"As a rule, I don't have sex on the first date": Gender and age differences in motivations, perceptions, and experiences on *Tinder*

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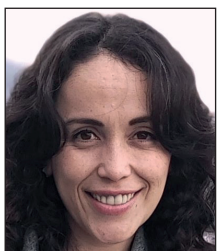*Universitat Pompeu Fabra*
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Abstract

This research explores the impact that gender and age have on motivations, experiences, and perceptions regarding the use of *Tinder*. Based on an inductive analysis of 37 semi-structured interviews with heterosexual *Tinder* users, we specifically examine gender and age differences in motivations, match selection, and communication management on this mobile dating app. The findings show that age differences have a more significant effect on motivations than gender differences do, whereby older adults use the app to find a stable partner, and young adults use it for sex. Women are more selective when picking matches than men, and when they make these selections, they pay special attention to male attributes that are typically associated with maintaining stable relationships. In contrast, men tend to focus almost exclusively on physical appearance. Between the match and the first date, users need to deal with a considerable volume of communication, which involves the use of different communication media in a series of consecutive stages, toward which matches normatively orient themselves. This transition to new media and stages, in which men tend to take the initiative and women assume the sanctioning role, marks a kind of incremental passage to intimacy. We conclude that, in their courting conduct, *Tinder* users perform conventional gender scripts that are typical of the heteronormative model of intimate relationships.

Keywords

Tinder; Apps; Intimacy; Sex; Gender; Gender differences; Age differences; Heteronormativity; Gender scripts; Youth; Adults; Personal communication; Relations; Motivations; Perceptions; Experiences.

1. Introduction

Tinder has become a social phenomenon. It is the most popular of all mobile dating applications, with over 6.5 million downloads a month worldwide in May 2021, practically twice as many as the second most popular app, *Badoo*. With an average of 66 million active users a month, *Tinder* dominates the global dating market with 53.8% of the share. Further data corroborating the *Tinder* phenomenon are the registration of a record 3 billion swipes[1] on May 29, 2020, the over 60 billion matches that have been made since it was launched, and the fact that *Tinder* users go on 1.5 million dates per week (**Iqbal**, 2021). Therefore, the amount of scholarly attention that it has received since its appearance in 2012 should come as no surprise. Recent studies from different perspectives have explored the motivations for the use of dating apps (**Sumter**; **Vandenbosch**; **Ligtenberg**, 2017; **Timmermans**; **De-Caluwé**, 2017), the selection of possible matches (e.g., **Timmermans**; **Courtois**, 2018) and (albeit only partially) the management of communication from the match to the first date (**Tyson** *et al.*, 2016; **Sharabi**; **Dykstra-DeVette**, 2019). However, little research has focused on the impact that age and especially gender have on the aforesaid practices and behaviors.

This research addresses this gap in the knowledge base, and specifically investigates the research question: What are the gender and age differences in motivations, match selection, and communication management on *Tinder*?

2. Literature review

Gender and age are crucial dimensions for understanding the practices of online dating, although they have both evolved over time as predictors of online dating usage. As far as gender differences in the use of online dating are concerned, these have been clearly fluctuating. In 2009, the percentage of women compared to men in the United States was 40%-60%, or 38%-62% in Spain (although with exceptions to such a trend in some countries of the former Soviet bloc, like Russia, where the percentage was 65%-35%, or Kazakhstan, 57%-43%) (**Kisilevich**; **Last**, 2010). In 2015, statistics showed that in the USA, 45% of online daters were women, compared to 55% men (**Smith**, 2016). With specific consideration to *Tinder*, the percentage of users in the United States as of 2021 is 24% female versus 75% male (*Statista Research Department*, 2022).

With regards to age differences in online dating, **Stephure** *et al.* (2009) found out that older individuals resorted more to online dating to find a prospective partner. This finding was also corroborated by another study from the same period which showed that users aged between 30 and 50 years of 30 were the most active in the online dating domain (**Valkenburg**; **Peter**, 2007). A few years later, figures indicated that while the number of 18- to 25-year-old online daters nearly tripled (from 10% in 2013 to 27% in 2015), online dating usage reached its highest among 20- to 40-year-olds, with 39% in 2013 and 43% in 2015 (**Smith**; **Anderson**, 2016). By age, the current distribution of *Tinder* users in the United States is (*Statista Research Department*, 2022):

- 35% in the 18-24 age bracket;
- 25% in the 25-34 age bracket;
- 20% in the 35-44 age bracket;
- 8% in the 45-54 age bracket;and
- 10% in the 55+ age bracket.

Of particular prominence among the studies that have explored the motivations for using *Tinder* is the one by **Sumter**, **Vandenbosch** and **Ligtenberg** (2017), which found that these motivations are love, casual sex, ease of communication, self-worth validation, thrill of excitement, and trendiness. In general, men were more likely than women to describe casual sex as a motivation for using *Tinder*. Men are also more frequently motivated by ease of communication and thrill of excitement (**Sumter**; **Vandenbosch**; **Ligtenberg**, 2017). Interestingly, **Sumter**, **Vandenbosch** and **Ligtenberg** (2017) study also revealed that certain motivations (like love, casual sex, and ease of communication) tended to intensify with age.

Men's sexual motivation for using *Tinder* arises recurrently in the existing literature (**Carpenter**; **McEwan**, 2016; **Kallis**, 2017; **Ranzini**; **Lutz**, 2017; **Sumter**; **Vandenbosch**; **Ligtenberg**, 2017; **Duncan**; **March**, 2019; **Lopes**; **Vogel**, 2019; **Palmer**, 2020); and this male trend also seems to increase with age (**Kallis**, 2017). Women, on the other hand, indicate other motivations for using *Tinder*, which include friendship (**Ranzini**; **Lutz**, 2017), self-validation or self-esteem (**Duncan**; **March**, 2019; **Ranzini**; **Lutz**, 2017), and long-term relationships (**Palmer**, 2020). Even when the use of *Tinder* leads to sex, women (especially younger ones) are reluctant to admit that this may have been their goal (**Kallis**, 2017). The disparity in motivations for using *Tinder* between men and women can lead to negative experiences. Men looking for sex on *Tinder* can

get frustrated if they cannot find women that are looking for the same thing, and women who are seeking a stable partner may feel unhappy if they continually receive sexual propositions (**Carpenter**; **McEwan**, 2016).

If men and women differ considerably in their approach to sexual permissiveness in *Tinder*, such permissiveness tends to decrease with age (**Gatter**; **Hodkinson**, 2016). This online phenomenon mirrors what occurs in the offline world (**Le-Gall**; **Mullet**; **Shafighi**, 2002; **Mercer** *et al.*, 2013).

In a pre-*Tinder* study of online daters over 50 years of age, it was observed that the motivations for trying online dating were considerably

https://tinder.com

different between men and women (**McWilliams**; **Barrett**, 2014). Male online daters considered that traditional meeting places were not the most suitable for meeting women of the appropriate age or to start any type of relationship. For these, online dating made up for that inconvenience and could serve the purpose of broadening their options and facilitating the transition to a new relationship. Women, on the other hand, reported a lack of available men in their networks, and online dating was a way to expand the range of possible partners and to gain greater control over the dating process. In general, both men and women were looking for younger partners. However, men paid more attention to the physical attractiveness and women to the social interaction skills of their potential partners. Moreover, while men perceived that women were less beautiful as they get older, women felt that it was men's vivacity that decreased (**McWilliams**; **Barrett**, 2014). Older women also found the experiences of online dating stimulating and interesting, on the one hand, as well as stressful and challenging, on the other (**Gewirtz-Meydan**; **Ayalon**, 2018). In general, online daters in older age cohorts accepted that they tend to be penalized for their age and that they tried to circumvent this age prejudice by falsifying their real age (i.e., decreasing their age) and exhibiting youthful manners (**McWilliams**; **Barrett**, 2014). In addition, in the 50+ age bracket, both men and women agreed that online dating offers them a wider range of people to talk to, without pressure to do so (**David**, 2012).

The motivations for using online dating (and, in particular, *Tinder*) determine to a large extent actual and perceived dating success, which vary considerably with age (**Strugo**; **Muise**, 2019). Thus, for younger users, having approach goals (which refer to the motivation to seek positive outcomes in a relationship, such as growth and intimacy for using *Tinder*) tended to be more firmly related with positive dating outcomes than for older users. Approach goals were also linked with having more romantic partners for older, but not younger *Tinder* users. Overall, the associations between avoidance goals (which manifest the motivation to avoid negative outcomes in a relationship, such as rejection and embarrassment) were most uniform for older users, probably because their reported anxiety might be linked to limited success in *Tinder* (**Strugo**; **Muise**, 2019).

The process by which *Tinder* users select other users as potential partners is somewhat similar to that of the offline world, where certain gender differences are also reproduced. **Sprecher**, **Econie** and **Treger** (2019) found that both online and offline, women are more selective than men, and particularly with regard to resources/success traits and other factors associated with maintaining relationships (such as a pleasant personality). Men, in contrast, are more selective than women with regard to physical appearance and less so concerning resources (e.g., financial security), as corroborated by a large number of previous studies (e.g., **Buss**; **Schmitt**, 1993; **Hatfield**; **Sprecher**, 1995; **Sprecher**; **Sullivan**; **Hatfield**, 1994). Mate selectivity tends to decrease with age, and particularly in men, and is extended to all traits (including physical appearance). As we get older, our options diminish, and we also adopt a more realistic approach to our mate preferences. Women, however, as they tend to seek long-term partners and invest more in their relationships, maintain a higher degree of mate selectivity than men (**Rusbult**; **Martz**; **Agnew**, 1998). Older users, in comparison to younger participants, also tend to seek long-term relationships and base their choices on factors associated with relationship building (**Sprecher**; **Econie**; **Treger**, 2019).

The technologically enabled affordances of pre-*Tinder* dating websites allowed their users to present themselves and be selected on the basis of a wide range of socio-demographic characteristics (typically height, weight, ethnicity and education, but also exercise, star sign, drinking, smoking, pets, relationship type, family plans, religion, political leaning, etc.). Such socio-demographic characteristics must be adequately encoded and decoded by the users themselves for adaptation to the environments of those platforms and thus avoid both equivocal self-presentations and the selection of other users with undesirable characteristics. In this type of environment, users overwhelmingly search for similar others (**Hardey**, 2008), as occurs in offline dating (**Harrison**; **Saeed**, 1977; **McPherson**; **Smith-Lovin**; **Cook**, 2001). This phenomenon is known in the literature as homogamy. *Tinder*, unlike those platforms, does not offer so many filtering options beyond a few photographs, a few words of text and (since 2021) a maximum of 5 'interests' (from a list proposed
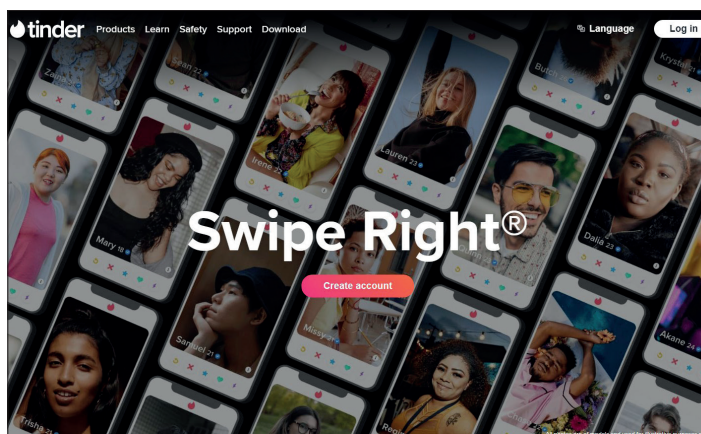
by *Tinder*) whereby the user can identify their hobbies, studies or profession. In this context, it has been observed that women are significantly more likely to have matches than men, which suggests that women are more selective in their swiping conduct (**Timmermans**; **Courtois**, 2018; **Comunello**; **Parisi**; **Ieracitano**, 2020). This phenomenon has a simple explanation: as men are

> There are no significant gender differences in terms of motivations for using *Tinder*, except among younger users (especially males), for whom sex is the main motivation

more likely to use *Tinder* for sexual purposes, women tend to try to avoid male users who are only interested in sex. Also, as the *Tinder* interface heavily emphasizes photos and instant appraisals based on limited cues (mainly related to physical appearance) to make swiping decisions, it is not surprising that this trait should take on such special prominence. However, men seem to be more open to making their selections on the basis of looks (**Van-Hooff**, 2020).

Although physical appearance seems to be the determining criterion when swiping right, age also plays a crucial role. Male users prefer young women while female users prefer partners their age or somewhat older. At older ages, men's tendency to select younger women expands, while women's preferences tend to diversify. Tendencies towards homogamy are greatest among younger users and women (**Šetinová**; **Topinková**, 2021).

The profession of the users is an important factor in the selection process of potential partners. A report issued by the platform itself (*Tinder*, 2016), published a ranking of the professions that men and women found most attractive in 2016. While the most successful female occupations were physical therapist, interior designer, and founder/entrepreneur (in that order), the most popular men were pilots, founders/ entrepreneurs, and fire-fighters (in that order). The 2018 statistics varied slightly, whereby registered nurses, dentists and photographers were the most successful female professions, while for men they were interior designer, pilot and assistant physician (*Tinder*, 2018). What is remarkable about these selection patterns is that while women are interested in prestigious professions or those linked to the eroticism of uniforms, men are more inclined towards professions that are traditionally viewed as feminine and that do not posit competition in professional terms.

When two users both 'like' each other by swiping right, a match occurs. **Tyson** *et al.* (2016) note that while men gather matches gradually, women gain popularity much more quickly and can even reach as many as 200 matches in the first hour. Once a match has been made, the general expectation is for some kind of conversation to happen via the in-app chat, which should last for a few days (for men) or even weeks (for women) before moving on to another medium (such as *WhatsApp* or *Instagram*) or a face-to-face meeting. According to **Licoppe** (2019) this conversation should not have sexual connotations, as this is something that women tend to strictly reject. Men typically send the first messages, which are especially flattering ones, while female users are on the receiving end (**Comunello**; **Parisi**; **Ieracitano**, 2020; **Timmermans**; **Courtois**, 2018; **Tyson** *et al.*, 2016; **Zytko**; **Grandhi**; **Jones**, 2014), and were more often the ones being pursued (**Kallis**, 2017). These behaviors reflect and perpetuate traditional gender roles as already observed at the beginning of offline relationships (**Clark**; **Shaver**; **Abrahams**, 1999). Men and women also differ in the strategies deployed to initiate contact with their matches. While men tend to use cute-flippant, inoffensive pickup lines and directly ask for dates in their messages, women are more likely to focus on the dissimilarities with their matches (**Sharabi**; **Dykstra-DeVette**, 2019).

In the transition from online communication to face-to-face encounters, women have been found to be more cautious about meeting strangers (**Carpenter**; **McEwan**, 2016). They are generally more selective and swipe for a longer period of time than men (**Ward**, 2016). Men, on the other hand, are much less demanding when it comes to engaging in face-to-face encounters with their matches (**Tyson** *et al.*, 2016). Men and women also differ in terms of the reported outcome of their encounters. Contrary to expectations, women were more likely to report a higher number of hookups than men (**Timmermans**; **Courtois**, 2018). A possible explanation for this derives from the fact that as women have more matches than men, they are able to have more meetings that end in sex.

The purpose of this study is to investigate the gender and age differences in motivations, match selection and communication management on *Tinder*. In the next sections we present the data and methods employed, the results and discussion, and the conclusion.

3. Method

3.1. Participants

Participants were recruited following the criteria that they needed to be regular *Tinder* users and differed regarding their professional or educational background. We employed snowball and quota sampling, with quotas on age and gender. In total, 37 heterosexual interviewees took part in our study, although the initial aim was to obtain 40 participants. In order to explore possible age differences in uses and practices on *Tinder*, we divided the sample into two age groups: young adults (18-28 years old) and older adults (over 40). The mean age of young adults was 23, while for older adults it was 49. We considered a large enough age gap between young and older adults to attribute plausibility to the possible differences that could be found. The final composition of our sample was: 8 older men, 10 younger men, 10 older women, and 9 younger women. The initial forecast was to find 10 participants for each of the 4 sub-categories.

3.2. Instrument for data collection

Our instrument for data collection was semi-structured interviews. For the semi-structured interviews, we used a combination of open and standardized questions, the latter to obtain socio-demographic information about the participants at the beginning of the interviews. The interviews started with a few questions about motivations for using *Tinder* (e.g., What made you decide to download the *Tinder* app? Why and for what do you use *Tinder*? How would you describe *Tinder* to someone who does not know about it?). These were followed by questions about practices when selecting possible matches (e.g., Do you consider yourself selective? In what aspect do you think you are most selective when searching for a possible match?). Finally, there were questions about their communication management (e.g., Did you start conversations or wait for others to do so? How did the conversations flow? Can you give me an example of a positive and a negative *Tinder* date?)

3.3. Study type

We employed a qualitative approach because qualitative methodology offers a greater insight into an individual's understanding, meaning and experiences using their own language (**Aspers**; **Corte**, 2019). Qualitative research provides a framework for discovering new or unexpected findings (**White**; **Cooper**, 2022). Such findings allow for 'information-rich cases' to acquire a better understanding of the research area (**Hamilton**, 2020). The goal of qualitative research is not to generalize but instead to offer a rich, contextualized interpretation of people's experiences through the intensive analysis of particular cases (**Lincoln**; **Guba**, 1985).

3.4. Procedure

The interviews were carried out in the metropolitan area of a large Spanish city after we received IRB approval from our university. We conducted the interviews face-to-face in private settings or online depending on the interviewees' individual preferences and lasted around 45 minutes on average, ranging from 35 to 55 minutes. After obtaining the participants' permission, the interviews were recorded, transcribed verbatim and anonymized. Pseudonyms were generated for each participant and are used throughout the article.

3.5. Analysis

The analysis of the interviews was done by means of a content analysis, an objective and systematic approach to the study of communication data (**Berelson**, 1952), performing a frequency analysis of the codes in the interviews. Although the primary use of content analysis has been to analyze media messages, it can also be employed for the study of speech-based data (**Prior**, 2014).

We combined a deductive and inductive approach in which we first established an initial list of codes derived from prior literature on gender and age differences in motivations, match selection and communication management in online dating (see Appendix). These 'initial codes' became sensitizing concepts (**Blumer**, 1986) that guided the subsequent analysis and led to the development of a preliminary codebook that served to detect new, 'emerging codes' (see Appendix), in the interview data. Lastly, the most productive codes and those that were considered most suitable for tracking the motivations, match selection practices, and communication management of our participants (see 'focused codes' in Appendix), were incorporated into the final codebook. More codes emerged in the 'communication management' category due to the imbalance produced by the larger number of questions in this thematic area. The codes in the final codebook are exhibited in Table 1. For the coding process, we used the *NVivo* software.

Table 1. codes for the analysis of motivations, selection criteria and communication management

Motivations for using *Tinder*	Selection criteria	Communication management
1. Casual sex 2. Self-worth validation or self-esteem 3. Long-term relationships 4. Shrinking social networks 5. Sentimental breakup 6. To meet people 7. Socializing 8. Entertainment 9. Long-lasting sexual relationship	1. Mate selectivity 2. Factors associated with maintaining relationships (resources, success, a pleasant personality, level of education, profession, hobbies, interests, social status, intelligence) 3. Physical appearance 4. Homogamy/similarity 5. Age 6. Relationship status 7. Ethnicity	1. Who initiates communication 2. Strategies to initiate communication: formal 3. Strategies to initiate communication: personalized 4. Strategies to initiate communication: original 5. Transition to other stages or media: who 6. Transition to other media: only *Tinder* chat 7. Transition to other media: *WhatsApp* 8. Transition to other media: *Instagram* 9. Transition to other media: soon 10. Transition to other media: later stages 11. Thematic agenda: location 12. Thematic agenda: work 13. Thematic agenda: hobbies 14. Thematic agenda: sex 15. Thematic agenda: relationship status (including children and their ages) 16. Thematic agenda: studies 17. Who takes the initiative to propose a date 18. When a date is proposed: soon 19. When a date is proposed: later stages 20. Outcome of the date: sex 21. Outcome of the date: getting to know each other 22. Outcome of the date: friendship

4. Results and discussion

In this section we perform a frequency analysis of the interview data codes showing gender and age differences in motivations for using *Tinder*, in selecting potential matches, and in managing communication with matches.

4.1. Gender and age differences in motivations for using *Tinder*

Table 2 shows the different codes for the category 'motivations for using *Tinder*' for the different types of participants in our study (older men, younger women, older women, younger women).

Table 2. Frequency of codes in motivations (raw frequencies and percentage within code)

	Gender and age differences in motivations for using *Tinder*								
	Older men		**Younger men**		**Older women**		**Younger women**		
Code	**Freq.**	**%**	**Freq.**	**%**	**Freq.**	**%**	**Freq.**	**%**	**Freq. total**
Casual sex	12	9%	26	17%	8	5%	18	11%	64
Self-worth validation or self-esteem	3	2%	10	6%	5	3%	15	9%	33
Long-term relationships	29	21%	8	5%	34	23%	12	7%	83
Shrinking social networks	17	12%	4	3%	15	10%	3	2%	39
Sentimental breakup	22	16%	18	12%	24	16%	20	12%	84
To meet people	27	19%	32	21%	33	22%	38	23%	130
Socializing	15	11%	23	15%	17	12%	27	16%	82
Entertainment	12	9%	24	16%	10	7%	28	17%	74
Long-lasting sexual relationship	2	1%	9	6%	1	1%	7	4%	19
Total	139	100%	154	100%	147	100%	168	100%	

Although reasons for using *Tinder* are relatively varied, as shown below, there is a very significant reason for turning to this app (regardless of gender or age), namely a sentimental breakup. This is the second most common code in the category 'motivations for using *Tinder*', with 83 frequencies, and it is slightly more prominent among older (46 frequencies) than young (38 frequencies) adults. In older adults, this could be a divorce or separation in recent years, as in the case of Laura, 41:

> "I got divorced six years ago and then after a year or so, after seeing how difficult it is to meet other people, they told me about the app and I thought why not give it a go?"

A lot of young adults also end up downloading the app after a more or less recent break-up, instigated by their own social network of people who also use *Tinder*. Luis, 22, said the following:

> "Well, a year and a half ago I split up with my partner and so I said OK, when I'd gotten over it and was ready to move on, well I said 'right, I'll give this a try' because I had quite a few friends who were on it and they told me that now and again it can be good and you can meet people and all that.

Another reason that leads to the use of *Tinder* is, as noted by **McWilliams** and **Barrett** (2014), shrinking social networks. This phenomenon is particularly prominent in older respondents like Antonio, 62, who said:

> "In fact, being retired, I have inevitably lost social contact with a lot of people and this made me a bit more inclined to get on *Tinder*, because I didn't want to be left alone at home, neither at work or socially."

When interviewees are asked why they use *Tinder*, the most common response is the socially desirable 'to meet people' (by far the most frequent code in the category with 130 frequencies). Given that the *Tinder* users in our study have identified themselves as heterosexual, it follows that they can only end up meeting people of the differing sex, and not 'people' in general. Daniel, 22, after being asked what he knew about *Tinder* before downloading it, acknowledges that he knew that it was an app used to hook up, and that, in his case, should only be with women. In many cases in our sample, motivations for using *Tinder* only seem to emerge after asking indirect questions or after offering examples of possible uses. What emerges from their responses to questions about motivations for using *Tinder* is that there are no notable gender differences, except among the youngest users. Intra-gender differences, in the form of the age gap, are much more prominent. Thus, young adults in our sample tend to be more inclined to use *Tinder* for casual sex (an average percentage of 14% of all codes for younger adults versus 7% for older adults); this finding is in sharp contrast to **Kallis**' (2017), who found that sexual motivations increase with age. Older adults, on the other hand, tend to seek a long-term relationship (an average percentage of 22% of all codes in older adults as opposed to 7% in younger adults), which corroborates **Sprecher**, **Econie** and **Treger** (2019) observation. Ana, 49, has been looking for a stable partner after a separation and was advised by her friends to start using *Tinder*. From her own experience and from what she has been told, Ana coincides with our finding with regard to age differences and uses of *Tinder*:

> "I think, let's see, I think that the vast majority of people, in my opinion, use it to find a stable relationship, at least people of my age do. And I think younger people use it more to have sex."

Andrés, 61, is also hoping to find a long-term relationship:

> "I separated ten years ago. The idea is to meet someone, get to know someone, to have a stable partner."

Although having a stable partner is a regular goal of most older male *Tinder* users in our sample, women in the same age group as Monica, 49, refute this assessment. For her,

> "Most people of the opposite sex are only looking for sex. I'd say that more than 80 percent are lying when they say, sure, they are looking for a relationship."

Young adults tend to have a more open approach to what they expect to get out of using *Tinder*. It might be for sex, socializing, entertainment, boosting their ego, looking for a partner or the classic 'let's see what happens'. This is succinctly put by Diana, 18:

> "Out of boredom. Also to raise self-esteem. Instead of going onto *Instagram*, I go on there and chat to people and it's fun. And for what? Hmm. Nothing specific. I mean, one of the typical questions you ask is 'what are you doing here on *Tinder*?' And it's like: 'Well, I don't know, nothing specific'. I meet people. If I like someone especially then we meet up. If not, well that's as far as it goes. And that's it. But I'm not looking for anything in particular."

Young male adults in our sample, despite what has been shown above, and in line with findings in the existing literature (**Carpenter**; **McEwan**, 2016; **Kallis**, 2017; **Ranzini**; **Lutz**, 2017; **Sumter**; **Vandenbosch**; **Ligtenberg**, 2017; **Duncan**; **March**, 2019; **Lopes**; **Vogel**, 2019; **Palmer**, 2020), are more inclined towards casual sex (the second most frequent code for young male adults in the category with 26 frequencies, after the typical 'to meet people', with 32). This is not a strange coincidence given that these studies, despite generalizing their results to men as a whole, were mostly made with cohorts of young *Tinder* users. Such is the case of David, 23, who has a fairly clear concept of *Tinder*:

> "I would say that it is basically for picking up girls quick and easy, and for getting laid."

Yet these motivations might change over time. After a few years on the app, people can end up getting tired of sporadic sex and would prefer to have something more stable. Here's what Javier, 28, says when asked if he's looking for sex on *Tinder*:

> "Yes, especially when I was younger, I did. I wasn't getting much... Let's say that with school and work I didn't have that much time. So you'd get chatting and if I liked the girl, then maybe I'd go straight to the point. But right now the idea of having sporadic sex with people, nope."

Young female adults, like Diana above, make more varied and nuanced use of *Tinder*. Even when sex might be one of their priorities, the approach is also much less conventional. Rosa, 21, for example, prioritizes sexual relations, but not sporadic ones. She prefers to have long-lasting sexual relationships (a very infrequent code in the data, with 19 frequencies, and more pronounced among young adults) and does not rule out other forms of intimacy:

> "I think a long-lasting sexual relationship would be my priority. Friendship and sporadic sex might be there, on a par, and then comes a stable relationship."

Esther, 23, seeks new sexual experiences, in her case with groups, but also assumes that other forms of relationship might arise:

> "To be honest I got into it together with my partner looking for sexual experiences, with other couples or individuals. But I also realized that there are some really nice people, neither of whom is interested in that kind of thing, who make good friends. There is a good connection and we meet up for beers and stuff."

4.2. Gender and age differences in the selection of possible matches

Table 3 shows the various codes employed for the analysis of the category 'selection criteria' for the diverse types of participants in our study.

Table 3. Frequency of codes in selection criteria (raw frequencies within code)

Gender and age differences in the selection of possible matches									
	Older men		Younger men		Older women		Younger women		
Code	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq. total
Mate selectivity	18	17%	6	10%	33	30%	29	35%	86
Factors associated with maintaining relationships (resources, success, a pleasant personality, level of education, profession, hobbies, interests, social status, intelligence)	21	20%	3	5%	35	31%	19	23%	78
Physical appearance	28	27%	35	57%	16	14%	22	27%	101
Homogamy/similarity	4	4%	6	10%	5	4%	7	8%	22
Age	25	24%	9	15%	13	12%	4	5%	51
Ethnicity	8	8%	2	3%	9	8%	2	2%	21
Total	104	100%	61	100%	111	100%	83	100%	

In line with the finding by **Sprecher**, **Sullivan** and **Hatfield** (2019) and **Comunello**, **Parisi** and **Ieracitano** (2020), we have found that women in our sample are more selective than men. As it may observed in table 3, the average percentage of 33% of all codes in women versus 13% in men for mate selectivity highlight this fact. For the most part, before swiping another user right, they look at all the photos (if there are more than one), and not only look at their physical appearance but also try to work out or corroborate their various social identity attributes (real age, hobbies, social status, ethnicity, etc.). They also read the description in the bio and study their chosen 'interests' (also with the same purpose as above). This is the case for both young and older women. Mate selectivity, in our sample, is also very high in both female age groups. This code is the second most frequent for older women with 33 frequencies and the most common one for younger female users with 29 frequencies. Raquel, 44, considers herself selective and describes the process she observes before swiping right as follows:

> "I read everything they write. [...] I discard anyone showing off their muscles in the gym mirror, out. People with children, out. People with no photo, out. So, when I've eliminated all that, and there's a lot, then I swipe based on what I see."

Although Mati, 21, has not been on the app for long, she has evolved towards more selective swiping behavior:

> "Whether I liked the photo or I liked the guy, well, I'd directly give him a like. But now I go a bit further and try to look at his description too, what interests him and I try to also look at more photos, look up his profile on *Instagram*."

Male participants are less selective than women. Unlike what **Rusbult**, **Martz** and **Agnew** (1998) propose for the offline world, mate selectivity in men is likely to increase on *Tinder* with age. In our data, the 17% of all codes for older male users contrasts with the 10% for younger men in mate selectivity. It is quite common for young men, like Eduardo, 23, to use up his likes in a single 'swipe session' after swiping right on all the users that the *Tinder* algorithm offers:

> "A lot of days I basically go on, swipe everything to use up my likes and then, depending on the people I get matches with, I then decide whether to keep the match or not."

Older men, on the other hand, appreciate that this is a bad swiping strategy, even though they have used it in the past. For instance, Enrique, 57, says:

> "I started going pretty full-on. The thing is that experience has taught me that it is absurd to waste time, right? So now I really look for people who fit with what I'm really looking for."

Men generally tend to base their choices of women on *Tinder* on physical appearance, as proposed by **Van-Hooff** (2020) and observed in our data: an average percentage of 42% of all codes for male users versus 21% for women regarding physical appearance. This phenomenon is even more extreme in young men (57% of all codes in physical appearance for younger men versus 27% for older men), who select women first on their physique, and even ignore the social identity cues that can be grasped from their photos. Alberto, 26, admits that looks are his determining criterion:

> "I discard, for example, the ones that I don't find physically attractive."

Adult men, like Antonio, 62, select first by looks too, but also pay attention to other things before 'liking' another user:

> "But I am more attracted, hmm, by people, women, who are younger than me [...]. The first thing is physical appearance, looks, that's clear. Yeah, yeah. And if I get the chance to read their profile, if they've written one, the content and form also draw my attention."

Selection of younger women, as Antonio does (his search is set in the 50-60 age range), is a phenomenon that increases with age among men. Just like **Šetinová** and **Topinková**, (2021) revealed in their study, we have found that the older men are, the lower the age range they set in the search engine itself. Age is the second most frequent code for older men with 25 frequencies and also the second most frequent one for younger male users, but only with 9 frequencies. With women, regarding the importance of age, the exact opposite occurs: only 13 and 4 frequencies for older and younger women, respectively.

Female participants, apart from being more selective, tend to base their choices on a wide variety of criteria. Older women, in particular, tend to pay more attention to those cues (discernible in the photos or appreciable in the description and interests) associated with maintaining stable relationships. In effect, the average percentage of 27% of all codes in women versus 12% in men for 'factors associated with maintaining relationships' clearly shows the diverse importance attributed to finding a stable partner for women and men. Laura, 41, despite recognizing the importance of looks in her selections, makes an overall assessment, in which work, level of education (expressed as literacy level) and hobbies are of particular importance:

> "It ultimately has to be a bit of everything, but if he has no description and I love the photos, well yeah, if I see someone he might like more things than me and I see him climbing. [...] That there are no spelling mistakes, most of all. [...]. And what he does for work, well, I won't tell a lie, at this stage of the game I'm not going to go with someone who doesn't have two pennies to rub together."

Younger female users, on the other hand, are aware of the relevance of their possible matches' looks in their decisions and primarily value hobbies and (paradoxically in a universe like *Tinder* that is so focused on physical appearance) the

intelligence that can be gleaned from a witty description. What draws the attention of Cristina, 22, in a good description is

> "not so much the way he describes himself, but the fact that it's funny. You know, in fact, there are some I've read that you can die laughing, it's like I've pissed myself laughing. And just because of that, just for that, I might like them."

Older women in the younger group, however, start to appreciate the same things as women in the more senior group. As Gemma, 26, says:

> "Well, it's good, for example, to say what you do for a living, isn't it? […] If they've got a degree and whatever, well I notice these things because it means we could be more alike, couldn't we? Or our ideas might be more or less on the same track."

> " When picking matches, women are more selective than men; thus, while women focus on those estimable attributes that are usually associated with the maintenance of stable relationships, men pay special or exclusive attention to physical appearance "

What we can appreciate as well in the above excerpt is that homogamy has an effect in mate selection in online dating, although with a lower impact (it is the second least frequent code in our 'selection criteria' data with 22 frequencies) than that reported by **Hardey** (2008).

4.3. Gender and age differences in managing communication with matches

Table 4 illustrates the codes for the category 'communication management' for the groups in our study.

Table 4. Frequency of codes in communication management (raw frequencies within code)

Gender and age differences in managing communication with matches									
	Older men		Younger men		Older women		Younger women		
Code	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	Code	Freq.	%	Freq.
Who initiates communication	33	11%	29	10%	7	4%	11	6%	80
Strategies to initiate communication: formal	21	7%	5	2%	4	2%	2	5%	32
Strategies to initiate communication: personalized	9	3%	10	4%	1	1%	4	2%	24
Strategies to initiate communication: original	4	1%	12	4%	1	1%	4	2%	21
Transition to other stages or media: who	32	10%	26	9%	6	4%	9	5%	73
Transition to other media: only *Tinder* chat	20	11%	3	1%	21	13%	4	2%	48
Transition to other media: *WhatsApp*	11	4%	13	5%	12	7%	16	9%	52
Transition to other media: *Instagram*	2	1%	20	7%	2	1%	19	10%	43
Transition to other media: soon	5	2%	34	13%	3	2%	29	16%	71
Transition to other media: later stages	29	9%	3	1%	28	17%	6	3%	66
Thematic agenda: location	7	2%	8	10%	10	6%	10	5%	35
Thematic agenda: work	7	2%	2	1%	8	5%	2	2%	19
Thematic agenda: hobbies	8	3%	7	3%	7	4%	8	4%	30
Thematic agenda: sex	1	1%	2	1%	1	1%	0	0%	4
Thematic agenda: relationship status (including children and their ages)	9	3%	0	0%	11	7%	1	1%	21
Thematic agenda: studies	3	1%	10	4%	1	1%	11	6%	25
Who takes the initiative to propose a date	36	12%	29	10%	8	5%	10	5%	83
When a date is proposed: soon	11	4%	20	7%	1	1%	7	4%	38
When a date is proposed: later stages	22	7%	8	3%	8	4%	4	2%	42
Outcome of the date: sex	14	11%	19	7%	2	1%	5	3%	40
Outcome of the date: getting to know each other	10	3%	9	3%	12	7%	11	6%	42
Outcome of the date: friendship	9	3%	9	3%	14	8%	13	7%	45
Total	305	100%	278	100%	168	100%	186	100%	

From the moment a match occurs and until the potential date, the matches have to manage a sometimes substantial amount of communication. The three consecutive stages and the communication media they have to go through are:

- initial, in which communication is via *Tinder*'s in-app chat;
- pre-date, with communication via *Tinder* chat, *Instagram* or an instant messaging service like *WhatsApp*; and
- date, in which face-to-face communication is employed.

When a match has been made on *Tinder*, someone needs to take the initiative by greeting the other person. As pointed out in recent research (**Comunello**; **Parisi**; **Ieracitano**, 2020; **Timmermans**; **Courtois**, 2018; **Tyson** *et al.*, 2016; **Zytko**; **Grandhi**; **Jones**, 2014), it is men (regardless of their age) who usually initiate communication. Indeed, the average percentage of 11% of all codes

> For men, a positive date is one that ends in sex, while for women it is usually one in which the two get along well and leads to some kind of relationship, including friendship

in men in contrast to 5% in women for 'who initiates communication' plainly demonstrates the gender differences in taking the initiative to talk to a match. Ricardo, 47, most of the time initiates communication with a greeting lying somewhere between conventional and formal:

> "When you get a match, I go in and say 'Hello' or 'Hi, what's up? How are you?' And that's it."

This expectation for men to initiate communication is also shared by women, who (and especially younger ones) also expect the initial communication not to be overly conventional, and instead to particularly reflect interest and personalization. Sara, 45, in awareness, like many other female *Tinder* users, of how unselective men can be, understands that those who have a genuine interest will be the ones who will contact her:

> "Because I think, well, maybe there's a match because guys are like that, well ... yeah, yeah, you know? And I think, well, if he's really interested, well, you know?"

That interest also needs to be personalized and to show that there has been substantial inspection of the profile itself. However, that expectation might be unfulfilled, since male users in her age bracket tend to start communication formally (the most frequent strategy with 21 frequencies), rather than personalized (9 frequencies) or with some originality (4 frequencies). Susana, 21, anticipates original messages. In particular, she expects cute-flippant –in line with **Sharabi** and **Dykstra-DeVette's** (2019) finding– and personalized first messages from her matches:

> "If it's original, so much the better, like, I mean, if you send me a 'hello, what's up, how are you?', well that's not what I find original. If you send me a little message like the other that said 'I'll see you next weekend', well I think that's funny, because I say, hey, at least you've made an effort, and are not just here sending hearts to everybody."

Her expectations are likely to be met, as male users in her age group tend to initiate communication with original messages (the most typical strategy with 12 frequencies) and to a lesser extent personalized (10 frequencies), and even less commonly, formally (5 frequencies).

Whether the conversation progresses to the following stage(s) and (eventually) other media depends on how successful this initial communication is (which in the case of the 'hello, what's up, how are you?' that Susana sometimes receives, would be very low). This progress to other stages and media typically happens at the initiative of men (an average percentage of 10% of all codes for men in contrast to 5% for women), but it is (also typically) women who sanction this initiative. And as we shall see below, this progress also reflects a kind of incremental passage to intimacy.

The pre-date thematic agenda is relatively varied. In the case of our sampled older adults, it usually revolves around two core areas: work and hobbies (both codes with 15 frequencies). As well as these two, there is also, at first, location (17 frequencies). Andrés, 61, describes the things he usually asks about thus:

> "Mainly that. Where do you live? What do you do for a living? What do you like to do in your spare time? To find out if there's a connection, right?"

Ricardo, 47, also chats about these subjects and feels that there is one in particular (sex) that should never be touched:

> "I don't go directly into sex. That seems highly inappropriate to me."

The expectation of the absence of sex as a topic of conversation (only 4 frequencies for the code 'thematic agenda: sex' in total for all age and gender groups), at least for a 'reasonable' period of time and generally attributable to women, is one of many expectations regarding communication management described by **Licoppe** (2019). Older adults are inclined to introduce a topic to the thematic agenda that seems to be of major interest to them: their counterparts' past and present relationship status, and also ask about the number and ages of their children (if they have any). This topic is brought up with a frequency of 11 by older women and 9 by older men. Raúl, 44, however, does not think that this is particularly appropriate:

> "They sure are more direct sometimes and ask questions that, at first, I don't think belong: if you've been married, how many children you have ... They're things I don't ask straight away. I tend to be more discreet."

Vanesa, 45 (although her profile says 40), searches her matches' profiles for information about their relationship statuses and children. If it does not say anything, it is the first thing she asks:

> "I only look to see if they have children or not. If not, the standard questions: 'are you single', 'do you have children'. If it doesn't say anything there, for me it's one of the first things I ask, because it's one of the things that I don't want."

Younger participants' conversations tend to revolve around three main themes: their location, studies, or hobbies. Within 'thematic agenda', these three topics constitute the most common codes with 28, 21, and 15 frequencies, respectively, for this age group. Juan, 28, introduces the topic of hobbies to engage with his match:

> "The initial communication is usually led by men, while women mostly assume the role of passive recipients of their messages"

> "I try to bring up a subject that I know about to see if the other person is interested too and opens up and tells me things about her hobbies."

There is also sometimes talk of work (4 frequencies), sex (2 frequencies), or relationship status (only 1 frequency), but these topics are rather unusual.

Conversations (as commented by Mati, 21) need to progress from more general to more personal topics:

> "So then, maybe, a lot of days might go by before you start talking about kind of more personal stuff. At first, I tell you, it's like 'what do you study', 'what do you do', 'what do you like', most of all."

Mati also penalizes those matches that do not normatively adhere to the consecutiveness of the stages and that try to skip some by making no further communication. She gets annoyed when matches try to skip the pre-date stage, the one that is about 'getting to know each other':

> "There are people that kind of like, that I don't like either because they are very direct in the sense that they kind of skip a bit the part where you get to know the person, you know? It's like, hey 'let's meet up now' and stuff. And you say, 'hey, we don't know each other, I hardly know who you are'."

Interaction in the pre-date phase starts with the *Tinder* chat. At some point, before the date, matches usually switch to other digital media. Older adult interviewees often switch to *WhatsApp* (within 'transition to other media', switching to *WhatsApp* is the second most common code with 23 frequencies, while using only the *Tinder* chat is the most frequent with 41 for older users; transiting to *Instagram* is rather unusual, with only 4 frequencies), which can take between 1 and 3 months, to make the necessary arrangements shortly before the date. Before switching to *WhatsApp*, Carmen, 48, needs there to have been an appropriate volume and quality of communication on the *Tinder* chat, just as **Licoppe** (2019) suggested. In those cases, at the men's request, she gives them her phone number so they can text using *WhatsApp*:

> "When you see in the initial chat that they're asking normal questions, and perhaps write back again the next day, and politely, so well, when you see that they … Well, I think they're nice, make comments that get my attention, right? That I like what they say, you know? Well, I end up giving them my, well for example, my *WhatsApp*, okay.

In this same phase between the *Tinder* chat and *WhatsApp*, young adults in our sample most often also use *Instagram* (within 'transition to other media', switching to *Instagram* is the most common code with 39 frequencies and turning to *WhatsApp* the second most common with 29 in young adults, while using only the *Tinder* chat is the least frequent with only 7 frequencies), where in addition to chatting they can obtain a wealth of information of their matches and perform the opportune identity checks. Gemma, 26, describes this transition to other platforms as follows:

> "*Instagram* to see, like, more photos because on *Tinder* you ultimately get three or four photos that are the best, but on *Instagram* you can see tags and whatever, and then *WhatsApp* to talk more."

Each step towards a new medium (normally, also, at the men's initiative and sanctioned by women) also implies gradually drawing closer together and a higher degree of intimacy with the other person. This is how Lucas, 21, sees it:

> "It's like *Tinder* is for talking. It's like the first step. And then, if the thing's flowing, you usually go to other platforms. And creating this bond could be seen as getting closer, to put it one way. It's like 'I'm letting you more into my life'."

The coveted date regularly happens at the man's initiative (an average percentage of 11% of all codes in 'who takes the initiative to propose a date' for men versus 5% for women) and comes after a 'reasonable' time, which for older adults might be between 1 and 3 months after the original match, and between 1 and 2 weeks for younger participants. In our data, a date is proposed soon with an average percentage of 3% of all codes for older adults versus 6% for our younger participants, while a date is proposed in later stages in exactly the opposite proportions. The meeting usually happens somewhere central and public, usually a bar.

As it can be seen from Table 4, sex is the most important outcome of a date for men with an average percentage of 9%, versus 2% for women. Women, on the other hand, tend to better appreciate getting to know their dates (7% versus 3% men) or becoming friends with them (8% versus 3% men) as the result of their first date. For example, Agustín, 43, considers that

> "a positive date is to meet up with her, go for dinner, go to the movies and have sex on the same day."

For women, like Carmen, 48, positive dates are those where they have got on well and that have led to some kind of relationship, even if it is only friendship:

> "When I get to meet the person, well, you've had an evening out, well, and for me everything has always been positive, and with two or three, well, like, you might carry on writing to each other on *WhatsApp*."

For there to be sex, there might be one or two further dates. It also generally tends to be women (like Vanesa, 45) who put a stop to things before they get too intimate:

> "As a rule, I don't have sex on the first date. There are people who come and 'bang'. Not me. Neither the first date, nor the second. I'm very clear about that."

5. Conclusion

In this paper, we have explored gender (and in a subsidiary manner, age) differences in motivations, practices, and communication management regarding *Tinder* usage. We have observed that there are no appreciable gender differences when it comes to motivations for using *Tinder*, except among the youngest users. Although these motivations may vary over time, the main current reason for our older adult interviewees to use the app is to search for a stable partner. In contrast, the main motivation for young adults is sex, especially in the case of males. Females in the same age group do admit that sex can be a common outcome of their dates but tend to use *Tinder* for a broader range of purposes, which include entertainment, socializing, ego-boosting, and finding a partner, and not just sex.

In terms of selecting matches, we corroborate that women are more selective than men. While women tend to inspect the profiles of their potential matches fairly meticulously, men tend not to go much further than the first photo. Women look at the estimable attributes (such as work, level of education, hobbies, and intelligence) that are typically associated with maintaining stable relationships. However, when men are choosing, they pay special or exclusive attention to the physical appearance observable in the photos. These results reveal, on the one hand, an adequate fit between the selection practices and reported uses of *Tinder* among women and young men. If women are looking for a stable partner, it seems reasonable that their selections will be based on the male attributes that are usually linked to this purpose, or that young men will focus on physical appearance when their goal is sex. On the other hand, if older men's declared goal is to find a partner, their potential matches' physical appearance does not seem to be the best criterion that will lead them to a stable relationship. These results also show that, as women are more selective, they are more discerning in their use of *Tinder*, to the extent that they better select how and with whom they establish relationships, and thus practice elective intimacy.

From the moment the match is produced until the first date (if there is one), users who have decided to "like" each other need to handle a sometimes considerable amount of communication, which goes through different media and through a series of consecutive stages, toward which the matches normatively orient themselves. In the transition to new media and stages, men (also normatively) take the initiative, and women assume a sanctioning role. Initial communication usually occurs via the *Tinder* chat feature and is led by men, while women mostly take the role of passive recipients of their messages. In the pre-date phase, the talking points for young people often revolve around their hobbies. Older adults also discuss their work. One topic that is generally dismissed as inappropriate is that of sex, since women may practice "ghosting" if they think a match is coming on too strong too soon. This phase normally involves switching to other media. Older adults usually switch to *WhatsApp* after 1-3 months, but before doing this, younger people usually, and relatively quickly after the initial communication, switch to *Instagram*, where they can find out about or corroborate their matches' various social identity attributes or continue chatting with them. Older adults can take between 1 and 3 months before going on their first date, while younger users take less time: 1 to 2 weeks. For men, a positive date is one that ends in sex, while one where the two get on well and that leads to some type of relationship usually constitutes a positive date for women. Sex, if it occurs, takes a long time, for one or two further dates are usually needed. The aforesaid progress to other stages and media outlines a kind of incremental passage to intimacy. Each transition to a new medium or stage represents, in a performative fashion, an increase in the matches' degree of intimacy.

In their uses and practices regarding *Tinder*, interviewees display their awareness of, and a normative orientation towards, the current rules of both offline courtship and those that are adapted to the *Tinder* domain. In their courting conduct, both men and women perform the conventional gender scripts that are typical of the heteronormative model of intimate relationships. These gender scripts, as we have seen above, highlight:

- men's agency in taking the initiative to make the courting moves, and
- both women's passiveness, as recipients of men's initiatives, and sanctioning power over those initiatives.

In general, all these uses and practices are taken by users to express the characteristic traits of masculinity and femininity. We, as analysts, suggest that this is how gender is "performed into being."

It will be, and indeed already is, interesting to observe what happens with the global implantation and massive use of *Tinder* and similar apps across the globe. In the cases in which our interviewees mention interactions with users living in other countries, they all seem to be aware of, and share, *Tinder*'s courting rules. An increasing global standardization of the processes for starting, developing, and consolidating intimate relationships might seem inevitable.

> " In their courting conduct, both men and women perform the conventional gender scripts that are typical of the heteronormative model of intimate relationships "

6. Note

1. To *swipe* is the action of sliding left or right on a person in the application. Sliding to the left rejects the person who has not attracted attention, and sliding to the right indicates that that person is interesting for making a *match*.

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8. Annex. Data-coding process

Categories	Initial codes	Emerging codes	Focused codes
Motivations for using *Tinder*	-Love -Casual sex -Ease of communication -Self-worth validation or self-esteem -Thrill of excitement -Trendiness -Friendship -Long-term relationships -Broadening their options - Shrinking social networks	-Sentimental breakup -To meet people -Socializing -Entertainment -Long-lasting sexual relationship	-Casual sex -Self-worth validation or self-esteem -Long-term relationships - Shrinking social networks -Sentimental breakup -To meet people -Socializing -Entertainment -Long-lasting sexual relationship
Selection criteria	-mate selectivity -factors associated with maintaining relationships (resources, success, a pleasant personality) -physical appearance -homogamy/similarity -age -profession	-Factors associated with maintaining relationships (Level of education, profession, interests, social status, intelligence) -Ethnicity	-Mate selectivity -Factors associated with maintaining relationships (resources, success, a pleasant personality, level of education, profession, hobbies, interests, social status, intelligence) -Physical appearance -Homogamy/similarity -Age -Ethnicity
Communication management	-Who initiates communication -Strategies to initiate communication (original) -Thematic agenda (sex) -Outcome of the date (sex)	-Strategies to initiate communication (formal, personalized) -Transition to other media: who -Transition to other media: types (Tinder chat, *WhatsApp*, *Instagram*) -Transition to other media: when -Thematic agenda: location, work, hobbies, relationship status (including children and their ages), studies -Who takes the initiative to propose a date -When a date is proposed -Outcome of the date (getting to know each other, friendship)	-Who initiates communication -Strategies to initiate communication: formal -Strategies to initiate communication: personalized -Strategies to initiate communication: original -Transition to other stages or media: who -Transition to other media: only Tinder chat -Transition to other media: *WhatsApp* -Transition to other media: *Instagram* -Transition to other media: soon -Transition to other media: later stages -Thematic agenda: location -Thematic agenda: work -Thematic agenda: hobbies -Thematic agenda: sex -Thematic agenda: relationship status (including children and their ages) -Thematic agenda: studies -Who takes the initiative to propose a date -When a date is proposed: soon -When a date is proposed: later stages -Outcome of the date: sex -Outcome of the date: getting to know each other -Outcome of the date: friendship