

**QUEER SEXUALITY: DEFINING A NEW WAY OF BEING**

by

**KEVIN DAVID JOUBERT**

**Submitted in part fulfilment of the requirements  
for the degree of**

**MASTER OF ARTS IN CLINICAL PSYCHOLOGY**

in the

**DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY**

at the

**UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AFRICA**

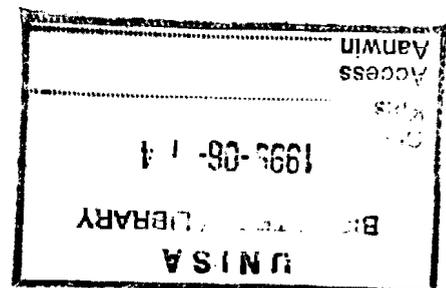
**SUPERVISOR: PROF S H VAN DEVENTER**

**NOVEMBER 1998**

## SYNOPSIS

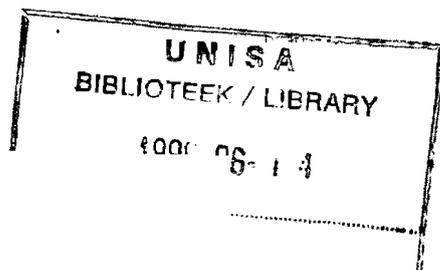
This study focuses on a group of homosexual men. The group has been defined as 'Queer' based on the value and pride which they place on their difference to the general norms and values of the wider society. Four of these men were interviewed on their moral structure and the way in which they structure their relationships. The study focused on: the nature of the norms this group has developed; the process by which this has occurred; and the psychological effects of this process.

It was found that the research participants have developed new norms and behavioural scripts significantly different to those existing generally in society. These new behavioural scripts relate to the socially mandated scripts in various ways with some mandated scripts being rejected, some being adapted and amended and others being inverted. These differences seem to originate from individuals being rejected and stigmatised. The changes these queer men have made were moves to bring a greater sense of congruence between their experience, their morality and their behavioural scripts. The initial period of divergence between the socially mandated behavioural scripts and their sexual behaviour was marked by psychological distress while the move to greater congruence between behaviour and behavioural scripts was characterised by increased psychological empowerment and sense of self-worth. The study also showed that during these processes other differences developed between the way these individuals act in their world and the general norm of society. These differences included a greater self-awareness; an increased ability to operate at a meta-level; a conscious effort to create the life that one wants; differences in gender behaviour which incorporated behavioural aspects of both genders and new forms of establishing and maintaining relationships.



Homosexuality is an historic opportunity to open up new relational and affective potentialities, not in virtue of qualities intrinsic to the homosexual, but because of the position of the homosexual 'off-center', somehow, together with the diagonal lines which the homosexual can draw through the social fabric, makes it possible to bring to light these potentialities - a famous homosexual Queer (M. Foucault)

302.389664 JOUB



0001725220

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER		Page no
1	INTRODUCTION.....	6
2	DIFFERENT DISCOURSES ON SEXUALITY.....	10
	Whose Discourse?.....	10
	What Do We Mean by Sexuality?.....	11
	Different Cultural Approaches to the Truth of Sexuality .....	17
	Ars Erotica .....	17
	Scientia Sexualis .....	17
	New Discourses on Sexuality in Western Culture.....	18
	The Essentialist Discourse .....	19
	The Social Constructionist Discourse .....	19
	Synthesis of the Two Approaches .....	21
3	A HISTORY OF CONTROL OF SEXUALITY.....	24
	The Pre-Christian Period.....	24
	The Christian Period.....	25
	Modern Ideologies.....	28
	The Medical Model .....	29
	Feminism .....	32
	Socialism .....	32
	The Postmodern View.....	33
	The South African Context.....	36
	Sexual Deviance.....	36
4	THE HOMOSEXUAL CONTEXT.....	39
	Definitions of Homosexuality.....	40
	Historical Presentation of Homosexuality.....	48
5	THE EMPIRICAL STUDY.....	58
	Focus of the Study.....	58

	Research Paradigm.....	60
	Research Methodology.....	62
	Research Aims .....	67
	Selection of Participants .....	68
	Collection of Information .....	71
	Analysis of Interviews .....	74
	Results of the Study .....	96
	Definition of New Participants' Scripts .....	96
	Process of Developing Alternative Scripts .....	107
6	DISCUSSION OF RESULTS.....	111
	The Historical Context.....	111
	Psychological Implications.....	114
	Psychological Health .....	114
	General Approach to Interacting with the World .....	116
	Defining New Ways of Gender Behaviour .....	117
	Defining New Ways of Relationship .....	119
	Defining New Ways of Being in the World .....	122
	Implications for Society.....	123
	Closure .....	126
	REFERENCES.....	130
	APPENDICES	
	Appendix A. Interview Scripts.....	139
	Appendix B. Family Distance Charts.....	212

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

Individuals and individual behaviour are influenced by systems operating at a number of levels. The intrapsychic is one system level, the immediate environment is another and culture a third. Within these the individual has his being and these to a large extent determine the meaning which he gives to his experience. Today, with the development of global communication and the start of a global culture, developments which are happening on a worldwide level influence an individual's being in the world and the way in which he perceives reality.

With the advent of what has been called the information age and the development of a postmodern understanding of the world, changes are occurring which directly affect individuals psychologically. Some writers (Foucault, 1976; Weeks, 1981) have pointed to changes in postmodern society where there has been a shift from one powerful overarching moral system to a diffusion of competing moral systems. Paralleling this has been a growth in group identity and group rights. The effect of these is that the ways society organises itself must necessarily change because the guidelines in terms of which the entire population interact can no longer be provided top down through the presentation of one moral system. Instead groups within society, based on their differing experience of the world, are developing their own moral systems different to, and often in opposition to, the generally accepted moral systems.

As regards the psychological impact of these changes during this period of transition, there is likely to be an increase in conflict within the society regarding morality and the rules by which people interact as there is no longer consensus in the society as regards these rules of interaction. On the individual level, the impact that this has psychologically is likely to be one of creating insecurity and anxiety because the individuals are no longer able to fall back on a clear and stable moral reality.

Instead they are forced into a position where it is necessary for them to decide for themselves how they will live their lives and how they will interact with others. A more positive consequence though is that these changes allow the individual the option of defining his reality in terms of his actual experience rather than according to some external and distant cultural system.

From a psychological and therapeutic point of view it is important to understand the effects of the process of forming new norms as this will enable us to better understand the impact on an individual level of the psychological processes generated and the way in which individuals manage both these processes as well as the conflict between their new norms and those dominant norms within the society. This study, using the example of a subgroup of men within the Gay community who refer to themselves as Queer, focuses on the process and effects of this process of a group breaking the norms of society and establishing their own norms in opposition to the generally accepted norms. In order to do this it is important not only to look at the process which is occurring but also to understand more clearly the group which is the focus of the investigation. This will allow us both to better understand the impact on that particular group of the process and also to understand how the solutions they have found within the process are related to their experience. The study thus focuses on both describing the contextual experience of the group in question, as well as looking at the process which is occurring.

Gays have developed as a distinctive grouping and subculture over the last decades and it has been suggested (Weeks, 1981) that the development of this group identity is related to their being defined as a separate group both morally and as part of the scientific classification of sexual pathologies. Sexual interest in members of the same gender has been viewed in the West through most of history as being contrary to the moral norms of the society and there have been strong sanctions imposed on this type of sexual behaviour. People who consider themselves Gay have thus been stigmatised and rejected by society. When individuals face a divergence between their experience of the world and the presentation of reality by society and by their culture the result

has certain psychological implications. The choice that an individual has in this situation is to deny his experience, to try to change his experience or to defy the societal prescriptions. The Queer group, by definition, have taken the third approach - that of defying society's prescriptions. The 'Queer' subgroup in the Gay community has the defining feature that the members identify themselves – specifically defying the rejection and stigmatisation - as having values and morality different to the general population, mostly as regards sexuality but also encompassing a more general approach to life. This creation of new norms is based on their experience of difference as having been members of a stigmatised group - homosexuals.

The first part of the study looks at relevant aspects of the context within which members of this group exist viz. Sexuality and more specifically homosexuality. The context of sexuality is important because it is mainly in this area that they have developed new norms. The study explores the way sexuality is constructed in Western society and the ways in which attempts are made by society to control sexuality through the establishment of cultural norms and especially through the defining of 'deviant' sexuality. The second relevant aspect as regards context is their homosexuality and the way in which homosexuals have historically been presented in society. The position of homosexuals has been that of being stigmatised by society and this is one of the major reasons why members of the Queer group have chosen to reject society's norms and establish their own. For this reason the study looks at how homosexuality has existed throughout history and the way it is and has been constructed by society.

The empirical study, in the second part, is based on four interviews which explore the norms the participants have regarding sexuality and the processes by which these norms were created. Generally the study finds that there is a recursive interaction between the experience of the participants and the meaning which they give to that experience and the process of developing new norms. The participants, having experienced cultural views and morality vastly divergent from their experience, have initially felt a sense of self-doubt and a lack of self-worth with all the attendant

psychological implications that these have for an individual. This conflict then acts as a catalyst which spurs them into a traumatic process of self-evaluation and evaluation of society's norms, which results in the creation of a morality and way of interacting in the world which rejects society's norms, is different to that of the general society and provides a better fit with their experience, with the psychological consequences of a stronger sense of self and a more efficient management of their lives.

In the final section the psychological and societal implications of the results of the study are discussed.

## CHAPTER 2

### **DIFFERENT DISCOURSES ON SEXUALITY**

The members of the group which is the focus of the study have differentiated themselves from the general society mainly in sexual terms. In order to understand the context in which this group exists it is important to be aware of the different ways in which sexuality has been presented in the past and is presented today. In addition we need to be aware that these presentations are not the only possible presentations but are rather those pertaining to Western culture and thought. This chapter explores the current dominant presentation of sexuality and highlights the contradictions in this presentation. Alternative presentations are then provided. The difference in the approaches revolves around seeing sexuality as an immutable given (the essentialist approach) and the alternative of seeing it as being constructed by society (the social constructionist approach). An attempt is made to provide a synthesis of the two approaches.

#### **Whose Discourse?**

A number of discourses exist within South Africa both in general terms and also relating to the sexual realm. The most prominent is probably that which is strongly influenced by the North American and European discourse, reflecting the historical patterns of power within the society. This discourse is probably also the one which is most dominant in the emerging world global culture. It is within this discourse that the Queer group most generally operates. The definition of this group is not racial but cultural in terms of its operating within a particular paradigm. So we can have a white homosexual male who operates within a societal setting within South Africa where the rules of society are more influential than individual choice and this man would then not be part of the Queer group. Alternatively a black male who ascribes to a global Gay culture and who operates mainly from an individually determined moral structure

would be seen as part of the Queer group. But these are individual situations. As far as the discourses are concerned the prominent discourse and the one within which this study operates is one which is post-paradigmatic in the terms of Simon & Gagnon (1986) as discussed later under behavioural scripts, is post-industrial, has a diversity of moral systems and where the power of culturally determined moral structures has largely given way to the importance of individually determined moral systems. It is likely though that this discourse has also been influenced by the other discourses present in South Africa and we are fortunate that we have various influences which continually remind us that a Western or global epistemology is not the only one which is possible. We should also keep in mind that the discourse about sexuality is one which until recently was considered to be inappropriate for discussion. Weeks (1989) points out that “many of the most important works on sexuality scarcely attained any respectability before the 1920s ... and sex research still has its hazards today” (p142). This is even more true of homosexuality which has been stigmatised and rejected within the dominant Western discourse. A number of writers mention the difficulty of obtaining historical documents regarding homosexuality and also point out that these documents would largely be pejorative to reflect the attitude of the dominant elite. With reference to the discourse, we need to remember that we are always talking of the discourse of the articulate elite who control the levers of power and especially control the media. We have little idea of the extent to which this elite discourse is accepted, modified or used by the general population.

## **What do we Mean by Sexuality?**

### **Sexuality:**

1. Generally all those aspects of one's constitution and one's behavior that are related to sex. Some authors use this meaning with a clear restriction to sex, others use it so that one's dispositions towards love and deep affection are included, even if not associated with the sex organs per se. Typically, the former is intended.
2. The state of having sex and sexual functions; the quality of being sexual. Note

that this usage is occasionally amplified by the notion of excessiveness; that is, sexuality to some authors is not just the quality of being sexual but the quality of being too sexual. (Reber, 1985, p.694)

Individuals operating mainly at the level of individually determined moral systems are not immune to the moral structure and perceptions of reality which their society and culture present to them. The individually determined moral systems will always occur within the context and in opposition to the cultural moral structure. But similarly it is important that we challenge the idea that cultural sanctioned perceptions represent reality and rather understand that they are purely one attempt at representing reality within a particular historical context. An historical view provides us with alternative cultural perceptions, morality, regulations and alternative representations of reality. In addition we need to view the alternative discourses which operate within our contemporary society in relation to the dominant discourse.

It is important then when considering the members of the group which has been termed Queer to understand the cultural / societal context within which they have their being because it is against this context that their view of self, their morality and their behaviour is to be assessed and understood. An important aspect of this is to describe and hopefully understand the discourses relating to sexuality in general and homosexuality specifically. These discourses are closely interwoven with the cultural perceptions and presentations which become prevalent within the society and which provide the behavioural scripts available to individuals within the society. An historical overview provides us with an understanding both of how the same concept can differ in meaning over time and in teasing out how the current view was constructed, considering the various influences and powers which formed the concept over time.

The concept of sexuality is a recent construction. People have always taken part in sexual behaviour but it is only in the modern period with the rise of attempts to categorise behaviour that the concept has been created as something which exists as a unified whole. Considering that it is a constructed concept, how sexuality is viewed

and what it is seen as consisting of differs between cultures and from one time period to the next. Halperin (1989), for example, questions the stability of the concept 'sexuality' as a category of historical analysis. There are a range of behaviours which include or relate to the sex act and it is only since the end of the Nineteenth Century that these have been seen as connected, categorised together and constructed as a unified whole which is seen to exist as a thing in itself. Padgug (1989) suggests that since the start of the Twentieth Century, sexuality is also seen as existing as a separate category of existence, "like the economy". Further this thing is seen not to exist only in the acts themselves but also within a person or as a characteristic of the person and is even seen as being influential in organising the behaviour of that person. Halperin (1989) points out that this has not always been true. Pre-modern societies didn't ascribe a person's sexual tastes to some feature of his personality. Rather the ancients saw sexual behaviour as an expression of the dominant themes in contemporary social relations. In addition there is wide sexual variety and Halperin suggests that this does not indicate anything about the person any more than do other tastes, for example, dietary preference. Padgug (1989) also suggests an alternative view: sexuality should be seen as relational, as existing within relations, rather than within the individual. For him there is a recursive relationship between social relations and biological inheritance which provide for the possibility of individual activity and personality.

As with all constructions, the way sexuality is viewed in Western culture is not uniform throughout the culture. Rather there are dominant views and those which provide alternatives to the dominant view. The dictionary definition given above probably presents the dominant, 'official' view, but even here we can see from the definition that there is no uniformity. Of interest is that most authors include "one's dispositions towards love and deep affection" (Reber, 1985, p.694). So within the aspects that are included in the construct, not only those relating to the sex act are included but rather most authors extend the construction to include aspects of love, although it is not clear why they do so and the approach to sexuality in other cultures and at other times do not make this connection. An example is that of ancient Greece where sexuality was seen as an expression of the dominant social power relations

within the society. Even within our own culture it is accepted that sex happens without the presence of “love and deep affection”, for example sex with a prostitute. The dominant, ‘official’ view is also contradictory in that it presents anonymous sex as being without the possibility of emotional content. The concept, as constructed, is closely tied to moral issues and is presented as the norm of behaviour within the culture. It is an understanding of the moral issues which make the contradictions within the construction understandable.

What is viewed as erotic also appears to differ between cultures and between time periods. The most obvious example is that of the female breast, which in Western culture is eroticised and in traditional African culture is not eroticised. Duberman, Vicinus & Chaucey (1989) suggest that anything can become eroticised even if it does not relate directly to genitality. He points out that recent lesbian authors have questioned the primary focus on genital sexuality and suggests that for lesbians intimate bonds have become eroticised and a basis for lesbian identity.

An indication of the complexity of the issue is provided by Boswell (1989) who discusses a triangular relationship of mediated desire, beauty and sexual stereotypes. He suggests that most humans are influenced by the values of the society in which they live and that many desires are ‘mediated’ by the valorisation accorded things by surrounding society, rather than generated exclusively by the desiring individual. So beauty at one extreme can be seen as a male attribute and he points to the biblical Joseph as the universal archetype of beauty to whom even beautiful women were compared. Ancient Greek legends also provide examples of males pursued for their beauty (Adonis, Apollo). Beauty in these cultures is considered a major good for both the individual and for his society. This he contrasts with societies in which maleness and beauty are thought of as unrelated or even contradictory. In such societies maleness may be generally idealised in terms of strength, power or aggression. He suggests that in nearly all cultures there is some linkage between eroticism and beauty. In the type of society where beauty is accepted as a male attribute, it is more likely that there would be a far greater emphasis on males as sex objects and their beauty would

be eroticised even for other men. In the latter type of society their power or strength would be eroticised.

Considering the view that anything can become eroticised it is not surprising that sexuality through the ages and between and within cultures shows enormous variety. Padgug (1989) suggests that one of the features which distinguish man from animals is that sexuality has been detached from procreation and is now used for other purposes, from an expression of power to an exploration of pleasure. Taking the subgroup of same-gender sexual relations as an example, Schalow (1989) points to early modern Japan where in 1687 a collection of forty short stories entitled *The Great Mirror of Male Love* depicting male same-gender sexual relations was published. In the short stories a wide diversity of these relations was depicted, including male love between Buddhist priests and their Chigo lovers, between Samurai men and youths, and between male Kabuki actors and their merchant patrons. But within this diversity there were different types of restrictions: these relations occurred almost entirely within a context of bisexuality; the relations were hierarchical to reflect the power relations within the society and the only sexual act deemed acceptable was vaginal or anal penetration. This can be contrasted, still within the same subgroup, with Trumbach's (1989) study of Europe in the period 1600-1750. He suggests that the same hierarchical, bisexual and penetrative pattern was present in Europe but that by 1700 in large European cities a change began to occur. There emerged a minority group of 'markedly effeminate men' who desired only to have sex with other males, but further, for the majority of men "it began to be felt that it was impossible for the average, normal male to feel any sexual desire for another male of any age or condition. To be masculine was to experience sexual desire only for women" (Trumbach 1989, p.130).

These cultural presentations of sexuality inform the sexuality which the individual develops. Plummer (1975) suggests: "in no society does sexuality exist in an inchoate, unstructured form; rather it becomes welded into a system of typifications which render it routinely experienced" (p.6). This cultural system of sexuality provides the basis for looking at the sexuality of an individual, keeping in mind that there are always

elements in society which provide an alternative or an opposition to the dominant structure.

It is likely that the way culture presents sexuality is intimately related to other aspects of the society. In pre-modern Europe, for example, same gender male sexual relations were tolerated in the aristocracy as long as the noble also fulfilled his class and gender obligations as regards marriage and producing heirs. This was consistent with his position in society, which was one of privileged patriarchy. This is similar to the pattern in ancient Greece.

Sexuality as constructed is given a central place in Western culture. It has since the Nineteenth Century been viewed as the general substratum of our existence. Major institutions within our society are constructed in relation to it: marriage, censorship, birth control, feminism, homosexuality. Although, as Weeks (1989) and Foucault (1976) point out, it is seen as the supreme secret and also an extremely private act, major debates revolve around sexuality and its control. For some the act of freeing sexuality will increase human freedom, for others it would create the conditions for moral decay, degeneracy, decline and social collapse; it is seen as defining us socially and morally; its release or proper functioning is seen as a factor in health, energy, activity, fulfilment and happiness; its frustration is seen as leading to ill health, social unorthodoxy and even madness.

Generally it is seen as sacred, theoretically to be engaged in only with one person, only after marriage, not to be spoken of, not to be paid for or sold, not to be talked about to children except in a very controlled form, not to be done on one's own, not to be done in public, only to be done in certain ways. It is seen as a supremely natural act but also a private one. It is seen as more than the sexual act but as being connected to love and deep affection. Above all it is seen as very powerful and its control is a central feature of the way our culture and society is structured. In all, sexuality has been constructed as a central organising feature of our existence.

## **Different Cultural Approaches to the Truth of Sexuality**

Foucault (1976) points to two general procedures for producing the truth of sex, which he terms *Ars Erotica* and *Scientia Sexualis*. It is on these approaches that the dominant cultural presentation which follows will be based and the way in which individuals behave will be determined.

### **Ars Erotica**

This approach has been followed by many civilizations and here, according to Foucault (1976), the truth about sexuality is drawn from pleasure itself, understood as a practice and accumulated as experience; pleasure is not considered in relation to an absolute law of the permitted and the forbidden, nor by reference to the criteria of utility, but first and foremost in relation to itself. It is experienced as pleasure, evaluated in terms of its intensity, its specific quality, its duration, its reverberations in the body and soul. What is of importance is that behaviour is not judged in terms of morality but in terms of pleasure and can only be obtained through exploration of actual experience. That experience is usually (but not solely) in interaction with another or others. In this interaction the relationship is often one of a master who holds the secret and the initiate whom he guides and, although the relationship is hierarchical, the sexual experience is not for the purpose of an expression of power. The effects of this sexual exploration are not seen as degenerate or degradation but rather the individuals are seen as privileged and as being transfigured by the experience.

### **Scientia Sexualis**

Although early Western culture included the *Ars Erotica* approach to sexuality and this discourse still continues to some extent, the first major change was probably during the Christian period where sexuality was seen in moral terms and was portrayed as being base and opposed to spirituality. This was followed at the end of the

Nineteenth Century by the rise of the scientific approach which Foucault (1976) refers to as *Scientia Sexualis*. Recent Western culture is seen by Foucault as the only culture which has adopted this approach. Truth, including the truth of sex, is approached through bisection and categorisation, with some behaviours being termed unnatural or degenerate. The process by which this is done is to determine a 'natural' norm and then to classify deviations from this norm. So, for example, heterosexuality is seen as the natural norm and any deviations from this are then classified as unnatural and, therefore, pathological. An attempt is then made to classify the different types of 'pathological' sexualities with a view to determining their aetiology and to determining ways of curing them. Taking our earlier example of heterosexuality, instead of attempting to determine how sexual orientation develops, this approach would define heterosexuality as normal and, therefore, not requiring study and would focus on the 'cause' of homosexuality. In addition the presentation of truth is made by experts not on the basis of experience but through scientific investigation, observation and discussion.

### **New Discourses on Sexuality in Western Culture**

During the last few years new discourses on sexuality have developed within Western culture. Clearly sexuality relates to behaviour which concerns the genitals but the concept for most people seems to include much more than this; it seems to refer to all those behaviours, attitudes, and emotions which relate to sex. Even further it can be used to refer to all dispositions including love and affection - although this linkage between sex and love also seems to be a modern invention. Of more interest are the different discourses on how it is constituted. An older discourse is reflected in the definition provided by the Penguin Dictionary of Psychology (Reber, 1985, p.94): "Generally, all those aspects of one's constitution and one's behaviour that are related to sex". Along with this idea of it existing as a thing within the individual is the idea that it is a natural given which influences the form which the individual's sexual behaviour will take. A more recent discourse presents sexuality differently.

Weeks (1989, p.1) says

sexuality is not an unproblematic natural given, which the social works upon to control, but is, on the contrary, an historical unity which has been shaped and determined by a multiplicity of forces and which has undergone complex historical transformations.

And further he says

[t]he usual assumption is that sex is a definable and universal experience, like the desire for food, with the minority of unorthodox forms filtering off into distributaries, which may, or more usually may not, be navigated by the conscientious explorer. I want to suggest that it is the centrality given to this concept of sexuality that constitutes a problem for historians, for it ignores the great variety of cultural patterns that history reveals, and the very different meanings given to what we blithely label as 'sexual activity'. (p.1)

There seem currently to be two major competing discourses which can perhaps be termed "essentialist" and "social constructionist".

### The Essentialist Discourse

The essentialist discourse views sexuality as a primary, natural, inherent, universal and unchanging force that organises man's behaviour and in so doing shapes the society. One approach of this essentialist discourse derives from psychodynamic thought and sees sexuality as a drive which, if thwarted, will find expression in the form of perversion or neurosis. To achieve human fulfilment it is necessary for the shackles controlling its expression to be removed. Another approach sees sexuality as a dangerous force which needs to be controlled. The psychodynamic strand of this approach sees the history of civilization as a long warfare between the dangerous and powerful drives, and the systems of taboos and inhibitions which man has constructed to control them. This control to limit the extent and exploration of sexuality is implemented through the institutions established by society - like marriage which restricts sexual acts to within the marriage; through moral injunctions which for

example define a female who engages in sex with many partners as immoral; through imposing both formal punishments (for example the legal punishments for sodomy) and informal punishments (e.g. social ostracism) for deviations from the acceptable norm and most importantly in the way in which sexuality is constructed.

Sexuality is given very clear defining characteristics in its 'natural' form: it is seen mainly as a male drive while female sexuality is seen as requiring the male to arouse it; it is heterosexual; the form it takes in the sexual act is generally limited to male penetration of the female from the front and is undertaken only with one person at a time and with very few people over a lifetime; it does not exist in children other than through 'innocent' exploration or perversion by an adult; it is done in private and is not spoken of. All deviations from this are seen as unnatural and problematic.

### The Social Constructionist Discourse

Weeks (1989, p.3) summarises the alternative discourse:

Over the past few decades ... there has been a major theoretical effort to challenge the naturalness of the 'unitary subject' in social theory, to see the individual as a product of social forces, an 'ensemble of social relations', rather than a natural unity.

The challenges have been interactionist (Gagnon & Simon, Kenneth Plummer), psychoanalytic (Jacques Lacan) and discursive (Michel Foucault). Plummer (1981, p.24) quotes John Gagnon (1977):

In any given society, at any given moment in its history, people become sexual in the same way they become everything else. Without much reflection, they pick up directions from their social environment. They acquire and assemble means, skills and the values from the people around them. Their critical choices are often made by going along and drifting. People learn when they are quite young a few of the things that they are expected to be, and continue slowly to accumulate a belief in who they are and ought to be throughout the rest of childhood, adolescence and adulthood. Sexual conduct is learned in the same ways and through the same

processes; it is acquired and assembled in human interaction, judged and performed in specific cultural and historical worlds.

Weeks (1981) suggests that this approach differs from the essentialist discourse in that:

- It rejects the view of sex as an autonomous realm, a natural force;
- It recognises the social and historical sources of sexual definition;
- It rejects the idea that sexuality can historically be seen in terms of repression.

Instead the followers of this approach suggest that there is a sexual potential which is moulded to a great degree by the social and cultural realm. This occurs primarily through the ways in which sexuality is presented by the society and the culture in terms of behaviours which are permissible and impermissible, what behaviour is gender appropriate and the importance assigned to sexuality. Sexuality is then no longer seen as a natural given but rather as something which is culturally specific and changes over time. Interwoven into this view is the idea that the world does not contain any transcendent meaning but that we make up meaning as we go along. So man is free to create his own meaning but he also largely operates within the confines of what his culture, society and social conditions provide. The sexual norm is no longer seen as 'natural' or 'healthy' but purely as the behaviour prescribed by the dominant discourse and sexual behaviours which deviate from the norm are no longer seen as unnatural or pathological but purely as reflecting the diversity of human constructions. What is important then is to look at the forces which have shaped the dominant view of sexuality. On an individual level what is important is the way in which the individual constructs his sexuality in relation to the dominant norm and the meaning he gives to his sexuality and to his conformity to, or deviance from, the norm.

### Synthesis of the Two Approaches

These two approaches to sexuality can be seen as different views of reality neither of which can be proven, and both of which contain aspects of 'truth'. The essentialist view clearly presents the case for a biological basis for sexuality and we can accept

that, as human animals, there is a biological need for the propagation of the species which could be seen in terms of a drive. In addition there are arguments against sexuality being completely socially constructed. The self-reports, for example, of many homosexual people of feeling different at a very young age, as well as recent studies indicating the possibility of a biological and genetic basis for sexual orientation, suggests that there may be a component to sexuality which is not socially constructed. A negative argument is also difficult to refute: if all the institutions of society construct sexuality as heterosexual why do some people construct their sexuality as homosexual? The essentialist argument for a common sexuality can also be seen in the general sexual forms which different societies throughout history share. But we need to be cautious about seeing commonalities between different time periods because, as Padgug (1989) points out, the content and meaning may differ and the great varieties of sexual expression over the ages and across societies indicate that there is a large component which is constructed by the culture of a particular time and place. But the human animal has long moved beyond sex purely in terms of procreation which would be the natural purpose of the drive. Sexual behaviour is no longer only used for procreation but has been created as a part of a wide range of purposes: for pleasure, for establishing power and as a central part in human relationships.

So perhaps we can provide a synthesis of the two approaches by accepting that there is some universal biological urge for sexual expression but that the form this takes has largely been created by man in a multitude of forms all of which co-exist, with some being defined by society as more acceptable than others. Padgug (1989) suggests that human sexuality, unlike animal sexuality, is never more than a set of potentialities, rich and varied, tied above all to whatever is currently viewed as social reality. "If we compare human sexuality with that of other species, we are immediately struck by its richness, its vast scope and the degree to which its potentialities can seemingly be built upon endlessly" (Padgug, 1989, p.56). As regards the issue of which is primary - the sexual drive which creates the social or the social that creates sexuality - we can perhaps see the situation in terms of a recursive relationship where the needs of society, including a need for sexual expression, influence the way societal

institutions are established and these in turn influence the way sexuality is constructed. Similarly, an individual constructs his sexuality according to the social "reality" which is provided but, through his actions and interactions and the meanings he gives to his experiences, he creates his own reality and through this contributes to the given reality.

Simon & Gagnon as quoted in Plummer (1975, p.n), provide a summarised synthesis:

Undeniably, sexuality is rooted in biological processes, capacities and even needs. But admitting this in no way provides for a greater degree of biological determinism than is true of other areas of corresponding interaction. Indeed, the reverse may be true: the sexual area may be precisely the realm wherein the superordinate position of the socio-cultural over the biological is most complete.

Currently within our society the essentialist approach to sexuality dominates, with the social constructionist approach presenting a recent challenge. Queers exist within this essentialist discourse which would define their sexuality as deviant because it deviates from the one 'natural' form of sexuality. This presentation of sexuality impacts strongly on the meaning that Gays in general give to their sexuality and by extension to their experience. Conversely, the social constructionist presentation allows the Queer group the opportunity of defying the dominant presentation and of giving a different, and more positive, meaning to their experience of their sexuality. Both of these presentations are therefore important in understanding the processes which are the focus of this study: the essentialist view provides the dominant background which gives the meaning of immorality, deviance and pathology to Gay sexuality and the social constructionist view undermines this and allows Queers the possibility of developing new norms regarding their sexual behaviour.

## CHAPTER 3

# A HISTORY OF CONTROL OF SEXUALITY

The importance of the social constructionist discourse is that it has challenged the idea of sexuality being a dangerous, natural, inherent force which needs to be controlled and the focus it has placed on the way sexuality is constructed as part of this control. Neither the essentialist nor the social constructionist discourse would disagree with the idea that sexuality has been controlled throughout the ages and in virtually all societies. If we are to understand our own sexuality and the attempts by some to deviate from the controlled norm then we need to understand the history of the control because all the earlier discourses are present within our current culture with different strengths and areas of support. The control of sexuality can be seen historically in Western culture as consisting of a number of broad phases. The first was the pre-Christian era of Greece and Rome where the focus was on maintaining an hierarchical structure between the citizens of the state and the others who were not citizens, the second the Christian era in which the focus was on morality, the third the modern era which was dominated by the medical model with the focus on pathology, and the fourth phase could be seen as the postmodern era characterised by the social constructionist approach, where sexuality itself has become the focus of attention and where there is a diffusion of discourses. These are explored in this chapter.

### **The Pre-Christian Period**

Looking at the sexual practices and attitudes of the Greeks, Halperin (1989) argues that the records confront us with a radically unfamiliar set of values, behaviours and practices. Sexuality was not seen as an autonomous dimension of human life and far from our current connection between sex and love, “[t]he attitudes and behaviors publicly displayed by the citizens of Athens ... tend to portray sex not as a collective enterprise in which two or more persons jointly engage but rather as an action

performed by one person upon another” (Halperin, 1989, p.48). In addition, “[t]he modern notion of ‘romance’ as a fusion of sexual and emotional attraction was not articulated in [ancient] writings” (Saslow, 1989, p.37). Sexual relations are defined as active or passive with the partner whose pleasure is promoted deemed active and the other who puts his or her body at the service of the first person deemed passive. This division reinforced the power relations within the society where an adult, male citizen could have sexual relations only with statutory minors (his inferiors in social and political status): women, boys, foreigners and slaves. His authority and the other’s inferiority was confirmed by the sexual act. Sex was then a public act indicating one’s prestige and power; being the active partner was of the utmost importance and this was seen as indicating one’s virility. So the distinction between the sexual partners was not primarily male and female or heterosexual and homosexual but active and passive, dominant and submissive. So sex served to position social actors in the positions assigned to them.

The sexual identities of the ancient Greeks - their experience of themselves as sexual actors and desiring human beings - were hardly autonomous; quite the contrary: they were inseparable from, if not determined by, their social identities, their outward, public standing. (Halperin, 1989, p.50)

Deviation from this structure was viewed in an extreme light and as traitorous. So the way in which sexuality and sexual relations were viewed was very different from today. The relations were unconnected to ideas of love, they were not intrinsically relational or mutual but were rather deeply polarising. Morality related not to any specific sexual act but rather to a citizen breaking the hierarchical power structure of the society and there was no sense of fidelity and commitment to one sexual partner.

## **The Christian Period**

Foucault (1976) suggests that two great systems were conceived of by the West for governing sex: the first was the law of marriage and the ordering of desires, and the second was control through determining the morality regarding sexuality. The Christian period saw the institution of both of these but especially as regards morality

regarding sexuality. Saslow (1989) points out that the epistemology during the height of the Christian period was very different to that which pertained during the Pre-Christian era. Speaking specifically of the Renaissance period he says: "the Renaissance .... operated mentally by means of Platonic poetic or metaphoric analogy: individual human actions were conceptualised and judged by their adherence to eternal, transcendent paradigms" (p104). There was little sense of the diffusion of moral systems that there is today. Instead there was divine law which was interpreted by the Church which assumed the role of the moral arbitrator of society. Within this moral structure there were a number of major features. The first was that all men were redeemable through the forgiveness of God and as a result deviant sexual acts were condemned rather than the persons committing those acts (Chaucey, 1989; Padgug, 1989). Another feature was to contrast the spiritual against the animal (and sexual) nature of man. Gilbert (1985) refers to Christianity's dichotomy between the spirit and the body. He points to Paul's Epistle to the Romans: those who live on the level of our lower nature have their outlook formed by it and that spells death; while those who live on the level of the spirit have a spiritual outlook and that is life and peace. So the distinction made was between giving in to bodily desires and succumbing to evil, or resisting bodily temptation and achieving salvation. Within the framework of this distinction, sexual deviance was equated with religious deviance (Monter, 1985). The only sex which was permissible was that between marriage partners and there was hostility to all non-procreative sex based on the ancient religious injunction against 'wasting semen'. Foucault (1976) points out that all the kinds of sex outside of marriage were listed as 'grave sins': debauchery (extra-marital relations), adultery, rape, incest and sodomy.

The Pauline tradition best represents the Christian approach to sexuality: sex was only acceptable within the institution of holy matrimony and this marriage was seen as being consecrated by God; sex was also presented as only being acceptable for purposes of procreation and using it for pleasure was deemed as sinful and likely to lead to degeneracy and immorality. Spirituality and sexuality were presented as opposites and the highest form of spirituality was celibacy. Deviations from these

moral strictures carried heavy penalties and in the church's eyes deviations were deemed sinful and resulting in banishment to hell in the afterlife. Foucault suggests that these negative strictures were a less important form of control than the way in which sexuality was conceptualised and through the turning of sex into discourse. He suggests that the church attributed more and more importance to all the insinuations of the flesh: thoughts, desires and imaginings beyond the acts. This was controlled through the institution of confession: the most important transgression was then moved from the act itself to the stirrings of desire and this could then be spoken about in confession. This discourse on sexual desire was meant to achieve displacement, reorientation and modification of desire. All of this greatly curtailed the possibilities for sexual expression for the general population and has been seen as an attempt to control the sexuality of the population (Foucault, 1976; Weeks, 1981).

As regards curtailment of homosexual acts, these acts broke all of the religious injunctions: they occurred outside of marriage, were seen as giving in to bodily desires (and, therefore, man's base nature), were a wasting of semen, were performed for pleasure and not procreation and, in addition, anal sex was seen as being an act against nature. Monter (1985) maintains that sodomy was punished with greater severity than any other crime other than infanticide. It is difficult to decide to what extent these injunctions were enforced and it is likely, as Saslow (1989) points out, that enforcement differed both over time and from place to place but whether they were enforced or not, the moral structure of the society was always present against which sexual acts were interpreted. With the rise of science, Saslow notes changes occurred: the new discourse (Kepler, Descartes and Newton) variously termed analytic, experimental and empiricist supplanted supernatural cosmology with a new faith in individual reason and science. This was important for sexuality because "Christianity's fearful linkage of sinful deviance with divine plague was about to succumb to bacteriology and psychology. The way was clear for the reconceptualisation of all sexuality by the new paradigms of medicine and social science" (Saslow 1989, p.104).

## Modern Ideologies

The birth of the modern era saw changes in society occurring on a number of levels. Saslow (1989) suggests that the period 1400-1650 was marked by increasing tension regarding the reconciliation between Catholic faith with the knowledge and values of the emerging empirical sciences. Bullough (1976) points to traditional attitudes to sex being challenged by the new rationalism of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries. So increasingly there was a change in discourse from the faith of the church to the new rationalism of science. This change in discourse, as Foucault (1976) has pointed out, did not occur arbitrarily but was informed by concrete historical conditions; he directs us to investigate the role of particular 'apparatuses' such as medical, psychiatric, social welfare, charity and legal institutions in order to understand the shaping of sexuality. As Weeks (1981) indicates:

we need to understand that discourses and practices do not arbitrarily emerge from the flux of possibilities; nor are discourses the only contact with the real; they have their conditions of existence and their effects in concrete historical, social, economic and ideological situations. (pp.10-11)

Both Weeks (1981) and Foucault (1976) suggest that sexuality has, over the past few centuries, assumed major symbolic importance as a target of social intervention and organisation. The growth of the population, the rise of the nation state and the development of a capitalist form of economic development were paralleled by a greater control of the population. Foucault maintains that sexuality was important because it is the point of intersection between control of the population and control of the body.

According to Weeks (1981), talking of England,

[w]hat seems to be happening in the Nineteenth Century, in response to major social changes (rapid industrialisation and urbanisation, the disruption of old class patterns and the rise of capitalist social relations, the development of new and sharp class conflicts with their related social and intellectual manifestations) is a continuous battle over the definition of acceptable behaviour within the context of

changing class and power relations. (p.23)

He suggests that a variety of forces have shaped modern sexuality, among these are:

- kinship and family systems (e.g. inheritance required the regulation of sex outside of marriage to ensure that the children inherited);
- economic and social changes (urbanisation and a disruption of settled and traditional patterns meant that illegitimate children could not be cared for);
- changing forms of social regulation at both a formal level (e.g. the regulation of marriage); and at an informal level (e.g. regulating the time of marriage) and
- the political moment - the political context within which decisions are made - where there were three broad tendencies: the conservative, authoritarian asserting the importance of absolute moral standards, the liberal seeking the relaxation within a traditional framework of family values and the radical advocating a transformation of values.

He points to the family as the crucial site for modern ideology: the family was seen as the basic unit of society, marriage became increasingly the gateway to respectability and stability. It was enhanced by an increasing idealisation of domesticity, a growing censure of extra-marital sex and by the increasing difficulty of divorce. All of these point to the need to control sexuality and especially to ensure the control of homosexuality which posed a threat to this stability on many levels: sex outside of marriage, relations outside the family ideal, the non-existence of domesticity, and a lack of permanence as regards relationships.

### The Medical Model

With the rise of science in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries and the success of the scientific method in understanding and manipulating the physical world, an attempt was made to apply the same principles in order to better understand and manage human behaviour. The model used for this was the one which had successfully been applied in medical science and which has been referred to as the medical model. The use of the medical model in the psychic world employed principles effective in the physical world and an epistemology which was imbued with an understanding of the

physical world. This had a number of implications for both society and for the individuals within the society through the way in which behaviour was conceptualised and with regards to the approaches to treatment.

One of the principles used to bring order to understanding the psychic world was an attempt to categorise behaviour and, related to this, to categorise people according to their behaviour. The view is essentialist in that the categories are thought to exist in reality and the purpose of scientific investigation is to uncover, name and describe the categories. An extension of this principle is to then determine which category of behaviour is natural and, therefore, normal. Associated with this is an attempt to classify the behaviours which deviate from the norm and to see these as symptoms of an underlying pathology or perversion. Treatment is then aimed at obtaining the natural or normal state. Through these principles, behaviour, rather than being conceptualised as a myriad variety of creations by the individual as responses to different circumstances or experiences, is seen as consisting of a pre-ordained or pre-existing set of natural behaviours and a range of abnormal or unnatural behaviours which need to be treated and modified. As regards sexuality, this consisted of a category of behaviour which was viewed as natural and, therefore, normal and an attempt to categorise the behaviours which fell outside the normal into discrete and discernible pathologies. Also science does not operate in isolation of the influences of society and the way sexuality was viewed by science was imbued with both the morality of society and by its requirements.

A second principle is to see the behaviours comprising a category as consisting of an interwoven unity and as a separate category of existence. Masculinity then, for example, is seen as consisting of specific sexual, psychological and behavioural characteristics. A third principle which reinforces the others is to see the categories and unities as existing as a natural essence within the individual. They are, therefore, seen as immutable and unchanging.

The implications of this approach as regards sexuality (and specifically regarding

homosexuality) are far-reaching. De Cecco and Shively (1983/4) point out that science had to develop a concept of sexuality and a concept of identity before it could develop the concepts of homosexuality and heterosexuality. Sexuality in the medical discourse was an immutable and unchanging biological essence, heterosexuality was presented as the natural norm and homosexuality was constructed as a pathological deviance which required treatment. Further the medical view reinforced social moral strictures on sexual 'deviance' through postulating that relationships outside the heterosexual norm were a threat to individual and societal physical and mental health and could lead on an individual level to insanity, perversion and a loss of identity. Far from being an objective observer, science was imbued with both the moral concerns of society and with society's need to manage the population: Chaucey (1989) points out that the labelling of all sexual acts between men as homosexual has restricted the options and controlled the sexuality of heterosexuals.

Further to understand the implications of the way homosexuality is presented we need to look at the concept of masculinity. Fracher and Kimmel (1987) suggest that gender is the most significant element in the construction of sexuality: "it is through our understanding of masculinity that we construct a sexuality, and it is through our sexualities that we confirm the successful construction of our gender identity" (p.367). Further they see masculinity as being organised as a set of behaviours and attitudes and among these they suggest:

- the rejection of feminine attributes and behaviours;
- the importance of success and the presentation of the attributes of success;
- self confidence, toughness, self-reliance, reliability and
- presentation of an aura of aggression and daring and an attitude of 'going for it'.

Pronger (1978) suggests that power is the distinguishing feature of masculinity. He suggests that it "is a strategy for the power relations between men and women; it is a strategy that serves the interests of patriarchal heterosexuality" (p.117). Masculinity, he suggests, is intrinsically heterosexual as a semiotic instrument for the subordination of women. The presentation of these attributes and scripts of masculine behaviour, as well as the concept that homosexuals are not masculine, is likely to set up a sense of

rejection and worthlessness and a situation of confusion for homosexual men as no clear acceptable roles are presented to them as regards gender and sexual behaviour. It also provides them with the possibility, and possibly necessity, of creating their own meanings, concepts and roles.

### Feminism

Weeks (1989) points out that the women's movement of the late Nineteenth Century was part of the ethos which supported the dominant discourse. Although they fought for female property, legal and voting rights, feminists accepted and worked from the assumption that men and women were intrinsically different and accepted that women's role was to keep the family intact. Feminism was largely seen as developing and giving equal status to the role of women and this largely meant motherhood. Weeks points to a pamphlet entitled 'The Great Scourge' by Christabel Pankhurst, one of the leading feminists, which condemned male 'lust', saw prostitution as devaluing motherhood and the result of this was the scourge - venereal disease and the great cause of physical, mental and moral degeneracy and ultimately of race suicide. The double slogan propagated was "Votes for women and chastity for men". "For feminists the alternatives to motherhood were clearly not promiscuity but devotion to public good and celibacy" (Weeks, 1989, p.164).

Contemporary feminist thought, in contrast, has provided useful perspectives as a result of its analysis of gender roles and power relations between the genders as will be discussed below.

### Socialism

Although the progressive movements presented a more radical view to sexuality and fundamentally questioned attitudes towards marriage, divorce, contraception and sexuality (Weeks, 1989), their views on sexuality were still imbued with the dominant discourse. Marx and Engels (in Weeks, 1989) viewed monogamy as a great historical

advance, they praised the all-embracing nature of true love between men and women and suggested that sex-love had been distorted by commodity production. Engels abhorred homosexuality, "its expression seen as 'gross unnatural vices', a symptom of the failure of sex-love and the degradation of women" (Weeks, 1989, p.169). Marx and Engels (in Weeks, 1989) maintained the assumption that the personal was natural and there was no concept of the need to transform interpersonal relations as part of the construction of socialist society. "Some socialists went even further and believed that in a future society the individual would escape from the prison of the flesh altogether" (Weeks, 1989, p.171).

### **The Postmodern View**

A number of writers have questioned the modern conception of issues relating to sexuality and it is important that we consider these when looking at Queer sexuality. The first concept which is re-evaluated is that of identity and especially sexual identity, and much of the new thinking derives from feminist thought. Feminist thought carries some significance for Gays because of the historical confusion between homosexuality and gender issues and also because the experience of many (if not most) Gays has meant that they do not fully subscribe to prescribed gender roles. Goldner (1991) questions whether the concept of a consistent gender identity is possible and indeed desirable. She suggests that the construct of identity is implausible because it denotes an unified psychic world. It can also be added that it implies identity as something existing within the individual rather than becoming manifest through interactions with others. But further she argues that "[t]he issue, however, is not merely that 'unity' is an implausible analytic category but that any schematic rendering of gender acquisition masks the extent to which the illusion of a singular, personal identity is *established* via gender designations" (Goldner, 1991, p.258). Gender coherence, consistency, conformity and identity, she maintains, are culturally mandated normative ideals and these ideals create a pathological situation.

I argue that consolidating a stable gender identity is a developmental accomplishment that requires the activation of pathological processes, insofar as

any gender-incongruent thought, act, impulse, mood or trait would have to be disowned, displaced, (mis)placed (as in projective identification), split off or .... renamed via symbolic slippage. (Goldner, 1991, p.258)

She also points out that those gender or sexual identities which do not conform to the culturally mandated norms are then viewed as “developmental failures or logical impossibilities” (p.255). Instead she suggests a ‘decentred’ gender paradigm and the development of an ability to tolerate ambiguity and instability of gender categories rather than the goal of achieving a single, pure, sex-appropriate view of oneself.

Looking at the culturally prescribed gender attributes McGoldrick (1989) suggests that the primary values for male development are separation, differentiation and autonomy, and further, maturity is equated with maleness: the capacity for autonomous thinking, rationality, clear decision making, responsible actions with undervalued qualities being warmth, expressiveness and caring for others. For women the primary values are caring and attachment, interdependence, relationship and attention to context with no focus on the development toward a maturity of interdependence.

Another important strand of postmodern thought is that of discourse analysis. Foucault (1976) raises the importance of looking at discourses and the institutions which propagate these discourses because it is through these discourses that the norms that govern our lives and the reality within which we live is established. Foucault also questions the concept of identity and as regards homosexual and heterosexual identity. He maintains that ‘the homosexual’ is not a stable or autonomous term but rather exists as a supplement to the definition of ‘the heterosexual’ and is a means to stabilise heterosexual identity (Halperin, 1995). He also talks of ‘the self’ not as a personal identity “so much as it is a relation of reflexivity, a relation of the human subject to itself in its power and its freedom” (Halperin, 1995, pp.75-6). Self-realisation then becomes not the unfolding of a pre-existing self or an alignment with a pre-ordained identity but rather “to work on one’s self so as to transform it into a vehicle of personal autonomy and social pre-eminence. .... So it is the space within each human

being where she or he encounters the not-self, the beyond” (Halperin, 1995, pp. 74-5). Realising oneself then is becoming other than what one is. He sees being Gay as being a certain manner of refusing the modes of life offered and to constantly be in a state of becoming. The problem as he sees it is not to discover in oneself the truth of one’s sex but rather to use one’s sexuality to achieve a multiplicity of types of relations. Foucault also sees the sexual as of great importance, he talks of biopower “the modern political procedure of regulating human life by means of expert techniques (statistics, demographics, eugenics, sterilisation etc) - techniques that make possible a strategic alliance between specialised knowledge and institutional power in the state’s management of life” (Halperin, 1995, p.41). And sex is the cross-point of the regulation of the population and control of the body. As regards the Queer movement he creates Queer as “Queer is by definition whatever is at odds with the normal, the legitimate, the dominant” (Halperin, 1995, p.62).

Along with the shift away from concepts which present characteristics as intrinsic in the individual such as identity and homosexuality, there has also been a greater focus on relationships and interactions between people. De Cecco and Shively (1983/4) suggest that it is more useful to look at sexual relationships rather than at sexual identity. They suggest that the structure of sexual relationships can be defined by the attitudes of the partners and their treatment of each other: beliefs about biological sex, masculinity and femininity, complementarity, exclusivity, sensitivity, intimacy, permanency. Attitudes they feel are “unique amalgams of personal and societal knowledge and meanings. ... the structure of sexual relationships .... exist as an intersection of both the uniquely personal power meanings of the individual partners and as a locus in history and society” (De Cecco and Shively, 1983/4, p.15). In addition, the biological gender of the sexual partners is then only one factor rather than the defining distinction.

This postmodern discourse allows us to view sexuality and the sexuality of homosexuals from a new perspective.

## **The South African Context**

Within any society, including South Africa, a number of discourses coexist to a stronger or lesser degree with different areas in which they dominate. So, for example, within the church a moral discourse on sexuality would be stronger than one which views sexuality in biological terms. Within most societies there is generally a dominant discourse. In South Africa this situation is made more complex by the different racial cultures which exist. So the dominant discourse about sexuality in the Black community (the term Black is used here in a way which does not follow the political view of grouping Coloureds and Indians within the term) may well be different to the view within the White community, whose discourse would generally be far more influenced by Western thinking. As indicated by the study by Dunbar Moodie (1989), it is possible that Black culture follows the approach of patriarchy and sees sexual expression as an indication of the power relations within the society. The strong current moves to promote the rights of women in South Africa would indicate that this view is still very strong.

## **Sexual Deviance**

It is useful to consider specifically how sexual deviance has been viewed in order to better understand the context within which homosexuals and Queers have functioned. Part of this must be to consider the role that deviant categories have played in society. Sexual deviance was during the Christian era closely tied to religious deviance and sexual crimes were labelled as heresy (Monter, 1985). This is in line with the Christian split between the spiritual and the base self. Monter also points out that there "is a very strong chronological correlation between religious zeal and the punishment of sexual deviance" (p.45). Sodomy was seen as an especially heinous form of sexual and religious deviance. Monter points out that "sodomites were punished in both town and country with relatively greater severity (although not greater frequency) than any other crime, with the possible exception of infanticide" (p.42). The labelling of sodomy as

heresy goes back to the Middle Ages and by 1532 sodomy was listed among spiritual crimes whose special horror lay in their particular offence to God. The persecution of sexual deviance declined in the Seventeenth Century along with greater tolerance of other forms of heresy “as crimes of personal violence shrank in importance to crimes against property” (Monter, 1985, p.49). Instead, sexual deviance came to be seen as a threat to the established order, it “became a morals offence and a matter of public order” (Monter, 1985, p.50). Later during the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, with the rise of science, it was connected to deviation from the norm and seen in terms of pathology.

Recent studies have focussed on the role which deviant groups play within society. The first point that is made is that, in contrast to the religious or the scientific view, deviance is not seen as being inherent in the individual or indicating anything about the individual concerned. Gilbert (1985) quotes Erickson as saying that “deviance is not a property inherent in certain forms of behaviour: it is the property conferred upon these forms by the audience which directly or indirectly witnesses them” (p.59). Plummer (1975) suggests that one of the ways in which culture’s view of the correct behaviour is instilled is through the establishment of stigmatised groups. He refers to labelling theory as having two principles: that deviant labels are applied without regard to the behaviours or acts of those labelled and that labelling produces deviants and deviant behaviour. Applying these ideas to homosexuals specifically, McIntosh (1981) points to the labelling of homosexuals as deviant as the operation of a mechanism of social control. First it provides a clear-cut, public and recognisable threshold between permissible and impermissible behaviour and second the segregation of deviants from others means that their deviant practices and self-justifications are confined and this keeps society pure from their contamination. So through labelling homosexuals as a deviant group, society controls the behaviour of all its citizens by indicating that homosexual behaviour is unacceptable and the moral injunctions provided by society would include this proscription. In addition, the perspective of labelling theory holds that we cannot understand the experience of deviant behaviour without considering the stigmatised meanings in which these experiences are enmeshed.

This overview of the ways in which sexuality is controlled provides an indication of the seriousness with which society views deviations from the prescribed norms and this throws into relief the strength and power of the negative meaning which is given to the sexuality of those we have labelled Queer. It provides an understanding of the psychological difficulties experienced by Gays whose sexual behaviour is viewed as transgressing the prescribed norms. In order to help comprehend the process by which Queers develop new norms, this overview provides an understanding of the point from which the individuals start: being in the position of behaving sexually in a way which transgresses the dominant norms. It also provides an understanding of the importance of the new postmodern presentations which challenge the dominant norms and allow the possibility of Queers freeing themselves from dominant norms.

## CHAPTER 4

# THE HOMOSEXUAL CONTEXT

Within the broader context of the way sexuality is viewed and controlled, it is important to understand more specifically the way homosexuality has been presented over time within Western culture. This allows us greater understanding of the context within which the Queer group exists.

Considering a subgroup of the Gay community presents a problem in that there is confusion about the terms and definitions of homosexuality. The first part of this chapter explores these issues and comes to the conclusion that multiple criteria need to be used when defining the homosexual group. These difficulties highlight the artificiality of the construction of a group of people as a separate and unified group based on certain characteristics of their behaviour. The historical presentation of homosexuality is addressed in the second part of the chapter. This historical perspective forms a backdrop against which the present definitions of homosexuality should be viewed. The pre-Christian classical period of Greece and Rome saw homosexuality in terms of behaviour rather than in terms of a characteristic defining a group of people. The major distinction regarding sexual partners was not that of homosexuality and heterosexuality but rather the socially dominant and the socially inferior. Here it was accepted that a citizen of Greece or Rome could have sexual interaction with a member of society who was socially inferior to him and that this person could be either male or female. The important criterion which made the act socially acceptable was that the person should be socially inferior. The Christian period continued to see homosexuality as homosexual behaviour rather than as defining a separate group of people as homosexual. The emphasis during this period was on the immorality of homosexual behaviour. It was believed that anyone was capable of the sin of homosexual behaviour and that people who indulged in it were committing a very grave sin. The advent of the modern period and the rise of scientific classification

presented homosexuality in the terms of characterising a separate group of people whose distinguishing feature was that they were sexually attracted to members of the same gender. This group of people were seen as deviating from the natural norm of heterosexuality and were thus presented as deviant and pathological.

## **Definitions of Homosexuality**

There has been great difficulty in defining homosexuality and in delineating who we mean by the group labelled homosexual. De Cecco and Shively (1983/4) refer to a study done by Cass (1983/4) in which she looked at research done into homosexual identity in which she concluded that the research is plagued by serious definitional and terminological problems. Regarding her analysis of research done during the 1970's De Cecco and Shively (1983/4) state

The definitional problems, it was discovered, were chronic. Rarely was sexual orientation conceptually defined and, even in those cases in which it was, the definitions were ambiguous, appearing outside of any theoretical context. It was impossible to know how much one conceptual definition stood in relation to another. Operational definitions were much more common, but they appeared in an astonishing variety of forms ranging from a credulous acceptance of the participants' self-identification to asking them nothing about sexual orientation, relying instead on the identification of locales in which they were found. (p.22)

This confusion is indicative of the amorphousness of the concept of homosexuality as well as the range of criteria which are used to define it.

The two most generally used criteria in delineating the homosexual group are behaviour and identity, with the most common criterion being that of behaviour. If a person behaves like a homosexual then he is considered homosexual. What this behaviour consists of is vague and changeable. The first type of behaviour associated with homosexuality is that of taking part in sexual activities with a person of the same gender. This criterion, though, is problematic for a number of reasons. The first problem is that many people who have had same gender sexual contact would not be

considered homosexual. Kinsey (Kinsey , Pomeroy & Martin, 1948, p.656), referred to in De Cecco (1981), found that 46% of male respondents “engages in both heterosexual and homosexual activities, or reacts sexually to persons of both sexes, in the course of their lives” with 4% of respondents exclusively having sexual relations with members of the same gender throughout their lives. It is unlikely that we should consider all of these people other than the exclusive 4% as homosexual. For the other 46% we need to consider other criteria. Following Kinsey, one can then consider homosexuality and heterosexuality as a spectrum and attempt to indicate the extent to which a person engages in sexual behaviour with the same gender compared to that engaged in with members of the opposite gender. The difficulty in following this approach is that it is unclear where one should draw the division between those considered homosexual and those considered heterosexual or indeed whether we should construct a separate group of bisexuals between the two groups. In addition it is clear that we cannot simply use the criterion of sexual contact with persons of the same gender to determine whether a person should be considered as being homosexual.

An alternative way of using behaviour as the criterion is to look at whether the individual's behaviour is more appropriate for members of the opposite gender; so for men behaviour which is considered effeminate is considered an indication of homosexuality. This position reflects the historical confusion between issues of homosexuality and taking on the role of the opposite gender. Taking an historical perspective it is clear that the adoption by some homosexual males of effeminate behaviour has more to do with the conception of sexual relations in the past than being intrinsically related to homosexuality. The ancient Greeks and Romans saw the major distinction between sexual partners as between being dominant and submissive rather than the contemporary distinction based on gender. In accordance with the social structure of the times, citizens of the state, who were only adult males, were always the dominant partner in the sexual act. The submissive position was associated with a lesser societal position and with females, but also with slaves and young boys. This distinction is reflected in the contemporary Latin and Mexican cultures where only the

passive partner in a homosexual act is considered to be homosexual.

The medical approach of the Nineteenth Century, before the term homosexual was coined in 1892 (Halperin, 1989), initially spoke of homosexuality as gender inversion. It saw homosexual acts as being associated with people who were pathological in that there was a disjunction between their physical gender and their behaviour. This approach is best represented by the view of a homosexual being 'a woman in a man's body'. De Cecco (1981) points out that by doing this medical science drew a clear boundary between 'normal' heterosexual men and 'abnormal' homosexual men, with effeminate behaviour being the distinguishing distinction. It is possible that there was a recursive relationship between this distinction and the way that people who were sexually attracted to the same gender started defining themselves in terms of this distinction and started developing effeminate ways of behaving. Trumbach (1989) places the start of this at around 1700 in large European cities. According to him it was from this time that homosexual behaviour started being linked with effeminacy and gender inversion and to be seen as deviant. It is unlikely that many studies today would use this criterion to delineate the group of homosexuals, though a number of writers indicate that homosexuals today often use behaviour which is considered effeminate to achieve certain ends such as indicating their homosexuality to other homosexuals (Kinsman, 1995; Mendes-Leite, 1993; Pronger, 1978; Ussher, 1991).

Related to behaving in a way society associates with the opposite gender is that some people take on the role of opposite gender. A study close to home is that by Dunbar Moodie (1989) on the structure of sexual relationships within the gold mines in South Africa. In his study Dunbar Moodie found that an older, more senior and established mineworker would take on a younger mineworker to act as his 'wife'. The younger worker would perform all wifely duties, including sexual ones, and would even at times dress in women's clothing; he would be required to look feminine and to behave with womanly decorum. In return he would receive protection, guidance and gifts. This situation would continue either until the older mineworker returned to his female wife in the homelands or until the younger partner reached a position of status

in which he himself would take on a 'wife' of his own. Dunbar Moodie notes that the structure of these relationships closely followed the structure of the relationships between men and their wives in the homelands. Most of these people would not be considered homosexual, except for those who made the choice to continue with the arrangement in preference to returning to the wife at home. "There is evidence that in the long term 'some men preferred boys'. Next to alcohol and 'town women', my informants listed 'homosexuality' as a major reason to abscond from home abandoning wife ... for the urban scene" (Dunbar Moodie, 1989, p.241).

So it seems that behaviour cannot be used alone as a criterion for defining the homosexual group. It seems that many people are capable of same-gender sexual activity and that people who would not be considered homosexual can, at times, take on the role of a person of the opposite gender.

An alternative criterion in defining a homosexual group is that of identity. Here those who belong to the homosexual group are seen as being those who take on the identity of that group. But here again the concept of identity is problematic. Goldner (1991), as discussed above, in talking of gender identity challenges the idea that an internally consistent gender identity is possible or even desirable. She suggests that the concept identity is implausible because it denotes a unified psychic world:

it has already been argued that the construction of 'identity', in any form, is problematic because it denotes and privileges a unity of experience. The issue, however, is not merely that 'unity' is an implausible analytic category but that any schematic rendering of gender acquisition masks the extent to which the illusion of a singular, personal identity is established via gender designations. (Goldner, 1991, p.258)

She says that "gender is fundamentally and paradoxically indeterminate both as a psychological experience and as a cultural category" (p.250). Although she is talking of gender identity, her ideas could be applied to homosexual identity as well. Cass (1983/4), as referred to in De Cecco and Shively (1983/4), suggests that we distinguish between personal identity (the way in which we view ourselves) and social identity (the

way in which we present ourselves) and further that we distinguish between sexual identity (patterns of sexual behaviour) and homosexual identity (the cognition of the self as homosexual). The true homosexual identity she then asserts is more cognitive than behavioural. The difficulty in following this train of thinking is that we end up with saying that people who are homosexual are those who develop a homosexual identity, which becomes tautological and meaningless unless we see homosexuality as a choice.

Perhaps the difficulty that is experienced in defining homosexuality and homosexuals is that the definitions are based on a number of assumptions which have not been tested and have recently been questioned. Generally until recently there has been the assumption that sexuality exists within the individual as a fixed and unchanging essence which is the expression of a biological need. That it is a fixed essence has been challenged by cross-cultural and historical studies which indicate that the way sexuality is expressed and the meaning given to it changes over time and across cultures. In addition, the social constructionist approach suggests that sexuality is a construction and that, although it might be based on biology, the form it takes is constructed by society and culture. Rejecting the idea of it being a fixed essence, Padgug (1989) argues that our sexuality is neither a fixed essence nor even an individual's innermost reality; rather it is "...never more than a set of potentialities. If we compare human sexuality with that of other species, we are immediately struck by its richness, its vast scope and the degree to which its potentialities can seemingly be built upon endlessly" (p.56). He further suggests that sexuality does not exist within the individual but rather "sexuality is relational" (p.58) in that only people acting within specific relationships create what we call sexuality.

The particular interrelations and activities which exist at any moment in a specific society create sexual and other categories which, ultimately, determine the broad range of modes of behavior available to individuals who are born within that society. ... Sexual categories do not make manifest essences implicit within individuals, but are the expression of the active relationships of the members of entire groups and collectivities. (Padgug, 1989, p.58)

A second assumption is that the most important criterion on which to make the distinction is the sexual. Mendes-Leite (1993) in discussing homosexuality in Brazilian culture, suggests that we need to look at what he terms homosocial behaviour rather than only at sexuality. “[Homosexual relations] should be considered far more as one of the various ways of interpersonal relationships in which sexualisation is just one of all the possible facets” (p.272). Following this suggestion would have the effect of making the issue more complex which may enable us to make more useful distinctions and may allow us to look at the quality and type of sexual relations which develop, regardless of whether the partners are of the same gender or not.

A third assumption following from the Kinsey report (Kinsey et al., 1948) is that heterosexuality and homosexuality should be seen as two poles of a spectrum of sexuality. Some writers (Schalow, 1989) have questioned this, suggesting rather that they are two separate dimensions of sexuality and the degree of homosexual preference is unrelated to the degree of heterosexual preference. In considering the development of separate categories of homosexual and heterosexual it is useful to consider Goldner’s (1991) view on gender identity. She suggests, quoting Butler (1991), that in our construction of two different sets of gender behaviour that persons “only become intelligible through becoming gendered in conformity with recognisable standards of gender intelligibility” (p.258). She suggests that “a gender experience is not a self-state, but a complex, evaluatively structured self-representation, which is then measured against an idealised, abstract, dichotomous gender category” (p.259). Further gender dichotomies dictate that one psychic state cannot include the other. This view of gender identity and gender categories perhaps can shed some light on how the dichotomous categories of heterosexual and homosexual developed and how individuals interpret their experience and their self according to these received categories. It seems that the conceptualisation of these groupings through choosing the distinction of the gender of the sexual partners as being paramount sets up a situation in which to make sense of their experience individuals are forced to present themselves as being heterosexual or homosexual as a part of their sexual identity. In a recursive

relationship, this choice then leads the individual to exclude the other possibility in order to maintain consistency. The categories become real and separate because they have been conceptualised as such. Schalow (1989), in a study of homosexual relations in Seventeenth Century Japan, points out that men were expected sexually to desire both boys and women; the two kinds of love were thought to be different and to play distinct roles in a man's life.

Probably the assumption that creates the most difficulty in trying to find a definition is the idea that there is only one homosexuality. Just as it would be difficult to find a defining feature to define a heterosexual, just so, considering the range and diversity of homosexual relations, it is difficult to do the same for homosexuality. Bell and Weinberg (1978) present this view: “[I]t should be clear by now that we do not do justice to people's sexual orientation when we refer to it by a singular noun. There are ‘homosexualities’ and ‘heterosexualities’, each involving a variety of different interrelated dimensions” (p.329). Mendes-Leite (1993) also takes this view: “despite the plethora of definitions and social regulations there is no one homosexuality but rather homosexualities” (p.108).

Considering the complexity of the matter, it is unlikely that only one criterion can be used to indicate who we define as homosexual. A number of authors have suggested more complex methods using multiple criteria. Duberman et al. (1989), discussing what homosexuality is, say “Same-sex genital sexuality, love and friendship, gender nonconformity, and a certain aesthetic or political perspective are all considered to have some (often ambiguous and always contested) relationship to that complex of attributes we today designate as homosexuality” (p.8). Licata (1985, p.114) quotes Weeks: “Much recent work has stressed the vital importance of distinguishing among behavior, role and identity in ... [studies of] homosexuality”. Weinberg and Williams, referred to in Ross (1983), talk of inclination, activity, status and role or self concept. They delineate three relevant areas: preference (wanting relationships with members of the same gender), self-concept and relationships (emotional, physical or both).

Although using more than one criterion allows a more complex view of homosexuality, the above criteria are still based on assumptions which have been disputed. Various alternative assumptions have recently been discussed. Social constructionism presents an alternative way of viewing sexuality. As discussed above, rather than seeing sexuality as the expression of a fixed, natural essence, the social constructionist approach sees sexuality as being socially constructed and historically specific. Society provides the categories and the meanings against which individuals measure themselves to understand their experience. Regarding this Padgug (1989, p.60) says “The members of each society create all of the sexual categories and roles within which they act and define themselves”. Duberman et al. (1989) suggest that there is a complex dialectic between social conditions, ideology and consciousness which produces sexual identities. And regarding homosexuality Halperin (1989) indicates that he sees it as a construction of a particular historical moment:

The invention of homosexuality had to await, in the first place, the Eighteenth Century discovery and definition of sexuality as the total ensemble of physiological and psychological mechanisms governing the individual’s genital functions ... it had also to await ... the early Nineteenth Century interpretation of sexuality as a singular ‘instinct’ or ‘drive’, a mute force that shapes our conscious life according to its own unassailable logic and thereby determines, at least in part, the character and personality of each one of us. (p.41)

Weeks (1989), in his definition of homosexuality, includes the aspect of choice: “a human identity is not a given in any particular historical situation but is the product of different social interactions, of the play of power, and sometimes random choices” (p.209). As an example of the influence of culture on the expression of sexuality, Dunbar Moodie (1989) in his study of same-gender relations on the South African gold mines notes the extent to which these relationships mimicked the tribal social organisation from which the miners come: the relationships were both strictly hierarchical and patriarchal.

It follows from the social constructionist approach that when looking at homosexuality, we cannot use a definition of homosexuality in general but rather it is

necessary to be clear on which specific group of people we are referring to in which culture and at which moment in history. In addition whether the distinction between people who partake in homosexual behaviour and those who don't is the most significant one to make also needs to be evaluated. Cochran and Mays (1995) refer to a study by Smith of black homosexuality in the United States of America in which he distinguishes between black Gays, being those who identify with and live the life associated with the Gay community, and Gay blacks – those who live in the black community, are probably married, but have homosexual relations as well. Of the latter Smith notes that their values and behaviours are no different to their heterosexual peers even as regards their sexual practices (other than some of their partners being of the same gender). Whether we should refer to these latter as being homosexual, bisexual or heterosexual is debatable and probably depends on the purpose of making the definition.

### **Historical Presentation of Homosexuality**

It is useful, in order to understand the context of the definitions of homosexuality, to briefly examine the history of homosexuality. One should also keep in mind that the history of homosexuality is the very real history of those who see themselves as gay or Queer. It is the history of the context within which the Queer group exists today. Understanding this history helps one to understand the meaning Queer people give to their experience.

The historical overview of homosexuality is not without difficulties. A number of writers have made the point that the historical information which is available presents problems (Boswell, 1989; Duberman et al., 1989; Licata and Peterson, 1985; Saslow, 1989). Saslow (1989) points out that it is unlikely, considering the official attitudes towards homosexual acts, that individuals would have been willing to make accurate records on the subject. Boswell (1989) feels that censorship and distortion, the absence and destruction of records, the difficulty of writing about personal and private aspects of human feelings and behaviour, and the political dangers of writing about certain

subjects has limited the information available to us. Licata and Peterson (1985) note that the records available consist of ecclesiastical records, legal documents, medical opinions and artistic expressions; most of these would be aimed at conforming to the official condemnation of homosexual acts and are, therefore, likely to be biased. They also present only the official and, therefore, elite view. Discourses around homosexuality have thus tended to be imbued with moral judgements on the one hand and defensiveness on the other. Because the documents are limited generally to official documents with the artistic expressions being the only non-official but still elitist view, it is difficult to know what the discourse around homosexuality has been in the general population.

The complexity of the matter is shown by the investigation done by the US Navy at the Newport Naval Station in 1919-1920 into homosexual activities which were taking place (Chaucey, 1989). As a result of widespread homosexual behaviour, the navy instituted an investigation, including planting some of the investigators to take part in homosexual activities in order to prove that they were happening. These people were not deemed to be homosexual because they took an active rather than a passive role in the sexual activities and took part in the activities on the instruction of the navy. The church was drawn into the matter because some of the clergy were deemed to have taken part in the activities. It objected to the investigation because it called into question the pastoral role of the clergy and raised the issue of when homosocial behaviour (which is how the clergy's pastoral role could be seen) became homosexual behaviour. Chaucey points out that virtually none of the people who gave evidence referred to the medical model and that it played no role in the shaping of working class homosexual identities or categories in the investigation. He points out

[b]ecause the controversy brought so many groups of people - working- and middle-class, Gay- and straight-identified men, middle class naval officers, ministers and town officials - into conflict, it revealed how differently those groups interpreted sexuality. A multiplicity of sexual discourses co-existed at a single moment in the civilian and naval seaport communities. (Chaucey, 1989, p.303)

A major debate concerning homosexual history is when homosexual identity developed. On the one hand the essentialist view maintains that historically there exists a distinct, constant, homosexuality personality. This view would consider sexuality as a fixed, intrinsic essence which is unchanging throughout time. The social constructionist view disputes this and, although not denying that homosexual acts have been present throughout the ages, maintains that what we understand by homosexuality and homosexuals is connected to social circumstances and that the current conception of homosexual identity is an invention of the late Nineteenth Century.

As regards the classical period Halperin (1989) summarises the social constructionist view by indicating that the concept of homosexuality is a 'distinctly modern cultural production' alien to the experience of the ancient Greeks. He maintains that "[t]he attitudes and behaviours displayed by the citizens of Athens ..... tend to portray sex not as a collective enterprise in which two or more persons jointly engage but rather as an action performed by one person upon another" (p.48). Homosexual sexual activities would then not be seen as related to homosexual identity but rather as expressing the rights of a citizen of Athens to satisfy his sexual needs on an individual of lesser status. Similarly, as regards the later Christian period, the focus was on the morality of the acts. All people were seen as capable of sin and sin included homosexual acts, thus all were seen as capable of falling to the sin of homosexual acts. There was thus no indication of an awareness of a separate group of homosexuals.

Most writers date the emergence of a differentiated homosexual identity as being during the scientific period. Halperin (1989) maintains that the term 'homosexual' was coined in 1892 and that before then medical science spoke of 'sexual inversion' which was seen as a broad range of deviant gender behaviour, of which homosexual desire was an indistinct aspect.

Throughout the Nineteenth Century ... sexual preference for a person of one's own sex was not clearly distinguished from other sorts of non-conformity to one's culturally defined sex role: deviant object choice was viewed as merely one of a

number of pathological symptoms exhibited by those who reversed or 'inverted' their proper sex roles by adopting a masculine or feminine style at variance with what was deemed natural and appropriate to their anatomical sex. (Halperin, 1989, p.38)

D'Emilio (1989) also dates this at the last third of the Nineteenth Century.

But other writers suggests that a homosexual group identity could be discerned earlier. Trumbach (1989) distinguishes between pre-1700 and post-1700. Before 1700 in England he maintains that men who had sex with other men were seen as rakes and admired for their sexual prowess in that they had sex with both women and men. After 1700 homosexual behaviour came to be seen as deviant and connected to effeminacy and it was thought to be masculine to desire to have sex only with women. He suggests that at this time and in response to this there emerged a group of 'markedly effeminate men' who only sought to have sex with other males. In addition the late Eighteenth Century male gender role eschewed the model of the rake for the ideal of the domesticity of the faithful husband. Huussen (1989) maintains that a self-conscious homosexual identity and visible subculture was discernible in the Dutch Republic by the Mid-eighteenth Century.

There are also a few dissenting voices regarding the late development of a homosexual identity. Boswell (1989) says that ancient Greece and Rome conceptualised in the same way as the modern view: some people were seen as heterosexual, some as homosexual and some as bisexual. Weeks (1989) points to the courts of certain English kings as tolerating homosexuality and suggests that within these there were subcultural formations associated with homosexual behaviour which would then have existed in Britain for centuries. These writers tend to take fairly firm and inflexible views on the date at which homosexual identity developed. It is likely though that through the ebb and flow of history that there were for many centuries and even back to ancient times groups of men who preferred sex with other men and who recognised some sort of identifications with others who were similarly inclined. This is shown by a number of studies, for example Ng (1989) on homosexuality in

Seventeenth Century China, Saslow (1989) on homosexuality during the Renaissance, Schalow (1989) on male love in early modern Japan, Huussen (1989) on homosexual identity in the Eighteenth Century Dutch Republic, and Monter (1985) on sodomy in early modern Switzerland.

What occurred during the Nineteenth Century was the formal official conceptualisation as part of the scientific model of a category of people as homosexual based on their sexual preference and these were then labelled as such. And De Cecco (1981) suggests that, in response to this, homosexuals started seeing themselves as a subgroup and a general and widespread group identity started to develop. Other social changes made this possible: D'Emilio (1989), for example, points to the decline of the family-centred economy which allowed individuals to move away from the family and develop other primary relationships; while Kinsman (1995) suggests that the historical emergence of homosexuality required a number of social conditions: the rise of capitalist social relations which created the necessary social spaces to allow the emergence of homosexual cultures; the regime of sexuality which categorised and labelled homosexuality and other sexual 'deviations'; the activities, cultural productions and resistance to the oppression of men in these same-sex desire-based cultures. In addition the trial of Oscar Wilde and the German army scandal of 1907-9 probably accelerated the emergence of the modern homosexual identity. This debate, if not particularly enlightening, does allow us to understand the way in which changing social conditions and discourses influence the way people are able to give meaning to their interaction with the world and develop a group consciousness.

In summary, considering the history of homosexuality, one can discern two distinct phases, the first being the period prior to the development of homosexual identity and the second being the period dated generally from the turn of the Century where, in certain Western countries, a homosexual group identity has developed and homosexuals as a group have increasingly taken control of defining themselves. The first period moved from ancient times where generally it appears that homosexuality was conceptualised in ways foreign to our current understanding, through the Christian

period where homosexual acts were condemned and punished with varying degrees of harshness and zeal, to the scientific period where homosexual acts were defined as pathological and seen as indicative of intrinsic characteristics of a particular type of person categorised by science as homosexuals.

The development of a group identity has changed the way in which both homosexuals and heterosexuals view themselves. For both there has been a restriction in the acts possible in terms of the way they define themselves, which excludes the possibility of sexual relations with members of gender outside their self-definition - for heterosexuals contact with members of the same gender is not possible without confusing their self-definition as heterosexual and similarly for homosexuals. In addition homosexual behaviour is influenced by the group definition: Padgug (1989) points out that "...there is a dialectical interplay between those social categories and activities which ascribe to people a homosexual identity and the activities of those who are so defined" (p.60). De Cecco (1981) indicates that there has recently been the development of homosexual dogma and institutions where potential members are socialised and trained into a Gay world view with its own norms and values. He suggests that some of these norms are that sexuality must be unimpeachable, there must be sexual mutuality, one must mix in Gay circles, one must come out to one's family and relationships must be sexually open. Although the norms which he proposes are debatable and are not completely borne out by this study, it is likely that new norms have developed within the Gay community and that individuals are inducted into those norms.

The development of a group identity has also been paralleled by an attempt by Gay leaders to consciously present homosexuals in a particular way in response to the discrimination against homosexuals and the stigmatisation of homosexuals by the general society. Generally within the Gay community there has been a battle between opposing groups: the one proposes an accommodationist position where homosexuals are presented as being the same as everyone else and an attempt is made to conform to society's norms; the other proposes a rebellious stance which rejects society's norms

as regards homosexuality and develops its own norms in defiance of society's condemnation. The history of the Gay movement in the United States of America is indicative of this. Initially the Gay movement, as represented by early organisations like the Mattachine society and the Daughters of Bilitis, cultivated an image of middle class respectability (D'Emilio, 1989). They defined prejudice and misinformation as the problem and saw their task as educating the professionals who influenced public opinion. In doing this they counselled lesbians to grow their hair and to wear dresses and condemned the 'promiscuity' of male homosexuals. This approach was not very successful and in the 1950's, along with the Beat movement in San Francisco led by Alan Ginsberg (who openly rejoiced in his homosexuality and described male sex as 'joyous, delightful and even holy'), there was the start of a rebellious movement. This gained momentum during the civil rights movement of the 1960's, using the Black Rights movement as a model, and culminated in the Stonewall riots of 1969. This rebellion emerged out of the bar culture rather than from intellectual discussion and was a direct response to police intimidation and the repression of homosexuals. The riots inspired a nationwide grassroots Gay movement in the USA. From this point onward there has been interaction between the Gay movement and the government through institutional channels largely regarding the rights of Gays. This movement has developed internationally with the recent inclusion of protection for Gays against discrimination in the South African constitution being only one of the highpoints of a general international trend to recognise and accept Gay rights.

The history of this development is paralleled in the psychological and psychiatric professions. The early 1880's saw a number of medical reports of men seeking help because of their sexual attraction to men. This was interpreted within the discourse of 'sexual inversion' (Minton, 1995). The early Twentieth Century saw the development of the pathologising discourse where homosexuality was presented as an illness with an aetiology and suggested cures. There was also confusion between homosexuality and gender inversion as indicated by Terman's 1930 masculine/feminine scale. As a result of the development of the Gay movement and the demands for Gay rights and non-discrimination, this pathologising discourse was ended officially in 1976, which saw the

removal of homosexuality (other than what is termed ego-dystonic homosexuality) from the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of the American Psychiatric Association.

The discussion of the various ways of defining homosexuality and homosexual, as well as the differing ways in which it has been presented over the ages, shows us that the meaning given to homosexuality is neither fixed nor immutable but rather grows out of the historical situation and the purposes for making the presentation. In addition an historical view allows us to see the development of the Queer group as part of a wider process of development and change. Both of these allow us better to understand the experience of the Queer group, the meaning its members give to their experience and the solutions which they find to manage their experience which all occur within the context of a particular historical period.

For the purposes of this study it is necessary to be clear on the group on which the study focuses. Within the broad general population there are a number of people whose preference is for sexual relations with members of the same gender. In this study these people are termed homosexual. A subgroup of these is a group which can be described by the term 'Gay'. The latter group can be distinguished by a number of factors: their identification with a 'Gay' culture, their development of a personal and social identity and their adoption of a particular lifestyle. Padgug (1989) suggests that historically what has happened is that there has been a conversion of homosexual acts into roles and personalities and then into entire subcultures. Homosexual identities, he says

... are not inherent in the individual ... in order to be Gay ... more than individual inclinations ... or homosexual activity is required; entire ranges of social attitudes and the construction of particular cultures, subcultures, and social relations are first necessary. (p.60)

Mendes-Leite (1993) suggests that this culture is urban and heavily affected by the mass media and he feels that the term 'Gay' is not applicable to general Brazilian homosexual culture. Almaguer (1995) points to the history of the Gay movement. He says that in the USA economic and social changes like early economic independence

and the loosening of family constraints allowed Gays to redefine their self-identity and develop a group identity. But this was largely true only of the white middle class. The spokespersons of the Gay community also came from this group so that the image of the Gay movement is that propagated by this group: overwhelmingly white, middle class and male centred. From the initial development in North America and Europe, the movement has been embraced by homosexuals in other countries but invariably these have again been those middle class individuals who are in touch with 'global' culture. In this study the term 'Gay' refers to the members of this global subculture as a subgroup within the general homosexual population.

Within the gay group a further subgroup can be identified, namely, the 'Queer' group. The Queer group is a group of gays led by North American and European groups who are explicit in denying their sameness and conformity to general societal values and norms. Rather they revel in their unique experience and their non-conformity; they are proud of the different sexual norms which they have developed. A basic tenet of the Queer group is that rather than complying with society's values and norms, they establish their own norms and demand that society accepts that difference. Their position can be seen against broad societal changes.

Historically there has been an interest in and flowering of homosexual activity in times of social non-conformity. Ng (1989), in discussing the flowering of homosexual activity in Seventeenth Century China during the late Ming dynasty, speaks of it being a time of a loosening of moral fibre, the breaking of social norms, a cavalier attitude to filial duty, a time of conspicuous consumption by the rich and of preoccupation with the self. There was an emphasis on individual development and self-expression with an encouragement to give free reign to one's desires and appetites. Within this time, interest in and participation in homosexuality increased. When a reaction against this 'decadence' was enforced by the Qing dynasty, one of the first actions was to target and suppress homosexual behaviour. The philosophy of the new regime was that for a society to exist in harmony each member must know his or her socially defined role and perform it accordingly. Saslow (1989), looking at the Renaissance and Baroque

periods (1400-1650) in Europe, indicates that it was a time of the cult of the 'creative individual' (e.g. Michelangelo, Marlowe, Donatello, Cavalieri) with an emphasis on non-conformity, self-expression and self-exploration, and again homosexual activities flourished. This freedom was opposed vehemently by moral invective, censorship and punishment. It seems that homosexual activities flourish in times of an emphasis on individual expression as opposed to an emphasis on the requirements of society. Often the cry against homosexuality has been in the name of orderly society.

Steakley (1989), in discussing a national outcry against homosexuality in Germany between 1907 and 1909, indicates that the anti-homosexual movement was part of a broader anti-modernist backlash and the themes presented were that homosexuality was a threat to national honour and security, that it spread decadence, corrupted military discipline and was an inversion of the traditional sex roles. Berube (1989), discussing USA military policy regarding homosexuals serving in the army, points out that the documented military policy of 1982 indicates that homosexuality is incompatible with military service because it undermines military discipline and creates security risks. It is interesting that the major debates in both the USA and the UK today regarding homosexuality is whether homosexuals should be admitted to military service and the issue is always that it will break down military discipline. However, changes in present day society are creating room for the existence of Queer groups

Foucault (1976) says "The Nineteenth Century and our own have been ... the age of multiplication: a dispersion of sexualities, a strengthening of their disparate forms, a multiple implantation of 'perversions'. Our epoch has initiated sexual heterogeneities" (p.37). And Duberman et al. (1989) say

in contrast to non-industrial cultures, industrial societies do not usually employ a single moral system to judge or even explain the character of people involved in homosexual relations; indeed one of the characteristics of a complex society may be its multiplicity of moral systems. (p.11)

So at a time when homosexuality is losing its stigmatised status and becoming accepted, the moral diversity of postmodern industrial society is allowing for the

possibility of Queers upholding the tradition of homosexual difference.

## CHAPTER 5

# THE EMPIRICAL STUDY

## The Focus of the Study

We have seen how the concept of sexuality and the meaning ascribed to sexual behaviour is not fixed but is based on the culture in which it exists and differs over time and between cultures and societies. Similarly there is thus no one unchanging and immutable sexual morality but rather each society develops its own morality regarding sexual behaviour rooted in the history and structure of that society. This then becomes the dominant presentation of morality but other presentations of morality are possible and in contemporary society these exist to differing degrees alongside the dominant moral structure. We have also seen how societies have acted to regulate and restrict sexual behaviour through these moral structures by rejecting certain sexual behaviour as immoral and through the imposition of both formal punishment through law and informal punishment through social pressure.

Similarly the overview of the history of homosexuality has shown that the way homosexuality and homosexual behaviour is viewed is also not fixed and immutable but differs over time and from one culture to another. As regards the management of sexual behaviour, we have seen that homosexual behaviour has been viewed in Western cultures in a serious light and the punishments enacted have been particularly severe.

We have also seen how the hegemony of overarching moral structures has been undermined in the postmodern period allowing the possibility for individuals and groups to establish their own morality different to the dominant moral structure.

The focus of the study should be considered against these two broad trends:

- the organisation and regulation of sexual behaviour generally in societies through

the establishment of moral structures which limit the range of sexual behaviour deemed permissible and the severity with which this organisation and regulation has been enacted against homosexual behaviour and

- the possibility in postmodern cultures for groups to establish morality different to the dominant morality.

The members of the Queer group exist in a world in which major changes are occurring in terms of the breakdown of global prescriptions of morality which has allowed them the opportunity of developing their own conceptions of sexual morality and exploring new ways of interacting. The focus of this study is on the process and the effects of the process in which this group of people who, when faced by a conflict between socially mandated ways of behaving and their experience of the world, have established new moral norms congruent with their experience. The study focuses on this subgroup within the Gay community which it has defined as 'Queer', indicating their behaving within a set of norms different to those of the general community. The definition of the Queer group as discussed above (Chapter 4) indicates that they are a group influenced by a world culture and thus would operate within a post-industrial and postmodern setting where the importance of deciding on their own norms far outweighs that of conforming to the dominant norms provided by the society. Indeed a post-paradigmatic (Simon & Gagnon, 1986) society is a precondition for the development of a visible Queer group identity. This also allows the Queer group to be used as being representative of general groupings within the postmodern world.

In order to understand the effects of the process of developing new norms it is also necessary to understand the experience of the group which is developing the new norms as there is a recursive interaction between the experience of the group which provides the context and the process of developing the new norms. The sexual behaviour of this group is investigated as this is the most clear way in which they have developed alternative norms and behaviours. The study thus looks at:

- a) the nature of the norms developed
- b) the process by which the norms have been established and

c) the psychological effects of this process.

## **Research Paradigm**

It is important that the paradigm used for research is appropriate for the material being investigated and for achieving the objectives of the project. There are a number of reasons why the paradigm underpinning the scientific method, traditionally used in psychology, is not appropriate for the present study. The traditional scientific experiment method was developed within, and works from the assumptions of, the modern period. These are that there is a given reality which needs to be uncovered; that there is a natural norm and that deviations from this norm are pathological; that an objective observer can make observations on the experimental subjects without influencing the process; and that there is a linear cause-and-effect relationship. None of these assumptions are appropriate for this study which is positioned within a postmodernist paradigm which views reality as being constructed rather than given; does not view a group of people as pathological because the members deviate from a common norm; does not view the researcher as objective but rather as working with the participants in the creation of the reality of the study; and does not assume a linear relationship of cause and effect. It also supports the stance of the breakdown of overarching prescriptive morality. A scientific experiment also requires certain methods and procedures which are not appropriate for a study of this nature. The need for controlled independent variables and possibly a control group, as well as the necessity for the experiment to be replicable in order to confirm the results, would restrict the study to quantitative information. The complexity of the variables, the fact that we are looking at a process over time and that we are assigning importance to the meaning given to events by participants ask for a less restrictive and more qualitative approach.

One paradigm which fits within postmodern thinking is that of Emancipatory Psychology which approaches research from a different perspective to that pertaining to the traditional scientific method. Minton (1995) suggests that there are four aspects

to Emancipatory Psychology:

- 1) emancipatory interests,
- 2) identity politics,
- 3) social ethics, and
- 4) participatory research.

1) Emancipatory interests. The focus here is on generating knowledge which allows people to become conscious of the conditions that contribute to their situation and consequently to take constructive action to produce social change. The view is that the traditional scientific methods used in psychology have resulted in the production of knowledge that is used in the service of social control. Instead it is suggested that it is necessary to generate knowledge that can be used to liberate people from social domination.

2) Identity politics. Psychology is seen as previously denying marginalised groups the opportunity to be heard and identity politics is concerned with giving a voice to groups which have previously been marginalised by the dominant discourse. Although the concept of identity is viewed as problematic by postmodern thinkers, categories like “Gays” or “blacks” may be seen as heuristically useful for theoretical purposes in this study.

3) Social ethics. Emancipatory psychology views scientific ethics not only in terms of the treatment of the research participants but more broadly as including the way the results are likely to be used in the oppression or emancipation of people. There is then a major focus on social ethics.

4) Participatory research. This is based on constructing meaning through dialogue with the participants so that they can understand and change their social conditions. This then gives priority to self-understanding rather than to conventional research practices that privilege scientific knowledge. Where the traditional scientific method lays great stress on obtaining an objective view of a given reality, the focus here is on developing an understanding of a multiplicity of constructed realities. Participatory research is also different to traditional research methods in which research is done on observed groups by a supposedly uninvolved and objective observer. Instead the

subjects of the research are included as far as possible in the research and an effort is made to truly represent their voice so that research is done with, rather than on, the group being investigated.

The postmodern assumption of constructed social reality is a crucial element of the present research project. Emancipatory Psychology paradigm recognises that a particular reality is created through the interaction between the researcher and the participants. The participants in the study belong to a group which has previously been stigmatised and marginalised by society and by psychology, and Emancipatory Psychology, with its emphasis on identity politics and social ethics, is particularly appropriate when working with a group of this nature. Another crucial aspect in achieving the objectives of the research project is that the meaning that the participants give to their experience be explored. In order to achieve this the Emancipatory Psychology focus on participation is important.

## **Research Methodology**

One way of operationalising the research paradigm is through behavioural scripting as presented by Simon & Gagnon (1986). The concept of behavioural scripting suggests that people are presented with and adhere to scripts on which they base their behaviour. Simon & Gagnon suggest that for behaviour to occur something resembling scripting must occur on three distinct levels:

- 1) cultural scenarios,
- 2) interpersonal scripts, and
- 3) intrapsychic scripts.

These levels allow one to conceptualise the various levels of influence on behaviour: the cultural / societal, the immediate context and the personal (which they term 'intrapsychic'). This is useful when one looks at the interaction between cultural and individual levels of norms, as well as at the relationships established, which is the level at which interpersonal scripting operates. The approach also allows a means to measure whether the individual operates mainly at the level of the cultural scenarios

and therefore from a modernist position, or at the level of intrapsychic scripting and therefore from a postmodernist position.

1. Cultural scenarios: These operate at the level of the culture. They provide guides to the members of that culture as to how 'reality' is to be interpreted, the meaning which is given to events and occurrences, the morality and behaviour which is appropriate and the behavioural content of the various roles which are acted out. "Cultural scenarios are the instructional guides that exist at the level of collective life. Thus all institutions or institutionalised arrangements can be read as semiotic systems through which the requirements and the practice of specific roles are given" (Simon & Gagnon, 1986, p.98). Through processes of socialisation individuals are inducted into perceiving the world in a particular way and part of this induction is to understand the behaviour which is deemed possible and appropriate in particular circumstances, as well as the meaning which is attached to certain behaviour. Individuals then act according to the cultural scenarios provided by their culture.

2. Interpersonal scripting: This provides a way of amending the cultural scenarios to meet the specific requirements of a particular situation. It is unlikely that a particular cultural scenario will be applicable to all situations without some amendment, so in a particular situation the individuals will improvise based on the cultural scenario. In this they become part scriptwriters as they amend the cultural scenario to fit the specific situation. Simon & Gagnon (1986, p.99) point out that these cultural scenarios are "too abstractly generic" to be used in all situations and "[t]he very possibility of a failure of a congruence between the abstract scenario and the concrete interactional situation must be solved at the level of interpersonal scripting". They also distinguish between 'patterned improvisations' which they see as little more than institutionalised variations of existing scenarios and ad hoc improvisations which

often represent efforts at creating a consensus, be it ever so temporary and uncertain of acceptance. If what one is attempting to be recognised as being determines what can be expected from others, interpersonal scripts represent the mechanism through which appropriate identities are made congruent with desired

expectations. (p.99)

3. Intrapyschic scripting: The third level of scripting is that of intrapsychic scripts where the individual writes his own scripts for his behaviour. When a society becomes complex in terms of the behavioural possibilities as well as in terms of the conflicts and ambiguities at the level of cultural scenario, greater demands are placed on the actor than can be met by the adaptive possibilities of the interpersonal scripts, the level of intrapsychic scripts then becomes important. In addition the need to script one's behaviour as well as the implicit assumption of the scripted nature of the behaviour of others requires some internal rehearsal of behaviour. This is only necessary when alternative possibilities are allowed by the culture. Intrapyschic scripting is closely related to ideas of self, of identity, and of ways of interacting with the world. Through intrapsychic scripting the individual reorganises his conception of reality and amends his behaviour in realising his wishes and in obtaining congruence with his experience. The content and significance of intrapsychic scripts is limited in social settings where the individuals find it difficult to conceive of themselves being anything but what is provided by the cultural scenarios. But as human societies become differentiated, and this is a characteristic of industrial and post-industrial societies, so an individual is allowed more scope in defining his own scripts in terms of what he wants: both in terms of what he wants to achieve and in terms of how he wants to present himself. This process also raises the question of a distinct version of the self in terms of questions applied to the 'I' itself: What kind of I am I? What kind do I want to be? It creates the possibility of fashioning the life which the individual wants to live and to become the person which he wants to be. These are

[q]uestions that create the illusion of a self autonomous in its interests and, of greater importance, autonomous in its desires ... intrapsychic scripting thus becomes an historical necessity as a private world of wishes and desires that are experienced as originating in the deepest recesses of the self must be bound to social life: the linking of individual desires to social meanings. (Simon & Gagnon, 1986, p.100)

The relative importance of the three levels of scripting differs according to the social setting. In traditional settings the cultural scenario level provides a limited repertoire of improvisations and the option of operating at the level of intrapsychic scripting is limited. Indeed, the possibility of behaving in a way different to the cultural scenario is not likely to be recognised. Simon & Gagnon (1986) refer to these as paradigmatic societies. They provide a high degree of shared meanings and also provide a small number of defined roles from within which a person behaves. Moreover these shared meanings and defined roles are experienced as being consistent across distinct and differentiated spheres of life. Thus the role provided for an adult male would be clearly prescribed and that role would be maintained throughout different spheres of his life: husband, worker, citizen. Post-paradigmatic societies, conversely, are those where there is substantially less by way of shared meanings and a greater possibility of developing behavioural scripts at the level of intrapsychic scripting. This occurs in a recursive relationship with a diffusion of moral systems and the possibility of disjunctions of meaning between distinct spheres of life. So the enactment of the same role within different spheres of life or different roles within the same spheres routinely require different appearances, if not different organisations, of the self. Post-paradigmatic societies or settings, then, are those where the cultural scenarios are still largely dominant but they have lost much of their power to determine and manage behaviour.

As regards sexual scripts, Simon & Gagnon (1986) indicate that from a scripting perspective the sexual is not viewed as an intrinsically significant part of human behaviour unless it is so deemed on the societal level (sociogenic significance) or on an individual level (ontogenic significance) by intrapsychic scripting. These two are related in that, for example, in a societal setting where the sexual takes on strong meaning, and where the sexual plays a major role in the evaluation of individual worth there is also likely to be a setting in which the sexual plays a significant role in the intrapsychic lives of the individual. But it is also true that each individual will assign sexual significance to different cues and also assign meaning in a different way in the same circumstance. Where there is a congruence between the sexual as defined by the

prevailing cultural scenarios and experienced intrapsychically, consequent behaviour according to Simon & Gagnon (1989) will be

essentially symbolic, being entirely dependent upon the shared significant meanings of collective life. In such contexts, the sexual takes a natural air that obscures the fact that virtually all the cues that initiate sexual behavior are embedded in the external environment. (pp.105-6)

On the other hand, a lack of congruence between levels of scripting may transform the sexual into metaphoric behaviour as it takes on a meaning over and above that provided by the societal setting.

In a society such as South Africa, considering the diversity of different cultures and the different levels of traditional, industrial and post-industrial social organisations, it is clear that we have to talk in terms of social settings rather than of the society as a whole.

Writers like Foucault (1976) and Weeks (1981) have highlighted the extent to which society operates to control sexuality and this has been discussed in more detail above (Chapter 3). Beyond the socialisation of individuals which present 'reality' in a particular way which reinforces the cultural scenarios provided by society, certain moral structures are also presented to ensure that individuals behave according to the cultural scenarios which society prescribes. These moral structures are presented by the institutions of society, notably the church and family, and deviation from these is confronted by legal sanctions or by social penalties. The link between the behavioural scripts and this moral structure is the meaning which an individual gives to certain behaviour: deviation from the prescribed behavioural scripts will mean a transgression of the moral structure of society and that transgression will be seen as indicating moral issues both of the behaviour as well as of the individual: if an individual behaves contrary to the behavioural script this is considered a moral issue both as regards the morality of the behaviour and the morality of the individual. Thus does society attempt to organise the behaviour of its citizens. We, therefore, need to consider not only the behavioural scripts which provide the 'instructional guides' of behaviour but also the

moral structure which society uses to reinforce those scripts and provides meaning to behaviour. This is especially true when considering sexuality which in Western society is imbued with moral issues.

The method of content analysis (Dixon, Bouma & Atkinson, 1987; Singleton, Straits, Straits & McAllister, 1988) was used to uncover the scripts provided by the Queer group. Singleton et al. (1988) describe content analysis as '.... a set of methods for analysing the symbolic content of any communication. The basic idea is to reduce the total content of a communication .... to a set of categories that represent some characteristic of research interest' (p.347). The method used to achieve this was:

- to interview the participants on two levels of scripting, namely 'morality as regards sexuality' and 'relationship structure';
- to analyse the interview scripts by listing the words provided by each participant which provided information concerning these categories (at times during the analysis the researcher paraphrased the participant responses);
- to further group the information obtained from these categories into summary categories for each of the participants.

The justification for structuring the interviews around the categories had to do with different levels of scripting:

- 'morality as regards sexuality' was chosen to indicate the behaviour deemed acceptable by the participant and thus indicating the behavioural scripts regarding sexuality according to which he conforms;
- 'relationship structure' was chosen to indicate the behavioural script according to which he conforms in relation to a significant other.

## **Research Aims**

Taking into account the research focus, research paradigm and methodology, it is possible to state the research aims more precisely. It was hypothesised that the analysis of the interviews would confirm that the 'morality as regards sexuality' and

'relationship structure' categories would show significant differences compared to the dominant behavioural scripts in society indicating that the research participants operate at the level of intrapsychic scripting rather than at the level of cultural scenarios. Based on the literature review regarding societal norms and morality as regards sexuality (Chapter 2) and Queer group characteristics (Chapter 4), it was hypothesised that morality regarding sexual behaviour would be far less stringent than the dominant moral prescriptions and, related to this, that the form that the intrapsychic scripting would take would be that the 'morality as regards sexuality' category would show far greater tolerance of a variety of sexual behaviour than the dominant moral prescriptions and that the 'relationship structure' category would indicate that relationships were structured to allow far greater individual freedom and flexibility as regards the behaviour of the partners as compared to the general norm in society. A further objective was to look at the process by which these norms are established and to explore the psychological effects of this process on the individual's life.

### **Selection of Participants**

Considering the paradigm of Emancipatory Psychology, a number of issues are important as regards the participants in the study. These are that:

- the approach to the participants needed to be carefully managed to ensure that they felt safe and willing to expose sensitive matters;
- that the participants were viewed not as objects of the study but rather as co-researchers and thus needed to be included in the research project as far as possible; and
- that it was especially important not to impose a view of reality on them but to allow them to express their view of reality as far as possible.

These dictated the study, as is indicated below.

The sensitivity of the subject matter, namely sexuality, meant that the participants could not be selected randomly but had to be found via word of mouth. Thus the sample cannot be seen as being representative of the homosexual or Gay community

nor fully representative of the Queer community but rather the participants were chosen as they were deemed to present a Queer sexuality which the study wished to describe and understand. The participants were thus chosen through mentioning the study to members of the Gay community and asking them to suggest possible participants in the study. These suggested participants were then evaluated according to a number of criteria to determine their suitability for the study. The criteria used were:

- a) whether the individual could be considered to be proud of his homosexuality, and
- b) whether he could be considered to live a lifestyle different to the general norms of society.

Eleven possible candidates were pinpointed of whom eight were considered suitable for the research based on the above criteria. One of the eight, although willing to participate, felt that he was unable at that time to make himself available for the interview due to pressure of work. Another candidate did not turn up for the interview as arranged. He was contacted and again expressed willingness to participate but again did not turn up for the second scheduled interview. It was then considered that he was not in fact willing to participate and that this unwillingness may influence the results of the research and the matter was not pursued further. Of the remaining six candidates, the information obtained from the first four showed a clear trend and the remaining two were not interviewed as it was considered that the trend had already been established.

Considering the principles of Emancipatory Psychology, the group being researched and the subject matter of the research, the way in which the participants were approached was carefully and sensitively considered. Care was taken to treat the participants with respect and efforts were made to establish rapport and to put the candidates at ease. The confidentiality of the study was stressed, not only in terms of the information provided, but also the participants were informed that nobody would be told that they had participated in the study. In addition it was mentioned that the biographical data would be separated from the interview scripts to prevent any

connection being made between the participant and a particular script. The following steps were taken in approaching the candidates:

1. once a possible participant had been pinpointed via word of mouth, the person who had suggested that participant was asked to approach the participant to ask whether the researcher could contact him.
2. the possible participant was then telephoned and a script (see Script of Initial Contact below – p69) was used as the basis of the conversation.
3. a time and a place were then arranged to interview the participant. The researcher attempted to ensure that the interviews took place at the homes of the participants. This was done to increase the likelihood of the participant's sense of safety and to enable him to more easily be able to speak about sensitive and exposing issues.

#### Script of Initial Contact

I am doing my masters degree in clinical psychology and I am doing my dissertation on Gay sexuality. I am Gay myself and have done a lot of work in the Gay community as far as psychology is concerned. I am interested in trying to describe Gay sexuality from a Gay perspective rather than from the general heterosexual perspective. And I am doing this in order to help Gays better understand themselves. So basically I want to try to describe and understand Gay sexuality.

If you are willing to participate everything will be confidential in that nobody will know that you have taken part in the dissertation and although I will use the information you give me in the analysis, your name will not appear anywhere in the dissertation.

The format will be that I will interview you about your sexuality and will record the interview on tape. Your name will not be mentioned in the interview so there will be no way for anyone to know that the information relates to you. I estimate that the interview will last about an hour. In addition when I have analysed all the interviews I may want to consult you again about the results to get your opinion on them. Would you be willing to take part in the project?

## **Collection of Information**

An interview format was used for the collection of the information. This was necessary for a number of reasons: the most important was that, considering that the research intended to provide a forum for the participants to express their own voice, the influence of the researcher's epistemology should be kept to a minimum. It is not possible to completely remove the influence of the researcher's epistemology in that even in an interview the questions the researcher asks and the points which he chooses to pursue influence the course of the interview. However, this influence is far less when the interview format is used, as opposed to say a fixed questionnaire where the responses of the respondent are limited. Rather an attempt was made to provide a framework and allow the participant free scope as far as possible to create his own voice within that framework. The use of the interview format is also in line with the chosen paradigm of Emancipatory Psychology in that it allows meaning and concepts to be co-evolved during the interview rather than these being imposed by the researcher.

The interview was started by attempting to make the participant feel at ease and safe. A script was used for the initial preamble as follows:

### Interview Preamble

Thanks for agreeing to the interview. Let me assure you again that it will be kept completely confidential in that your name will never be connected to the information and nobody will know that you have agreed to the interview. Because I am trying to understand Gay sexuality as it actually is, it would be best for you to be as accurate as possible about yourself rather than providing answers which you think society might find more acceptable. On the other hand I would also prefer it if you did not avoid aspects because it might portray Gay sexuality in a negative light in society's eyes. This work is basically for the Gay community to help them better understand themselves. First prize for me is if you are willing to

tell me everything about your sexuality but if there is stuff that you do not want to tell me that is ok but I would like you to indicate at the time that there is stuff that you are not willing to tell me. Is this all ok? Do you have any questions for me?

The interview was structured so as to inquire first about issues which were unlikely to make the participant feel uncomfortable or unsafe. The schedule of questions as indicated below (Areas of Interest Question Schedule) was used by the researcher as a guideline for the course of the interview but was not followed rigidly. Rather the participant was allowed to dictate the course of the interview as far as this was possible.

### Areas of Interest Question Schedule

#### 1. BIOGRAPHICAL

I would like to start briefly with some biographical details:

- age, - education, - living circumstances, - occupation
- intimate relationships

#### 2. SELF- DESCRIPTION

Which of these names best describes who you are: Gay, homosexual, Queer, fag, moffie?

Why?

Is there any other name which better describes you?

Why?

Who are you out to?

#### 3. UNSTRUCTURED DESCRIPTION OF SEXUALITY

How would you describe your sexuality generally?

#### 4. DEVELOPMENT

Tell me about your earliest sexual experiences.

Has your sexuality changed over the years? In what way?

How did this change come about?

Who taught you about or how did you learn about the pleasures of sex?

Is there anyone who taught you about sexual pleasure?

What do you think has contributed to the development of your sexuality?

Has your associated morality changed? In what way?

How did this change come about?

What do you think has contributed to changes in your morality?

Explore development beyond the sexual.

Has this change been related to a change in who you are OR how you relate to people OR your view of the world OR your lifestyle?

#### 5. SENSE OF DIFFERENCE

Do you think that your sexuality and sexual morality is different to that of the general society? In what way?

#### 6. CONSEQUENCES / IMPLICATIONS OF DIFFERENCE

What consequences has this difference had for you?

Generally what consequences has your sexuality had on your life?

#### 7. INTEGRATION

Explore whether sexuality is integrated into life or is kept separate.

#### 8. MORALITY

Why has a different morality developed, i.e. try to pinpoint the process: different experience: different interactions or behaviours: different behavioural scripts.

How do you view morality generally?

Sexually, what is important for you?

What is unacceptable sexually?

Is this always the same?

Do you always act according to your moral structure or is there sometimes a difference?

#### 9. MEANING

What is the best sexual experience that you have had?

Why was it the best?

What is the worst sexual experience you have had?

Why was it the worst?

Is this always true?

#### 10. RELATIONAL

What type of sexual encounter do you find the most satisfying generally?

What type of sexual encounter do you find the most satisfying sexually?

What type of sexual encounter do you find the most satisfying emotionally?

#### 11. ACTIVITIES

Explore these as regards relationship satisfaction.

What range of sexual activities have you had?

Can you provide details on when, where, how often, who with?

What sort of sexual activity do you find the most satisfying?

Why?

What is pleasurable for you?

#### 12. SIGNIFICANT OTHERS

Please draw a diagram of the important people in your life.

The interviews were recorded and when the tape ran out this was noted in the interview script (see Appendix A). No time limit was set to the interview and the interview was allowed to come to an end when this occurred naturally.

The interviews were then transcribed and the scripts are provided in Appendix A. Where the recording was inaudible this is noted in the script.

### **Analysis of Interviews**

The focus of the research was the process by which new behavioural scripts had been established and the effects of that process. Considering this focus, the analysis of the information was conducted to answer a number of questions:

1. Is there a commonality in the scripting of the participants?
2. Is this commonality different to the generally accepted cultural scenarios?
3. How is it different and not different to the generally accepted cultural scenarios?
4. What was the process through which the participants arrived at this difference?
5. What are the effects of that process in terms of its impact psychologically on the participants?

As indicated above (Research Methodology) the method of content was used to analyse the interviews obtained. Two categories, namely 'Morality as regards sexuality' and 'Relationship structure' were created and the words given by the participant which provided information concerning these were listed. At times the researcher paraphrased the participant responses during the analysis. The information obtained from these categories was then further grouped into summary categories for each of the participants.

The method of content analysis was used to determine:

1. The scripting of each of the participants as regards his sexuality. The major focus here was:
  - a) the morality presented by the participant on the assumption that the morality would largely indicate the behavioural script,
  - b) the way in which sexual relationships were structured.
2. Whether there are commonalities in the scripting of the participants and what these commonalities consist of. This was done by comparing the results obtained above and listing the commonalities.
3. Whether these commonalities are different to the generally accepted cultural scenarios. The literature survey given in the first part of the research was scanned as regards the commonalities found from the exercise above and the words or concepts relevant to these listed as regards the way Gays are presented in society and as regards what is considered the norm for sexuality.
4. The process by which these behavioural scripts were developed and the effects of this process.

This was done by analysing the interview scripts to determine what was said by each participant as regards the development of his behavioural scripts and these were then compared to determine any common processes. The effects were analysed by pinpointing how the process of developing alternative scripts occurred and any implications of the process in terms of effects on the participant, aspects which aided or retarded the development of the alternative scripts, the problems which it created,

the benefits which accrued.

The results of the content analysis are presented under the following headings:

- A) Demographic Details
- B) Participants' Behavioural Scripting
- C) Common Behavioural Scripting
- D) Generally Accepted Cultural Scenarios
- E) Process of Reaching Alternative Behavioural Scripts.

#### **A) Demographic details**

The demographic detail of the participants has purposely been separated from the interview scripts in order to increase confidentiality. The general profile is as follows:

1. Three were white males and one was a coloured male.
2. Their ages ranged from 34 to 42 years.
3. Three participants had a graduate qualification and the other had a post-matric diploma.
4. All participants worked in some way in helping professions.
5. Three of the participants lived in Pretoria and the other in Johannesburg.
6. All the participants were in a relationship, with three living with their lover. The length of the relationships ranged from one to thirteen years.

#### **B) Participants' behavioural scripting**

The scripts of the participants were analysed according to the two categories: 'Morality as regards Sexuality' and 'Relationship Structure' and the information noted. This was then summarised with the results given below under Summary Analysis of Moral Structure of Participants (p.85).

#### **Participant 1**

1. Difference is valued: P1 describes himself as being different and this is presented in positive terms, indicating that he values this difference. He says: 'Queer: I like that because I am very different and I think that Queer means Queer means different'

and later 'I think differently, I'm not trying to model my relationships and my life on a heterosexual model'.

2. Not deciding for or imposing on others is important. P1 indicates that it is important for people to decide and do what is right for themselves rather than accepting an external view. As regards himself he says: 'And I think once I actually said, you know, for me this is how it is and I'm very happy and I'm very comfortable with it, I actually started caring less and less about whether other people found it palatable or not'; he speaks later of not 'caring about other people's judgement'; and about being Gay: '...it is not an issue for me and I don't care whether it is an issue for anybody else'; as regards what is morally important to him he replied: 'fairness and honesty' and went on to expand on honesty as: 'I like the idea of people doing and saying exactly what is their truth for them' and on fairness: '...for me it's a question of not invading other people's ... using other people'. He indicates specifically that he rejects one person imposing on another. As regards sexual morality: 'I think again not imposing yourself on somebody else' and later: 'I think sex has to be an act with mutual consent. As I said earlier on, I have a problem with people imposing, or forcing ....'. Being tolerant and non-judgemental is indicated as one of his values. As regards sex outside of a relationship he says: 'I think it is up to the individual ...' and as regards some sexual activities he says that even though he might not be interested in them he has no objection to others taking part: 'I don't have any moral objection to others saying that they are into it ... that's what blows their skirts up ...'. As regards sexual interaction if he asked someone to do something and the other person said no he said: 'It's fine, actually I respect their opinion'. He also values people being non-judgemental: in response to an open question as to how he found the interview he chose to respond: 'I ... found it quite fine ..... because I'm feeling a strong sense of you not sitting there and judging ... I'm finding you not being very judgmental', indicating that these are important values for him.
3. Self-expression is encouraged. This is shown by his willingness to explore his sexual interests and desires and his acceptance of others exploring their sexuality, even though he may not be interested in that type of sexual activity. He also talks

of '...the more in tune I became with myself in the broader sense of the word, the more freedom I began to experience in terms of exploring other people's bodies and allowing them to explore mine' and '...I found that the more that I was growing, the closer my fantasies came to my realities ... where I would fantasise about that, I suddenly started changing where I would start to express it'. The value placed on honesty also indicates the idea that one should express who one is rather than inhibiting and hiding. As regards controlling his sexuality he says: '...the only way that I would try and control it is that I always try to assess whether, like, not to have that thing repeat itself. I don't want to wake up the next day and say, "God, I must have been really pissed the night before"'.

4. Communication, explicitness, openness and honesty are valued. He says regarding sex: 'Now I am communicating a lot more about what I want ... then it moves to a point of actually saying "this is what I like doing and if it's ok with you can I do it; and if it's not ok with you then it's fine"'. And later: 'I like the idea of people doing and saying what is their truth for them ... I like to have honesty all the time, I like to have people saying this is what they're thinking, this is what they're feeling ...'; and later: 'I like the idea of communicating about ... I like the idea of seeing someone and saying "I like you very much and would like to have sex with you"'. That for me creates a sense of honesty. I would appreciate the honesty coming back ...'. and 'The best sexual experience that I've had was with my current boyfriend and I think it's because there is so much openness about the actual act of sex ...'.
5. Care and concern for others is valued. This is shown through his respect for and tolerance of the truth of others and his willingness to support that. In addition his very strong concern against imposing on others and thereby abusing them indicates his concern. He also tries to find attractive qualities in the people he comes across.
6. Morality is irrelevant regarding the type of sexual activity engaged in. P1 also indicates that any sexual activity is acceptable as long as it is within the parameters of not imposing on others. He indicates that he himself has taken part in many varied sexual activities: sex with women, oral sex, anal sex (both active and passive), sex on drugs, 'a threesome', 'a huge clutterfuck', 'on a train, out in a

field, on the beach, in a motor car' And he is accepting of the sexual activities of others even though he is not interested in taking part in them: 'I don't have any moral objection to other people saying that they are into it ... if that's what blows their skirts up ...'. There is no indication that he sees any of this as morally wrong, again within the parameters of not imposing on the other.

7. The values regarding his relationships are influenced by his stated position that he does not model himself on the heterosexual norm: 'I think differently, I'm not trying to model my relationships and my life on a heterosexual model'. He indicates that the positions taken by him and his partner are not fixed, nor do they conform to the usual gender roles: he says 'I don't mind being fucked and I don't mind fucking somebody else, to me it's not ... in the olden days there was that very clear distinction you had the father in the house and the mother in the house and all that shit' and later as regards sex 'I like an equal distribution of power and of the effort that goes into it' and '...you can both be very active and very aggressive at the same time and can both be very subservient at the same time. But it needs to be dynamic, it needs to be changing all the time'. As regards sexual acts outside the relationship, he indicates that he prefers the relationship to be sexually monogamous but that this needs to spring out of the desire not to have other sexual partners and should be negotiated. He says: 'I think it is up to the individual in terms I wouldn't say that if you're involved in a relationship you should not be having extra relationships. I would never go and state it like that to somebody else. In terms of myself, I would like to say that if I was involved in a relationship I would not like to have sex with somebody else and I would not like my partner to have sex with somebody else. That's what I would like to say but I also think that that creates a position on the relationship, so I would prefer to feel that given the choice I would only want to sleep with that person then I would know that the relationship works'. This sense of a negotiated interaction and relationship structure is present throughout the interview, as indicated above. Related to this is the value placed on communication and honesty. Although not specifically stated, based on his life history his position seems to be one of serial monogamy: commitment to the current relationship but accepting that it may not last forever

and that another relationship would then be established.

## **Participant 2**

1. The ordinary is seen as boring while the alternative and new is valued. P2 describes himself as 'more alternative' and says he is 'very definitely not into vanilla sex, boring, it's boring as hell'.
2. Deciding for oneself is important. He indicates that he considers society's views as irrelevant; religion as inhibiting; and making one's own choice as important. He feels that it is not for society to decide about individual issues. In the interview he says: 'The religious view doesn't matter to me at all anymore'. As regards his homosexuality and religion he says: 'I started looking at other religions; can't I be accepted? And then I cut down, I threw [religions] off' and makes clear that religions for him here mean the general society: 'I'm taking the church when I actually mean the community out there'. He also sees religion as inhibiting '... the stigma of religion is incredible here, it's absurd actually; it's not necessary, they are inhibiting their lives'. And that he doesn't decide for others: 'I don't normally try to restrict people ... it's their choice' and 'As soon as you try to force somebody .... it's wrong, it's my choice'.
3. Curiosity and exploration are valued. P2 indicates the value he places on exploration by referring to his sexuality: 'And it's developing all the time still, going to a more heavier ... looking for new experiences'. He describes himself as 'very, very exploratory' and as: 'I'm a very inquisitive person as well, always looking for a new ...'.
4. Honesty, communication and self-expression are encouraged. He indicates that expressing oneself verbally or otherwise is important for him, both as regards himself and as regards others. He says that he and his lover discuss issues in detail: '...opening up to X, talking between us, the two of us ... talking about it, is he comfortable with it? Am I comfortable with it?' and '... our relationship, shoo, we've been so open and honest with each other ...'. He indicates that for him it is important for people to act out who they are: 'I mean if you want to be a drag queen ... please do it, do it properly. If you want to visit me and do it in drag do it but do it properly, don't hide it'. The importance he places in expressing who he is

which is tied to his emphasis on self-exploration is shown by his comment: 'The day I die I would rather say "Hell ek moes dit erder nie gedoen het nie" but I don't want to die saying "I wish I did that but never did it"'. This can be contrasted with the control which he cultivates as part of his S&M sexual activities. He says as regards S&M what is important is 'staying in control of yourself, it's not just disciplining yourself'. This does not contradict his emphasis on self-expression because the discipline is part of achieving his expression of himself. He indicates that for him the self-expression includes honesty as a basis for his relationships: 'You have to be honest' and 'Say what you want and don't want, what you like and don't like' and 'any friend ... you see that you are honest and open with me, otherwise I can't be friends with you. And that's the bottom line'.

5. Self-knowledge and self-growth are striven for. He indicates that he places a premium on self-knowledge and self-growth and that he strives for these. 'Growth is very important to me but it's growth within myself, growth within the relationship'. As regards striving to goals: 'I've got a few lines that I follow; there is where I think I would like to be, where I'm working on it. .... But sexual goals, yes'.
6. Care and concern for others is valued. As regards his moral structure he says: 'Wrong if you hurt anybody else intentionally' and also indicates that it is important not to impose your will on someone else. 'Paedophilia, very wrong; you're hurting a child that hasn't got a choice'. 'As soon as you try to force somebody ... it's wrong, it's my choice'.
7. Morality is irrelevant regarding the type of sexual activity. He indicates through his own wide-ranging sexual activities as well as his attitude to others taking part in sexual activities that these are irrelevant within the constraint that it happens with consent and is not imposed on the other. 'A guy coming to me and saying "please whip me until the blood flows" - nothing wrong with it, it's consensual between two adults. And that's basically where morality lies in everything. My vision is more or less according to that'. However, as indicated above under 6, forcing someone to do something or having sex with a child he considers wrong.
8. The roles taken by P2 and his partner are based more on those dictated by S&M

etiquette than based on gender. Although sexual acts occur with people other than his lover, these appear to occur by including the other or others into the relationship. He shows a strong commitment to his relationship and will go out of his way to protect it. When asked how their open sexual life affected their relationship he replied: 'If any of us do feel that a friend being brought in is negative towards this one or that one, I'll go and talk to the person and say "Listen, X doesn't like you, for that matter, please don't come and visit again'. He also lays emphasis on him and his lover growing together. He says 'Growth is very important to me but it's growth within myself, growth within the relationship, my relationship is very important and growth between X and myself must be together'. The emphasis on honesty, communication and self-expression as indicated above would also provide guidelines within which the relationship is structured.

### **Participant 3**

1. Acceptance from others is important: '... if I can't go into a company and if sexuality does come up and I can't feel comfortable about saying that I'm Gay in that company, then that's not a company that I would mix with'.
2. Self-exploration is valued. He says '... also I get into exploring' and '...every part of my body now gives me pleasure'. 'I value when a person can truly explore their sexuality, ... I value that they have the comfortableness to be able to do that'.
3. Deciding for oneself is important. He indicates that for him it is important to decide for himself what is right and wrong. He says: '...that was one of the greatest shifts ... of going from an external view of what is moral and not to an internal view about what's moral and not'; and related to this: '...people must be equipped to learn to set their own boundaries'. Related to this are values around informed consent and not imposing on others. Regarding sex with pre-pubescent children he objects to it because '...I see it more as a power thing' and 'I don't think children realise the consequences'. He says that '...a wagging finger: "don't do it" ... is wrong ... because I think that the population in general has enormous guilt and angst' because of it'.
4. Communication, openness, honesty are valued. P3 sees his process in therapy as becoming more honest about who he is and that he was previously being dishonest.

by not showing who he was. 'I value in terms of relationships ... open friendships, honest friendships, I think I value honesty'. Related to this is being explicit about oneself. Regarding sex he says: 'I'm quite explicit' and 'But we talk about this, we talk about it afterwards'. As regards others he says: 'I like it when other people are talking about it, you know, "I was fucked the other night" or whatever'. Part of the honesty for him is the vulnerability that comes with showing one's weaknesses and this he values: 'Showing who one is and also the gradual showing who one is in the relationship. ... I value when they start showing the chinks in the armour or maybe I'm just saying that I value vulnerability ...'.

5. Giving and receiving pleasure is seen as good. He indicates that it was previously difficult for him to receive pleasure and being able to do this was part of his growth in therapy. Sex was ok '...as long as ... I wasn't getting any pleasure from it' while 'Every part of my body now gives me pleasure'.
6. Tolerance of others is valued. In discussing his morality he says that whenever he judges someone else as wrong then he looks at his own life and finds similar things that he does which makes him more accepting of others' wrongdoing.
7. Morality is irrelevant as regards the type of sexual activity. This is shown by the range of sexual activities in which he has taken part, as well as his attitude to others taking part in sexual acts in which he is not interested. Regarding his own sexual activities he indicates that there are times when he has had a number of sexual partners in one night and also he is 'not into bondage' but he has had sex in every room of his house, in a car while driving, on a beach, in cruising spots, dark rooms, toilets, parks and gyms. When asked what things he thinks are immoral in the sexual arena he says 'nothing' initially and then continues to say '...I think that there is nothing wrong with anybody's sexuality; they want to push billiard balls up somebody's bum, go for it'. He qualifies this with saying that: 'I'm starting to become very anti people who use other people sexually without any thought attached to it'. Regarding morality and sexual acts he says he doesn't like anal sex but 'I don't have a moral problem ... so with effect that I always say to people "go for it, do it safely of course"'.  
8. There is little in the interview to indicate how P3 structures his relationships other

than the values given above. The values of communication, openness and honesty, as well as the emphasis on tolerance and allowing people to decide for themselves are likely to influence the structure.

#### **Participant 4**

1. Non-conformism is valued. P4 indicates this as a major value. He identifies strongly with the 'Queer' label which he describes as '...not buying into the whole notion of that we need to ascribe to the norms that society dictates .... and ... that we don't need the acceptance of the broader society'. He sees his sexuality as 'probably very far removed from the norm'. He even distances himself from the general Gay community which he describes as 'still tend[ing] to base their experience ... and their relationships and ... value systems on the dominant society'. He sees the experience that he has gained because of his Queerness as 'I've often described it as a blessing that I had this sort of exposure to quite a lot else. Because I dread to think how I might have been and I think I would have missed out on many meaningful experiences. .... the fact that I came to realise that things aren't always as people say they are, and that things differ from the norm for me could still be acceptable would then transcend into other areas whether it was in the workplace, being more unconventional there, being more experimental there and trying new things more often than other people would be willing to, being more open to people of difference, and I'm talking racially, sexually, value systems, socio-economic class and otherwise, having that kind of exposure to those people but at the same time then also being transformed into saying "let's get to know these people" so that would be more respectful of diversity and different value systems'.
2. Exploration and extending his experience are major values. P4 says that he uses sex for broadening his experience and his boundaries: 'I suppose for me sexuality has become a means of expression, experience ... gaining experience or experimentation almost I suppose broadening of boundaries'. Of sex in one of his relationships he says: '...extra stimuli was brought in just because we enjoyed the sexuality and were quite uninhibited around it' and in terms of the sexual interactions he finds most satisfying he replied: '...I value experience in which I

imagine that the person is wiser, more experienced and able to broaden my horizons ... someone who is cooler, more together, less inhibited ... and more experienced than I am'.

3. Not deciding for others and not imposing on others is important. As regards what is unacceptable he says: 'Anything that's not consensual would be totally taboo for me' and later 'and informed, informed consent'. As regards the worst sexual experience he has had: 'non-consensual, abusive of power position'. This is also indicated by the value which he places on what he terms 'mutuality': 'Mutuality as well in the sense that I don't believe in clearly delineated roles so that one is the dominant and the other the submissive ... I believe those should be mutually exchangeable I suppose and context determined. So flexibility within sexual contexts would also be crucial'. For him the structure of relationships should be negotiated and co-evolved.
4. Self-expression, truthfulness, congruence are valued. As regards his values he says '...the first and most important value for me is truthfulness, congruence. So being able to ensure that what I am saying and do will be the same thing'. What is unacceptable for him sexually is 'untruthfulness ... emotional dishonesty' and he says: '...I believe in being as open as possible around my sexuality, my preferences, my experience'.
5. Tolerance, respect for diversity, respect for others and for difference are important values. This he indicates through saying: 'Respect, respect for people and that cuts through everything, in terms of everything clearly also respecting difference'. This value is also shown by the respect for diversity and non-conforming as indicated above.
6. Care and concern for others is shown. His interest in other people and the value that these bring into his life and the care which he takes in his relationships indicate this, as well as his pain at having become alienated from his family. The values which he aspires to indicate concern about other in that he says '...that's what I'm striving for: to be congruent, forthright, truthful, loyal ...'.
7. Morality is irrelevant as regards the type of sexual activity. His wide sexual experiences, his respect for diversity and his willingness to accept that people have

the right to decide for themselves show this value. As regards his sexual experience of places and people: his response was 'you name them [and I've done them]'

With P4 there is the proviso that the sexual act should be based on informed consent.

8. P4 specifically rejects the heterosexual norm as regards the way he structures his relationships. He identifies with the label 'Queer' and sees it as 'not buying into the whole notion ... that we need to ascribe to the norms which society dictates ...' and he specifically rejects the socially prescribed roles which are based on gender: '...I don't believe in clearly delineated roles so the one is dominant and the other submissive; the one is the giver, the one's the receiver; the one's the carer, the other one's whatever else. I believe those should be mutually exchangeable I suppose and context determined'. He also explicitly rejects sexual monogamy even though it is clear that this creates problems in his relationships: as regards his second relationship he says '...there was total honesty and openness ... around my sexual exploration outside the relationship and it caused a lot of rift, a lot of conflict' and his last relationship '...once again it was based on that same premise of that it's an open relationship, that I don't value monogamy, and once again it was ... seemingly endorsed by the other party but at the same time caused a lot of problems around commitment from his side and a lot of questioning around whether it was a meaningful experience or not'. But he also indicates that trust and intimacy is important for him in his relationships: he indicates that he enjoys anal sex because of the level of intimacy involved and that '...what makes sex work for me is the trust, the emotional bond and a mutual understanding of each other's needs, and sex which is just technical doesn't do it for me, so it has to be let's call it spiritual, there needs to be a connection between the persons'.

The participants' responses were analysed for both explicitly stated and implicit morals and relationship structure and a summary made of the results as follows:

#### Summary Analysis of Moral Structure of Participants

- P1**
1. Difference is valued
  2. Not deciding for others or imposing on others is important

3. Self-expression is encouraged
4. Communication, explicitness, openness and honesty are valued
5. Care and concern for others is valued
6. Morality is irrelevant regarding type of sexual activities
7. Relationship structure
  - roles not fixed
  - doesn't conform to gender roles
  - prefers sexual monogamy
  - negotiated interactions
  - values communication and honesty
  - serial monogamy

- P2**
1. The alternative and new are valued
  2. Deciding for oneself is important
  3. Curiosity and exploration are valued
  4. Honesty, communication and self-expression are encouraged
  5. Self-knowledge and self-growth are striven for
  6. Care and concern for others is valued
  7. Morality is irrelevant regarding type of sexual activities
  8. Relationship structure
    - roles dictated by S&M
    - others included in sexual relations
    - strong commitment to one relationship
    - he and his lover growing together is important
    - emphasis on honesty, communication and self-expression.

- P3**
1. Acceptance by others is important
  2. Self-exploration is valued
  3. Deciding for oneself is important
  4. Communication, openness, honesty are valued
  5. Giving and receiving pleasure is good
  6. Morality is irrelevant regarding type of sexual activities
  7. Relationship structure

- emphasis on communication, openness and honesty
- emphasis on allowing people to decide for themselves.

- P4**
1. Non-conformism is valued
  2. Exploration and extending his experience are values
  3. Not deciding for others and not imposing on others is important
  4. Self-expression, truthfulness, congruence are valued
  5. Tolerance, respect for diversity, for others and for difference are important
  6. Care and concern for others is shown
  7. Morality is irrelevant regarding type of sexual activities
  8. Relationship structure
    - rejects prescribed and fixed roles
    - emphasis on mutuality
    - rejects sexual monogamy
    - trust and intimacy is important.

### **C) Common behavioural scripting**

The responses obtained were grouped into categories and a comparison made to determine commonalities between the participants. A summary of the results of this process is given below under Common Behavioural Scripts (p.89).

#### **1. Difference, non-conformity and the alternative are valued.**

All the participants agree on valuing these. P1 specifically identifies himself as different and accepts the label 'Queer' because it indicates deviation from the norm. P2 refers to the ordinary as boring and the exploration of alternatives to the usual is an important part of his life. P3 does not specifically concur with these values but implicitly agrees in that he supports self-expression regardless of societal morality and his emphasis that one should decide for oneself. P4 has non-conformism as a major value in his life. He strongly identifies with 'Queer' because, for him, it specifies not ascribing to society's norms. He also indicates that his Queerness has made his life fuller and more meaningful.

2. Don't impose on others and allow others to decide for themselves.

All four participants specify this in either positive or negative terms. P1 and P3 say specifically that one should not impose on others, P4 rejects anything that is non-consensual and stresses informed consent and mutuality while P2 indicates that for him it is important for him to decide for himself and important to allow others to decide for themselves.

3. Self-expression is encouraged.

P3 specifically mentions self-exploration and expression as being important for him. The others indicate their implicit support through acting out self-exploration and specifying congruence and honesty as values which implies acting out and expressing that self-exploration.

4. Concern for and care of others.

P1 indicates his support for tolerance and acceptance of the truth experienced by others and indicates a strong objection to imposing on others or abusing them; he also says that he specifically looks for attractive qualities in people. P2 strongly condemns hurting others or imposing on them. P3 indicates his tolerance of the weaknesses of others. P4 stresses tolerance and respect for others, he shows an interest in the welfare of others and takes great care in his relationships.

5. Morality is irrelevant regarding type of sexual activities.

All participants strongly support this within the restriction that the activity should be consensual, and should not be imposed on the other.

6. Communication, explicitness, openness and honesty are valued.

All participants lay stress on these values and the values pervade their behaviour and what they expect from others. A large part of these values is that one should be explicit about who one is and what one wants. This is often expressed in terms of congruence between one's feelings and one's actions and is connected to the self-expression noted under item 3 above.

7. Self-knowledge and growth are valued.

This is stated specifically by P2 and P3 and implied by P1 and P4. These values are connected to the values of exploration and self-expression.

8. Societally defined roles are rejected.

P1, P2 and P4 specifically reject gender roles and P3 implicitly rejects societal gender roles by basing his position on the roles determined by S&M. P1 and P4 reject defined and fixed roles and both indicate that they should be determined by circumstances and should be flexible so that they can change according to circumstances.

9. Attitude to sex outside the relationship differs.

P2 and P4 specifically seek out sex outside their primary relationship, with P2 indicating that he and his lover draw others into their relationship sexually. P1 and P3 prefer their relationship to be sexually monogamous, with P1 indicating that this should be part of the negotiations around the structure of the relationship.

10. Communication and negotiation.

All participants stressed the importance of communication in their relationships and negotiation as the basis of their relationship structure.

#### Common Behavioural Scripts

1. Difference, non-conformity and the alternative are valued.
2. Don't impose on others and allow others to decide for themselves.
3. Self-expression is encouraged.
4. Concern for and care of others is expressed.
5. Morality is irrelevant regarding type of sexual activities.
6. Communication, explicitness, openness and honesty are valued.
7. Self-knowledge and growth are valued.
8. Societally defined roles are rejected.
9. Attitude to sex outside the relationship differs.
10. Communication and negotiation are stressed.

#### **D) Generally accepted cultural scenarios**

The literature survey was analysed to determine the generally accepted cultural scenarios and the way in which Gays are presented. It is not possible to provide cultural scenarios as fixed and as applying at all times and in all sectors of a society. It

should also be remembered that the views presented in the literature survey are historical ones and although they still exist within the culture they have largely lost their power for many segments of the population, especially those influenced by the global culture. The cultural scenarios are summarised below under Generally Accepted Cultural Scenarios.

### Generally Accepted Cultural Scenarios

#### A. AS REGARDS HOMOSEXUAL BEHAVIOUR AND HOMOSEXUALS

1. Unmasculine.
2. Weak, giving in to base desires, degenerate, leading to collapse of discipline and social order.
3. Immoral, contrary to the will of God, base nature as opposed to spiritual nature, sodomy an especially heinous sin.
4. Abnormal, pathological, deviant, perverse.

#### B. AS REGARDS SEXUALITY

1. A biological drive which needs to be controlled.
2. A male drive, whereas female sexuality is seen as latent and requiring a male to activate it.
3. A secret act, not to be spoken of and not to be done publicly.
4. Should be done only with one person at a time.
5. Gender roles are strictly defined with the male considered active and the female passive.
6. Only a certain 'natural' act is considered acceptable - basically vaginal penetration.
7. Not to be paid for or sold.
8. Only acceptable within a relationship and often only within marriage.
9. Connected to love and deep affection.
10. Does not exist in children other than as 'innocent' play or abuse by an adult.
11. Non-procreative sex is condemned in some religious circles.
12. Deviation from the rules is punished by formal or informal sanctions.

13. It is related to morality in the most important ways.

14. The truth of sex is provided by science through analysis and categorisation.

### **E) Process of reaching alternative behavioural scripts**

The participant scripts were analysed to determine the process by which they reached their current position as regards morality and their behavioural scripts and the effects of this process. A summary of the results of this is given below under Development of Behavioural Scripts (p.93).

#### **Participant 1**

P1 indicates that he is '...very comfortable with my sexuality' and indicates that this has always been so. But he also says that he is aware of society's rejection of homosexuality: 'I think that heterosexual society perceives us as being deviant, different to the norm ... I think most heterosexual people are disgusted with it'. He indicates that this caused him in his early life to withdraw: '...it was not something (ie his sexuality) that I wanted to discuss with people because I didn't want them to think that I was doing disgusting things' and that the impact of society's rejection of his sexuality had the impact 'that it became more closeted' and '...at one stage was that I was finding it very difficult to go out into the broader community because I was actually concerned that people would start questioning ... and ... that made me pretty withdrawn, pretty closed up'. A change came '...when I met somebody that I was really crazy about and I was very proud to have with me as my partner. So it actually started when I was very proud to make the announcement "This is the special person in my life"'. There was also a process of self-evaluation in that he says 'I had to sit and measure up how I felt about myself and how I felt about myself in terms of other people's frame of reference. And the more comfortable that I was feeling about myself the less worried I was about how other people felt'. He describes the process then as '...an upward spiral, the better you feel about yourself, the better you begin to feel about yourself. ... The more exposed that I became the more differently I handled the adverse stuff and basically the stronger I became in it. Then I was able to say "yes, I am Gay and it's not an issue for me and I don't care whether it is an issue for anybody

else”’. He indicates that the effect of this was wider than just regarding sexuality: ‘What happened was I think worked on two levels, the first was my sexuality where I accepted that I was homosexual and out of that I think grew the Gayness and acceptance of the Gayness and the Gay community and things that Gay people do and that became ok and then once I was accepting that scenario, then my whole acceptance of myself in a very much broader sense of the word took place’ until he reached the position where ‘Now I am communicating a lot more about what I want’. So the process was one of initially being withdrawn because he feared rejection from society due to his sexuality, but then, through a process of self-evaluation and rejection of society’s evaluation, becoming more comfortable about who he is and more open in showing himself.

### **Participant 2**

P2 had sexual encounters at a young age and came out as a homosexual during high school. He indicates the difficulty he experienced in this: ‘I had a hell of a lot of trauma for a few years’ but then he evaluated society’s rejection of his sexuality ‘...I started making peace with it [i.e. his homosexuality]. I started looking at other religions; can’t I be accepted? And then I cut down, I threw it off ... all religions’. He also indicates that by religions he means society’s views: ‘I’m taking the church when I actually mean the community out there’. This rejection of society’s views and implied greater acceptance of his sexuality was paralleled by a greater general self-acceptance: ‘I think for me as a person I’ve become very much stronger, very much surer of myself, who I am’. This was then extended where sexual exploration has led into S&M which he says ‘...has made me cut a lot of shit in my life, a lot of the facade, there’s no facades any more’.

### **Participant 3**

P3 indicates that he had great difficulty in coming to terms with his sexuality in ‘...not being comfortable with being Gay’ and in that he kept returning to ‘the closet’ and it required a move from his home town to avoid rejection from his family. He says: ‘You no longer have to be scared of running into people that you know ... you feel

more comfortable with being Gay ... you're not scared that people at work are going to know family'. He then went through a process of evaluation: 'I think it's a hard internal process of ... you almost re-evaluate everything you've learnt, that society has taught you and then you have to come up with your own ideas ... an intense internal process of ... re-evaluating your values' resulting in a '...shift ... that I made in my therapy, of going from an external view of what is moral and not, to a very internal view about what is moral and not'. He then reached the point 'I was starting to become very comfortable with being Gay and all the rest of it so any environment I now go in to, I go in as a person and if the subject of sexuality comes up there's no longer shyness or an embarrassment to say that one is Gay'. He indicates that this being more comfortable with being Gay has also led to him being more comfortable with sex.

#### **Participant 4**

P4 describes his sexual behaviour at a young age and the way he was raised as 'a massive contradiction and that to a great extent they were irreconcilable' and that '...my experience of sexuality was then one of guilt, remorse, fearfulness'. He then went through a process where he had to 'confront myself' as regards whether he adheres to the way he was brought up or '...rewrite my moral script'. He realised for him '...a value or norm that's more important would be honesty, truthfulness, congruence' which led to him telling his parents about his homosexuality. He also indicates that this being open about his sexuality '...would then transcend into other areas whether it was in the workplace, being more unconventional there, being more experimenting there ...'.

#### **Development of Behavioural Scripts**

P1

1. Initially closed and withdrawn because he felt society's rejection of his sexuality.
2. Went through a process of self evaluation.
3. The change came when he had a partner who he was proud of and wanted to

show to others.

4. Became more comfortable with himself.
5. Became more open.
6. The more transparent he became, the more comfortable and the less complex he became.
7. He stopped apologising.
8. Increased communicating what he wanted.

P2

1. When he came out as a homosexual he had trauma for quite a few years.
2. He evaluated society's rejection of his sexuality in trying to find acceptance.
3. He started making peace with himself and in the process threw off all religion.
4. The sexual self-acceptance was paralleled by a general self-acceptance.
5. This has led to him being more open about himself by removing 'facades'.

P3

1. Initial difficulty with sex and with being Gay.
2. Moved from Cape Town and had therapy related to being different, being Gay.
3. Went through an internal process of evaluation.
4. Moved from an external to an internal view of morality.
5. Has become more comfortable and open about being Gay.
6. Greater acceptance of himself.
7. More comfortable with sex.

P4

1. He reached a point where there was a massive contradiction between what he was practising and the way he was brought up.
2. He had a process of confronting himself.
3. There was a conscious questioning of what he was experiencing.
4. He came out about his homosexuality in order to be honest.
5. This affected other areas in his life where he became more unconventional.

## **Results of the Study**

The focus of the research was the process by which new behavioural scripts had been established and the effects of that process. Following this, the questions posed earlier were:

1. Is there a commonality in the scripting of the participants?
2. Is this commonality different to the generally accepted cultural scenarios?
3. How is it different and not different to the generally accepted cultural scenarios?
4. What was the process through which the participants arrived at this difference?
5. What are the effects of that process in terms of its impact psychologically on the participants?

The results relating to questions 1, 2 and 3 are grouped together below under 5.8.1 and those relating to questions 4 and 5 are grouped together under 5.8.2.

### Definition of New Participants' Scripts

To determine whether new and different behavioural scripts have been established by the participants Common Behavioural Scripts (p.89) can be compared to Generally Accepted Cultural Scenarios (p.90). In the areas relating both to homosexual behaviour and to sexual behaviour in general clear differences were found between the behavioural scripts presented by the dominant cultural scenarios and the scripts presented by the participants.

### Differences in Behavioural Scripting as regards Homosexual Behaviour.

Comparison of the dominant behavioural scripts (Generally Accepted Cultural Scenarios – p.90) and the scripting of the participants (Common Behavioural Scripts – p.89) as regards homosexual behaviour indicate significant differences indicating that the participants have established behavioural scripts at the intrapsychic level.

### Gender behaviour

The cultural scenario which is presented is that homosexuals behave in an unmasculine way. This can be compared to the scripts established by the participants where they reject gender roles as defined by society. P1 specifically says: 'I'm not trying to model my relationships and my life on a heterosexual model' and later rejects gender role models: 'I don't mind being fucked and I don't mind fucking somebody else, to me it's not ... in the olden days there was that very clear distinction you had the father in the house and the mother in the house and all that shit'; P2 indicates that the roles he takes on are determined by the etiquette of S&M; P3 gives little indication either way in this regard and P4 specifically rejects the heterosexual norm. There is little indication that the participants behave according to the socially mandated script of being unmasculine. There is an acceptance of what could be seen as feminine behaviour but this is due to rejection of the gender roles prescribed by society rather than an acceptance of an unmasculine or feminine role.

### Social responsibility

The dominant cultural scenarios present homosexual behaviour as weak, giving in to base desires, degenerate, leading to collapse of discipline and social order. There is little indication of an acceptance by the participants of behaviour scripts in this area. None of the four participants gave any indication of seeing themselves in these terms or behaving accordingly. The cultural scenario of giving in to base desires is instead turned into a positive encouragement of sexual exploration (P1, P2, P3, P4) and a celebration of their sexuality (P1, P2, P3, P4). As regards weakness and collapse of discipline, two of the four indicate a strong focus on self-discipline (P2 within the ambit of S&M and P4 in terms of the extent to which he controls his behaviour out of concern for others).

### Moral strength

The dominant cultural scenarios present homosexual behaviour as immoral, contrary to the will of God, being of base nature as opposed to spiritual nature, with sodomy presented as an especially heinous sin.

The linkage of homosexuality and immorality in cultural scenarios is not accepted by any of the participants. All of them indicate that they do not see any sexual behaviour as immoral as long as it is based on informed consent. P1 and P4 specifically single out anal sex as being enjoyable. P1 says: 'I like anal sex, I really do enjoy that, it makes the whole sex a lot more intimate' and P4 says: 'I suppose what to a very great extent still satisfies me the most is anal sex'. P2 indicates that sex for him is a spiritual experience. Talking of bondage as part of his sexual experience, he says: '...it gives a wonderful spiritual experience' and P4 says '...sex which is just technical doesn't do it for me so it has to be, let's call it, almost spiritual, there needs to be a connection between the persons'. Rather than accepting Christianity's binary distinction between the base physical and the spiritual some of the participants make an effort to combine the two.

#### Psychological health

The dominant cultural scenarios present homosexuals and homosexual behaviour as abnormal, pathological, deviant, perverse.

None of the participants accept the label of abnormal, though all of them indicate that they accept and are proud of the deviant or perverse label. The deviant label is not, however, seen in negative terms as in the cultural scenario but is rather seen as a good and worthwhile pursuit. The acceptance of the 'Queer' label and the encouragement of non-conformity indicates that they have taken the cultural scenario's negative assessment of deviance and turned it into a positive value of non-conformity.

#### Differences in Behavioural Scripting as regards Sexual Behaviour

Comparison of the dominant behavioural scripts (Generally Accepted Cultural Scenarios – p.90) and the scripting of the participants (Common Behavioural Scripts – p.89) as regards general sexual behaviour also indicate significant differences indicating that the participants have established behavioural scripts at the intrapsychic level.

### Control of sexuality

The dominant cultural scenarios present sexual behaviour as based on a biological drive which needs to be controlled.

All four of the participants reject that sexuality needs to be controlled in the terms presented by the cultural scenario other than in the sense of acting with informed consent. P1 is willing to explore his own sexuality and is willing for other to explore theirs in whichever direction it takes them. He also says: '...the only way that I would try and control it is that I always try and assess whether I would like not to have that thing repeat itself'. P2 indicates that all sexual activity is acceptable to him as long as '...it's consensual between two adults'. P3 says: 'I think that there is nothing wrong with anybody's sexuality; [if] they want to push billiard balls up somebody's bum, go for it', and P4 indicates that people have the right to decide for themselves their sexual activity as long as it is based on informed consent. The question of control does arise with P2 with his S&M activities but the control here is to heighten the sexual pleasure rather than to inhibit it.

### Gender differences

The dominant cultural scenarios present sexual behaviour as a male drive whereas female sexuality is seen as latent and requiring a male to activate it.

The participants' behavioural scripts give no indication as regards this cultural scenario.

The dominant cultural scenarios present sexual behaviour within strict gender roles with the male considered active and the female passive.

This has been discussed under Gender behaviour above where it is shown that P1 and P4 specifically reject these roles as regards gender and P2 bases his roles on S&M. There is also no indication in the interview that P3 conforms to socially mandated

gender roles.

#### Openness regarding sexual behaviour

The dominant cultural scenarios present sexual behaviour as a secret act, not to be spoken of and not to be done publicly.

All of the participants are willing to accept sex in public. P1 prefers it as a private act and, as such, partially conforms to the cultural scenario but he has no objection to other people having sex in public. P2 does not indicate his behaviour as regards sex in public but is willing to accept it in others. P3 indicates that he has had sex in many public places: while driving, on a beach, in cruising spots, dark rooms, toilets, parks and gyms; and P4, as regards the places in which he has had sex, says 'you name them'. All of the participants place a high value on communication, honesty and explicitness and this includes talking about sexual activity.

#### Limitations regarding sexual behaviour

The dominant cultural scenarios indicate that only a certain 'natural' act is considered acceptable - basically vaginal penetration.

This is rejected by all the participants in that they are all willing to accept and some willing to take part in all sexual activities as long as they are not imposed on the other and are based on informed consent. There is a positive enjoyment of anal sex in two cases (P1 and P4) and all indicate a wide range of sexual activities.

The dominant cultural scenarios indicate that sexual behaviour should only be done only with one person at a time.

P1 ('I've been involved in a threesome, I've been involved in a huge clutterfuck'), P2 (he and his partner invite others into their sexual activities) and P4 (in response to the question of the type of sexual experience he found the most satisfying generally replied 'In privacy, mostly group, and with experienced guys') all indicate that they

have had sex with more than one person at a time.

The dominant cultural scenarios indicate that sexual behaviour should not be paid for or sold.

The participants give no direct indication as regards this cultural scenario but their rejection of general norms around sexuality suggest that they would not object to sex being bought or sold.

The dominant cultural scenarios present sexual behaviour as only acceptable within a relationship and often only within marriage.

None of the participants conform to this cultural scenario in that they accept a wide range of sexual activity as regards the behaviour of others. They differ as regards sex outside their own committed relationship: P1 prefers not to allow sex outside the relationship but indicates that this should be based on negotiation; P2 and his partner invite others into their sexual activities; P3 gives no direct indication and P4 has until now insisted that sex outside the relationship be allowed.

#### Relationship between sexual behaviour and love

The dominant cultural scenarios present sexual behaviour as always connected to love and deep affection.

None of the participants fully endorse this norm and all of them indicate that they have taken part in sex which was without attendant love and affection. They all indicate that as regards their own relationships there is a strong connection between sex and love or affection. P1 describes the best sexual experience he has had as being with his current partner. P2 makes a strong connection between sex and friendship in that the people that they invite into their sexual activities become friends but there is little indication that this is true when the sex initially occurs. P3 gives no direct indication of his views and P4 says that sex doesn't work for him if it is 'technical'

which implies being without emotional connection and content.

### Childhood sexuality

The dominant cultural scenarios present sexuality as not existing in children other than as 'innocent' play or abuse by an adult.

Some of the participants indicate that their sexual interest started early (P2 says of his early sexual experience: 'if you take sexual experience as penetration, standard five, twelve years old' and P4 '...at thirteen I was sexually active...') and all are willing to accept that it is present in children (P1 talks of being willing to accept a six year old showing sexual interest. P3 says 'I'm not saying that the thirteen or fourteen year old isn't perfectly willing or capable of having sex'. They differ on how this should be handled but indicate that the important issue is not the age of the person but the ability to make an informed decision about consent.

### Attitude to non-procreative sex

The dominant cultural scenarios present sexual behaviour which is non-procreative as immoral.

This is rejected by all four participants in that all of their sexual activities are non-procreative and they show no moral objection to these activities.

### Enforcement of sexual morality

The dominant cultural scenarios present sexual behaviour which deviates from the norms as requiring punishment by formal or informal sanctions.

The participants, through their attitude that everyone should be allowed to decide these issues for themselves and their tolerance of a wide range of sexual activities, indicate that they would not support punishment for deviation from the socially mandated sexual scripts. The only morality they indicate is that the activity should be based on informed consent.

### Importance of sexual morality

The dominant cultural scenarios present sexual behaviour as related to morality in the most important ways.

All four participants disagree with this in that they make no connection between morality and sexual acts but they do insist on the acts being based on informed consent. Their attitude is thus not devoid of moral content but is based specifically on individual choice.

### The truth of sex

The dominant cultural scenarios present the truth of sex as being provided by science through analysis and categorisation.

The participants give no direct indication of their scripts as regards this cultural scenario but they are likely to reject it considering the emphasis which is placed on exploration, self-knowledge and self-expression.

From this analysis it can be seen that alternative scripts have been established in that some of the cultural scenarios have been rejected outright:

- homosexuals as weak, degenerate, lacking in discipline, immoral, pathological;
- sex as needing control, acceptable only within a relationship, not existing in children.

Some cultural scenarios have been adapted with stress laid on different aspects:

- homosexuals as unmasculine is changed into a rejection of gender roles;
- sex is not to be done publicly is adapted into accepting sex in some defined public places like cruising areas and toilets;
- morality related to sexuality is generally rejected but the moral rule imposed is informed consent.

And some cultural scenarios have been inverted:

- homosexuality being seen as giving in to base desires is inverted into a celebration

of sexual exploration;

- that sex is opposed to spiritual nature is inverted for some participants, P2 and P4, into connecting sex and spirituality;
- that homosexuality is deviant, abnormal and perverse is inverted into a celebration of non-conformity;
- sex being seen as needing control and to be limited - like to be done only with one person at a time, only vaginal penetration, only procreative sex, only within marriage - is inverted into an encouragement of sexual exploration and self-expression;
- that sex is a secret act and not to be spoken of is inverted into a value being placed on communication, explicitness and honesty.

What is noteworthy is the degree to which many of the behavioural scripts which are adaptations or inversions of the cultural scenarios have developed out of the participants' experience of being rejected and stigmatised. All the participants have had a common general experience of the world based on their sexual preference. The behavioural script presented to them by society related to this preference can be seen to have been inverted, resulting in a moral structure which maintains to some extent the distinctions made by society but inverts the moral values bringing greater congruence between morality and experience.

#### From Hidden and Secretive to Explicit Self-expression

In order to manage the perceived rejection by society, some of the participants indicated early behaviour patterns where they hid or denied their sexuality and further hid their experience from the world - even in some cases withdrawing physically from contact with the heterosexual world. This is indicated most strongly by P1 and P3, while P2 and P4 came out at an early age but were aware of society's rejection of their sexuality. P1 says regarding his sexuality: '...it was not something that I wanted to discuss with people because I didn't want them to think that I was doing disgusting things' and the impact on his sexuality was '...that it became more closeted' and '...at one stage was that I was finding it very difficult to go out into the broader community

because I was actually concerned that people would start questioning ... and ... that made me pretty withdrawn, pretty closed up' while P3 talks of a long process of showing his sexuality and then hiding it again until he finally moved away from his home town. This initial state can be compared to that achieved at the end of this process which lays great emphasis on knowing and expressing oneself and being explicit in interaction with others. Tied to this is the value placed on honesty and congruence as opposed to what is perceived as general societal hypocrisy.

### From Difference is Bad to Difference is Good

From feeling marginalised and rejected by society because of their difference and therefore experiencing their difference as negative, the participants not only come to value difference but consciously propagate their deviant status through continually pushing the boundaries of what is considered acceptable. The initial feeling of their difference as something bad is indicated most strongly by P3 who says: '...difference I think in Western society has always meant something lesser' and 'I think that ... the realisation of being different as a child starts making one put up ... armour'. P1 says 'heterosexual society perceives us as being deviant, different to the norm ... I think most heterosexual people are disgusted with it'. P2 says 'When I came out as a homosexual ... I had a hell of a lot of trauma for a few years' and P4 indicates that there was a 'massive contradiction' between his sexuality and the way he was brought up. This sense of transition from difference being bad to their own difference being celebrated also includes a tolerance of other people's positions and behaviours.

### Accepting an External Morality to Deciding own Morality

The participants generally spoke of the psychological trauma experienced by feeling that they were not obeying the moral injunctions of society concerning their sexuality. Through the process of consciously evaluating himself and society's morality each participant moved to a situation of rejecting externally imposed morality and placing great importance on deciding for himself what is moral and immoral. P1 says: 'I had to sit and measure up how I felt about myself and how I felt about myself in other people's frame of reference. And the more comfortable I was feeling about myself the

less worried I was about how other people felt'. P2 says 'I threw off .... all religions. .... I'm [saying] the church when I actually mean the community out there'. P3 says that he went through 'a hard internal process of ... you almost re-evaluate everything you've learnt, that society has taught you and then you have to come up with your own values' resulting in a '...shift ... of going from an external view of what is moral and not to an internal view about what is moral and not', and P4 says he had to 'confront myself' and had to '...rewrite my moral script'. In addition judgement as to morality seems to work at a meta-level, with some participants indicating that they had difficulty making generalised rules and felt that a decision on morality had to take the actual context into account. The moral stance would then change depending on the circumstances.

#### From Self-inhibition to Exploration and Expression

The participants received the injunction that their sexuality is immoral and should therefore be controlled and not be expressed. P1 speaks of withdrawing, P3 talks of continually returning to the closet (that is moving out of homosexual circles) and P4 speaks of '...my experience of sexuality was then one of guilt, remorse, fearfulness'. This then shifted to a strong sense of exploring what is possible within the moral constraint of informed consent. All the participants explored sexuality beyond the usual confines even when compared to the Gay community and most were experimenting with new ways of relating and new rules regarding commitment and loyalty within relationships. There was often a sense of pride in the extent to which the range of sexual experience was mentioned and there was an ease about being explicit, when applicable, on public sex, group sex and numerous sex partners.

#### Pleasure is Sinful to Pleasure is a Major Value

The Christian hesitation regarding sexual pleasure as discussed earlier informed some of the participants' early experience resulting in guilt and shame (P1, P3, P4). This sense that obtaining pleasure is immoral and giving in to one's base self is transformed into a celebration of sexuality and a seeking after pleasure which seems to take many diverse forms and is, in fact, seen by some as a means of transformation.

### Process of Developing Alternative Scripts

A further objective of the study was to understand the process and the effects of the process of developing behavioural scripts different to, and often in opposition to, those of the general society. This would indicate that they now operate mainly on the level of intrapsychic scripting rather than that of cultural scenarios. An analysis of the participant interviews shows (Development of Behavioural Scripts – p.93) that there are a number of processes through which the participants passed in developing their intrapsychic scripts:

- Realisation of a divergence between own experience of the world and the cultural scenarios and underlying moral structure provided by society;
- Acceptance of the cultural scenarios, resulting in severe psychological trauma;
- Period of conscious self-evaluation and evaluation of the cultural scenarios;
- Rejection of the cultural scenarios and underlying morality;
- Development of own norms at the level of intrapsychic scripting;
- Development of new cultural scenarios pertaining to the subgroup.

#### Realisation of a Divergence between own Experience of the World and the Cultural Scenarios and Underlying Moral Structure provided by Society

The participants indicate a sense of realising at an early age, even before being in contact with the Gay community, knowing about the Gay community or even being aware of the concept of being Gay, that their experience of the world did not conform to that provided by the cultural scenarios of their society. There was a sense of their being different and this difference was perceived as being unacceptable, stigmatised, rejected and excluded. The rejection by society of their sexuality was perceived by them as a rejection of themselves resulting in a need to hide their experience of the world and present a more acceptable facade in society's terms.

#### Acceptance of the Cultural Scenarios resulting in severe Psychological Trauma

It is clear that the power of the social norms and moral structure and internalised by

the participants is very strong for members of a society. The perception of the divergence and an initial acceptance of the cultural scenarios and moral norms provided by the society, resulted for most of the participants in severe psychological trauma. They talk of shame and guilt, of the need to exclude themselves from society, of an attempt to not express their experience of the world and of being secretive. The period is described as being one of “irreconcilable ... contradiction”, it is one of incongruence and conflict, trauma and indecision and is marked in some cases by unsuccessful attempts to conform to the cultural scenarios provided by society.

### Period of Conscious Self-evaluation and Evaluation of the Cultural Scenarios

Faced by the double bind of on the one hand experiencing the world in one way and feeling unable to change that experience, and on the other having that way perceived as being unacceptable to society, the participants talk of going through a period of conscious self-evaluation in terms of their moral acceptability. Faced by an inability to change their experience of the world and conform to the norms provided by society, the process then seems to move on to a conscious evaluation in two ways: first of the cultural scenarios and morality provided by society as regards their sexuality and the degree to which this is considered fair and reasonable, and second an evaluation of themselves as moral members of society.

### Rejection of the Cultural Scenarios and underlying Morality

The participants speak of reaching a point during this conscious evaluation where they reject society's estimate of their sexuality and instead accept their sexuality as valid and moral. Part of this seems to involve accepting the deviant label and propagating the deviance, leading eventually to a stance which we have defined as Queer. So self-development then takes place within the paradigm of the deviant label. The rejection by society, although primarily on the basis of sexuality, is felt in far broader terms as a rejection of self. Similarly the acceptance seems to occur initially on the sexual level - reaching a point where the participants say 'my sexuality is acceptable despite society's estimation' - but then to become far wider in becoming a general acceptance of self and of who they perceive themselves to be, presented by one

of the participants as no longer having to apologise for who he is.

Some participants pointed to this being a recursive process between the meaning given to experience and the behaviour enacted based on that meaning. Part of the process seems to be not so much a rejection of all norms, but rather a highlighting and emphasising of norms other than those emphasised by society; for example having many sexual partners is not seen as a moral issue, whereas being honest and truthful is stressed. The change in this moral structure results in one which is different to that of the general society and includes aspects which general society would see both as threatening and reject on moral grounds. Part of the process of rejecting the cultural scenarios is moving away from the institutions which are the main bearers of cultural norms and values, viz. the church and the family. The point seems to be to move away from situations in which the participants are expected to behave according to the cultural scenarios of society and move into a situation where there is more anonymity or where behaviour other than that dictated by society is allowed or even encouraged. It is noticeable that the diagrams of the significant persons in their lives generally show the family to have been marginalised to the periphery (see Appendix B).

#### Development of own Norms at the Level of Intrapsychic Scripting

The participants indicate that the rejection of society's norms and values involved their deciding for themselves what their morality would be. The alternative behavioural scripts have been discussed above but it is noteworthy that many of the scripts developed can be traced to the participants' experience of rejection and stigmatisation as homosexuals. The interplay psychologically of meaning and behaviour is shown quite clearly in these processes. Initially the behavioural scripts and morality provided by society lend a particular meaning to the experience of the world of the participants - that is, rejection of who they are and feelings of guilt and shame - leading to particular behaviours like tight control of their behaviour, isolation and secretiveness. The change in meaning is accomplished on a cognitive level involving a self-reflexive process of self-evaluation and evaluation of society, the result of these cognitions is a change in meaning of their experience of the world to a more positive evaluation, with a change

in behaviour along with the change in moral values. The way in which behavioural scripts are tied to moral values and behaviour is also shown.

#### Development of new Cultural Scenarios Pertaining to the Subgroup

The extent to which the participants presented the same complex of values, albeit in different terms, is striking. This suggests the possibility that new cultural scenarios have evolved on a sub-cultural level. Although there is no visible Queer subgroup in South Africa, it is possible that through interaction with like-minded friends and sexual partners these new cultural scenarios have developed. Another perspective is that the new norms and values are directly related to the participants' experience of the world and having generally had the same experience, their values are likely to be similar. These independently developed scripts based on individual but similar experience is then reinforced through interaction with people in similar positions and develop into the cultural scenarios which govern that subgroup.

Considering the questions that were posed by the study above we can draw the following conclusions. There is a clear commonality among the participants in areas such as not seeing sexuality in moral terms other than the moral injunction against imposing on another person. This is clearly different to the generally accepted cultural scenarios which make clear links between sexual behaviour and morality and impose many moral restrictions on sexual behaviour. The participants' moral injunction not to impose on others is probably also supported by general cultural scenarios with the difference being the strong emphasis which the Queer group places on it. There is also commonality in the process and the effects of the process via which the participants reached their Queer position. They all started from a position of psychological distress, went through a period of evaluation, consciously threw off the dominant cultural scenarios and then started developing their own behavioural scripts.

## **DISCUSSION OF RESULTS**

### **The Historical Context**

Every individual, at any point in time, is suspended in systems of meaning which are generated on global, cultural, subcultural and individual levels. These systems of meaning are crucial as regards psychological issues, for it is from within these systems of meaning that the individual reflects on himself and gives expression to certain behaviour. That these systems, along with our being, are in continual flux provides an opportunity in psychological terms for intervention on a number of levels. The results of the study show how the meaning which the participants attributed to their experience was initially strongly influenced by the dominant cultural systems which prescribed their experience as being immoral and decadent or pathological. Faced with this situation where their experience differed from that allowed by society's norms, they were, as individuals, faced with the options of denying their experience, changing their experience or defying society's norms. They have, after a period of evaluation of themselves and of society's norms, chosen the third option. These choices are also dictated by systems which occur on levels greater than the individual – the global, cultural and subcultural – as it is only within the context of the postmodern movement that the third option becomes possible. Prior to the idea that moral systems are socially constructed, the option of defying society's norms was not possible, nor indeed could the possibility even be widely entertained.

The historical moment at the end of the Twentieth Century is one of great change and one which presents great opportunity. There is on the one hand a globalisation of the world's economic systems and the development of a global culture. On the other hand, there is the collapse of existing overarching moral systems with an increasing diversity of experience and a greater recognition of the validity of these diverse experiences. There is a greater recognition that what we see as social reality is not

inevitable and God-given but rather created by the myriad of interactions which occur and which have occurred throughout the world from moment to moment. This suggests that the possibilities for intervention are great - we can create the world which we want, one in which psychological problems are resolved through prevention at the level of systems higher than the individual. But the failures of the social engineering of the Twentieth Century also present a warning: we have little control on a broad level due to the complexity of social reality, and, regardless of how well-meaning we are, attempts at bending social reality to our will often result in situations worse than that which pertained before the intervention.

The collapse of the hegemony of moral systems presents opportunity and danger. The opportunity is that we may be freed from the imposition of levels of meaning which contradict our experience of the world and the danger is that the collapse of moral systems may result in a world without rules regarding how people will interact with each other. The result of the study which shows that the participants have not rejected morality but have rather developed a new morality or placed a different emphasis on what is considered morally important provides a possible example of how morality can be developed on an individual level and from individual experience which allows individuals to interact harmoniously. The two major values of tolerance for the position of others and the related value of not imposing on others provide important guidelines as to how individuals can morally interact in a society in which there is an increasing diversity of experience and where people with diverse positions and values have to live, work and play together.

The results of the study indicate the way in which meaning, generated at various levels of society, impacts on the individual and the way in which there is a recursive relationship between all these systems, including the intrapsychic. The dominant discourses in the past have to a great extent dictated the way the individual would view reality and himself within that reality. Each participant indicated how his view of himself was initially dictated by society's presentation of reality and morality. The new discourses such as social constructionism have pointed to the man-made nature of

social reality and have undermined the dominant discourses of the church and science, as well as undermining the moral hegemony, the cultural scenarios and the imposition of external morality, allowing a dispersion of moral systems and the validation of individual experience. This opportunity has consciously been seized by the Gay movement on the subcultural level. This movement has purposefully moved, along with fighting anti-Gay discrimination and the fight for Gay rights, to engender a sense of pride and unity within the Gay community through pride parades, the Gay games and the development of positive Gay role models.

This global subcultural movement has created the space for individual Gays to develop a more positive and more valid meaning of their experience with consequent positive psychological results. This use of political and other propagation has led to a collective self-creation and self-invention of Gays as a subculture. The development of a Queer culture is similar if less obvious and successful. It is within this context that the situation of the participants should be viewed: these changes happening on levels higher than the individual allow the participants to develop and explore their difference. In paradigmatic societies (Simon & Gagnon, 1986) this would not be possible both because it couldn't be conceived and because it wouldn't be allowed.

It is important to note that it is a recursive relationship on all the levels. In addition to the downward impact there is also an upward evolvement: Gays and Queers through creating their lives on a general level and interacting in particular ways are the subculture and this subculture impacts on the way social reality is viewed for everyone. The participants have taken up the self-creation and self-invention of the Gay and Queer subcultures on the individual level. With the participants, some more than others, there is a sense of a conscious and purposeful attempt to explore new ways of interacting and new ways of being in the world. Their example can be used in psychology as a model of how meaning can be changed on various levels to achieve the empowerment of all individuals to create the life and reality which they want.

## **Psychological Implications**

### Psychological Health

The process through which the participants have passed (as indicated by the results of the study) provide information about issues of psychological health. The participants indicate that their initial position was one of psychological distress: P1 speaks of withdrawing from society, P2 says 'I had a hell of a lot of trauma for a few years', P3 indicates difficulty around sexuality and that he put up 'armour' to protect himself while P4 says that he suffered 'guilt, remorse, fearfulness'. These results confirm the discussion by many writers of problems faced by Gays due to their stigmatisation and rejection by society. Nel and Joubert (1997) indicate that the problems faced by Gays include feelings of rejection and guilt, a sense of self-devaluation and self-worthlessness, identity confusion, isolation and withdrawal, difficulties with trust and intimacy, tight control of behaviour, and lack of spontaneity and difficulties in family interactions. These problems arose due to the meaning which the participants gave to their behaviour and feelings which was based on the meaning provided by cultural scenarios which specified that they were immoral or abnormal and pathological. This meaning provided by the culture and accepted by the participants leads to an incongruence between their experience and their morality, resulting in psychological distress.

What is also of interest is the role played by institutions such as science (including psychology and psychiatry) when only one way of experiencing the world is presented as normal and the experience of others who do not conform to this is thereby invalidated. This also indicates the possible destructiveness of the medical model with its categorisation of behaviour, as well as its designation of some behaviours as abnormal. The negative psychological impact that this had on the participants through denying or invalidating their experience of the world is shown in the results. Although both psychology and psychiatry have officially moved away from this position as far as homosexuality is concerned there is still a tendency to pathologise behaviour which is

different from what is considered the norm. This relates not only to sexual interests (fetishes, sado-masochism) but also to more general behaviour, for example age-appropriate, gender-appropriate behaviour. It is clear from the interviews with the participants that deciding for an individual what his experience of the world should be creates the possibility of psychological distress.

The process of self-validation which required the rejection of the cultural scenarios is also of interest as regards psychological health. The participants indicate that they passed through a process of evaluating themselves and the cultural scenarios related to their sexuality. The result of this process is one where they arrived at the position of throwing off society's invalidation of their experience and defined for themselves what is morally acceptable; this achieved a congruence between their experience of the world, their behaviour and their morality. This position is one of greater psychological health: P1 no longer indicates problems with withdrawal, P2 has passed through his '...trauma for a few years', P3 is overcoming his difficulties around sexuality and is no longer guarded and P4 is no longer troubled by 'guilt, remorse, fearfulness'. Instead there is a sense in the interviews of the participants having taken control of their lives and of managing their positions very well. For this group the process of re-evaluation took place on a cognitive level; this reflects the nature of the group, in that they are all highly educated. The process may not occur in the same cognitive way for other people.

These results have implications for psychology and specifically for therapy when dealing with people who belong to marginalised groups and are in a position of incongruence between their experience and the way such experience is interpreted by the dominant cultural scenarios. The results indicate that passing through a process of self-validation by adapting or rejecting the cultural scenarios can lead to greater psychological health due to a better fit between their experience and their moral structure. Therapy can play an important role in this, whether it is conducted on an individual level or on the level of the subculture.

## General Approach to Interacting with the World

There seems to be a similarity in the way in which the participants approach their interaction with the world. Beyond the level of a different morality it is possible, again based on the experience of rejection and having passed through a conscious process of self-evaluation and evaluation of the morality presented by society, that the participants have an epistemology which has common elements.

### Level of Self-awareness

The participants all show a high level of, and a high value placed on, self-awareness. This can possibly be traced to the process of self-evaluation as discussed above and the value of being explicit about what one wants and doesn't want. This is combined with an articulateness about oneself. The position presented on moral issues and issues concerning their lives often has a sense of having been carefully thought through.

### Meta-level Processing

The approach to morality (and especially the rejection of blanket rules and rather seeing morality as related to the situation in which actions occur) indicate an approach which can be described as operating on a meta-level. Having been forced to go through a process of self-evaluation and evaluation of the dominant cultural scenarios trains one to see morality and reality not as God-given, inevitable and universal but rather as manmade and arising out of the needs of society within specific circumstances. Pronger (1978) makes a similar suggestion regarding the Gay community in general. He suggests that Gays develop an 'ironic' way of interpreting the world. He maintains that Gay men are not unaware of, and at times use the spectrum of masculine and feminine behaviours, but in the process of coming out and regarding the confusion between sexual orientation and gender roles there is a conscious reinterpretation of the meaning of masculine and feminine behaviours. "Indeed for many Gay men, masculinity and femininity cease to be experienced as what

one is, and they become quite consciously, ways in which one acts” (Pronger, 1978, p.118). In addition, he suggests, Gay men will use masculine and feminine behaviours at will, depending on the social context and what they are trying to present. Thus masculine behaviour may be performed to hide their Gayness in one context and in another feminine or camp behaviour may be performed to indicate their Gayness. Pronger suggests that because of this Gay men learn to contextualise their experiences and part of this experience is the fluidity of gender roles. This experience of fluidity then can dispose Gay men to a special way of understanding the world. “Passing [as being heterosexual] predisposes Gay men to a sense of irony” (p.120). The irony lies in the interplay between appearance (heterosexual ) and reality (Gay) and in this they consciously take on a role and are always in the position of an outsider, an observer who seems part of the action and in this there is always a sense of looking at the world from a higher place.

#### Consciously Creating One’s Life

Operating at a meta-level creates the situation where one is aware of the extent to which one has control over one’s life and this leads to a situation in which one lives consciously in terms of deciding what one wants and moving to obtain this. Also there is a sense of choice about life and of creating the life which one wishes to lead. All these can be related to the process discussed above in that, being forced to reject the scripts proposed by society, these people are forced to define their own scripts and this sense of needing consciously to decide the course of one’s life for oneself empowers one to apply that to one’s life in general.

#### Defining New Ways of Gender Behaviour

A critical evaluation has been made by a number of writers, especially feminist ones, of the current cultural scenarios relating to gender. McGoldrick (1989) suggests that for men the primary values which they are expected to internalise are separation, differentiation and autonomy while for women they are caring and attachment, interdependence, relationship and attention to context. Resulting from this she suggests

men have difficulty in acknowledging their vulnerability, doubt and imperfection: doubt, guilt, sense of inferiority, awareness of role confusion are defined out of a healthy identity. She also believes that men have difficulty with intimacy. Goldner (1989) points to the need, in order to conform to gender cultural scenarios, that individuals have to deny aspects of themselves which conform to that supposedly appropriate for the opposite gender. She suggests that this results in a false self system and suggests an alternative. Instead of the “hegemony of one consciously coherent sex-appropriate view of oneself” she suggests the “capacity to tolerate ambiguity and the instability of these profoundly personal and ideologically charged categories of experience” (Goldner, 1989, p.258). As Kinsman (1995) points out, recent changes have put into question the patriarchal, gender and sexual relations established during the last Century and a prolonged crisis in sexual and gender relations and in the meaning of sexuality has occurred.

To a large extent, because of the confusion between homosexuality and gender deviance, Gays have escaped these firm gender stereotypes and there is possibly a recursive relationship between the way Gays are today able to openly display ‘gender-inappropriate’ behaviour and the loosening of these stereotypical cultural scenarios regarding gender. This, together with Pronger’s (1978) ideas about Gays being fluid in the gender behaviour they adopt and being able to use gender behaviour to achieve an end rather than being immersed in it, has released Gays and Queers to define their gender behaviour in ways different to that prescribed by society’s cultural scenarios. This is shown in the interviews with the participants in a number of ways.

Taking McGoldrick’s (1989) primary values for males and females, there seems to be amongst the participants all the values she ascribes to males: separation, autonomy and differentiation but also the values she ascribes to females: caring and attachment, interdependence, relationship and attention to context. There is also no sense that the participants have the difficulties that she suggests are likely for men, that is, difficulty in acknowledging their vulnerability or difficulty with intimacy, in fact these seemed to be prized values amongst the participants. In contradiction of Goldner’s (1989)

suggestions of the development of a false self system in conforming to gender categories, the participants, having rejected the gender cultural scenarios provided by society, seem to have incorporated aspects of both genders successfully into their behaviour. These people have created a new way of behaving with regard to the gender categories provided by society.

### Defining New Ways of Relationship

De Cecco & Shively (1983/4) suggest that we need to move away from the concepts of sexual identity when considering relationships and rather look at what they term the structure of relationships. It is useful to use the framework which they provide in doing this. They suggest that a sexual relationship can be defined by its structure: the attitudes of the partners and their treatment of each other as regards beliefs about biological sex, masculinity and femininity, complementarity, exclusivity, sensuousity, intimacy and permanency. These attitudes they believe are “unique amalgams of personal and societal knowledge and meanings. ... [and] the structure of sexual relationships ... exist as an intersection of both the uniquely personal meanings of the individual partners and a locus in history and society” (De Cecco & Shively, 1983/4, p.15). Using this framework it can be seen that the participants in the study have developed ways of relationship which are different to those which predominate in society. The issues of masculinity have been touched on in the previous section but can be taken further to look at the way reconceptualising masculinity can impact on the way relationships are formed.

Heterosexual relationships are imbued with the relative power positions and appropriate behaviour ascribed to the different genders. Even if a conscious effort is made to equalise the relationship, the framework within which this is done is always with reference to the unequal power assigned to men and to women. A number of writers, feminist and otherwise, have pointed to power being one of the defining features of the relationship between men and women. Pronger (1978) points to power as being one of the distinguishing features of masculinity and this power is provided

not out of the actual circumstances but from the way in which men and women are assigned differential power in the culture. He suggests that “one of the techniques for the subordination of women by men is a complex semiotic of masculine and feminine behaviors that communicate power” (Pronger, 1978, p.116). Fracher and Kimmel (1987) suggest that gender is the main building block of sexual identity and in this men are created as the ‘doer’ and women as the ‘gatekeeper’ of what is allowed. These power designations form the basis of heterosexual relationships.

With Gay relationships both parties, being of the same gender, are assigned the same power by the society and there are then no external ground rules according to which power issues in the relationship are decided. Although many Gays attempt to model their relationship on the gender differences of heterosexual relations, this is not true of the participants of the study who instead seem to base their relationships on negotiation and informed consent. This is possibly related to Pronger’s (1978) idea of some Gays having a sense of irony in their relationship with the world and of working from a meta-level. Realising that gender-appropriate behaviour is man-made and not eternal and intrinsic to reality allows the individual partners to experiment with different ways of relating and as far as the participants of the study are concerned this seems to be done through negotiation with power imbalances being managed through the value placed on informed consent. As with the ideas of De Cecco and Shively (1983/4), power is exercised as if residing within the relationship rather than in some external power, the rules governing the relationship and establishing its boundaries are created and modified through negotiation and the structure of the relationship reflects the attitudes and values of the individuals who comprise it, regardless of the prevailing morality. With this De Cecco and Shively suggest a morality of obligation is replaced by a morality of choice. The problems which may result from this approach are unclear from the study, partly due to the way in which the questions were structured and also because of the way the participants have chosen to present themselves.

As regards complementarity the interviews indicate that relationships are structured in a complementary way as a result of negotiations. Further it seems that the form of

complementarity is not rigid but rather flexible. This is shown by the ease with which partners take on either a passive or active role as far as anal sex is concerned, assuming that sexual behaviours between the partners are representative of their interaction generally. So although the partners are not complementary in the relationship according to the usual gender stereotypes, they have developed new forms of complementarity. In addition, there is a sense in some of the relationships of seeing the relationship as being one of providing for the other and helping him to move in the direction in which he would like to go.

Attitudes regarding exclusivity seem to be flexible, reflecting not rigid rules nor the provided cultural scenarios, but rather being the result of negotiations between the partners in the relationship. Some have opted for sexually exclusive relationships, others have invited others into their relationship but in a controlled way, and others have relationships which allow sexual liaisons outside the relationship. The non-exclusive relationships seem to be underpinned by the value placed on self-expression and the idea that sexual behaviours are permissible as long as they are based on informed consent.

The issue of permanency is also flexible in that some see their relationships as the most important aspects of their lives and as permanent. Others tend to see the relationships as something which both parties want at the moment and that this may change in the future and the relationships may then end. This second attitude does not mean that the partners are not committed to the relationship but should probably rather be seen in the context of the value which is placed on self-expression and of self-development.

The structure of these relationships is then in many ways different to that provided by the cultural scenarios of the culture which tend to conform to gender categories and to demand exclusivity and permanency.

## Defining New Ways of Being in the World

Foucault, according to Halperin (1995), sees sex as important because it is a crucial aspect of what he terms biopower which is “the modern political procedure of regulating human life by means of expert techniques (statistics, demographics, eugenics, sterilisation etc) - techniques that make possible a strategic alliance between specialised knowledge and institutional power in the state’s management of life” (p.41). Defiance in the sexual arena he sees as being of great importance in liberating humankind from the restrictions placed on him by society. He specifically points to the Queer position as being important:

it is from the eccentric positionality occupied by the Queer subject that it may be possible to envision a variety of possibilities for re-ordering relations among sexual behaviors, erotic identities, constructions of gender, forms of knowledge, regimes of enunciation, logics of representation, modes of self-construction and practices of community - for restructuring, that is, the relations among power, truth and desire. (Halperin, 1995, p.62)

Similarly Kinsman (1995) sees Gay liberation as

challenging the gender and social policies of the state, suggesting that sexual activity does not have to be solely for reproduction, but can also be for play, pleasure, love and support and questioning the very right of the state to regulate people’s sexual lives ... Gay liberation ... is fundamentally a struggle to transform the norms and definitions of sexual regulation. ... a fundamental aspect ... would be the elaboration and exploration of the experiences and visions of those living outside institutionalised heterosexuality. (pp.412-415)

Foucault (in Halperin, 1995) also talks of a way of interacting with the world which is connected to the Queer position which he calls practices of the self. It is important to be clear that “Foucault’s conception [of] the self is not a personal identity so much as it is a relation of reflexivity, a relation of the human subject to itself in its power and freedom” (Halperin, 1995, pp.75-76). These practices of the self are deliberate

practices according to which men set themselves rules of conduct and seek to transform themselves. For Foucault it is a matter of realising oneself by becoming other than what one is and as far as Gays are concerned he sees them as refusing the modes of life offered and to be in a state of becoming. Foucault connects this to caring for oneself which he sees as a set of elaborate and rigorous practices, a heightened scrutiny of oneself, constant monitoring of one's behaviour, and a holistic and therapeutic regimen of mind and body which will lead to self-mastery, self-sufficiency and happiness. There are two aspects in which the participants of the study seem to conform to Foucault's ideas. The first is in transforming oneself into something other than what one is. This is a theme which pervades the experience of the participants of rejecting society's definition and consciously creating themselves and their lives. The second aspect which is clear as regards some of the participants is the use of sex to achieve this. Some of the participants speak of using sex to extend the boundaries of their experience, to explore new forms of relating and in this to transform themselves. Once again this is very different to the general societal use which is made of sex and in this the participants provide a different way of being in the world.

### **Implications for Society**

The results of this study indicate that if society provides cultural scenarios which are greatly at variance with an individual's experience of the world, that individual may reject these cultural scenarios and develop his or her own behavioural scripts at the level of intrapsychic scripting. This has implications for a number of groups in society. The position of criminals is one of these groups. Although the issue of criminality (which is an issue of disobeying the norms and rules of society) is complex, one of the strands in this complexity is the behavioural scripts to which the individual adheres. If society provides a cultural scenario like 'you should not steal' when an individual's experience is that those who do steal are well off and admired in the community then the individual will possibly reject the dominant cultural scenario and adhere rather to the norms more in tune with his experience. That some continue to conform to the dominant cultural scenario is possibly due to the dominant cultural scenario being

reinforced by other groups like the family. This is an issue which is beyond the scope of the present study.

The results of the study are also relevant for other marginalised groups in a society. Some possible examples are immigrants from other African countries in South Africa, obese people, people who are HIV+, black South Africans during the Apartheid era (and possibly still today), young white males in post-Apartheid South Africa. The results of the study indicate that being marginalised may result in psychological distress and the process through which the research participants passed may provide an example for others who are in a marginalised position. The role of Gay community structures in providing continual positive reinforcement through institutions like the Gay pride parade, the Gay games and efforts to develop positive role models provide an example of how other marginalised groups can act to reject the dominant cultural scenarios and achieve self-empowerment.

In order for any society to function it is necessary that 'rules' of how individuals interact within that society should be laid down. This is done firstly through socialising the citizens of the society into a particular view of reality and into particular ways of behaving (i.e. cultural scenarios reinforced by moral systems) and secondly through formal laws governing interactions and relationships. The cultural scenarios only function efficiently when they are relevant to the experience of the citizens of the society. Two situations in which a disparity between the cultural scenarios and the experience of the citizens will occur are:

- when there is a wide variation of the experience of the citizens (the society is strongly heterogeneous) with the cultural scenarios unable to cater for this diversity;
- when there is a period of rapid social change with the cultural scenarios being unable to adapt sufficiently quickly to the changes.

In these two situations a dislocation between the dominant cultural scenarios and the experience of large numbers of the population is likely to occur resulting in the cultural scenarios losing their power leading to possible social conflict and dislocation with the

probability of an increase in psychological distress. This is currently overlaid by the undermining of overarching cultural scenarios by the postmodern philosophical position.

The Queer group which has been the focus of this study is one which exists within the social setting of the global community and a postmodern philosophical approach. There is thus a congruence between this setting, their experience of the world and the moral norms which they have developed. In addition it is only the existence of this postmodern setting which has allowed them the possibility of establishing these norms. They could not, for example, easily have developed in Zimbabwe considering the understanding of experience and the meaning assigned to homosexual behaviour which currently pertains in that society. With the diffusion of human experience which is occurring in the postmodern world it is appropriate that intrapsychic behavioural scripts develop on the level of subgroups in order to cater for this diversity. This is not necessarily true of people who do not live within a postmodern social setting.

South Africa is a society of great cultural and social diversity and a part of this diversity is that some people live in a postmodern social setting but a far greater number of people live in social settings which are not postmodern and in many cases are strongly traditional and conservative. Considering the experience of these people, it is unlikely that the behavioural scripts evolved, as with the Queer group, at the level of intrapsychic scripting would be appropriate. Rather cultural scenarios dictated by socialising organisations such as the church may be more appropriate in managing their interactions with each other and with the world. This difference is shown by the recent debate within the Bishops' Conference of the Anglican church held in Lambeth, England (Bunting, 1998; Dalrymple, 1998). The debate which caused the greatest disagreement concerned whether the church should recognise homosexual relationships. The conference was split with the bishops from Western countries (US, Australia and Britain) supporting recognition and the bishops from Africa and Asian countries reaffirming the church's traditional teaching on the immorality of homosexuality. This split can be seen as being between post-paradigmatic societies

(the Western countries) which accept morality at the level of intrapsychic scripting and paradigmatic societies (the African and Asian countries) which still operate at the level of cultural scenarios. This conflict is present within our own society where groups of people operate at different levels of scripting: there is a group who is in contact with a global culture and who probably operate at the level of intrapsychic scripting while the majority of the population still operates at the level of cultural scenarios. These two general groupings are not isolated but rather interact and influence each other resulting in a conflict concerning morality and behavioural scripting. The diversity of our society is thus catered for by competing cultural scenarios of which the postmodern behavioural script of defining behavioural scripts on the intrapsychic level is merely one.

The interaction of this complexity creates enormous tensions in the society and makes it increasingly difficult for laws to be enacted which cater for all situations.

In order to achieve social harmony it is likely that cultural scenarios have to be enacted on a level less general than the societal level: on the level of the community, and that there needs to be tolerance between the communities of the differences in cultural scenarios that they instil in their members.

## Closure

We have seen, in this study, how the meaning given to sexual behaviour differs between societies and over time within the same society. Currently in Western society, and largely within South Africa, the essentialist concept of sexuality as a dangerous, natural, inherent force which needs to be controlled dominates. This has recently been challenged by the social constructionist approach which views sexuality as largely socially constructed.

We have also seen how there has been a strict management of sexuality largely through the creation of a particular reality as well as through behavioural scripts which

are reinforced by the morality inculcated through social institutions like the family and the church. More recently the control has also been managed by the scientific designation of certain sexual acts as pathological. This control has restricted sexual behaviour for all individuals to the extent that largely only heterosexual vaginal penetration within marriage has been viewed as acceptable. From an historical perspective the control has changed from, in the pre-Christian world, maintaining the social distinction between the citizens of the state and the others; to, in the Christian period, maintaining the distinction between the spiritual self and the base sexual self and in the scientific discourse between the natural norm and pathological deviations.

Within this general management of the sexual behaviour of individuals, homosexual behaviour has especially been condemned. Within the religious discourse it has been seen as an especially heinous sin of which anyone is capable. The scientific discourse presented a different view in that it saw homosexual behaviour as a deviant characteristic defining a particular group of people – homosexuals. So the scientific discourse was instrumental in defining homosexuals as a separate group of people.

Both the meaning given to and the control of sexual behaviour has to a great extent been related to the social conditions pertaining at the time and it is these conditions which have largely dictated the morality which has been developed and the way in which homosexual behaviour has been viewed. The presentation of the social constructionist discourse has caused a change in these social conditions and has allowed the meaning given to sexuality and to homosexual behaviour to be amended.

It is against these broad social contexts that the study needs to be seen:

- the control of sexuality generally and the condemnation of homosexual behaviour specifically as sinful or pathological;
- the scientific discourse officially defining homosexuals as a separate group of people; and
- the social constructionist view which presents sexuality as largely socially constructed.

The first allows an understanding of the meaning which society has given to homosexual behaviour which in turn has influenced the meaning given by homosexuals to their behaviour and the way they view themselves as homosexuals. The second allows an understanding of the development of a group consciousness of people who partake in homosexual behaviour as defining themselves as gay and later as a subgroup defining themselves as Queer. The third allows an understanding of the current social conditions which allow this group to redefine the meaning they give to their behaviour and the way they view themselves in opposition to the meaning provided by society and which allows them to develop morality and norms in defiance of social morality and norms.

The study has focussed on:

- the nature of the norms this group has developed;
- the process by which this has occurred; and
- the psychological effects of this process.

The study has found that the research participants have developed new norms and behavioural scripts significantly different to those pertaining in our society. These new behavioural scripts relate to the socially mandated scripts in various ways. In some cases the socially mandated scripts have been rejected, in others they have been adapted and amended and in others they have been inverted. These changes are largely related to the experience of this group in that many of them spring out of the experience of being rejected and stigmatised. The changes which they have made have been a move to bring a greater congruence between their experience, their morality and their behavioural scripts.

As regards the process by which these new behavioural scripts have been developed, the study has found that the participants passed through a number of processes:

- realisation of a divergence between their behaviour and the socially mandated

- behavioural scripts;
- initial acceptance of the socially mandated behavioural scripts paralleled by psychological distress;
  - evaluation of the socially mandated behavioural scripts and of themselves as moral persons;
  - rejection of the socially mandated behavioural scripts and morality regarding sexual behaviour;
  - development of new behavioural scripts at the level of intrapsychic scripting; and
  - development of new cultural scenarios at the level of the subgroup culture.

The psychological effects of these processes were found to be that the initial period of divergence between the socially mandated behavioural scripts and their sexual behaviour was marked by psychological distress while the move to a greater congruence between behaviour and behavioural scripts was characterised by greater psychological empowerment and sense of self-worth.

The study has also shown that during these processes other differences developed between the way these people act in their world and the general norm of society. These differences included a greater self-awareness; an ability to operate at a meta-level; an effort to create the life that one wants; differences in gender behaviour which incorporated behavioural aspects of both genders and new forms of establishing and maintaining relationships. In all the study shows that the way in which these people are living their lives is significantly different to the behavioural scripts provided and mandated by society. They have defined a new way of being in the world.

## REFERENCES

Almaguer, T. (1995). Chicano men: A cartography of homosexual identity and behavior. In M.S. Kimmel & M.A. Messner (Eds.), *Men's lives* (pp.421-432). Needham Heights, Mass: Allyn & Bacon.

Bell, A.P., & Weinberg, M.S. (1978). *Homosexualities: A study of diversity among men and women*. New York: Simon & Schuster.

Bell, A.P., Weinberg, M.S., & Hammersmith, S.K. (1981). *Sexual preference: Its development in men and women*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

Berube, A. (1989). Marching to a different drummer: Lesbian and gay GIs in World War II. In M.B. Duberman, M. Vicinus, & G. Chauncey (Eds.), *Hidden from history: Reclaiming the gay and lesbian past* (pp.989-394). New York: NAL.

Boswell, J. (1989). Revolutions, universals and sexual categories. In M.B. Duberman, M. Vicinus, & G. Chauncey (Eds.), *Hidden from history: Reclaiming the gay and lesbian past* (pp.17-36). New York: NAL.

Brown, L.S. (1989). Lesbians, gay men and their families: Common clinical issues. *Journal of Gay & Lesbian Psychotherapy*, 1(1), 65-77.

Bullough, V.L. (1976). *Sexual variance in society and history*. New York: Wiley.

Burg, B.R. (1985). Ho hum, another work of the devil: buggery and sodomy in early Stuart England. In S.J. Licata, & R.P. Peterson (Eds.), *The gay past: A collection of historical essays* (pp.69-78). New York: Harrington Press.

Bunting, M. (1998). Anglicans preach gay hate. *Mail & Guardian*, August 7 to 13, 17.

Cass, V.C. (1983/4). Homosexual identity: A concept in need of definition. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 9(2/3), 105-126.

Chauncey, J. Jr. (1989). Christian brotherhood or sexual perversion? Homosexual identities and the construction of sexual boundaries in the World War I era. In M.B. Duberman, M. Vicinus, & G. Chauncey (Eds.), *Hidden from history: Reclaiming the gay and lesbian past* (pp.294-317). New York: NAL.

Cochran, S.D., & Mays, V.M. (1995). Sociocultural facets of the black gay male experience. In M.S. Kimmel, & M.A. Messner (Eds.), *Men's lives* (pp.433-451). Needham Heights, Mass: Allyn & Bacon.

Coleman, E. (1982): Developmental stages of the coming out process. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 7, 1-9.

Dalrymple, T. (1998). Straight and narrow. *Sunday Times*, August 23, 21.

De Cecco, J.P. (1981). Definition and meaning of sexual orientation. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 6, 51-59.

De Cecco, J.P., & Shively, M.G. (1983/4). From sexual identity to sexual relationships: A contextual shift. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 9(2/3), 1-26.

D'Emilio, J. (1989). Gay politics and community in San Francisco since World War II. In M.B. Duberman, M. Vicinus, & G. Chauncey (Eds.), *Hidden from history: Reclaiming the gay and lesbian past* (pp.456-473). New York: NAL.

Dixon, B.R., Bouma, G.D., & Atkinson, G.B.J. (1987). *A Handbook of social science research*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Duberman, M.B. (1985). "Writhing bedfellows": 1826: Two young men from antebellum South Carolina's ruling elite share "extravagant delight". In S.J. Licata, & R.P. Peterson, (Eds.), *The gay past: A collection of historical essays* (pp.85-102). New York: Harrington Press.

Duberman, M.B., Vicinus, M., & Chauncey, G. (Eds.) (1989). *Hidden from history: Reclaiming the gay and lesbian past*. New York: NAL.

Dunbar Moodie, T. (With Ndatshe, V. & Sibuyi, B.) (1989). Migrancy and male sexuality on the South African gold mines. In M.B. Duberman, M. Vicinus, & G. Chauncey (Eds.), *Hidden from history: Reclaiming the gay and lesbian past* (pp.411-425). New York: NAL.

Foucault, M. (1976). *The History of sexuality: Vol. 1: An introduction*. London: Penguin Books.

Fracher, J. & Kimmel, M.S. (1987). Hard issues and soft spots: Counselling men about sexuality. In M.S. Kimmel, & M.A. Messner (Eds.), *Men's lives* (pp.365-393). Needham Heights, Mass: Allyn & Bacon.

Gilbert, A.N. (1985). Conceptions of homosexuality and sodomy in Western Europe. In S.J. Licata, & R.P. Peterson (Eds.), *The gay past: A collection of historical essays* (pp.57-68). New York: Harrington Press.

Goldner, V.G. (1989). Generation and gender: Normative and covert hierarchies. In M. McGoldrick, C.M. Anderson, & F. Walsh (Eds.), *Women in families: A framework for family therapy* (pp. 40-62). New York: W.W. Norton & Co, Inc.

Goldner, V.G. (1991). Towards a critical relational theory of gender. *Psychoanalytic Dialogues*, 1/3, 249-272.

Haeberle, E.J. (1985). "Stigmata of degeneration": Prisoner markings in Nazi concentration camps. In S.J. Licata, & R.P. Peterson (Eds.), *The gay past: A collection of historical essays* (pp.135-140). New York: Harrington Press.

Halperin, D.M. (1989). Sex before sexuality: pederasty, politics and power in classical Athens. In M.B. Duberman, M. Vicinus, & G. Chauncey (Eds.), *Hidden from history: Reclaiming the gay and lesbian past* (pp.37-53). New York: NAL.

Halperin, D.M. (1995). *Saint=Foucault: Towards a gay hagiography*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Hattingh, C. (1994). *The experience of gays and lesbians who are covert at work*. Unpublished dissertation: Grahamstown: Rhodes University.

Hollander, J.P. (1989): Restructuring lesbian social networks: Evaluation of an intervention. *Journal of Gay and Lesbian Psychotherapy*, 1(2), 63-71.

Huussen, A.H. Jr (1989). Sodomy in the Dutch republic during the Eighteenth Century. In M.B. Duberman, M. Vicinus, & G. Chauncey (Eds.), *Hidden from history: Reclaiming the gay and lesbian past* (pp.141-152). New York: NAL.

Isaacs, G. & McKendrick, B. (1992): *Male homosexuality in South Africa: Identity formation, culture and crisis*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.

Keeney, B.P. (1979): Ecosystemic epistemology: an alternative paradigm for diagnosis. *Family Process*, 18(2), 117-129.

Kennedy, H.C. (1985). The "third sex" theory of Karl Heinrich Ulrichs. In S.J. Licata, & R.P. Peterson, (Eds.), *The gay past: A collection of historical essays* (pp.103-112). New York: Harrington Press.

Kimmel, M.S. & Messner, M.A. (Eds.) (1995). *Men's lives*. Needham Heights, Mass: Allyn & Bacon.

Kinsey, A.C., Pomeroy, W.B., & Martin, C.E. (1948). *Sexual behavior in the human male*. Philadelphia: W.B. Saunders Co.

Kinsman, G. (1995). Men loving men: The challenge of gay liberation. In M.S. Kimmel, & M.A. Messner (Eds.), *Men's lives* (pp.407-420). Needham Heights, Mass: Allyn & Bacon.

Kleinberg, S. (1978). The new masculinity of gay men, and beyond. In M.S. Kimmel, & M.A. Messner (Eds.), *Men's lives* (pp.44-58). Needham Heights, Mass: Allyn & Bacon.

Kooden, H. (1994): The gay male therapist as an agent of socialization. *Journal of Gay and Lesbian Psychotherapy*, 2 (2) 39-64.

Krestan, J. & Bepko, C.S. (1980): The problem of fusion in the lesbian relationship. *Family Process*, 19, 277-289.

Kurdek, L.A. (1988): Relationship quality of gay and lesbian cohabiting couples. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 15(3/4), 93-118.

Laird, J. (1989). Women and stories: Restorying women's self-constructions. In M. McGoldrick, C.M. Anderson, & F. Walsh (Eds.), *Women in families: A framework for family therapy* (pp.65-89). New York: W.W. Norton & Co, Inc.

Lautmann, R. (1985). The pink triangle: The persecution of homosexual males in concentration camps in Nazi Germany. In S.J. Licata, & R.P. Peterson (Eds.), *The gay past: A collection of historical essays* (pp.141-160). New York: Harrington Press.

Licata, S.J. (1985). The homosexual rights movement in the United States: A traditionally overlooked area of modern history. In S.J. Licata, & R.P. Peterson (Eds.), *The gay past: A collection of historical essays* (pp.161-190). New York: Harrington Press.

Licata, S.J. & Peterson, R.P. (Eds.) (1985). *The gay past: A collection of historical essays*. New York: Harrington Press.

Martin, R.K. (1989). Knights-errant and gothic seducers: The representation of male friendship in Mid-nineteenth Century America. In M.B. Duberman, M. Vicinus, & G. Chauncey (Eds.), *Hidden from history: Reclaiming the gay and lesbian Past* (pp.169-182). New York: NAL.

Mattison, A.M. & McWirter, D.P. (1987): Stage discrepancy in male couples. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 14, 89-99.

McGoldrick, M. (1989). Women through the family life cycle. In M. McGoldrick, C.M. Anderson, & F. Walsh (Eds.), *Women in families: A framework for family therapy* (pp.103-124). New York: W.W. Norton & Co, Inc.

McGoldrick, M., Anderson, C.M., & Walsh, F. (Eds.) (1989). *Women in families: A framework for family therapy*. New York: W.W. Norton & Co, Inc.

McIntosh, M. (1981). The homosexual role. In K. Plummer (ed.), *The making of the modern homosexual* (pp.28-52). Totowa, NJ: Barnes & Noble Books.

McWhirter, D.P. & Mattison, A.M. (1984). *The male couple: How relationships develop*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Mendes-Leite, R. (1993). A game of appearances: The "ambiguous sexuality" in Brazilian culture of sexuality. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 25/3, 271-282.

Minton, H.L. (1995). *Toward an emancipatory psychology: Historical lessons from the construction of homosexuality*. Paper presented at the meeting of the international society for theoretical psychology, Carleton University, Ottawa, May 1995.

Monter, E.W. (1985). Sodomy and heresy in early modern Switzerland. In S.J. Licata, & R.P. Peterson (Eds.), *The gay past: A collection of historical essays* (pp.41-56). New York: Harrington Press.

Nel, J. & Joubert, K.D. (1997). Coming out of the closet: A gay experience. *Unisa Psychologia*, 24/1, 17-31.

Ng, V.W. (1989). Homosexuality and the state in late imperial China. In M.B. Duberman, M. Vicinus, & G. Chauncey (Eds.), *Hidden from history: Reclaiming the gay and lesbian past* (pp.76-89). New York: NAL.

Padgug, R. (1989). Sexual matters: Rethinking sexuality in history. In M.B. Duberman, M. Vicinus, & G. Chauncey (Eds.), *Hidden from history: Reclaiming the gay and lesbian past* (pp.54-64). New York: NAL.

Peplau, L.A., & Cochran, S.D. (1981): Value orientations in the intimate relationships of gay men. *Journal of Homosexuality*. 6(3), 1-19.

Plummer, K. (1975). *Sexual stigma: An interactionist account*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Plummer, K. (1981). *The making of the modern homosexual*. Totowa, NJ: Barnes & Noble Books.

Pronger, B. (1978). Gay jocks: A phenomenology of gay men in athletics. In M.S. Kimmel, & M.A. Messner (Eds.), *Men's lives* (pp.114-134). Needham Heights, Mass: Allyn & Bacon.

Rabin, C. (1992): The cultural context in treating a lesbian couple: An Israeli experience. *Journal of Strategic and Systemic Therapies*, 11 (4) 42-58.

Reber, A.S. (1985). *The Penguin dictionary of psychology*. London: Penguin Books.

Ross, M.W. (1983). *The married homosexual man: A psychological study*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Ross, M.W. (Ed.) (1988). *The treatment of homosexuals with mental health disorders*. New York: Harrington Park Press.

Rosser, B.S., & Ross, M.W. (1989). A gay life events scale (GALES) for homosexual men. *Journal of Gay & Lesbian Psychotherapy*, 1(2) 87-101.

Saslow, J.M. (1989). Homosexuality in the Renaissance: Behaviour, identity, and artistic expression. In M.B. Duberman, M. Vicinus, & G. Chauncey (Eds.), *Hidden from history: Reclaiming the gay and lesbian past* (pp.90-105). New York: NAL.

Schalow, P.G. (1989). Male love in early modern Japan: A literary depiction of the "youth". In M.B. Duberman, M. Vicinus, & G. Chauncey (Eds.), *Hidden from history: Reclaiming the gay and lesbian past* (pp.118-128). New York: NAL.

Shively, M.G. & De Cecco, J.P. (1977). Components of sexual identity. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 3(1) 41-48.

Simon, W. & Gagnon, J.H. (1986). Sexual scripts: Permanence and change. *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, 15.2. 97-120.

Singleton, R., Straits, B.C., Straits, M.M. & McAllister, R.J. (1988). *Approaches to social research*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Siverstein, C. & White, E. (1977). *The joy of gay sex*. New York: Crown.

Steakley, J.D. (1989). Iconography of a scandal; Political cartoons and the Eulenburg affair in Wilhelmin Germany. In M.B. Duberman, M. Vicinus, & G. Chauncey (Eds.), *Hidden from history: Reclaiming the gay and lesbian past* (pp.233-263). New York: NAL.

Toy, J. (1991): "Coming out" groups: A university resource. *Social Work in Education*, 13, 4, 257-264.

Trumbach, R. (1989). The birth of the queen: Sodomy and the emergence of gender equality in modern culture, 1600-1750. In M.B. Duberman, M. Vicinus, & G. Chauncey (Eds.), *Hidden from history: Reclaiming the gay and lesbian past* (pp.129-140). New York: NAL.

Ussher, J.M. (1991): Family and couples therapy with gay and lesbian clients: Acknowledging the forgotten minority. *Journal of Family Therapy*, 13, 131-148.

Weeks, J. (1981). *Sex, politics and society: The regulation of sexuality since 1800*. London: Hutchinson.

Weeks, J. (1989). Inverts, perverts, and Mary-annes: Male prostitution and the regulation of homosexuality in England in the Nineteenth and early Twentieth Centuries. In M.B. Duberman, M. Vicinus, & G. Chauncey (Eds.), *Hidden from history: Reclaiming the gay and lesbian past* (pp.195-211). New York: NAL.

Whitam, F.L. (1991): Homophobia and heterosexism in sociology. *Journal of Gay and Lesbian Psychotherapy*, 1, 4, 31-44.

# **APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW SCRIPTS**

## **SCRIPT 1**

K: Ok can we just start by looking at intimate relationships. How many intimate relationships have you had in your life? I'm talking about significant ones rather than one-night stands or going out with someone for two weeks.

P1: Probably about ten.

K: Ok. Which of these names best describes who you think you are? Gay, homosexual, queer, fag, moffie.

P1: Gay.

K: why do you think that is the best one?

P1: Because it is the least stigmatised.

K: Is there any other name you think would better describe you?

P1: Well essentially I think from a scientific point of view, yes I am homosexual as opposed to heterosexual. Queer I like that because I am very different and I think that being Queer means Queer means different, means not conforming. Moffie, I use moffie when I am intentionally being derogatory about myself. Fag in the same vein as moffie.

K: Ok, so you seem to identify with Queer as well. Do you see yourself as very different to other people?

P1: Yes.

K: different to other people in the Gay community?

P1: To most people, I think.

K: In what way? In what way are you different to other people in the Gay community?

P1: I think differently, I'm not trying to model my relationships and my life on a heterosexual model.

K: Who are you out to? To what extent or to which groups of people are you out to? For example family, friends, at work, those types of areas?

P1: To everybody. I'd like to just qualify that. I'm not ....., I don't take the information and force it down anybody's throat but I certainly don't conceal it.

K: Ok so you don't make an issue of it but you don't conceal it either.

P1: Ja.

K: Ok, can we now move on to sexuality. How would you describe your sexuality generally?

P1: I don't know what you mean.

K: Basically I want it to be a fairly unstructured question so I don't want to ask specifically, anything that comes to mind in terms of your sexuality.

P1: In terms of my sexuality, I am very highly sexed, I like men, I like the idea of having sex with men, I like the idea of having a look at completely straight men and finding things about those men that I actually find a turn on. I don't find anything sexually attractive about women at all. I can see a woman and say she's quite pretty, the same way as I can see a vase of flowers and say 'ja it's pretty'. I'm very comfortable with my sexuality, I don't feel that I have to make excuses at work at all or explain it and I also don't think that I have to try and find reasons for it. It's just what is a natural thing.

K: Do you think your sexuality is different to the sexuality generally of other people?

P1: No I don't think so at all. No I don't think so. I think you get isolated, not really isolated, you get a lot of cases I think of Gay people that are not comfortable with their sexuality whereas I'm very comfortable with it. But I also think that you get heterosexual guys that are as comfortable with their sexuality as I am with mine and being quite honest about the fact that they're perving all the time. Except that they are heterosexual and I'm homosexual. So I really don't think that its different. I don't think that my sexuality sits differently with me as opposed to other people.

K: I suppose that some people would say that being homosexual means that your sexuality is different. And a large part of society would be derogatory about Gay sexuality.

S; Yes.

K: What's your view on that? How ....., what is your view on that and how do you think that impacts you in terms of who you are?

P1: Ok, I think that heterosexual society perceives us as being deviant, different to the norm. I think that a lot of them say that they accept it but that their acceptance is only at a superficial level. I think that when it gets down to the nitty gritty of the actual sex itself, I think most heterosexual people are disgusted with it. They might be disgusted.

K: And how does that, how has that impacted your sexuality?

P1: It did originally when I was first involved, it was not something that I wanted to discuss with people because I didn't want them to think that I was doing disgusting things. I also tried

to spend a lot of time ..., because with straight people, I find generally they try to look for a cause, once they've established a cause they find it more palatable. So I spent a lot of time looking for causes, what it can be.

K: Why you were Gay?

P1: Yes, whether it was a bad father relationship, a bad mother relationship or an exceptionally good one of those relationships, whatever the case may be. I couldn't come up with any conclusive reason why I was Gay. And I think once I actually said you know for me this is how it is and I'm very happy and I'm very comfortable with it, I actually started caring less and less about whether other people found it palatable or not.

K: So do you think that society's view impacted the way you expressed your sexuality, I mean you've spoken in terms of the way you viewed it as opposed to ... but in terms of actual expression of sexuality do you think that society's condemnatory view impacted on the way you expressed your sexuality?

P1: Only to the extent that it became more closeted. So I would need to make sure that I was in a very, very safe environment to express my sexuality.

K: I know this is a difficult question because I know ....., I'm sure there are lots of different strands to everyone's sexuality but in terms of .., are you saying then that if you were with someone who was also Gay and you were in a private place, despite the fact that society was condemnatory, that didn't impact on your relationship with that particular person as far as sex was concerned?

P1: Ja, that's it exactly.

K: So, how has your sexuality changed over the years? Or two aspects, how has your view on ..., you have intimated that you became less concerned about what society thought, so that is obviously one of the ways that it has changed. But how has that changed your sexuality, how's your view on your sexuality, how's your view on sexuality generally changed, how has your actual sexuality changed?

P1: My view on it is that it has made me ..., as it's changed I've become more and more comfortable with myself and more and more comfortable with myself in the broader community. So I'm not apologising to anybody anymore and I'm not assessing a situation say because I am Gay I cannot go to a family function or I can't go to a wedding or whatever else it is.

K: So you are talking broader than just sexuality, your talking in terms of your interaction with the world as a Gay person.

P1: Yes, because I think that my sexuality is quite an integral part of me and what I had found at one stage was that I was finding it very difficult to go out into the broader community because I was actually concerned that people would start questioning that and saying you shouldn't be here and obviously taking that kind of value with me made me pretty withdrawn, pretty closed up. Then as I became more and more comfortable with it and also less and less caring about other people's judgement of it, it ..., I just feel that I opened up completely, in many, many different aspects.

K: If I understand what you are saying, you are saying that there was a process of you have to care less about what other people thought to be able to be who you were?

P1: Yes. I had to sit and measure up how I felt about myself and how I felt about myself in terms of other people's frame of reference. And the more comfortable I was feeling about myself the less I worried about how other people felt.

K: You've spoken about this change occurring due to evaluating yourself and caring less about what other people think and being more concerned about your own view. How do you think that actually happened, what made you able to do that?

P1: It's very, very interesting because the whole change came when I met somebody that I was really crazy about and I was very proud to have with me as my partner. So it actually started when I was very proud to make the announcement: 'This is the special person in my life'.

K: So it went from being a negative thing to your being proud of being associated with this person and proud of being in a relationship with him.

P1: Ja.

K: Is there anything else that has contributed to the development of your sexuality? Any major ..., you've pinpointed that there was this one particular guy, you've pinpointed that there was a self-evaluation which you went through. Any other formative influences?

P1: I think, ja, I think the more transparent I became about it, the more comfortable I was feeling about myself, and the less complexed I became about it.

K: Explain that to me.

P1: Well, originally thinking that if somebody finds out, you are anticipating a negative

reaction from them and then suddenly the negative reaction isn't forthcoming or else you are just treating it differently and it's like an upward spiral, the better you feel about yourself the better you begin to feel about yourself and it begins to expand and expand. And particularly with sexuality, at one stage for me was totally behind closed doors. The more exposed that I became the more differently I handled the adverse stuff and basically the stronger I became in it. Then I was able to say yes I am Gay and it's not an issue for me and I don't care whether it is an issue for anybody else. I found that I became stronger and I found that many different unrelated aspects of my life also started to benefit from it.

K: In what way?

P1: Well I stopped apologising to people like for instance at my work I would have felt that I needed to apologise, I needed to say to people I'm sorry that I'm Gay but to compensate for that I will do an extra specially good job for you. As soon as I stopped apologising for my sexuality, I found that it was no longer necessary to overcorrect in other areas.

K: So it sounds as though there was this general movement of acceptance and expression of who you were regardless of what other people would think, of which your sexuality was one part.

P1: Ja.

K: Can we distinguish between Gayness and sexuality? Gayness being sort of more than just the sexuality and sexuality being the way you express your sexuality basically. So I think I'm asking was it the development of yourself as a person, yourself as a Gay person and also the development of the expression of your sexuality.

P1: I'm not sure what you mean, run that by me again.

K: What I'm saying is it sounds as though you're saying that your acceptance of yourself as a Gay person and acceptance of your sexuality changed but also part of that was a change in accepting yourself as a person generally, not just as a Gay person.

P1: Ok, ja. What happened was I think it worked on two levels, the first was my sexuality where I accepted that I was homosexual and out of that I think grew the Gayness and acceptance of the Gayness and the Gay community and things that Gay people do that became ok and then once I was accepting that scenario then my whole acceptance of myself in a very much broader sense of the word took place.

K: And then as far as your view on sex and your expression of sex and your sexual behaviour,

did that change at all or did that stay the same?

P1: I think it stayed the same.

K: OK, I think I am asking was there a parallel development in the way you expressed your sexuality and the sexual activities and how you felt about sex and was there a development that paralleled your acceptance of being a Gay person or did it stay the same?

P1: No there was actually a change, there actually was a change because I never had sex hang-ups or hang-ups with sex and the actual act of sex being in the room with somebody, I've never really had a hang-up with it but I found that the more in tune I became with myself in the broader sense of the word, the more freedom I began to experience in terms of exploring other people's bodies and allowing them to explore mine. Kind of, ja it did change, there was definitely, I would say definitely a parallel.

K: So it sounds like an increased exploration outside of fairly sort of ..., it sounds as though your sexuality changed in the sense of exploring the other person's body more. So was this change from ....., in practical terms how did it change? Was it purely genital stimulation to a broader body stimulation? Or did it include kissing or did it include anal sex or was all of that there to start off with?

P1: No all of that was there to start off with. Right from the beginning it was all there. I have never had a problem with anal sex or with oral sex. But I found that the more that I was growing the closer my fantasies came to my realities. So previously where I would be with someone else and I would like to be doing this or I would fantasise about that, I suddenly started changing where I would start to express it.

K: So would it be true to say that you were clearer about what you wanted and were more able to express what you wanted?

P1: Yes.

K: And do you see that as being tied to the general better understanding of yourself and an ability to express generally who you were. You sort of pinpointed that type of development earlier.

P1: Yes I do and more particularly I tie it to my ability to (inaudible). Because previously I would (inaudible) you go to a work party and you don't want to get involved with (inaudible). When that was taken out of the equation altogether, my ability to go and speak without withholding information from people (inaudible). Now I am communicating a lot more about

what (inaudible) where I could say to somebody I like sucking your dick or things like that whereas previously I would like to do that but I don't ask if its ok with you. Then suddenly if it is ok to do that then it moves on to the point of actually saying, 'This is what I like doing and if its ok with you can I do it; and if its not ok with you then its fine'. So there are actually quite a lot of differences.

K: Did your morality about sexuality change or has that stayed ..., you said that you have never had a problem with sex? Do you think that your morality about sexuality is the same?

P1: What do you mean by morality? My morality in terms of .. Would you mean like the more ok I became about it being Gay... are you asking if previously something like rape for me was not ok and now suddenly I began to have a different view it becomes ok?

K: Ja that could be one, it is not necessarily only rape but it might have been before anal sex might not have been ok whereas now it is ok, before it might not have been ok for people to have sex outside a love relationship where now it might be ok for you to have it outside a relationship; camping might have been unacceptable for you before whereas now it might be acceptable. So I mean these different types of things on which people judge sexuality as moral or immoral, has the way you judge sexual morality changed?

P1: no.

K: You've spoken quite a bit about what seems the change in your sexuality was paralleled by a change in who you were in terms of expression etc etc. now as far as the way and the extent to which sexuality is integrated into your life, some people might keep it quite separate from their life, other people might integrate it into their lives quite strongly. How do you ... do you integrate your sexuality into your general life?

P1: Ja I do integrate it, it's very much a part of the whole picture and I do integrate it by ... Ja because it doesn't matter what situation I am in I can always identify .... and I can be sitting in the theatre and I can think that that person is sexually quite attractive. Its not a case of me (inaudible) I actually (inaudible).

K: Just to get back to morality, how do you view your morality generally, what is your general morality in terms of other people, what comes to you when you think of morality? What is morally important for you?

P1: Fairness and honesty.

K: Talk a bit about that.

P1: I think if you look at the honesty one first, I like the idea of people doing and saying exactly what is their truth for them. And I also like the idea that as time changes, their truth can change, I think it is very (inaudible). I like to have that honesty all the time, I like to have people saying this is what they're thinking, this is what they're feeling, this is what is not ok, this is what is great and I like to try and do that myself and I think that my sexuality has been a very clear issue for me. I don't have to be (inaudible). The other one was fairness, I think in terms of the fairness idea, for me it's a question of not invading other people's ....., or exposing things to other people, using other people, altering other people (inaudible) it creates for me (inaudible).

K: Have you always seen these qualities as important?

P1: I haven't always seen it as important. With the honesty thing, in my younger life I always thought wherever I was I was intentionally dishonest because I was holding out that I was straight or I was not disclosing that I was not straight or playing the game, cleverly playing the game.

K: And being dishonest about it?

P1: Yes.

K: Then as far as sexual morality is concerned, you ... general morality you say honesty and fairness. As far as sexual morality is concerned what do you see as important as far as sexual morality is concerned?

P1: I think again not imposing yourself on somebody else, I like the idea of communicating about ....., I like the idea of seeing someone and saying I like you very much and I would like to have sex with you. That for me creates a sense of honesty. I would appreciate the honesty coming back, saying yes or no I don't want to but I think that it is very easy to actually impose yourself and in inverted commas take advantage of somebody. In other words you basically forcing somebody to have sex with you when essentially you know that they don't want it.

K: So not impose on people. In terms of things like ..., like I mean society has lots of morality around sexuality in terms of the number of partners, the type of sexual acts you take part in, where you have sex, whether you have sex out of relationships, those types of things, how do you stand on all of those types of issues?

P1: I think it is up to the individual in terms I wouldn't say that if you're involved in a relationship you should not be having extra relationships. I would never go and state it like

that to somebody else. In terms of myself, I would like to say that if I was involved in a relationship I would not like to have sex with somebody else and I would not like my partner to have sex with somebody else. That's what I would like to say but I also think that that creates a position on the relationship, so I would prefer to feel that given the choice I would only want to sleep with that person then I would know that the relationship works.

K: I want to come back to that because I want to ask in a minute how you and your partner decide what is going to happen between you and what the parameters about what the sexual activities are going to be. Ok so you mentioned in terms of imposing yourself on other people, within a relationship you would prefer the relationship to be sexually monogamous. What about these other things in terms of sexuality if you weren't in a relationship?

P1: If I'm not in a relationship then there is no problem meaning if I'm not in a relationship and I go and clear my post-box in the afternoon and there's a nice guy there and I can get him into bed I would do it. If I'm not in a relationship I will go to a club and I will always be aware of what's going on around me and who I could possibly become involved with. And I don't have a problem or being guilty or having bad feelings, for me its great.

K: Are there any limits as far as you concerned in terms of where you will have sex?

P1: Ja I don't like the idea of having sex in the toilet, for me it demeans the whole thing. There are certain things when it can be exciting ....., having sex in a motor car, I suppose it could be exciting but my preference is to having sex in a bed, I am just more comfortable. I wouldn't like to have sex in a place where there is public or in a place where ... or in a public place even though its ... like in a park with a lake or something like that, I'm not into that, sex for me is a very private thing and I don't want sex there particularly.

K: Are there any limits in terms of the type of person you would have sex with?

P1: No, I definitely won't have sex with a woman. I have, I have before so its an informed decision. But if I find the person attractive then if he in any way wants it its ok.

K: And in terms of race?

P1: In terms of race and I often wonder about it, I've never had sex with a person who is not white. And that is because I'm not attracted, I've been attracted on very few occasions by Indian boys but ja I think that they are quite attractive. I like to think that it is not a racist thing but I actually think that my bringing up has made me not aware of the physical attractiveness of people of other colour.

K: Explain what you mean by that.

P1: Well, wherever I go out I am always looking at the boys and perving to see what is running around, if I'm ....., I never ever notice a black person's physical attractiveness. Unless you get someone like Linford Christie whose running a race, you are watching running a race, the focus is on him, then I ... but if ... like when we went away last weekend, we were sitting in the restaurant at the hotel and there were about nine or ten black waiters running around and I was sitting thinking 'shoo there isn't anybody here to look at'. Now normally what I do is I look at people and I look for attractive qualities in them. So I'll do this and eventually I'll find that his got nice hands or his got nice legs or his got nice eyes, nice ears, something like that but generally I look for something attractive in them, with black people I don't do that.

K: You seemed to imply earlier that it was due to the way your sexuality has developed. Maybe that your experience wasn't right or your upbringing was formed within these parameters.

P1: Yes I think so.

K: Just talk about that, how do you see how your sexual interest developed.

P1: I think ...

K: Or how you think it developed.

P1: Ja, I think that for me, growing up, we didn't have exposure to black people on a level other than they were not up to scratch. We basically grew up to avoid them and I think that as we grew up we didn't ... I think initially I shy away from them because of my bringing up. And I can overcome that to a large extent when I meet somebody I can become friends with but if I'm sitting in a bar and two people walk in and one is black and one is white, I will not even notice, I will not even, ja, not notice the black person; I'll see here is a black guy walking in but nothing more.

K: Not in sexual terms?

P1: Ja, but if somebody says to me 'look at that black guy, I think he has a stunning body' I will have a look but it's not something that I would have noticed spontaneously.

K: Ok, so what then does attract you physically, skin colour is just one of the things, what are the other things that attract you sexually?

P1: It's a lot of different things, you know I can sit in a shop drinking coffee and somebody will walk past and I'll look at them and I'll think OK that guy hasn't got nice hair and I'll go

right through the person and then I'll find something that I find attractive and its not like some people ....., look I'm crazy about people with blond hair, I'm hooked without any further investigation - but, generally I look and look and look and I will continue to look until I find some things attractive and then I will just focus on that.

K: So how do you think the attractiveness of blond hair developed? Do you have any idea or any thoughts where it comes from?

P1: Ja, I think because when we were kids my whole family was blond except me and I wanted to be blond, I wanted to be like the rest of the family and I think that is actually a highlight ... especially the ...

K: And more acceptable?

P1: No, I don't think more acceptable, I think retrospectively maybe I felt less acceptable because I wasn't the same as my siblings and possibly that is where the awareness came about.

K: From what you've been saying, sexually it sounds as though, to get back to that because we've deviated, we spoke about race as one of the things it sounds as though, although you are not interested particularly in black people, it sounds as though it is not a moral thing, you don't have moral objections to ....

P1. No.

K: What about age? As far as sexual partners are concerned?

P1: I don't have a problem with it.

K: Ok and in terms of a moral problem?

P1: I don't have a moral problem with it.

K: A six year old?

P1: I think sex has to be an act with mutual consent. As I said earlier on I have a problem with people imposing, or forcing - if you can force somebody to have sex with you against their will - and I have a problem with that, I think maybe with a six year old, I suppose it is difficult to establish whether they really want it or don't want it. I actually don't have a problem, I don't have a problem with you coming to me and saying to me your best friend who may be forty years old has a boyfriend who is eleven years old, I don't have a problem with that at all, it doesn't jar, it doesn't stick out to me as if there is something wrong with it. From my own point of view, again, for me if it is abuse and my saying abuse is if I had to go and pick up some young kid of six years old and had to abuse him by some or other kind of dishonest way,

I would have a problem with that for myself. But if a six year old guy came and knocked on the door and came in and said that he wanted to play with my dick because he finds it very interesting and very exciting and wanted me to do things to him, I don't think I would have a problem.

K: OK, as long as you felt that you weren't imposing.

P1: Ja.

K: So, I mean, is ... other than the whole thing of imposition, imposing sexuality, is there anything sexually which is unacceptable in general terms in the first place and secondly unacceptable for you to do?

P1: I'm not into, what do they call it, golden showers and that like serious S&M stuff, you know the leathers, fist fucking, I'm not into that, but that is purely because I don't like it.

K: So it is not a moral objection?

P1: Ja, it just doesn't work for me, but I don't have any moral objection to other people saying that they are into it, in fact quite a lot of people are and that's fine, that's what blows their skirts up ...

K: So do you have any moral objections at all in the sexual area other than the whole sense of imposing yourself on someone?

P1: No.

K: Is there ever a time when you've been involved in some sexual act and you've felt afterwards 'Oh God, I shouldn't have done that'?

P1: No, no not really, I remember picking up a guy one night, many, many years ago and waking up the next day and just being able to evaluate how pissed I was the night before, but, I mean for me, at the time when I picked him up it was right, it seemed good, we had very nice sex, the next day I thought maybe this shouldn't have happened. But I didn't whip myself, it had happened and it was fine.

K: Ok, so is there any way in which you try and control your sexuality?

P1: Funnily enough, yes, the only way that I would try and control it is that, I always try and assess whether, like, not to have that thing repeat itself. I don't want to wake up the next day and say, 'God, I must have been really pissed the night before'. So when, yes, when I control it I'll have a look and I'll think maybe I'm very pissed and maybe its better if I just go home before I do something that I might regret.

K: So there have been times where, you feel due to drinking or whatever you have got involved in something that you would have preferred not to have been involved in? Not necessarily a moral objection but there might be other ....

P1: Ja, I think so.

K: Is it a major thing for you or not?

P1: No, it's not.

K: You've implied that ....., no maybe you haven't, I was going to say that you've implied that maybe sometimes you act against your moral structure, but you're saying that it is not a moral issue. Do you ever not act ....., do you think you have ever acted against your moral structure?

P1: Ja, I have. Yes, I did, I remember the incident very clearly. There were two guys that were involved, I didn't know that the two guys were involved. I was at a club one night, one guy picked me up and I went home with him. When we got home he said to me that, he said to me lets go to bed, we went to bed and I found somebody else in the bed already and he said 'Oh, don't worry about that, that's my boyfriend'. And we had a threesome and at that stage, I did feel that that was morally not correct for me because I didn't think it was nice for ..., I just thought it was a violation of their relationship, it was an extra-relationship, sex beyond ..., outside of the relationship and at that stage I was only what twenty one or twenty two, it didn't sit right with me and in fact when I got into bed I saw this other guy there my immediate reaction was to leave but I didn't. I was quite curious, but I felt guilty, I felt guilty the next day. And I think I felt guilty because I would not have liked my boyfriend to have done that.

K: What is the best sexual experience you've ever had.

P1: Shoo, there have been so many. The best sexual experience that I've ever had was with my current boyfriend and I think it's because there's so much openness about the actual act of sex where he will very easily tell me what he wants me to do or I will very easily tell him what I want him to do or what I want to do. There is a lot of discussion that goes on and our sex is normally very very prolonged because we keep discussing the issue (laughs). I also think that that whole particular thing is assisted by the drugs we are taking. Do you want more graphic details of ....?

K: If you'd like to give me ....

P1: Ok. I like anal sex, I really do enjoy that, it makes the whole sex a lot more intimate. I

don't mind whose doing what, in other words I don't mind being fucked and I don't mind fucking somebody else, to me it's not ...; in the olden days there was that very clear distinction you had the father in the house the mother in the house and all that shit. And I also don't mind that if you're having sex whether, when it happens both ways in the same episode, if you like, in other words, you're fucking your boyfriend and then when you stop he fucks you.

K: What is the worst sexual experience you have ever had?

P1: The worst sexual experience I've ever had is when I picked up a guy in London and I went round to his place and he had a tiny, tiny little dick that I couldn't .. It was incredibly small, it was abnormally small and he was trying to screw me and I didn't feel anything, nothing, absolutely nothing, I didn't even know whether he had penetrated me. That was a terrible experience.

K: As regards the best sexual experience you've had, you spoke of it in terms of, I don't know, openness and communication about what you want. Is that always true? That that makes for good sex for you?

P1: Ja, I think so because it takes the guesswork out of it. I think for me I always know what I would like some people to be doing to me; I also know what I would like to do to somebody else but previously I would actually want to do something, not do it and find out after the event that this person actually did want it done, so for me it just takes all the guesswork out of it. I enjoy the exploring and the teasing that goes with it but I like it when somebody says 'I want you to fuck me', I like it when somebody says 'I would prefer you not to fuck me' or .... I like that.

K: Do you ever feel if somebody is being open and wants to do something ..., do you ever feel that you don't want to do it or don't .....

P1: Seldom.

K: If you did, how would you handle it? I mean say you mentioned that you don't particularly like golden showers and somebody wanted to do that, how would you handle that?

P1: I would say no. Ja, I would just let them know that I am not into this.

K: And if you wanted to do something to somebody else and they didn't want it done? And they said no how would you react to that?

P1: Its fine, actually I respect their opinion.

K: What type of sexual partner do you generally find the most satisfying?

P1: I like sexual partners that stimulate me intellectually, funnily enough. I don't like sexual partners that are passive, in other words I don't like to do all the work, I don't like it where if I'm not doing all the work it is going to be a non-event; I like an equal distribution of power and of the effort that goes into it. There are times when I say 'I don't want you to do anything, I want you to just not do a thing' and that goes on for a short while but sooner or later he'll say 'I can't bear this anymore' (laughs). So you know that's like part of the game playing I suppose, but I cannot, I really don't like going to bed with somebody who is limp, doesn't do anything and you don't know if what you're doing is right or fine or not fine; in other words ....

K: So unresponsive?

P1: Ja, and submissive or passive, I don't really like that, I prefer an aggressive lover as opposed to somebody who's totally passive.

K: Which allows you to be submissive or allows you to be equal?

P1. I think it rather depends on ..., it's like a scale, well it is, you can both be very active and very aggressive at the same time and can both be very subservient at the same time. But it needs to be dynamic, it needs to be changing all the time, it mustn't be ..., I've had a boyfriend who was very, very passive, who every time we had sex I had to do all the work, I had to fuck him, I had to go and clean him up afterwards, I had to ..., he was like that and I just found that that really didn't suit me.

K: You almost implied earlier that it isn't always like this. Do you think generally that your sexuality remains the same or does it change? In terms of what you enjoy doing, what you don't enjoy doing? What turns you on, what doesn't turn you on?

P1: It stays the same but it's dynamic so within a session if you like, then there are times when I just feel like lying back completely and seeing what happens, and then three minutes later (laughs) I'm missing out on something here and I'll dive in and I'll grab something and I'll start doing something and then I'll see if I can really blow this guys mind and then I'll think ok that's enough now and I'm going to have a break and then I'll say 'ok now I want you to do this' and then I'll be sucking his dick and then I'll be saying now ..... So it changes all the time so it's actually quite active but the activity is an equal amount of activity from both of us.

K: And is that always true in terms of your sexual ..., I mean you've described changes within one particular sexual act, is that always true of each sexual event? I mean ....

P1: No, no not really, because sometimes we'll wake up in the morning and we'll both be late for work but we'll want to have sex so we know that we can't spend the next three hours playing games, so its a very quick thing, it's very quick, its done, its over and we both go off to work with a smile on our faces.

K: So is there quite a range of different sexual experiences?

P1: Yes, there is quite a repertoire, I'd say. Ja, and sometimes we'll go to bed and I'll say to my boyfriend 'I don't want you to ....., and then we'll carry on, for hours, sometimes I'll say to him 'I'm quite tired but I'm also quite horny so can we try and accommodate both of my needs' (laughs). And he does exactly the same thing. And sometimes it will be a quicky and sometimes ....., so, so there is quite a repertoire.

K: You spoke about finding intellectual partners satisfying, if one can distinguish between people that you find most stimulating generally if you have sex with them, who you find stimulating generally and who you find stimulating sexually. If one can make that distinction.

P1: Sorry, I'm not with you.

K: OK, if, in terms of having sex with people, if one can distinguish between a sort of general satisfaction of having sex with that person and a sexual satisfaction in having sex with that person, what is most satisfying for you generally and what is most satisfying for you sexually in terms the type.

P1: OK, if I'm understanding you correctly ....

K: Can I give an example? Somebody might go to pick up someone in the toilets at Cresta and find that incredibly sexually stimulating, ok, but in terms of generally stimulating he wouldn't find that very ..., he might find someone who is intellectual that he can go out for dinner with more generally stimulating.

P1: Ok, so in terms of the general stimulation, yes because I carry a lot of the intimacy of the relationship with me into the act of sex. Ja, like with my current boyfriend, I appreciate, I'm crazy about where his mind is at and things like that and it creates a nice intimacy for me, it creates the context for our sex.

K: Ok, so it sounds as though they are the same, the person you find sexually stimulating and generally stimulating, its sort of integrated.

P1: Yes.

K: And emotionally stimulating? Is that also integrated?

P1: Yes, I think integrated to the extent that I can't distinguish them.

K: Ja, you had difficulty understanding what I was asking.

P1: Ja, like with my present boyfriend at the moment, he will ask me what is it about anal sex that is so special for you and I'll think yes physically I love it, its fabulous, emotionally, there's a lot of emotional stuff with it, incredible amount of emotional stuff with it; which has really got nothing to do with the act of sex, its baggage, it's not really baggage but it's baggage which I am carrying with me.

K: Can you talk about it? Why you think it is important, not why you think it is important but what emotional stuff is there with it, why is it important?

P1: It's important for me because its, its .....

K: More satisfying?

P1: Ja, more satisfying because it says to me that this person is important enough ..., this person is special enough in my life and cares enough about me to want to share something which is extremely personal and intimate. It's that kind of thing, I think it's got to do with a sense of unworthiness previously and a sense of not being good enough and a sense of not being cared for and that kind of stuff whereas with the situation now, for me that whole thing of sex and particularly anal sex, we've talked about it quite a bit before, that for me it's almost lie a great honour that this person is prepared to share something as intimate as that with me which indicates to me that I'm a very special person in that person's life, and that person cares for me and they care enough about me to allow to have the pleasure in using their body and that kind of emotional stuff. It's strange.

K: So that is part of the emotional satisfaction as well?

P1: Yes.

K: You implied that physically, you liked it as well.

P1: Yes.

K: And both equally, in terms of being the active or the passive partner?

P1: With the two of us?

K: Mm. As far as anal sex, I'm asking are they both the same for you or are they different?

P1: No they are completely different! You mean whether I'm fucking someone or being fucked?

K: Ja.

P1: No they are completely different experiences. They are completely, completely, completely different. And I think that it is very symbolic because I think from my point of view when I want somebody to fuck me it's because I want them really, really close to me, I want them so close to me that I want them actually inside me. And it gives me an incredible sense of security and incredible sense of belongingness of being accepted, being loved, being cared for, all of that emotional stuff that comes with it. On the other hand when I am fucking somebody else, or with my boyfriend then I, I like the idea that he is allowing me to care for him and to - its not really possessing because I've found that in the Gay community there's an incredible power thing about who fucks and who gets fucked, its a power, its a control, its a possession to the whole thing - but in my present circumstances, for me its ..., again its says that, I don't know, its a thing of caring and being able to express things, it's also a question of this guy giving me, he's giving of himself to me. But I do, I experience the two things as completely different.

K: What range of sexual activities have you taken part in?

P1: What?

K: In terms of ..., you said that you've slept with women, you've obviously had sex with men, you've had anal sex, you mentioned oral sex earlier. Anything else?

P1: I've been involved in a threesome, I've been involved in a huge clutterfuck with half a hockey team from (laughs), they were touring, the under twenty-one team from Germany or somewhere. They ended up in the same dormitory at the YMCA in Vienna, there were five or six of them involved, it was extremely busy. That's probably about it.

K: In terms of places?

P1: In terms of places, Ja, I've had sex in many different places; on a train, out in a field, on the beach, in a motor car, I've never had sex in a toilet, I've never had sex like at Zoo Lake or one of those places, I've never had sex with somebody that young.

K: You mentioned earlier that you found the idea of sex in toilets demeaning.

P1: Not demeaning of me, but demeaning of the act.

K: Explain what that's about.

P1: Sex is something very special where I'm actually allowing you really into my most intimate space and you are allowing me into your most intimate space. So that's why I talk about this consent thing. So for me it becomes a very special act, an act of acceptance and closeness and

so on and so forth and I think that to have it in a really shabby environment like in a toilet or in a club where people are banging on the door to get in and this kind of stuff, I just find it detracts from the specialness of the atmosphere.

K: So generally speaking do you feel that sex is an important part of your life?

P1: Yes, its vitally important.

K: And has that always been so?

P1: Yes, yes it has always been. Originally when I was ..., when I first used to go to clubs and things like that, if people wanted to have sex with me it was an indication to me that I was acceptable as a human being. So that was the meaning attached to it then, it was, it was quite strange because I was thinking 'shoo I'm not as bad as I've been lead to believe I am because look this person actually wants to have sex with me'. But it's evolved from that into a very, very meaningful and significant experience.

K: That's basically all the questions that I have, is there anything that you would like to tell me about your sexuality which you think might be significant or interesting or useful?

P1: Uh uh.

K: Do you think there is any aspect of your sexuality that you wouldn't be willing to talk about?

P1: To you?

K: Yes.

P1: No I don't have any reservations about it.

K: And how did you find talking about it?

P1: I ..., no I found it quite fine and, ja, I actually ..., because I'm feeling a strong sense of you not sitting there and judging and I can even see that you are not reacting at times when I am contradicting things like I'm saying that my boyfriend and I will have quick sex because it is exciting but I don't think quick sex in a toilet or a club is ok, so, you know, there are certain contradictions that will come out; so actually what I am saying is that I'm finding you not being very judgmental and I'm also finding that this isn't to satisfy some sort of curiosity that you might have regarding myself.

K: And do you find then that you are able to talk openly about sexuality with friends?

P1: Ja, I can but you know I am not going to ..., I would ....., you know I need to feel comfortable with those people to discuss it. So, if I arrive at a dinner party and there's a friend

of a friend of a friend and he says 'Ja do you like being fucked or fucking people and do you want to talk about it?'; for me the intention of that particular person is not really not the issue, or rather is the issue because he doesn't feel ..., I just think you know, it doesn't make sense to me, it's not as though we're close or could share intimate things about each other.

K: Just like you wouldn't talk about other things that are close to you with that particular person?

P1: Yes, no sure.

K: So I think the question that I am asking is, 'is sex discussed quite openly amongst you and your friends in terms of what you enjoy, what you don't enjoy, whether you take part in any sex or is quite important; amongst your close friends?

P1: It's actually not discussed. With my boyfriend it is, we talk about it quite a lot.

K: Ok, thanks for taking part in this.

## **SCRIPT 2**

K: Which of these names best describes you, best describes who you are? Gay, homosexual, queer, fag, moffie.

P2: All of them (laughs).

K: Ok which one do you think is most ....?

P2: Gay.

K: Gay? Ok why do you say that?

P2: Normal conception of people outside, I would say moffie, Queer, they say queen, straight queen that sort of stuff. Which we are very definitely not. We are more alternative, I'm into S&M, I live it out. Therefore I prefer Gay because it makes it wider.

K: Ok so it is not as restrictive as the other terms?

P2: I would say so.

K: Is there any other term that ... or any other name that better describes you?

P2: S&M.

K: Ok, who are you out to? Who knows ....?

P2: Everyone.

K: Ok, how would you describe your sexuality generally? An open question!

P2: (laughs) Whew, difficult. S&M? Once again. Very definitely not into vanilla sex, boring, its boring as hell.

K: Anything else?

P2: I can't think of anything.

K: Ok that's fine. Um your earliest sexual experience? When was that, when was your first sexual experience?

P2: If you take sexual experience as penetration, standard five, twelve years old. That would be the first time. And then from standard nine onwards regularly.

K: And has your sexuality changed over the years?

P2: Yes very much.

K: In what way?

P2: It started off very vanilla, very .... , more run of the mill Gay type sex and then slowly but surely it developed into S&M; more masochistic style. And its developing all the time still, going to a more heavier, looking for new experiences.

K: So its, its ....., if I read you correctly, I mean you say S&M but uh ....., right, describe what you mean by S&M.

P2: By S&M? Masochistic from my side, sado-masochistic, pain involved in other words, dominant and submissive where I am submissive; ja, much into that line.

K: You mentioned new experiences, so has ..., is your sexuality quite exploratory then in trying to ....

P2: Very, very exploratory.

K: Can you talk about that then?

P2: I'll give you an example. Saw the ....., recent shop in Johannesburg, in Yeoville; got hold of the book Urban Aboriginals, started reading .... my God, here's some new ..., then I'll go for it. At this stage it'll be piercings, which I'm incredibly into at this stage. And as I hear of new things, we'll try it, find out, its funny but the ecstasy that you derive from masochism, when it gives you a spiritual experience ....., so I'm very much into ....., what we call flying. Which ... through the pain then you get to the flying part. So anything goes that will take you there. Look (inaudible).

K: Sorry?

P2: I look at people in clubs and talk to people a lot about it. Where you can find new experience.

K: And would that be ..., I mean it sounds as if new experiences ..... of your body like it sounds as though its broadened out from purely genital type stuff.

P2: Yes it started off with ... um the whipping side ... um and then it broadens out. Its not genitals anymore, its whole body area. Bondage for instance, you know being in bondage, being restricted, having your senses taken away, and just developing in that vacuum, staying there for four, five hours, it gives a wonderful spiritual experience, to travel. I can't describe it.

K: That's fine, I'm probably going to ask you to try.

P2: (laughs) Oh no, your welcome.

K: We'll get there. Because you see if you were, if you use the word travelling, I mean it means very little to me, ok, so I would need you to .... but let's ....., we'll come back to that. How did this change come about?

P2: That's a very good question (laughs), we've been thinking about it a lot, talking about it a lot. I initiated it in the relationship. First experience that we, that I could draw it back was getting an erection while watching the other boys in class being caned. Sounds very restricted, primitive ... but that's where I think it initially started. Then it slowly developed; wanting myself to be caned; from there it would go on to candle wax, and then we started trying the different actions of how to induce pain and how it feels like.

K: Where did you learn about these things, I mean was there anyone in particular that you talked to?

P2: No, it started within myself, opening up to X, talking between us, the two of us; we would ....., for instance it took us about nine months before we first got to the first masochistic experience; talking about it, is he comfortable with it? am I comfortable with it? as soon as we are comfortable we'll try something. Does it work? doesn't it work? if it works we'll explore it, go on, and so one thing leads to another.

K: So it's been an exploratory between the two of you?

P2: Yes very much between the two of us. Lately, the last two or three years since we started meeting other S&M people, obviously you're talking to other people and learn new experiences from them; starting to read books; going into the web, Internet and all those type

of things. But initially for seven years it was purely between the two of us.

K: Why, why do you think your sexuality went in this direction?

P2: I don't know. Quite honestly. The nearest I can get to is that vanilla sex is boring, normal sex became boring.

K: Do you think that generally you're quite an exploratory type of person?

P2: Yes, very much. I'm a very inquisitive person as well. Always looking for a new .....

K: I suppose that might tie in with the whole alternative thing. If something isn't provided to you, you go and look.

P2: That's something very interesting that I can mention that if you take the alternative, the spiritual meditation part and the flying that I mentioned earlier, very near to each other! Some people get to the flying part through meditation, I get it through sex. Meditation's very difficult for me but boy-o-boy tie me up or whip me and I get there very quickly.

K: When you say spiritual experience are you ....., can you try and put that into words, try and describe what you mean by that?

P2: (long pause) Its very difficult.

K: Or can you perhaps suggest a, an analogy or a comparable state. I mean you referred to meditation as perhaps .....

P2: That's perhaps the nearest I can get; the ecstasy, the spiritual ecstasy; it's the peaks of mind you find when you meditate, when you close off the outside world and it becomes a little world on its own; its only you in yourself. Which you experience in that ..... (pause). You know its very difficult because its a very emotional kind of world. The one moment I'll be crying, the next moment I'll be laughing, it opens up a lot of things within you. No I can't explain it better than that.

K: I want us to come back to it. Let's keep on getting back to it because I think it is an important part of what I am trying to find out.

K: Ok, has this change in your sexuality been paralleled by a change in you, in who you are as a person?

P2: Yes (thoughtfully), I think for me as a person I've become very much stronger, very much surer of myself, who I am. I could give you a description here .... I think most Gays have a lot of problems with it when they come out. You know if I had to look at it, I would really laugh at it. But if I take that ecstasy that I experienced within myself, it's very much ....., ja just

maybe even, um talking to the higher self, um the Buddhists talk about the higher self; that I get very much there. S&M has made me cut out a lot of shit in my life, a lot of the facade, there's no facades any more, look I'm not a yuppie, I'm not a doctor, I never want to be; I live for sex, sex is the centre of my life and that's it. If anything outside my world doesn't come back basically to that I cut it out.

K: You said that you've become stronger and then you started talking about religion and I sensed that a religious view doesn't matter to you any longer in terms of what it says about sexuality.

P2: The religious view doesn't matter to me at all anymore.

K: Did it before?

P2: Yes, it bothered me a hell of a lot. Look I come out of an Afrikaans home, I'm NG Kerk. When I came out as a homosexual in standard eight, standard nine, I had a hell of a lot of trauma for quite a few years. And then I started making peace with it. I started looking at other religions; can't I be accepted? And then I cut down, I threw it off.

K: All religions?

P2: Basically all religions yes.

K: So it sounds ..., would it be true to say that you decide for yourself what your morality is rather than turning to any religion to decide what is right. I mean it is not only the church that is condemnatory about these things, society in general. How ....

P2: Yes you are quite right, I'm taking the church when I actually mean the community out there, I mean the Afrikaans community especially. We have a lot of fights about it, I don't mean me and X, I talk to people a lot about it. Africa is very religious, the stigma of religion is incredible here, its absurd actually. Its not necessary, they are inhibiting their lives. There's no growth to me in the religion, in the community out there, its running from home to work to get money to feed the children to buy the new house and get the BMW; so what we can do the bladdy hell without it.

K: So growth is important for you? I mean it sounds ....., you spoke of being quite an exploratory kind of person and so is that connected to wanting to grow as a person or grow in some sense?

P2: Yes very much. Growth is very important to me but it's growth within myself, growth within the relationship, my relationship is very important and growth between X and myself

must be together. Sometimes he grows a little bit faster and then I come up again and as it happens ..... but the growth must be between the two of us. Making peace with ourselves, exploring the inner selves; stuff that never realised is there. Other people would think putting a needle through you: ah yughh. There's a lot to it, to take a needle for instance and put it through yourself. First time it's painful, second time you get an erection from it, the third time you travel somewhere, I can't explain, I can't explain it.

K: So I mean it sounds to me as though there is a sense of exploring new things and growing into new areas of experience in fact.

P2: Ja.

K: Now, we have also touched on, and I want to explore that a bit more, that maybe this growth in sexual areas, or exploration in sexual areas was paralleled by change in who you were. You spoke about how for example religion or society's views became less important, you said you became stronger ok? Can you think also in terms of how you developed as a person for instance.

P2: Maybe I can put it this way that I said that growth sexually, growth in religion, next to alternative health. A lot of it came from alternative health in the meditations I ..., from the New Age Movement, a lot of New Age makes sense. You know using the natural substances for instance, the plants and those stuff. Now X is an intensive care nurse, and you can see how medicine for instance fails. And he started questioning it and obviously if he starts questioning it then I start questioning it so we both grow there. In the same sense we are very near to nature, if you look at our garden, we do it with our own hands, there's nobody working here, it's one of our hobbies - I grow bonsais. Once again bonsai growing, a lot of peace of mind in growing them, seeing the tree develop. I lost my track where I wanted to be (laughs).

K: Ok, we were looking at how you have grown as a person. But now, so I mean your sexuality and your sexual morality; it sounds like your morality in general is very different to that of society. What consequences has this got for you?

P2: Up until now quite surprisingly little .... in society. As long as you don't push it down people's throats. I mean when I'm at work everybody knows I'm Gay, the people who we talk to, sort of becoming friends, know that we are into S&M but I don't walk around throwing it around at work the whole time, that's stupid. But I'm not going to hide it. I was in the police force for six years, they knew I was Gay, they knew we were in a relationship, I never had so

much as a (inaudible). There again I think it is very much the way of presenting it to people - that gives a negative or a positive feedback to you. A lot of colleagues come and visit us, we socialise a lot as a couple and we've never had any direct confrontation about it.

K: While we're talking about morality, how do you see your morality generally, I mean if you had to sum up your morality in a brief way?

P2: I don't know morality, what do you mean by morality?

K: I see you don't ....., I mean it's not that you don't understand the word?

P2: No, I don't know quite what to answer.

K: Well, what do you understand by morality?

P2: Morality, basically what I inherently see as right or wrong.

K: Ok, follow that one, how do you see issues of right and wrong? What for you ....., how do you judge right and wrong?

P2: Shoo, wrong, if you hurt anybody else, um intentionally. Uh, if I feel good, I feel at ease with whatever we are talking about at that stage, but to come back to the old clichés, um paedophilia, very wrong; you're hurting a child that hasn't got a choice. A child ok, but a guy coming to me and saying please whip me until the blood flows, nothing wrong with it, it's consensual between two adults. And that's basically where morality lies in everything. My vision is more or less according to that.

K: So if I understand you correctly, it is something along the lines of not forcing somebody to do .....

P2: Anything.

K: Anything.

P2: And that right through from religion, sport, work, the whole lot. As soon as you try to force somebody to get somewhere in his life; 'jy moet verder studeer want ....', 'society expects it from you'; it's wrong, it's my choice.

K: What about restricting people or preventing people from doing things that they want to do? What's your view morally?

P2: I don't normally try and restrict people. If people come to me and ask what my views are I will tell them but still in the end it is their choice. A young boy at work comes to me and says 'listen I am Gay should I tell my parents?' I will give him my view but in the end ...., and I will specifically say it to him, 'it's your choice'. I think you should because papa and mama het jou

groot gemaak; that's from my point of view, it differs from me, it's got nothing to do with them, don't hurt them. It's their choice.

K: You've touched on paedophilia but you put it in terms of, I suppose, getting a person to do something and they don't understand the consequences of that etc. is there anything else or is anything unacceptable for you sexually? Any sexual act unacceptable?

P2: Between two consenting people? Ja.

K: So if one removes the adult and the consent then it's fine? Do you always act according to your moral structure or do you sometimes not?

P2: I always act according ...

K: Now it sounds as though you have ended up with a sexual life and a morality which is very different to the general one in society. How do you think this has developed? We have spoken a bit about the exploration thing and trying out new things, but can you pinpoint any particular event or events that might have changed your direction.

P2: No, we have spoken about it quite a lot.

K: There is no specific area? (Both laugh) I suppose it is like 'why am I Gay?'. Ok, what is the best sexual experience you have ever ....?

P2: Whew, two or three experiences, I'll quickly give them to you. The first one was at a club here in Pretoria, I'm very exhibitionist, I love people to watch while I'm being whipped and things like that. Always wanted it and never had it up until three years ago and a new club opened in Pretoria which was supposed to be a leather bar. So we went through the night there, everything organised, all the whips and the chains and everything taken together; tied up in the club, stripped down. All of a sudden the whole club went tjoep stil quiet, stood in a half moon around me and they started whipping me; screams initially then quietened down, all the books say you ..., there are endorphins and things which kick in which I think must have been the case at that stage when you become, when pain becomes pleasure. Went further, the mask, you can feel yourself, ek gaan Afrikaans praat, waar die heelte begin opwel, and slowly how the bruises start bursting open, the blood starts running down, I'll remember it 'til the day I die. It was quite an experience. That was one ....

K: Just before you move on, why was that so good for you? You mentioned exhibitionism ....?

P2: The fact that I could cope with it, I think in the first place which was a very big fear for me, to cope with it in front of people, not cracking in front of people, not shaming my master,

showing that I can handle what my master gives me, giving my master what I wanted, always wanted to give him, that's very true about that night. That was the one. The other one was a night in Jo'burg where I was tied down on the bar counter and once again naked and the barman would play with a candle dripping the wax all over you and every time somebody comes and orders a beer, the client gets the candle while he gets all his beer and drinks and goedertjies and the client would be dripping the candle wax over me and that game would be going on for ....., very sensual especially in that sense that I couldn't choose the partners I was playing with; everybody, incredible time. I thoroughly enjoyed that one. And then the third one.

K: Wait, you said you couldn't choose the partners so it was fairly anonymous in the sense that you didn't, in fact might not have known the people who were ....?

P2: Well I didn't know!

K: You didn't? Why did you mention that, why, why, what do you think that added to the experience?

P2: I think most slave masochists has got the raping fantasy within himself, maybe it comes back to that - being dished out to everybody and being able still to give, to offer to my best knowledge. It's that, it's a turn on. I thoroughly enjoyed that.

K: I'm kind of guessing here, see whether you ..., whether this rings any bells for you. The whole anonymous thing ok, normally if you know someone, one .., you have a history, ok, in the relationship and part of that history is learning certain ways of behaving with that person, and if it's an anonymous encounter then there are no rules or no patterns which have been established.

P2: None, especially when you go out into the S&M scene, there's a very strict etiquette which you always adhere to. Even though I was on the counter and everybody could use me, master was still somewhere and I knew that if somebody went over the line, he would step in and save. For instance no bodily fluids, keep it safe sex; you know that type of thing. So I have got that protection. Where are we going to now?

K: The third experience.

P2: The third experience. The third experience is still very recent and I'm still very emotional about it, emotional and thrilled by it; the piercing side. It happened about two, three weeks ago now. Read the book, saw this one photograph, guy lying down, piece of rubber put over

his torso, just his cock and balls put through a hole through the rubber and then all the soft skin being taken and pinned to the rubber and the whole scrotum stretched open, all the soft skin with needles through. Normally when we go for a piercing scene it was one, two needles and it was over, I couldn't cope with it, I would go crazy with hysterics. That night the flying started somewhere, I don't know how and I had a scene and then afterwards looking down, seeing yourself being pinned to something, incredible experience, seeing this and laughing and ..., the emotions coming out of me and then realising but its not really that painful, so why do I .....? why this histrionics getting there? It was incredible experience. And we had one friend here the night of it that watched, which was very sad, he freaked out, he couldn't cope with it, he thought he would but he couldn't, which I was very sad about. But that was the third experience.

K: On the, the emotions that you've spoken about before that were released. Talk about that for a minute.

P2: The emotions come and go very quickly so I can't really describe different explosions because it will be ecstasy the one moment, hysterics the next time and pleasure, pain, its all the same, very different but they run, dit storm deur jou die hele tyd. No I can't explain it more.

K: And where, where are you in all of this?

P2: The first (inaudible), you feel like somebody whose tortured and then all of a sudden it's ....., it's out of body experience looking down on yourself, still feeling it but it's often removed from yourself. It very much becomes I'm watching myself, seeing what I'm going to do when the next thing happens; waiting for the next thing, the next experience. That's normally during the scene.

(Tape finished)

K: Ok you were saying that's during the scene and then after?

P2: Afterwards normally you get an incredible peace of mind, its really all these emotions, its not an empty feeling, its really a peace of mind. Which I think a lot of people get through their religion, their praying, after the praying, that peace of mind; or the meditation. I experience that after a scene. And I'm talking about 48 hours, three or four days afterwards, I'm on a cloud, very at peace with myself. But the scene itself normally releases a lot of emotions which is conflicting to each other.

K: I used the term released and you used it as well, the other term that springs to mind is

generate. That then rather than releasing it's ....

P2: No its not true, its not true. Very ....., if I talk about scenes, we'll have a scene today, my peace of mind, now I accept that the body needs time to heal, it's a build up of three, four weeks, five weeks and funnily enough normally I will come and ask for a scene when I've had a tough week, a lot of stresses, it releases a lot of stress come to think about it, that's another way of putting it. I think so, a lot of stress release. Ja, you know for instance after work, or working with clients like I, I work a lot with HIV clients, which sometimes it's very difficult for me to cope with; and a scene releases it.

K: Would it be true to say that you have to work at all of these things, that it actually requires discipline and you have to work at it, it doesn't just ....

P2: No, it doesn't just happen. You have to right here, you have to work getting to the right state of mind otherwise you become hysterical and you run away. Being tied up and whipped, the first two or three strokes, I scream and shout like hell but I have to talk to myself, 'ok calm down, clam down, feel the pain' ....., I've got a little litany in myself: 'Feel the pain and let it go through you' and once you can, it literally just flows through you and comes out again; once you get there then you can really start enjoying the whipping scene. But it takes time to get there; that normal fear that everybody has of pain, it, its a barrier that you have to get over and every single different action you've got that barrier; either that or candle wax or needles, you name it. You have to get over that barrier. It's also a fight within myself, pushing the barriers further every time, every time. Tonight I receive twelve strokes, tomorrow it will be twenty four, next week it will be forty eight, going on going on the whole time.

K: So the work, the work that one has to do, would it be true to say that that's some sort of control of oneself? or discipline? Strength? Or how would you describe it? What, what is the word that .....

P2: Control, staying in control of your own emotions. No that's wrong because you are actually releasing the emotions. Staying in control of yourself, it's not just disciplining yourself. (Pause) Controlling your own mind? Knowing that there are emotions that you are going to release and realising that its only emotions. I'm still in control of myself although I'm shouting.

K: So it works on different levels? It might be control on the mental level but releasing .....

P2: Ja, yes, that's more like it. Although I'm in control of myself other people wouldn't

always experience it that way seeing me going on as I'm going on.

K: What's the worst sexual experience that you've had?

P2: Worst no, boring yes. There are a lot of them. There were about six, seven months before we went into a relationship and I really fucked around and I mean like every night somebody else. Boring, you've had one prick, you've had the lot. But the worst? I've never had very bad sexual experiences.

K: So there was no traumatic ....., let us say there was no traumatic .....

P2: No.

K: It sounds as though you've had experience, a range of different sexual experiences. Would that be true?

P2: I think so yes. According to the normal run of the mill Gay ja; I've had a lot of different types of sexual experiences.

K: So has it mainly been S&M? Or have there been others like fisting.

P2: Let's put it this way when I talk about S&M I include fisting, leather sex, whatever might be ....., Haven't really had the rubber scene yet but when I'm ready will get to it. Self-sex? Playing with myself, I call it self-sex, I can go for hours. But everything not vanilla sex, I term as S&M and there I've had most of it.

K: Would, would you think, in terms of relationships ok, not necessarily only you and X but relationships with people who you've had ..., I don't want to say sexual partner because that implies one to one or something like that but you've had relationship with other people who could be sexually involved with you in some way. Talk about those relationships, what .....

P2: Always friends. It's a slow process, picking somebody up, bringing him to the house, always consensual between the two of us, either it's a threesome or there's no sex involved but all of them without exception have become friends. There's one or two who we've had sex and this one doesn't work; 'Sorry boy, don't fit in, let's leave it there'. But otherwise they always become friends.

K: And what ..., when you say friends, what is the relationship like? I mean you can have friends, the term friendship covers a whole range of different ...

P2: Ok friendship I mean socially, I mean inviting them for braais on my birthday, going out to them, visiting them, other people, going to the theatre, going on holiday together. That's more or less what I mean.

K: Would you guess that it's the same type of friendships that would occur in a heterosexual situation? Or if you hadn't had the sexual experience? I think what I'm trying to ask is 'How has the sexual experience .....?'

P2: If the sexual experience wasn't there I don't think the friendship would have been that good. Once you go, especially into the S&M sex, you have to be very open to each other otherwise it doesn't work.

K: Why is that?

P2: You have to be honest. I take a cane, I start caning you, if you don't tell me exactly 'listen I'm here, stop now', or 'hit harder', I don't know where to go to. So you have to be very honest in all spheres of it.

K: And say what you want and what you don't want?

P2: Say what you want and don't want, what you like and what you don't like. For instance before we bring somebody into a scene, there's two, three evenings that we will sit and talk about it. What do you like?, what we don't like? this is what we go for, this is what we don't go for. And after you've spoken about that in such an intimate way, you know a lot about that person. I'm not talking about where he comes from and the run of the mill, I'm talking about more up here, how his mind works and you pick up real intense friends. Without it? Gosh I haven't got, I don't have any friends that I don't have sex with. Or haven't had for quite a few years so I wouldn't really know how to say it.

K: Ok, ok. But it does sound as if in some way influence the quality of the relationship non-sexually?

P2: To me it does very much.

K: And it sounds as though it's quite a good way in terms of honesty and openness?

P2: Yes, let's put it this way: any friend, person who I term as a friend, you see that you are honest and open with me otherwise I can't be friends with you. And that's the bottom line. And then it doesn't even matter what your sexual orientation is. You have to be very honest about it. I mean if you want to be a drag queen, a drag queen, please do it, do it properly. If you want to visit me and do it in drag do it but do it properly but don't hide it.

K: And your and X's relationship? How do you think it has affected that?

P2: I think it has developed it completely. You know that type of thing because we think very much the same there. I've always been very easy going with people, making friends very

easily, it's not difficult to sit and chat to people. What was the question?

K: How has it affected your and X's relationship? You've been talking about relationships generally, I'm trying to be specific between you and X.

P2: I think it ..., our relationship, shoo we've been so open and honest with each other that it's ... I don't think a friendship will really affect us any more. If any of us do feel that a friend being brought in is negative towards this one or that one, I'll go and talk to the person and say 'Listen X doesn't like you' for that matter 'please don't come and visit again' or 'just keep contact' but my relationship comes first.

K: And the actual sexual experiences, I mean we spoke about how its set up an honest relationship with the people that you have sex with, ok, now with you and X is that also true? You also said you're very open and frank with each other. I mean do you think this journey that you've undertaken together, how has that affected your relationship? I'm not necessarily meaning negative, it could be either negative or positive, I'm asking you to identify.

P2: I can't answer negative because I'm very, very positive, there's very little negative in it already.

K: Ok, what ..., just to sort of try and be more specific about it, I suspect that different things are pleasurable to different people to different degrees. Obviously. And for you? what is pleasurable for you?

P2: Shoo, I don't know.

K: When you say you don't know, why? Does it change?

P2: Yes it does change. What has been pleasurable ten years ago might become boring now or less pleasurable now. Needs to be substituted for something else. Everybody grows. I mean being whipped for twelve years, after twelve years even that can become boring. So you leave it for a while.

K: You mentioned the incident of people dropping wax on you; now would that always be pleasurable for you or would you .....

P2: What specifically are we talking about? Wax isn't very intense for me, not any more, it used to be. So let's say in the public sector there's more than two of us rather; something like that could always be used as an opener to go to something else. So wax per se is always pleasurable, so I can sit here now and you can drip it on me and it will be quite nice, I'll enjoy it, not all the time. Piercing, I have to be in a specific state of mind for instance, water sports

as well; although that is only between X and myself, I have to be in a very specific frame of mind before I really like it. It's never really off-putting but there's certain times that it's regtig lekker, that I really enjoy it.

K: So it sounds as though, although the general trends are the same, the specifics of the intensity or of the pleasure might differ from ....?

P2: It might differ from time to time.

K: Depending on the circumstances or depending on what's happening with you?

P2: Frame of mind, frame of mind. What's going on between X and myself, say if there is stress in the relationship obviously the intensity will normally fall down a bit or if there's stress between us we'll break it with a very heavy scene. That can also have a .... But it does differ with state of mind.

K: I just want to get back to what we spoke about earlier where you spoke in terms of some sort of spiritual content and you spoke about travelling I think and you spoke about flying. Let's just try and talk about that a bit more and .....

P2: I'll try but it's difficult because it's still very new to me.

K: You spoke about an out-of-body experience as well, you spoke of looking down on yourself.

P2: It, it's tending to go that way. Once or twice I've had it where it seems like, as if you're looking down on yourself. A real out-of-body experience as described by Buddhists I haven't had yet. I think as I've spoken to other people who are into S&M, it is there but I'm still groping, I'm still ..., that's the next step where I want to go. You've seen these photographs of these American Indians with the hooks through their chests, that's what I'm talking of, there you go into out-of-body experience. Flying is our term for it. But it's still growing, getting there. I haven't quite reached it yet. Or I think I haven't quite reached it yet, it still needs a little bit of growing, working on to get there. It's probably one of the biggest urges I've got at this stage, is to get there. Where up until a year or two ago the S&M has been very physical and I want to cope with something else, it's very much going into spiritual realm. I have to cope with it if I want to fly so that's what I'm working towards.

K: You said ....., it sounds as though you're quite um, for want of a better term, goal oriented in terms of you think you want to, want to .....

P2: I've got a few lines that I follow. There is where I think I would like to be, where I'm

working on it, we are working on it I should actually say. If I'm ever going to get there I don't know, down the line I might decide that it's not for me and cut it off, go to something else.

But sexual goals, yes.

K: Because that's the realm of your life that's important to you? I mean you spoke about ...

P2: Ja. No I've got a motto in my life. The day I die I would rather say hell ek moes dit erder nie gedoen het nie but I don't want to die the day saying I wish I did that but I never did it. I would rather do it and be sorry about it than I didn't do it. And that's been my motto until now. It's worked wonders for me up until now (laughs). I'll probably bump my head somewhere along the line (laughs).

K: so that ties in with the whole exploration ....

P2: Very much, in my whole life everything is like that. I've never had any ambition work wise. It brings in the money so I can live my life so if I'm sweeping the streets or working at the hospital or working here ...., as long as the money comes in, that's what's important.

Maybe tomorrow I'll find that an area that's very interesting, I'll go and study it, I'll go and do it.

K: Is there anything else that comes to mind that you think will be useful or important to tell me?

P2: Difficult question! Not that I can think of offhand.

K: That's fine. If I need to can I come back to you for clarification ...?

P2: You're more than welcome.

### SCRIPT 3

K: Ok, which of these names do you think best describes who you are? Gay, homosexual, queer, fag, moffie?

P3: I think Gay, I'm comfortable with Gay.

K: Why, why do you think Gay especially?

P3: I'm desensitised to 'moffie', I was in Cape Town when certain events ....., when the movement happened initiated by (X) and company ....? Abigail, Abigail decided to take the word back and initially I was like 'ugh, don't call me that' and of course I had a friend who was a teacher and I worked at a restaurant in Cape Town and he'd come in and he'd shout from the door 'Hello moffie!' and I would cringe because I think that the word moffie for me was always very negative, I mean, I think that I've always been a moffie in terms of the stereotypical, quite effeminate boy. So you were called a moffie and you want to cry every time somebody calls you moffie so to be called a moffie in one's adult life is quite a nasty experience. And then I started, I mean I found out why they were doing it and it took a long time to get used to the word moffie and eventually I kind of ....., I became comfortable with it. With effect I think that now in Cape Town everybody calls each other moffie and it seems ....., it seems that it is spreading to black areas that people call each other moffie. So it's actually very interesting. But I'm comfortable I think with being Gay because in a very quiet way I think I'm very political about being Gay; because my view and picture of life has always been a kind of being having to hold hands with my lover and then I do. So those kinds of things; so yes I think by saying that one is Gay ....., sort of takes it out of the ....., certainly out of the sexual arena. It's not just sex, I mean homosexual is a sexual thing for me.

K: And queer?

P3: That's too PC for me, it's too politically correct for me. I mean it is supposed to mean this like Queer nation of people ....., so it almost depicts sort of other ..... people who get together in a group because they are ....., they define otherness. So for me it's far too pc.

K: Ok, is there any other word that you think would be better for you.

P3: Besides Gay? (Pause) I don't have one word but it would be really nice if people could move towards: that man just happens to be in love and so with another man. So I guess almost in terms of normalising being Gay or being homosexual or being a moffie.

K: So would you say then that .... would you, um, ....you used the term 'normalised', I mean would you see ..., would you prefer to be integrated into the general society so it makes no difference between you and ....., other than that you have a male lover?

P3: I am ....; there were two parts to that particular question; the one part was the fact that would I, in fact, want to be integrated and I find that the more I become comfortable with being Gay, the more I move toward integration. It was always very necessary for me to distance myself, to become comfortable towards what I was, you know? Because, you know, in the one way society was forcing me to the boundary or to the outside but I think that's become comfortable with being a Gay person on the outside, I feel more and more comfortable with integrating; you know?

K: But being integrated from who you are rather than from adapting to fit in with ...?

P3: Absolutely, I must be able to ....., if I can't go into a company and if sexuality does come up and I don't feel comfortable about saying that I'm Gay in that company, that's not a company that I'd mix with. Either indicating something of myself or alternatively maybe a step that I need to take but I almost wish not to be there as a Gay person, a person who happens to sleep with a man. And it happens to a lot of men.

K: Just in terms of actual sexuality, your early sexual experiences; can we just talk about that? Can I also just say that if you think something that you don't want to talk about, that's fine but will you just let me know that, that .....

P3: That I'll be hedging (laughs)? Ok. My earliest experience of sex! I didn't have early sex as in adolescence, I mean I think that the first time I saw a vagina I must have been about nine or ten and I thought 'Arrgh, go away, horrible thing' plus I think the fact that I think that I was quite surprised because she was our age but because I was eleven so she had hair already, she had pubic hair so here was this horrible thing: a vagina with hair around it, it was quite a shocking experience. On a roof, I still remember that; it was on a roof. And funnily enough, I never had sexual experiences with boys at a very young age. I just find it very strange because most people would say that they, that they had experience with boys, you know, (telephone rings and interruption). Now I've lost my train of thought.

K: You were talking about early sexual experiences.

P3: Oh ok, ja I didn't have any, I mean I think the first time that I had sex was when I was ....., first time I had a kiss was with my cousin who was a girl, when I was about eighteen or

nineteen. My first sexual experience certainly with a man was when I was twenty two. And I then had a very interesting one of going in the closet, out the closet, in the closet, out the closet, in terms of first going out with a man and then going out with a girl. Could never imagine myself having sex with her, could imagine ..... always the unattainable girl that I would go for; some of them I went out with but as a 'friend', had a couple of kind of kissing sessions, 'cause I don't mind kissing, kissing sessions with the girl but then of course went back onto men again; at about twenty six went into the closet for another year and a half or something like that till about twenty seven and a half and then decided 'ok now listen stop fooling yourself'.

K: Ok, with ....., with um homosexual sex; restricting ourselves to that; do you think that your sexuality has changed over the years, from those .....

P3: Become more comfortable, I think it has become where I was incredibly tense about sex to, practically only now, that I'm not tense about sex anymore. I had enormous performance anxiety, with the effect that I always took on a very aggressive role because the aggressive role could allow me to give them pleasure and not ever to receive pleasure because I had this performance anxiety that if I did ever decide to practice ....., to suck my dick basically, nothing would happen. And yes for a few times nothing would happen. So, ja, that kind of was like, and I guess it was a lot of homophobia or what you wish to call it but not being comfortable with being Gay.

K: In terms of the things that you do, has that changed? Sexually?

P3: I've never been into anal sex, I mean I think that I, that I had one ....., I think anal sex happened once. For me I experienced it as rape, I didn't say 'no' but I know that in my mind I was shouting 'No, no, no, no, no, no'. It was also with a ..., it was with a person who was at that stage my ex-lover, but we were watching blue movies, got into bed, he decided that ....., I think in a way I wanted to see what it was all about but it was just incredible unpleasant, and hurtful experience and I know that I ....., I mean, after that incident I think I went into the closet for another year and a half or something like that; where I avoided it, I still don't ....., I'm starting to want to experience it again and I'm thirty six now. I'm starting to want to experience it again but I think that's more because I'm comfortable with being Gay and my lover is ..., also I get into exploring and I trust him. I don't think I ever trusted any of my other lovers; 'cause I didn't trust myself but I didn't enjoyed it too much. It was like a ..., I

guess it was a matter of building trust in myself or believing that I am Gay and being comfortable with that. And now I'm getting to explore again. But theoretically, it would just be blow-jobs, fingering, I'm really into it if I think about fingering, I've only done fingering, I think, within the last two and a half years, you know. As I say before that it would always be do ..., me doing it so that other people wouldn't do unto me. Whereas now I can lay back and enjoy it, you know.

K: So, ok, so the change has been in sense that you are more comfortable rather than exploring different things like fisting or .....

P3: Oh, no, no. I ....., which is actually quite strange because I always thought that I had no sensitivity around my nipples; my latest lover, and he'll probably kill me if knows I am saying this, but my latest lover likes biting more than ....., ja, he just likes biting, and initially I was kind of uncomfortable about it but in my masturbation sessions I was busy kind of pinching myself much harder than what I've ever allowed anybody else to do it. So when he started with this kind of activity, the biting of the nipples, I thought 'Ok, let's kind of just go with it and see how much I can take', but he's also learnt very nicely that it's only on the way up that ....., you know before orgasm that that is allowed to happen, if it's on the way down after orgasm I'd snap his bloody head off, (laughs) you know. But it's, I guess, it's learning with him what I like and I'm also not scared to ask him to do it.

K: I see. So are both of you quite expressive about what you like and what you want and what you don't want?

P3: I'm quite explicit, I think we use non-verbal language. I think it's kind of like pushing into an area that needs some attention. He ....., he's very young so he, he's not that comfortable with the sex yet. He certainly has improved tremendously since we've been together, but he's not quite comfortable yet with asking me, you know, to do certain things. He's also a doer and it kind of ....., I've told him already, it gives me quite a little chuckle to see where I was ....., it's quite funny, where I was and where I am now and that allows me to kind of ....., because sometimes I kind of get irritated, you know; at certain times you almost physically push one away because you're not supposed to go there. But we talk about this, we talk about it afterwards, you know, that 'listen you're pushing me again' and I will tell him when he's pushing.

K: You've spoken about becoming more comfortable, what do you think has contributed to

that?

P3: Lots of therapy. Um, lots of therapy .....; it's almost exclusively been related to being different, to being Gay; feeling on the outside ....., feeling emotions that from people ....., and I guess, in Freudian terms, projecting that onto people around one ....., I mean I think now I realise that my mother yes is quite an emotional person, my father was too, you know. But working very, very hard on learning to accept oneself, all sector of oneself, learning to get a balance to one's life, learning to accept one's sexuality, um, and I think starting ....., with therapy, starting to recognise when you were being homophobic towards yourself, internalised homophobia, and working bloody hard at that kind of thing, um, and being away from home. The move away from Cape Town has done enormous things because ....., if you just read the literature of how Gay men move, I now know on an intimate level why Gay men move, you know.

K: Tell me why.

P3: Just the physical distance away from home allows one to explore one's sexuality. You no longer have to be scared of running into people you know. In Cape Town I was also a psycho-sexual counsellor, so, going into a darkroom was a no-no, in Cape Town anyway, you know. Because if you're sucking somebody's dick and you come out and it's one of your clients, so just, you know, an unwritten rule among counsellors that there's nothing stopping you from cruising, but cruising places so that you can see who you're cruising so that you don't kind overstep boundaries and stuff like that. So ..., but I think it's more than that, I think it's basically ....., where I don't say that internalised homophobia lifts as you move, but it certainly does lessen almost. You ..., it's strange, you feel more comfortable with being Gay, you more open about being Gay, right, which means that you can be more open at work, you're not scared that people at work are going to know family, so I think, that ..., that learning to be more open in a non-threatening environment where people don't know you, you almost go in as a Gay person.

K: Ok, so are you saying that in Cape Town you would have had lots of people who would expect you to behave in a heterosexual way?

P3: Ja.

K: And you don't have that here. You go in .....

P3: Ja, no I think that too, and I think that a large part of it is to do with the fact as you go

through therapy and you've got this view of yourself as an honest person and you realise just how dishonest you've not only been with yourself but with other people, either by omission, lying by omission or alternatively lying blatantly about your sexuality, about where you went, with whom you went, who you're spending time with, right? That, that kind of thing when you ..., in therapy when you start facing the fact that your view of yourself as an honest person is like a very erroneous view 'cause you're not honest, you're not honest either with yourself or with other people. So I think that it starts by kind of chipping away almost at your self-image. What was my self-image in Cape Town? And then you realise, as I say, how many people you lie to. And if you think about that, one of the very clear indications of that was when I was thirty-one, there was this friend of mine and I who had known each other for twenty years by then, at thirty-one was the first time that I told her I was Gay. She said 'Ja, I knew but I was waiting for you to tell me'. And how much more honest our relationship became after that, you know, it was nice to be able to say 'ah, there's a gorgeous guy' but before that it was like 'who're you going out with?', 'no, nobody', 'time you get somebody', 'no man, I don't have time for this'. So it ....., it's about honesty. And then suddenly you move, and I think I moved at a good age, I was like thirty-two or something like that, or thirty-three, but I was starting to become very comfortable with being Gay and all the rest of it so any environment I now go into, I go in as a person and if the subject of sexuality comes up there's no longer shyness or a embarrassment to say that one is Gay. Or talk about your lover.

K: Ok, so you spoke about honesty in terms of reaching a point of being more honest about who you are and those such things, paralleled by acceptance of who you are?

P3: Mm, ja.

K: And it also sounds as though there was a broad change in ..., as a result of therapy, in these types of issues which then led to a greater comfortableness in your sexuality as well. Is that right?

P3: Ja. I would say so.

K: Were there any sexual experiences along the way which ....?

P3: Oh yes.

K: ... which you thought were significant in this development?

P3: In this development. Um, if I think from ..., let me put it from the last time I came out, which was at about twenty-eight, was the last time, I've never gone back into the closet after

that, well theoretically. But I mean I've never gone back into the closet after that. I think I started initially with having long-distance relationships, first it was two people here in Jo'burg where you only saw them occasionally, spoke to them on the phone, so that kind of built up your ..., your ..., I don't know, built up your skills almost in terms of relationships; very minor skills I might add now that I'm in a full-term, full-time relationship. But minor skills of talking to or showing loyalty at least to one person over a length of time. Um, then I came closer to in Cape Town ..., in a way ja ....., of course I was having casual and other sex in Cape Town, but it was still in the kind of like me being the ..., almost the aggressor in that kind of situation. Then I came up to Jo'burg and I became a complete slut, it was an absolutely wonderful um liberating experience. I just became a complete slut, I cruised up a storm, I camped up a storm, I practically lived by 58, and it was very, very liberating. I mean I just think that there was a chance to first of all live out my fantasies, my fantasy image is a big, black man, a tribal kind of leanings whatever (laughs) but anyway, it's a big black man and of course in Cape Town you don't have access to black men; the only black men you have access to is queens and I mean drag queens so here was, in inverted commas, normal looking black men and of course I had such a ball and that lasted for about ..., I would say, six months and in that time I met somebody but it didn't last long but I think there was a movement towards that saying 'ok it's ok to have a relationship since I'm out of Cape Town', you know? And it was also ..., I was also in therapy again so it was definitely getting more comfortable with being Gay, if I link it that way. And in Pretoria, was a complete slut in Pretoria again 'til one night, when I ..., after I had about ....., I think it was about five men in one night ....., I must say that when I moved to Pretoria I didn't get a car which meant that all my friends were in Jo'burg and I used to go to Jo'burg ....., I'm lying ..., ja I could get a lift to Jo'burg on a Friday and come back on a Monday morning but then what happened was that the lift stopped and then suddenly I was here in Pretoria and I didn't have a car, my car was stolen so I started going to Steamers also for the express intention of going to find somebody to have sex because I was incredibly lonely then. And then um but the one time after having a bored ....., here, sitting here on Friday night bored, went to Steamers, had five men and I walked out of there feeling really disgusted with myself; I thought ..., and I think the disgust was more from ....., you know, or I know what I'm going to look for yet I went to a place where I'm not going to find it. And I said 'no man, just get your fucking shit together' and it stopped. I never ..., I went back to

Steamers but making sure, nice behavioural little modification, that I was with a friend. Right? I made an effort to go to Jo'burg again.

K: So what was it that you didn't like about that experience?

P3: It was ..., I was going to look for something there besides sex, I had no problem with ....., if you're feeling very horny and randy, going there but I was looking for ....., I had an expectation and I was going there looking for that and I realised it even before I went there, I knew I wasn't going to find it there, so now you engage with five men, you don't care ..., you really don't care what they look like, they're a dick at the end of a body. And I think that kind of objectification of a body is something that ..., is ok, but for me it's only ok when I'm feeling whole, if I'm going there to add a bit to myself then it's not ok for me. So, ja, after that little five men trip in one night I decided 'fuck this! no more!'. And then I got involved with a ..., with a guy and that lasted for about seven months, interestingly enough, (inaudible) not clear in the beginning but as time went on it became more and more clear I was getting involved because of a relationship not because of who he was or that I want to be, I wanted a relationship and I got involved with him and then it ended; it ended after I decided uh oh this is ....., it's not ..., I can go on, it was comfortable but then, of course, I started picking ....., you know, prodding the holes in his personality, prodding holes in this ....., and I thought 'no, shit man, this is your fucking fault, you got involved with him because you ....', I saw him as stable, as ..., it was now time in my life that I get involved and all the rest of it.

K: So it does sound to me as a kind of a journey ....., as we spoke earlier, a journey of getting to know yourself better, getting ..., and being more clear about what you want and what you didn't want and going for what you actually wanted rather than .....

P3: Ja, or not what I wanted, what I needed.

K: What you needed?

P3: Ja, because ....., what I wanted was the relationship, what I needed was to, I guess, fall in love with a person within that relationship. So I kind of was on a whole little trip there, you know at that stage I thought that this was what I needed or alternatively that's what I wanted but I wasn't looking at the me to actually be involved with the person rather than being involved with the idea of the relationship.

K: Talking about this, and sexuality always brings up morality and things. Has your morality changed? Or has your morality around sexuality been fairly constant?

P3: Um, what's right or wrong? I think my morality changed in terms of that sex before was always wrong, you know, and as long as ....

K: What? You mean homosexual sex?

P3: Ja, as long as I was doing I wasn't partaking in it and I wasn't getting any pleasure from it. I was giving pleasure but that's fine because maybe in that kind of sense you're moral and good, you know, or it's moral and right.

K: Ok, so not for you to feel pleasure?

P3: Ja, for me to feel pleasure would be a no-no. Um ....

K: What religion, what religion?

P3: I'm Anglican or Protestant. Um but nowadays I think that ..., it's a real switch around, that if I'm not receiving pleasure then I am doing something wrong; not doing something wrong but that a certain ..., it isn't fair to a person, I think it has become less rigid. So that's what's right and what's wrong but more to a kind of that it's ok to give pleasure and to receive pleasure.

K: So this is a change in yourself, I mean what society says and the church says hasn't changed has it?

P3: No, I don't go to church and I kind of ....., I think it just more an extension from having a kind of religious dogma to my own sense of the universe that yes maybe there's something out there but that which it is is something which I can't live with.

K: So would ....., would it be true to say then that at first there was some sort of internalised religious morality, kind of morality, ok, which then made you feel uncomfortable and the change has been that you no longer live according to that but you actually deciding for your self what is morally correct and morally incorrect?

P3: Absolutely. I think that was one of the greatest shifts that one probably ..., that I made in my therapy, of going from an external view of what is moral and not to a very internal view about what's moral and not. Um, and that was ....., I don't think I ever kind of like raged against um religion as such but I do know that it did kind of teach us kind of really screwed up little values, and values being placed on things and I accept that a lot of the ....., yes, society caused it but I internalised it; the wrongness of homosexuality, you know. So it is kind of not putting oneself down but realising that you had played a part in that internalisation of this wrongness that society says that you are and getting to grips with that: is it wrong? Is it right?

And you realise that morality is not about being wrong or right, it's a whole little continuum in between and I think that now my life doesn't consist of right or wrong but that continuum.

K: So are you saying that it's far more complex, your sense of morality, your moral structure is far complex?

P3: Absolutely, than what's right and what's wrong and being able to give a reason for it.

K: Ok, it sounds as though this evolved very much around your homosexuality that it's a change in deciding what's right or wrong?

P3: Absolutely, I think that certainly one's sexuality because it's deemed as wrong ... and you think but ..., there's a very nice quote or....., 'God don't make ....', 'God don't make junk', I think it's a bumper sticker or something. And that had an enormous effect because I think suddenly it started one thinking along the lines that if anybody says you're wrong, I'll first of all have the reaction 'How dare they say that I'm wrong', then saying to yourself 'Now, hold on, do you agree with them?' and then move into 'is it wrong?' and then saying 'but it can't be wrong if God doesn't make junk', you know. And that he must have ..., and that kind of thinking for a reason for one's sexuality and then you realise there's no reason, there's no one single factor which you can blame, you know?. Still external to oneself and then realising that uh uh you've got to go along a process; and I think it's a hard internal process of ....., you almost re-evaluate everything you've learnt, that society has taught you and then you have to come up with your own ideas. And I think that one ..., especially homosexual men, I've not come across many that haven't gone along a intense internal process of saying ..., of re-evaluating their values. I certainly did. What values do I put on some stuff, you know, what value do I put on friendship, what value do I put on family, what value do I put on the church, what value do I put on morality? In case I say to somebody else 'you're being a slut' but in a ....., saying a slut in a negative way, I mean I think moffies just use the word slut as a term of affection, you know. So it means re-evaluating for yourself then.

K: So starting off on your sexuality but then you find that it's far broader than that, your entire value system changes?

P3: Absolutely, ja.

K: I think ....., you've also implied, and I just want to ask you whether my understanding is correct, that part of that change is that one no longer, um, takes society's value system and rather one starts developing one's own value system.

P3: Absolutely, you ....., because I mean, I think that you become tired of always being wrong, you know society says you're wrong, church says you're wrong and then you realise that you can live with that kind of view ..., world view of everybody else out there is saying that I'm wrong then you can either accept that and be hell of a unhappy for the rest of your life or say 'but why are they saying that I am wrong?' and if you find the reason for why they are saying that you're wrong, saying 'but this is the way I am' and juxtapose those two and say 'but, no I've some or other got to come up or build my own personal strength by revaluing things' and I tell you, you can get to happiness.

K: Ok, so you are implying that Gays actually don't have much choice in that?

P3: I don't think they do, I don't think I've ever found any guy who had not had to ....., there are some people who I find who seem to make the transition from being heterosexual, in inverted commas, to homosexual very easily but all by the time their first relationship breaks up you find them going through some kind of process, you know. And as I'm saying their transition has been very, very cool, I've got a friend whose transition incredibly ..., it just looked that one day he was heterosexual and married and the next day he was divorced and, well from before he was divorced, he was homosexual; and he's important, no problems, he went and told mother, father ..., well not mother ....., not father but mother and sister and .... And everything seemed to be hunky-dory until his first relationship broke up and suddenly ..., you know, all other stuff started .....

K: Ja, so how would you ....., you spoke about a change in your ..., you spoke about a change in your morality, how would you decide your morality at the moment? What is important, how do you judge ..., what distinctions do you make in terms of right and wrong? The church says homosexuality is wrong, heterosexuality is ok, what ..., in what way do you judge?

P3: I think that the line is not right or wrong, its a continuum, I think I am now at a stage in my life that as long as it doesn't impinge on my life, it's not wrong, you know. When it starts impinging on my life then I think that maybe ..., I shift on the continuum, but I think it is not as easy as that, um and I don't know ..., I ..., you mentioned about the word promiscuity, I don't know any promiscuous people, I know people who have lots of sex. And I think that becoming more self-aware, as soon as you judge something wrong, for me as a Gay person then I start looking at my own life and saying 'but hello, you also did that' because if you think about stealing, right, almost as you went on a journey and you realised where you stole, might

have been an idea or a thought or something like that. And it's not things which church or society would see as wrong but because you've been on the journey you realise that how dare you say somebody who's stolen an, a physical article is wrong where you might have stolen an idea or out of your mother's purse at some stage or took a sweet where you weren't supposed to have taken a sweet. And I think that it's even the tiny, tiny details of one's life start coming up when you're on that journey or when you're saying 'oh God what a promiscuous person' what the hell do you mean? The person is just having more sex than what you are at that particular stage in your life. No! At one stage of one's life when for me the kind of exploration that one does, I can't count how many men I slept with, you know, I really don't have a clue. So you start having a very fluid idea about what morality is, it's not this dichotomy of right and wrong, it's a continuum, you know. How you place that on ....., I guess is how you feel on that day; if you're really pissed off at crime and somebody does something, and steals something that particular day or you've just been broken into and somebody steals something its like 'he should be castrated or his head should be cut off', but then you realise after a while that it's your own ..., it's your own feelings on that particular day which influence that thing. Ja, I think that my morality is very much influenced by what I am feeling like on that day.

K: In the sexual arena then what do you think is unacceptable?

P3: Um, I ..., nothing, you know. I think I'm ..., I've started to become rather than pure sex or sexual arena I think I'm starting to become very anti people who use other people sexually without thought attached to it; I quite like the idea that when somebody says ..., when somebody (inaudible) somebody else, then there must be some thought attached to it. This is what I'm getting out, this is what I'm giving and that kind of thing. Um, there's nothing that I think is wrong with anybody's sexuality, they want to push billiard balls up somebody's bum, go for it. I think because I'm in safer sex work has loosened up my ideas about sex tremendously, you know. So no, I don't have what ..., any morality attached to the sexual arena.

K: Ok, sex with children?

P3: Um, prepubescent children: I must say I have a problem with that.

K: What ....., what's the basis of your objection?

P3: I think that ....., I don't deny that children are sexual beings but must admit about my own sexuality and my coming to be comfortable with it then I doubt that sex with a child ....., I see

it more as a power thing, in any sexual relationship there's a power game, not maybe a game but certainly there's a power differential and I think the power differential fits in the direction of where it's just too great for me, with children. I'm not saying that the thirteen or fourteen year old isn't perfectly willing or capable of having sex. You see, I don't think they (inaudible) but I think it's the power differentiation between pre-pubescent children and adults is just too much for me. Besides I think the ..., maybe even the physicality of it, you know, the children are small, they have small bones, they ..., I mean I only like a dick up my arse now, you know, and I feel relaxed about it but I ..., I'm not comfortable with it.

K: The difficulty I think you implied is that children might have difficulty to actually make a decision about having sex ...?

P3: I don't think that they ..., I don't think that pre-pubescent children realise consequences, I don't think they even have the cognitive ability to realise consequences, they tend to be short-term, 'ok I'm going to be sore' or 'ok, I'm going to get some benefit out of this' but I doubt whether they realise consequences of ....., longer term kind of consequences for them, you know. And I don't think they have that cognitive ability yet. I must however say that I must agree with somebody who wrote something in Town, in Cape Town, and she was saying that sexual abuse ..., she was also talking about the fact that there's a distinction between sex with pre-pubescent children and pubescent children, but that sexual abuse as a trauma is more what's caused by society. Society's view of it almost is what causes the trauma, and in a way, yes, I almost agree with that, but I also ..., really what I was saying earlier about the power differential, that I realise that there's a power differential in any sexual relationship that I now have and that maybe what the discount for me is and with a child I think that the power differential is even more.

K: It also ties for me with what you said earlier about being aware of the other person in some sense, being aware of what you're getting out of it and what the other person is getting out of it. Would it be true to say then that ....., no I've lost it (laughs).

P3: But I think it's almost ..., I think we've almost done children an unfair task almost or we've put on children that theoretically when they're babies they can play with themselves and stuff like that and suddenly there's a period in their lives 'til pubescence where they're not supposed to enjoy their bodies and I think in our society, especially in Western society, we're not allowed to enjoy our bodies, you know, we're never taught to appreciate our bodies.

We're rather taught 'don't do', 'don't play with yourself', right, rather than taught boundaries; where to play with yourself, and 'you can play in your bedroom, my boy, with your willy' or 'you play with your vagina, my child, my girl child, its ok', you know. But we tend to ..., as I say we tend to put rules ....., and I think that the rules are there because adults feel uncomfortable with children's sexuality and I agree that children do have a sexuality, I'm just not very comfortable with people, with adults, sleeping with .....

K: So, so are you saying that there shouldn't be any rules?

P3: There shouldn't be?

K: Any rules.

P3: Rules? Um, as far as having sex with pre-pubescent children?

K: Or generally.

P3: No I think that there probably should be boundaries, I think the term rules for me falls into the realm of 'don't do', I'm saying that people must be equipped to learn to set their own boundaries; where the 'don't do' I think evokes a kind of guilt and all the rest of it and I think we should get away from the whole guilt trip. It's just that anything wrong or anything perceived which society is wrong instantly has guilt attached to it. But I think that if people get taught boundaries, if people get taught that you ....., that maybe you're a sexual being, if you're talking about sexuality, that maybe you're a sexual being, you'll go through different phases of being a sexual being, that some of that play would be, you know, on an individual basis or something like that, but that there are certain boundaries which need to be followed, you don't have to have rules, you know, be a wagging finger: 'Don't do it'.

K: Ok, and you think that that is wrong?

P3: I think that is wrong, you know because I think that the population in general has enormous guilt and angst about sexuality, you know. I mean it even goes to the continuum of sexuality, and there is no, on the one side homosexual and on the other side heterosexual, there's nothing like that ..., and I don't believe ....., I think that those are also things that you learn to know after a while as a homosexual man; this supposedly straight man who you don't fit into his frame of reference, you know he's in love with you and ..., but he can't seem to move from it because society's dictated that you should be a woman and there is a need for him to explore but he won't. I mean I've had certain ones of those.

K: Ok, we've spoken about morality in, I suppose, negative terms of what's wrong, in your

value system what are the positive things in your value system, I mean what sort of things do you value, what sort of things for you are worthwhile, what sort of things are good, in terms of I suppose sexuality but let's have broader ..., in terms of relationships.

P3: Um. What do I value in terms of sexuality? I think that I value ..., I value when a person can truly explore their sexuality, you know; I value that they have the comfortableness to be able to do that; I value when they don't have any angst about their sexuality, you know they don't make excuses for going out and being a complete slut on some particular night, you know; I enjoy hearing those stories because for me, maybe I'm being (inaudible) but they are truly comfortable and they've gotten rid of the shit in their lives. I value in terms of relationships, one type of relationship is friendship, you know, openly ..., open friendships, honest friendships, I think I value honesty; I won't say I want honest all the time, I'm not honest all the time, but I certainly value honesty; I value sensitive honesty, because I think that ..., not that some people push other people about but some people can be belittling in their honesty and I really feel that sometimes it's not necessary to be that particularly brutal in your honesty, there are better ways of saying ..., so I think I value friendship and honesty. I value, in relationships, ja, first of all a sense of honesty, thirdly the closeness which one can find in a relationship, the letting down one's guard which one can find in a relationship.

K: Showing who one is?

P3: Showing who one is and also the gradual showing who one is in the relationship. I don't think that ..., I don't know anybody who goes into a relationship and shows everything, to hide that or keep that the little negatives of oneself in the relationships, but I value when the negatives are shown, you know, I value when that's shown because it shows me that the person starting to be comfortable with me, you know. I value when they start showing the chinks in the armour or maybe I'm just saying that I value vulnerability because I know that I walked around with armour for a large part of my life and it's been a hard slog learning how to be vulnerable, you know.

K: So has that been part of the process in your therapy that you've been talking about, letting down the armour?

P3: Because I think that every time I went back into the closet I built up my armour, I came out ..., I now know that I never got involved with anybody afterwards except for in the sexual arena basically because I wasn't vulnerable, I wasn't exposing who I was to anybody out

there. So I always had a kind of barrier so you know that's why in a relationship I value being able to see the chinks in the armour, people showing what the chinks are.

K: Do you think that this is true of Gays generally?

P3: I think there's a lot of people with armour out there.

K: Including being Gay?

P3: I think so ..., I think that just being different or the realisation of being different as a child starts making one put up that particular armour and you know yes there might have been trauma in their lives that's why they also have the armour but I start ..., I started realising the sense of being different or the realisation as a child of being different that makes one start to put up a particular armour and I think there's a lot of people out there with armour. I do work with some and you pick up the armour out there; you pick up the armour of people who sometimes to prove um the past you know; you pick up the armour of people who are even in relationships and I think its almost as a child you learn how to protect yourself. You learn how to protect yourself because difference I think in Western society has always meant something lesser. Different meant that you were less than the other person and not the true sense of difference as in a lateral line of where there was difference along this line; and I think in South Africa, I think that that sense of difference is ..., has got even a more hierarchical bent especially in terms of the racial problem and things. You know if a person is different from me its either above me or below me, you know. So I think that in South Africa we do think of differences in a hierarchy. So I think that a lot of Gay people walk around ....., and I think it is also that ....., when one thinks of ....., I think it's very strange or ....., I ask my friends when they go cruising what are you hoping to find out there? It's very rare that they're hoping to come away with just having gotten their rocks off. After a while, after some digging you find that the people went there to find something, you know. And I think that we also learn to keep on armour because a lot of the time Gay relationships: one week it's on the next week it's off. People get into these week long relationships or two week long relationships.

K: You've spoken in terms of sort of changes in yourself in terms of changing your morality from ..., I don't know, society's way of doing things to your own way of doing things; and of having developed a different morality, different moral structure from before; can you pinpoint any ....., any specific experiences along that journey which come to mind, which were important, were significant in those terms?

P3: Um, I don't think so. No, I think not.

K: Ok, in terms of um the sexual moral structure, do you always live according to that? Or does it sometimes change?

P3: Sexual moral structure, what is right and what's wrong for me? I think that's been evolving um; what's wrong for me, what's always been wrong for me is anal penetration so I just don't allow anybody to do it, you know; that hasn't changed.

K: Ok but its fine for other people, you don't have a moral problem ....?

P3: No, I don't have a moral problem; it's just not right for me, you know, and that kind of protection was almost changed by me, you know, there was a sense that I didn't like it because of my one bad experience, so with effect that I always say to people 'go for it, do it safely of course' I stress safety all the time but anyway 'do it safely' but for me it doesn't feel right, it was never comfortable, so ja I just don't do it but I have no qualms or problems in fact I like it when other people are talking about it, you know 'I was fucked the other night' or whatever. It's ok by me.

K: So the safe sex thing is another moral thing for you then? That's important?

P3: Ja, that becomes a bit of an issue for me, the safe sex thing. I'm at war when people tell me about unsafe sexual experiences, I used to be able to deal with it very rationally, or rather almost counsel people when they did it now I just tick people off; I've lost twenty people in the last two years; I know of ....., at least ....., well double that number, people that I knew intimately, as in friends, people who used to visit friends down in Cape Town, stuff like that and I mean twenty three of them, twenty two died within the last two years. So I think that I kind of like hit the ....., hit the wall when they've had unsafe sex. I don't deal well with loss, I mean I think that's what it's like in my life, if there's one theme that comes through constantly it's loss, you know. You lose your heterosexuality, you lose the law, you lose .., you might lose friends, you might lose your parents, you might lose your colleagues at work, you know, you .... So it's a major theme, but it's a constant theme, as soon as you want to take a step forward you stand to lose something, you know. So I didn't deal well with loss, I think, through my life and so what we said the loss of thirty four people is hard for me and at the moment that's why I think prevention is the way because I stand to lose some of that energy which I feel of not wanting people to go that way, I guess it's a choice but not wanting people to go that way is what drives me to get involved in safer sex work.

K: Just getting back to ....., talking about morality, just getting back to sexual experiences, your sexual experiences. What is the best sexual experience you've had?

P3: Oh my goodness. It's a long time.

K: Mm, which one springs to mind?

P3: The first time I allowed somebody to masturbate me to orgasm. I've got a very negative view of the ex-boyfriend, so he managed to do it but having both his finger up my bum and him sucking me off and I managed to have an orgasm. That was nothing but I have a negative view of him at the moment. My present boyfriend managed to do that with me about three months ago and that was the best because it truly showed for me that it was a relationship of trust, of ....., and comfort; I think it was like a pinnacle, 'yes, therapy's worked' or 'I've worked hard in therapy to get to this particular point'; and that was a stunning experience for me, ja, that he managed to make me orgasm without me either taking over or having to do something self-stimulating.

K: And in terms of pleasure, what are your expectations?

P3: What gives me pleasure? Amazingly blow jobs now give me pleasure; they never ever did, it was like ....

(tape ends)

P3: What gives me pleasure, ja blow jobs. But I think that every ....., maybe I'm too analytical but every part of my body that now gives me pleasure shows me how confident I am in my sexuality. In terms of blow-jobs I think that maybe only in the last year and a half I wasn't comfortable to be getting a blow-job, now I really enjoy it, now its like 'down boy, do that, do that'.

K: You mentioned your nipples earlier.

P3: Ja, no that gives me also enormous pleasure but K my boyfriend is the only one who's ever done that; one leather queen at 58 did it where he ....., he gave me enormous pleasure by pinching my nipples rather hard but I think back then I was like ....., it was for me like really not on, you know; people who don't really like themselves who have to be abused in order to get pleasure. I think now I am starting to, kind of, ....., I've lightened up, I think, after that as I became more comfortable with my sexuality that, of choice, almost that people choose what gives them pleasure and that yes that pain comes and it can be pleasure. So my boyfriend bites rather hard, he enjoys that and I find it pleasurable.

K: Ok, and the worst sexual experience you've ever had?

P3: Ja, I spoke about that when I had anal sex and I remember I was twenty six and that wasn't pleasurable.

K: Are you currently ....., do you currently only have sex with him, with your lover, is that part of the relationship?

P3: Ja.

K: Before this when you were having sex with different people, what kind of encounter did you find the most satisfying sexually?

P3: Initially, anything that was big (laughs), it had to be big because one became ..., I became quite jaded, you know, I enjoyed having sex with quite fat people, in fact I don't mind fat people, I don't think I have a fat fetish, but I don't mind plump. Almost the illicit sex, somebody may be in a relationship, you know, it's very strange that I also fall down on my ....., but ja ....., but I think almost in terms of moral norms, the more illicit sex was, you know, the more pleasurable it was.

K: In terms of places?

P3: Oh, I quite like public sex, I quite like having sex in a ..., in a park, in a ..., Sandy Bay's my favourite spot. In fact that was very pleasurable too, having the same boy over two Decembers; it was actually very, very strange, there he was, you know, big dick of course. But as I say, the more I had sex the more jaded one becomes in terms of dick size, you know, small dicks are no longer kind of suitable, you know, and it is objectification; this body is like: penis. I think that what was very strange for me was that my way of judging whether I wanted to have sex with somebody was whether they wanted to kiss; it was actually quite strange because most people don't want to kiss strangers, but if the stranger ..., if the other person grabs for my dick first it was a no-no its: 'go away'. I always wanted some kind of sensuality in the encounter, at least, it's also divided up in my mind of almost performance anxiety 'oh God I probably won't get it up' which is strange because before I used to get it up much easier with a stranger than if I did it in a relationship. As soon as I entered a relationship: performance anxiety.

K: And what type of sexual partner do you find the most satisfying?

P3: Black men, I love the black smell, I also am very ....., what do you call it, olfactory person so people who ....., the smell in my life is very important to me and I like black smell. I always

think white men smell like smoke, some of them smell like milk to me, so ....., which is also quite strange because my casual encounters are always black and my lovers have always been white. It's like very strange but anyway. You were saying again? What one ...?

K: What type of partner did you find the most sexually satisfying?

P3: They were black.

K: But it sounds like emotionally ....., if I can make that distinction, emotionally it's ..., the most satisfying persons are white? If you'll allow me to make that distinction on your behalf.

P3: No, I think that, as I mentioned which is always probably guided my life and that is rationalisation. I have yet to find a black man ....., one of my kind of ... the values which I put on relationships is not because somebody is intellectually very bright, I doubt whether I can live with somebody whose not bright but I think I want to explain things, which is unusual because I ....., but I think with my partner, I don't want to have to explain things to that person, so my attractions to people have always been intellect first, now of course at 58 there's not much chance of that, you know; so it's pure physicality there, the partners have always been almost pure intellectual; I'm happy to report that my latest partner was physical, I had not a clue what his intellect was like, thank God he had honours in Psychology, but he was a waiter, but I saw him and I said to my friend 'that's it, that boy I want, come what may'. So it was an enormous switch to where I chose physical which I normally done with casual partners and, ja, thank the good Lord about that, the two came together perfectly.

K: What ..., what range of sexual activity have you had?

P3: Range?

K: What different types of sex have you ....

P3: I'm not a control freak so I'm not into bondage or being held down. It's been a very normal kind of thing.

K: Places?

P3: Ja, that's been unusual. Every place in this house, cars, while driving, Sandy Bay, a cruising spot in December.

K: Dark rooms?

P3: Hey?

K: Dark rooms?

P3: Oh yes, dark rooms are my favourite too, cruising spots, toilets, parks, oh ja they always

add a little edge to the excitement, gyms, ja I think that's it.

K: Ok, that's basically all the formal questions that I ....., is there any ....., is there anything else that you think would be worthwhile that springs to mind.

P3: About sexuality?

K: Mm.

P3: I don't think so, I think you have been very comprehensive in your questioning. Maybe ....., part of my interest is the ....., I'm dealing in this kind of arena but what ....., the lead up to what we spoke about unsafe sexual experiences, I've always found that incredibly enlightening to ask how people are in terms of their comfort of their sexuality, if that they're prepared to tell you that they engage in unsafe sexual experiences. That, ja, that's also a very good indicator of where they are, you know.

K: Just explain it again. What are you saying?

P3: It's just that ....., for me there's a lot of people having sex out there because they're uncomfortable with their sexuality, they say they're not comfortable with their sexuality, they suffer large doses of internalised homophobia and for me if I've questioned them about how you were feeling before, it's very similar, feeling low, feeling don't like myself much and stuff like that. Link this up with being caught but almost fuelled by not liking himself as a homosexual person and ....., ja, I've just found it a very good factor in where they are.

K: Ok, in general terms, where they are in general terms?

P3: Ja, but also not in general terms, it's amazing that their feelings of self-esteem and that discomfort only ....., ok they might not be a public homosexual as being out to colleagues and stuff like that, but they see ....., in a very other sense ....., ok if you measured them on a self-esteem scale, if you measured them overall you'd probably get a very high self-esteem, if you just took their sexuality you'd get quite a low score. It's very interesting for me how ....., alternatively how people ....., some people overachieve to compensate for sexuality, others almost underachieve because they don't either feel that they're good enough or whatever because of their sexuality. That for me has always been fascinating.

K: Ja, it is interesting how these things play out. One more thing for me draw a diagram of the most important people in your life.

## SCRIPT 4

K: Ok, which of these names do you think best describes you? Gay, homosexual, queer, fag, moffie?

P4: I would say I mostly refer to myself as Gay, but I definitely tend towards queer.

K: What do you understand by that? What do you understand by Gay and what do you understand by queer?

P4: I think queer for me has become more and more a political term. In one sense Gay is a way of describing identity and sexual preference. The Queer part would refer to the outness, the publicness of sexual orientation, not buying into the whole notion of ....., that we need to ascribe to the norms that society dictates, not ....., not sort of seeing it as important to emphasise normality in that sense. Ja and the whole acceptance bit that we don't need the acceptance of the broader society.

K: Ok, so you understand all of those under the term Queer?

P4: Mm.

K: And the term Gay? How do you distinguish between Gay and Queer.

P4: For me Gay's not political, it's identity, and sexual orientation. More and more so I suppose Gay would refer to men, Gay men, although I sort of prefer the generic meaning of it to refer to Gay and lesbian.

K: Ok.

P4: While Queer again the opposite side of the ....., ja well, the difference for me is that Queer could be that it's Gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender, straight but not conforming to norms of society.

K: Any other term that you think better describes you?

P4: Not really, but I suppose more and more I'm sort of thinking that any term would only be half a description of the experience and that the need for terms itself would be a comment on how society is structured in terms of that one ....., it's always an either / or that kind of a description. While in my opinion it's not that simple, we're a bit of everything and ja sure in this specific context, a specific side of us would be highlighted, and I've sort of to a great extent even moved away from let us call it the Gay identity into more of a subculture I suppose in terms of leather community which doesn't really exist in this country yet; and

which is quite international.

K: Ok, but you're raising that as a possible alternative to Queer or Gay?

P4: Or an additional classification.

K: Another thread?

P4: Mm.

K: Ok. I want this to be a fairly unstructured question so ..... How would you describe your sexuality generally?

P4: My sexuality per se? Not sexual orientation?

K: No sexuality.

P4: So my experience of sexuality as such? It's quite a prominent part of my identity and also a prominent part of my experience of living. I see it as most probably very far removed from the norm and even though Gayness per se is not pathologised to that extent that it was previously I imagine that a leather sexuality would to a great extent still be pathologised.

K: When you say far away from the norm what norm are you talking of?

P4: Well I'm talking of a sort of straight norm.

K: Ok, heterosexual?

P4: Heterosexual in the first place then I suppose one can even take it further in terms of ....., in this country specifically, in terms of the Gay norm of sexuality, it could even be far removed from that.

K: Being ....., being different from the norm; in what way do you think it is different from the norm? I mean why would you describe it as being different from the norm?

P4: I think in my opinion most South African Gays and even elsewhere in the world still tend to base their experience of their sexuality and their relationships and let's call it value systems on the dominant society ....., let's call it heterosexual norm. So it's ....., general society says sex belongs in a monogamous, long-term relationship, it could be more of a tendency to try and adhere to that and experience guilt or whatever else ..., you don't ....., and clearly this is now an oversimplification but I think a lot of ....., a lot of Gay people don't only practise sex ..., most Gay people don't practise sex only within a relationship. But I think that's still the way they imprint it you know and which they then differ from the norm it would go along with the guilt and other things.

K: Ok then so are you implying that their moral structure perhaps is still that they shouldn't be

having sex outside ....

P4: Mm.

K: And you're then implying that your moral structure has changed in that ..., in that sense that you don't have a problem with it.

P4: Mm, mm, ja.

K: Anything else? I mean that's just one aspect where you see yourself as different from the norm, any other aspects?

P4: I suppose for me sexuality has become a means of expression, experience ....., gaining experience or experimentation almost I suppose, broadening of boundaries, which I don't think ..., at least for most ..., or in any case in terms of Gay, the Gay (inaudible) once again, so ja, I would seek out opportunities to have exposure to different kinds of sexual experience ....., experiences.

K: I don't quite understand what you're saying. I certainly understand that you're saying that you seek out different sexual experiences but you ....., I can't remember what term you used but it ..., something about boundaries ....?

P4: Ja, exploring boundaries.

K: Can you ..., can you talk about that in a bit more detail?

P4: Well I suppose if you talk about leather or kink or S&M or any of those kind of terms then I ..., I don't have an idea of any of those specific terms, I don't see myself as into S&M per se, I don't see myself as having a specific fetish, and therefore for me the broader term is let's say leather, leather interest which once again, I don't wear leather per se. So it's all terminology and all restrictions. But essentially, if you talk about expanding boundaries, it would be the moral boundary, the sexual boundaries, all relationship boundaries, all of those that are sort of either questioned or ....., hiding is not the word I am looking for but the point is that within a leather kind of relationship, monogamy is definitely not the norm, it would rather be structured most probably around an open relationship; and that's not always the case either. In terms of the endurance of stimuli whether it's pain or other sensations I think there is always a continual sort of expansion on it; trying to endure more, trying to introduce extra stimuli, all at the same time; or it could be deprivation of the stimuli of the senses that you would be able to utilise in your sexual experience and those would be sort of cut off. So ja it is playing with ....., with let's say the norm or the boundaries.

K: So would it be true to say that it is exploring new ways of ..., or new forms of experience?

P4: Mm.

K: New ways of relating?

P4: Ja. Ja whether it is in the relationship sense or the sexual sense or other .....

K: Now ..., talking about your sexuality in these terms, is this different to what your sexuality was earlier on? Has there been a change in your sexuality over the years?

P4: Most definitely so. But I suppose a progression over a number of years and I can remember at a much younger age being sort of confronted with this fact that that what I was practising versus the way I was brought up, there was a massive contradiction and that to a great extent they were irreconcilable. And then having to sort of confront myself with 'does that mean I am going to adhere to the way I was brought up? And that moral structure? Or is there a need for me to question that and rewrite my script I suppose' and so at a much younger age, before I was sort of interested or involved at all in sort leather, kink or whatever else there already was a conscious blocking I suppose or conscious questioning of what I was experiencing. So after having a sexual experience and being overwhelmed with the guilt and remorse then sort of saying to myself 'but I can either then stop my behaviour totally that leads to this guilt and remorse, or I must go and look at why I feel guilty and remorseful' and soon it was clearer to me I suppose - and it's not that simple a process - also over the years but soon it became clearer to me that it was based on (inaudible) or societal pressure. Its kind of an imprint that we have in terms of the way that we need to behave and then consciously actually going against it and saying 'but that doesn't hold for me what people claim or proclaim what they actually do differs substantially and for me a value or a norm that's more important would be honesty, truthfulness, congruence ....

K: So it sounds as though this was a fairly conscious process .....

P4: Yes, I think ....

K: The evaluation of ..., of ....., I don't know your moral structure or something like that.

P4: Mm.

K: So do you think that your morality around sexuality has changed then?

P4: Drastically.

K: Can you just try and ....

P4: In terms of from where I was let's say as a kid or the way I was brought up.

K: Ja, ja, ja.

P4: Mm, I was brought up as a Roman Catholic and in a household where sexuality was barely mentioned ever. Even out of puberty when we were sexually awakening and I'm talking about myself and my brothers. There was never any mention made of it. I think the first heart to heart that I had around sexuality was when my father was confronted by the fact that I had a Gay experience and he then only introduced the subject with guilt around the fact that he most probably should have talked about it earlier because then I would not have been Gay. So, and this was at age what, I suppose, twenty or twenty one. And as I say forced upon him, not a natural unfolding. So I, I suppose, grew up with a very clinical non sexual kind of a input in that kind of environment with all the shame, all the guilt and whatever that was connoted to sexuality. I can also remember even in terms of myself, my brothers and our sexual experimentation with each other which happened at quite a young age, once again the whole moral around this is wrong and that you should feel guilty and remorseful around it was enforced constantly by older brothers. So ja that would have been the context in which my sexuality developed; but I had relatively early sexual experiences both with my brothers and then with sort of older guys which weren't abusive but they were sort of me seeking it out I suppose to a great extent. So at quite a young age I was sort of confronted with 'I'm sexually aware, awake, I've no knowledge of what the norm needs to be other than what I read between the lines and the guilt that I'm meant to feel around it'. And ja my first real connotation around the word Gay, I suppose, only came at the age eighteen or nineteen, that's after being sexually exposed from, I suppose, around eleven. So it's many years later.

K: And they were what could be termed homosexual experiences before that?

P4: Mm. Probably eight or nine of them and then only I had my first, let's call it Gay experience. And where I was introduced to the idea that there are Gay venues that people go to. And then soon after having had that exposure of going to a Gay venue and then getting in contact with Gay people and sort of the whole Gay subculture. So ja my experience of sexuality was then one of guilt, remorse, fearfulness, then being, I suppose, brought more and more into contact with people who, I suppose, didn't adhere to that or had similar experiences ....., emotional experiences, but experienced themselves differently and by the age twenty one I think I confronted myself around not buying into that, wanting to go into a Gay relationship, telling my parents as much, being quite, ja well firstly discouraged but I suppose also almost

disenfranchised because of my choice and then, I suppose, towards age around twenty five, twenty six I was more and more ..., became more and more aware of a sort of a kink that I experienced or that I found fascinating. But it was only, I suppose, at age thirty, I suppose, that I really came to terms with that network that I actually actively sought out experiences that would differ from the norm; heterosexual and homosexual.

K: So when you say that it was at thirty it was ok you are not talking about Gay sex any longer; you're talking about .....

P4: I'm talking about leather or kink or whatever else.

K: Ok, so it was almost as though there were two ....., two phases. The first one was coming to terms with being Gay or homosexual sexual experiences and then the second one at about the age of thirty where you came to terms with exploring ..., or changing ....., or having exploratory type of .....

P4: Mm.

K: All of that ....., no, that's not what I want to say. Are there any specific experiences that you can pinpoint that were significant in terms of this development?

P4: I suppose my experience of sexual ....., sexual exploration was soon indicated to me as being different to that of my brothers. For them it was sort of the typical pubis, pubis little exploration. From that very soon it got another significance and I sort of knew that was my first preference; the way that I sort of felt intimately attached to men as well, not just sexually for the experience sake. So ja I suppose the one or two occasions on which my older brothers sort of did the heart to heart with me it sort of ..., just in front of the confessional at church and saying that you have to tell the priest about what we're doing and that it's wrong. In that sense it's quite significant in terms of enforcing the guilt, the remorse, sinfulness of it all. I suppose then the instance my father where he ....., it's a long story and I'm not going to go into the detail, but when he got to know about a sexual contact that I had around age nineteen, twenty I suppose, which for him indicated I was on the wrong track and him at that point, sort of, trying to convince me that ... his not having told me about sexuality earlier, the fact that my mother was so purist, perhaps he should have brought in a balance and made sex ok because he differs substantially from my mother's purist views around it; encouraging me at that point to have heterosexual experiences; so that would have been around age twenty. More or less, I think just before or just after that I was also at a psychologist brought on by

my parents being aware of my sexuality and believing that I just needed to go to therapy; and me ending up in bed with the psychologist (laughs). Ja, so that would have been quite significant in terms of me once again realising that despite parental guidance or pressure or whatever else changed, it was ingrained. Then my first significant relationship at age twenty one almost twenty two when I told my parents 'well, there's a time ..., according to the bible there's a time for everything and this is now my time to move out'; moving out against their wishes ....., and I mean there already my ....., I suppose that relationship was quite significant in terms of confirming for me that the so called norm of monogamy that's so highly prized in Gay and straight, well straight and Gay society doesn't wash, for me anyway and was based on having looked around enough to realise that most Gay relationships weren't monogamous but living the lie of monogamy and the pretence and then experiencing that in my relationship with my first lover but then towards the end actually realising ....., or being able to make sense of his needs to be sexually exploratory and how - I am resistant to use the word unfaithful because those are the words we connote to it, but ja, - and then coming to the realisation that I don't necessarily have to feel threatened by it and contrary to the way I was brought up, it doesn't have to signify anything else but sexual exploration. Going into my second relationship on ..., built on that premise, and ja I suppose being able to sustain it for almost two years of where there was total honesty and openness from my side anyway around my sexual exploration outside the relationship, and it caused a lot of rift, a lot of conflict, later more acceptance but in the end the sense of insecurity that my lover at that point felt was just too overwhelming for him to really be able to commit and he wanted out. And since then I've always held the premise but never actually went into another relationship until two years ago and once again it was based on that same premise of that it's an open relationship, that I don't value monogamy, and once again it was sort of endorsed by the other party or seemingly endorsed but at the same time caused a lot of problems around commitment from his side and a lot of questioning around whether it was a meaningful experience or not. So once again it didn't last. Ja and based on that I suppose my premise would be that There're very few examples of ....., in South Africa anyway, of where people can enter a relationship on my premises and that it will necessarily last while there would be more examples of people entering on the basis of monogamy, building the trust and intimacy in the relationship and then only exploring the open relationship years after, while for me I can't see it any other way but

that it's open, honest from the beginning. So, ja, I'm wandering off a little bit.

K: Mm, I actually want to ..., want to bring you back. You've wandered into the whole thing of development of your ideas or your approach requires .....

P4: Open relationships.

K: .... open relationships. But as far as the actual development of your sexuality, where there any experiences, significant experiences that added to development or were there any specific people who added to ....

P4: Probably both my initial relationships, they both were incredibly sexual and I suppose that's what the two of them had most in common is that both seemed to understand my sexual needs very well, we were incredibly sexually compatible, the frequency of sex was very high, and there was mutual satisfaction throughout. But in both relationships they developed, I suppose, somewhat away from the norm, firstly around the open status of them, but then secondly also in terms of ..., well, the group sex which was introduced into both, thirdly I suppose bringing in the kink without necessarily being able to define it as such or to know what this was about I could say. But ja elements of what would be called S&M or fetishes or whatever else.

K: So did ..., did they almost educate you as far as these things are concerned?

P4: I suppose it was a mutual education, it wasn't that they had prior experience and brought that into the relationship, it was almost in our sexual exploration, extra stimuli was brought in just because we enjoyed the sexuality and were quite uninhibited around it. So ja, it developed within the relationships, I then most probably carried some of it over to my second relationship but he from his side introduced other ideas once again. So all of that, and I suppose it was only after my first trip abroad, ja not my first I suppose but my second trip, my second ..., my first trip as an out Gay person, I suppose, that I came to realise that there were specific venues, specific videos, whatever else for, for kink and had that kind of exposure.

K: You've spoken a lot about the change in your sexuality and the change in the morality associated with that sexuality, the change in both of those, has that affected you in a broader sense in terms of the person that you are?

P4: Mm.

K: And if so are you able to .....

P4: I've actually voiced the sentiments on a number occasions at a much earlier stage and that

is that, I suppose, if it weren't for the fact that I was Gay but then secondly from a sexual experiences I've had, I suppose I would have been quite prudish, nerdish, narrow minded, bigoted etc etc. so I've often described it as a blessing that I had (laughs) this sort of exposure to quite a lot else. Because, ja, I dread to think how I might have been and I think I would have missed out on many other meaningful experiences, I'm not talking about sexually only. So, ja, definitely, the fact that I came to realise that things aren't always as people say they are, and that things that differ from the norm for me could still be acceptable would then transcend into other areas whether it was in the workplace, being more unconventional there, being more experimenting there and trying new things more often than other people would be willing to, being more open to people of difference, and I'm talking racially, sexually, value systems, socio-economic class and otherwise, having that kind of sexual exposure to those people but at the same time then also being transformed into saying that 'ja, sure, let's get to know these people' so that would be more respectful of diversity and different value systems.

K: Ok. Do you ..., do you think it's changed ....., just sticking on the way it's changed you generally as a person, do you think it's changed the way you relate to people? You've spoken about the respect for diversity and I suppose that's changes the way that you relate to people but I mean can you think of anything specific for you in terms of .....

P4: I think I was brought up with a very clear sense of what's right and what's wrong, if I think there was very, very little space for the grey, and that was quite alienating for people I think in the sense that that would transcend in every other aspect of my being as well that I sort of ....., would almost exclude from being real or showing their true sides, clearly within indications for intimacy and realness of the relationships and ja I suppose I would be more tentative, less judging, more open to the difference that we spoke of, and therefore had the opportunity to get to know people from different walks of life. But then also to absolutely be able to befriend them, to such an extent that ja .....

K: Ok and how do you think it impacted your lifestyle?

P4: My sexuality?

K: Mm or this change .....

P4: Change in relation. Well clearly .....

K: Change in your sexuality and ....., I suppose it's all connected anyway so I'm trying to pinpoint how has your ....., let's say how has your lifestyle changed in parallel with all these

other changes.

P4: Yes, it's difficult for me to answer that question at this point in my life, I suppose because of a lot of other transitions. But essentially with better relationships, with exposure to so many people of different walks ..., of different walks of life it has given me a very broad experience base and a very good understanding of people and where they're at in situations etc which all then contributes to a more meaningful life to me. And I can bring that in to my ..., my job. Ja so adding quality in that sense and meaningfulness in that sense; I suppose my ..., the crux of my character still remains a very focussed, driven, whatever else person - that I continue doing in terms of how apply myself to my job, how I apply myself in terms of my sexual interests - so all of that remains very sort of let's call it driven or very focussed and I sort of whatever I do I do much ..., I do very hard as such. Ja so I'm not really answering your question but I'm not sure to do .....

K: Ok, ok. Are you ..., you described yourself and your moral structure as being different from the general norm and you described quite a few consequences of that in fairly positive terms.

Ok? Have you had any negative consequences for you?

P4: I suppose more of late in the sense that ....., at some point I had an ideal balance between being open to difference but close enough to my roots and understanding of where I come from morally, culturally and otherwise that I could tread the fine line between still understanding people from where I come from but at the same time being open to people who differed from that and the newness of each situation but of late - and I'm talking of the last year and a half I suppose - I seem to have moved too far from my roots, the conservative norms of that grouping that more and more it would lead to alienation, distance, even conflict .....

K: Alienated from those people?

P4: From those people ja which for me it has been quite painful and sad and I not really a preference because it has made me more intolerant, critical, discriminatory I suppose in another way and a sense of not being able to understand where they are coming from and I haven't the time to actually sit with them and work through the difference. So ja of late it has sort of alienated me from some people. Even my family for that matter.

K: Ok, getting back to morality again, what for you is important as far as morality is concerned, what sort of things do you find important?

P4: I think having been brought up Christian, a lot of the so called Christian values, let's call them, dominate but I think that I've come to realise that many of them are universal rather than specifically Christian and as I stated earlier the first and most important value for me is truthfulness, congruence. So being able to ensure that what I'm saying and do will be the same thing. And that's the way that I've related to people as well, and would then typically expect them to relate to me in the same way, which seems to be very far removed from the norm - despite people claiming to live truthfully and whatever else, and that in itself would clearly have consequences for relationships and otherwise. But I'm going off. Ok so truthfulness.

K: Ok, truthfulness, honesty, congruence were three that you mentioned.

P4: Respect, respect for people and that cuts through everything, in terms of everything clearly also respecting difference then. In terms of diversity ....., in diversity lingo if I can call it that, cultural relativism, and I suppose relativism in any other sense as well. What I mean with that is being able to stand back, view people from their perspective and not yours; suspend moral judgement or values - ja that one I would even move up the list in the sense that it's to me quite crucial. And that's what I would expect from people in terms of my chosen or different lifestyle as well. Ja I suppose for me, I don't want to go too broad now but the thing that's come to mind, is for me it's about applying yourself and that's in the job context, whether sexually, whether ....., in a relationship, whether socially that whatever you do you do fully and experience fully and ....., ja I don't know whether that fits into morality or whether it is more a motto ....., I don't know ....., Is that sufficient?

K: Mm, no that's fine. That's sort of generally, as far as sexuality is concerned or sexual interactions?

P4: A lot of .....

K: Is your ..., is it basically the same or are there differences?

P4: I suppose what I try and aim at is that my value system, moral structure, whatever else, I can apply in all contexts and it shouldn't be different rules in a different context. So, ja, if I talk about truthfulness, honesty, applying yourself, respect for the others, do whatever else; it would also apply sexually.

K: And that's part of the congruence that you mentioned?

P4: Ja.

K: What would ....., for you what would be unacceptable sexually? In a sexual relationship?

P4: I think as I've indicated, untruthfulness and by that I'm not meaning unfaithfulness because the concept won't exist for me but being untruthful terms of telling me that your not having other sexual experiences but then having them. Ok, and this it not so much in a sexual relationship as much in a relationship per se but then also for me emotional disloyalty would be much more of a taboo than sexual so-called dishonesty and what by that is once again if I have respect for my partner, and truthful then I need to relate to that person in that kind of a way and emotional disloyalty for me would boil down to actually not ....., shoo what am I trying to say? This is something I claim to feel very strongly about but I can't verbalise at this point without becoming tangential. I suppose it's loyalty in the broader sense of the word, I can't claim to have respect for you as my partner, claim to be building you up on the one side while sort of behind your back or in a different context, disloyal, disrespectful, etc towards you. Where I sell you out as such. So ja those things for me in a sexual context as well, I respect issues of confidentiality in the sense that, as much as I believe in being as open as possible around my sexuality, my preferences, my experiences, at the same time if it's been agreed upon that something would be deemed as a private experience or a confidential issue, that would have been introduced within the sexual context, I would respect that and I would honour that and I would expect the same.

K: So it sounds as though ..., that one of the values is something about a caringness where you consider the other person?

P4: Mm, sure, mutuality as well in the sense that I don't believe in clearly delineated roles so the one is the dominant, and the other the submissive; the one is the giver, the one's a receiver; the one is a carer, the other one's whatever else. I believe those should be mutually exchangeable I suppose and context determined. So flexibility within sexual contexts would also be crucial.

K: Ok. And as far as any particular sexual acts are concerned, are any of them unacceptable to you? In a moral sense? I mean you might not enjoy some of them but not have a moral objection to them.

P4: Anything that's not consensual would be totally taboo for me. In leather terms they've got a motto: 'safe, sane and consensual'. Sane I don't know whether I necessarily ..... (laughs).

K: Ok so consensual. So that would exclude something like rape, rape for you would be ....

P4: Unacceptable.

K: Ja, now what about sex with children?

P4: I'm not willing to take a blanket stance against it. Given the fact that we tend to bring moral judgements to things that we either don't understand fully or contextualise or whatever else and what I'll use in my guide in that sort of a line is ....., there was a stage not too many years ago when kids of thirteen got married and forced by their parents to get married for that matter and that would have been acceptable, many of our parents I think might have got married at sixteen, seventeen, so I can't take a blanket stance and say that it's immoral or wrong and not ok. I can understand that for purposes of order in a society that you need some guidelines around a cut-off age or age of consent and otherwise but that statistics and cut-offs and whatever else are not necessarily all that scientific or all that algemeenbaar, generalisable is absolutely so in the sense that in one country or one context a kid of thirteen could be mature enough to make those kind of decisions and in another context possibly they need to be twenty-one; but to make it a general rule for all kids in that country or that context doesn't necessarily make sense. So no, I don't condone it and I don't condemn it.

K: Ok, so taking it further it sounds to me that what you're saying is that it depends very much on the situation that it's very difficult to make blanket generalisations.

P4: But generally my view would be that I would not like for the decision in terms of child sex to be made by the older party and let's say at the cost in inverted commas of the younger party. Because of unequal power relations and otherwise surely one needs to have protective measures for the younger but somehow intelligent policy would provide for the younger party to be able to say that this was consensual, 'I'm informed and wise enough to make this decision and I want it', because at thirteen I was sexually active, emotionally perhaps not totally ready for it, but not too long thereafter it was definitely a question of the need was mine, it wasn't imposed on me as such.

K: So it sounds as though as far as the whole consensual thing is important?

P4: Mm, and informed, informed consent.

K: Do you think you always act sexually according to your moral structure as we've been speaking?

P4: Almost always.

K: So there is no particular pattern which deviates from ....

P4: Well, let me put it this way, because of the ....., - and now I'm talking at perhaps a different

level and you can tell me if that is - because of the taboos around leather sex even within the Gay community for that matter, I'm explicit around my preferences as I deem the situation to allow. So sure I don't go around dressed kinky or in leather constantly flagging whatever my preference is oblivious for ....., unaware ....., not unaware, but I don't care about what somebody else is going to say or think about it; I won't be able to afford that so I don't do that. So theoretically speaking I would love to be congruent as I say, in practice it's not always possible. The same goes for many of the other things I think that's what I am striving for: to be congruent, forthright, truthful, loyal or whatever else but there are I'm sure situations that would preclude any of those.

K: What is the best sexual experience that you have ever had?

P4: There're so many (laughs).

K: Give a taste of .....

P4: Does this have to go on record (laughs)? It's really actually very difficult for me to say.

K: You don't have to, I mean if you don't want to, you don't have to.

P4: No, I'll give you ....

K: Can I ....., can I tell you what I'm trying to get at? maybe that will make it easier.

P4: Mm.

K: I'm trying to find out whether there's specific things in sexual encounters which you enjoy.

P4: Well, I'll tell you what I enjoy and if an example transpires from that then I'll give it.

Firstly I value experience in which I imagine that the person is wiser, more experienced and able to broaden my horizons. So looking for a guru sexually. And I'd say that's the thing that I would draw through as the most important. Someone whose cooler, more together, less inhibited, less uninhibited and more experienced than I am.

K: So someone that can take you to new places?

P4: Ja and that would be physically but also spiritually. So given that, for me the experiences that I mostly enjoy would be ones that broaden my horizons. And that would be introducing something new, something that goes a little bit further than the previous, or that something that's more intense than the previous experience. And the question arises of where does all of this end (laughs) and essentially I always come to realise that there's more to be experienced so it doesn't end. But then together with that, what makes the experience work for me is the trust, the emotional bond, and a mutual understanding of each other's needs, and sex which is

just technical doesn't do it for me so it has to be, let's call it almost spiritual, there needs to be a connection between the person. And it's not built on physical attraction, it's built on innate understanding. And mentioning all of that, several situations come to mind and a rather recent one would be a guy of about fifty four, a wise guy, an engineer, whose incredibly individualistic in his sort of person, terribly caring, concerned, understanding, all of those nice things but at the same time very interesting and he broadened my horizons in terms of committedness and experience.

K: The worst sexual experience that you've ever had?

P4: Non-consensual, abusive of power position. I was, I think, about eighteen or nineteen, in Durban, I must have been there on my own, I think it was after my first year of honours and I treated myself, I wasn't sure about my future and I'd gone down to Durban on my own. Typically always exploring the unexplored, got to meet this guy who chatted me up, he was much older - I can't really indicate now how old he was - but I suppose he was about forty or older and I was about nineteen, twenty so there was definitely a difference in let's call power relations, he was also an advocate - quite a prominent one at that - and ..., to cut a long story short, what started as him just being sociable and nice, my not really being sexually interested in him and knowing that from the beginning and indicating that from the beginning, it became a promise of possible sexual experience in terms of a third party that would join us or ..., I can't remember he might have spoken of pornography or whatever, but I was intrigued at some level, so I went off with him and what started off as 'its just going to be for the afternoon' and he would drop me off where I wanted to be, it became a very sort of extended visit, him taking me back to his place which was far away from where I was at, me not knowing the city, ja I felt quite sort of powerless and in a novel situation and it turned out that by the time we were meant to go to bed, I wanted to go home and he said but he would take me back tomorrow and I said 'But, ja sure' and he said 'well your welcome ...', no there wasn't any option in terms of anywhere else to sleep, so I ended up in bed with him clearly indicating that I wasn't sexually interested but not verbally in that sense, it was more the non-verbal because I didn't really know how to express it. And him taking sexual advantage of me and I can remember my anger, my resentment, my frustration, my powerlessness, which was followed up by a letter from him months later and me responding to it with my anger and otherwise. But it remained with me ..., well ja forever in the sense of a very bad experience.

And the resolution that followed from that that I would never again be caught in a situation where someone could take advantage of me against my will and that I needed to become more vocal about my needs, what was ok for me etc. So it had a positive spin-off but it was a bad experience.

K: What type ....., is there any particular type of sexual encounter that you find most satisfying generally?

P4: Extended (laughs). In privacy, mostly group, and with experienced guys.

K: Any particular ....., the question there was what type of sexual experience ..., encounter do you find satisfying generally; which type do you find satisfying sexually, if one can make that distinction?

P4: I'm very anal fixated, so if you are talking about the specific sexual act almost. I suppose what to a very great extent still satisfies me the most is anal sex, being penetrated.

K: It sounds as though you've had quite a range of sexual activities, most sexual encounters. In terms of places have you had sex in different places?

P4: You mention them (laughs).

K: With different sorts of people?

P4: You mention them (laughs).

K: In terms of pleasure, I mean, you spoke about anal sex ..., enjoying anal sex, is there ....., is ....., if one has to talk in terms of pleasure, I mean, would you still say anal sex as .....

P4: I suppose anal sex because of the level of intimacy involved and it links up I suppose with what I said earlier, purely technical sex doesn't do it for me, there has to be a bond. And together with that understanding that I spoke of, it also links with intimacy, so I've got quite a need around intimacy. In terms of pleasure, I sort of ....., at some level I suppose force myself to be open to just about any experience and the pleasure lies in allowing it to happen. So even if something is not my kink, my need, my specific pleasurable experience that I'll be seeking out, by accompanying somebody else on their journey, or their pleasurable experience often does it for me. So I don't have a narrow definition of what's pleasurable, it very much lies within the context. Mostly would be aiming at anally linked whether in terms of anal sex per se or fisting.

K: But it sounds as though the pleasure might be at a higher level where you get pleasure from actually going with someone else along some sort of journey.

P4: And also I ..., I don't define the pleasure to be physical pleasure at all, although not denying that but it's very much for me linked the physical and emotional slash spiritual kind of pleasure.

K: Those are the formal sort of probings that I have, is there anything else that you think about your sexuality that you think is important or you think would be useful for me to know about?

P4: Many but I can't sort ..., many aspects but I can't sort of now .... I suppose in general I will just sort of chat. I suppose for me and this is almost talking philosophically so you must tell me if that's not what your aiming at. My ..., it links to what I said earlier that if I didn't have this sexual side to me and explored my sexual side I would have been very stale, stagnant, boring, ja and I suppose what I'm wanting to get at is that at some level I quite enjoy being able to talk about sexuality more often in these kind of terms almost to share a bit of that freeing that I suppose I experienced around my sexuality and emphasising the pleasure of sex, sort of divorced from all the ties or the restrictions or the limitations that we bring to sex.

K: Are ..., are you quite explicit in a sexual encounter? Are you quite explicit about what you want and what you enjoy and what you don't enjoy?

P4: It's actually quite weird in the sense that no I would have imagined from what I said that it would be yes but I suppose why I don't do it has much to do with my training and it would link to being more tentative, allowing something to unfold rather than bringing my ....., and also my emphasis on diversity and world view kind of thing and that's allowing a context to develop and people to almost show themselves in context where they're not going to be judged and otherwise. So for me it's very often a question where if I bring my needs first it can determine the context while if I suspend my needs somewhat, allow the situation to unfold, I think I trust myself enough to bring my preferences into it in any case. So it allows me being taken on a journey, to explore and experience given the fact that I look for these gurus and people who are more experienced, more exposed than I am; but then at the same time in the context co-defining it or bringing my personality to it.

K: So that took you on a side track.

P4: Actually I want to say in effect, I suppose what my journey has unfolded for me or sort of indicated to me is that many of the taboos that I brought to sex are unfounded, much of the pathology that's brought to it is ungrounded, but I suppose I've of late actually entered a

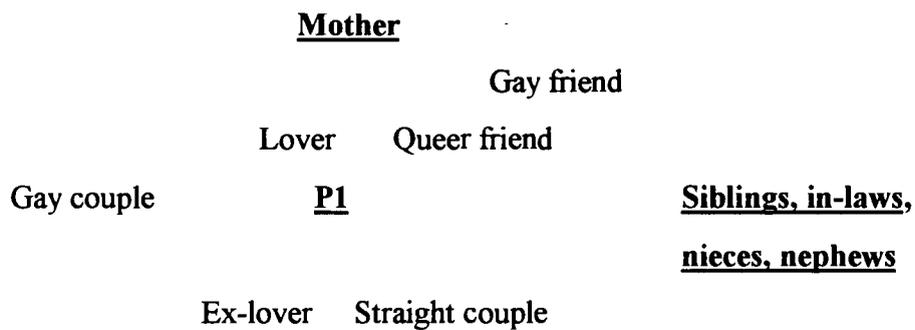
phase where I want to again become more tentative around what I think and feel around sexuality; and almost reconsider again, and what I mean with that is, I think at some level my lifestyle has had a cost even if just in terms of the relationships that I've become alienated from and then I suppose at some level I'm also wanting to warn - warn is the wrong word - warn myself from becoming too radical in anything in the sense that I think radical in anything has a certain cost and those become blind and ..., so at some level I'm reconsidering much or want to - I don't think I'm reconsidering it yet, wanting to reconsider or just place in perspective my approach.

K: Thank you.

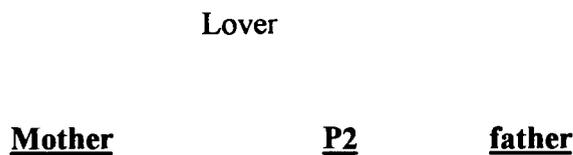
## **APPENDIX B: FAMILY DISTANCE CHART**

Each participant was asked to draw a chart of the significant people in his life indicating schematically closeness and distance to himself

### **Participant 1**



### **Participant 2**



**Participant 3**

**Mother**

Friend **P3** lover house mates

Work colleagues

**family**

Other friends

**Participant 4**

Activist friends

Ex-long-term lovers

Foreigners

**P4**

Girlfriends (mostly single and

Queer)

Leather couples

Playmates

Vanilla friends from past

**And family**