Trans YouTube content creators: Informal economies for the production, distribution, and consumption of trans-supportive DIY undergarments

by

Kyra Streck

A thesis submitted to the graduate faculty
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

Major: Apparel, Merchandising and Design

Program of Study Committee:
Kelly L. Reddy-Best, Major Professor
Eulanda Sanders
Abby Dubisar

The student author, whose presentation of the scholarship herein was approved by the program of study committee, is solely responsible for the content of this thesis. The Graduate College will ensure this thesis is globally accessible and will not permit alterations after a degree is conferred.

Iowa State University
Ames, Iowa
2022

Copyright © Kyra Streck, 2022. All rights reserved.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAPTER</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose and Research Questions</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Definitions</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. LITERATURE REVIEW</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fashioning the Body</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negotiations of Fashioned Bodies and the Fashion Industry</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Queer and Trans Identities</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Queer and Trans Identity Negotiations Online</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negotiating Queer and Trans Identities Through Dress</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Informal Economies, Labor, and Dress</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Critical Theories and Concepts</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. METHODS</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sample</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Analysis</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Validity and Reliability</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methods and Theoretical Underpinnings</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Background</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Building Practices and Heightened Attention to Expected Roles</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language, Gender Euphoria, and Disidentification</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accessible Making</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opportunities for Customization</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attitudes About Accessibility</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ease in Finding Inexpensive Materials and Construction</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIY and Commercial Trans-Supportive Undergarments – Satisfactions and Dissatisfactions</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIY</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commercial Offerings</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contextualization Within Trans Identity</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overt Discussion of Monetization</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. CONCLUSION</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limitations</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Implications</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REFERENCES</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX A. DIY TRANS-SUPPORTIVE UNDERGARMENTS YOUTUBE VIDEOS</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX B. DATA ANALYSIS CODEBOOK</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## LIST OF FIGURES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Figure 1</td>
<td>Screenshot of Bambi’s video, which demonstrates how to create tucking underwear from Hanes boxers, October 1, 2018.</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 2</td>
<td>Adea Danielle's gaff following the popular construction method.</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 3</td>
<td>Machine-sewn tucking underwear designed by Couryiah Shaheed.</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 4</td>
<td>Sketch of packing harness pouch by Kris.</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 5</td>
<td>Brandy Nitti in her filming studio.</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 6</td>
<td>itsbambii's opening slide.</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 7</td>
<td>Mack Bayda's YouTube banner.</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 8</td>
<td>Kameron wearing a t-shirt with the name of his YouTube channel, Trans SWAG, on it.</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 9</td>
<td>Still of Adea Danielle's video opening animation.</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LIST OF TABLES

Table 1 ........................................................................................................................................ 78
Table 2 ........................................................................................................................................ 81
NOMENCLATURE

DIY Do-It-Yourself

LGBTQ+ Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer
I would like to thank my committee members Dr. Kelly L. Reddy-Best, Dr. Eulanda Sanders, and Dr. Abby Dubisar for your help and support. Dr. Reddy-Best, I do not know how to begin thanking you for everything you have done for me since I met you at ITAA in 2018. You have changed my life in so many wonderful ways and are the best mentor I could ever ask for. I would also like to thank Dr. Denise N. Green for your mentorship and guidance over the last several years.

I would like to thank the trans content creators whose videos I used in my sample. I also want to thank Mia Marasco, Joshua Simon, and Ginger Stanciel for their support.

Thank you to my friends and family for your continued encouragement.
ABSTRACT

Queer and trans individuals have fashioned their bodies in various ways throughout history; however, there have not always been commercially-produced clothing available aimed at addressing the wants and needs of queer and trans consumers. Although there are increasingly more clothing options intended for queer and trans customers, there remain significant gaps in the market due to lack of product variety, access to products, and product cost. The purpose of this research is to examine how trans communities engage with fashion and informal economies via the Internet. Through this research, I aim to create conversations about trans fashion narratives, and build on past literature exploring marginalized communities’ negotiations of style, fashion, and dress. By identifying and analyzing the trans-supportive undergarment DIY methods that are circulated on the Internet, product developers, researchers, and designers can create undergarments to better address their needs. Due to the dearth of scholarly literature on trans identities, fashion, the Internet, and informal economies, I ask: how do trans people construct, negotiate, and/or distribute DIY dress in online spaces due to the lack of commercially available objects to fashion their sense of self? How do community building and participation intersect with the informal economy associated with these DIY practices? How do other identity intersections influence these negotiations?

To address these questions, I used a qualitative approach and grounded theory, guided by intersectionality, feminist theory, critical race theory, queer theory, and disidentification. I analyzed 24 YouTube videos from openly-trans content creators who produce content about the DIY production of trans-supportive undergarments. I evaluated visual and audio components through content analysis and developed themes through open, axial, and selective coding.
Through my analysis of DIY trans-supportive undergarment videos, I revealed six overarching themes: community building practices and heightened attention to expected roles; language, gender euphoria, and disidentification; accessible making; product satisfactions and dissatisfaction; contextualization within trans identity; and overt discussion of monetization. I substantiated these themes using examples, such as quotes and visual observations, from these videos. For instance, many content creators referred to their genitals using disidentificatory (Muñoz, 1999) euphemisms, which I argued may relate to experiencing ambivalent feelings about gender expression.

This research suggests that these trans DIY undergarment content creators engage in community building, interact with the formal economy and mainstream fashion industry, maintain relationships with their bodies, and construct clothing in unique and varied ways to meet their gender expression needs and share these critical making practices with the broader trans communities. Through my project, I hope to bring more public awareness to the relationships between trans individuals and dress to encourage empathy and understanding. Additionally, fashion students and the mainstream fashion industry can read about these relationships to gain a better understanding of some trans consumers’ preferences, how trans people feel excluded from the formal fashion economy, and alternative garment construction methods.
CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

Queer and trans individuals have fashioned their bodies in various ways throughout history (Cole, 2013; Hillman, 2015; Steele, 2013); however, there have not always been commercially-produced clothing available aimed at addressing the wants and needs of queer and trans consumers. Although there are increasingly more clothing options intended for queer and trans customers, there remain significant gaps in the market due to lack of product variety, access to products, and product cost (Reddy-Best et al., 2020). Alongside the proliferation of visibly queer and trans fashion brands and established companies considering diverse gender identities and expressions (Nordstrom, n.d.), social media has become immensely influential in the fashion world, part of which can be attributed to personal fashion blogging. Personal fashion blogging allows users to cultivate a desired aesthetic by presenting styled looks, which are frequently influenced by the blogger’s subject position (Guta & Karolak, 2015; Pham, 2015). One popular form of blogging is “vlogging” or video blogging. Vloggers typically post their videos to social media platforms such as TikTok or YouTube. Some have used YouTube to offer style advice or DIY tutorials to their viewers. Some queer and trans individuals mitigate the lack of commercial clothing options by fashioning DIY (do-it-yourself) garments or modify garments to suit their preferences (Barry & Drak, 2019).

Purpose and Research Questions

In this research, I examined how trans individuals created and/or modified garments to express their gender, creating an informal economy, in addition to how they shared these processes through the digital space. Therefore, I asked, how have trans people constructed, negotiated, and/or distributed DIY dress in online spaces due to the lack of commercially available objects to fashion their sense of self? How have community building and participation
intersect with the informal economy associated with these DIY practices? How have other identity intersections influence these negotiations? This research builds on the literature about style and marginalized communities, who are often neglected in fashion research. Additionally, I hope to encourage empathy towards trans individuals, who continue to face discrimination legally and socially, including within the fashion industry.

**List of Definitions**

- **Chest binding**: a common practice among trans masculine and nonbinary individuals who want their breast tissue to look minimized, making their chest conform less to societal expectations of femininity (Bell and Telfer, 2019).
- **Dress**: “An assemblage of modifications of the body and/or supplements to the body” (Roach-Higgen & Eicher, 1992).
- **Fashion**: The dominant styles of a group in a particular place and time (Tulloch, 2010).
- **Style**: Personal agency and interpretation (Tulloch, 2010).
- **Negotiate**: “To move carefully or with difficulty past, through, or along something” (Cambridge Dictionary, n.d.). Kaiser (2012) uses the term “negotiate” to discuss how people navigate social pressures and their various identities and affiliations.
- **DIY**: “increasingly constitutes our lived, daily experiences, in particular those that involve media and communication systems. And increasingly, the DIY ethos has seismically reshaped the international political sphere, as can be seen in ongoing global uprisings and the uses of media and communications within a “logic of connective action” (Bennett and Segerberg 2012), a kind of “collective” or “networked” individualism (Rainie and Wellman 2012) constituting new hybrid social movements and
practices of horizontal, participatory, and direct democracy (Boler 2013; Boler and Nitsou 2014)” (Ratto & Boler, 2014, p. 1).

- Informal sector: “Economic activities governed by private methods of regulation or informal rules that are outside of the government’s legal framework” (Pamuk, 2005, pp. 383).

- Queer and trans people: Many youth self-identify and prefer to refer to themselves as “queer and trans” as opposed to LGBTQ (Reclaim, n.d.).

- Cis: “a term that means whatever gender you are now is the same as what was presumed for you at birth” (TransHub, n.d.).

- Tucking: when trans feminine people flatten the appearance of their crotch, usually by popping the testicles up into the body and pulling the penis and scrotum towards the buttocks. Tucks need to be secured by tape, clothing, etc.

- Gaff/tucking underwear: undergarment worn to secure a tuck. Gaffs can be worn alone or under traditional underwear.

- Packing: when trans masculine people use a prosthetic to create the appearance of a crotch bulge.

- Packer: prosthetic (silicone, sock, etc.) that is used to pack with.

- Packing harness: harness (usually around the hips) used to secure packer.

- Packing pouch: pouch (usually clipped to inside of underwear) used to secure packer.

- Packing underwear: underwear specially constructed to accommodate and secure a packer.
CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Fashioning the Body

Identity is defined as “the importance of interaction and self-concept in relation to role enactment and performance” and “is situated…by his or her involvement in a social situation” (Kaiser, 1985, p. 198). One way we communicate our different identities is through dress (Kaiser, 2012), which refers to “an assemblage of modifications of the body and/or supplements to the body” (Roach-Higgen & Eicher, 1992). Tulloch (2010) expands on the notions of dress and identity and uses the hyphenated term “style-fashion-dress” to indicate the fundamental linkage of these words where “style” refers to personal agency and interpretation, “fashion” refers to the dominant styles of a group in a particular place and time, and dress was used in the same way as described by Roach-Higgen and Eicher (1992).

Identity and style-fashion-dress often inform, and are informed by, social interactions. Entwistle proposed that dress is a “situated bodily practice” (2015, p. 4). That is, bodies act as an interface between social, cultural, and individual influences and we adorn bodies accordingly (Entwistle, 2015). Similar to Entwistle’s concept, Bourdieu proposed the idea of habitus, or the ways that our surroundings influence appearance management where he specifically draws upon class and class boundaries (1984). He explained that for example, taste, is produced through experiences related to class, such as education level, and people within a certain social class positionality often exist in a similar reality. Habitus functions as a group ontology and posits the body as having a social function (Bourdieu, 1984).

Within different environments, social codes and undercodes are communicated via our clothing or appearance (Davis, 1992). Codes are explicit visual indicators of group membership, such as a pin or slogan T-shirt pertaining to a specific group, whereas undercodes are tacit (Davis
Undercodes are particularly salient when analyzing aspects of queer styles because these are more often used to discern someone’s sexual orientation and sometimes their gender identity. Davis (1992) and Kaiser (2012) theorized that within all of these codes and undercodes there is much ambiguity and ambivalence related to dress and fashioning the body; they both noted the tensions surrounding the body and fashion and the importance of people’s nuanced experiences. Similarly, Simmel (1904) argued a person’s appearance reflects the tension between individual and group identity. He theorized that people want to both portray themselves as a member of a collective identity while simultaneously wanting to look unique (Simmel, 1904).

**Negotiations of Fashioned Bodies and the Fashion Industry**

Fashioned bodies are part of a larger fashion system. Kaiser (2012) describes the larger fashion system through the circuit of style-fashion-dress; it indicates the relationship between identity, which she referred to as subject formation, within five larger areas of the fashion industry and society including distribution, regulation, production, and consumption. This circuit encompasses not only the formal economy we think of as the fashion industry, but also more informal relationships. Informal economies consist of nuanced relationships between these five components in her circuit. For example, in DIY, production and consumption are not discrete processes. Kaiser (2012) used the term “subject formation” instead of “identity” in her circuit (p. 20) because identities are typically perceived as static while subject formation connotes that our social positions are continually shifting and evolving. These changes significantly inform engagement within the circuit. Queer and trans identities, are one subject formation within the circuit.
Queer and Trans Identities

Members of the LGBT+ (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and other queer identities) community use many identity/subject formation terms, sometimes interchangeably. Although these definitions are sometimes not cited in traditional books, using quotes from less authoritative figures dehegemonizes identity. People of a particular identity, no matter their social or academic position, lay equal claim to its definition. These nuanced definitions capture how I used these terms throughout my thesis. These definitions also highlight discrepancies in how they are defined.

The Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual & Transgender Community Center in New York City is a significant community resource; therefore, I draw upon their resources for identity definitions. On their website, lesbian refers to: “a woman whose enduring physical, romantic, and/or emotional attraction is to other women. Some lesbians may prefer to identify as gay or as gay women” (The Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual & Transgender Community Center, n.d.). Gay is defined as: “the adjective used to describe people whose enduring physical, romantic, and/or emotional attractions are to people of the same sex. Sometimes lesbian is the preferred term for women” and it can also be used as an umbrella term (The Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual & Transgender Community Center, n.d.). Bisexual is defined as “a person who has the capacity to form enduring physical, romantic, and/or emotional attractions to those of the same gender or to those of another gender. People may experience this attraction in differing ways and degrees over their lifetime” (The Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual & Transgender Community Center, n.d.). Transgender is “an umbrella term for people whose gender identity and/or gender expression differs from what is typically associated with the sex they were assigned at birth. People under the transgender umbrella may describe themselves using one or more of a wide variety of terms — including
transgender” (The Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual & Transgender Community Center, n.d.). In this paper, I used the term trans as an umbrella term.

Queer then refers to: “a word that describes sexual and gender identities other than straight and cisgender” (Planned Parenthood, n.d., para. 1). Steven “Z” Patton, community activist and public speaker, identified as queer because throughout time, queer has carried a sense of undefined abstractness. Even as a slur, the word described those who exist outside of what society mandates, so it’s fitting that the term now defies all restrictions of love and self that the world has placed on us. (Cheves, 2019, para. 9)

However, he elaborated:

“That said, ‘queer’ as an umbrella term does a lot of flattening, and this flattening is what certain people — namely those who identify with ‘queer’ as a kind of leftist political stance of ‘identity-less non-definition’ — take issue with. They don’t use ‘queer’ as a term meaning ‘all definitions,’ but rather as ‘no definition.’ Since everyone is unique in their desires, behaviors, and communities, shouldn’t their identity be uniquely theirs? Some people use ‘queer’ to mean this uniqueness.”

Although I primarily be used the phrase queer and trans as an umbrella term for any non-cis gender or non-heterosexual identities, I recognize that this practice can be problematic. Vonte Abrams, visual merchandising artist feels: “LGBT+ labels tend to presume a binary origination, and their usage coincides with a social movement that seeks assimilation and erases the existence of non-binary identities. Using ‘queer’ as a catch-all umbrella term, whether intentionally or not, silences that important fringe voice” (Cheves, 2019). These definitions provide context on contemporary debates, tensions, and overall importance of nuance in the queer and trans communities.
**Queer and Trans Identity Negotiations Online**

Various identities have been communicated and negotiated in online spaces. The Internet facilitates communication and negotiation of multiple simultaneous identities. Users have frequently constructed new realities around themselves, via multi-user dungeons, online dating, or other spaces (Turkle, 1995). Saudi women have used the Internet to express themselves more freely, discuss taboo topics, and become friends with males, which would otherwise be unacceptable in their conservative culture (Guta & Karolak, 2015). Online communication has also been vastly influential to the fashion system. Pham (2015) described the ways Asian fashion bloggers have shaped contemporary fashion, from popularizing certain hairstyles to being some of the most sought-after marketers. Street style blogs have also significantly impacted fashion while acting “beyond the traditional boundaries of the global fashion industry” (Luvaas, 2018, para. 4), expanding gender, racial, and geographic representation in fashion (Luvaas, 2018).

Queer people have used the Internet to express their identities in various ways, often through the creation of “queer media.” Das and Farber (2020) defined queer media as: “media targeted specifically at queer people and/or produced and distributed by queer-identified individuals themselves” (p. 2). Queer people have been marginalized and historically underrepresented in mainstream media, so queer media has allowed them to create their own visibility (Das & Farber, 2020). Das and Farber (2020) argued that while queer people have used queer media to create their own narratives, when doing so, they have often reproduced hegemonic norms; one instance is YouTube’s facilitation of redefining camp (or camp 2.0) because social media has often been used to display multiple identities and/or parts of one’s personality. Christian (2010) employed Newton’s definition of camp, along with notions of gendering and queering, to describe how YouTube videos and vloggers that have employed
camp have been much more concerned with individuality than traditional camp performers, revealing the influence of neoliberal ideology (Christian, 2010). Similarly, the modeling reality show competition, *The Androgynous Model*, created by an androgynous Black model, featured five Black androgynous-identifying lesbians in its first season. The models were often told to embrace their androgenicity; however, for some challenges, they were instructed to dichotomize their femininity and masculinity. In one instance, the models were required to create a Photoshopped image featuring themselves appearing conventionally feminine juxtaposed with them, in the same image, dressing and posing stereotypically masculine (Blake, 2019). The web series *Between Women* (nonfictional) and *The Peculiar Kind* (fictional) also have depicted tensions between building alternative narratives and upholding existing power relations and stereotypes. Both *Between Women* and *The Peculiar Kind* are/were produced by and feature Black queer women; however, they have received mixed reviews within the community. For example, some Black queer female viewers of *The Peculiar Kind* were frustrated with the portrayals of dating violence because they felt the show did not challenge dominant notions of aggressive Black masculinity in butch women. However, other viewers lauded the series for its realistic portrayal of gender expression for Black queer women (Day, 2018).

Reactions to *Between Women* and *The Peculiar Kind* also demonstrated how the Internet has been essential for queer and trans people in building social relationships (Day, 2018). For example, DeHaan et al. (2013) found that the majority of LGBT youth use the internet for interpersonal communication, while Erlick (2018) underscored the importance of the Internet for community building and activist organizing for trans people. Trans women escorts have been able to create websites advertising their services and they have used language that highlights specific ethnic and/or feminine features to find potential clients (Vartabedian, 2019). YouTube
can facilitate community-building through sociability, shared purpose, interaction (including emotional and practical support), culture (such as shared experiences), and face-to-face interactions (Rotman & Preece, 2010). O’Neill (2014) identified five main categories of trans YouTube videos, including “D.I.Y. gender”, along with “transitional videos,” “trans video blogging,” “trans anti-bullying videos,” and “celebrity trans video blogging” (p. 41). These videos mainly instructed and modeled how to manipulate one’s gender presentation (O’Neill, 2014) and imply a social interaction. O’Neill (2014) explained the “D.I.Y. gender” category consists of videos “where a friend or the person him/herself shows the best way to present as the opposite gender.” These typically have been created by trans youth to demonstrate practices such as shaving one’s legs or hiding one’s breasts, however some cis gender people produced videos because they engage in cross-dressing activities, such as boyfriends and girlfriends swapping clothing (O’Neill, 2014).

**Negotiating Queer and Trans Identities Through Dress**

In addition to queer and trans people using the Internet as a space for gender expression negotiations, scholars have documented the unique ways queer and trans people have communicated their gender and/or sexual identities through dress since the 19th century. For example, in the 1890s, Ralph Werther’s “large red neck-bow with fringed ends hanging down over [his] lapels functioned as a gay identity code (Steele, 2013). In the early 20th century, in Hall’s novel, The Well of Loneliness, she described women in same-gender relationships with a masculine-leaning aesthetic, which is currently often referred to as butch (Wilson, 2013).

Lesbian styles are often stereotyped as either butch or femme. Femmes typically have worn longer hair, wear feminine-leaning garments and accessories, and/or wear makeup (Hemmings, 1999; Levitt et al., 2004; Levitt & Hiestand, 2004; Levitt & Horne, 2002; Maltry &
Butch aesthetics have been commonly associated with short or alternative haircuts, piercings, tattoos, masculine-leaning clothing and accessories, and minimal or no makeup (Clarke & Spence, 2013; Clarke & Turner, 2007; Faderman, 1991; Reddy-Best & Pedersen, 2014, 2015; Rothblum, 2010). Although the butch-femme dichotomy has existed, there has been much ambiguity, ambivalence, and tension in the lesbian community’s personal expression. For example, femmes have often experienced discrimination from queer community members for appearing feminine (Reddy-Best & Goodin, 2020), because it has been frequently associated with hegemonic heterosexual ideals (Huxley et al., 2014; Levitt et al., 2003). However, for some femme women, being able to pass has been empowering because it resists neoliberal norms in coming out narratives (Day, 2018). Additionally, many lesbian women have not identified with either butch or femme; some lesbians have aligned themselves with terms such as “tomboy,” “soft butch” (Reddy-Best & Goodin, 2020), or other sexual subcultures, such as leathersexuality (Campbell, 2019).

Historically, gay men have also experienced tension with personal-expression through dress. In the 1950s, the Mattachine Society, one of the first queer rights organizations in the United States, advocated gay men appear “stealth,” or in a heterosexual, masculine aesthetic, not in a stereotypical gay-feminine style to gain respectability (Hillman, 2015). However, when the Mattachine Society collapsed in the mid-1960s, and the Gay Liberation Front formed in 1969 following the Stonewall Riots (Mirola, 2007), many queer activists used political drag. Despite the popularity of political drag, many gay men still discriminated against drag queens, cross dressers, and trans women (Hillman, 2015). During the mid- to late-1970s, the clone style emerged, which comprised of hypermasculinity, visible through excessive muscles and tight pants (Cole, 2013; Hillman, 2015). At around the same time, the Gay Liberation Front
denounced nonnormative gender expression to gain political respectability (Hillman, 2015). Activists used genderfuck during the AIDS crisis to draw attention to political issues through radical play politics (Shepard, 2010); however clone styles remained one of the dominant gay men’s styles. In the 21st century, gay men continued to negotiate identity and appearance tensions. For example, fat and/or disabled gay men have expressed their identities through dress, revealing complex intersectionalities and varying influences from perceived safety and their race or trans identities (Barry, 2019). For example, one of the participants in Barry’s (2019) study who identified as a fat gay trans man liked to wear crop tops to disrupt dominant notions about gender and ideal body size.

Society has often rendered bisexual identity invisible because of binary cultural assumptions that one must be heterosexual or homosexual. However, some bisexuals have purposefully made their identity visible by combining gay, lesbian, and straight styles, forming a unique “bisexual display” (Hartman, 2013, p. 40). For example, many bisexual women have made their identity visible through androgynous styling and pride- or rainbow-themed clothing and accessories, such as jackets, T-shirts, and pins. Bisexual people also reported enjoying the identity ambiguity created by appearance bisexual invisibility (Hartman, 2013).

Trans people have negotiated different style tensions than LGB (lesbian, gay, and bisexual) people, in part because they face unique challenges expressing their authentic gender identity. While some gender-variant people desire to pass, others are more inclined toward gender-nonconformity (Allen, 2011). However, the rigid passing/nonconforming binary has does not accurately describe people’s everyday nuanced experiences. Reilly et al. (2020) found that many trans-masculine people varied their gender presentation according to the time or place. For example, some participants reported always binding at work for safety reasons but may not bind
when they are at home (Reilly et al., 2020). Trans people have often chosen garments that emphasized or deemphasized certain bodily characteristics in accordance with their desired gender presentation. Still, many trans people have experienced difficulty finding clothing that fits both their bodies and desired aesthetics (Reilly et al., 2019). Due to these challenges, some trans people have modified clothing, using DIY (do-it-yourself) practices, to achieve their desired expression (Barry & Drak, 2019).

**Informal Economies, Labor, and Dress**

DIY is interrelated with the informal economy (Jabareen, 2014), which refers to “economic activities governed by private methods of regulation or informal rules that are outside of the government’s legal framework” (Pamuk, 2005, pp. 383). Ratto and Boler (2014) suggested DIY increasingly involves “critical making,” which “signals the ways in which productions…are understood as politically transformative activities” (p. 1). Most larger social media platforms from the corporate perspective, such as YouTube, Twitter, Facebook, and Instagram, have not engaged in critical making because they have been owned by large hierarchical companies whose main goal is to gain capital; however, users of these larger social media platforms have been able to implement both critical making and smaller-scale generative justice practices. Critical making works to deconstruct social norms and create an inclusive future for women, people of color, queer people, and other marginalized community members (Ratto & Boler, 2014).

The mainstream fashion industry, which is part of the formal economy versus informal economies, has mostly engaged in practices directly opposing generative justice such as labor and environmental exploitation. Pham (2015) highlighted how sexism, racism, and xenophobia all facilitate and reproduce sweatshop labor abuses. For example, in the 1990s, many Chinese
and Philippine women garment workers immigrated to Saipan in hopes of improved wages and working conditions. As a US territory, Saipan has not been required to follow the same labor guidelines as US states but has been permitted to include a “Made in the USA” label in the garments its workers have produced there. Garments produced in the US have typically been perceived to be of higher quality and have not been associated with exploitative labor practices, often subconsciously, because of sexist, racist, and xenophobic ideas about workers in Asia and the global South (Pham, 2015).

Despite much of the mainstream fashion industry rejecting critical making, some people have been engaging with critical making through alternative fashion outputs and collectives. For example, Zoe Romano’s Openwear collaborative has worked towards a circular economy in textile production in India which considers sustainable sourcing and works with traditional designers (Eglash, 2016). Another Indian clothing cooperative, Marketplace India, has trained artisans in additional skills and affords them entrepreneurial opportunities and provides educational opportunities to their members’ children; Marketplace India is also nonprofit and fair trade (Kuhn, 2016).

Although scholars have analyzed the importance of queer and trans fashion, the Internet, identity development, and DIY practices, few scholars have focused on the intersection of these topics. I aim to fill this gap in the literature, which is important because discussing trans experiences in fashion literature brings awareness to diverse experiences in dress and clothing, it helps to better understanding the trans community, and can potentially lead to the development of more comfortable, effective, and affirming trans-supportive undergarments.
Critical Theories and Concepts

To analyze the interactions between identity, fashion, the Internet, and DIY practices, it is important to consider critical identity theories, including intersectionality, critical race theory, and queer theory. I draw upon these theories to critically analyze how compounded identities, racism, binaries, and identity performance influence these videos and my analysis of them. Scholars drawing upon intersectionality examine how multiple identities interact and impact how a person experiences the world; they also emphasize understanding and addressing the differences within identity groups (Crenshaw, 1991). Prior to the 1990s, few scholars were studying identity-based discourses, which acknowledged and affirmed intersecting marginalized identities. For example, intersectionality asserts that Black women face unique kinds of discrimination as being both Black and female that other Black people or women of other races are not subjected to, which further marginalizes and isolates Black women from their identity communities (Crenshaw, 1991). In this project, I examine queer and trans identity, and the influences other identities may have on how queer and trans individuals fashion themselves, such as race and class.

Because I am looking at the intersections of gender, sexuality, and race, I also be employ critical race theory. Critical race theory scholars (or “crits”) examine how racial power dynamics have shaped and continue to affect “the very foundations of the liberal order, including equality theory, legal reasoning, Enlightenment rationalism, and neutral principles of constitutional law” (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017, p. 3). Critical race theorists argue that racism is reproduced through social institutions, for a revisionist interpretation of history, liberalism avoids addressing “inconvenient” racial injustices, and that structural determinism is a pervasive threat to society (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). There are seven basic tenets of critical theory: racism is ordinary,
white-dominant imposed racial hierarchies benefit white people, race is a social construct, differential racialization, races have evolving histories, and the existence of a “unique voice of color” (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017, p. 11). I use critical race theory as a lens for conducting research that upholds social justice principles.

Queer theory scholars stipulate that identity performance is important to consider when designing research and collecting and analyzing data. Queer theory also emphasizes the importance of discourse, as well as deconstructing binaries, especially the gender and sexual binaries (Creswell, 2007). Seidman (1996) argued that queer theory’s main function is to:

“challenge to what has been the dominant foundation concept of both homophobic and affirmative homosexual theory: the assumption of a unified homosexual identity. I [Seidman] interpret Queer theory as contesting this foundation and therefore the very telos of Western homosexual politics” (p. 11).

Additionally, similar to intersectionality, queer theory considers that identities are multiple and composite (Seidman, 1996). However, queer theory resists affirmations of identity because “identity constructions function as templates for defining selves and behaviors and therefore excluding a range of possible ways to frame the self, body, desires, actions and social relations” (Seidman, 1996, p. 12).
CHAPTER 3. METHODS

To achieve my purpose, I analyzed YouTube videos related to DIY gender identity garments from openly trans-identifying content creators. I used content analysis, which refers to narrative or images that are “summarized into categories – words, phrases, sentences, or themes” (Workman & Freeburg, 2018, p. 41). I systematically analyzed the videos’ audio and visual components for topics related to how queer and trans folks construct, negotiate, and/or distribute DIY dress through informal economies via the internet (Neuman, 2011).

Sample

The sample included twenty-four YouTube videos (FIGURE 1) from twenty-one different English-speaking independent, trans-identifying creators meaning they are not part of or representing a large capitalist enterprise. Few scholars have studied the relationships between fashion and YouTube; however, I used similar methodical conventions to McCracken (2019). According to O’Neill (2014), there are five main trans YouTube video content categories: “D.I.Y. gender”, along with “transitional videos,” “trans video blogging,” “trans anti-bullying videos,” and “celebrity trans video blogging” (p. 41); in my research, I analyzed videos focusing on “D.I.Y. gender” (O’Neill, 2014), which refers to cultivating gender and appearance related practices.
The majority of my sample was white-appearing (n = 16, 76%). Because my sample was not racially-diverse, it may reflect the little racial diversity of DIY trans-supportive undergarment YouTubers and the language, aesthetics, and characteristics of these videos may not be representative of trans people of color.

My YouTube search terms were initially developed from reviewing literature or popular press articles focused on trans identity, gender, and clothing (Bell & Telfer, 2019; Christian, 2010; Das & Farber, 2020; DeHaan et al., 2013; O’Neill, 2014; Reddy-Best & Goodin, 2020; Reilly & McGuire, 2019; Reilly et al., 2020); terms included: “packing underwear,” “tucking underwear,” “gaff,” “binder,” “trans DIY,” “trans clothing,” “packing pouch,” “packing harness,” and “DIY packer.” As I analyzed different videos, I noted other possible search terms
to use that were not identified in the literature. After an initial search, I found about 75 videos ranging in length from 5 to 20 minutes. I sorted search results by highest number of views because I wanted the videos in my sample to resonate with other trans individuals and influence DIY undergarment practices. I excluded videos that were not by trans content creators, such as videos produced by drag queens, cosplayers, etc., and videos that did not include a DIY trans-supportive undergarment tutorial. I analyzed videos until I reached saturation. My sample included 24 videos from content creators located in the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada, and some are from unspecified geographic locations. I did not limit my sample to a specific region because the internet creates a globalized environment and democratizes information across geographic borders (Subramanian & Katz, 2011). Additionally, after an initial review, there were many similarities in the videos from across geographic locations. A complete list of videos analyzed along with a screenshot from each video will be included in Appendix A.

**Analysis**

I used a grounded theory approach, meaning I did not use predeveloped themes or analysis tools. Grounded theory assumes “the research process itself guides the researcher toward examining all of the possibly rewarding avenues to understanding” (Corbin & Strauss, 1990, p. 6). To analyze the data, I engaged in a constant comparative process using open, axial, and selective coding. I analyzed the verbal (e.g., what the person is saying) and visual (e.g., the materials they are showing or wearing) components of each video. Open coding involves the extraction of codes from the raw data. In this phase, I reviewed all of the data and wrote out all possible codes in the form of short phrases or words related to the purpose of the study. At this time, I remained open to new possible ideas that may have shifted the direction of the research as new concepts emerged from the data. I then moved to axial coding where I looked for
correlations between codes and I will begin collapsing codes together into categories. During selective coding, I determined unifying, core themes across the categories and codes (Corbin & Strauss, 1990).

**Validity and Reliability**

Validity refers to the precision and truthfulness of the research design. To achieve validity, I employed several techniques. First, I provided a rich description of and numerous examples to support my findings for each theme or subtheme. I also employed an audit coder, my major professor, who checked my analysis and challenged my assertions. Since I analyzed for both manifest and latent content, I also articulated these differences in the results section (Potter & Levine-Donnerstein, 2009). To ensure my work is reliable, which refers to ability to be replicated by others in a consistent fashion, I developed and utilized a codebook during analysis (Creswell, 2007), which is included in Appendix B. I also checked intercoder agreement with my major professor by first analyzing 20% of the data and then divided the total number of agreements by the total number of coding decisions (Neuman, 2011). We checked agreement until we agreed at least 80% of the time or more.

**Methods and Theoretical Underpinnings**

Critical race theory, intersectionality, and queer theory influenced my entire research process from creation of my research questions, the content focus, how I analyzed the data and being conscientious of these critical ideas, and then how I will interpret the data. My theoretical framework incorporates each of these ideas by investigating the role of race and hierarchy in the YouTube space. Additionally, I interpreted how compounded identities may have influenced the DIY videos. Queer theory stipulates that gender performances are complex, so I was attentive to
the nuances of identity and presentation when conducting my grounded theory and content analyses.
CHAPTER 4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The videos in my sample yielded rich data. I will first discuss background information about the videos before delving into each of my themes. The background section describes visual observations about the videos to give readers a better understanding of the commonalities among the videos. I do not analyze this data, but rather illustrate what is happening in most of the videos to provide context to my richer themes. My overarching themes include community building practices and heightened attention to expected roles; language, gender euphoria, and disidentification; accessible making; DIY and commercial trans-supportive undergarments – satisfactions and dissatisfactions; contextualization within trans identity; and overt discussion of monetization.

Background

Most videos within the same trans-supportive item category featured similar materials and construction processes. For example, in many of the DIY gaff videos, content creators used an elastic waistband repurposed from a commercial garment, such as leggings, pantyhose, or underwear, and cut open a small circle-knit garment, such as leggings, pantyhose, or socks, to create a tube; content creators then typically threaded the waistband through the tube (FIGURE 2). Despite having many similarities, several of the videos contained subtle differences. Content creators made conscientious material decisions, resulting in tutorials, for example, featuring different kinds of waistbands. For instance, Coach Jamie (2014) and Gage (2018) preferred a leggings waistband because it was more comfortable. On the other hand, some content creators chose a “men’s” underwear waistband because the elastic is more stable and/or “men’s” underwear was more accessible to them; yet others selected pantyhose waistbands because they felt the thinner material was less likely to create visible lines under clothing.
While many content creators used simple construction methods, Couryiah Shaheed (2021) and Kris developed pattern pieces for their designs. Some objects, such as the packing pouch (Alexander Moscaritolo, 2018; Clayton Jay, 2020) and most of the gaffs (Adea Danielle, 2019; Adea Danielle, 2020; Brandy Nitti, 2019; Chloe Alice, 2021; Chloe Arden, 2017; Coach Jamie, 2014; Couryiah Shaheed, 2021; Delilah Gardner, 2020; Gage, 2018; itsbambii, 2018; Kourtney Fierce, 2020; Lorelai Adele Dantzler, 2017; Parker, 2013; Stacy Fatemi, 2017) did not require sewing and a few of the trans-supportive undergarments were handsewn (AskAngelReviews, 2021; Chase, 2012; Mack Bayda, 2016) or machine-sewn (Couryiah Shaheed, 2021; Kameron, 2020; Kris, 2016, 2017; Ruby Fiera, 2018) (FIGURE 3).
Most of the content creators in my sample illustrated step-by-step instructions on how to create their DIY undergarment, but others only highlighted certain parts. For instance, Kris (2017) sketched out what the final packing pouch should look like (FIGURE 4) to help viewers better understand its construction. In contrast, Mack Bayda (2016) took a long time to sew the pocket into his packing underwear, so he just included the first couple minutes of him stitching to give viewers an idea of what this step should look like. Others, such as Gage (2018) and Brandy Nitti (2019) did not make their trans-supportive undergarments on camera; Gage (2018) only showed viewers her final product and Brandy Nitti (2019) described feeding the spandex through the sock but did not demonstrate cutting or making the garment.
Figure 4 Sketch of packing harness pouch by Kris.

Additionally, the videos featured a variety of set-ups and background. For example, many of the videos were apparently filmed in content creators’ bedrooms, while others, such as Brandy Nitti (2019) and Ruby Fiera (2018) appeared to have a dedicated studio space (FIGURE 5). Many videos, such as itsbambii’s (2018), also featured branded opening and closing slides with catchphrases (FIGURE 6), while others did not.
Figure 5 Brandy Nitti in her filming studio.

Figure 6 itsbambii's opening slide.
Community Building Practices and Heightened Attention to Expected Roles

To build community and fulfill certain roles, trans YouTubers negotiated their identities in complex ways. Their videos conveyed both YouTuber and trans subjectivities via aesthetic and rhetorical conventions. Each of the YouTubers identified themselves as trans during their videos and many also promoted their personal brand by advertising their own merchandise and creating opening and/or closing slides. Additionally, many trans YouTubers acknowledged their persona existed within a larger trans YouTuber community, understanding that their channel is not in a vacuum. Sometimes trans content creators would discuss similar DIY trans-supportive undergarment videos uploaded by their peers. Many would also use their platform to promote the work of other trans YouTubers, inside and outside of the DIY underwear genre.

Trans YouTube content creators navigated their trans and YouTuber identities, expected roles, and aesthetics in entangled ways. Many content creators, such as Chase (2012), Chloe Alice (2021), and Clayton Jay (2020) decorated their filming space with trans flags, pride flags, or other trans-activist symbols. Also, Chase (2012) featured an “Ellen” tote on the wall in the background of his video, merchandise from the popular talk show hosted by Ellen DeGeneres, a white cis lesbian. Some content creators favored queer-coded imagery over explicit LGBT decorations. For example, Mack Bayda (2016) featured a Johnny Cash poster in the background of their video; Cash is a revered butch icon (Ortega, 1998).

Many of the trans content creators highlighted their trans identity as a selling point for their channel. For example, Mack Bayda’s (n.d.) description on his about page read:

Hey! What's up? It's Mack. I started making YouTube videos in 2015, as a closeted transgender guy. I never thought I'd be able to come out and transition. However, I finally gained the courage to come out to my friends, family, and coworkers in early 2017. As
far as my medical transition, I started testosterone on 2/10/17, had top surgery on
8/28/17, and a hysterectomy on 11/5/2021. On my channel, I talk about my gender
journey, medical transition updates, trans tips, LGBT activism, and more. I’m also an
actor, musician, and plant dad! Subscribe, share my channel, and follow me on social
media (@mackbayda on everything).

One of the first topics Mack Bayda described on his “about page” is that he is trans and most of
the description was focused on landmarks of his transition. By doing so, he effectively
communicates that trans identity is the central focus of his channel.

Similarly, in his channel’s banner, he included “transguy” as his first self-descriptor, and
YouTuber as his fourth (FIGURE 7). Some of the YouTubers expressed they also maintained
other roles as well. That is, trans identity is the main role they inhabit, but their page is not just
about being trans; their channel depicts how trans identity coexists with other positionalities and
interests. For example, his YouTube banner features drawings of plants, showing how
dimensional Mack Bayda’s personality is. Additionally, Mack Bayda has Twitter and Instagram
icons featured in his banner to remind people to follow him on other social networking
platforms. While not all of the trans content creators highlighted their trans identity in their
description or banners, most chose to open their videos by stating they are trans. For example,
Brandy Nitti begins her video by telling viewers: “Hey guys and welcome back to my channel
and if you guys are new here, I am a male to female trans gender woman who has been
transitioning for the last four years publicly on YouTube” (0:00, 2019).
As part of their YouTuber role, many trans content creators engaged in brand promotion. At the end of Mack Bayda’s (2016) description, he includes: “Subscribe, share my channel, and follow me on social media” to keep viewers engaged with his brand. Some trans YouTubers, such as Kameron (2020), wore t-shirts they designed while filming their DIY video. In Kameron’s (2020) video, he is wearing a light gray t-shirt with black pock-marked lettering that reads “TRANS SWAG,” (FIGURE 8) which is the name of Kameron’s YouTube channel. He informs viewers:

If you’re thinking ‘that’s a rad t-shirt, Kameron,’ guess what? You can get your own. I put the link below to the Trans SWAG store. Check out all the different varieties of t-shirts and products and pick one up for yourself, if you’d like. (7:26)

Continued engagement can potentially have monetary benefits for trans DIY YouTubers who sell merchandise, such as Kameron. YouTube videos require labor, which they are often not compensated for (YouTube Partner Program, n.d.).
Most of the content creators created opening and/or closing slides featured content such as their channel name and their name. They often conveyed an aesthetic they desired to associate with their channel to create brand recognition, such as Adea Danielle’s opening animation (FIGURE 9). Additionally, At the end of his video, Clayton Jay included a slide advertising his top surgery fund (2020). The slides allow them to build their brand while they use their platform for their benefit.
In many of the videos, content creators recognized that they are part of a larger community of trans YouTubers. Many mentioned watching how other trans YouTubers made DIY trans supportive garments and some mentioned revising their methods based upon analysis of others. For example, Adea Danielle told her viewers that she learned how to make a gaff by watching Chloe Arden’s (2017) video. Similarly, Lorelai Adele Dantzler (2017) explained

I did not create this invention [DIY gaff] myself. I cannot take the credit. I got it from another trans gender female YouTuber online. I can’t remember her name at the moment because I am terrible with names, but I will find the video and link it below if you want to see the way she explains it. Maybe she explains it better than me. (3:33)

Stacy Fatemi (2017) prefaced her video by informing her viewers how her tutorials was different from other DIY trans-supportive undergarment videos available:
There are a lot of people on YouTube that show you how to make homemade gaffs in different ways, but a lot of them, I think, don’t take into account certain things. So a lot of people say to use like the waistband of pantyhose or whatever. Don’t do that because it’ll roll up and it’ll get ratty. If you’re wearing skinny jeans, like I wear skinny jeans, then if it rolls up, it’ll just be like this really obvious line right here (points to Adonis belt) in your crotch and it doesn’t look very pretty. It really doesn’t. So I don’t do that. I use an underwear waistband. (2:38)

Parker (2013) explained how her video is not necessarily different from other videos methods of construction, but differs in intended audience. She (2013) told her viewers:

I was trolling YouTube just to see the options or whatever and I came across Petrilude’s video on how to make a gaff and like tuck and all that stuff and it really helped me. His tutorial was phenomenal, so I’m going to try to recreate a similar one but a little more in-depth and for t-girls specifically. (1:05)

Additionally, Parker linked Petrilude’s video in her video’s description (2013). Brandy Nitti (2019) acknowledged that other videos on YouTube showed in-depth tutorials for how to create a gaff. She told viewers about how, through YouTube, she had found tucking underwear solutions that she prefers over DIY undergarments:

Probably used [a homemade gaff] for about a year into my transition, when I really…wasn’t out to everybody, so I wasn’t comfortable enough to buy gaffs online. I honestly didn’t even know they sold them until I watched YouTube videos and found out that there is a website that actually does sell gaffs. (4:10)

Other content creators acknowledged that their video may be helpful for a specific trans population segment, but that other YouTube videos exist that provide useful information for
trans people looking for different content. For example, Gage (2018) believed different gender identities may have different needs; she explained:

So obviously, since I am a trans woman, this is going to be tips for trans women...I’m sure there are a lot of videos on YouTube about tips for trans men if that’s who you are and you need help with that area. (0:35)

Some YouTubers also used their DIY videos to promote other trans content creators. For example, Kris (2017) tells his viewers:

if you’re wondering about this shirt, I got this shirt from another trans YouTuber called Alex Bertie. If you don’t know who he is, he’s a UK trans YouTuber. He’s really cool. He’s a graphic design artist, as you can tell and his shirt is really, really cool. I really like it. You should go check his channel out. I’ll put it in the notecard at the top. (6:29)

**Language, Gender Euphoria, and Disidentification**

Some content creators, such as Chloe Arden (2017), Ruby Fiera (2018), and Stacy Fatemi (2017) used technical or medical language, such as “penis,” “scrotum,” and/or “testicles” to describe their genitalia. Others used slang. For example, Chase (2012) referred to his packer as a “weiner,” Kameron (2020) whistled to denote his packer, and Ruby Fiera (2018) referred to her genitals as “baggage.”

Many content creators conveyed discomfort while discussing their genitalia. Several used avoidant language. For example, Adea Danielle explained that she began tucking because “I would wear my tight jeans [to school]… and you would see (pause), you could see” (0:34), seemingly referring to a bulge in her crotch. Some explicitly expressed discomfort with their genitalia. For example, Coach Jamie (2014) referred to her genitals as “mistakes.” Similarly, Delilah Gardner explained that “Once you kind of get used to it [tucking], it does an amazing job
of hiding what you’re hoping other people don’t see” (2020, 5:23). When explaining how to tuck to her viewers, Brandy Nitti disclosed: “For those two little round things- I feel so uncomfortable talking about it- but the two little round things which are your testicles, I guess, what you do is you push them up inside of your body” (2019, 1:45). For many trans people, genitalia can be a prominent site of emotional discomfort and can even be triggering (Lindley & Galupo, 2020); trans content creators may have used avoidant language to evade such sentiments. Additionally, many trans people feel that cis people reduce trans individuals to their genitals (Zwickl et al., 2021), which also may be why trans content creator feel hesitant to discuss this, especially if they know that some of their audience is cis.

Others used disidentificatory euphemisms to refer to their genitals. For example, itsbambii described tucking as: “when you make your weiner look like a fortune cookie” (2018, 1:39). Kourtney Fierce (2020) referred to her penis as a “shenis;” similarly, Couryiah Shaheed (2021) referred to trans women as “new girls.” Also, Chloe Alice (2021) used a Takis meat stick as a prop penis to show how a gaff holds a tuck and referred to the penis as “meat stick.”

Disidentification “is meant to be descriptive of the survival strategies the minority subject practices in order to negotiate a phobic majoritarian public sphere that continuously elides or punishes the existence of subjects who do not conform to the phantasm of normative citizenship” (Muñoz, 1999, p. 4) allows queer and trans people to simultaneously identify with, claim, and defy stereotypes. By creating their own language to refer to their identity and body parts, content creators can choose their own labels that are affirming to them.

Some content creators also referred to commercial underwear in gendered ways. For example, Adea Danielle called the underwear she repurposed “an old boy’s underwear that I
had” (Adea Danielle, 9:17, 2019). Itsbambii (2018) held up a pair of Hanes boxers and explained:

See these underwear right here? I hate them! I’m sorry, I hate them. I’ve hated them all my life. My mom used to always make me wear them when I was younger: ‘Mom, please give me some Victoria’s Secret panties, please, please, please! I used to steal my sister’s panties so much. (2:21)

Chloe Alice recommended using travel compression socks for tucking, but she suggested purchasing “the men’s because they’re slightly bigger and it’s effective. They didn’t have any in the men’s section, so I just went with the women’s” (2021, 1:54). Although many of the trans content creators identify as men or women, when discussing women’s or men’s garments, they are referring to those designed for cis individuals. They may have used hegemonic definitions of men’s and women’s garments because they are still part of the imagination of their audience. Because commercial clothing denoted as men’s or women’s is binary and often exclusionary, viewers will understand what the content creators are referring to, especially because the gender binary and cis normativity is engrained in our society (Butler, 1990) and clothing systems (Kaiser, 2012).

Many trans YouTubers provided content warnings in their videos. Although many emphasized their DIY videos were educational, not sexual in nature, YouTube’s community guidelines prohibit “using or displaying sex toys to provide viewers with sexual gratification” and “nudity or partial nudity for the purpose of sexual gratification” content being monetized, but “nudity when the primary purpose is educational, documentary, scientific, or artistic, and it isn’t gratuitous” does not go against community guidelines (YouTube Help, n.d.). For example, Kameron cautioned viewers: “If you don’t want to see a prosthetic penis, click away from this
video now because I have one and I’m going to show it to you and use it as an example” (2020, 0:55). Similarly, Alexander Moscaritolo explained to viewers: “Quick disclaimer: I’m going to be showing a packing device or a prosthetic for trans or masculine nonbinary individuals who use a penis or some type of device to pack with” (2018, 0:27). Coach Jamie (2014) told viewers a similar warning, which she followed with a slide reading “Warning: Information is graphic.” Many of the content creators were conscious of viewers’ preferences and triggers, particularly because nudity is frequently considered “taboo” and “illegal” (Friedman & Grossman, 2013). Additionally, while these videos are intended to enhance body image, many people automatically sexualize body parts or prosthetics (Reddy-Best et al., 2021).

### Accessible Making

#### Opportunities for Customization

Most of the content creators emphasized how accessible making DIY trans-supportive undergarments is. Some trans YouTubers felt the garments were accessible because people could customize the underwear to fit their desired aesthetic. For example, when Mack Bayda (2016) chose where to place the packing pocket in his packing underwear, he explained:

> So you’re going to take your measuring tape, I like to measure 6 inches down and 5 across. That’s just me. You can try it out and see what works well for you and your packer…So eventually you’re going to be left with something that kind of resembles a rectangle. (3:39)

When purchasing commercial garments, individual preferences cannot always be accounted for. DIY allows people to express themselves and create custom designs that meet their preferences and needs (Barry and Drak, 2019).
Other content creators demonstrated how viewers can customize the DIY undergarments to achieve their desired fit for their bodies. For instance, Adea Danielle (2019) chose to create her own gaff because she was concerned about the sizing of commercial tucking garments. Other content creators suggested viewers could adjust the size of specific areas of the garment to attain a better fit. Delilah Gardner, for example, told viewers: “Depending on your size, that part of it may vary. You may just need to practice. I would say aim for more and then trim off what you don’t need” (2020, 2:24). Similarly, Kameron (2020) explained:

So these are those old undies and I’m just going to cut a big rectangle that I know is going to be larger than that crotch area on those other underwear. Just to give myself an idea, I’m just going to hold them (old underwear) on here (K-Mart underwear) to eyeball it, maybe but it here next to it. There’s no exact science to my style of doing this. I’m just kind of winging it. I’d rather it be too big and then have to cut it down that too small, so you might think ‘well that’s a big old piece,’ but I’d rather be too big than too small

[crouches down to look into camera and whispers] that’s what she said. (2:54)

Delilah Gardner (2020) and Kameron’s (2020) tutorials may be helpful because many trans individuals have different genital shapes and sizes because some trans folks undergo gender-affirming surgeries and/or GAHT (gender affirming hormone therapy). Individuals that do not have genital surgery often still experience progressive genital growth or shrinkage from GAHT (Knezevich et al., 2012). Because trans people have a wide variety of genital shapes and sizes, it can be difficult to find commercial undergarments that achieve their desired fit. When creating DIY trans-supportive undergarments, trans individuals may want to take advantage of fit customization options to ensure the garment fits their unique anatomy.
Other content creators highlighted that their methods or materials could be adapted to suit a viewer’s familiarly with creating trans-supportive underwear. While Delilah Gardner (2020) chose to use tights for the crotch portion of her undergarment because they better achieved her desired aesthetic, she thought using a tube sock was easier to work with. She described: “If you’re new to tucking, the tube sock idea is a really super easy way to do it and I never had any issues with it. I just didn’t necessarily like the way it looked as much” (2020, 4:55). In her video, Delilah Gardner (2020) explains how to make a gaff using both a tube sock and pantyhose because she wanted to provide viewers DIY options so they can make trans-supportive undergarments regardless of how experienced they are with constructing clothing.

**Attitudes About Accessibility**

Several content creators also explained that they tried multiple iterations of their DIY undergarment before attempting the method and materials used in their videos. For example, Clayton Jay showed viewers how he “made two [packing pouches] because I messed up on this one” (2020, 2:47). Other trans DIY YouTubers, such as Kourtney Fierce, emphasized to viewers that making and using DIY trans-supportive undergarments is an individual process often requiring that viewers try different methods to decide what best suits them. Kourtney Fierce (2020) clarified: “I just want to say as well, tucking is definitely a trial-and-error thing. If something of my stuff doesn’t work for you, then maybe kind of tweak it a little bit” (12:07).

Some trans YouTubers were upfront about their lack of familiarity with garment construction, helping appear more relatable to their viewers. For instance, Kameron (2020) joked about his sewing prowess:
And, when I did it I thought, if I can do this, anybody can do this, so why not make a video and show my mad sewing skills? They’re not really that impressive. I just like to talk like I’m cooler than I really am sometimes. (1:44)

Kameron understood how intimidating garment construction may be for people who have not sewn before because he understands how important this tutorial may be for people and wants to encourage them. Similarly, Mack Bayda told viewers that he didn’t know formal construction methods. Because commercial packing underwear was expensive, he asked himself: “Yo, have I ever sewn before? No, not me. Am I going to try? Yup.” (Mack Bayda, 2016, 1:53). Later in his video, Mack Bayda (2016) walked viewers through his difficulty threading a hand sewing needle:

Now this is the part I really suck at: threading the needle. From what I learned from the Internet, I take it like this [holds thread up to camera] if you can see there’s a thread and you like pull it almost arm’s width for what we need, maybe. I don’t know. And then you’re going to cut it off. And then you’re, dear Lord, you’re going to try to put it through the eye of the needle. It’s going to take a hot minute. So once you have that done there, there are multiple ways to do this, so it seems. The way that I am doing it is you pull it through so that the threads are even at the end and then you try to knot it at the end a couple of times. I learned one lady was like fold it like this and then twist it? And then do something about this and like rolling it, maybe? I don’t really remember what she said. Oh fuck, no. No, bitch, stop. Alright, so you have a knot, right? And you’re going to cut off the excess. (4:06)

Through his explanation of how to thread a needle, Mack Bayda is honest about his lack of familiarity and expertise in hand sewing. Many content creators chose to act humbly about their
experiences with garment construction to appear more relatable to their viewers. Because trans content creators intend that DIY trans supportive undergarments are easy to make, more viewers can make them. Trans content creators also do not want to intimidate other trans individuals by making the DIY seem too difficult. Additionally, many YouTubers create videos as a form of personal journaling and often negotiate their performed personal brand and authenticity (Humphreys, 2018); content creators’ displays of humility may also be an honest expression of their unfamiliarity with garment construction.

**Ease in Finding Inexpensive Materials and Construction**

Most of the content creators highlighted how easy it was to find, purchase, and/or construct their DIY undergarment. For example, many of the trans YouTubers with DIY gaff tutorials emphasized how their undergarment required one to two materials. Similarly, AskAngelReviews told his viewers: “For this project, you won’t need much, just a pair of scissors, a marker or a pen, uh preferably briefs, and, of course, your STP. You’re also going to want a pair of briefs with a fly opening” (2020, 0:15). Some content creators also illustrated to viewers how they could use common household items to create their DIY undergarments. For example, Delilah Gardner mentioned that “most people have something like this [pantyhose and/or tube socks] laying around, so it makes it nice and convenient as well” (2020, 1:15). Because few tools and materials were required to follow the DIY trans-supportive undergarment tutorials in my sample, more people would be able to make these garments. Content creators likely wanted their tutorials to be inclusive because they are sharing them for free on the internet, so they emphasized accessibility. Fewer tools or materials can mean less labor is required to find and purchase tools and/or materials, which can be beneficial to viewers unable to devote a lot of time or energy into creating trans-supportive undergarments.
Several trans DIY YouTubers also expressed that viewers could find the necessary materials at popular chain retailers, such as Target, Amazon, and K-Mart. For instance, while Clayton Jay and his girlfriend were at Dollar Tree “getting our candy or whatever the hell we were getting and I saw these [socks]. I’m like maybe I can make my own [packing] pouch out of these” (2020, 1:14). Similarly, Chloe Alice instructed viewers: “To tuck effectively without tape, you’re going to need a few supplies that you can find at your local Walmart” (2021, 1:41). Although trans viewers would need transportation to big box stores, these stores may still be more accessible than specialty stores. Additionally, for viewers living in unsafe housing situations, receiving a package from a specialty store may be more conspicuous than one from Walmart or going to a physical Walmart location.

Other content creators repurposed materials they already owned, such as old socks. For example, Kameron (2020) explained that to create the pocket in the packing underwear (2020), viewers:

could just use a piece of fabric, like if you have fabric lying around, you could use that.

But what I did was I found a pair of underwear that I don’t ever wear because they’re just not conducive to me packing, either a packer or an STP, it just wasn’t working for me, so I decided to use these…underwear, cut them up. (2:11)

Likewise, to create the pocket in his packing underwear Mack Bayda “took an old pair of boxer briefs that I had bought previously at Target and they were too small for me so…I’ve basically been cutting squares of it out and using that as the material for the pouch thing” (2016, 2:33). Similarly, Kris informed viewers that he wore “a double XL [t-shirt] so I was able to just use the sleeves from the shirt, which made it still wearable basically, but I don’t know how well that will work on smaller shirts” (2016, 1:12). Throughout history, various communities have engaged in
upcycling (Janigo, 2017). Additionally, Kameron and Mack Bayda were able to repurpose garments they enjoyed aesthetically but were not well-suited to their preferences and needs as trans individuals.

Several trans content creators, such as Delilah Gardner (2020), Clayton Jay (2020), Alexander Moscaritolo (2018), Chase (2012), and Coach Jamie (2014), underlined how simple their DIY undergarments were to construct. For instance, near the end of his video, Kameron told viewers: “Alright guys, that’s it. It took like, what, ten minutes? If I can do it, you can do it” (2020, 7:15). Lorelai Adele Dantzler closed her video in a similar fashion, reiterating “That’s pretty simple and pretty easy way to make a homemade gaff” (2017, 3:09). Many fashion design programs stress that, to create an effective garment, designers have to follow formal construction processes and techniques but most of the trans YouTubers used simpler techniques (Joseph-Armstrong, 2014). They help to deconstruct and remove perceived barriers to creating DIY garments. Instead of gatekeeping fashion production, they use simple techniques and tell viewers that anyone, no matter their sewing skill level, can create these garments.

One of the most prevalent themes in the videos was how trans DIY YouTubers considered economic accessibility in terms of materials, in relation to commercial trans-supportive undergarments, and of other trans-supportive materials. For instance, Coach Jamie explained why she chose a particular pair of leggings to use for her gaff: “I really like this material. Like I said, these are from Target, they’re really cheap. They’re like $2.50 on clearance, regular they’re like $5.00” (2014, 9:08). Clayton Jay also emphasized how inexpensive his materials were, relaying: “I got six pairs right there for a dollar at Dollar Tree… You can find a dollar off the floor, like four quarters off the floor. This is easy” (2020, 1:08).
Additionally, several content creators explained that, to follow their tutorials, viewers do not need expensive tools. For example, Kameron (2020) quipped:

Now I do have this really fancy sewing machine behind me. I’m being sarcastic, I think it’s one of the cheaper ones. It’s going to make the job go by faster, but if you don’t have a sewing machine and you just want to hand sew, that’ll work too. (4:49)

Although it can be salient for content creators to express how inexpensive DIY trans-supportive undergarment materials and tools are, content creators can imply classism when arguing that something is economically accessible. For example, while Clayton Jay (2020) claims spending one dollar on making a packing pouch is “easy,” this may not be true for many trans individuals. 20% of trans people in the United States experience houselessness (National Center for Transgender Equality, n.d.), so they may not have a floor to “find a dollar off” of (2020).\(^1\) While the tutorials in this sample may be helpful to many trans people seeking to achieve their desired appearance, they may still be financially inaccessible to other trans individuals.

Many content creators also underlined how inexpensive homemade garments were compared to commercial trans-supportive undergarments. For instance, Mack Bayda (2016) explained:

I went to like Target and I bought me a 7-pack of Fruit of the Loom boxer briefs for like $15, which is half the price of one pair of Rodeoh boxers or another kind of fancy, snazzy packing boxers that are on the market these days. (2:00)

Likewise, Kameron (2020) shared that if trans masculine and nonbinary people:

want to hold a little something in our underpants to help us feel more confident, that is not there, we need special undies to do it. Now there is some underwear out there, I’ve

\(^1\) I first analyzed the video in November 2021; Clayton Jay has since removed this video from his YouTube channel.
been guilty of buying them myself, that are really expensive that already have a built-in pouch. What I’m going to show you here is a little homemade do-it-yourself way to rig your underwear to hold either a sock or a prosthetic penis. (0:25)

Similarly, Clayton Jay (2020) expressed: “I literally think don’t waste your money on the Mr. Joey or any other kind of pouches” (4:46). Although there are some commercial trans-supportive undergarments available on the market, such as the Joey pouch, they are unaffordable for many trans people. On average, trans men and nonbinary people make only 70% of the average worker and trans women 60% of the average worker (The 19th, 2021), so many trans individuals may not have $25 to spend after paying for food, shelter, or other basic needs.

Several trans DIY YouTubers recommended inexpensive options for other types of other trans-supportive materials. Alexander Moscaritolo, for instance, told viewers: “I’ll also put this packer that I use in the description. This packer cost me like twelve bucks so like you can do this on a straight-up budget” (2018, 4:16). Chase also informed viewers that “[My packer] is the medium packer from Early2Bed.com, which costs, I believe, $14” (2012, 5:07). Similarly, Clayton Jay shared that “RodeOh has a Halloween deal where if you buy one pair of boxers, they give you a free packer so got the Mr. Limpy, which retails at $12.50, for free” (2020).² The trans content creators featured in my sample do not gatekeep inexpensive trans supportive accessories and prosthetics, likely because they understand how difficult it could be to afford gender-affirming objects.

² See footnote 1.
DIY and Commercial Trans-Supportive Undergarments – Satisfactions and Dissatisfactions

DIY

Many content creators voiced opinions about their finished DIY trans-supportive underwear. They shared their pleasure or displeasure about their garment’s aesthetics, comfort, opportunities for customization, ease in making. Some content creators also preferred making their own undergarments because this ensured their privacy.

Aesthetics

Chase (2012) expressed liking the way the elastic looked on his harness: “I made it with like Joe Boxers so it actually looks really cool” (5:26). Other content creators expressed disdain with their DIY undergarment’s final appearance. For example, Ruby Fiera told her viewers “It’s not the most attractive piece of clothing; however, it’s just one of those things I have to wear” (2018, 2:15). For most of the gaffs, content creators felt dissatisfied with their garment’s appearance but chose their method because of its cost and effectiveness. However, in several of the harness and packing underwear videos, content creators, such as Chase (2012) were pleased with their final garment’s design because they were able to use materials that fit their aesthetic. Additionally, the packing boxer tutorials used commercial boxers as the outer part of the garment so content creators felt pleased they could “wear any underwear I want” (Clayton Jay, 2020).3 Because most mainstream fashion retailers do not offer trans-supportive undergarments, many trans individuals have limited underwear options. Clayton Jay’s (2020) tutorial may be appealing because it allows viewers a wider variety of undergarment options.

3 See footnote 1.
Comfort

Many content creators felt their homemade trans-supportive undergarments were physically comfortable. Kourtney Fierce started wearing gaffs instead of using duct tape to tuck. She explained: “This method I only started using within the last three years because it’s a little bit more comfy, a little bit more relaxed kind of feeling” (2020, 1:35). Clayton Jay (2020) and Couryiah Shaheed (2021) both considered comfort when designing their undergarments. Clayton Jay used socks from Dollar Tree, which he recommended because “This material just feels so good down there too. Okay, that’s so awkward. Like it doesn’t...aggravate down there, you know?” (2020, 2:27). Couryiah Shaheed encouraged her followers to use her tutorial because her underwear is “seamless, it’s comfortable” (2021, 4:46).

Other trans YouTubers felt their DIY undergarments were uncomfortable to wear. For example, Adea Danielle (2020) and Delilah Gardner (2020) both felt that their gaffs became progressively more uncomfortable the longer they would wear it. Adea Danielle described how, when using a sock for the middle part of her gaff, the edge of the sock can roll up onto and pinch her scrotum and,

then it cuts the circulation of that little skin and I swear to you, at the end of the night when you’re gonna take it off, it’s like when you knock your arm on something really, really hard and you have those few moments that you think you’re gonna pass out, that lasts for like a minute when you take it off. (5:51)

Delilah Gardner explained that wearing a gaff “will be uncomfortable, especially at first for most people. It’s not generally anything that’s painful but I have found that the longer I wear it, the more likely it is that I will experience some pain” (2020, 4:07). Brandy Nitti agreed that homemade gaffs can be uncomfortable and rough on the skin, but they provided a temporary
solution to her before she was “comfortable enough to buy gaffs online” (2019, 4:17). Many content creators choose to wear trans-supportive undergarments even if they are uncomfortable because they can be gender-affirming (Reilly et al., 2020). For example, Gage (2018) explained:

I just wear it because it’s nice to have a flat-looking surface. Do I wear it because it’s comfortable? Hell no. It’s fucking painful and after a while it gets a little better because you lose all sensation down there, but I don’t think that’s a good thing. (3:41)

**Effectiveness**

Many content creators were satisfied with how well their DIY undergarments created their desired crotch appearance. For example Lorelai Adele Dantzler preferred “making my own gaffs because it holds the tuck in place a lot better” (2017, 0:49). Similarly, while tape tucks have a reputation for providing the most effective tuck, Chloe Alice argued “You can get a perfectly good tuck without using tape” (2021, 1:36) by using her DIY gaff method. Couryiah Shaheed (2021) was satisfied with her homemade tucking panties because “you don’t have to worry about things falling out of place or anything like that” (2021, 4:49). Ruby Fiera (2018) felt that her DIY gaff did not provide a consistently tight tuck, so she rarely wore it. Instead, she wore clothing that was loose around the crotch so that her genitalia was not visible. Kourtney Fierce (2020) communicated ambivalence about the effectiveness of her gaff. While she told viewers “You can literally wear absolutely everything with it” (4:47), she admitted the testicles can fall out the sides of the gaff (2020). Likewise, Chloe Arden (2017) expressed she preferred to wear one or two pairs of spandex shorts on over gaff to help secure her tuck and lift her butt. While some of the DIY trans-supportive undergarments were not reliably effective, the gender affirmation many trans individuals experience from wearing trans-supportive undergarments (Reilly et al., 2020) may outweigh the negative aspects of DIY trans-supportive undergarments.
**Customization and sizing**

Many content creators liked how making their own undergarment allowed them to customize it to fit their preferences. For example, Adea Danielle explained she made her homemade gaff because she had not found one at a brick-and-mortar store and was concerned about sizing. Parker (2013) interchanged the components of her gaff based on the occasion:

The other cool thing about making your own gaffs is that you can just adjust the comfort level. Like if I’m doing burlesque, then I’ll use a smaller sock as the paneling because it’ll like be super tight, cuts off blood circulation and stuff like that, but then you’re only on stage for like five minutes or something, so it’s worth it. But if you’re just going out and about in your tucks all day like I am, then I usually use a bigger sock so that it’s not quite as tight or I’ll use a band that’s been used more so it’s a little looser, so that I still get the smooth effect, the smooth undercarriage effect, but it’s not as uncomfortable. (3:28)

Most commercial tucking garments are not available in custom sizing and are often not available in brick-and-mortar stores. Additionally, many brick-and-mortar stores do not allow customers to try on underwear. DIY undergarments can provide more reliable fit.

**Ease**

Many content creators felt that using DIY trans-supportive garments has been easier than other methods. For example, several content creators felt wearing their homemade gaff was much easier than tucking with tape. Brandy Nitti (2019) explained:

I like to use the gaff method just because I think it works so much better than the duct tape method. I think that the duct tape method is just painful and it’s hard if you have to like use the restroom and stuff like that. Using a gaff honestly makes it just so much
easier. You can take it off, go to the bathroom, retuck, and then go out throughout the rest of your day. (1:19)

Similarly, Lorelai Adele Dantzler told her viewers “I know gaffs are usually worn by trans gender females, whereas drag queens usually prefer to use tape. However, when you tuck almost on a daily basis, using tape is not that convenient, so I highly recommend making this” (2017, 3:17). Lorelai Adele Dantzler also helped emphasize the importance of making videos addressing at trans viewers. Additionally, Clayton Jay (2020) favored his homemade packing pouch because it was simpler to use than commercial options; he said,

it’s easier instead of with the Mr. Joey how you literally have to like watch step-by-step how to put it in. With these, you just grab it [the packer] and shove it in the fucking sock.

That’s all you have to do. See it’s in the sock. It works perfect. (3:19)

Mack Bayda (2016) expressed similar sentiments, explaining why harnesses are not an appealing packing option to him: “So there’s harnesses out there and those, for me, I’m not a huge fan of because I don’t want to be fumbling with that and I don’t really want to wear a harness” (0:50).

Many individuals alter their bodies in gender-affirming ways for long periods of time (Adea Danielle, 2020) and/or frequently (Parker, 2013), so having an undergarment that is easy to wear can be important for many trans folks.

**Privacy**

Brandy Nitti (2019) and Adea Danielle both appreciated that DIY gaffs could be made privately in the home rather than public disclosure of their identity. While Brandy Nitti found homemade gaffs uncomfortable, she “probably used that method for about a year into my transition, when I really kind of really wasn’t out to everybody, so I wasn’t comfortable enough to buy gaffs online” (2019, 4:05). Trans people are four times more likely to face violence than
cis people (Dowd, 2021), so their safety could be compromised if someone else knew they were purchasing these garments; these tutorials can help trans individuals like Brandy Nitti and Adea Danielle obtain tucking underwear safely.

**Commercial Offerings**

Several content creators expressed they have also tried using commercial trans-supportive undergarments and compared them with their DIY counterparts. Adea Danielle and Brandy Nitti (2019) both preferred gaffs from Glamour Boutique, a popular crossdressing retailer, to homemade gaffs. Chloe Arden (2017) liked commercial gaffs because they are

Really good for the fact that I feel like I don't have to wear shorts with it, I feel like it'll just work on its own. And like it's a thong one so I can wear more things if I want my ass to be popping. (4:30)

Many commercial trans-supportive undergarments are more expensive than DIY materials. Tucking underwear from Glamour Boutique ranges from $27.95 to $33.95 (Glamour Boutique, n.d.) and may not be affordable for many trans individuals, particularly those that are unemployed or underemployed.

Other content creators preferred their DIY version over trans-supportive undergarments available on the market. Clayton Jay (2020) complained about the quality of his Joey pouch, which broke; he explained that the types of materials he used will prevent his DIY pouch from breaking. Clayton Jay (2020) and Alexander Moscaritolo (2018) also felt commercial packing pouches were overpriced. Alexander Moscaritolo (2018) expressed:

The only thing is, these things are pretty expensive, so if...you don’t have the cash for one of these, there’s another easy way to do this. So everybody wears socks, right? Grab an old sock, but it probably should be like a long sock. (1:20)
Parker (2013) felt that the commercial tucking underwear she tried looked unflattering on her. She suggested instead using

an old pair of pantyhose or a new pair because the elastic will be tighter, but you take the pantyhose… and you just cut the elastic off and then just stretch it out a little bit. This will make enough pressure to put over your legs and keep everything back without cutting off the sides too much because that’s a problem that I had when using internet or store-bought gaffs was that it would cut off and make my muffin top look huge. And especially doing burlesque and striptease and stuff, these are perfect because it doesn’t squeeze it too much, but it hides everything. (2:17)

For individuals like Parker and Alexander Moscaritolo, DIY trans-supportive undergarments fit their wants and needs better than pricier commercial options. Although many fashion textbooks stress the importance of fit meticulous construction (Joseph-Armstrong, 2014), Alexander Moscaritolo, Clayton Jay, and Parker’s elementary DIY undergarments were just as good or better at addressing their preferences.

**Contextualization Within Trans Identity**

In their videos, many of the content creators discussed how trans-supportive undergarments relate to other aspects of trans identity and/or experiences. Several content creators used the videos to also educate varied audiences about other trans issues; what packing and tucking are, how to pack/tuck, and why packing/tucking may be important to trans individuals, and how gender presentation may be different in different situations.
Educating Audiences About Trans Issues

Gear videos to specific identities

Some videos were geared more towards educating other trans people about tucking or packing. For instance, Kameron (2020) told viewers:

As you can tell from the title of this video, today I’m going to be talking about do-it-yourself packing underwear. And what I mean by packing is for those of us guys who are not cisgender, who may be trans, who may be trans masculine non-binary and we want to hold a little something in our underpants to help us feel more confident, that is not there, we need special undies to do it. (0:04)

Chloe Arden (2017), itsbambii (2018), Adea Danielle (2020), and Delilah Gardner (2020) each made their videos because of requests from trans viewers. For example, Chloe Arden (2017) explained: “I really wanted to help some of you guys out by helping you learn how to tuck because so many people have asked me about it and I just wanted to share the ways that I do it” (5:47). Similarly, itsbambii (2018) explained: “So. I get a lot of emails asking me this question and I get a lot of emails from people who are…transgender females who just starting off their transition asking for advice on how to tuck” (1:10). Many of the trans content creators describe struggling to learn about tucking and packing, so they want to try and educate other trans people about these topics. Because trans DIY YouTubers have experience with tucking and/or packing, they may be able to provide unique insights not discussed in other tucking and/or packing videos.

Many videos were geared towards anyone, regardless of their identity, who may want to start tucking or packing or making gaffs, packing underwear, packing pouches, or packing harnesses. Some were more general when describing this audience. For example, Alexander Moscaritolo (2018) said he “Just wanted to do a quick how-to video for if you are trans,
nonbinary, whatever that’s such you are if you pack” (0:08). Others, such as Parker (2013) and Chloe Alice (2021) mentioned that cis drag queens, cosplayers, and other cis men may want to learn to pack. For example, Parker (2013) told viewers: “Today, I am going to teach you guys how to make a gaff and how to tuck. It’s extremely important for t-girls and also drag queens (if you guys want to watch, that’s totally cool)” (0:01). Similarly, Chloe Alice (2021) explained:

If you are a part of the LGBTQ or know a trans woman or have ever been to a drag show, you probably know what tucking is. Tucking is the process a person goes through to hide their junk, basically. Tucking is not only for drag queens or trans women. Say you’re a cis male and you like to cosplay and maybe you would like to cosplay as a woman sometime. This could be a very helpful technique for you to hide your manhood. (0:15)

Some videos were more oriented towards viewers who did not want to pack or tuck, but wanted to learn more about trans experience and/or tucking. For example, Adea Danielle told viewers: “If you think that being trans is a choice and we choose to tuck every day before our surgery, you are joking because it’s hard” (3:25). In some instances, content creators addressed a general audience. Several content creators, such as Chloe Alice (2021), acknowledged that their viewers could be trans people wanting to learn more about tucking or allies watching to educate themselves about trans issues. Chloe Alice (2021) opened her video by saying: “How to tuck your junk if you trans male-to-female. Or, if you’re just super curious” (0:00). Many content creators speak to a broader audience because viewers may want to better support loved ones that are trans or want to understand more about trans experiences in general. Additionally, education about marginalized people’s experiences can encourage empathy for those communities (Delgado and Stefancic, 2017).
**What, how, and why of trans-supportive bodily styling**

Several trans content creators not only explained how to make trans-supportive undergarments, but also provide context of how and why to use them. For example, Chloe Alice (2021) began her video by explaining to her viewers what tucking is. She explained:

“If you are a part of the LGBTQ or know a trans woman or have ever been to a drag show, you probably know what tucking is. Tucking is the process a person goes through to hide their junk, basically. Tucking is not only for drag queens or trans women. Say you’re a cis male and you like to cosplay and maybe you would like to cosplay as a woman sometime. This could be a very helpful technique for you to hide your manhood.” (0:15)

Adea Danielle expressed that she began using gaffs to tuck with instead of tape because

I was just tucking with duct tape when I first started because I did not have the other stuff that you have to have to get a wonderful, wonderful tight pussy tuck. And I was good with this for a while. You know, at my school, it was very hard because sometimes I would sweat because of the stress of being trans at a high school, public high school. It’s very stressful. So I would stress and the duct tape would not stick. (1:32)

Many viewers who are not part of the trans community or who are new to the trans community may be curious about tucking and/or packing but not know much about how to tuck and/or pack, so explaining tucking and/or packing in DIY trans-supportive undergarment videos can help orient viewers to understand what DIY trans-supportive undergarments are used for.

Additionally, trans YouTubers are often experts in tucking and/or packing because they have engaged in these practices. Viewers can feel connected with and trust the expertise of trans
content creators because the information is often offered by a kind, nonjudgmental, openly-trans person.

Some content creators explained why trans-supportive undergarments may be important for experiencing gender euphoria. For example, Parker (2013) expressed to her viewers that:

Tucking is very, very important, especially for trans gender women because it gives us the freedom to wear whatever we want, to feel sexy. You know, if that’s what we’re going for with…a certain kind of outfit. There are many transgender people who are totally fine with their genitalia, have no qualms with it, don’t try to conceal it or anything. That’s totally cool but this tutorial is for t-girls that want to wear short shorts, want to be able to wear lingerie for a photo shoot or anything like that. (0:15)

Parker (2013) also mentioned that she was “planning on making another video for how to tuck in public, like if you’re using a restroom or something like that because that’s something that I’ve honed” (1:26). Many cis people may not be aware of the barriers trans individuals face and the reasons trans-supportive clothing is often a salient, sensitive topic. Content creators like Parker (2013) may be attempting to bridge this knowledge gap by explaining the significance of trans-supportive undergarments to cis people in the context of personal style because dress agency is valued by many people (Tylka and Wood-Barcalow, 2015). In the video Parker (2013) proposes, she seems concerned with educating trans people how to tuck in bathrooms to protect their gender expression and safety, she can simultaneously teach cis people about how public space, including public restrooms, are not amenable to trans individuals. Legislators across the United States have passed bills, such as Tennessee’s House Bill 1182 (SB 1224), prohibiting trans individuals from using their preferred bathroom (Ronan, 2021). A video on tucking in public restrooms could be especially helpful to trans individuals in this dangerous political climate.
How to use trans-supportive undergarments

Most of the content creators explained how to use the objects created in the video. For example, Kourtney Fierce (2020) described how to push the testicles up into the inguinal canals before putting on a gaff:

Do it really slowly if it’s your first time because it’s probably going to be a little bit uncomfortable, but once you start getting used to just like pushing them up into you, it kind of just feels normal…If you’ve been on hormones for a long time like I have…it’s not going to be an issue because a lot of things down there start shrinking. (3:54)

After the testicles are in the inguinal canals, Parker (2013) explained: “You have to like roll up the scrotum until your testicles are right next to the main attraction [anus]” (4:40). To demonstrate how to tuck without revealing her body, Chloe Alice (2021) used a Takis meat stick as a prop penis to show how a gaff holds a tuck. While demonstrating, she narrated:

You’re going to want to pull up your almost like face mask [gaff] that you made. Then you want to place your meat stick on your face mask and kind of pull your face mask up and wrap these two [sides of the tights] around your butt cheeks. (4:27)

When using his DIY packing underwear method, Mack Bayda (2016) recommended packing up or to the side because many packers to create a better bulge shape when using commercial packers, such as the Mr. Limpy.

Several content creators discussed other methods of hiding a bulge besides using gaffs, such as taping or using other clothing to conceal the genitals. For instance, Ruby Fiera explained that: “Tape isn’t really meant for skin so it comes undone. It’s not very pleasant. So you have to use really strong tape and strong tape should not be going on your skin” (2018, 1:30). Stacy
Fatemi (2017) also explored the advantages and disadvantages of tucking with tape. One of the issues she mentions is:

If you’re a trans woman in America, you’re probably taking spironolactone as a testosterone suppressant and spironolactone is a diuretic. It’s going to make you pee a lot and you can’t pee when you’re doing a tape tuck. You have to undo the whole thing and then redo it while you’re in the public restroom. (2017, 0:37)

Instead of taping or wearing a gaff, trans viewers can still hide a crotch bulge by wearing long oversized sweaters, which Gage (2018) explains in her video. Many trans individuals do not have someone in their life to teach them about tucking (Dornheim, 2018) so they use the internet and YouTube to educate themselves. While most of the tucking videos in my sample center the gaff tutorial, trans content creators likely understand that many of their viewers, even if they are trans, may not be familiar with the various tucking options. Because many trans content creators have gone through similar experiences with their viewers, they likely understand that they can serve as helpful resources for trans people at early stages of their transition.

**Space, Place, and Gender-Affirming Presentation**

**In relation to outfit and occasion**

Several content creators expressed they wore trans-supportive undergarments on specific occasions and for various reasons. For example, many trans YouTubers chose to wear gaffs when wearing a particular outfit. For instance, Chloe Arden recommended using when “wearing a skirt or mom jeans...or shorts that aren't like extremely tight” (2017, 4:11). Similarly, Ruby Fiera (2018) explained:

Why [tuck] you might ask. Well, female clothes are often quite tight, especially bodycon dresses, tight jeans, leggings, even just lingerie. They’re quite tight and they’re meant for
women, so they don’t accommodate any extra baggage down there, really. Swimming, bikinis, swimming costumes. Can’t do that without being tucked, unless you wear boy’s, men’s swimming shorts. That’s a no go. So, I tuck. (0:29)

Similarly, Parker (2013) mentioned, “I’m tucked like 90% of every day just because I choose to wear clothing that accentuates my figure and stuff because that makes me feel feminine and I like feeling that way” (2013, 5:12). Gage also only wears gaff when going out “or exposing my downstairs region” (2018, 3:40). Because many trans individuals such as Ruby Fiera, Parker, and Gage, choose to wear tucking garments with specific outfits, tucking practices are intimately connected with other categories of clothing. By explaining that choosing whether or not to tuck is often dependent on occasion helps dispel myths that gender expression for trans individuals is monolithic and unchanging.

Some content creators explained that they chose different methods depending on the occasion. For example, Kourtney Fierce (2020) conveyed that the gaff method “is literally my favorite method. I use it almost every single day. I only use the [tape tuck method] for special occasions” (1:25). Like Ruby Fiera, Gage, and Parker, Kourtney Fierce helps demonstrate how trans expression and appearance is often contingent on occasion or location.

**Safety**

Several trans YouTubers revealed that they consider their safety in social situations when deciding whether to tuck or pack. For instance, Adea Danielle revealed: “I like to wear tucks at the club because you never know when you’re dancing, you know guys put their hands everywhere, so if they find a little surprise, maybe you’re in danger. Most likely, you’re in danger” (13:01). Trans individuals are four times more likely than cis individuals to be victims of violence (Dowd, 2021), which is likely why Adea Danielle expressed concerns about her safety.
In her video “HOW TUCK! NO TAPE, NO PAIN! │ Adea Danielle” (2020), Adea Danielle told viewers about how she was worried for her safety after being harassed by a fan while at a nightclub. Many trans people have heightened awareness of their safety and carefully choose where and when they wear trans-supportive undergarments.

**Overt Discussion of Monetization**

Some content creators directly discussed monetization. For example, Adea Danielle (2020) told viewers:

Today we are talking about tucking…again because my last video went viral and I made a lot of money from it. And also a lot of you guys had a lot of questions. You guys have been asking for a more in-depth…tucking tutorial. (0:32)

Several content creators feared being demonetized because of perceived explicit content. Although many content creators emphasized that their videos were educational, not sexual, because their videos discussed and/or featured genital prosthetics, viewers may interpret the videos as sexual. For example, Brandy Nitti (2019) mentioned:

But that is honestly all I have for you this video. I hope that it was informative in some way to you guys. I know that a lot of other people here on YouTube have done demonstrations and show you everything, but this is a family-friendly channel so I am not going to be doing that. Plus I don’t want to get demonetized or have my channel literally removed from YouTube because I went too in-detail. (7:15)

At the beginning of and/or during some videos, ads played. For example, an advertisement played at the beginning of Kourtney Fierce’s video. Additionally, Ketch Beauty sponsored Adea Danielle to recommend their at-home hair removal sponsorship during the middle of her video. Monetization is contingent on a content creator’s amount of followers and
hours of viewership, both of which may be influenced by hegemonic factors. For instance, Adea Danielle, Brandy Nitti, and Kourtney Fierce are conventionally attractive, sexy, feminine, cis-passing white trans women. Individuals are often rewarded by society when they cohere with cis-het norms (Butler, 1990), which may extend to trans YouTube content creators. Adea Danielle, Brandy Nitti, and Kourtney Fierce are each representations of “good” trans women; because trans identity is often deemed unacceptable by mainstream society, trans individuals are often required to fully adhere to sexual, gender, racial, and class norms to be accepted in society (Skidmore, 2011). Adea Danielle, Brandy Nitti, and Kourtney Fierce may be rewarded for their whiteness, femininity, sex appeal, and beauty by receiving more views or followers, thus enabling them to become monetized for their videos or advertising partnerships.
CHAPTER 5. CONCLUSION

In this research, I reveal how trans individuals design, construct, and teach about trans-supportive undergarments via YouTube videos. Content creators demonstrated various motives for creating these videos, such as personal storytelling, creating fun and relatable content, and educating viewers about trans-supportive undergarments. Many of the videos considered how their audience may welcome accessibility by providing simple construction methods and suggestions for inexpensive materials. While many creators were focusing content towards trans viewers, several YouTubers attempted to also engage cis viewers and teach them about why trans-supportive bodily styling and undergarments are important to encourage empathy and understanding. Although the mainstream fashion industry and society at large often neglect the trans individuals’ needs, and in many cases, act overtly transphobic, many trans people have exhibited resilience and resistance including making their own trans-supportive undergarments. DIY trans-supportive undergarment YouTube videos have facilitated community building between trans individuals experiencing marginalization from the mainstream fashion industry.

Limitations

While thorough, this project has several limitations. For example, algorithms determine what Internet users see based on their past preferences and use of cookies (HP, 2018). Because I identify as white, my Internet preferences as a white individual may have influenced the videos being shown to me during my search process. This may be the reason my sample featured mainly white-appearing content creators. I also identify as cis, so I may not be able to capture all the nuances and complexities of trans experiences.
Implications

This research has implications to both the fashion industry and fashion educational systems. Fashion students could learn other ways of producing clothing and about the concerns of marginalized communities. Mainstream fashion education has centered hegemonic garment construction epistemologies; from this research, students can learn about alternate epistemologies to help diversify their understanding and encourage creativity and critical thinking. In the videos analyzed, the trans content creators also frequently exhibited different garment preferences and priorities than those offered by commercial trans-supportive undergarments. Both students and the fashion industry can benefit from better understanding the wants and needs of trans consumers. Additionally, legislators are continuing to pass anti-trans laws. For example, on March 3, 2022, Iowa Governor Kim Reynolds signed a law banning trans women athletes from participating in school sports, using explicitly transphobic language (Cole, 2022) and misconceptions to support her decision. Learning about trans individuals can encourage empathy and compassion for trans experiences and marginalization. This work is relevant to these types of legislative decision-making processes that harm trans people. Research like this helps to recognize and normalize trans identity, potentially helping humanize trans individuals in the public’s viewpoints.

This project contributes to the small but growing body of scholarship about trans experiences and fashioning the body. Future researchers could conduct oral histories with content creators to better understand the circumstances surrounding and motivations for producing DIY trans-supportive undergarment video tutorials. Additionally, scholars could codesign with trans individuals to create undergarments that best fit their preferences. This project also only explores trans-supportive undergarments worn on the lower portion of the
body; future academics could analyze how undergarments covering the torso, such as bras that hold prosthetics and binders, may be designed by trans YouTubers.
REFERENCES

[Screenshot of Adea Danielle’s gaff following the popular construction method]. (2022).
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jJAxw1NFBdQ&t=122s

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jJAxw1NFBdQ&t=122s

[Screenshot of Brandy Nitti in her filming studio]. (2022).
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KqzJaM7lF4o

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xzrjVVTmDN4

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oaHPW7fOYHA&t=2s

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oaHPW7fOYHA&t=2s

[Screenshot of Kameron wearing a t-shirt with the name of his YouTube channel, Trans SWAG, on it]. (2022). https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=b3o1i3lxw-c

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AFSsrYFixfA

[Screenshot of Mack Bayda’s YouTube banner]. (2022).
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uR-TaC1y9L0&t=8s

Adea Danielle. (2019, December 5). HOW TO TUCK!!! (different ways) | Adea Danielle [Video]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pqtrmHB0rQ8


https://doi.org/10.1080/03612112.2019.1559529


https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FLKbzbjagHA


Kourtney Fierce. (2020, January 3). The ULTIMATE transgender tucking TUTORIAL | HOW TO TUCK | 2 methods [Video]. YouTube.
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3hGlXOp5bZk

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AFSsrYFixfA

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=v0_WRUQW0v4

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PpEi30POTxI


The Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual & Transgender Community Center. (n.d.). Defining LGBTQ.
https://gaycenter.org/about/lgbtq/.

https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1022453304384.


The Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual & Transgender Community Center. (n.d.). Defining LGBTQ.
https://gaycenter.org/about/lgbtq/.


https://doi.org/10.7551/mitpress/9568.003.0002.

Reclaim. (n.d.). *Queer and Trans 101*.


https://doi.org/10.1080/17543266.2014.958576.


https://doi.org/10.1177/0887302X15585165.


Steele, V. (2013). A queer history of fashion: From the closet to the catwalk. In V. Steele (Ed.), *A queer history of fashion: From the closet to the catwalk* (pp. 167–192). Yale University Press.


Wilson, E. (2013). What does a lesbian look like? In V. Steele (Ed.), *A queer history of fashion: From the closet to the catwalk* (pp. 167–192). Yale University Press.

https://support.google.com/youtube/answer/2802002#zippy=other-types-of-content-that-violate-this-policy-educational-content

https://www.youtube.com/creators/how-things-work/video-monetization/?utm_source=paidsearch&utm_medium=gyt&utm_id=ytgen&utm_content=ytcvm&gclid=CjwKCAjw8sCRBhA6EiwA6_IF4SF6KjuEsWcGoJmjjgUjrw_HGK7PgD7iR8vbW1BkzeKUCz4Za9-E9BoCSXsQA&D_BwE#youtube-partner-program

APPENDIX A. DIY TRANS-SUPPORTIVE UNDERGARMENTS YOUTUBE VIDEOS

Table 1

DIY Trans-Supportive Undergarments YouTube Videos Sample

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Video Number</th>
<th>Content Creator</th>
<th>Video Publish Date</th>
<th>Video Title</th>
<th>Type of Garment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Adea Danielle</td>
<td>12/05/2019</td>
<td>HOW TO TUCK!!! (different ways)</td>
<td>Gaff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>HOW TO TUCK! NO TAPE, NO PAIN!</td>
<td>Gaff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Adea Danielle</td>
<td>05/01/2020</td>
<td>HOW TO TUCK! NO TAPE, NO PAIN!</td>
<td>Adea Danielle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Alexander Moscaritolo</td>
<td>06/23/2018</td>
<td>FTM How to Make a Packing Pouch</td>
<td>Packing pouch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>AskAngelReviews</td>
<td>01/19/21</td>
<td>HOW TO MAKE YOUR OWN STP HARNESS!!</td>
<td>FTM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Brandy Nitti</td>
<td>12/15/2019</td>
<td>HOW TO TUCK! MTF Transgender Woman!</td>
<td>Gaff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Chase</td>
<td>12/03/2012</td>
<td>HOW TO: DIY Harness.</td>
<td>Packing harness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Chloe Alice</td>
<td>03/02/2021</td>
<td>How To Tuck For Trans MTF</td>
<td>Chloe Alice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Chloe Arden</td>
<td>02/23/2017</td>
<td>HOW TO TUCK!!</td>
<td>Chloe Arden</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 1 Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Video Number</th>
<th>Content Creator</th>
<th>Video Publish Date</th>
<th>Video Title</th>
<th>Type of Garment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Clayton Jay</td>
<td>03/11/2020</td>
<td>Sock Packing Pouch//FTM TRANSGENDER</td>
<td>Packing pouch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Coach Jamie</td>
<td>08/08/2014</td>
<td>The &quot;Tuck&quot;</td>
<td>Gaff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Couryiah Shaheed</td>
<td>04/25/2021</td>
<td>How To Tuck</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Delilah Gardner</td>
<td>04/17/2020</td>
<td>How to Tucking Tutorial: Let's Make a Gaff!</td>
<td>Gaff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Gage</td>
<td>03/09/2018</td>
<td>TUCKING &amp; WARDROBE TIPS FOR TRANS GIRLS</td>
<td>Gaff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>itsbambii</td>
<td>10/01/2018</td>
<td>D.I.Y how to make a Tucker for Tucking</td>
<td>itsbambii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Kameron</td>
<td>05/31/2020</td>
<td>DIY Packing Underwear</td>
<td>Packing underwear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Kourtney Fierce</td>
<td>01/03/2020</td>
<td>The ULTIMATE Transgender Tucking TUTORIAL</td>
<td>HOW TO TUCK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Kris</td>
<td>05/31/2016</td>
<td>DIY STP/Packer Harness</td>
<td>Packing/STP harness</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Table 1 Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Video Number</th>
<th>Content Creator</th>
<th>Video Publish Date</th>
<th>Video Title</th>
<th>Type of Garment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Kris</td>
<td>12/17/2017</td>
<td>DIY STP Harness</td>
<td>Packing/STP harness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Kris</td>
<td>12/29/2017</td>
<td>DIY Packing Underwear</td>
<td>Packing underwear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Lorelai Adele Dantzler</td>
<td>04/03/2017</td>
<td>How to make a Gaff for Tucking</td>
<td>Gaff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Mack Bayda</td>
<td>07/29/2016</td>
<td>DIY Packing Underwear</td>
<td>FTM Transgender</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Parker</td>
<td>10/05/2013</td>
<td>Tutorial: How to Tuck AND Make a Gaff!</td>
<td>Gaff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Ruby Fiera</td>
<td>08/31/2018</td>
<td>The Truth About Tucking</td>
<td>Gaff</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note.* Videos are sorted in alphabetical order.
Table 2

**DIY Trans-Supportive Undergarments YouTube Videos Sample Cont.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Video number</th>
<th>Video length</th>
<th>Video access date</th>
<th>Video link</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>14:09</td>
<td>10/22/2021</td>
<td><a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pqtrmHB0rQ8">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pqtrmHB0rQ8</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>16:31</td>
<td>12/10/2021</td>
<td><a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jJAxw1NFBdQ&amp;t=122s">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jJAxw1NFBdQ&amp;t=122s</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>4:50</td>
<td>09/26/2021</td>
<td><a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kid7Ull6DgE">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kid7Ull6DgE</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>7:54</td>
<td>09/26/2021</td>
<td><a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KqzJaM7lF4o">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KqzJaM7lF4o</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>6:46</td>
<td>11/08/2021</td>
<td><a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cIkyWSMRQHk&amp;t=6s">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cIkyWSMRQHk&amp;t=6s</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>6:21</td>
<td>11/08/2021</td>
<td><a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=u7IznZzTNTM">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=u7IznZzTNTM</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>6:07</td>
<td>09/24/2021</td>
<td><a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aO6S8c4Wxbk">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aO6S8c4Wxbk</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>10:00</td>
<td>09/27/2021</td>
<td><a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=B8OmzHYksEo">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=B8OmzHYksEo</a></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 2 Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Video number</th>
<th>Video length</th>
<th>Video access date</th>
<th>Video link</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>10:32</td>
<td>10/22/2021</td>
<td><a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S310_KFSkW4">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S310_KFSkW4</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>5:17</td>
<td>09/27/2021</td>
<td><a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xzrjVVTmDN4">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xzrjVVTmDN4</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>5:37</td>
<td>09/26/2021</td>
<td><a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6vtYXgf8-nw">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6vtYXgf8-nw</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>9:10</td>
<td>09/28/2021</td>
<td><a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CP44qJJ2Ako">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CP44qJJ2Ako</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>6:57</td>
<td>10/21/2021</td>
<td><a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oaHPW7fOYHA">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oaHPW7fOYHA</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>7:54</td>
<td>11/05/2021</td>
<td><a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=b3o1i3lxw-c">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=b3o1i3lxw-c</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>14:08</td>
<td>11/05/2021</td>
<td><a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3hGlXOp5bZk">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3hGlXOp5bZk</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>4:27</td>
<td>11/08/2021</td>
<td><a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AFSsrYFixfA">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AFSsrYFixfA</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>7:21</td>
<td>12/11/2021</td>
<td><a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=v0_WRUQW0v4">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=v0_WRUQW0v4</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Video number</td>
<td>Video length</td>
<td>Video access date</td>
<td>Video link</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>2:16</td>
<td>09/09/2021</td>
<td><a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PpEi30POTxI">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PpEi30POTxI</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>4:27</td>
<td>11/07/2021</td>
<td><a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=l_TWVw5IS2g">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=l_TWVw5IS2g</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>9:13</td>
<td>12/11/2021</td>
<td><a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uR-TaC1y9L0&amp;t=8s">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uR-TaC1y9L0&amp;t=8s</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>6:12</td>
<td>11/05/2021</td>
<td><a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sfwkfzikyJk">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sfwkfzikyJk</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>10:40</td>
<td>10/01/2021</td>
<td><a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=g7IqC_2M1gI&amp;t=480s">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=g7IqC_2M1gI&amp;t=480s</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>13:01</td>
<td>10/26/2021</td>
<td><a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FLKbzjagHA">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FLKbzjagHA</a></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX B. DATA ANALYSIS CODEBOOK

I have included my final codebook. During the writing stage, I revised and massaged my themes, combining and removing some subthemes. I used the codebook to develop and map my themes.

Intro paragraph before themes:

• Many general construction/design similarities between DIY undergarments within same object category [possibly due to watching other videos and/or learning from friends]
• In the different constructions/designs there are varying sophistication levels
• Conscientious material decisions [choose materials based upon quality attributes; cost; easily find in store; aesthetics]
• Varying depictions of construction processes
  o Most showed viewers, in detail, how to make product
  o Some showed all of making, cutting, sewing, etc. on-screen
  o Others only filmed certain steps
  o Sometimes just show finished product, don’t demonstrate how to make
• Differences in set up/video background
  o Varying levels of professionalism
  o Opening/closing slides

1. Community building practices and inhabiting specific roles

   1.1. YouTuber persona negotiations in complex web with trans identity

      1.1.1. Brand promotion

      1.1.1.1. Advertising their own merchandise

      1.1.1.2. Open/closing slides that are the same
1.2. Acknowledges position in larger trans YouTuber community [both larger identity and tied to objects they are making – that is largely DIY focused]

1.2.1.1. Promote other Trans youtubers

2. Heightened attention to language/queer language/create new ways of discussing: blocking and/or dysphoria/discomfort on taboo subjects online

2.1. Heightened attention to Language, The body, and identity

2.1.1. Different levels of aversion to referring to genitals

2.2. Content warnings

2.3. Lack thereof

2.3.1. Cultural appropriation

3. Accessible Making

3.1. In instruction dissemination, content creators offer customization opportunities

3.1.1. Size

3.1.1.1. Opportunities for reuse of clothing parts for fat people

3.1.2. Ease

3.1.3. Aesthetic preference

3.2. Emphasis on importance of the iterative revision process [highlights relate-ability, humbleness, that they are learning, too so amateur viewers can do it too]

3.3. Emphasis on ease in making, finding materials, because inexpensive

3.3.1. Material accessibility

3.3.1.1. Reuse

3.3.2. Construction accessibility

3.3.3. Economic accessibility
3.3.3.1. Of materials

3.3.3.2. In relation to commercial trans-supportive undergarments

3.3.4. Of other trans-supportive materials [highlights to other “easy” economic accessible products]

3.4. Class

3.4.1. Access to certain materials

3.4.2. Access to commercial trans-supportive undergarments

3.4.3. Access to professional looking-studio

4. DIY/Commercial Products – Satisfactions and Dissatisfactions – results in mixture of wearing both/ambivalence; intersections with class/age privilege; Differences in satisfaction with trans-supportive undergarments; feelings towards these objects

4.1. DIY

4.1.1. Aesthetics

4.1.1.1. Satisfied

4.1.1.2. Dissatisfied

4.1.2. Comfort

4.1.2.1. Satisfied

4.1.2.2. Dissatisfied

4.1.3. Effectiveness

4.1.3.1. Satisfied

4.1.3.2. Dissatisfied

4.2. Differences in satisfaction with commercial offerings
5. **Contextualization within trans identity and trans issues; Some covered larger topics related to trans identity expression, not just DIY underwear**

5.1. Educating people with varying levels of TNB identity knowledge with their video

5.1.1. Gear videos to specific identities

5.1.2. What, how, and why for appearance related practices related to the objects they are making or not making

5.1.2.1. How to use the objects they are making: actually tuck

5.1.3. Other methods of holding a tuck

5.1.4. Styling and starting wardrobe when beginning transition

5.2. Chooses whether to wear trans-supportive undergarment based on time/space

[educational/reflection piece]

5.2.1. In relation to outfit

5.2.2. In relation to other methods of trans-supportive

6. **Monetization**

6.1. Coherence with cis het norms

6.1.1. Some of the videos with the most views/were monetized, etc. were from attractive, passing, white-appearing people

6.1.2. Comments on videos affirmed these

6.2. Direct discussion of monetization

6.2.1. Fears of being demonetized because of perceived explicit content

6.3. Ads played during video