fulfill fantasies of aggressive masculinity. Wilson (2009) further describes “these stereotypes exist as a function of intrapsychic, interpersonal, and cultural scripts. Sexual stereotypes are learned through processes of cultural socialization and translated, revised, or reinforced through patterns of interpersonal social and sexual activity and personal ideologies” (p. 401). We argue that those personal ideologies and processes of socialization are infiltrated by the specter of anti-Blackness and then exported to the sex publics like Grindr to inform how the Black body should be treated. Contra McGlotten’s (2013) explanation that some Black gay men are still hopeful of finding romantic and productive relationships with others, the present study suggests that Grindr is largely an anti-Black space that produces anxiety, depression, and paranoia which in many ways outweighs the smallest chances of happiness, particularly as men aggressively defend their anti-Blackness. In all, the “play nice” Kindr campaign was only one step toward consciousness raising, but failed to address anti-Blackness as a perpetual ideology that is firmly entrenched and will remain a violent ideology that uniquely occurs against Black people on Grindr.

References

- Ahmed, S. (2007). A phenomenology of whiteness. *Feminist Theory*, 8(2), 149-168.
- Andrade, L. M. (2017). The validation function of a sustained orientation and transfer program: A longitudinal qualitative study. *Journal of Hispanic Higher Education*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1538192717709584>
- Blackwell, C., Birnholtz, J., & Abbott, C. (2015). Seeing and being seen: Co-situation and impression formation using Grindr, a location-aware gay dating app. *New media & society*, 17(7), 1117-1136.
- Butler, J. (1997). *The Psychic Life of Power: Theories in Subjection*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Callander, D., Holt, M. & Newman, C. E. (2012). Just a preference: Racialised language in the sex-seeking profiles of gay and bisexual men. *Culture, Health and Sexuality*, 14 (9), 1049–1063.
- Corriero, E. F., & Tong, S. T. (2016). Managing uncertainty in mobile dating applications: Goals, concerns of use, and information seeking in Grindr. *Mobile Media & Communication*, 4(1), 121-141.
- Coover, R. (2004). Using digital media tools and cross-cultural research, analysis and representation. *Visual Studies* 19(1), 6–25.
- Daroya, E. (2018). “Not into chopsticks or curries”: Erotic capital and the psychic life of racism on Grindr. In D. W. Riggs (Ed.), *The Psychic Life of Racism in Gay Men's Communities* (pp. 67-80). Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books.
- DiAngelo, R. (2018). *White Fragility: Why it's so Hard for White People to Talk About Racism*. Boston: Beacon Press.

- Dicks, B., Mason, B., Coffey A. & Atkinson, P. (2005). *Qualitative Research and Hypermedia: Ethnography for the Digital Age*. London: SAGE.
- Dumas, M. J. (2016). Against the dark: Anti-Blackness in education policy and discourse. *Theory into Practice*, 55(1), 11-19.
- Gollayan, C. (2018, Sept. 20). Grindr wants you to be kinder--and not racist. Retrieved from <https://nypost.com/2018/09/20/grindr-wants-you-to-be-kinder-and-not-racist/>
- Grov, C., Parsons, J. T., & Bimbi, D. S. (2009). The association between penis size and sexual health among men who have sex with men. *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, 39(3), 788-97.
- Grov, Christian & D. Saleh, Lena & Jonathan, Mat & Parsons, Jeffrey. (2015). Challenging race-based stereotypes about gay and bisexual men's sexual behavior and perceived penis size and size satisfaction. *Sexuality Research and Social Policy*. 12. 10.1007/s13178-015-0190-0.
- Hodgson, C. & Kuchler, H. (2018, August 30). World's most popular gay dating app Grindr to go public. Retrieved from <https://www.google.com/amp/s/amp.ft.com/content/95aa3ef2-ac48-11e8-89a1-e5de165fa619>
- Houdek, M. (2018). The imperative of race for rhetorical studies: Toward divesting from disciplinary and institutionalized whiteness. *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies*, 15(4), 292-299. doi.org/10.1080/14791420.2018.1534253
- Johnson, E. (2016). *No Tea, No Shade: New Writings in Black Queer Studies*. Duke University Press.
- Kennedy, R. (2022). *Nigger: The Strange Career of a Troublesome Word*. New York: Pantheon.
- Landovitz, R. J., Tseng, C.-H., Weissman, M., Haymer, M., Mendenhall, B., Rogers, K., Veniegas, R., Gorbach, P. M., Reback, C. J., Shoptaw, S. (2013). Epidemiology, sexual risk behavior,

- and HIV prevention practices of men who have sex with men using GRINDR in Los Angeles, California. *Journal of Urban Health : Bulletin of the New York Academy of Medicine*, 90(4), 729–739.
<http://doi.org/10.1007/s11524-012-9766-7>
- Lindlof, T. R., & Taylor, B. C. (2011). *Qualitative Communication Research Methods*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- McGlotten, S. (2013). *Virtual Intimacies: Media, Affect, and Queer Sociality*. SUNY Press.
- Murthy, D. (2008). Digital ethnography: An examination of the use of new technologies for social research. *Sociology*, 42(5), 837-855.
- Pink, S. (2007) *Doing Visual Ethnography*. London: SAGE.
- Reid-Brinkley, S. (2008). *The harsh realities of "acting black" how African-American policy debaters negotiate representation through racial performance and style*. University of Georgia.
- Rice, E., Holloway, I., Winetrobe, H., Rhoades, H., Barman-Adhikari, A., Gibbs, J., Carranza, A., Dent, D., & Dunlap, S. (2012). Sex risk among young men who have sex with men who use Grindr, a smartphone geosocial networking application. *Journal of AIDS and Clinical Research*, 1-8. doi:10.4172/2155-6113.S4-005
- Sexton, J. (2008). *Amalgamation Schemes: Anti-Blackness and the Critique of Multiracialism*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Soto Vega, K. & Chávez, K. (2018). Latinx rhetoric and intersectionality in racial rhetorical criticism. *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies*, 15(4), 292-299. doi.org/10.1080/14791420.2018.1534253

- Van De Wiele, C., & Tong, S. T. (2014, September). Breaking boundaries: The uses & gratifications of Grindr. In Proceedings of the 2014 ACM international joint conference on pervasive and ubiquitous computing (pp. 619-630). ACM.
- Wilson, P. A., Valera, P., Ventuneac, A., Balan, I., Rowe, M., & Carballo-Diequez, A. (2009). Race-based sexual stereotyping and sexual partnering among men who use the internet to identify other men for bareback sex. *Journal of sex research*, 46(5), 399-413.
- Winetrobe, H., Rice, E., Bauermeister, J., Petering, R., & Holloway, I. W. (2014). Associations of unprotected anal intercourse with Grindr-met partners among Grindr-using young men who have sex with men in Los Angeles. *AIDS care*, 26(10), 1303-1308.
- Wilderson III, F. B. (2008). Biko and the Problematic of Presence. In *Biko Lives!* (pp. 95-114). Palgrave Macmillan, New York.