

**Emotionality in same-sex attracted men's sexual scripting:
Four expatriate men in Burma tell their stories**

by

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Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

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Abstract

Sexual scripting is understood to refer to the plot that guides a person's sexual expression. Script theory distinguishes three dimensions of a sexual script: cultural scenarios, which provide general socio-cultural regulations and guidelines for roles in all aspects of sexual behaviour, including the influence of constructs of masculinity and gender; the intrapsychic - the motivational elements that produce arousal; and the interpersonal – the script as the organisation of mutually shared conventions (Gagnon & Simon, 1973). Sexual script theory therefore provides a dramaturgical metaphor to frame sexual expression and behaviour, and to provide meaning and referential elements, which can be analysed and reworked according to new situations and experiences.

The word “emotionality” generally refers to an individual's predominant intensity of emotional reactivity. However, “emotional” is also often used to refer to a general matrix of experience within which behaviour is embedded. This matrix is set in the context of emotional syndromes, constituted from existential beliefs and social rules. Emotional appraisal and expression are also set in a cultural context and as such emotional scripts guide and govern emotional responses.

In this thesis I have endeavoured to illustrate that there is an integral relationship of emotionality to men's sexuality and sexual scripts. The research is grounded in qualitative methods of enquiry, in particular autoethnography. Four case studies of men, one of which was my own

as both participant and researcher, were collected through interactive interviews and then analysed using grounded theory to both describe and interpret the interaction of emotionality with sexual scripting. There are important components of bodily and emotional interactions in these scripts, but these are not merely cultural signals. Rather, these components are learnt, honed, adapted and reinforced by the intrinsic rewards, pleasures, and satisfactions that result from the performance of specific scripts, and the abandoning of other scripts that are no longer relevant or salient. This is accomplished through a reflexive process of engagement with oneself and others within an emotional and sexual environment to produce competent sexual scripts that lead to sexual and emotional satisfaction. Further research is necessary to investigate the interaction and the intersection of sexual scripts and emotional scripts to understand how emotional scripts influence the enactment of sexual scripts, and how interactions of sexuality, identity, desire, gender and emotions are present and influential in the construction and performance of sexual scripts.



Frontispiece: "Men by daaram" by Olivier Jollant (2005)

<http://daaram.deviantart.com/art/Men-35881191>

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Chapter 1: Introduction

“He caught it off a bus!”

I was in Rangoon, Burma, teaching a train-the-trainer course on understanding sexuality to a mixed group of men and women of varying ages, from early 20s to late 50s. They came from community-based organisations and the course was part of a program of capacity building and skill development in developing programs to respond to HIV in their communities. There were two middle-aged Catholic nuns, a group of young trainers from a Moslem youth program, four or five government health officials, and personnel from the agency sponsoring the lecture. I had no Barmah language and hence taught in English with a very competent Burmese female translator – a mature woman who had been a University professor. I had been discussing behaviour change in the context of HIV and sexually transmitted infection (STI) prevention, condom use and the importance of knowing how to access and use them, and the situations and places where sexual activity occurs.

During the break a young woman came up and questioned me on what I had been saying. She said that she had a client who was a Buddhist monk who said he caught an STI off the seat of a bus. I said that STIs could not be picked up from bus seats. She then said she was told by a reputable international organisation that it was possible. I opened the next session with a review of the facts about STIs and that transmission required sexual activity to have occurred. The immediate argument from

the participants that because monks were prohibited from having sex; the monk in question could only have caught the infection from a bus seat; where someone with the infection must have been sitting! And there was general nodding of agreement with this proposition. I then proffered the suggestion that the monk perhaps had had sex with someone, despite the prohibition.

There was a deafening silence, and the nuns looked shocked! After a few minutes of feet shuffling and a general air of disquiet, a young woman stood up and in perfect English said that she thought that I was probably right in my assertion because she knew of monks who had sex with other monks and that sometimes girls would prostitute themselves at temples. The silence then continued and then slowly around the room as that statement took hold there were murmurs and nods and finally agreement that this might well be the case. This incident initiated a long discussion on sexual behaviour including men loving men, women loving women and the various sexual behaviours they enjoyed

1.2 Dynamics of sexuality

This story illustrates the dynamics of sexuality and how sexual behaviour is scripted within cultural contexts albeit sometimes transgressing cultural norms. It also highlights the behaviours that people engage in for sexual satisfaction, relationship formation and sustainment, and for recreation. In my teaching session on this occasion, the discussion became very candid about what such behaviours might be such as oral sex, vaginal

sex and anal sex. Although at the time I was focussing on reducing the risks of HIV being picked up and passed on – it became obvious to me that there were other needs being met at an emotional level. Sex was more than behaviours. A search of the internet revealed on Wiki.answers (2013) that about 17.5 million songs have been written about love – each one telling a story of a fundamental human emotion:

Passionate love and sexual desire are cultural universals. Culture may affect people's definitions of passion, their attitudes toward sex, how free they feel to be able to engage in sexual activities, and what they consider to be the consequences of such activity—but in all cultures, in all eras, people feel the same stirrings of desire (Tang et al., 2012, p. 287).

1.3 Sexual scripting

Two different films *The 40-Year Old Virgin* (Apatow, 2005), and *Intimacy* (Chéreau, 2001), stimulated my deeper thinking about sexual scripts. In *The 40-Year Old Virgin*, a man has his fortieth birthday without having being exposed to the cultural scripts of courting and sexual encounters. His friends find out and they seek to remedy the situation. Although a comedy, which lampoons any ignorance of sex, this movie highlights the expectation that somehow a man should know what to do sexually – as if it is innate (Abramson & Pinkerton, 1995; Buss, 2003). Nevertheless, a sexual script still needs to be learned and refined, and this is the rationale of the movie. A more explicit sexual script is portrayed in the film *Intimacy*, but this is a sexual script without dialogue. Jay lives in a derelict house and one day *Claire* arrives at his door, and there is an

immediate attraction and desire. The bodies, the use of setting, the props (mattress, condoms), the timing (Wednesday afternoons), and sexual chemistry provide the stage on which the sex is realistically performed. What struck me most was the condom was produced by the man and put on without a word; a safe sex script handled without fuss or negotiation. How did this come about in this film? Obviously the condom was well entrenched into each individuals' personal sexual script.

Risky sex was an issue I had to confront in my own sexual life and in the work I was doing as a trainer in HIV prevention. I pushed for men to be tested for HIV; to learn to use condoms effectively and protect oneself from picking up or passing on the virus. This rational thinking underpinned my work and my sexual life. However, it appeared that other men acted differently evidenced by the dramatic spread of HIV around the world. For me this is an issue about sexual scripting, and that a script for the use of condoms could be learnt and enacted if the people involved had perfected the skills to use them correctly and if condoms were available at the time of the sexual episode. Sexual scripting became the framework that I used to teach about safe sex.

So what is sexual scripting? Following Burke (1968), sexual scripting theory uses the metaphor of drama to capture the means by which individuals enact and experience their sexuality. Elements of the theatre, such as the stage, scene, props, script, audience response, and the actors' performances are important to the vibrant construction of

competent sexual interactions (Whittier & Melendez, 2007). Humans are motivated by social and cultural forces just as much as by physical influences, and are also in the constant process of producing society and sexuality. Even the script is interpreted and enacted differently by actors depending on their unique life histories, experiences and background.

Sexual scripting helps understand the plot that guides an individual's sexual expression. Script theory distinguishes three dimensions of a sexual script: the intrapsychic - the motivational elements that produce arousal; the interpersonal – the script as the organisation of mutually shared conventions; and cultural scenarios, which provide general socio-cultural regulations and guidelines for roles in all aspects of sexual behaviour (Dworkin & O'Sullivan, 2005; Gagnon, 1973, 1990; Simon & Gagnon, 1984, 1986, 1987, 2003), including the influence of constructions of masculinity and gender (Connell, 1995, 2002a). For a sexual transaction to happen, essential elements need to be present – a situation, actors, a plot; as well as more intrinsic elements such as desire, opportunity, space, and another person. And to ensure that something sexual actually happens, one or both of the actors need to organise behaviours into an appropriate script. Sexual script theory therefore provides a dramaturgical metaphor to frame sexual expression and behaviour, and to provide meaning and referential elements (Dworkin & O'Sullivan, 2005), which can be analysed and reworked according to new situations and experiences. Plummer (1982) argues against applying cultural stereotypes to sexual scripts, rather to focus on

the interaction between culture, interpersonal encounters and the individual. As he argues:

In the hands of some researchers, [the script] has become a wooden mechanical tool for identifying uniformities in sexual conduct – the script determines activity rather than emerging through activity: what is actually required is to show the nature of the sexual scripts as they emerge in encounters (Plummer, 1982, p. 228).

My background is in psychology, and I wanted to understand this subjective cognitive sexual experience in the context of emotionality (Carr, 1999). I was able to attend a workshop in 2005 on the emotional brain (Crowe, 2005), and it became clear that although there are many psychophysiology and functioning similarities between the female brain and the male brain there are differences as well (Baron-Cohen, 2003; Brizendine, 2006). This at first affirmed my thinking, but however interesting this was, it did not address how emotions and sexual scripts were connected or address issues of alternative sexual and gender identities and expressions of sexualities. This seemed to me to require further exploration into the links between sociological explanations of emotions and sexuality. So I set out to explore other men's sexual scripts and the emotions that sexual encounters engendered.

1.4 The multidisciplinary field of sexology

The broader and multidisciplinary field of sexology suggested two divergent ways of theorising sexual desire, which I discuss more

extensively in Chapter 2. In summary, on the one hand are the biological essentialists, such as sociobiologists and evolutionary psychologists, who maintain that the origin of our sexual desires lies in our genes and is directed to reproduction (Buss, 2003). According to this view, human sexual desire is universal, and while there may be changes over time and place regarding what particular things give rise to particular preferences or behaviours, sexual desire itself exists independently of time and culture. On the other hand social constructionists deny these claims and insist instead that human sexual desire is entirely the product of the meanings we make of it (Weeks, 1985). In its most radical form, social constructionists maintain not only that such things as societal perceptions of homosexuality, monogamy, and fetishes are constructed, but also that sexual desire itself is radically amorphous and open to any inscription, independent of any physiological function (Stewart, 2009). I will discuss these issues further in Chapter 2.

My experience as a practising psychologist had shown how malleable behaviours are to extrinsic events as well as intrinsic thought processes and hence sexual script theory (Gagnon & Simon, 1974) would provide the framework for investigating the interplay between sexual behaviours and emotionality: but how to do it?

1.5 The research approach

Qualitative research provided the most appropriate method of investigation and I used autoethnography in conjunction with grounded

theory as the tool for investigating the above question. Autoethnography provides the framework for gathering personal stories (Ellis & Bochner, 2000). Grounded theory provides the tools to analysis the data and to describe and elucidate the various explanations (Charmaz, 2005). My data for this study was to come from in-depth interactive interviews of four men; myself to set the themes for the interviews and then open ended conversations with three other men that I expected to recruit from my local community. This brings me to where I undertook the study.

1.6 Location of the study

When I commenced gathering the data I was the Director of a non-government aid organisation, and was residing in Rangoon (Yangon) in Burma (Myanmar). During the time I was there, the country's leadership was enforcing the name change of the country from Burma to Myanmar and the country's largest city of Rangoon to Yangon. The British colonisers had used the old nomenclature, with the newer names being adopted by the Junta. I will use Rangoon and Burma throughout this thesis as that was the Australian usage at the time.



“Shwedagon Pakoda”, Yangon Photo: Kim Benton (2009)

As an expatriate living in secured apartment-style residence in downtown Rangoon access to reasonable quality food, and supplies were possible depending on the weather and the harvest. I tended to shop at the local markets and a small supermarket where I could buy expensive imported products such as the occasional New Zealand sirloin and Australian red wine, but mostly Chinese or Thai products. The 143-apartment block where I lived was well supplied by water from the well in the grounds, and generators provided electricity when the power supply frequently failed. Water and electricity were problematic in many parts of the city where the electricity supplied was sometimes for only two hours a day. Internet was available but was strictly censored and monitored by the government. It was often unavailable or with extremely slow downloads; to download a three-page document could take up to an hour. Emails were scrutinised by the censors and attachments would disappear. The automatic telephone system operated most of the time, but international calls were expensive and often disrupted. I was advised to expect my office and home phones to be tapped and monitored. The mobile phone system was expanding exponentially and, from what I could ascertain, was more secure. I had access to BBC and CNN on satellite television and some US channels.

The expatriate community was made up of a small number of long-term residents working in business, teaching, or in non-government organisations, and a larger number that were diplomats, staff of

embassies, United Nations agencies and non-government aid organisations who tended to have shorter tours of duty.

Social life was based around a number of venues that catered for expatriates such as the Strand Hotel, the Australia Club, and the British Club. The majority of the population of 64 million people were Buddhist with a lesser number of Moslem and Hindus and with very few Christians; they constituted about 2% of the population. The Anglican Cathedral was in downtown Rangoon, conveniently 200 metres from my apartment, which I attended regularly. Medical and hospital services for the general public were inadequate. Expatriates accessed the medical clinics provided by the embassies or the International Hospital, and the more seriously ill would fly to Bangkok for the excellent Thai hospitals. Antibiotics and other prescription drugs were available at the local pharmacy. The streets were always crowded with people and always with beggars soliciting.

I was somewhat affectionately nicknamed "*Papa*" and the dozen or so street children who lived along the railway tracks at the back of the apartments would ambush me every time I ventured out on foot. They would carry my groceries for a few kyat (local currency). The roads were often blocked with traffic and with buses, some hailing from the 1930s, to modern fleets for tourists. The cars tended to be imported Japanese 1970s-second hand vehicles, although more modern 4-wheel drive and luxurious sedans were evident. My office car was a 1975 Toyota, which

performed extraordinarily well under the care of my driver. Traffic pollution was a major problem with such an ancient fleet of vehicles.



Holy Trinity Cathedral, Yangon Photo: Kim Benton (2009)



San pya Fish Market Photo: Christopher Martin Photography (2012)
<http://chrismartinphotography.files.wordpress.com/2010/06/san-pya-fishmarket-yangon-1.jpg>

There was clear evidence of same-sex activity, from my experience of being propositioned in the street by young men soliciting for money, and as is also reported by two of the men in this study. The Health Department were aware of men-who-have-sex-with-other-men (MSM), and with transgender male-to-female people, and I met and worked with non-government organisations and expatriate consultants who were catering for their health and welfare needs. I did learn of a system using mobile phones for pimps to set up young men with customers at certain coffee or teashops in various markets and at certain bars. I knew of one nightclub that had a MSM clientele in Rangoon, I suspect there were others. It was my observation that many gay expatriate men would take their rest and recreation in Bangkok on a regular basis.

I collected my data during 2008-2009. The political situation in Burma was unstable and security for my staff and myself was of concern, and at times troubling; see Lall and Win (2013) for an overview of the political situation before the new regime took over in 2011. Permits were required for me to travel for work purposes, with some districts not accessible to me as a foreigner. Furthermore, I was required to be accompanied by a chaperone from the Health Department and the local district security would monitor my visits to the local community-based organisations with which we were working. Research projects had to be scrutinised by the government, who would report the results. I therefore conducted my research privately and, as my subjects were to be

expatriate men I recruited them from secure social circles. This is the background of the data collection for my study.

1.7 Aims of the research

The purpose of this project is to explore the role and significance of emotions in and how they impact upon and shape the ways men learn what to do sexually, including the incorporation of feelings and desires into the development and performance of men's sexual scripts.

1.8 Terms

The word “emotionality” usually refers to an individual's predominant *intensity* of emotional reactivity and typically has encompassed emotional reactions to stress and most often negative reactions (Rende, 2000, p. 194). However, “emotional” is often used to refer to a general matrix of experience within which behaviour is embedded, set in the context of emotional syndromes, which are existential beliefs and social rules (Averill, 2000, p. 284). Emotional well-being includes the notions of a sense of optimism, life satisfaction, resilience and happiness (Diener & Lucas, 2000; Klein, 2006; Saarni, 2000). When applied to sexuality, the emotions of desire, arousal, lust, longing, thrill, love, excitement, shame, adventure, and the intensity of these feelings compound to impact on motivation and behaviour (Spiering & Everaerd, 2007). Turner (1997) suggests that for some men their ability to think logically is inversely related to the degree of sexual pleasure experienced. The more pleasure the less rationality, and most sexual encounters fall somewhere in the middle (i.e., partly logical and partly pleasurable), or in some situations

the arousal is heightened to such a degree that there is the loss of control (1997; p. 118). This seemed to me to be about emotions as well; that giving and receiving sexual pleasure is an emotional interaction (Holmes et al., 2006). It is these aspects that this project investigates in the context of men's sexual scripts.

1.9 Principal research question

How do men negotiate emotionality in learning and regulating their sexual scripts?

1.10 Outline of the thesis

In this thesis I discuss: sexual scripting; the emotional world; the methods I used for the study; an overview of each case study; my exploration of the case studies, which includes a description of the cultural scenarios within scripts, the intrapsychic script for each participant, the meanings associated with sexual scripts, emotionality; and a discussion on various aspects of the performance of the interpersonal scripts. I then present my conclusion. Throughout the thesis I draw on my own experiences and anecdotes to explain and illustrate.

There are six chapters:

Chapter 1: Overview and background of the research project, aims and rationale

Chapter 2: Review of the literature apposite to my area of research

Chapter 3: Methodology

Chapter 4: A presentation of the case studies

Chapter 5: The analysis and discussion of my investigation

Chapter 6: Conclusion

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.0 Introduction

As outlined in Chapter One, scripting theory provides an encompassing conceptual framework for exploring and interpreting the social construction of sexuality. In the first section I will address sexual scripting as a means of thinking and analysing sexuality.

Section Two will discuss emotions and the psychobiological aspects before discussing the sociological aspects of emotionality and then move to look at the performance of emotions and emotional scripts.

In Section Three, as my subjects are male, I will briefly explore the construction and enactment of masculinity in the social sphere, which has a significant impact on the formation of the meanings ascribed to sexual scripts, and the interactions men engage in sexually and socially.

At the beginning of each section I provide an outline of the work being presented.

2.1 Sexual scripts

2.1.1 Introduction

In this section I will discuss scripts and sexual scripts within the social constructionist framework. This discussion includes the various aspects of cultural scenarios, the way that intrapsychic scripts are developed, the

construction of the self and then a discussion of the interpersonal scripts and how they are performed. I commence with looking firstly at sexual behaviours because it is what we do that is most immediate and material to the expression of needs, desires and attractions. I will then engage with the theory of sexual scripting, with discussions on the cultural scenarios of scripts and the impact of institutions, and how scripts are formed by the spaces in which they are performed. A discussion on erotic capital suggests the way that stratification and hierarchies impact on men who socialise in the gay community. I will present the intrapsychic dimension of sexual scripting, and the notion of the self, and explore sexual or erotic fluidity, and pansexuality. Then follows a discussion on the production of the self and the way objectification interacts with the fuzzy matrix of desire in the context of intrapsychic scripts. In the last section I will discuss interpersonal scripts and how we put the scripts into action, starting with the “cruising script” because that is how many gay men navigate the environment for sexual contact, with objectification features here also. I will then present some concluding comments.

2.1.2 Sexual scripting

Biological essentialism and social constructionism are two common approaches to exploring the concept of sexuality and desire (Giles, 2003). According to the essentialist view I experience desire because I am biologically programmed to do so and is a consequence of our evolutionary history as humans. There is no doubt that if the various

neurochemicals and synapses in my brain malfunction, and if my bodily functions cease to operate, my sexual desire and capacity to engage in sexual activity will cease. But the release of sex hormones that affect erections, ejaculation, and vaginal lubrication is not necessary for the occurrence of sexual desire, although they may have a hand in my response to my sexual desire.

The other approach is the claim that sexual desire and sexual expression are socially constructed, that is sexual desire exists only because the culture in which it appears has been constructed or, in the view of Simon & Gagnon (1984), individuals create sexual scripts. Levine (1987) argues that sexual desire is generated and influenced by both internal and external events. According to his model, sexual desire is a personal, subjective experience that is defined as "the psychobiologic energy" (p. 36), that precedes and accompanies arousal and which may or may not produce sexual behaviour. I would agree with Levine and conclude that both approaches are necessary, and as such are interdependent are mutually. The biological aspects of sexuality are required to enjoy sexual encounters, and the social constructionist approach provides the schemas and the processes that are necessary to make meaning of the encounters. Giles (2003), on the other hand has refuted both approaches and contends that our sexual desires are a result of existential needs not a construction of culture, but rather a "universal feature of the human condition" (p. 181).

Notwithstanding Giles' need to cast sexual desire in phenomenological terms, sexuality with its implicit meanings and associated behaviours is enacted by persons in real time in the theatre of social and relational interactions. Hence, my theoretical approach is informed by social constructionists and queer theory assertions that sexuality is socially and culturally produced in complicated and pluralist ways (Duggan, 1992; Plummer, 1981; Weeks, 1986).

In my discussion of sexuality I will be looking firstly at sexual behaviours because it is what we do that is most immediate and material and arises out of prior erotic needs, desires and attractions. I then turn to the theory of sexual scripting, with discussions on the cultural scenarios of scripts, then the intrapsychic dimension, the notion of the self and objectification, and then interpersonal scripts and the "not so normal" scripts. I then discuss some concluding comments.

2.1.3 Sexual behaviours

In the opening scenes of *Shortbus* (Director). (2006), after a shot of the Statue of Liberty, the camera moves the viewer across a seemingly toy-like cityscape of New York, and then cuts between shots of explicit images and sounds including a dominatrix and her young client, a man and woman copulating and seemingly rehearsing all the positions of the Karma Sutra, and a young man recording himself on a digital camera as he masturbates in the bathtub. Then, moving into the living room, he engages in sexual acrobatics before finally ejaculating into his own face,

whilst a young male voyeur watches him through the window with telephoto lens. The film's seven primary figures stand in for a variety of sexual identities and modalities that at moments become stereotypes of affluent, well-educated, fashionable, and sophisticated inhabitants of the cosmopolitan space with which the audience, or at least I, could readily identify. Certainly, the film affirms queer sex and even the straight-coded couples are situated non-hierarchically amid a broad continuum of erotic agents and modes (Tinkcom, 2011). This movie is explicit in the depiction of sexual behaviour, whilst exploring the intricacies of heterosexual and homosexual relationships and sexual satisfaction. One key protagonist is a non-orgasmic sex therapist/counselor, against which the other characters tease out the complexity of their sex lives. I use this film as an example of the variety of sexual behaviours: solo, coupled, ménage à trois, orgies, sadomasochism. These behaviours are set in the context of examining the characters' varying abilities and competencies in enacting appropriate sexual scripts for the differing situations they encounter, and their ability to learn and shape alternative scripts. Sexual behaviour is learned behaviour, informed from observation, experience and imagination (Kahr, 2008) as *Shortbus* explicitly demonstrates.

Over their life span humans develop sexual preferences, desires, fantasies, and memories of sexual performances that shape future sexual behaviour (Bradford & Meston, 2007). Sexuality then is an all encompassing term to describe any number of practices, beliefs, and

feelings associated with sexual arousal and behaviour (Parker, 2007) and can encompass sexual feelings and sexual activity that can comprise a range of behaviours, from solo masturbation, mutual masturbation, penetrative vaginal intercourse, penetrative anal intercourse, oral-genital and oral–anal stimulation (cunnilingus, fellatio, anilingus), as well as more esoteric behaviours as in sadomasochism, clothing fetishes (such as leather and rubber clothing), transvestism (cross-dressing for sexual pleasure) (Geer et al., 1984), urolagnia or “watersports” (the act of urination on another person as a form of sexual pleasure), “fisting” (insertion of the fist into the rectum of another as a means of sexual stimulation) (Halkitis et al., 2005, p. 707), and more extreme behaviours such as coprophilia (the playing with faeces) and bestiality (Sandnabba et al., 2002). Such activities are the content of sexual encounters, whereas sexual scripts formulate and guide the who, what, why, where, when, and how of pleasure and desire (Plante, 2007).

2.1.4 Script theory

One way of understanding sexual behaviour is through sexual script theory (Gagnon & Simon, 1973). Scripts from a psychological point of view, refer to cognitive models that people use to guide and evaluate social and sexual interactions (Rose & Frieze, 1993); or put another way, are blueprints that guide behaviours and cognitions both our own and those of others (Kurth et al., 2000), which include motivations, attitudes, beliefs and norms (Hyde & Oliver, 2000). Scripts are therefore a

metaphor for understanding how people conduct themselves socially and are the stereotypical interactions that are expected in social situations (Ginsburg, 1988).

Sexual scripts in Gagnon and Simon's (1973) theoretical perspective inform guidelines, rules and social norms which govern sexual conduct. These scripts synthesise symbolic and nonverbal elements into a structured, time-bound sequence of conduct, taking into account the participants, their personal and social qualities, implied motives, and various behavioural cues. Thus scripts "help organise a sequence of verbal and nonverbal activities that produce sexual experiences for its participants" (Escoffier, 2007, p. 62).

The ways people construct and perform their sexuality are formed during childhood and adolescence, and further developed throughout adulthood. This process provides a structure and framework to allow people to negotiate (whether consciously or not) a sexual encounter (Kimmel, 2007).

2.1.5 The dimensions of sexual scripts

The approach originated within sociology (Simon & Gagnon, 1984, 1986, 1987, 2003), and distinguishes three dimensions: cultural scenarios, which provide general guidelines regarding all aspects of sexual behaviour; the intrapsychic, being the motivational elements that produce

arousal; and the rules governing the way people engage and interact, being the interpersonal script (Laumann & Gagnon, 1995). Sexual scripting posits that individuals construct sexualities in direct collaboration with the social and cultural structures shaping their lives (Simon & Gagnon, 1984). For this to happen, all the proper elements of a script need to be present: situation, actor(s), a plot; as well as more intrinsic elements, such as desire, opportunity, and space. If the episode is to occur with others, then at least one other person needs to be present; and to ensure that something sexual actually happens, one or both of the actors need to organise behaviours into an appropriate script. I will now discuss the three dimensions of sexual scripting: cultural scripts, the intrapsychic, and the interpersonal dimensions.

2.1.5.1 The cultural dimension

Cultural scripts are the most broad of the three levels of sexual scripts, and as such involve overall maps of sexual behaviour at the societal level. In cultural scripts we find the “who, what, when and where” aspects of sexual activity with partners. This includes how people are supposed to act and interpret their experiences, and how they are supposed to feel about their sexual activity (Emmers-Sommer & Allen, 2005, p. 7).

Cultural scripts provide a strong sense of social appropriateness or guidance about what is supposed to happen in a given sexual episode.

Cultural scenarios operate at institutional, societal, cultural, and sub-cultural levels. The heteronormative, monogamist, marital situation are culturally dominant. All interactions are set in a cultural context, which sets the stage and parameters within which the individual's erotic desires are played out (Stein, 1989). These act as guides and expectations for the way that behaviours are conducted. In cultural settings where gender, sexual orientation, and sexual expression command both importance and attention, it should be easy to conceive of individuals whose identities and lives substantially resonate around these meanings (Whittier & Simon, 2001, p. 140).

Gay subcultures have their own cultural norms with various subcategories, each with its own set of rituals and scripts, although not all same-sex attracted people participate. Similarly, heterosexual people may also identify with particular subcultural groupings. Different subcultures have their own particular and peculiar cultural scenarios and include various expressions of desire such as: sadomasochists, bears, leathermen, muscleboys, twinkies, drag queens, transvestites, and the esoteric sexual behaviours (Alvarez, 2008; Hennen, 2005, 2008; Signorile, 1997). Therefore, to learn how to behave appropriately in these different gay scenes requires being connected to the gay community life, even if peripherally or electronically. This is necessary for both the formation and practising of appropriate sexual scripts.

A male client of mine sought assistance in learning what to do sexually with another man. He had been acculturated with the dominant heterosexual script, and having finally recognised his desire to be sexually active with men, had decided to act on it. However, not knowing the expected script produced interference and anxiety and was causing psychological distress. He was looking for assistance in understanding the broad cultural scenario, the rituals, language, signs and symbols and especially the cues or unspoken signals, and how to “do” his masculinity in a male-to-male encounter. This knowledge gave him confidence to embark over time, on a journey of discovering for himself the scripts of sexual interaction with other men that was not threatening or detrimental to his sexual enjoyment and pleasure. Hence cultural connectedness is both a product of the period of maturation as well as awareness and opportunity to engage in the gay subculture.

In this thesis I explore my own cultural scripts of long-term relationships, the international playground for gay men of “beats”, bars, saunas and parties, as well community groups. Participants in my research revealed cultural scripts such as “cruising” and “cottaging”, the dominant cultural script of heterosexual marriage and to a lesser degree their exploration of gay venues in different cities; and abstinence until travel to South-East Asia and partnering gay men. I will discuss the influence of institutions, spaces, erotic capital, and hierarchy and stratification of gay subcultural settings.

2.1.5.1.1 Institutions

Institutions are extremely important in the shaping of cultural sexual scripts. Individuals absorb ideas about how to behave sexually from an array of cultural sources. The enactment of virtually all scripts must either directly or indirectly reflect or resist the contents of appropriate cultural scenarios, and social institutions influence cultural contexts (Simon & Gagnon, 1984). Institutions that are in the business of providing instruction on sexuality and gender, include the family, schools, churches, the military, medicine and the law (Epstein, 2007).

At a cultural level, personal sexual scripts have been forced to adapt and change in response to changes in the medicine, such as the arrival of contraception, Viagra and HIV – all of which have liberated or curtailed notions of sexual pleasure, reproduction and sexual behaviours to reduce the risk of disease (Anderson & Aymami, 1993; Anderson & Sorensen, 1996; Exner, Hoffman, Dworkin, & Ehrhardt, 2003; Kamen, 2003; O'Sullivan & Byers, 1992, 1993, 1996). In differing ways, institutions were instrumental in the construction of cultural scripts of the men in this study.

Two men in this study had direct experience of schools, which provided space for sexual experimentation in one case, and the regulating of sexual scripts in another case. In as much as schools shape adolescent behaviour, so does religion, which is often linked to the development of adolescent sexual behaviour (Crockett et al., 2003). Studies have suggested that the role of religion is to reduce the sexual behaviour of young people rather than impacting on attitudes (Halpern-Felsher &

Reznik, 2009). Although none of the men in this study attended religious schools, religion was featured in all four cases and I will focus on the influence of religion on homosexuality.

2.1.5.1.2 Religion

To hear many religious people talk, one would think God created the torso, head, legs and arms, but the devil slapped on the genitals (Don Shraeder, quoted by Yip, 2010, p. 667).

The issue of sexuality discombobulates religion, in particular same-sex behaviour. Christian, Jewish and Islamic religious texts have played a primary role in the censure of homosexuality. It is not surprising that radical lesbian and gay theologians have called them “texts of terror” that commit ‘textual violence’ to non-heterosexual believers, making them victims of ‘biblical terrorism’ (Yip, 2010, p. 59). Fear of divine punishment for individuals and the society in which they live encourages the adoption of anti-homosexual attitudes and institutional policies that are consistent with intolerance. While religious people may have more disapproving attitudes than non-religious individuals, religions vary tremendously in the extent to which they systematically condemn homosexuality and shape attitudes (Adamczyk & Pitt, 2009). Certainly, in the United States conservative Protestants tend to be more condemnatory as a result of adhering to a literal interpretation of the Bible, and perceive gay men and lesbians as social contaminants (Burdette et al., 2005). In an Australian study of adults, there were inconsistent patterns of association between religious people and their

attitudes on a range of sexual behaviours. Generally it was found that greater attendance at religious services was associated with more conservative patterns of behaviour and attitudes, but religious people who infrequently attended services were generally similar to their non-religious peers (de-Visser et al., 2007).

It is beyond the scope of this thesis to interrogate the extent of the discrimination against same-sex attracted people by religious groups, in particular Christianity, and the complex theological arguments used (see Gagnon, 2001 for a coherent conservative view). Suffice to say that more liberal and accepting points of view have also been expressed (Comstock, 1993; Johnson, 2012; S. B. Martin, 2006), with shifts occurring in the thinking and policies of some mainline Churches (Spong, 1991, 2005). Although the consecration in 2003 of openly gay Gene Robinson as Bishop of New Hampshire in the United States caused much angst within my Anglican Communion (Bates, 2004), there has been a greater willingness to ordain openly gay men and lesbians in some provinces and to engage with the issue of same-sex relationships (Johnson, 2012; Spilsbury, 2012). The tensions continue within the Anglican Church in Australia with fierce opposition led by the Archbishop of Sydney, Dr Peter Jensen, to any acceptance of same-sex lifestyles let alone a gay man being called to ministry in the Church (Bates, 2004; Zwart, 2006). During my time of worshipping at Holy Trinity Cathedral in Rangoon to my knowledge these issues were never raised. In as much as the Church as a public institution can create a space of acceptance

and inclusion, it can also act as a space of exclusion and rejection. I will now to turn to discuss other spaces public and private, which same-sex attracted people inhabit.

2.1.5.1.3 Spaces

Sexual scripts require performance to be enacted. Performance requires a space, a stage, a context, and perhaps even an audience. Cultural sex scripts and the cultural contexts in which they are constructed, shape the process of same-sex socialisation (Plummer, 1996). As such, cultural contexts are highly eroticized, and sexualized imagery can be found in spaces everywhere: hotels, homes, the Internet, suburbs, gay neighborhoods, red light districts, shop window displays, billboards, magazine covers, bus-shelters, dating columns in newspapers, on television – the list goes on. Sex is everywhere and, as place and sexuality are mutually constituted, they have a profound effect on the way people live in and interact with space and place, and in turn space impacts and affect people's sexuality (Johnston & Longhurst, 2010, p. 4).

Notwithstanding the fluidity of sexual desire, and the performance of that desire, the heteronormalisation of everyday public spaces renders same-sex desire deviant in municipal spaces, and permissible in private spaces (Dalton, 2008; Gorman-Murray, 2006). Yet same-sex oriented people also occupy spaces set aside for common use: the workplace, home, shopping centers, pubs, churches and recreational centers. Gay men and lesbians need to exercise caution in such spaces, for although queer

performances may appear as transgressive, provocative, or challenging to heteronormative audiences, their very nature as transgressions can actually reinforce heterosexuality (Kirby & Hay, 1997). The fact that resistance is enacted daily in public spaces does not mean that same-sex attracted men or women plan or schedule the pursuit of desire in a calculated manner; rather they often seize opportunities to perform as and when they are presented to them (Dalton, 2008).

As public spaces are often experienced as 'theatres of risk' [my term] then same-sex attracted people seek out places that give at least some sense of safety, as in private spaces, or occupy and convert public spaces for their use, such as gay enclaves in Oxford Street and King Street in Sydney (Kirby & Hay, 1997), the South of Market District in San Francisco (Rubin, 1998) or Silom in Bangkok (Käng, 2011). [For a wonderful overview of the assuming reconstruction of inner New York in late Modernity by faeries as a place of pleasure, and sexual and bodily consumerism, see Chisolm (1999).] On the other hand, established spaces for gay and lesbian interaction can be pushed to the edges by urban development, for example the disappearance of spaces of leathersex in the South of Market in San Francisco as a result of gentrification (Rubin, 1998). However, urban developers have recognised the value of promoting and incorporating the presence of gay communities and spaces as an aspect of entrepreneurial enterprise. Yet this incorporation has sometimes meant the tightening of the regulations around the types of sexualised spaces in cities, which Bell and Binnie

(2004, p. 1818) describe, as the 'sexual restructuring' of cities.

Private spaces such as the home appear to be the only environments where some gay men can be themselves, forget the habit of self-concealment, or the requirement to pass as mestizaje actors (Pallotta-Chiarolli, 2010) and feel safe enough to express their sexual identity without fear of exposure or threat. A sense of security is possible because, to some degree, there is some control of access to the home by other people and expressions of sexuality within the residence. Yet even in their own homes, some gay men and lesbians find that heteropatriarchy intrudes, for not only are sexual identities performed within the home, they also come under the surveillance of others (Johnston & Valentine, 1995). It also becomes a "scrutinised space" (Kentlyn, 2008, p. 327), with the scrutiny being both external from outside the home and also within, as gay and lesbian people reflexively engage with their construction of their version of queer domesticity. Visiting friends, family, and tradespeople sometimes provoke a need to "straighten up" the house (Kirby & Hay, 1997, p. 296).

2.1.5.1.4 Gay specific sites

Gay men in particular utilise gay-specific social spaces, such as gay pubs, nightclubs, saunas, and "beats" to socialise and to cruise for potential sexual partners or create opportunities for sex. The performance of their sexual and social scripts, however, are often formed and shaped by these spaces, and the personal interactions that occur. The milieu of each space produces an expectation of cultural and

interpersonal scripts and shapes the behaviours that occur within it.

Many gay consumption spaces are bounded communities, and in these settings, actors are obliged to “play the game” (Green, 2011, p. 244), to negotiate a sexual arena.

This leads me into a discussion on erotic capital and gay community stratification and hierarchies. Notwithstanding the universality of the concepts contained within these areas, such as bisexuality, sexual fluidity, or heteroflexibility, I will be focusing on gay men.

2.1.6 Erotic capital

I draw on Hakim (2010, 2011) and Green (2011) in my discussion of erotic capital. The terms sexual capital and erotic capital are used interchangeably by Martin and George (2006) and Green (2008b), and can be conceived of as the quality and quantity of attributes that an individual possesses, which elicits an erotic response in another person(s) (Green, 2008b). Erotic capital is implicated in social stratification and indeed is the currency of sexual stratification, as I will discuss below. I need to first briefly discuss Pierre Bourdieu's (1986) theorising on habitus and capital before exploring erotic capital.

Bourdieu (1977), theorises that individuals relate to social structures through a set of "embodied" inclinations, dispositions, schemes of actions and appreciations that are captured in the concept "habitus". He defines habitus as:

A system of lasting, transposable dispositions, which integrating past experiences, functions at every moment as a matrix of perceptions, appreciations, and actions and makes possible the achievement of infinitely diversified tasks (Bourdieu, 1977, pp. 82-83).

The habitus shapes the ways in which individuals act toward, invest in, experience, produce, and reproduce their social worlds and is brought about by socialization and exposure to systemic resources or lack thereof (Green, 2008a). Habitus also shapes the amount and kinds of resources, or capital, a person can accumulate and draw upon over time (Bourdieu, 1986). Capital can also be understood as the “energy” that drives the development a social field wherein it is produced and distributed over time (Moore, 2008).

Bourdieu’s (1986) theory has four types of capital; 1) economic capital which relates to one’s ownership of stocks and shares or more generally monetary rewards and is the overarching framework; 2) social capital refers to the power gained by the numbers of one’s family members, retainers or network of supporters. It also refers to the resources linked to “possession of a durable network” and how that network enables activation of other forms of capital (1986, p. 88). Social capital also controls access to institutions and positions of power and can be used to produce and reproduce social inequality (Johnston, 2007); 3) symbolic capital, which refers to one’s reputation or honour, including intellectual honesty; and 4) cultural capital that exists in three distinct forms: 1) “embodied” form – learned and long lasting dispositions of the mind and

body that cannot be separated from the person; language, accent, and manner; 2) “objectified form” - cultural goods and the use and consumption of those goods; and 3) “institutionalized form” – the objectification of cultural capital such as in education bona fides (1986, pp. 84-88).

A person’s social and cultural capital are both dependent upon the social and cultural capital of the previous generation. It is therefore not so much what one knows or what one has, but the means by which these resources are reproduced and accumulated that matters. It is also the process by which one demonstrates what one knows, or uses what one has, and the practices one engages in that allows for the exchange of both (Steler, 2001).

Erotic capital is multi-faceted and may differ between societies and at different points in time, and takes into account the social and economic importance of erotic power in all areas of social activity (Green, 2008a), and has greater value when it is linked to other capitals. Sexuality and gender are performed (Beauvoir, 1949/1976; Butler, 1990) and are not innate; a person learns how to perform these roles, as prescribed by the society. Erotic capital is also about a performance and deportment of self in the sexual field or erotic habitus and is acquired through careful impression management derived from a durable dramaturgical skill set that, over time, may become a “second nature” (Green, 2011, p. 248). The presentation of self includes facial beauty, the sexual attractiveness

of the body, social skills in terms of charm and grace in interacting with others; liveliness, social presentation, and sexual competence (Green, 2008b; 2010, 2011).

Sexual competence refers to the ability to get and receive sexual pleasure; and in the setting of sexual boundaries based on preferred behaviours that are considered safe and responsible (Robinson et al., 2002). It includes the ability to express one's playfulness, affection, lust, passion, and love towards a sexual partner with physical acts; to give pleasure with behaviour that is considered, purposed, and conscious, and which expresses pride in and enjoyment of one's own sexual nature. In other words, sexual competence is the ability to be involved in sexual practices with successful processes and outcomes (Hirst, 2008). The meaning of 'successful' will of course be subjective and therefore variable, depending on factors such as the situation and competence of other parties involved. A successful outcome would be that the sexual episode is a positive experience where risks to sexual health are minimised, choices over conception are exercised, and a sense of having emotionally enjoyed the experience through deriving pleasure, with little or no regret (Hirst, 2008). Sexual competence enhances erotic capital (Hakim, 2010).

Regardless of gender all six elements discussed above contribute to defining someone's erotic capital, and can be influenced by cultural expectation and performance. The value of erotic capital depends on a

person's gender and occupation and is culturally constructed. For example, in some cultures a woman's erotic capital is closely tied to her fertility. In Italy men may admire a woman for her beautiful son, whereas in the United States she is admired for her physical attributes (Hakim, 2010). Cultural values interact with erotic capital.

Erotic capital therefore is a combination of physical attributes and includes skills that can be learnt and developed (Hakim, 2010). In the following discussion on sexual hierarchies and stratification, erotic capital acts as a form of currency in how the various strata are negotiated.

2.1.7 Sexual hierarchies and stratification

I was taken by this extract from Bersani (2010) which examples sexual hierarchies and stratification: he commences with setting the scene:

I do not, for example, find it helpful to suggest, as Dennis Altman has suggested, that gay baths created “a sort of Whitmanesque democracy, a desire to know and trust other men in a type of brotherhood far removed from the male bondage of rank, hierarchy, and competition that characterize much of the outside world” (Altman, 1982, pp. 79-80) (quoted by Bersani, 2010 p. 12).

Bersani then goes on to refute Altman's observation:

Anyone who has ever spent one night in a gay bathhouse [*sauna*] knows that it is (or was) one of the most ruthlessly ranked, hierarchized, and competitive environments imaginable. Your looks, muscles, hair

distribution, size of cock, and shape of ass determined exactly how happy you were going to be during those few hours, and rejection, generally accompanied by two or three words at most, could be swift and brutal, with none of the civilizing hypocrisies with which we get rid of undesirables in the outside world (Bersani, 2010, p. 12).

Here, split-second decisions regarding partner choice are rendered “by two or three words at most”. As evidenced by Bersani’s example, there is much censuring and ranking in the gay community especially in the bars and saunas. An individual is always being looked at and simultaneously there is a sense of being judged, and how much value is being attributed to one’s performance and presentation, or “front work” as a gay man (“front work” – meaning grooming, muscle display, stance, hair, appropriate clothing which increase erotic capital (Green, 2011, p. 255). The regulation of the sexual status order in the course of the interaction, be it social or sexual, means that the ‘erotic capital’ is assessed by others. But this does not limit the other practices that gay men may use in seeking sexual partners.

Green (2011) points out that Bersani’s description above of sexual selection obscures the interactional processes embedded within the sexual status order. He postulates six interactional processes that underpin the sexual stratification in gay communities. These are: 1) apprehending a field of sexual competition within a situation, 2) identifying the themes of desirability that underpin the culture of the

situation, 3) locating one's position within the field of erotic capital, 4) learning how to negotiate the status order through social interaction and impression management, 5) learning how to approach and reject prospective partners, and 6) learning how to save face.

The outcome of the process is the production of a status order in which hegemonic systems of judgment relating to desirability create differential probabilities for partnering across individuals. Situations are delimited insofar as they possess distinct sexual status orders. As Collins (2004) notes:

The popular crowd is the sexual elite and being in the centre of attention gives greater solidarity, closer identification with the symbols of the group, and greater self-confidence. Conversely, those on the outskirts of the group, or who are excluded from it, manifest just the opposite qualities (p. 253).

Within a given sexual field or situation, "sexual capital" accrues to those for whom there is general consensus regarding desirability (Green, 2011, p. 247), and with sexual capital underpinned by erotic capital one can select or be selected for a sexual adventure. I relate an experience:

I went to the Laird Hotel in Collingwood, Melbourne one Saturday night. I had been with friends to a formal occasion and we were still in white tie evening dress. The Laird caters for the leather men and bears of Melbourne, and I was certainly not dressed appropriately. I was asked to leave the Nugget Bar (catering exclusively for men in leathers) and to join the crowd in the main bar where leather and denim or as little

clothing as possible, were “costume de rigueur”. My dress evoked interesting and somewhat judgmental jibes – so the only way to raise my erotic capital was to strip to my boxers, which was not out of place in that environment, and hence I gained approval but did not score.

An individual’s sexual tastes are highly variable and idiosyncratic (Green, 2008a). Nevertheless, collective sexual life is organised around situation-specific structures of desire that blend actors’ sexual quests in status hierarchies stratified by erotic capital as discussed above. As Collins (2004) notes:

The erotic ranking hierarchy is not merely a ranking of attractiveness but of social activity; those highly ranked attend more parties, and are at the centre of the gatherings with the most prestige, the liveliest sexually effervescence (p. 253).

Green (2011) makes a distinction between a sexual site and a sexual field, which is useful for conceptualising situational specific structures of desire. A ‘site’ designates a physical or virtual space of sexual sociality, and a ‘field’ is a matrix of relations with structural features, including, perhaps most importantly, a “structure of desire” (p. 248). Structures of desire emerge in a variety of ways, most commonly through a process of aggregation. As sexual actors congregate at a single site (e.g., a gay leather bar), their erotic appreciations overlap and combine to produce an encompassing, transpersonal structure of desire. Projected outward into the social space, these transpersonal sexual appraisals, in the form

of structures of desire, provide the logic of the hierarchical status, operating within the sexual field and the specific characteristics of erotic capital that qualify as desirable. Hence, when leather men gather at The Laird their overlapping erotic sensibilities have a collective effect. This shared recognition is beyond any one person's particular sexual interest because the structure of desire differentially attributes sexual value to any of the individuals present based on a thematically specific set of characteristics (e.g., bodies, performances, and styles) that the site projects.

Consequently, when the leather man moves up the street say to The Peel Nightclub (which caters to more stylish and younger gay men), he will encounter a different and distinct system of collective appraisals that will re-situate him in their sexual status order, sometimes with less erotic capital. Although The Laird and The Peel Nightclub may be in the same locale, and draw consumers from the same pool of gay men, they are nevertheless distinct sexual fields to the extent that each is constituted by contrasting structures of desire and status orders (Green, 2011).

The actual structure of desire may not be readily comprehended, but it can be assessed from how the field is constructed: the ambience and layout of a given site; the representations of the site's sexual ideals portrayed in videos, posters, magazine advertisements, or other site-specific insignia; and in the patterns of performance and presentation of its patrons. Actors can self-select into these status hierarchies that

provide the means for participants to give expression to their sexual desires in a given sexual field. These fields, because of their specialised erotic domain, may also inculcate in participants an appreciation for an alternative structure of desire and thereby constitute a form of erotic socialisation (Hennen, 2008). However, Green (2011) does not address the actual performance scripts, which are enacted in a sexual site by the patrons of that site. Such scripts would be incorporated into a participant's self-presentation and understanding of the possible roles that could be enacted in the site, which will of course be subjected to and determined as legitimate by the sexual hierarchy.

As discussed previously, the cultural scenarios in sexual scripting are diverse in nature and in context, and are not static as actors interact with their cultures. In so doing both the cultural scripts and the actors' scripts are shaped and reconstructed by the dynamics of the interactions with other actors within the various cultural spheres. The interplay of perceptions of erotic capital and the prevailing norms of the gay community impacts on one's mobility within the sexual stratification of the gay community. As the effects of aging become more visible and as flesh tends to head south, the choice is more about being either the youngest in a venue populated by older men, or being the oldest in a venue populated by younger men. Each site will deliver different results and these shifts in the construction and performance of personal scripts impact on intrapsychic scripts to which I now turn.

2.1.8 The intrapsychic dimension

Within the intrapsychic realm, people construct a domain of their own desires and fantasies. Here the repeated enactment of an individual's interpersonal and cultural codes both shape and is shaped by beliefs, values and expectations in sexual situations. This links the overarching broader cultural and societal scripts with the scripts of the interpersonal realm. However, people's motivations to act are influenced by cultural and social forces as much as physical desires and gender (Butler, 1993).

Elements of the theatre such as props, script, audience response and actor's performances are important to the vibrant construction of sexual activity (Whittier & Melendez, 2007, p. 191). For instance I had a client who presented for counselling with the desire to be initiated into homosexual activity and was not able to read the signals and signifiers of the gay subculture. Indeed, his fantasy was to engage sexually in every way possible with other men, but had no clues as to the cultural scripts that determined performance. I attended for a number of years the all-night dance rave parties organised by the gay community and where theatricality was readily apparent. Commencing with the decision on the 'look', the body was sculptured (as much as it was possible), waxed, tanned, and costumed according to the expectations of the group with which one identified and to raise one's erotic capital. This activity was part of the gay community's cultural scripts.

2.1.8.1 The Intrapsychic script

Appropriate sexual scripting in an individual requires essential elements of sexual competence, which are learned and refined with practice, thus producing “sexual subjects” who could regulate their sexual lives, choosing to be an object of desire, as well as the recipient of the sexual scripts of others (Pavia, 2000, quoted by Singhal & Rogers, 2003).

Intrapsychic scripting involves internal and mental rehearsals of sexualised scenarios drawing on fantasies, memories, arousals, preferred modes of engaging one’s sexuality “e.g., playing with power or integrating intimacy” (Plante, 2007, p. 32). This includes an individual’s desires, motives, and actions that create and sustain sexual arousal and are the internalisation of the socially shared scripts and scenarios (Hynie et al., 1998). Social competence requires social performance of cultural scenarios requiring rehearsal of interpersonal scripts based on those scenarios (Emmers-Sommer & Allen, 2005).

However, the acquisition of competent scripts is not something absorbed unconsciously. As Gagnon (1990) points out, we are socialised first as audiences to the theatre of cultural sexual scenarios, which is not necessarily a conscious act, however we do need to personalise the learning and to enact these scripts for ourselves; a process of modification and adaptation to fit the concrete situations in which we find ourselves must be undertaken. This is similar to the notion of “sexual print” (Person, 2001) in which individuals develop a “sexual signature” consistent with their understanding of the relationship between sexuality

and identity that is more than just gender identity; it is the individual's erotic signature (Person, 1999, p. 44). Person suggests that when an individual's sex print 'deviates' from the cultural prescription for sexuality, it may be experienced as even more central to identity. For example many transsexuals and transvestites report both relief and a sense of personality consolidation when "I found out what I am," when "I found out there were others like me" (Person & Ovesey, 1974; quoted in Person, 1999, p. 44).

The sex print conveys more than just a preference for a sexual object; it is the sexual script that elicits erotic desire and preference for specific erotic techniques. Each individual usually has a cluster of effective erotic stimuli or fantasies that offers diversity in expression rather than limitations (Person, 1999). For my purposes Person's comment that individuals can add to their effective sexual repertoire suggests that learning and coaching could render one's sexual scripts more appropriate and satisfying. However, as Person also notes, many people can perform effectively in many different situations, even without the subjective experience of excitement.

This process of learning the meaning of internal states, organising the sequences of specific sexual acts, decoding novel situations and setting the limits on our sexual responses (Gagnon, 1990), requires a level of social and emotional competency. As all sexual encounters take place within a social context, social competence plays a critical role in shaping

the modes of sexual expression. Perhaps people, who lack the competence to initiate and sustain ongoing social relationships and to compete successfully for socially determined status achievements will find maintaining ongoing sexual partnerships difficult, since these sexual interactions, in reality, are special instances of social relationships (Laumann & Youm, 2001). Individuals who enact sexual scripts beyond the socially prescribed sanctioned heterosexual scripts are often viewed as deviant (Clinard & Meier, 2011) or as transgressive of social norms (Butler (1990); for there still remains a public expectation of heterosexual hegemony, which I will discuss in more detail below.

For example, when I was working on HIV prevention education programs in the 1990s there were attacks in the Australian media over a program for young gay men (*Good Morning Australia* 1992). This program was aimed at helping young men who were attracted to other men to undertake the scripting process as outlined by Gagnon (1990), wherein relational scripts, as well as sexual scripts, were explored in small facilitated groups. In a sense there was an effort to de-couple intimacy from sexual behaviour, acknowledging the power and the pleasure of sometimes occasional anonymous sexual activity without regard to the relationship issues of the liaison (Weeks, 2003). These moralising attacks reveal the discourse that views the threat of disease (and death) as punishment for deviancy can be a powerful influence on the formation of scripts, especially when young men, young women, and homosexuals are viewed as wanton sexual beings (Meredith, 1989).

This is an illustration of Gayle Rubin's (1984) "charmed circle" which determined that there is a line between good sex/normal sexuality and bad sex/damned sexuality. This line is continually reconstituted or drawn by the various discourses on sex, be they religious, psychiatric, popular, or political. Those in the 'charmed circle' are people who are heterosexual, marital, monogamous, reproductive and non-commercial, whose sexual activities are proscribed as sanctifiable, safe, healthy, mature, legal and politically correct. Any sex that violates these rules is labelled bad, abnormal, or unnatural, and constitutes the outer limits. Rubin (1984) finds the good/bad sex dichotomy problematic and oppressive to sexual minorities. Intrapsychic scripts are intimately connected with a person's sense of self in terms of personhood and his or her place within various cultures and subcultures. I now turn to discuss notions of the self in terms of intrapsychic scripts.

2.1.8.2 Notions of the self

2.1.8.2.1 Foucault and technologies of the self

One of the most influential theorists on sexuality and the self was Michel Foucault, who described as 'technologies of the self' (Foucault, 1988) the innumerable ways in which individuals engage with prohibitions and restrictions associated in defining the self and sexuality, through undertaking:

[...] operations on their own bodies and souls, thoughts, conduct, and ways of being, so as to transform themselves in order to attain a certain

state of happiness, purity, perfection, or immortality (Foucault, 1988, p. 18).

According to Foucault, the significant shifts in Western society are the way that sex has been inculcated into the language and discourse of therapy, sexology, and psychiatry (Foucault, 1978), or in general terms, the role sex came to perform in expressing the truth of the self.

In his seminal writing on *The History of Sexuality Vol 1*, Foucault outlined 'the repressive hypothesis', which he contends was the "censuring, hiding and prohibiting of sexual expression". He then went on to reject suggesting that rather than a prohibition on speaking about sexuality; there has been a proliferation of discourses about sexuality (1978, p. 10). Sexuality for Foucault was not so much a natural feature or fact of human life, but a constructed category of experience, based in historical, social and cultural contexts, rather than biological origins. Accordingly, sexuality is the result of a process of endless monitoring, discussion, classification, ordering, recording, and regulation (Elliott, 2007), in particular, the complex interrelationship between desire, sex and power are exposed through the medicalisation of sexuality, and the development of notions of sexual deviance and perversions.

As Halperin's (2007) exploration of gay men's sexuality illustrates, the alternate expressions of sexuality have been demonised and pathologised by psychology and psychiatry. He argues that to be a homosexual was not a result of defective psychological development, but

rather as a result of belonging to a stigmatised social group and had been the target of intense social hostility and prejudice leading to widespread discrimination (Halperin, 2007). What gay people shared was not a psychological disorder, but a social disqualification, degradation and oppression which Halperin called a “savage, even genocidal oppression” (2007, p. 2). For the gay and lesbian movement, this history of oppression provided “an immediate political claim to social tolerance, freedom from discrimination, and overall improvement in life chances” (Halperin, 2007). Hence the gains made by the gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender, and intersex movements as a political collective identity means that this group were no longer social deviants, rather were people similar to any other group that is socially marked by its perceived difference from heteronormative and gendernormative patriarchy. Notwithstanding these gains, the controversy and debate over same-sex marriage (see Eskridge (1993) for an historical overview and Held (2007) and Marsh (2011) for a review of the arguments), which I will not address in this thesis.

Foucault postulates that rather than power constraining sexual desire, power serves not only to regulate sexual taboos, but to also produce sexuality and its pleasures (Foucault, 1977b). He argued that desires are not pre-existing biological entities, rather that they arise out of historically specific social practices that are constantly being produced. Foucault did not rule out any biological dimension, but rather he prioritised the crucial role of institutions and discourses in the formation

of sexuality (Halperin, 1995). Instead of pursuing the illusory 'truth' of human sexuality, Foucault was concerned to examine the production of sexuality and how it functions in society (Spargo, 1999). Hence, rather than sexuality being afforded a 'given' entity, it can be viewed as being:

[...] contingent, culturally specific, often unstable, a linkage of related but separable elements of bodily potentials, desires, practices, concepts, beliefs, identities, institutional forms (Weeks, 1998, p. 35).

Although sexuality is highly gendered it is not the same as gender. It is notoriously malleable, with hegemonic patterns, which are usually defined by the exclusion of others, and marked by differences that are shaped culturally and materially including class, age, ethnicity, nationality, geography (Weeks, 1998). The erotic is not a "thing" in and of itself, nor a natural phenomenon. It is neither something that can be detached from the body, nor cut off from the mind; rather the erotic inhabits a land of possibility where need, pleasure, commitment, and passion can be explored (Weeks, 1998, p. 36). Therefore it can be construed that eroticism is not anchored permanently in a cultural script or intrapsychic script, rather it is a fluid response to changes in the sexual field and to opportunities presented, and this will be discussed next.

2.1.8.3 Sexual and erotic fluidity

Diamond (2009) has argued that one of the fundamental, defining features of female sexual orientation is its fluidity. Sexual fluidity means situation dependent flexibility in women's sexual responsiveness, which

makes it possible for some women to experience desires for either men or women under certain circumstances, regardless of their self-identified sexual orientation. The term *erotic plasticity* is used to refer to the degree to which a person's sex drive can be shaped and altered by cultural and social factors (Baumeister, 2000, p. 348), and could be manifested through changes in what is desired in terms of type of partner and or type of activity. This could include degree of desire, exhibited in preferred frequency of sex, degree of variety, or how desire is expressed. Desiring to perform the same act with a new partner does not necessarily constitute plasticity, for it is quite possible to have a stable, consistent desire to perform certain acts with many different partners (Baumeister, 2000). Baumeister argues for a distinctive female capacity for fluidity and sexual variability, suggesting that some women's sexuality is more 'plastic' than men's. He attributes this gender difference in erotic plasticity to evolutionary, biological forces (2000, p. 348). Hyde and Durik (2000) contend that the gender differences in erotic plasticity can be explained by a multifactor sociological theory. They attribute this to the power differential in society that favours men; and that heterosexuality is a more defining element of the male role allowing little flexibility, and violations are met with more disfavour than the female role.

Building on ideas contained in Herdt's (1984) account of ritualised homosexuality among young men in Melanesia, a distinctive argument for a male capacity for sexual fluidity can be derived. This would indicate the veracity of the social constructionist model of sexuality, which posits

that sexual identities do not exist as fixed types but are created and given meaning through continuous social interaction and cultural traditions and ideologies (Ross et al., 2012; White et al., 2000). Giles (2003), on the other hand, argues it is only the sexual embellishment that is subject to change and the basic elements of a person's fantasy or desire remain fixed. For an overview and meta-analysis of the research and theories of gender differences in sexuality see Hyde and Oliver (2000). I now turn to the issue of alternative sexualities.

2.1.8.3.1 Pansexuality

Such fluidity suggests that for some people pansexuality (or omnisexuality, or polysexuality, to use Carr's (1999) term), is a preferred understanding of sexual orientation. Pansexuality (Rice, 2010) recognizes that there are more than just two distinct genders and that gender identity and expression are flexible and fluid. This flexibility gives room for people to develop emotional and physical relationships beyond male and female partners, but also to transgender, androgynous and transsexual individuals, and indeed the term's literal meaning can be interpreted as "attracted to everything" (Rice, 2010, p. 593). People who self-identify as pansexual reject the exclusiveness of masculine, feminine, gay, straight, bisexual, or transgender, and find that relationships based on conventional notions of gender roles, attraction, sexual behaviours, and sexual orientation are limiting and restricting (Boom, 2008; Carr, 1999; Diamond & Butterworth, 2008; Rice, 2010).

For a variety of reasons, individuals rarely subscribe to an ideal typical

cultural sexual script with respect to gender or sexual orientation in its entirety. Individuals form their personal and social identities by drawing from among the various collective discourses available to them. As sexual scripting theory explains,

In complex societies [...] cultural scenarios for sexuality are not monolithic or hegemonic [...] Instead there is a constant struggle between groups and individuals to foster their own scenarios” (Gagnon, 1990, p. 9).

Sexual actors within cultures are beset by competing sexual discourses, eventually they must defend or modify the cultural scripts to which they are most wedded (Carr, 1999).

In this section I have reviewed notions of the self, sexual and erotic fluidity and plasticity, and pansexuality. Now to the production of the self and of my sexual self and I will use the personal pronoun to focus the discussion.

2.1.8.4 Now to the personal – the production of self

When asked “Who am I?”, I inevitably will embark on a process of selection, emphasis, and consideration of social interactions and dynamics which will, of necessity, include nation, class, race, ethnicity, gender, religion and if relevant, sexuality and then with caution. All these dynamics are linked and organised into a narrative. When asked about my identity I will think of my life-story and in the telling of my story construct my identity including what happened to me and how it

happened. But I will select and include some things and exclude others (Sarup, 1996). This process of self-understanding, which is necessary to the development of intrapsychic sexual scripts, necessarily involves intersubjectivities – what one thinks that others think of them (Whittier & Melendez, 2007, p. 195) – and is constantly constructed and reconstructed in interaction with others (Jackson, 2007).

So what of my sexuality? A sexual subject is one who engages consciously in a negotiated sexual relationship based on cultural norms (Emmers-Sommer & Allen, 2005), that is produced from an historical construct and is subject to reconstruction (Foucault, 1978). At best, I can articulate and practice pleasure in the context of consensual safe sexual practices; I am capable of impulse control, able to negotiate risk and decide whether to proceed or not. As such I have agency in the encounter in as much as that I constitute the social relations in which I live (Stein, 1989). This is subject to the degree of influence or power I may enjoy as an actor, which in turn is determined by gender normality, heteronormativity and cultural norms (Hatfield & Rapson, 2005), and within the limitations imposed by social constraints including economic, political, legal, religious, familial customs and dictates (Roffman, 2007; Singer, 1973; Weeks, 2003). There is much to consider in doing this sexual stuff, but what about me?

Sexual subjectivity refers to my sense of myself as a sexual being, combined with a sense of agency, and the ability to identify my sexual desires. I can then clarify my sexual identity, which is defined as:

[...] all the ways in which people operate in a socially-defined sexual sphere, see themselves as sexual beings and achieve a greater or lesser degree of consistency in their sexual relational experiences (Epstein, 1991, p. 825).

This would include sexual preference and orientation (namely whether the gender of my preferred or fantasised partner is the same as me or different from my own); it includes my erotic role identity, the meanings attributed to the various sexual practices I like to do, e.g., being active or passive; identifying myself with social sexual typologies, which refers to adopting a label such as homosexual, heterosexual, queer, or bisexual, transgendered, or any other suitable label; my evaluation of my erotic capital.

These self-identifications might or might not correspond to my sexual preference or orientation (Epstein, 1991). Subjectivity is defined “as an inner state of the self constituted by thinking, experience, emotion, belief, intentionality, self-awareness and the awareness of others” (Boyne, 2006). My subjectivity, along with my identity, combined together in the context of sociocultural variables, brings about the development of my “sexual self” (Plante, 2007, p. 32).

The sexual self is a fluid and complex entity, consisting of various forms of self-relevant knowledge inclusive of beliefs and perceptions that a person holds about the sexual aspects of themselves. It involves physical and biological capacities, cognitive and emotional development, and evolving needs and desires. It is a product of the private and the public spheres, the personal and the political, the individual and the sociocultural contexts (Daniluk, 1998). All of this unique internalised reflection on who and what constitutes my sexual self, is what Gagnon & Simon (1973) theorised as the intrapsychic level of sexual scripts.

But my sexual self and sexual conduct are embedded in wider patterns of sociality and as such become central to the what, and the why, of “being” sexual. Sexuality, therefore, refers to the sphere of social life embracing all the erotically significant aspects of life, which includes desires, practices, relationships and identities (Jackson, 2007, p. 6).

Jackson argues that reflexivity is integral to the process of developing the self and fundamental to my engagement in the social, as well as what it means to be social. Reflexivity refers to the capacity to engage in conversations with myself as both subject and object in order to situate myself in relations to others. I find the metaphor used by Jackson (2007) most helpful here. The self as ongoing reflexive process:

[...] might be [like] a complex, many stranded cord running through our lives, but one which does not necessarily stay the same since the threads that comprise it can be frayed or strengthened and are continually being

spliced or woven in with other threads remade over time. So, while we have a sense of self as continuing, that self is never unchanging, [...] and that our “going on being” derives from social experience, [and is] constructed and reconstructed through everyday social practices (Jackson, 2007, p. 7).

But I do not have an internal self that persists across all situations or contexts. The self is a co-creation generated by the very process of social interaction. The self that is present in my interactions with others is not my own self; it is a shared self. I do not contain who I “am”; I create my being as I relate to others, who are also beings-in-creation. My ‘self’ in any circumstance is not my own; it is a shared reality that is present only in and by virtue of this interaction I have with others, and hence exists not in my psyche, but in the spaces between and among us (Russell & Bohan, 2006).

The storying of our lives (Plummer, 1995), our narrative development, makes it possible to construct and embrace an identity and to locate it within a narrative of the self – “this is who I am; *[and]* this is why” (Jackson, 2007, p. 8). But the ability to tell our own stories and author and validate our own lives is not equally open to all and not always on the same terms. The forging, telling, and receiving of our stories are located and shaped in the wider social context and through the forms of reflexivity available to and deployed by us – and this is as much the case for our sexual selves as any other facet of the self (Jackson, 2007).

Obviously we “do not become sexual all at once”, says Gagnon & Simon (1974, p. 27). Once the basic reflexive capacities of self-formation, commencing in childhood, have been set in motion, the self continues throughout life to evolve and change through social interaction by virtue of its constant reflexivity. As the process of fitting the pieces together commences, children are able to construct a provisional picture of the sexual world, and start to construct their sexual story governed by their gendered self – “their embodied gendered being” (Jackson, 2007, p. 10). The cultural resources we draw on to make sense of ourselves are specific to historical moments in specific social locations that we inhabit. We construct our biographies and understandings of the sexual from our reflexive engagement in and with the cultural and social context. This includes our location within gendered, classed, racialised, and sexual hierarchies and our definitions of those situations. In particular if the definition “works” for us, will depend on the limits of our social and cultural resources (Jackson, 2007, p. 13). Jackson makes the point that agency is not the prerogative of the privileged, rather that “agency is enabled and constrained by social circumstances” (2007, p. 13).

However, the development of a sexual self is not carried out in isolation and often life is a struggle with understanding different definitions of self and search for meaning in negotiating the interpersonal demands of everyday life. Often there is a contradiction between our inner world of drives and passions and the external world of obligations and commitments (Elliott, 2007). In my work with clients seeking to

understand their sexual selves, often it was more about providing a vocabulary, and exploring the boundaries of sexuality in order to produce different definitions of the self. Such explorations enabled clients to scrutinise sexual memories, fantasies and behaviours as a means to better understand themselves. As Elliott (2007) argues, this process of scrutinising sexual behaviour as a therapeutic task can be highly coercive through the organisation of a network of rigorous social controls by which the individual comes to examine, classify and evaluate their sexuality. This echoes Foucault's understanding of power constraining sexuality, as Elliott (2007) states:

Sexuality is not liberated when the individual consults an expert to discover his or her 'true self'; rather the individual submits to a regime of sexuality, a regime defined and produced by experts, ideas, discourses and institutional practices (pg. 87).

Furthermore, Elliott (2007) sees psychotherapy as part of a social control of sexuality and the policing of sexual behaviour of individuals. As I have been reflecting on my subjective self, I do so in comparing myself to others – in a sense I am both one who objectifies others and is the subject of objectification.

2.1.8.5 Objectification

It can be very arousing when you perceive that another person seems attracted to you and you become the subject of objectification and eroticisation (Stoltenberg, 1990), as experienced by one man in my study. An example of this is when cruising, which refers to walking or

driving about a locality in search of a sexual partner (Corzine & Kirby, 1977); being the object of desire can be exciting, and affirming of a man's masculinity and attractiveness to other men, even though a sex act may not eventuate (Whittier & Melendez, 2007). I will discuss objectification in the context of intrapsychic script, and will revisit objectification in the context of interpersonal scripts.

Within the intrapsychic realm, people construct a domain of their own desires and fantasies. But this is a fuzzy matrix, malleable and adaptable to exigencies of actual situations, opportunities, and obdurate experiences (Whittier & Simon, 2001, p. 142). Desire is a multidimensional matrix and there is a complex and interwoven galaxy of desire in everyday life stored in memory (Whittier & Simon, 2001). An enduring memory for me being a young man coming to terms with my same sex attraction:

[...] I was at the beach sitting on a bank with a view of the water. My attention was taken by some men splashing about in the water to one side, and when I looked ahead a naked man in his early 40s, tanned, with a well defined muscular body and greying chest hair coming out of the water – he took my breath away! This is akin to the Greek myth of Anadyomene – the goddess rising up out of the water from being submerged, a rising up of sexuality with the continuous influx of life, vitality and desire (Moore, 1998, p. 49).

In this case he was no myth, for me was an Adonis. I certainly followed the "Rules of Attraction" (Bergling, 2007, p. 29) and having a sense of

being “carried away” (Whittier & Simon, 2001, p. 145). Now, that was many years ago but this memory still tantalizes my sexual fantasies.

Stability or consistency in the self-concept of me as a sexual actor inevitably must relate to a corresponding stability in a perceived object of desire. Such changes reflect the inevitable shifts in me as a sexual actor due to ageing, histories of prior sexual experiences, the impact of crises, and the accommodations made to my sense of self beyond the sexual, such as the changes in my social context (Whittier & Simon, 2001) and the changes to my erotic capital that has come about through the process of aging and maturing. I may have been spunky in my younger years and age takes its toll, but now I have economic capital, which alters the presentation of my erotic self. This implies that another person is sufficiently interested in me either as a sexy man, as a source of economic capital, or my delightful personality and wit, with whom to undertake a social encounter. How this plays out is found in interpersonal scripts, which I discuss next.

2.1.9 Interpersonal Scripts

The interpersonal script “is a process that transforms the social actor from being exclusively an actor, to being a partial scriptwriter or adapter, shaping the materials of relevant cultural scenarios into scripts for behaviour in particular contexts” (Simon & Gagnon, 1984, p. 53). Specifically, interpersonal scripts are formed by an individual’s

interpretation of the cultural script and their internalisation of their intrapsychic script (Hynie et al., 1998). In other words, it is the rehearsal of interpersonal scripts derived from cultural scenarios that actually shape an individual's attitudes, values, and beliefs. As such interpersonal scripts provide the link between an individual's attitudes and social norms. Sexual scripts reflect the need to create regular and recognisable patterns of behaviour so that all parties in the sexual act understand what actions are expected or required; and these need to be negotiated so that each player understands the expected role in the script. Behaviours that fall outside of the script can surprise actors and can make a person vulnerable through a portrayal of ignorance or lack of experience, which could be labelled as deviance or perversion (Emmers-Sommer & Allen, 2005). For example, in the case of sadomasochistic (SM), sexual behaviour what may appear to the uninitiated observer as acts of violence or abuse may really be a theatrical and carefully controlled performance of a script from the perspective of the participants (Weinberg, 1987). SM tends to involve ritualistic patterns dominance and submission through the medium of fantasy and role-playing behaviour (Lee, 1979). Participants are often adopt or are assigned roles (Sandnabba et al., 1999), and are expected to enact highly scripted sequences and patterns of behaviour consistent with the SM subculture (Santtila et al., 2006). It is beyond the scope of this thesis to explore SM more fully; for a review of SM practices and participants see Santtila, Sandnabba and Nordling (2006).

There are sexual scripts that damage others as in the case of rape (Davies et al., 2013; Ryan, 2011). However, sexual assault and rape for men and women can result in psychological, social problems, and sexual dysfunction (Abdullah-Khan, 2008; Perilloux et al., 2012; Walker et al., 2005).

The interpersonal script also relates to the way individuals interpret cultural and subcultural norms and allows cumulative personal experiences and socialisation to shape actors and their sexual actions (Whittier & Melendez, 2007). In particular, learning scripts of seduction can be a risky endeavour that can lead to rejection or to satisfying encounters with desired partners (Bass, 2010; Greene, 2003).

Interpersonal scripts have then at their heart an engagement with the other, be they intimates or strangers, and in each case a different script will be activated with a willingness to explore outside the usual frames of experience. This can lead us into unfamiliar scenarios, which may require a rewriting of the interpersonal script, such as the experience of “limerence” (Tennov, 1979), which refers to a romantic attraction to the object of desire with an overwhelming need to have the feeling reciprocated. Some people experience the intensity of the sexual attraction as “love madness” (Tennov, 1998, p. 79). Limerence can catch one unawares and intensify after the sexual relationship has begun, and more intense limerence brings greater desire for sexual contact.

Limerent sexuality is usually a component of romantic interest, but the sexual aspect of limerence is not consistent from person to person.

2.1.10 Not-so-normal scripts

Although individuals construct intrapsychic scripts from cultural meanings, they can be altered, combined and translated into individual-level meanings by experience. Yet, these may not be completely synonymous with cultural scenarios, as culture is carried and developed in the everyday activities of individuals (Swidler, 2001). An individual's perspectives, attitudes, preferences, and dispositions can change radically in response to changes within the culture (DiMaggio, 1997; Swidler, 2001).

It is within these cultural boundaries that people derive sexual meanings, desires, and erotic interests including notions of sexual identity in and against the prevailing cultures in which they are immersed or, indeed find themselves (Bancroft, 2000). We find ourselves in these situations, which are shaped by the material social circumstances, locations and our definitions and meanings of masculinity, class, race, erotic capital, and sexual hierarchies. How these situations work are dependent on the context, and can be constrained by available social and cultural resources (Jackson, 2007, p. 13).

The script is essentially a set of shared conventions based on mutual dependency and sets out the boundaries and roles that determine control, power, initiation, and pleasure. Yet these constraints are frequently transgressed especially in the performance of gender, where complex stratifications and mobilities of power and gender, as analysed by Butler in *Gender Trouble* (1990), are portrayed in uncertain sexual

identities. For example, the performances of the drag queen, the macho gay, the gay twink, the camp queen, or the femme lesbian, or the transgendered person are seemingly based on transgressive expectation and the desire to shock which problematises hegemonic notions of sexuality and gender, and creates slippage in the coercive power of heterosexuality and patriarchal discourses (Elliott, 2007; Kimmel, 2004). And those threatened by such transgressive power that disrupts and disturbs the hegemonic order respond with phobic reactions that can assassinate the transgressor's character (Fone, 2000) with shame and denigration (Marr, 1999).

Some of the tactics used to defend the rightness of the hegemonic structure include blackmail, discriminatory policies and attitudes, bashings, torture and murder. None is more illustrative than the torture and murder of 21-year old Matthew Shepard in Laramie, Wyoming, USA in 1998 by Aaron McKinney and Russell Henderson (Shepard, 2009) or the bashing to death of *Jack Twist* (Jake Gyllenhaal) in the film *Brokeback Mountain* (Lee, 2005). Gay history is resplendent with examples of those who fought back with protest: visual art, music, theatre, writing and politics (Fone, 2000).

Sexual scripts are not fixed and are subject to the changing notions of power, gender disparity, and religious proscriptions and the emergence of human rights for (and hence visibility of) certain subcultures or tribes, such as gay men, lesbians, bisexual, and transgender people, people of colour, or polyamorous persons; and the variable shifts in recognition of

their legitimacy or illegitimacy as alternative lifestyles (Ortiz-Torres, Williams, & Ehrhardt, 2003; Segal, 1995). By participating in social institutions and activities as alternatives, yet recognised as legitimate full members of society, is more about status subordination than questions of identity (Fraser, 2000). When people are constituted as inferior, excluded, wholly other, or simply invisible, or, in other words, viewed as less than full partners in social interaction, then this is misrecognition and status subordination. From this perspective, misrecognition is neither a psychic deformation nor a coherent cultural harm but institutionalised social subordination (Fraser, 2000). For a person or a group to be misrecognised is more than being thought ill of, looked down upon, or devalued in others' attitudes, beliefs, or representations. It is rather to be denied the status of a full partner in social interaction, as a consequence of institutionalised patterns of cultural value that constitute one as comparatively unworthy of respect or esteem (Fraser, 2000).

I admit to being very proud of my home country New Zealand, no more so than when Georgina Beyer achieved social recognition, and was elected to parliament even though publicly known as being a male to female transgendered person (Beyer & Casey, 1999). It is all very well to postulate theories about cultural, intrapsychic and interpersonal scripts, but they need to be performed to be actuated and realised and I now turn to scripts in action.

2.1.11 Scripts in action

I have frequented gay venues of various sorts in cities of Asia, Australasia, the West Coast of United States, and Mexico. It seems that the commodification of the male body happens in places where gay men meet: in clubs, bars, saunas, movie theatres, parks, churches, at community events and on the street. And to get any action at all one has to cruise.

2.1.11.1 Cruising and display scripts

I have had to learn the various scripts to navigate and negotiate the environment and, to one degree or another recognise other gay individuals; in other words trust my “gaydar” (Nicholas, 2004). The term “gaydar” refers to an innate remote detector that picks up on certain behaviours of individuals in a social space. If the behaviour experienced is consistent with the shared social meaning of identity associated with membership in the gay culture, “gaydar” is triggered, and the assumption is made that the person whose behaviour caused the “blip” in the “gaydar” is gay (Nicholas, 2004, p. 61). However, it must be noted that the social narratives that might stimulate “gaydar” may be different from one occasion to another due to social class, power structures, or levels of individual socialisation; and, different same sex sub groupings may use different measures and signals to influence “gaydar” workings. I note that on my iPhone an application “Gaydar” (QSoft-Consulting, 2012) has appeared along with “Grindr” (Simkhai, 2009) to assist my seeking out local gay contacts anonymously and in the safety and comfort of my

home or car – trawling the bars, clubs, parks or beats for a sexual encounter with someone is now seemingly passé.

Men put themselves on display physically and electronically and participate in a performance script for various reasons: vicarious voyeurism, exhibitionism, for rent, for stranger sex, for potential partners, or to seek image reinforcement and appreciation; sometimes successful, more often without success. “Cottaging” (Church et al., 1993) or “beats” (Dalton, 2008) are terms used for cruising to pick up men in public spaces such as parks, public toilets, wasteland and streets. Cruising is a behaviour when men observe, approach and solicit sex from an anonymous man, usually in a public place, but also in bars, streets, public transport and saunas (Church et al., 1993). Cottaging provides opportunity to engage in casual sexual contacts most often with anonymous strangers, hence the term “stranger sex”. Casual sex is not limited to cottaging, and can be found in saunas, bars, gyms, locker rooms, and public places, such as parks and beaches (Alvarez, 2008; Dalton, 2008; Frankis & Flowers, 2009; Huber & Kleinplatz, 2002; Prestage & Drielsma, 1996; Tewksbury, 2002), and even airport lounges, trains and railway stations (SexyAds, 2009), and, as indicated above, the internet (Chiasson et al., 2007), although not all these venues have been identified in this study.

In a study of male and female university and college students, Wentland and Reissing (2011) identified a number of implicit and explicit rules that

guide the initiation, maintenance, and termination of four types of casual sexual relationships: One Night Stands, Booty Calls, Fuck Buddies, and Friends with Benefits (p. 86). However, cruising and stranger sex would fall outside of this continuum in that it is an episodic, time-limited, anonymous, and often silent sexual encounter operating within a cruising script (for a detailed description see Frankis & Flowers, 2009, p. 874). Such a script covers the way in which contact is made, the choreography of the pursuit, display and positioning, body contact, and reciprocal touching. There is also a script for ensuring safety and avoiding disturbance by non-cruisers, and if necessary, negotiating sexual disinterest (Dalton, 2008; Tewksbury, 1996).

Findings from research on cottaging undertaken in the United Kingdom in the early 1990s (Church et al., 1993), indicated the most common sexual activities involved masturbation either alone or with a partner; giving and receiving fellatio both without ejaculation and with a few progressing to ejaculation; and low proportions of men engaged in kissing. In a later study of cruising behaviour, however, it was reported that cottage users were a highly sexually active group (Frankis & Flowers, 2006). There was a low rate of anal intercourse reported. Although the cruising and sexual activity took place at the cottage, some men took their partner to another place or home, thus the cottages provided opportunity for meeting potential partners, which might lead to onsite sexual activity (Church et al., 1993, pp. 338-339). This seems all so easy and straightforward, but in reality the scene is often rife with danger physically, in that one can

become a victim of violence or possible police entrapment (Dalton, 2008). There are emotional components as well in that there is always the possibility of rejection or not being noticed, and anxiety at the possibility of humiliation at being recognised or discovered in an incriminating situation (Dalton, 2008).

As a final note, there is evidence that the type of sexual marketplace This performance script that many gay men find necessary to achieve personal and sexual fulfilment is fraught with the emotional ambivalence and disquiet of being judged and discarded by those one would seek as a potential partner, or to be on the end of some unwelcomed soliciting. On the other hand, the anonymity of the encounter protects against any possibility of further involvement with a sex partner when it is not desired (Corzine & Kirby, 1977).

As Stoltenberg notes that “showable” and “performable” sex is not particularly conducive to communicating what is going on emotionally between two people in sex, the values portrayed in it and how this sexual encounter is related to the rest of their lives (1990, p. 111). Performable sex here refers to the viewing of others engaging in sexual activity.

Stoltenberg makes the point that men exposed to the values exhibited in performance sex, and in pornographic films inculcate and adopt these values within their own view of sexuality and in their sex lives; values such as voyeurism, detachment, absence of inner emotional continuity

and sensation, and objectification. He suggests that men, particularly in Western cultures, almost involuntarily sexually objectify bodies for sexual arousal or find themselves sexually aroused through looking.

[...] he applies his attention to the person's body and, he scrutinizes the person's body with a particular intensity, with deliberate curiosity with unequivocal intent, and inside his body there begins a pounding, a rushing of blood, a craving, and what he craves is to have sex with that stranger (Stoltenberg 1990, p. 42).

Stoltenberg submits that this is a script learnt at an early age and that it is not biologically ordained or genetically determined. The script is formed through a process of engaging with heteropatriarchy that determines and reinforces the male identity and supremacy (Connell, 2000; David, 2009; Pease, 2010). Gay men don't escape patriarchal male conditioning and can also take on a heteronormative or heterosexist masculinity in relation to objectification of others, except it is other men not women that are objectified. It does not mean that "men are absolved from moral responsibility", rather the act of objectification is also a moral and ethical act (Stoltenberg, 1990, p. 54) that can exert an emotional toll.

Objectification prevails most obviously in film, in particular pornography, and in stage shows, be it in drag shows in a gay bar, ballet, or sex shows. One example is my personal delight at the British choreographer Matthew Bourne's controversial remake of the ballet classic *Swan Lake* (Choreographer). (1996). Bourne won international acclaim for the re-

gendering and portraying homoerotic desire that revolutionised the 120 year-old ballet (K. G. Drummond, 2003). Also used in the final scene of the film *Billy Elliot* (Daldry, 2000), a story of a boy driven by his love of dance, who as an adult, takes the stage at the Royal Opera House, Covent Garden, in the form of Adam Cooper (the *premier danseur noble*) dancing “The Swan” in Bourne’s *Swan Lake*, with his father and brother watching from the cheap seats. Exhilarating, epic and entertaining, Bourne’s *Swan Lake* elicits sympathy for the gay couple; yet its transgression of heteronormativity was ignored by the critics (Foster, 2001).



Matthew Bourne’s *Swan Lake* (2005)
<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:MatthewBournesSwanLake.jpg>

As I discuss in the section on masculinity (see Section 3 of this Chapter), objectification happens in the male-to-male venues. I draw on my experience of Thailand, because I was not aware of such enterprises in Burma. The “Tawan Club” is a muscleman bar in Silom, Bangkok, where hegemonic masculinity is on display, especially in the sex shows. The bigger built men seem to attract more attention; the focus is on the penis,

the bigger the better, and the men's muscles. Hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 1995), has been exported globally (Kimmel, 2001), and can be seen in the public presentation of males in Thailand (Käng, 2012). In the sex shows, hegemonic masculinity is transgressed when a well-built man will perform oral sex on a guy with a similar build.



The men of Tawan Bar, Silom, Bangkok
(<http://bangkokbois.wordpress.com/2011/12/28/a-walk-on-the-wild-side-bangkoks-tawan-bar/>)



Bar boy selection
(<http://bangkokbois.files.wordpress.com/2012/12bar-boy-selection-9.jpg>)

However, by the last quarter of the show, hegemonic masculinity is re-established and then reinforced when smaller and seemingly younger, more slender, feminised men, who are often *kathoeys* (lady-boy) – a generic term to include men who have sex with other men (Storer, 1999b) and male to female transgender and transvestite persons who occupy a third gender place in Thai society (Jackson, 1997; Storer, 1999a). They sometimes dress in female costume such as a kimono, take over the oral sex performance, and are then anally penetrated by the “macho-hero” of the show. The finale features most of the performers engaging in a solo-masturbation race with a prize for the first man to achieve the objective of ejaculation. Some of the men would wear masks or clothing. Here semen signifies the men’s potency, further reinforcing and leaving no doubt as to their masculinity. *Kathoeys* are not amongst the competitors. The only difference I observed between venues was in the size and shape of men, with relatively thin and smaller men usually taking a more passive role.

Hence the globalisation of hegemonic masculinity dominates in the performance of what appears to be same-sex sexual scripts, and thereby reinforcing and being complicit in maintaining hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 2005b). This is also an example of compensatory masculinity (Connell, 2005b), wherein “inferiorised” gay masculinity compensates for this inferiorisation by either performing or developing a physically hegemonic masculinity. Interpersonal scripts are the product of the intrapsychic script developed in the context of the relevant cultural

scenarios and hence are influenced by prevailing norms to infiltrate the spaces inhabited by those who seek to be different.

2.1.12 Concluding comments

In this chapter I have reviewed scripts and sexual scripts within the social constructionist framework. I have discussed sexuality looking firstly at sexual behaviours as the expression of sexual needs, desires and attractions. I then engaged with theory of sexual scripting, with discussions on the cultural scenarios of scripts and the impact of institutions, and how scripts are formed by the spaces in which they are performed. This led to a discussion on erotic capital and how it is implicated in the sexual stratification and hierarchies that impact on gay men. I then discussed the intrapsychic dimension of sexual scripting, leading into notions of the self, sexual or erotic fluidity, pansexuality, and then the production of the self and the way objectification interacts with the fuzzy matrix of desire in the context of intrapsychic scripts. In the last section I discussed interpersonal scripts and how we put the scripts into action, which commenced with cruising scripts because that is how many gay men navigate the environment for sexual contact, and objectification features here also. My intention in this chapter has been to show how sexual scripts are constructed, and performed within the spaces of same-sex attraction and desire. The next section will review some of the literature on emotions and emotional scripts.

2.2 Emotions

2.2.1 Introduction

I open my 700 page *Handbook of Emotions* (Lewis & Haviland-Jones, 2000), a large volume presenting the interdisciplinary discussion of emotions, which includes philosophy, neurophysiology, psychology, and sociology. Hence, I have been very selective in the areas covered in this brief overview. My intention is to highlight those aspects of emotionality that are related to sexuality and its performance. In this section I begin with conceptual notions about the feelings and arousal every human being experiences. I then review the basic emotions and how the brain is involved in our perception and the controlling of emotions. How emotions are enacted as lived experience in the day-to-day interactions with others and society is the focus of the social construction of emotion (Turner & Stets, 2005). This will include the dramaturgical theory of emotions (Turner & Stets, 2006) and emotion geography (Anderson & Smith, 2001). I then turn to the performance of emotions and then some of the psychological issues pertaining to our experience of emotions. An essential aspect is the performance of emotional scripts, which leads into a brief discussion of self-efficacy, emotions and sexuality, then emotions as narrative, followed by an example of emotional performance of sexuality. I then conclude with a summary.

2.2.2 What do we mean by emotions?

Commonsensical notions of emotions as feelings and states of arousal are caught in this classical definition “a stirred up state of the organism”

(Woodworth, 1929, p. 285), or perhaps everyone thinks they know what an emotion is, until asked to provide a definition. In this section I will explore the conceptualisation of emotions and touch on the psychobiological foundations underpinning our experience of emotions. This will include the controlling of emotions, emotional competence, and the social construction of emotional scripts. I will then discuss the integration of sexuality and emotion and the performance of emotions within sexual scripts.

Emotions have a long and troubled history with many thinkers arguing that emotions are base and destructive, sometimes irrational and damaging, and need to be controlled by reason. Attempts to define emotions can be traced at least as far back as Plato and Aristotle. The nature of emotion was debated by philosophers including Thomas Aquinas, Descartes, Hobbes, Hume, Spinoza, and Kant (Fehr & Russell, 1984, p. 464). Evolutionists and psychologists from Charles Darwin, William James and Sigmund Freud, and writers such as George Eliot, have speculated on the nature and origins of emotions (Oatley et al., 2006). An historical overview is presented elsewhere (see Oatley, Keltner & Jenkins, 2006), but with the recent development of modern technologies and brain sciences, has allowed the emotions to be studied extensively (Lewis & Haviland-Jones, 2000; Schmidt et al., 2011). Yet, it seems people are more uncertain. Much of the research on the meanings of emotions has separated the problem of concepts of emotion, (meaning ideas about the nature of emotions) from the

emotional experience, which has been hardwired into the brain (White, 2000, p. 31).

2.2.3 Basic emotions

Basic emotions are innate and common to all human societies (Johnson-Laird & Oatley, 2004) and are part of the biological solution to the problem of how to plan and carry out action aimed at satisfying multiple goals in environments which are not always predictable (Oatley & Johnson-Laird, 1987, p. 35). Psychologists and anthropologists tend to agree on six basic human emotions: surprise, anger, fear, happiness, sadness, and disgust (Greenfield, 2008, p. 226). Friesen and Ellsworth (1982) review a variety of classificatory studies of facial behaviours to support the above classification of basic emotions. Emotions then are complex functional mediators of social interaction and include appraisals or appreciations, patterned physiological processes, action tendencies, subjective feelings, expressions, and instrumental behaviours (Fischer et al., 1990, p. 85).

But then what about emotions such as excitement, pain, hunger, alienation, courage, loneliness, religious awe, startle, or lust (Fehr & Russell, 1984, p. 464)? There are numerous emotions which can be classified as secondary or social emotions such as: embarrassment, jealousy, guilt, or pride; and in addition so-called background emotions such as well being or malaise, calm, or tension (Izard & Ackerman, 2000). The use of subordinate emotion categories does not reduce the

number of emotions. Included are elements of resentment, gratitude, envy, guilt, rage, and wariness, among others. These different components of the complete emotional experience are sometimes felt in tandem and sometimes in succession (Fischer et al., 1990), and emotions are sensed in the brain.

Sexuality is served by intense emotions such as lust and sexual desire (Oatley et al., 2006). But this is mediated by culture, which provides the settings or scenarios for sexual encounters; and furthermore, culture impacts upon the meaning of specific acts, provides sexual constraints, and makes permissible sexual expression (Turner, 1997).

Sexual desire can be differentiated from romantic love although there is some overlap of sexual desire with the content of love (Hatfield & Rapson, 2005; Stoltenberg, 1990). Buss (2003, p. 6) uses the term “sexual strategies” as a way of finding solutions to mating problems – a process that requires neither conscious planning nor awareness of the goal and hence is innate. I would contend that limiting the notion of sexual strategies to mating goals takes no account of the way that sexual strategies are deployed for recreation, giving and receiving of sexual and physical pleasures, the establishing and maintaining of relationships, and expression of emotionality. There are also more nuanced aspects of emotionality in sexuality such as romance, affection, intimacy, caring, and fidelity (see below). These interactions take place in social contexts and in interpersonal relationships experienced in neural pathways in the brain.

2.2.4 Emotions, the brain, and the social context

Emotions are often viewed as biological processes, which arise naturally out of genetically determined neural and hormonal pathways, which include:

[...] involuntary physiological processes, facial expressions, distinctive qualities in speaking and urges to act (Johnson-Laird & Oatley, 2004, p. 458).

However, the emotions we feel and respond to occur in the contexts of our engaging in social interactions and relationships, and as such, are social events (Boiger & Mesquita, 2012; Hareli & Parkinson, 2008; Saarni, 2000). Johnson-Laird & Oatley (2004) theorise that emotional life is entirely a social construction, because we live in different cultures, environments, and mental worlds. Although emotions are embodied (Turner, 2000; Wentworth & Ryan, 1994), and are the result of the interplay of cognitive, motivational, physiological elements, it is the social interactions with others as an iterative and ongoing process which shape and give meaning to emotional experiences. At different times and in different social and cultural contexts the resulting emotions will also be different (Boiger & Mesquita, 2012). The emotion system therefore has the function of mediating between constantly changing situations and events and the individual's behavioural responses (Scherer, 1984, p. 295). As such our physiological states, feelings, emotional expressions, cognitive appraisals and action-impulses are basic components of the complex phenomenon called emotion (Scholl, 2013). Feelings are holistic in that they monitor the internal emotional state and the external

situation, and that helps in deciding what action to take in certain circumstances (Ellsworth & Scherer, 2003).

In keeping with Turner (2009), I am of the view that emotions operate at different levels of reality: embodied, that as biological and neurological functions, but also experienced as behavioural, cultural, historical, structural, and situational. The interaction of these components constitutes our emotional world. How that world of emotions is formed and enacted is the work of social construction.

2.2.5 Social construction of emotions

Within the social constructivist paradigm, emotional knowledge is represented in a purely symbolic manner with the meaning of emotion words constituted by a set of rules that specify the kinds of persons, situations, and actions to which the emotion word applies. The rules that govern the use of emotion words and other symbolic expressions are thought to be equivalent to the social norms concerning emotions, which results in emotional experience and behaviour being in accordance with these norms (Hochschild, 1979). Therefore, emotions can be considered as social roles (Averill, 1985). As with social roles in general, the individual is not free to self-ascribe emotions at will. The self-ascription of emotion scripts draws upon culturally determined emotion rules or cultural scripts (Miyamoto & Ryff, 2011); and in order to become a fact of socially shared reality, emotional roles must be authorized and reciprocated by the complementary role behaviour of others. Cultural

scripts also dictate how positive and negative emotions should be experienced and combined, and as such cultural scripts may also guide how people choose to regulate their emotions, which ultimately influences an individual's emotional experience. As Menon concludes:

Emotions are [...] culturally relative, and the ability to experience culturally salient emotions is acquired through enculturation (2000, p. 48).

Thus, on the basis of social constructivist theories of emotion, emotional communication, in the enactment of an emotional scripts, can be defined as a process of symbolic negotiation of emotions (Bartsch & Hübner, 2005). Therefore, emotional expressions serve a social function and are essentially a way of reaching out to the world (Solomon, 2003).

The social constructionist point of view of emotion is understood to be an iterative and ongoing process that plays out within interactions and relationships, which derive their shape and meaning from the prevailing ideas and practices of the larger sociocultural context. At different times, and in different contexts, the resulting emotional scripts will be different (Boiger & Mesquita, 2012).

Turner and Stets (2006) present a set of theoretical approaches to understanding the social construction of human emotions, including dramaturgical, symbolic interactionist, interaction ritual, power and status, and exchange theories of emotional dynamics. It is beyond the scope of

this thesis to review all these various theories; but I will focus on the dramaturgical theory of emotion because of its relevance to scripting.

2.2.5.1 Dramaturgical Theory of Emotions

Dramaturgical theories of emotions posit that individuals make dramatic presentations and engage in strategic actions directed by a cultural script. As much as we express emotion in relational interactions, we also enact emotions on the social stage we inhabit. Cultural scripts provide a framework for appropriate emotional actions based on ideologies, norms and rules, logics, vocabularies, and implicit understandings (Goffman, 1983; Peterson, 2006). This includes the emotions that are supposed to be experienced and expressed in various situations. Individuals play dramatic roles much like actors on a stage playing parts dictated by culture, and have some dramatic license in how they enact their roles, as long as they do not deviate too far from the cultural emotional script (Turner & Stets, 2006). An example comes from my experience of funerals, and how people repress or express grief. The level of embarrassment of the congregation (audience) is palpable when expressions of emotions are extreme or inappropriate. When transgressing the rules of feeling and display, actors become highly motivated to repair their breach of cultural prescriptions and proscriptions (Goffman, 1967; Scheff, 1988). Hence all emotional actions are strategic for the actor presents and emits the emotions that are dictated by cultural ideologies and rules. They will employ the appropriate emotional vocabularies to convince both themselves and others that they are

indeed abiding by the feeling rules and display rules, which constitute an 'emotion culture' (Hochschild, 1998, p. 6).

Physical props such as clothing or objects on the interpersonal stage are used to also communicate that actors are adhering to emotion ideologies and norms. However, actors are not completely constrained by cultural rules and individuals have the capacity for expressive control of their emotions. When applied strategically the display of emotions on stage can be used to gain resource advantages over others; for example individuals may exchange sympathy for another valued emotional resource, such as gratitude (Clark, 1997).

Dramaturgical theories also stress that individuals are often conflicted between the emotion ideologies, feeling rules, and display rules on the one side, and their actual emotional experiences on the other (Hochschild, 1983, 1990; Rosenberg, 1990, 1991; Thoits, 1990). When discrepancies arise between feelings and feeling rules, the discrepancies can generate a new negative emotional arousal, above and beyond the emotions initially experienced. Thus, a person who feels sad in a supposedly happy situation, he or she may also become angry at having to appear happy. This then increases the emotional intensity (sadness plus anger), which forces the actor to engage in even more expressive control to meet cultural expectations. Thus individuals work at managing their feelings to align them with the prescribed societal and cultural expectations. The work required to manage feelings to create an

appropriate public facial and bodily display equates with Hochschild's (1979, 1983) concept of 'emotion work'. When undertaking emotion work a person feels compelled by cultural expectations or the dictates of the situation to exhibit an emotion that they do not necessarily feel. Through her research on airline cabin crews, Hochschild (1979) concluded that individuals in service industries often do not feel what the feeling rules demand, and thus they have difficulty in abiding by display rules, and have to 'work' at displaying the required emotion.

Craib (1995) identified that people engage in at least two forms of emotional work: the 'internal work' of coping with contradiction, conflict and ambivalence and the 'external work' of reconciling what goes on inside with what one is supposed or allowed to feel (p. 155). He also suggests that, although some individuals will more or less conform to social stereotypes such as that of the unemotional male, or the warm and caring female, there is still much intense emotional work being undertaken. For what appears to be 'unemotional' behaviour is very emotional and that the only truly unemotional behaviour is death (Craib, 1995, p. 156). In this sense, a social constructivist approach to emotion is highly individualistic.

Our emotional life is contingent on specific contexts, unique social history and current cognitive-development functioning. Our unique social history includes our immersion in and performing the culture's beliefs, attitudes, and assumptions (Saarni, 2000). Rosenberg (1990) highlights the

importance of the emotions both for the individual and for the society. For the individual, emotions enable us to express feelings, and are also the means for the attainment of emotional and physical needs. For society, emotions are critical for social control, role performance, and interpersonal interactions. As Rosenberg concludes:

Emotions are matters of profound concern to everyone (1990, p. 4).

However much emotions are scripted and enacted within cultural environments, there is a neurological basis for shame, guilt, jealousy, vengeance, pride, sympathy, and other emotions that are built from a few primary emotions (Turner & Stets, 2005). As Turner and Stets argue:

There can be no doubt, that social structure, culture, and socialization experiences have enormous effects on how particular emotions are expressed, but this does not mean that the capacity for the emotions is purely the product of an emotion culture and socialization into this culture. The fact that the same emotions appear across all human cultures argues for a biological basis (pg. 46).

In an effort to synthesise the two apparent disparate approaches of biological determinism and social constructivists, Johnson-Laird & Oatley (2004) argue that emotions are communications, within the brain and externally among humans providing the means to socialise and respond as individuals and communities (see also Scherer, Wranik, Sangsue, Tran and Scherer's (2004) research on the frequency of different emotions in everyday life).

Faucher (2013) concludes that the boundaries of biological, psychological and sociological constructionist approaches have become indistinguishable. Parkinson (2012) claims that it is indisputable that emotions are constructed, and that social processes contribute to their construction. There is no disputing that emotions are felt in the body in different ways, however emotions are also learnt (Russell & Lemay, 2000), because they are mediated by culture, social conditioning and language (Fredman, 2004; Nussbaum, 2001; Oatley et al., 2006; Turner, 2009), and the shared relational contexts in which they are enacted (Boiger & Mesquita, 2012). Mediating our emotional worlds with words and meanings that transform how we feel about our world, will also transform our relationships, as the words move and reposition us, and as such shape our bodies (Boiger & Mesquita, 2012; Fredman, 2004).

Such exploration of emotions loosens the stories that hold the emotions together opening up space for creating and telling new emotional stories (Fredman, 2004, pp. 114-118). The narrating of emotional stories draws on the physical and mental maps we carry with us as common referents, that facilitate feelings about, and activities in, spaces that blend images, emotions and meanings which Anderson and Smith (2001) describe as emotion geography.

2.2.6 Emotion Geography

At particular times and places, there are moments of intense emotion; spaces where lives are so explicitly lived through experiences of pain,

bereavement, elation, anger, love, sexual eroticism, that the power of emotional relations cannot be ignored. This is reinforced by the most obvious route into emotion geographies, which are gained through settings where the emotional is routinely heightened; for example, in musical performance, film and theatre, spaces of mourning, places of desire, and so on. Emotions have the potential to shape the very surface of our bodies; in through how we are touched and influenced by what is encountered; or through repetition of actions over time in the rehearsal of emotion scripts in relating to others (Ahmed, 2004).

In this sense, emotions contribute to shaping what bodies can do (Lim, 2007) and space is imbued with moving and ever-changing emotions. In addition, the source of emotions often comes from somewhere outside of the body, such as the settings, contexts, and places where relations occur (Pile, 2010).

Bodies can catch feelings as easily as catch fire: affect leaps from one body to another, evoking tenderness, inciting shame, igniting rage, exciting fear – in short, communicable affect can inflame nerves and muscles in a conflagration of every conceivable kind of passion (Gibbs, 2001, p. 1).

The dynamic and relational interaction in the contact of places and bodies, and the intensity of the emotions experienced, also transform spaces. And such emotional experiences and are integrated into how we remember the space as part of our emotional memory (Orange, 1995;

Schmidt et al., 2011), and locations are linked to emotional triggers. For an overview of the cognitive and neurological mechanisms and processes of emotion and memory, see Hamann (2001).

Cattin and Vanolo (2013) applied the model of emotional geography in their study of the geography of gay and lesbian bars and clubs in Europe as sites of contact, belonging, and meaning. Such recreational spaces provide a public-private space for opportunities to spend time among people who share similar sexualities without heterosexual surveillance (Matejskova, 2007; Valentine & Skelton, 2003). The club time-space provides an environment for the enactment of alternative nighttime identities that are different from those required of daytime professional, economic, and cultural statuses (Valentine & Skelton, 2003). Clubbing is a socially constructed and performed activity in a space which Cattin and Vanolo (2013), envisage as a mythic island disconnected from the rest of the heteronormative world. This is where the clubber may project dreams, expectations, hopes, and enjoy the eroticism of encountering others of like-mindedness. That there is the possibility of actualising these expectations produces very real and tangible emotion geography. Hence, emotions constitute an intensity that transforms space in the very instance of creating a place through the dynamic and relational interaction and contact of bodies with places; in this case, emotions constitute the collective performance of clubbing, although the experience of this space might differ affectively with each occasion (Duff, 2010).

But what of those emotions that want to run riot and threaten to take over our feelings, perceptions and lives? How to control them is the topic of the next section.

2.2.7 Controlling the emotions

Maintaining control of emotions has similarities with Western discourse on the control of sexuality (Foucault, 1998). People typically talk about controlling emotions, handling emotional situations as well as emotional feelings, and dealing with people, situations and emotions (Lutz, 1996).

Emotions are therefore intrinsically experienced, embodied and communicated by performance. Language and thought allow disparate people to be understood emotionally through prototypes (Putnam, 1975). Fehr and Russell (1984) demonstrated that people think and explain emotions in terms of large categories or scripts. A prototype contains causes of the emotion, the associated feelings, physical expressions, thoughts, thought patterns, and actions (Shaver et al., 1987). These paradigm scenarios (De-Sousa, 1987) provide the means for differentiating and clarifying different emotions. The prototype perspective assumes no sharp boundaries between common categories of emotions. People's representations of emotional states can overlap within a category and offer degrees of emotional intensity; say from rage to irritability (Oatley et al., 2006). To show rage and irritability, or on the other hand, display joy, glee and happiness, is the work of performance. To this I now turn.

2.2.8 Performance of emotions

This section follows and details the earlier discussion of dramaturgical theories of emotion. Living bodies are capable of intelligence and intentionality (Nussbaum, 2001), hence emotions are linked with social interactions within a context much like a game, wherein emotions are constructed within specific roles such as being with your family, your boss, or your first date (Oatley et al., 2006, p. 26). On entering a situation we pass through an invisible membrane into a little world with its own roles, traditions, and history. We take on the role that is afforded in that kind of interaction. Within the membrane we give a certain performance in keeping with our role following the outline, the rules or scripts that are relevant within that world. This is a reflexive process whereby these performances are rated by performer and audience as good or bad, suitable or not suitable, correct or incorrect, or partially correct (Goffman, 1961; Rosenberg, 1990). Goffman's approach is a dramaturgical one, employing the metaphor of theatre. There is front and back stage in a theatre. The front is where one performs in the presence of others, while out back, the actor practices impression management and the techniques required to accomplish a successful presentation. Such a metaphor can be applied to many performances in everyday life (Brickell, 2005, p. 30). Commentary from other participants or spectators might include suggestions for modification, and when condemnation or praise is forthcoming the performance is refined; much like the way that social business is practiced (Bauman, 2007), or as I would do in therapy with a client in seeking to transform their emotions (Fredman, 2004). The

distinctive rules within each kind of membrane provide the context for moral worlds and the subject for much of our conversation.

Standard cultural narratives intrinsically exert a powerful influence on emotional scripts and how they operate. For example, the rules applied to emotional scripts within sexual scenarios where the ‘standard narrative of monogamy’ dominates (Barash & Lipton, 2001; Fisher, 2004; Ryan & Jethá, 2010) can have various outcomes. Typically, studies found that heterosexual men find sexual infidelity more distressing than emotional infidelity, whereas heterosexual women, lesbians and gay men find emotional infidelity more distressing than sexual infidelity (Guerrero et al., 2005; Harris, 2000, 2003; Sabini & Green, 2004). This pattern contradicts the evolutionary hypothesis (Buss, 2003), that the experience of romantic jealousy is sex-linked and hard wired into the brain (Sheets & Wolfe, 2001).

In this study, Ralph and Joel expressed difficulty with any sexual infidelity of their partners, whereas I had resolved the sexual infidelity issue early on (see Chapter 4), but was more concerned with emotional infidelity. Cross-cultural research into infidelity indicated more permissive attitudes operated in France, more so than in Britain and especially the United States, which would indicate a cultural perspective and understanding, although this is refuted by Buss (2003). In America the “marriage-industrial complex” is a multimillion dollar industry offering psychological help, group therapy and “recovery groups” to help couples deal with

infidelity scripts (Druckerman, 2008). Now, this is about psychology, which is the focus of the next section.

2.2.9 Psychological issues

In the situation discussed above, psychological and emotional distress have been found in people dealing with infidelity issues (Hall & Fincham, 2009). Psychologically, people strive to have their internal opinions and attitudes internally concur with each other, that is, there is some sort of harmony between what the individual knows, what is believed and his or her behaviour; but sometimes the individual behaviour and understanding of self may be in contrast with held beliefs and cultural expectations. The experience of these contradictions has been theorised as cognitive dissonance (Festinger, 1957) and can appear through psychological discomfort that the individual seeks to reduce (Elliot & Divine, 1994). Festinger (1957) described a person as being in a dissonant state if two elements of cognition, that is, knowledge of self, behaviour, feelings, desires, or knowledge of the world, are inconsistent. There is also an implied emotional conceptualisation, suggesting that:

[...] for some people, dissonance is an extremely painful and intolerable thing (Festinger, 1957, p. 266).

Research evidence reveals a higher prevalence of mental disorders in lesbians, gay men, and bisexual people than heterosexuals (Meyer, 2003). In reviewing the literature, Meyer (2003) uses a social stress model that takes into account the cognitive experience of prejudicial events, expectations of rejection, hiding and concealing, internalised

homophobia, and the use of ameliorative coping processes. Meyer concludes that many lesbians, gay and bisexual people do experience social stress, which is implicated in mental disorders. Meyer does not reference cognitive dissonance, but it would stand to reason that psychological stress may impact on mental health as:

[...] people's cognitive responses to both ordinary and extraordinary life events are associated with different levels of well-being (Lyubomirsky, 2001, p. 241).

Although some psychological issues became apparent in the interviews I conducted with the men in this study, it is beyond the scope of this thesis to investigate psychological and emotional disorders. Nevertheless, emotions are also learnt and expressed within a social context as emotional scripts, and I will discuss this aspect in the next section.

2.2.10 Emotional scripts and their performance

Emotion script theory suggests that individuals' knowledge structure for emotions is scriptlike and when elicited, it helps to show how social reality is constructed and how the constructions of reality translate into social behaviour through action rules (Abelson, 1981, p. 727).

Script theory postulates that a script contains both the *descriptive content* of what "typically" happens when emotions are felt and expressed, and at the same time provides clues into what ought to happen, the *normative content* of what is expected to occur and what is regarded as appropriate

(Gibson, 2008, p. 265). Appropriate expression is governed by cultural understandings of language, and moral codes and different cultures can use the same emotion and expression in very different ways (Harré, 1986). Thus, emotional expressions are culturally-prescribed performances rather than internal mental events. Knowing a social script for a certain emotion allows the enactment of culturally appropriate emotion (Gross & Barrett, 2011). For example, to know the meaning of a term like happiness, fear, or jealousy is to know a script for that emotion, and discourse about these terms and their performance can evoke the emotion (Ahmed, 2004). Furthermore, the script hypothesis is that the meaning of each word, in other words, the concept it expresses, is itself a script (Russell, 1991).

Scripts are learnt at an early age with infants showing prototypical responses and then appropriate schematic scripts for emotions (Boiger & Mesquita, 2012; Holodynski & Friedlmeier, 2006; Saarni, 1999; Widen & Russell, 2010). The prototype approach assumes that knowledge about emotions is represented in the form of nonverbal emotion scripts (Shaver et al., 1987). Emotional scripts include knowledge about typical eliciting situations, typical reactions, and self-control and regulating procedures (Bartsch & Hübner, 2005). Emotion prototypes function to structure the personal experience of emotions and they are used to understand the emotions of others. According to the prototype approach, emotional communication can be defined as a process of reciprocal activation of emotional scripts in interactions with others (Bartsch & Hübner, 2005).

Emotions as scripts need to be performed (Goffman, 1961). As discussed earlier, Hochschild (1983, 1990), researching in the field of sales and customer service, suggested that manipulation of a performer's performance in evoking emotions, will influence other people's emotions and judgements, which she called 'emotional labour' (Hochschild, 1983, p. 146). The methods of training staff in the hospitality industry particularly were based on the Constantine Stanislavski (1863-1938) method of acting that utilised emotional memory (Stanislavski, 1950). I studied this approach in my drama training and found it challenging yet useful in developing character. The Stanislavski Method (Stanislavski, 1970) has the actor prepare for the emotional content of the role by recalling the memory of an incident that evoked the emotion needing to be performed. So to prepare for a role that involves fear, the actor must remember something frightening, and attempt to act the part in the emotional space of that fear previously experienced. Stanislavski believed that an actor needed to take his or her own personality onto the stage when playing a character, an analogy of the researcher's subjectivity being integral to the research.

The Stanislavski Method presupposes a level of emotional awareness and competence on which to embody the emotions. Development of the emotion-behaviour scripts begins in early childhood (Fischer et al. 1990). Fischer postulates a skills approach, which combines an analysis of emotions with a system for the development of skills. The developmental pathway to this complex state of mind for an adult is a journey through

innumerable steps, moving from sensorimotor emotions in early infancy, to emotion scripts for concrete events and people in childhood.

Eventually scripts based on general personality and social categories in adulthood are developed. Like all skills, emotions thus move from the simplicity of immaturity to a complexity in adulthood (Fischer et al., 1990, p. 121) resulting in a level of emotional competence (Saarni, 2000).

However, as emotional scripts are always set and constructed within a cultural context, they affect deeply and intimately personal relationships and engagement in the social world (Menon, 2000). Emotions are cognitive appraisals made on the basis of cultural values, beliefs and norms. This means that emotions as scripts are cultural constructions that inform people as to what they should feel and experience (Lutz, 1996; Nussbaum, 2001). Emotions are, therefore, culturally relative, and the ability to experience culturally salient emotions is acquired through enculturation (Menon, 2000, p. 48). For example, within the gay men's sexual subculture, being penetrated anally is a behaviour of choice for some men, whereas the emotional script constructed can also be one of power and pleasure within a social schema (Hoppe, 2011). Performance of emotional scripts is predicated on our ability to be aware, comprehend, and have a level of adeptness in the expression of emotions. This is understood as emotional competence and it will be the subject of the next section.

2.2.11 Emotional competence

Emotional competence has been defined as the demonstration of self-efficacy in “emotion-eliciting social transactions” (Saarni, 2000, p. 68), and is also set within a cultural context, in as much that social rules impact on the individual’s emotional understanding and expression (Jakupcak et al., 2003).

Saarni further uses the construct of self-efficacy to mean that in order to achieve a desired outcome, an individual has to have skills and capacities to achieve such an outcome. Self-efficacy has been described as the confidence a person possesses in their coping ability (Matthews et al., 2002; Zimmerman, 2000). As such, self-efficacy is fundamental to the social transaction that is sexual behaviour. Without it, transactions can be problematic, and the degree of self-efficacy a person has can be both a limiter and an enhancer to the success of the outcome, safety and quality of the sexual transaction. For example, when a person with a high sense of self-efficacy has the confidence to act on desires, explore novel situations, or even ask for something to be done, this enhances the interaction; whereas someone lacking self-efficacy abdicates responsibility and gives up their power to have control over the fulfilment of their desires and their health and wellbeing in sexual interactions (Fishbein et al., 2003). It is to these interactions of self-efficacy, emotion and sexuality that I now turn.

2.2.12 Self-efficacy, emotion and sexuality

When self-efficacy is applied to emotion-eliciting social transactions, the result is a description of people's emotional responses, while simultaneously and strategically applying emotional knowledge, self-understanding and emotional expressiveness to their relationships. Furthermore, the particular outcome of these transactions will reflect the cultural and societal values and beliefs within which individuals operate. With respect to sexuality, Herdt calls such outcomes "sexual lifeways", which he defines as "cultural models of sexuality and human nature which develop into a level of subjective "realness" that is unquestioned by the person and thus constitute ontological reality" (Herdt, 2000, p. 98). The formation of sexual lifeways is highly dependent upon developmental and cultural processes including emotional elements that stipulate preferred sexual subjectivities and approved or tabooed sexual objects.

These values and beliefs will have been transformed into personal meanings to make sense of the experience of engagement with the inherent cultural beliefs as part of the individual's sexual maturation process. This is a two-way process resulting in the individual stamping a personal unique fingerprint on cultural practices, similar to the process often reflected in sexual fantasies (Kahr, 2008). By this it then becomes possible to negotiate interpersonal exchanges and regulate emotional experiences to achieve desired outcomes or goals that will, by definition, be integrated with personal moral commitments (Saarni, 2000).

Sexual behaviours and transactions are imbued with moral norms derived and distilled from cultural practices and beliefs (Nussbaum, 2001). Mature emotional intelligence as defined by Saarni (2000) assumes that moral character and ethical values influence and modify an individual's emotional response in ways that reflect and promote personal integrity. Mature emotional competence is then a reflection of the individual's degree of wisdom, which subsumes and promotes significant ethical cultural values. Saarni (2000) outlines three broad organising themes as the core elements of emotional competence: regulation/coping; expressive behaviour; and relationship building. These are also intrinsic to sexual intelligence (Conrad & Milburn, 2001).

Skills found in loving people such as compassion, passion, sensuality, delighting in the other, paying attention, empathy, are the proficiencies that make for effective sexual partnering (Keen, 1997). These are learned and honed through social engagement, transformative relationships and inner self-reflection and assessment - a result of lived experience (Cattal, 2005). Slavin (2009) argues that sex, being both relational and cultural, is measured and influenced by heteronormative expectations. The ways that gay men construct their lives and relationships and seek out intimacy must be authentic for them and bound by such expectations. In order for gay men to make such intimacy authentic necessitates the ability to construct narratives about our emotions and this is the topic of the next section.

2.2.13 Emotions as narrative

Emotions have a narrative structure and are value laden and hence involve judgment and evaluation to assess salience for our well being (Nussbaum, 2001). The understanding of any single emotion is incomplete unless its narrative history is grasped and studied for the light it sheds on the present response. Narratives are important for understanding emotions and placing them in a cultural context; they are also important because of what they do in emotional life in that they become a source of identity and self-understanding. They do not simply represent history; they enter into it (Nussbaum, 2001). In other words, our narratives and scripts give us the means to understand our desires and the meanings of the who and the what of our lives (Bohan & Russell, 1999) and how we feel. An example of integrating sexuality with these emotional narratives and scripts will be the focus of the next section.

2.2.14 The emotional performance of sexuality

By way of a commentary on emotional performance of sexuality, I offer this personal reflection on observing sex shows in Thailand. I have attended shows in Bangkok, Chiang Mai, Pattaya and Phuket (Jackson, 1999). First, a little background: my Thai and Western male friends first introduced me to these venues, as part of my work in HIV prevention and education in the 1990s. I will focus on Patong in Silom, a downtown district of Bangkok, which is the heart of Thailand's gay and straight sex industry (Bunn, 2004). My introduction meant trawling the alleys, negotiating hustlers, spruikers and pimps selling or promoting everything

from black market poor quality porn, massage, prostitutes, strip clubs, and to go-go bars. These venues are cruising areas for male sex workers, mostly Thai, but I have noticed a few young Caucasian men. The male sex worker in Thailand, sometimes heterosexual, finds the rewards of male-to-male and some male-to-female sex work more lucrative than labouring (Storer, 1999b). These men operate out of commercial venues such as go-go bars, saunas, massage services, male escort agencies, karaoke bars, gyms as well as independent men who work the streets, parks, discos, cinemas and other venues servicing men who have sex with men (Storer, 1999a).

Male for male venues seek to offer particular body types; muscles, twink (younger men), *kathoe*y (lady-boy) – a generic term to include men who have sex with other men (Storer, 1999b) - and male to female transgender persons who occupy a third gender place in Thai society (Storer, 1999a). However, this is a simplistic representation of complex Thai cultural hierarchies (Jackson & Sullivan, 1999). Some workers catered specifically for Thai clientele and others for the foreigners and tourists. The entertainment offered by clubs and bars may include 'lip-synch' song and dance shows by *kathoe*y performers, whilst male sex workers work the customers in the venue. In most of the male go-go venues I visited, male workers parade during the night stripped to very brief tight shorts for viewing and selection by customers. Some venues offer a 'sexy show' by male performers with explicit sexual acts including

solo or mutual masturbation, oral sex and often very 'athletic' anal penetration.

I have observed that the performers in the 'Boy Bars' of Bangkok sex shows did not embrace the Stanislavski Method - why would they? This is not high drama! At first it seemed that these sexual interactions were simulated but with obviously erect penises - this was a performance of sexual athleticism. There appeared that much of the time there seems to be little or no eroticism exchanged between the actors, by way of looks, touch or facial expressions. This resulted in the sexual acts appearing devoid of sexual tension (perhaps experienced more in the audience than the performers). But then these men were performing sexual acts, not acting out roles or a dramatic script. As John Stoltenberg (1990) notes in his discussion of gay sex films, most of the sex acts are acts of detaching and psychological distancing to enable the performer to follow the script and to participate in these shows, similar to those who work in the sex industry:

[...] there is a great deal of repression of affect in gay male sex films – a studied impassivity that goes beyond amateur acting. The blankness of the faces in what is ostensibly the fever pitch of passion suggests an unrelatedness not only between partners but also within each partner's own body (Stoltenberg, 1990, p. 108).

Stoltenberg highlights that when men use sex films for script acquisition, they learn how to have the kind of sex that is observable; modelling from

without, without necessarily experiencing it from within (1990, p. 111). Indeed, on the occasions that I observed a man appearing to be actually enjoying his role as a sex performer, evidenced by a smile or engagement with his partner, his personality became apparent, his eroticism and emotions were displayed making the show more authentic. Sexual performance that is devoid of emotionality becomes purely surface acting that is functional and mechanical and thereby loses the eroticism that makes a sex scene sexy. Performance of sexual scripts with emotion deep acting brings into the theatrical experience the cultural, intrapsychic and interpersonal elements of sexual scripting and breathes life and intensity into the sexual interaction.

2.2.15 Summary

In this section I explored the conceptualisation of emotions and the psychobiological foundations underpinning our experience of emotions. This included the social construction of emotions, the dramaturgical theory of emotions, emotional scripts and their performance, emotion geography, controlling emotions, and emotional competence. I then discussed the integration of sexuality and emotion and the performance of emotions within sexual scripts. I now turn to my discussion of masculinity.

2.3 Masculinity

2.3.1 Introduction

My subjects are men, and in this section I will explore various aspects of masculinity including: gender, hegemonic masculinity, masculine scripts and its relationship with patriarchy. I will then delve into the notions of masculinities; sexualities and masculinities, which will encompass heterosexuality, gay men and being masculine, and the issues for gay men who act as straight men, which raises the need for self-surveillance; and then I will briefly address aspects of lesbianism, as it relates to heterosexuality. I will then diverge to discuss inhabiting the sexualities borderlands, which will take us into some reflections on bisexuality, transgender, and intersex. Finally, I will discuss experiencing masculinity in other settings such as the commodification of people who inhabit such settings. I cover these areas because, either individually or collectively, the men in my study are confronted with these issues in one way or another.

I am at my desk garnering my thoughts about masculinity. My partner comes into the room and stoops down to hug me. I can smell his manliness. I respond to his hugs and feel the hard muscles under his shirt. He asks about my writing and I tell him that I am writing about men and masculinity. He makes no sound but hugs me more fiercely. He whispers that he loves me and quietly leaves. An intimate moment shared between two men. I am in a profound and deeply personal relationship with this man. I find him enchanting and engaging, and I am

very attracted to him. I desire him because, as Donaldson observes:

[...] he is male rather than the fact that he happens to be homosexual
(1993, p. 649).

Two individuals, who are biologically male, but although masculinity refers to male bodies, our masculinity is not determined by male biology (Connell 1995). This has been contested along the lines that masculinity and masculine behaviours are linked to variant levels of testosterone (Boon, 2005). Be that as it may, behaviours and masculinity scripts are learnt in the context of social and cultural practice, and the male body is the instrument of meaning and sensuality. And although in my case our masculinities are lived in different ways because of age and culture, they are still recognisable as male. As Kimmel (2005) references:

[...] masculinity is a constantly changing collection of meanings that we construct through our relationships with ourselves, with each other, and with our world (p. 25).

The subjects in my study are men and they express themselves through their relationship to other men, and also to a lesser degree to the women who inhabit their worlds. Manhood and expressions of masculinity are not the manifestation of an inner essence, rather masculinity as gender needs to be understood as an aspect of large-scale social structures and processes, especially in the reproductive arena (Connell, 1995).

Although intuitively gender is understood in an essentialist perspective of the body as phylogenetic and ontogenetic with physical sex characteristics

given at birth, the social constructivist approach holds that lives are situated in social roles with knowledge and desire creating existence, not in the abstract, but in the reality of social contexts (Herdt, 1994).

Furthermore, gender identities are a fluid assemblage of the meanings and behaviours constructed from the values, images and prescriptions encountered in the cultural environment (Kimmel, 2004). Gendered identities are usually voluntary, we choose to become who we are often mostly without question, but can also be coerced, in that we are pressured, forced, sanctioned, and often physically beaten into submission to follow some rules that define what it is to be masculine or feminine (Kimmel, 2004). Difficulties can arise when a person finds him or herself at neither one nor the other end of the gender binary nomenclature. Herdt (1994) argues that cultures that are gender polymorphic are more able to accommodate radical gender changes than gender dimorphic cultures where expectations of people being exclusively male and female dominate.

2.3.2 Masculinity and gender

Although personal experiences of gender may seem static, definitions of masculinity and femininity can vary within any one culture at any one time due to the influence and experience of race, class, ethnicity, age, sexuality, education, region and culture (Kimmel, 2004). Gender definitions can also vary over a person's lifespan as a result of life stage

experiences such as menopause or becoming grandparents (Kimmel 2004). Gender, therefore, is a social practice that constantly refers to bodies and what bodies do, how they perform, and “gender can only be expressed through the body” (Connell, 1995, p. 45).

Yet gender exists precisely to the extent that biology does not determine the social, which is both creative and inventive. Gender is performed, not so much as a staged performance, rather in the bringing into being of gender in the process of enactment through the “stylised repetition of acts” (Butler, 1988, p. 519). We learn to enact our gender and for men, masculinity as performance is not predetermined, rather it is adaptive and reconstructed in response to cultural and social conditions, and gender relations. Masculinities are configurations of practice within gender relations and within institutional structures at a macro level in face-to-face relationships and sexuality at a micro level; and at the macro level is hegemonic masculinity.

2.3.3 Hegemonic masculinity

Hegemonic masculinity can be defined as the configuration of gender practice, which sustains the legitimacy of patriarchy and its structures. It reinforces gender power relations and guarantees the dominant position of men and the subordination of women (Connell, 1995, p. 77). It portrays the “culturally idealised form of masculine character” (Connell, 1990, p. 83), and the notion of hegemonic signifies a position of cultural

toughness and competitiveness, authority and leadership, not total dominance, but is highly visible as the male role, with other forms of masculinity existing at the same time.

Hegemonic masculinity is hegemonic not just in relation to other masculinities, but in relation to the gender order as a whole, for it is an expression of the privilege men collectively exercise over women in a patriarchal society (Pease, 2010). But all men do not equally share this privilege and there is a hierarchy of masculinities (Connell, 2002b).

Connell identifies four forms of masculinity: hegemonic, complicit, marginalised and subordinate, with hegemonic masculinity as the cultural dominant form manifested in a range of different settings (Connell, 1990, 2002b). However, while there is no one dominate masculinity, there are ideals of masculinity that are pertinent to hegemonic masculinity. Adult masculinities are produced in a complex process of growth and development through active negotiation in multiple social relationships to develop a range of masculinities (Connell, 2000).

Hegemonic masculinity is enshrined and sustained by institutions such as corporations, military, governments, schools (Connell, 2000; Swain, 2005), the legal system, the media (McLean, 1996), organised sports (Messner, 1992, 2005), and other social settings such as informal groups like street gangs and criminal groups (Messerschmidt, 1993, 2005).

However, the concept is not without its critics and Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) provide a review of the contentions which include

challenges to the theory of masculinities, the ambiguity in application, the reification and the discursive aspects of hegemonic masculinity; and the authors willingly admit that “hegemonic masculinity has many meanings” (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005, p. 841).

Essentially, the development of a hegemonic masculinity is heterosexually anchored, and sustained, against which all other masculinities are critiqued (Connell, 2000), and as such eases the anxiety of men. Connell (1995) argues that hegemonic masculinity is not intended as a description of real men, but rather as an aspiration, an ideal or a set of prescriptive social norms that determine what men are supposed to be like, but always contrasted and contested with femininity. Masculine identity is born in the renunciation of the feminine, to shore up patriarchy, not in the direct affirmation of the masculine, which leaves masculine identity tenuous and fragile (Kimmel, 2005, p. 32). This has been starkly evidenced by the blatant misogynistic attack on Australia’s recent female Prime Minister Ms Julia Gillard and other international female political figures (Saner, 2013). Even so, hegemonic masculinity has diverse meanings and men can dodge among the multiple meanings according to their interactional and emotional needs. Indeed, as different masculinities exist in different cultures and historical epochs, it can be deduced that masculinities are subject to change (Connell, 2002b).

2.3.4 Complicit and compensatory constructions of masculinity

Complicit masculinity refers to masculinity that in and of itself is not dominant, but supports hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 2001). This would include participation in aspects of masculinity that conform to dominant masculine norms in expectation of receiving a reward, benefit or dividend (Connell, 2001). Men can therefore adopt and receive the benefits of hegemonic masculinity when it is desirable; but the same men can construct a complicit masculinity and distance themselves strategically from hegemonic masculinity at other moments (Connell, 2005b; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). One example is when straight men utilise aspects of “gay aesthetics” (Bridges, 2013, p. 2) to create a form of “hybrid” masculinity (Demetriou, 2001, p. 34) that works to distance them in subtly different ways from stigmatising stereotypes of masculinity (Bridges, 2013).

When the masculine self is under threat or being discredited men can also perform compensatory masculinity acts in many social settings (Babl, 1979). Such “manhood acts” signify “a capacity to exert control over one’s self, the environment, and others” (Schrock & Schwalbe, 2009, p. 286). Examples include men with physical disabilities, who centre their masculine identities on the control they exert over others occupationally, while others emphasize their physical or sexual prowess (Gerschick & Miller, 1994). Then there are those men working low-status jobs who compensate power differentials by emphasising the physical

demands of manual labour in their conceptions of a masculine self (Collinson, 1992; Ramirez, 2011) in contrast to the “effeminate” activity of the managers (Willis, 1977, p. 149).

Yeung and Stomblor (2000) found that in American College fraternities gay men modified their public behaviour so to avoid being dismissed as “flaming queens” on campus (pg. 142). In order to maintain a “reputable image”, fraternity members collectively pursued a masculine image and called on gay members to “tone down” public performances of femininity (Yeung et al., 2010, p. 158). Compensatory masculinity can also lead to exaggerated forms of masculine behaviour involving drugs, alcohol and sexual carousing that is used to demonstrate defiance and independence from the egalitarian masculinity of bosses and managers and the subordination of women (Ryle, 2012). “Egalitarian masculinity” refers to a more refined and civilised exercise of masculinity with greater respect for gender equity (Ryle, 2012, p. 374).

Masculinity therefore, represents not a certain type of man but, rather, a way that men position themselves through discursive practices (Wetherall & Edley, 1999). Demetriou (2001) identifies two forms of hegemony, internal and external. “External hegemony” refers to the institutionalisation of men's dominance over women; “internal hegemony” refers to the social ascendancy of one group of men over all other men (Demetriou, 2001, p. 341). Internal hegemony typically has been understood in an elitist way. That is, subordinate and marginalised

masculinities are seen as having no impact on the construction of hegemonic masculinity. Non-hegemonic masculinities exist in tension with, but never penetrate or impact, the hegemonic masculinity. There is, then, a dualistic representation of masculinities. As such, gay men are subordinate in relation to straight men in terms of social status, prestige and material practices, which include political, cultural, economic and legal discriminations (Carrigan et al., 2002). Connell (1995) argues that hegemonic masculinity is not automatic, but involves contest and constant struggle against female influences. It is a way of being masculine, which marginalizes and subordinates not only women's activities, but also alternative forms of masculinity, such as 'camp' or effeminate masculinity (Silverstein & White, 1977). Typically, it also involves the brutal repression of the activities of gay men and their construction as a despised 'Other'. As Connell comments: "Heterosexual masculinity [then] is encountered in the form of everyday relations with straight men that often have an undercurrent of threat" (Connell, 1995, p. 155).

When does it end? Never. To admit to weakness, to admit to frailty or fragility, is to be seen to be a wimp, a sissy, not a real man. But seen by whom? By other men. We are put under the constant careful scrutiny of other men. Other men watch us, rank us, and grant our acceptance in the realm of manhood. Manhood is demonstrated for other men's approval. It is other men who evaluate the performance (Kimmel, 2005, p. 33).

Masculinity is also a homosocial enactment wherein males are subject to the gaze of other men, even as these same men test themselves, perform heroic deeds, and take reckless risks, all because of the need to have other men affirm them in their masculinity (Kimmel, 2005). This is driven by the fear of not making it in the masculinity stakes.

Homophobia is a central organising cultural definition of manhood.

Homophobia is more than an irrational fear of gay men. Homophobia is fear that other men will emasculate, unmask and reveal to all that this gay man is not the man he thinks he is, and in fact does not measure up to the hegemonic masculine image, therefore he is shamed (Kimmel, 2005). Unfortunately, bashing gays has been one way of proving manhood and for some young men a rite of passage (van-der-Meer, 2003). In a shame culture, everything depends on public status with a fear of rejection if considered weak, or effeminate, whereas taking part in acts of violence against gay men will ensure masculine status and prestige (van-der-Meer, 2003).

2.3.5 Masculinity as scripts

Masculinities do not exist prior to social behaviour, either as bodily states or fixed personalities. Rather, masculinities come into existence and are constructed as scripts, which are constantly in flux. Conventional masculinities are accomplished in everyday conduct or organizational life, as patterns of social practice; be they bodybuilders in the gym,

managers in the boardroom, school boys in the play ground and on the sports field, they all exert great effort in making their masculinity (Connell, 2000).

Subjectivity and self-identity are best understood as the personal enactment of communal methods of self-accounting, vocabularies of motive, culturally recognisable emotional performances and available stories for making sense of social action (Wetherall & Edley, 1999, p. 338). A person's sex not simply what one has, or a static description of what one is, rather will be one of the norms by the "one" becomes viable at all, that which qualifies a body for life within the domain of cultural intelligibility (1993, p. 3). As such a person goes through a process of gender formation that links the assumed sex with the question of identification within the heterosexual imperative (Butler, 1993). As such, being born male does not make him a man; he has to learn the masculine script. But masculinity is not inherent in the male body. Manhood is not the manifestation of an inner essence; it is defined socially, it is created by culture (Kimmel, 1994). But it is also referenced by and through the characteristics of the male body and if the body complies with the social definition of what it is to be masculine, that makes it much easier for the man to conform to a notion of hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 1995). Conforming and cementing this notion of masculinity requires participation in the marketplace, in the social world of capitalism, and power mongering in the public arena to reinforce patriarchy, wherein this masculinity:

[...] must be proved, and no sooner is proved that it is again questioned and must be proved again – constant, relentless, unachievable, and ultimately the quest for proof becomes so meaningless that it takes on the characteristics, as Weber said, of a sport. He who has the most toys when he dies wins (Kimmel, 1994, p. 122).

2.3.6 Masculinities

All masculinities are not created equal but one definition of manhood continues as the standard against which other forms of masculinity are measured and evaluated within the dominant culture; it is the standard that defines masculinity as the man who is white, middle class, early middle age, and heterosexual (Kimmel, 1994). All other masculinities are subordinate to this hegemonic masculinity and other configurations of masculinity defined as “complicit”, “subordinate” and “marginalized” masculinities sit in relation to hegemonic masculinity forming a hierarchy of masculinities (Connell, 1995, pp. 77-80).

Complicit masculinities support the dominance of the hegemonic masculinity configuration, and a majority of men, including gay men, gain the dividends of patriarchy through the subordination of women. Even so there are inequalities in the access to the patriarchal dividend as class, race and sexuality divide men’s interests (Connell, 1995). Indigenous men, immigrant men from non-English speaking backgrounds, working-class men, disabled men, and gay men are less likely to be beneficiaries

of the patriarchal rewards in the same way as white middle-class men (Pease, 2010). Subordinate masculinities therefore, are those that undermine the goals of a dominant hegemonic masculinity, such as gay and effeminate acting men who are placed at the bottom of the gender hierarchy among men.

Finally, marginalised masculinities represent complex configurations and interactions that occur when masculinity and other factors such as socio-economic status and ethno-cultural background intersect with gender. The use of the mechanisms of an “ideology of supremacy” (Connell, 1995, p. 83) and inherent violence supports the domination of masculinity over femininity, as well as the hierarchy of masculinities.

Connell (2000) outlines the social pressures that shape the development of boys as they learn the machinations of being masculine. Hence, male sexual socialisation informs men that sexuality is the proving ground of adequate gender identity and provides the script that men will adopt, with individual modification, as the foundation for sexual activity. As Butler (1990) identified, masculinity as gender is performative, in that a man performs his masculinity but does not work from some kind of inherent script. Rather, his gender performance implicitly refers back to other people’s previous actions, which provides the performance with authority and grounding. In other-words, the man’s performance is buttressed by a series of associations between gender and the activities made

elsewhere, movies, cultural male icons, sportsmen, and other narratives - an aggregate of social practices and actions (see Trujillo, 1991).

Furthermore, the story of a man's development is cast within an individual-culture relationship, wherein the masculine script draws on the culture's key scripts which offers to men life-guidelines set within a particular society and historical epoch. The culture does not ascribe different models of masculinities to men at different ages. Rather, men are offered comprehensive scripts to adopt through the exemplary narratives based on real or fictitious lives of men, which communicates the hegemonic masculinity script and characteristics (Spector-Mersel, 2006).

The hero figure, as such, is a hyperbole of those masculine characteristics, which Boon (2005, p. 303) labels as the "metanarrative" - if we men were only able to attain them. How many times have I left the cinema as a boy to go home to re-enact the handsome strong matinee idol; as much in the same way as sportsmen, swimmers, and footballers become icons (Trujillo, 1991).

Therefore hegemonic masculinity provides the basic framework of sexual organisation, and to perform that masculinity requires adherence to certain rules that may retard or constrain emotional expression and determine roles and codes of behaviour and dress. It starts in the home, where gender stereotypes and privileging of people on the basis of

gender is reinforced by parents, grand parents, and significant others; and, as a result of this indoctrination, boys and girls incorporate the gendered messages and scripts which form a gender schema through which to view the world (Adams & Coltrane, 2005). Parents expect boys to pursue the cultural ideals of masculinity and from an early age boys are taught to symbolically correlate competition, violence, power and domination with masculinity (Smith, 1996). Most importantly the separation of that which is masculine from that which is feminine is reinforced (Kane, 2010). Studies show that problem behaviours with adolescent boys which includes school disruption leading to suspension, consuming alcohol and drugs, police detainment, sexual promiscuousness (heterosexual) and forcing someone to have sex are associated with traditional masculine ideology, with aggression as the touch stone (Adams & Coltrane, 2005). Kivel (2010) illustrates the concept of “Act-Like-a-Man” Box (see Figure 1.) into which no man is born, but through years of enforcement, name-calling, fights, threats, abuse, and fear he is turned into the man who lives in this box. As Kivel states;

[...] by adolescence boys understand that there are only two choices – be a man or a boy, a winner or a loser, a bully or a wimp, a champ or a chump (2010, p. 85).

An important aspect of being a “real man” is not thinking or talking about it – there are practical things to get on with without having to deal with how men think, feel, or their motivations (McLean, 1996).

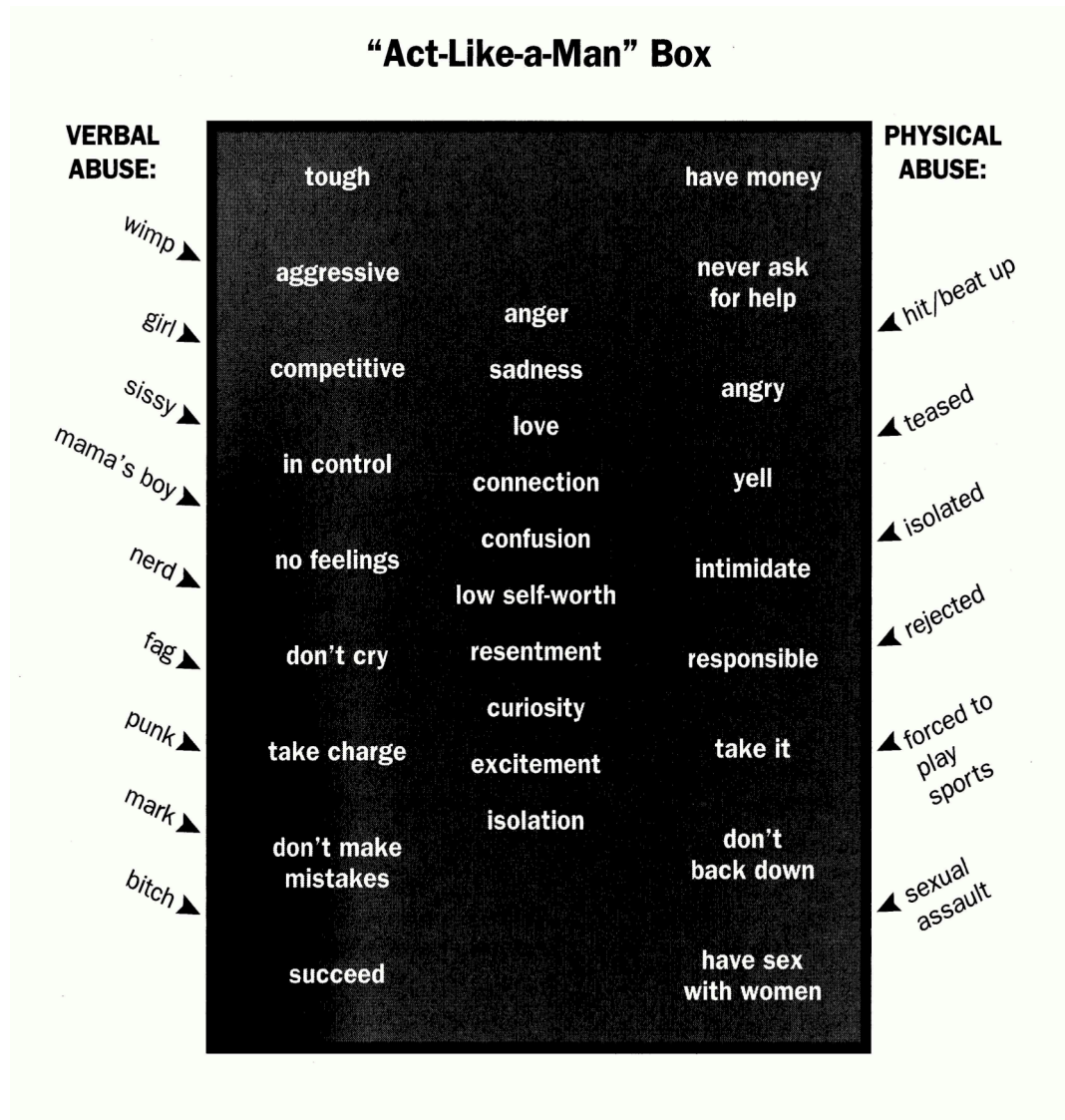


Figure 1. “Act-Like-a-Man” Box (Kivel, 2010, p. 84)

How a man performs his masculinity relates to his style and the way he presents in the social world and to this I now turn.

2.3.7 Masculinity and style

Butler’s notion of gender as a “*corporeal style*” (1990, p. 139 her emphasis) is useful in understanding the performance of gender. Style refers to mannerisms; language, discourse, sartorial attire and presentation, and can assist in homosocial bonding or on the other hand

group exclusion. Style in dress and clothing is central to the construction of masculinity: clothing is simply a key aspect of masculinity, and the performance of that masculinity, but clothing does not signify gender (Reeser, 2010). The performer does not have full control over how his masculinity is defined by others and often a selected style of masculinity cannot always be sustained because of changing social contexts. What works in one setting may not be readily transferable to another context. So a collection of masculine acts might seem to define masculinity in a given time or a given place, but that style will change as well (Reeser, 2010, p. 83). The choreography and manner of performance, even a simple walk can be perceived very differently according to the bodily technique, or manner in which it is performed or executed (Mauss, 1979). The technique, quality, style or manner can make a person appear to be alert, slovenly, aggressive, fragile, confident, sensual, or inhibited. How the walk is performed can also make an individual appear to be feminine or masculine. An illustrative anecdote:

I was visiting a gay male friend, and during dinner his current boyfriend arrived – my assessment was that he was a very streetwise masculine character. As the wine flowed the conversation hilariously moved to dress styles and how gay men move. Our streetwise companion was condemning of any style of mincing, effeminate walk and stance. The next half hour was spent in us being choreographed into walking and standing like a straight working class masculine man, on how to open the thigh and to flex the knees ever so slightly to emphasis the groin area. And I might say it worked!

Repetition is central to understanding gender, repeated actions make real the performative scripts, and the meaning and coherency of masculinity are created, because the script is repeated in many instances in ways that are perceived as coherent. The prevailing culture might create masculinity scripts to be followed, but never are these scripts followed to the letter. Further, because masculinity is so complicated, it is simply not possible to provide all the codes necessary. Situations necessarily arise in which any imagined code cannot explain *a priori* how a man should conduct himself; and the cultural guidelines for the masculinity scripts and gender roles necessarily contain cracks and fissures that give room for personal development of alternative masculinities (Reeser, 2010).

Hegemonic masculinity has power because it is reinforced and sustained by heterosexuality and heteronormativity and by the dominance of the male, unquestioned, self-evident, and taken for granted. Yet male privilege has a negative side in the permanent tension and contention imposed on every man that, as a duty, manliness must be asserted in all circumstances (Bourdieu, 2001). And this vulnerability, 'this predicament of masculinity' (Wacquant, 1995, p. 170) in the male leads to frantic investment in activities which most tend to produce the visible signs of masculinity, for example body building, sports, (Messner, 1992) and institutional rites with tests of manliness oriented towards the reinforcement of male solidarity (Bourdieu 2001). As Bourdieu comments:

[Manliness] ... is an imminently *relational* notion, constructed in front of and for other men and against femininity in a kind of *fear* of the female, firstly in oneself (2001, p. 53 emphasis in original).

But masculinity is often performed as a hedge against being revealed as a fraud, an exaggerated set of activities that keep others from seeing through us and a frenzied effort to keep those fears within ourselves (Kimmel, 2005).

The next section is concerned with sexualities and masculinities, and this is relevant to the discussion of masculinity because masculinity is inextricably connected with notions of sexuality with heterosexuality the dominant standard by which all other sexualities are evaluated.

2.3.8 The sexualities and masculinities

In this section I will first discuss heterosexuality and the other sexualities which include homosexuality, gay men acting as straight, lesbianism, bisexuality, transgenderism, and intersex, which I have called “inhabiting the sexualities borderland”.

2.3.8.1 Heterosexuality

In popular discourse heterosexuality was a love that did not need to speak its name. It just was (Weeks, 2011, p. 79).

Furthermore, the silence around the word is prime evidence for the overwhelming, potent and unmarked presence of heterosexuality,

generally seen as universal, biologically given and the basis of reproductive and sexual life (Pease, 2010). Obviously reproduction of the species was, until recently, solely dependent upon heterosexual copulation occurring. As the undergirding of patriarchy by hegemonic masculinity, institutionalised heterosexuality works ideologically through the discourses and forms of representation which define sex in phallocentric terms, and which positions men as sexual subjects and women as sexual objects (Jackson, 1999). Hence, heterosexuality supports hegemonic masculinity because 'every penetration within patriarchy is an enactment of men's power and becomes loaded with symbolic meanings that encode male power' (Jackson, 1999, p. 133).

When heterosexuality is sanctioned and unquestioned as normative, it becomes the standard for all legitimate sexual behaviour.

Heterosexuality, conceived of and presented as good, normal, and natural sexual expression, means heteronormativity becomes institutionalised and other sexualities are judged against and found wanting because they do not conform to the established norm (Ingraham, 2005). As Ingraham notes:

Even within the heteronormative system there are behaviors and identities that are considered undesirable; such as badly behaved heterosexuals, unemployed or dependent husband, sexually or physically violent male partner, cross-dresser, polygamist, promiscuous wife, or marriage resister (2005, p. 12).

The alternative to an essentialist view of heterosexuality is the social constructivist view that heterosexuality is a learned phenomenon, begun in childhood, developed in adolescence when the sociological scripts that govern adult sexual behaviour are learned and honed (Jackson, 1999). These scripts are more than just guidelines for sexual action, but also provide the means for the individual to come to terms with sexuality and, in effect, provide a vocabulary of motives for sexual conduct (Jackson, 1999). Jackson draws on Mills (1940) to explain that:

[...] a vocabulary of motives' refers to motives that are not merely inner states of mind but are cultural creations, governed by some delineated vocabulary by which individuals anticipate the outcome of their actions. Hence sexual behavior is not an expression of inner drives but is structured by an accepted vocabulary of motives pertaining to the erotic (Jackson, 1999, p. 47).

But heterosexuality is more than simply a sexual act or an accepted vocabulary between women and men; rather heterosexuality is a constructed identity, a performance, and an institution that needs to be maintained via ongoing practice through:

1) avoiding stigma, embarrassment, ostracism or worse being suspected of being gay; and 2) [being] linked into systems of power, status and privilege that appear to be the birthright of "real men" (i.e., males who are able to compete successfully with other males in sport, work and sexual relations with women) (Messner, 2010, p. 375).

For heterosexuality to achieve and maintain its status as compulsory, it must be defined in relation to that which is not. Homosexuality serves

this purpose. Homosexuality and heterosexuality serve to define each other and one can only exist in relation to the other: as Jackson states:

[...] they are co-constructed in a reciprocal but hierarchical relationship (1999, p. 173).

Heterosexuality is sustained by silencing and marginalising dissent by naming the other as outsider, yet the presence of the 'other' is a constant threat of undermining and destabilising the heterosexual norm, and hence, by association, the "other", meaning all that is not heterosexual, which includes lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex people, other sexualities and gender diverse people (Alexander & Yescavage, 2003).

In the same way as alternative sexualities pose a threat to heteronormativity they also threaten hegemonic masculinity because they demonstrate another way of being. As discussed, hegemonic masculinity is dependent upon 'other' notions of being masculine to shore up its foundations as the dominant and legitimate expression of what it is to be a man. The discussion now turns to an insight into these alternative sexual and identity expressions.

2.3.8.2 The other sexualities

Some people differ in terms of identity: some feel that they were born with fixed and unchanging genders or desires: others do not. People differ in terms of political praxis: some feel everyone should assimilate

into the mainstream culture; others celebrate the creation of separate “queer” space.

We’re variously gay, post-gay, queer, bi-queer, butch, femme, top, bottom, feminist, masculinist, intersexual, genderfuckers, trans, pre-op, post-op, confused, certain, ambivalent, and generally awed by the diversity of our ranks. We are obviously not all the same (nor have we ever been) and we do not all configure our desire in the same way (Alexander & Yescavage, 2003, p. 3).

Indeed, but what those of other sexualities do is confound, disturb, disrupt, and transgress structures of heteronormativity and hegemonic masculinity, and as those of alternative sexual expression and orientation claim the rights of sexual citizenship, they are marked as dangerous (Richardson, 2000). As a result of these gender disturbances and sexual behaviours, they are pushed to the outer limits of Gayle Rubin’s, *Charmed Circle* (Rubin, 1984). As Nardi (2000) comments: “in the very act of engaging in sex with other men, gay men challenge dominant definitions of patriarchal masculinity” (p. 6).

2.3.8.3 Being masculine and gay

Gay men exhibit a multiplicity of ways of “doing” masculinity that can best be described by the plural form “masculinities” (Nardi, 2000, p. 1). It would at one time seem an axiom that being gay and doing any form of masculinity would be a contradiction. The foppish and campy

flamboyancy of characters such as Quentin Crisp (1908-1999), an English writer, artist and raconteur (Crisp, 1968), was held up for me in the 1970s as the example of what gay men were like. In an interview the lesbian author Patricia Nell Warren commented that she wrote *The Front Runner* (1974), a story about gay athletes, to defy:

[...] the sexual conformity enforced through sports (Warren, 1998, p. 37).

Reading this novel in the 1970s, as did many of my gay friends, I was enthralled and excited by the notion that there could be strong, muscular, athletic, gay men in loving relationships, which challenged the “Quentin Crisp” image of homosexuality (see below). While homosexuality had always been associated with the arts, few among us in the mid-1970’s could not imagine any association of our sexuality within the world of competitive sports. High school gym classes were



Quentin Crisp (1908-1999)
<http://wikipedia/en/a/ea/Quentincrisp1.jpg>

characterised by a torment of ostracism and misery; and the locker room became the locus of anxieties about a growing attraction to other boys. I raced from the locker room to the pool on swimming days to avoid being

shamed. *The Front Runner* enabled us to bridge the divide between loving men and competing with them. Suddenly it became clear that both were possible. And for many of us gay boys, alienated from sports in general and team sports in particular, this was both revelational and liberating (Diaz, 2007).

In the dynamics of hegemony in contemporary Western masculinity, the relation between heterosexual and homosexual men remains central. To many people, homosexuality is a negation of masculinity, and therefore gay men must be effeminate (Connell, 1992). Although some gay men reject hypermasculinity and effeminacy, many gay men embrace a "very straight gay" style by enacting both hegemonic masculinity and gay masculinity in their daily lives (Connell, 1992).

2.3.8.4 Gay men acting as straights – start with the muscles

Body building in popular culture articulates white masculinity, in that the built body presents itself as not typical, but as an ideal, constituting superiority and proof of masculinity (Dyer, 2002). The gay gym culture emerged in the 1970's, especially in Western countries (Alvarez, 2008) and provided a venue for gay men to shape their bodies (Duncan, 2007). Similarly, in a recent study, Swami & Voracek (2013) found that gaining muscle mass enabled some men (in this case heterosexual men) to feel more valuable or powerful. That is to say, faced with threats to their masculinity as a function of changing gender roles or gender relations, some men emphasised their masculinity through development of muscles which helped to differentiate them from the lower status gay

men and, of course, females, thus reinforcing hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 2005).

Gay men, on the other hand, were discovering that muscles provided a means to pass as heterosexual, and if we were careful we could appear masculine and enjoy the patriarchal dividends. There were dangers, for concealing the true self has cognitive, affective, and behavioural implications, and for some men may be associated with depression (Blashill & Vander-Wal, 2010), and the threat of being caught out may lead to psychological distress (Sánchez et al., 2010). In a survey of 633 self-identified gay men conducted by Sánchez and colleagues, four main findings became evident:

- 1) masculinity is an important construct for gay men;
- 2) many gay men desire romantic partners who appear masculine;
- 3) that, on average, the gay men in the survey wished to be more masculine than they perceived themselves to be; and
- 4) that gay men who place an importance on masculinity, who have trouble being affectionate with other men, and who are immersed in school/work activities may feel negatively about being gay (Sánchez et al., 2010, pp. 108-109).

Conflating masculine ideals with strict adherence to heteronormativity presents an almost impossible challenge for gay men in striving to achieve the mantle of 'straight' or 'normal'. Many gay men invest much time and energy in 'covering', that is pretending to be straight, hence the

need to be constantly aware of their gender performance in both straight and gay settings (Sánchez et al., 2010, p. 105).

For many gay men masculinity is a prized commodity in mate selection (Phua, 2007). This is evidenced by the straight acting gay man discourse as found on internet chat rooms, bulletin boards, and other media outlets such as gay men's personal advertisements (Sánchez & Vilain, 2012).

Many gay advertisers overtly claim to possess masculine traits, the "everyday-Joe type" (Clarkson, 2006), i.e., "straight acting" and being interested in sports, (Sánchez & Vilain, 2012). What they desire are masculine mates (Bailey et al., 1997; Bartholome et al., 2000; Phua, 2007) and prejudice against feminine characteristics (Clarkson, 2006; Taywaditep, 2001) – "no fats, no fems" (Pezzote, 2008). This desire can also be found in online cruising sites (such as www.squirt.org, www.manhunt.net, www.aussiemen.com.au), which are geared towards facilitating sexual encounters (Logan, 2010; Ward, 2008), and in gay erotica (Joshi, 2003; Morrison, 2004).

Bridges (2013) points out that some straight men are seeking to distance themselves from aspects of hegemonic masculinity by subjectively recognizing aspects of their identities as gay. In addition, there have been shifts in men's internalised notions of contemporary masculinity in a manner that pushes male sexual scripts beyond sex as a conquest or reproductive outcome to include emotionality, commitment and love (Seal

& Ehrhardt, 2003; Seal, Wagner-Raphael, & Ehrhardt, 2000). Therefore we men have to keep looking at ourselves in acts of self-surveillance.

2.3.9 Self-surveillance

This necessity for constant self-surveillance echoes Foucault's panopticism. Foucault (1979) used the metaphor of Jeremy Bentham's panopticon, an ingenious prison design in which inmates are unaware of when they are being watched, but always aware of the possibility. This works to regulate behaviour as inmates come to self-police to avoid punishment. Foucault envisioned the "panoptic gaze" to describe the normalising "gaze" that leads to a self-policing of the body:

Just a gaze. An inspecting gaze which each individual under its weight will end by interiorizing to the point that he [sic] is his own overseer, each individual thus exercising this surveillance over, and against, himself (Foucault, 1977a, p. 155).

This concept of constant surveillance is an exercise of power in that the subject acts according to what the power (hegemonic masculinity) expects, but this is done only because of the awareness of the possibility of being observed. In other words, we would act differently if given the opportunity to escape the hegemonic power's eye (Foucault, 1977a).

Here self-surveillance is not so much care of the self, but self-monitoring or more pointedly "habituated anticipatory conformity" (Norris &

Armstrong, 1999, p. 6). We would resemble “docile bodies” (Vaz & Bruno, 2003, p. 275), but our docility, a mask that we wear, would only be apparent, as long as we thought we were being observed. Hence, the notion of self-surveillance is a necessary strategy for the gay man passing as straight (Connell, 1992).

This monitoring of self and one’s behaviour when faced with immediate or mediated observation by others whose opinions exert power – usually, observers of the same or superior social position provides the invisibility of otherness and hence inclusion (Vaz & Bruno, 2003).

For as Foucault wrote:

He [sic] who is subjected to a field of visibility, and who knows it, assumes responsibility for the constraints of power; he makes them play spontaneously upon himself; he inscribes in himself the power relation in which he simultaneously plays both roles; he becomes the principle of his own subjection (Foucault, 1979, p. 202).

The panoptical gaze normalizes control in such a way that one becomes his or her own panopticon, constantly acting to monitor real or imagined violation of the power apparatus. Hence the gay man passing as a straight man needs to maintain the mask of hegemonic masculinity in the performance of his assumed gender: through his body, there is no room for effeminate body movements, mincing or hand waving; or through his language where there is certainly no room for shrieking, he is forced to keep silence especially when homophobic jokes are told in his social

grouping; and through his behaviours, where he must restrain from displaying affection other than acceptable homosocial hugs, and most of all, he must resist showing homoerotic interest in other men in the group. It is also convenient to have had experience as a practising heterosexual to draw on, such as having fathered children or being able to produce ex-wives. Similarly, feminised heterosexual men were more likely to be interpreted as being gay (Hill, 2006).

Kendall & Martino (2006) argue that gay men passing as straight does not further the cause of gay liberation and acceptance. For many gay men, who have always been ridiculed and abused for their perceived failure to achieve the hypermasculine ideal, the power offered from masculine conformity, although initially appealing, is both a “façade and politically myopic” (Kendall & Martino, 2006, p. 14). Hence, the result of conforming to hegemonic masculinity is a gay liberation that by default supports the dominant masculinist hierarchy and inequality, including gay male inequality. For some gay men this leads to issues of compensatory and complicit masculinities in the negotiation of the territory of hegemonic masculinity; for others perceptions regarding gender roles are of little consequence (Riggle et al., 2008).

This brings into focus the struggle for homonormativity, which does not contest dominant heteronormative assumptions and institutions, but rather upholds and sustains them (Duggan, 2004). Changing attitudes in the wider society, especially in the West, have found expression in many

areas of social life, from media representations of gay life, to changing forms of sexual citizenship for lesbians and gay men (Weeks, 2007). However much homonormativity is seen as liberating in that the lives of some gay men and lesbians have become “acceptably visible” (Richardson, 2005, p. 524), these social and economic changes are located firmly within the reconfigured racist, patriarchal privilege of “‘normative’ gay white male masculinities” (Nast, 2002, p. 878), and other sexualities have become further marginalised (Brown, 2009).

Furthermore, the significance of such changes can be questioned on the grounds that there continues homophobia, discrimination, marginalization and hostility towards lesbians and gay men, and despite the gains progress is slow and uneven (Richardson, 2004).

Perhaps a more open view of sex would eliminate boundaries for everyone; gay, lesbian, queer, transgender, pansexual or straight, in the recognition that there is no sexual norm Warner (1999). Rather sexual norms pertain to the individuals who construct them (Seidman, 2010), within the constraints of micro and macro social processes (Messner, 2002).

2.3.10 Lesbianism

Although my reference is to gay men in this study, lesbianism cannot be excluded from this discussion because lesbians join with gay men in being subjected to the domination of and resistant to “compulsory heterosexuality” (Weeks, 2011, p. 102). Yet lesbianism is fundamentally

different from male homosexuality which Rich (1980) identifies with male privilege and sexual domination:

This double-life-this apparent acquiescence to an institution founded on male interest and prerogative - has been characteristic of female experience: in motherhood, and in many kinds of heterosexual behavior (Rich, 1980, p. 654).

It is also different in that some lesbians have tended to be more invisible. Many women have carved out a private space to express erotic desire, and at the same time are able to exercise the responsibilities of family and child-raising (Guterman, 2012).

Yet there are differences between gay male and lesbian sexualities, which can be paralleled with masculine and feminine sexualities (Jackson, 1999). Lesbians as much as gay men do not conform with the antigay stereotypes, which have depicted lesbians as masculine or unfeminine, and gay men as effeminate or 'unmasculine' (Peplau & Garnets, 2000). Such binary stereotypes fail to give credence to the variety of identity expressions constructed by lesbian women and gay men. Lesbian masculinities and femininities are frequently read as "butch" and "femme" and understood as derivatives of heterosexuality and as imitative of heterosexual styles (Eves, 2004) unable to imagine an alternative to heterosexual styles, a copy of the 'real' thing. Femme style and presence more clearly contrasts butch and androgynous women and marks them as lesbian. However, for the femme lesbian, alone in everyday heteronormative contexts her femininity is viewed as

normal and expected and her lesbian visibility diminishes. Butch lesbians, on the other hand, in transgressing heteronormative expectations continue to act as a visual marker of lesbianism (Eves, 2004).

Women's sexual fluidity does not consign a woman to a fixed erotic expression. Sexual fluidity refers to the situational-dependent flexibility of women's sexual responsiveness. This flexibility makes it possible for some women to experience desires for either men or women, or both, regardless of overall sexual orientation at various times and situations over the life course (Diamond & Butterworth, 2008; Peplau & Garnets, 2000).

2.3.11 Men's sexual fluidity

This fluidity was also found by Herdt (1984; 1994) in his account of ritualised homosexual activity amongst adolescent boys in Papua New Guinea, which showed an abrupt developmental transition from same-sex to other-sex sexual practice in adulthood. This understanding of sexual fluidity suggests that Western notions of fixed sexual "orientations" are culturally specific (Diamond & Butterworth, 2008, p. 5), and subject to change (Moore & Rosenthal, 2006; Peterson & Anderson, 2012). Some men's same-sex attractions are episodic and fleeting, and others can be for decades and a lifetime; some are attracted to men alone, others to both men and women and for some both at the same

time; while for some individuals they not at all sexually attracted to other people (Brickell, 2006), leading to heteroflexibility (Keppel, 2006), that broadens the space for heterosexual experience (Frank, 2008; Siegel et al., 2008; Ward, 2008). This indeed suggests that the matrix of sexuality is fraught with ambiguity and contradictions (Sedgwick, 1993), which is influenced and shaped by sexual fantasies, attractions, behaviours, self-identities, cultural understandings (Lubensky et al., 2004) including sport (Coad, 2008).

The term “metrosexual” (Simpson, 1994a, 2002) has also been used to encompass men’s increased fluidity in gender and sexual expression. It is sometimes used as a euphemism for bisexuality, and also to describe a heterosexual male who dabbles in same-sex sex (Kort, 2011) and overt homosocial behaviour (Peterson & Anderson, 2012). Although associated with men’s consumerism and lifestyle, Coad (2008) argues that metrosexuality challenges traditional notions of gender and sexuality, through the associating beautification and self-care with gay men and women. Therefore, he concludes that heterosexual metrosexuality represents a move beyond the constrictive binary categorizations of masculine / feminine and heterosexual / homosexual. This reflects Connell’s argument that masculinities are historical, that they ‘come into existence at particular times and places, and are always subject to change’ (1995, p. 185). However much there may be “softening of gender performances” in Western urban young men (Peterson & Anderson, 2012, p. 119), and although metrosexuality may re-socialise

men as consumers, it does not necessarily alter other fundamental characteristics of hegemonic masculinity (Carniel, 2009).

2.3.12 Inhabiting the sexualities borderlands

Here then is the dilemma for those who traverse the intersections between cultural and sexual norms and deviancy to those norms. There is tension between dichotomous either/or identifications and the fluidity of the lived experience of those who inhabit the borders of sexual conformity as sexual outlaws, who seek to locate themselves within a cultural framework, but in reality they are ambivalently positioned (Martino, 2006). Mestizaje or borderland theory holds that this positioning or “metis”, meaning being in process, multiplaced and shifting accounts for how individuals locate themselves (Anzaldúa, 1987). As Pallotta-Chiarolli states:

Individuals locate themselves and are constructed by social, political, and cultural forces as being “mestizi”, meaning located within, outside, on the borders, or “slipping between the cracks” of social, cultural, political, and educational groups and established discourses (2010, p. 31).

The reality for people who inhabit this borderland is that they are often caught in the margins or “cracks” between identities, and many experience a life of crisis and a sense of invisibility and marginality (J. F. Collins, 2004).

Other sexualities that challenge and disrupt the patriarchal hegemony inhabit the mestizaje borderland space are often viewed as problematic for the homonormativity agenda. Transgender people, bisexuals, sadomasochists, fetishists, man-boy lovers, sex workers and others have vocally emerged, clamouring for their right of self-expression and legitimacy with varying degrees of successful recognition (Weeks, 2011, p. 183). “Other” sexualities such as bisexuality, transgender and intersex challenge the sense of security of gay men and lesbians (Alexander & Yescavage, 2003; Bradford, 2004; Cooper, 2003; Goetstouwers, 2006) and many feel discredited as authentic sexual identities.

2.3.12.1 Bisexuality

Bisexuality reflects an individual’s sexual attraction and / or capacity to fall in love with either women or men or both, regardless of whether these feelings are ever expressed through sexual behaviour and regardless of the relative strength of these feelings (Rust, 2000). The vast majority of bisexual men and women do not believe that one must be equally or identically attracted to women and men to identify as bisexual; some self-identified bisexuals describe themselves as more attracted to one gender than the other, and many describe their attractions to women and men as being different (Rust, 2000). But this poses problems for heterosexual society because the bisexual individual destabilizes binary understanding of sexual orientation and sexual expression due to distorted bisexual stereotypes. Current cliché views about bisexuals include:

[...] that they are conflicted, are in denial of their "real" homosexual identity, are indecisive, are ambivalent fence-sitters, are merely in a transitional phase, are confused, are promiscuous and sex-crazed, are attempting to be chic or trendy, have retarded sexual development, are shallow and lack the capacity for deep love, or are wanting the best of both worlds (Guidry, 1999, p. 23).

Defining and categorising bisexuality has been elusive due to the pluralistic behavioural and affectional elements of this construct (see Klein, 1993; Ross, 1991). Guidry (1999) notes that self-identification has been shown to be an essential criterion to help distinguish bisexuals from individuals who consider themselves heterosexual or homosexual but who eroticise both sexes to varying degrees. Furthermore, this sexual identity is a fluid, flexible, and dynamic phenomenological experience that can change over time and may not at every moment be consistent with (and, in fact, may even contradict) an individual's current behaviour or apparent self-identification.

This requires the bisexual person to be cognizant of the need to make decisions on an ongoing basis about disclosing to partners this part of his or her identity (Alexander & Yescavage, 2003), and to consider the impact on the relationship (Goetstouwers, 2006). Although there is a long held supposition that keeping secrets is detrimental to the individual and that revealing aspects of one's sexual desires has psychological and physical benefits, yet there are often consequences in the revealing

(Kelly & McKillop, 1996). The benefits of disclosure is that a level of trust and openness helps to consolidate the relationship, so long as the confidante is willing to explore an alternative relationship with a bisexual person. The benefits of not disclosing, are that an individual may be able to experience the support of their racial, ethnic, or cultural community; or on the other hand, for the bisexual male he might also be perceived as a gay man who refuses to come out and so experience a sense of distance or rejection from the bisexual, lesbian, and gay communities (Goetstouwers, 2006).

2.3.12.2 Transgender

If one of the difficulties in conceptualising bisexuality has come from viewing sexual orientation in dichotomous terms, identity becomes more problematic for those of transgender and intersex orientation.

Transgender identity has been discussed from both essentialist and social construction perspectives (Gagne & Tewksbury, 1998).

The essentialist position supports the assignment of gender identity based on biological factors, as well as the maintenance of rigid gender boundaries through categorisation, pathologising, and gender/sex reassignment. The social construction perspective argues that gender is dynamic, and supports affirmative practices, which allow for individualised identity development and expression. However, gender is resistant to change and even individuals whose gender identities do not fit within normative expectations still have a clear understanding of the

dominant systems of gender that they are resisting. Hence to move towards an alternative state of gender identity is a daunting and exacting process.

The road film *Transamerica* (Tucker, 2005) gives a sympathetic but daunting picture of gender transition, although confirmation of the gender binary through Bree's (the protagonist) successful reassignment surgery was reassuring. Other films such as *Victor/Victoria* (Edwards, 1982) referencing female-male transvestitism and *The Adventures of Priscilla, Queen of the Desert* (Elliott, 1994), although featuring a male-female transgender, relied on the very entertaining drag performers to soften the transgressiveness of transvestitism. These and other issues found in the controversial movie *Boys Don't Cry* (Peirce, 1999) of female-male transgender are poignant in presenting some of the traumas transgender people endure in being:

[...] geographical and gender migrants--moving through uncharted territory and between the poles of intelligible gender (Keegan, 2013).

The narrative as presented by these shows is not just about the transgender person's journey, but also the audience's migratory experience from an initial rejection of transgender identity into the eventual acceptance of a humanised and fully-transitioned transgender character. For both the characters and the audience, this transmigration is imagined as a path out of dysphoric feeling toward the hope of liberal acceptance (Keegan, 2013). Even so, the successfully transgender

person remains subject to the pressures of the mestizaje borderland space (Pallotta-Chiarolli, 2010).

2.3.12.3 Intersex

In terms of marginality, intersex individuals are almost invisible inhabitants of the borderland space. People with “ambiguous” external genitalia, sexual organs and/or have sex chromosomes that deviate from normative expectations fall into the category of intersex (hermaphroditic) and pose considerable challenges to social expectations of sexual anatomy and gender identity. Bodies that are sexually ambiguous challenge prevailing binary understandings of sex and gender.

Individuals who are intersexed have bodies that are quite literally queer or “culturally unintelligible” (Butler, 1993, p. 2). That is, their bodies do not conform to an overarching and largely unexamined social expectation that all humans belong to one of two clearly delineated sex categories, female or male. The story that is the experience of intersex persons is a story about “shame, secrecy, and unwanted genital surgeries,” a story about “stigma and trauma,” but also a story about the regulation of embodied difference through biopolitical discourses, practices, and technologies of normalisation that materialise in, through, and, as gender (Rubin, 2012, p. 886).

Pejorative constructions of difference privileges normalcy because of the underlying, most often silent, assumption that the person of difference is damaged and that the marker or observer is not damaged, as evidenced by the pathologising of homosexuality and bisexuality for over a century (J. F. Collins, 2004). Focusing on the abnormality of intersexed bodies further privileges bodies that are not intersexed. In other words, stressing intersexuals' deviance confirms a normal/abnormal opposition (Namasti, 1996). Thus, when studying "deviance", one must also study "normalcy" in an effort to comprehend the very production of normalcy itself. Paying attention to an aberration merely serves to enforce its difference from that which is considered normal, thus perpetuating the categories of normal and abnormal or "insider" and "outsider" (Preves, 2002).

There have been challenges to the medical model of intersex management as revealed by Kessler (1990) in refuting the insistence of physicians upon female and male as the only "natural" options (p. 4), and the surgical equation of dimorphic genitalia with normative sex. One outcome of the challenge has been the promotion of a patient-centered approach founded on intersex adults' critical reflections on their experiences of the medicalisation of gender differences (Rubin, 2012).

2.3.13 Spaces of commodification of masculinity

As I related in Chapter 1 there was a club called “Tawan” off Patpong in Silom, which specialised in offering toned muscular men. I was able to share drinks and conversation with one or two of the same men each visit, and they would tell me of their families and the ebbs and flows of their work. They were shrewd, knowledgeable, and well versed with safe sex practices. Talking with these men I learnt much and found them engaging and delightful, displaying passion and emotion different from their stage performances.

Jacques (2004) analyses the interface of Thai and Western cultures as portrayed in certain media. He reviews and comments on the commodification of the male Thai body particularly by Westerners. This is not something new. In Robert Aldrich’s (2003) exploration of homosexuality in colonial times the establishment of empire by European nations provided many possibilities of homoeroticism, homosociality, homosexuality, and the eroticisation of the ‘native’. As Aldrich notes:

Racialist and racist stereotypes abounded. Romanticisation and idealisation of foreign cultures – or conversely, denigration of them – were common, along with wild fantasies about the luxuriance of the hammam [*steam room/Turkish bath*], Africans’ generous genital endowments, Asians’ passivity and the beauty and virility of half-naked ‘savages’ [sic]. Homoerotic writing and art lauding the physical attributes of foreign men participated in race-based stereotyping. Furthermore, travellers and expatriates assumed that almost any foreign

man was available to a passing European, and money could buy sex if not love. Relations of power permeated colonial sexual culture. Non-European men were regularly and systematically ‘objectified’ and ‘commodified’ (Aldrich, 2003, p. 9).

And it was very physical; painters and photographers of the times trained in ‘figure studies’ were drawn to the physiques of men from Africa to the Pacific, whose labour, lifestyles, and climates resulted in fine ‘specimens’ of humanity and there existed an iconographic tradition of powerfully masculine warriors, whether Arab horsemen in battle garb or semi-nude Polynesians in a “state of nature” (Aldrich, 2003, p. 149).

Set within a context of Orientalism, which took for granted the right of Europeans to dominate, reconstruct and exercise authority over peoples of the Orient (Said, 1978), European homosexual men tended to be more interested in their partners’ bodies than their minds or cultures, or the political and economic exploitation that resulted from colonial imperialism (Aldrich, 2003). Imperialism refers to the systems of direct European colonial rule and indirect economic domination that spread across the world from the early 16th century to mid-20th centuries (Connell, 2005a).

Orientalism as theorised by Said (1978), referred to the academic study of the Orient and the different distinctions made between Oriental peoples and cultures and Western nations, whether real or imagined. From the start of European colonization the Europeans came in contact with the lesser-developed countries of the east. They found their

civilisation and culture very exotic, particularly that of Middle Eastern and East Asian cultures. Hence the Orient in a sweeping generalisation was 'other' and exotic (Buchowski, 2006, p. 465); the male is depicted as feminine and weak although his sexuality may pose a threat to white, Western women; and the non-Western female as eager to be dominated sexually and strikingly erotic (Said, 1978).

Similarly, the imperial social order created a scale of masculinities wherein the colonizers distinguished "more manly" from "less manly" groups among their subjects (Connell, 2005a, p. 75). The European gender ideology provided general symbols of superiority and inferiority, with notions of the colonizer as conqueror being virile, and the colonized being perceived as dirty, sexualized, and effeminate or childlike; for example, indigenous men being called 'boys' by the colonizers (Connell, 2005a, p. 75).

The exercise of imperial power was met from the start by resistance and Said (1978) determined that the Orient was not a representing subject in its own right, but a subject represented by the West (1978: 21).

Representation thus becomes an arena both for the dissemination of colonial control as well as for indigenous resistance to these Western discourses and representations including representations of gender and masculinity (Connell 2005).

2.3.14 A further note on globalisation

With the persuasiveness of global markets and media particularly in the

latter part of the 20th Century with the all-pervading presence of the Internet provided differing conceptualisations of masculinity, gender and sexuality (Altman, 1997; Connell, 2005a). Global communications and rapidly changing political and economic boundaries transformed how sexuality was framed, discussed, and reconstituted. The globalisation of HIV and AIDS since the 1980s impacted on sexual behaviours, sexual identity, legislation and the commercialisation of sex in many nations, resulting in the development of a vast range of community responses, the political economy of health, and widespread cultural manifestations (Altman, 2001). As such, globalisation can disrupt local and regional cultures leading to widespread homogenization (Rahman, 2007). However, Western notions of norms and values on masculinity, sexuality, race, gender, and power relations, do not always fit snugly with indigenous traditional value systems of gender arrangements and articulations of identity, which persist and become more entrenched in response (Morrell & Swart, 2005; Rahman, 2007). I am aware of examples of this from my experience of living and working in Thailand and Laos. As Altman (1997) observes, many same-sex sexual encounters take place between people who would not identify themselves as “gay” or “lesbian” or have any affiliation with the notion of a gay community. As Altman further comments:

To see oneself as “gay” is to adhere to a distinctly modern invention, namely the creation of an identity and a sense of a community based on (homo) sexuality (Altman, 1997, p. 423).

Certainly, when I met and socialised with Western expatriates and Thai men in Bangkok, the term “gay” was commonplace, especially as English was a common language. As Jackson (1997), in his overview of the emergence of the gay male identity in Thailand, observes that the English-derived term gay referring to homosexual identity first emerged in Thailand in the 1960s; and the term is now generally used in Thailand especially among men of educated, middle-class background, who are more likely to self-reference the term.

However, a Thai “man’s” homosexuality is largely ignored if it remains private and so long as he appears to be “masculine” (Jackson, 1997, p. 178). Should he appear too effeminate the gender term *kathoey* applies and this may include transgenderism, made visible through cross-dressing, cosmetic use, bodily comportment, and language - Thai language uses linguistic gendered particles that mark the speaker as male or female and *kathoey* would use the feminine particle (Käng, 2012). So a masculine, straight acting man would not be identified as “gay” by way of dress, mannerism or language, unless there was personal self-disclosure.

There is another layer of complexity in terms of social presentation, and I note this from my experience in Bangkok as a Westerner. When walking on the street with Thai male friends they would walk ahead or behind me on the pavement. I found this puzzling as I observed many Thai men walking arm-in-arm with each other. The problem was not my gender,

but that I was a Westerner, and if walking with a Thai man, he, (the Thai man), might be assumed to be a prostitute or “money-boy” and this would cause him loss of face. Such is the legacy of Western colonisation and Orientalism and the way commodification of men’s bodies is compensated for in social interaction (Jackson, 2009).

While Thailand is seen as an exceptionally tolerant society on sexual issues, any departure from normative heterosexuality is negatively viewed, and certainly lesbians, gay men and transgender people can experience stigmatisation (Sanders, 2002). As Altman (2000, 2001, 2008) has argued, the internationalisation of gay identities around the world, has become a marker of the ways in which globalisation is both liberatory and yet repressive.

Through the ubiquitousness of the internet, access to popular media, increased tourism, and international trade, and the global spread of HIV and AIDS, the way that different cultures cope with exposure to new ideas affects people’s perceptions and imaginings of themselves. However, there is not a universal uniformity in terms of sexuality or sexual identity as evidenced in Thailand (Käng, 2012), where cultural shifts in sexual expression and identity are changing. Altman (2008) does admit that while there is a growing visibility of homosexuality and growth of self-declared lesbian and gay groups across much of the world, there is much complexity involved in applying universal norms of both freedom and sexual identity to societies with different cultural and social

structures (Altman, 2008, p. 153). As such, Western understandings of gay identity have not simply obliterated indigenous forms of homoeroticism, but has led to the creation of complex hybridisation of local gender regimes and sexual cultures with some new gender configurations emerging from the contact (Altman, 1996).

The fact of the matter is that Thailand provides an extensive gay scene in much of which the Caucasian *farang* (foreigner), as client is privileged (Bishop & Robinson, 1998; Sanders, 2002). Even though the promotion of the sexual delights of Thailand is marketed to Western men, the various clubs in Patong, and Silom audiences consisted of men of a variety of ages, and ethnicities, including Thai. Occasionally women often in the company of men would be there, some of whom I observed purchasing favours. The issue of the exotic becoming erotic is certainly played out in this arena for heterosexual and gay people alike.

Looking to and critiquing the borders of gender, masculinity, femininity, heterosexuality and homosexuality reveal the instabilities and fractures of these apparently fixed and privileged dichotomies. Not only are these oppositions shown to be inadequate, but also the variability of the human body and its erotic proclivities cannot be contained by rigid identity categories. Mestizaje borderland spaces are the places where we find a multitude of alternatives and the critical arsenal to deconstruct the oppositions upon which hegemonic masculinities have been erected (Adams & Savran, 2002).

2.3.15 Summary

This chapter refers to masculinity, because the subjects in my study are men. I have traversed a broad landscape discussing as to how hegemonic masculinity is either impacted by or has an effect on patriarchal heteronormativity, homosexuality, gay men passing as straight, bisexuality, pansexual, and gender and sexual alternatives. As we, the men of this study, inhabit at various points and stages, the borderland spaces of alternative sexualities, we 'do our gender', playing out our scripts as men, always being subjected to the panoptic gaze. As Connell comments:

Masculinity is not just an idea in the head, or a personal identity. It is also extended in the world, merged in organized social relations (2005b, p. 29).

2.4 Conclusion to the literature review

This literature review of sexual scripts, emotionality and masculinity has shown that each of these paradigms are biological in that they are experienced in the body, but they are socially constructed by individuals and societies to provide meaning and context for the aspects of our lives we take for granted. This review has signposted that sexual scripts are fluid and adaptive to changes in the cultural scenarios in which we operate, and to the shifts in erotic desire and attraction, and are exercised in our relationships, be they casual or more enduring. These

scripts, as enacted in relationships, are moderated and sustained by our broad emotional responses to our experiences. In the process of learning to behave and act sexually, we also learn to feel and act emotionally, and hence, our emotional scripts are constructed by our interactions with people and situations. The fact of our gender be it binary, situated or more flexible, impacts upon the way we interact with the various and numerable sexual and emotional spheres of our worlds. But hegemonic masculinity is a powerful and potent archetype and it reinforces heteronormativity against which all other expressions of gender and sexuality must transgress, yet at the same time reinforces the structure of heteronormativity (Jackson, 1999). These aspects will be described and explored in the examination of the four case studies presented in this thesis.

Chapter 3: Methodology

In this section I present the theoretical approaches I utilised in undertaking the study and what was actually done. I will discuss firstly the nature and philosophy of qualitative research; the use of narrative and stories to collect data; the use autoethnography as a framework for collecting the data and grounded theory as a means of conducting the analysis, and how such praxis compares to hypotheses-driven logical-deductive approaches. I will then review the place of constructivist approaches within qualitative research (Charmaz, 2000), and the importance of the relationship between researcher and the researched. This will lead to how I have utilised case studies to record and present the men's stories, and I will discuss the different types of case study and rationale for using this approach. I will then present the process of accessing the participants, gathering the data, and then undertaking the analysis.

3.1 Introduction

Qualitative research is an inquiry into the personal worlds of others that, if one is fortuitous, it becomes a journey into one's self (Sears, 1992, p. 147).

It is a "way of thinking and not a method" (Cheek, 2005, p. 391). The role of the qualitative researcher then is to see through informants' eyes, conveying with integrity their understandings of life in their many worlds (Sears, 1992). We are not mere smudges on the mirror because the lives

we live are authentic and the stories of life histories provide awareness. This in turn cultivates attention to self, to self as situation, and to the transformation and reconstitution of both (Pinar, 1981, p. 184).

Narrative truth seeks to keep the past alive in the present; stories show us that the meanings and significance of the past are incomplete, tentative, and revisable according to the contingencies of our present life circumstances. And there is always the risk of distortion, because stories rearrange, re-describe, invent, omit and revise the past, and can be wrong in numerous ways. This is not about holding a mirror to the past, rather the process reveals the journey of self-discovery or self-creation for the teller, the recorder, and eventually for the reader (Ellis & Bochner, 2003). I found that the process of documenting the stories of the men in my study was a springboard into finer and more precise details and meanings of my own story.

Although the purpose of recording insights and meanings of my life journey in order to determine the interview topics, once I started analysing the data I found that my autobiography came alive – I no longer simply remembered but rather peeled back the skin to look for meaning and points of contact that the analysis of the transcripts revealed. As Ken Plummer (1995) argues we live in a world of sexual stories, with many of these stories claiming to tell us the truth about ourselves; and by extension truth about others through engaging with their stories.

Life-stories or narratives are by necessity retrospective in the shaping or ordering of past experience. As such, narrative is a way of understanding one's own and others' actions, the interaction and consequences of such actions over time, and the meanings ascribed to these experiences. Susan Chase (2005, p. 657) identifies five conditions for understanding narratives; 1) that stories are uniquely individualistic, owned by the teller who relates the story from their point of view; 2) that when someone tells a story, he or she shapes, constructs, and performs the self, the lived experience and reality of that experience; 3) that stories are both enabled and constrained by a range of social resources and circumstances in that stories are constructed to be relevant to the narrator's community, local setting, organizational and social memberships, and cultural and historical locations; 4) that narratives are to be seen as socially situated interactive performances produced and voiced to address particular settings, audiences and purposes; and 5) finally that as a researcher I too am a narrator or story teller as I develop my descriptions and interpretations of the stories of the men in this study.

As my study is concerned with exploring the sexual stories of four men, and in seeking to understand the stories and experiences as rigorously and detailed as possible, I found autoethnography provided a means for capturing and recording the stories (Ellis & Bochner, 2000), and to enable the identification of categories and concepts that emerged from the text and link them with substantive theories in the literature

(Anderson, 2006). Pace (2012) points to the value of the analytic strategies in grounded theory for analysing autoethnographic projects. Grounded theory is an investigative process for building a theory about a phenomenon by systematically gathering and analysing relevant data (Charmaz, 2006; Creswell, 2009). Furthermore, like other analytic approaches, the grounded theory method offers a way of constructing sociological reality through developing analytic and conceptual constructions with the outcome being the construction of theory. I will now turn to a brief outline of these methods.

3.2 Autoethnography

In more recent times the postmodern research movement has questioned the privileging of one method over another for obtaining authoritative knowledge about the social world (Agger, 1990; Holt, 2003). As a result several types of ethnographic writing practices have become available to researchers (Ellis & Bochner, 2000; van-Maanen, 1988), and the term autoethnography was postulated to describe studies by anthropologists of their own cultures (Hayano, 1979). In undertaking autoethnography, authors draw on their own experiences to extend understanding of a particular discipline or culture (Reed-Danahay, 1997). The movement toward personalized research reflects calls to place greater emphasis on the ways in which the ethnographer interacts with the culture being researched.

3.2.1 Evocative autoethnography

Ellis and Bochner define this research method as:

[...] an autobiographical genre of writing and research that displays multiple layers of consciousness, connecting the personal to the cultural (2000, p. 739).

Autoethnography is both a method and a text of diverse interdisciplinary praxes (Reed-Danahay, 1997). Written usually in the first person an autoethnographic project can feature dialogue, emotion, and self-consciousness as relational and institutional stories affected by history, social structure, and culture (Ellis & Bochner, 2000). Within the research paradigm there can be an emphasis on *graphy* (i.e., the research process), *ethnos* (i.e., culture), or *auto* (i.e., self) (Reed-Danahay, 1997, p. 2). Notwithstanding the particular emphasis, autoethnographers use their own experiences in a culture reflexively, writing themselves into their work to explore self-other interactions (Holt, 2003), and critiquing the situatedness of self with others in social contexts (Spry, 2001).

Through studying a culture's relational practices, common values and beliefs, and shared experiences become available for the purpose of helping insiders (cultural members) and outsiders (cultural strangers) better understand the culture (Maso, 2001). Information and data to inform the research are gathered by the researcher from a number of sources; through becoming a participant observer in the culture and cultural events as well as reflecting on his or her and others' engagement with these happenings (Goodall, 2001); interviewing cultural members (Berry, 2005; Nicholas, 2004); examining participants' ways of speaking and relating (Ellis, 1986; Lindquist, 2002); investigating uses of space

and place (Bell & Binnie, 2004; Clatts, 1999; Cory, 1996; Johnston & Longhurst, 2010; Makagon, 2004); analysing artefacts such as clothing and architecture (Borchard, 1998); and reviewing texts such as books, movies, and photographs (Goodall, 2006; Neumann, 1999).

Autoethnography has been likened to a personal narrative (Ellis & Bochner, 2000), or storytelling (Frank, 2000), but can also be a means of explicitly linking narrated personal experience to concepts from existing literature (Holt, 2001; Sparkes, 1996). The autoethnographic narrative invites personal connection (Frank, 2000), and explores issues of personal importance within an explicitly acknowledged social context in relation to others (Holt, 2001; Sparkes, 1996), evaluating one's actions (Duncan, 2004), as well as appraising relevant literature (Muncey, 2005).

3.2.2 Analytic autoethnography

Analytic autoethnography is a sub-genre within evocative autoethnography and seeks to provide a means of achieving analytic goals (Anderson, 2006). Anderson uses the term analytic to point to:

A broad set of data-transcending practices that are directed toward theoretical development, refinement, and extension (2006, p. 387).

Analytic autoethnography encompasses five aspects; 1) the researcher is a complete member of the social world under study; 2) the researcher engages in analytic reflexivity, demonstrating an awareness of the reciprocal influence between themselves, their setting and their

informants; 3) the researcher's self is visible within the narrative; 4) the researcher engages in dialogue with informants beyond the self; and, 5) the researcher demonstrates a commitment to theoretical analysis, not just capturing what is going on in an individual life or socio-cultural environment (Anderson, 2006, p. 378). Like other analytical approaches, autoethnography method itself offers a way of constructing sociological reality, and using the method fosters the development of analytic and conceptual constructions from the data (Ellis & Bochner, 2000). Analytic autoethnography clearly places the researcher in the frame of the research and his or her interaction with others within the culture. Starting with data from the lived experience of the research participants - including my own - my goal was to explore how we constructed our worlds, and what meanings we had attributed to those experiences. Such lived experience and meanings shaped my approach to data collection and analysis. Data requires analysis to draw interpretations, conclusions and construct theory (Ryan & Bernard, 2003), and as Pace (2012) contends, the methods of grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) have been found to be appropriate for the analysis of autoethnographic texts.

3.2.3 Criticisms of autoethnography

As Holt (2003) points out, as part ethnography and part autobiography, autoethnographers are often criticised for the use of self as a data source. This can lead to bias (Anderson, 2006), and also be viewed as

self-indulgent and narcissistic (Coffey, 1999). The approach has also been dismissed for being insufficiently rigorous, theoretical, and analytical, and too aesthetic, emotional, and therapeutic (Ellis, 2009; Keller, 1995). Furthermore, because autoethnography is at the boundaries of academic research, it does not sit comfortably with traditional criteria used to judge qualitative inquiries (Sparkes, 2000). Indeed, the traditional criteria used to judge qualitative research in general may not be appropriate for autoethnography (Garrett & Hodkinson, 1998). Furthermore, autoethnography has been also criticized for either being too artful and not scientific, or too scientific and not sufficiently artful (Ellis et al., 2011); for doing too little fieldwork, or for observing too few cultural members (Buzzard, 2003; Delamont, 2009).

This raises issues of validity, reliability and generalisability of the findings. I found the approach taken by Ellis (1999) useful, and her starting point is that language is not transparent, and there's no single standard of truth.

As Ellis comments;

Validity means that our work seeks verisimilitude; it evokes in readers a feeling that the experience described is lifelike, believable, and possible (1999, p. 674).

In terms of reliability Ellis (1999) points out that personal narratives are created from a situated location, trying to make coherent the present, the imagined future, and the remembered past. Even if orthodox reliability has no place in autoethnographic research there can be checks for

reliability; for instance, providing opportunity for others involved in the research project to comment, add material, alter the data given, and even offer interpretations - as was done in this project.

As for generalisation Ellis (1999) notes that this is of concern and points out that although individual lives are particular, they are also typical and generalisable because everyone participates in a limited number of cultures and institutions. Readers provide validation through constantly testing the generalisability of a story, in that, as the text is read, it raises questions in the reader as to whether it speaks to the reader's experience or about the lives of others they know; and does it tell about unfamiliar people or the lives of others and provide opportunities for the reader to have a vicarious experience of the things discussed (Ellis, 2004a; Stake, 2000).

Notwithstanding the veracity of these criticisms, autoethnographic research can be rigorous, theoretical, and analytical, grounded in theory and justifiable, (Denzin, 2014; Duncan, 2004; Ellis et al., 2011), whilst at the same time remaining emotional, therapeutic, and inclusive of personal and social phenomena (Ellis et al., 2011).

The task of an autoethnographer then is to both utilise the methodological tools and relevant research literature in analysing his or her experience, and to also take into consideration ways that others may have comprehended similar experiences. Furthermore, personal

experience is then used to illustrate facets of cultural experience, and, in so doing, as I indicated above, make characteristics of a culture familiar for insiders and outsiders (Ellis et al., 2011). An autographical project might well require comparing and contrasting personal experience against existing research (Ronai, 1995, 1996); interviewing other members of the culture (Foster, 2006; Marvasti, 2006; Tillmann-Healy, 2001); and examining relevant cultural artefacts (Boylorn, 2006).

3.2.4 Grounded theory

Grounded theory as first formulated by Glaser and Strauss (1967) is an iterative process that allows the researcher to become “grounded” in the data and thereby develop increasingly richer concepts and models of the phenomenon being studied (Ryan & Bernard, 2003, p. 279). The approach arose out of symbolic interactionism and pragmatism, which focused on the actions and interactions of people in problematic social contexts (Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

The theory differs from other qualitative approaches, in that it refers to both the method of enquiry and the product of the inquiry (Charmaz, 2005). Whilst most qualitative approaches emphasise collecting copious amounts of data then undertaking analysis, grounded theory, in contrast, uses the emerging theoretical categories to shape the data collection while in the field, as well as structuring the analytic processes of coding, memo-making, integrating and writing the developing theory, hence

building theory rather than testing and verifying theories, and to consider alternative meanings and understandings of the phenomenon being studied (Patton, 2002). Recurrent themes or issues that arise in the data are to be then followed up, leading one's thinking in unanticipated directions, which I found in analysing my data.

Autoethnography and grounded theory, as social constructionist approaches, enable critical reflection on "taken-for-granted" aspects of society, groups, relationships and the self, and hence becomes a space in which an individual's passion can bridge personal and collective experiences to enable the representation of the richness and complexity of understanding, and thus provide inspiration for activism (Ellingson & Ellis, 2008, p. 448). The use of the constructivist approach provided for me a more appropriate model of gathering and analysing the data, because the approach views knowledge:

[...] as being located in time and space and situation, and takes into account the researcher's construction of emergent concepts (Charmaz, 2011, p. 365).

This process of research is fluid and reflexive, whereas with more traditional logical-deductive approaches I would have needed to work from explicitly derived hypotheses emerging from pre-existing theories. I would then need to ensure the outcome of both the data collection and analysis would verify or refute any hypotheses, and by extension the underpinning theories (Charmaz, 2000).

However, within autoethnography and grounded theory as qualitative research methods, there is an ongoing process of affirming, checking, and refining ideas and understandings, not limited or constrained either by preconceived hypotheses, or by the prescribed canons of traditional random sampling necessary for statistical verification (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005).

If I were to have taken a more positivist-objectivist approach I would have to focus on the observable facts that exist within the reality of the respondents, and, as such, I would be removed from the experience of the research. My research would then seek to verify hypotheses about emotionality and sexual scripting, which was not my intention.

Although emotionality is essentially a lived experience of the men in this study, it was their interpretations and imputed meanings given to their experience of their emotions, which were influenced and shaped by social, cultural and familial contexts (Denzin, 1984), and emotional scripts (Menon, 2000). Some people feel things that others do not in the same situation. I may be moved to tears by a movie scene, where other audience members may find the same scene funny. As individuals each is capable of having idiosyncratic subjective experiences.

There are many commonalities of experience which we share, such as learned emotional scripts, but for me there are no firm rules for when, how and what label we assign to what is inwardly felt (Denzin, 1984).

In seeking respondents' meanings it is important to go further than what appears to be surface or presumed meanings. This includes looking for views and values as well as acts and facts, being cognizant of the beliefs and ideologies of respondents, in addition to situations and structures. Through studying tacit meanings of respondents their views of reality are clarified rather than challenged (Charmaz, 2000).

Charmaz also argues that the constructivist approach necessitates developing a relationship with respondents in which they can cast their own stories in their own terms; whereas objectivist grounded theory studies, although they can provide rich description and can make conditional statements, remain outside of experience (Charmaz, 2000).

The grounded theory and the autoethnography approach of reflexive engagement with the data enabled the development of my ideas and views. However my conclusions are not necessarily truth or proof of any theory, or to be generalised to other populations. Furthermore, as the men's stories were not "made-up", rather were told as personal narrative, there was integrity in both the telling and the interpretation, and are therefore "plausible and adequate" (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990, p. 8).

Autobiographical narratives of past experiences and critical self-reflection are the key elements of this study and present opportunities for analysis of the stories and for the formulation of a theory or general explanation about the experiences being captured. In this instance, the term ‘theory’ does not refer to theory that will generate and test predictions. Rather, theory is that which explains how and why something happened – theory that yields conjectures and a potential basis for subsequent research (Fawcett & Downs, 1986). Yet a heartfelt record of events in a person’s life or the researched account of a life, does not necessarily guarantee significance, meaning, and purpose, yet therein lies the paradox; each life does have significance, meaning and purpose, and my task as researcher is to present this in my thesis. In the practice of narrative enquiry the conclusions I draw arise from my knowledge of the world in all its complexity, and I claim no superiority in terms of insight, knowledge or practice. The probity of the research and the research process are sustained because of the honesty of the men in telling their stories and trust of the relationship between me, as researcher, and the men in my study (Janesick, 2000).

3.3 Researcher and the researched - the I-Thou relationship

Methodological integrity in conducting qualitative research ultimately rests upon the personal integrity of the researcher. As Sears (1992) contends, qualitative enquiry is more than a method of research.

Fundamentally, qualitative enquiry is a stage of being, requiring of the researcher a willingness to engage, and to be engaged; to have the ability to momentarily stop internal dialogues and to engage reflectively in a search for the meanings constructed by others and the researcher (Sears, 1992; Stake, 2000). Storytelling and narrative are integral to autoethnography (Ellis et al., 2011), and as such have a way of characterising the phenomena of human experience and is appropriate to the research I was undertaking (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990). As narrative enquiry is a process of collaboration involving mutual storytelling and restorying as the research proceeds, there develops a shared story between researcher and subject where both voices are heard. Narrative enquiry, therefore, is a form of empirical material and the derived interpretation that occurs is embedded in the data collection process (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990).

The relationship between the men in the study and myself as researcher, needed to be based on mutual respect. In understanding the nature of the relationship I found the distinction between “I-It” and “I-Thou” (Buber, 1923) useful in understanding the dynamics of my interactions with the participants. An I-It relationship is predicated on the notion that we view others from a distance, from a vantage point of authority, essentially seeing them as objects or subjects – to be examined and placed in a cause-effect chain (Patton, 2002); whereas an I-Thou perspective acknowledges the humanity of both self and others and implies a relationship of mutuality and genuine dialogue.

Patton further argues that reflexivity is fundamental to qualitative research:

To be reflexive then is to undertake an ongoing examination of *what I know* and what *how I know it*, (Patton, 2002, p. 64, his emphasis),

in other words

to have an ongoing conversation about experience while simultaneously living in the moment (Hertz, 1997, p. viii, quoted by Patton, 2002, p. 65).

This necessitated being attentive to and conscious of one's own cultural, political, social, linguistic, ideological origins and voice as well as the voices and particularities of the participants as the study proceeded.

3.4 The interviews

Interviewing is more than just asking questions and getting answers; in my study the process of conducting each interview involved two people and our collaborative exchange led to the production of a contextually bound and mutually created story (Fontana & Frey, 2005). This is more than a litany of questions and responses, rather a journey into another person's world and to do so I used a form of interactive semi-structured interview format (Grindsted, 2005) to navigate the intricate twists and turns being explored. The interactive interviewing process provides an in-depth and intimate understanding of individuals' experiences with emotionally charged and sensitive topics (Ellis et al., 1997). Interactive interviews are collaborative endeavours between the researcher and

participant, to probe the topics being researched. Interactive interviews can consist of multiple interview sessions, and, unlike traditional one-on-one interviews with strangers, are situated within the context of emerging and well-established relationship between participant and interviewer (Adams, 2008). The more open, flexible, and interactive approach to the interview enables the interviewees to generate their own accounts of their perspectives, perceptions, experiences, understandings, interpretations and interactions (Ellis et al., 1997).

The research interview usually forms an environment expressly designed to elicit the respondent's, not the interviewer's, narrative. Interview circumstances, format and protocol dictate that the interviewer does the asking, while the respondent provides the story (Gubrium & Holstein, 1998). Topics are usually predesignated, and storylines, at least partially, predetermined during the selection process. However, with interactive semi-structured interviewing the structure of the interview was organised with an interview guide. This contained topics, themes or areas to be covered during the course of the interview, rather than a sequenced script of standardised questions. The aim is usually to ensure flexibility in how and in what sequence questions are asked, and in whether and how particular areas might be followed up and developed with different interviewees.

As much as I initially thought that I was in control of the interview, the storytelling seemed to take on a life of its own, in that the storyteller

needed to decide what perspective to take in responding to my questions. Although the storyteller authors the narrative in the telling, he or she is also an editor who constantly monitors, manages, modifies, and revises the emergent story (Gubrium & Holstein, 1998). I felt that using an interactive semi-structured interview approach would provide parameters with which to contain the stories and focus the analysis. One criticism of the method suggests that any attempts to undertake comparisons between cases would not be possible because the interviews were not standardised. However, it can be argued from the logic underpinning the approach that comparisons are made in the fullness of understanding of each case, rather than standardisation of the data across cases (Mason, 2003).

3.4.1 The process of conducting the interviews

The medium for communication in this study was way of storytelling, and this raises the issue of transparency of language between researcher and participant. It was important that there be shared meaning attached to words by which we were communicating. Current theories of language and communication stress that any account can only be a mediation of reality, and hence there are no guarantees that different people will share the same meanings when it comes to making sense of a participant's account (Holloway & Jefferson, 2000). This is pertinent to my position as 'insider' to the gay subculture as both participant and in my professional work as therapist and researcher. I was confident that I could both

present my questions and understand the responses using appropriate vocabulary. I was clear in my introduction of myself to participants that I was gay.

There are dangers of assuming a homogeneity in the experience of being gay, that the gay community is not universal in structure or expression (Lang, 1996) and that the understanding of and manifestation of homosexuality is not the same in all communities (Lewin & Leap, 1996). On the few occasions when participants used regionally appropriate terminology I sought further clarification, which was willingly provided. As an 'insider' I expected and achieved easier access to the participants, the ability to ask more meaningful questions and read non-verbal cues, and most importantly, be able to project a more truthful, authentic understanding of the men's lives being studied; I was, as it were, 'one of them'.

On the other hand, it can be argued that there can be an inherent bias to being an insider, such as being too close to the culture to raise provocative questions. The insider's strengths become the outsider's weaknesses and vice-versa (Merriam et al., 2001). The advantage of being an outsider is curiosity in exploring the unfamiliar, asking taboo questions, and being seen as non-aligned with subgroups, which may then lead to getting different information.

3.4.2. Positionality, power, and representation

Merriam and her colleagues posit a framework of three themes to assess one's position as insider/outsider; positionality, power, and representation (Merriam et al., 2001, p. 411).

Positionality refers to where one stands in relation to 'the other' (Merriam et al., 2001, p. 411), in other words the relationship between researcher and the researched (Birks & Mills, 2011) and how this is played out. Factors such as education, gender, sexual orientation, class, race, or relationship may at different times outweigh the cultural identity associated with being insider or outsider (Narayan, 1993); and furthermore, I am privileged in my position as questioner, even though I identified in most ways with the cultural milieu of the participants in this study. The inclusion of my own data goes somewhat in addressing this issue.

The power aspects of the relationship of investigator to participant includes the issues of inequality in the relationship (Fontana & Frey, 2000), and the importance of achieving reciprocity (Birks & Mills, 2011). I was concerned that the research experience should be respectful for the participants and myself (Nagy et al., 2010), and empowering for the researcher, the researched, and the consumer of the research (Merriam et al., 2001). Therefore, as dictated by best practice (Shopes, 2011), I provided to each participant the transcript of their interview for their corroboration and amendment. Furthermore, each participant was invited

to suggest venue and appointment time that were mutually agreeable for the interviews.

In terms of representation, I endeavoured to represent the participants' perspectives as honestly as possible, adding integrity to the research (Sultana, 2007). In addition, I used the voices of the participants to illustrate the text as appropriate.

An additional element of the relationship is the dynamic between the researcher and the participants in the process of interviewing. I found through conversing about these men's lives I was able to get beyond the superficial mask of public presentation and was able to enter the highly personal realm of private thoughts and secret passions. I was also very aware of being privy to generally undisclosed vulnerabilities, heartaches, fantasies, exploits, sadness and joys of the men, and I was aware of emotional responses such as closeness, identification, empathy, and warmth that was evoked in me during the interview process (Means-Coleman, 2001). Although there were times when the participants sought my approval and opinion, I was concerned that the interviews did not become therapy sessions, and resisted any temptation to apply my therapist skills.

With this in mind my interviews were loosely structured and interactive, although I used an interview guide (see Appendix A). I had a plan for the areas I wanted to cover as I conversed with my subjects. For my own

narrative I had a trusted friend to open the lid on my life using some leading questions I had prepared, and asking for clarification when I appeared confused in my narration. I found the process of being interviewed daunting. In telling my story I was conscious of the necessity to be as candid and frank as possible in the telling of the things as they happened or as I remembered and the reasons for decisions made. This was not an easy task, as I was very aware of wanting to own my mistakes, and to honour my achievements, and to not be defensive, rather to provide as full and rounded account of my story as possible. I believe this gave integrity to the telling and the interpretations arising.

I found the men I interviewed to be insightful, articulate, and engaging. The four stories collected as case studies including my own, were rich stories of men's sexual lives and provided a framework for exploring vicarious experiences (Stake, 2000). The way the stories were told, the frequent laughter and sometimes irritation when it became apparent I was confused about what was being said, the process of writing and reflecting on the collected narratives and how it echoed my experience of being a gay man, enabled me to create a narrative that was shaped out of my personal cultural experience, and layered through engaging with the narratives of other men of my culture (Goodall, 2001). I then used my own experiences to garner insights about the culture and subcultures of which I was a part (Ellis & Bochner, 2003). As an 'insider', that is as a participant in the gay subculture, I understood the nuances of language and idioms and hence utilised critical reflexivity (Dowling, 2005).

3.5 The case studies

In developing my research design it became apparent that it would be appropriate to consider each of the stories as a case study. There were advantages to this; one is that a case study concentrates on experiential knowledge with close attention to the influence of social, political and other contexts (Stake, 2005); secondly, as Robert Stake points out, I would be seeking “the particular more than the ordinary” (2005, p. 447). There would be overlapping areas of commonality in that I was investigating sexual scripts and emotionality, but each subject would be presenting a unique view. The collecting of stories in the form of case studies provided the means by which I could engage with the content of my subjects’ lives in relation to my own views and experiences (Ellis & Bochner, 2003). Stake identifies three types of case studies; 1) the “intrinsic case study” when the researcher seek better understanding of the particular case; 2) the “instrumental case study” when a case is studied to provide insight into an issue or to recast a generalisation; 3) and “collective case study” when a number of cases provide the data to investigate a phenomenon, population or general condition (Stake, 2000, p. 437). Other types of case studies have been acknowledged, which take into account theoretical and conceptual issues (see Diefenbach, 2009; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Ragin, 1992; White, 1992), but for my purposes the cases in this study incorporated Stakes’ identification of “intrinsic, instrumental and collective” categorisation of case studies. Flyvbjerg (2011, p. 302) posits and argues five misunderstandings about case studies and summarizes the strengths and weaknesses of the case

study approach; a strength lies in the depth and richness of the information obtained, but lacks breath in terms of generalisation to a broader population; a strength is that the case study approach leads to greater understanding of the causes and outcomes of the phenomenon being studied, but lacks statistical significance. One misunderstanding highlighted by Flyvbjerg is that of bias towards verification, that is a tendency to confirm the researcher's preconceived notions. He argues that:

The case study contains no greater bias towards verification of the researcher's preconceived notions than other methods of inquiry. On the contrary, experience indicates that the case study contains a greater bias towards falsification of preconceived notions than towards verification (Flyvbjerg, 2011, p. 311).

The use of storytelling to form the case study within the narrative enquiry paradigm (Ellis & Bochner, 1996) allowed me as the researcher to decide what story will be included in the case study and what will be included in the report. This required me to be very aware, respectful, and empathic of the realities that form the case study (Stake, 2000). As such, the case studies are not complete life histories; rather they are shaped by my questions and enquiry about sexual scripts and emotionality, which seek to inform both the respondents' and my understandings and meanings. I will now turn to the process of accessing the participants and gathering the data.

3.5.1 Accessing the storytellers in my study

As I was domiciled in Rangoon Burma as summarised in Chapter 1, it was a restrictive environment for the conducting of research; hence I could not advertise to recruit subjects. The pool of Western expatriate men was small and limited. I used purposive sampling, which is a form of non-probability sampling, appropriate to research into sexuality (Dunne, 2002). It is particularly appropriate because of the importance of maintaining confidentiality. With this approach participants are selected on their ability to describe and reflect upon aspects of their lives and experience, as well as their capacity and willingness to participate in the research (Oliver, 2006a; Patton, 2002).

I used a form of snowball sampling, which starts with an initial set of contacts and then that participant suggests or introduces other suitable candidates to participate (Patton, 2002). It is particularly suitable as an approach for accessing rare, covert, or highly elusive populations (Oliver, 2006b). The rationale for the sample size of four, my own case, and three others, was based on the small pool of available expatriate men residing in Rangoon willing to participate, and the depth of information that would emerge. As Patton (2002) in his discussion of sample size in qualitative research highlights, sample size is related to credibility of the information, not to how representative it is of a broader population; and that validity, meaningfulness, and insights generated are more to do with the richness of the information inherent in the cases selected and the analytical capabilities of the investigator than actual numbers. As Denzin

(1989) highlights; detail, context, emotion within the webs of social relationships, and the significance of lived experiences provide rich data for analysis. In limiting the study to four case studies, one being my own, ensured that the interviews provided data that was meaningful and comprehensive. Serendipitously, the snowball approach delivered three men in different age brackets. They acknowledged that they were sexually attracted to other men, and were willing to discuss their sexual stories.

I first approached “Ralph”, an acquaintance I had met socially, who fitted the selection criteria of being a Caucasian male and living in Rangoon. He agreed to participate. I did not know much about him other than what one gleaned over drinks and dinner. Next I approached a newly arrived male, “Andrew”, whom I had peripherally known in Australia through work, and he also agreed. He introduced me to the third man in the study, “Joel”, a young American recently arrived in Rangoon who agreed to participate. The four men in the study were thus aged 36 (Joel), 51 (Andrew), 59 (myself), and 66 (Ralph).

3.6 The procedure

The research design and method had been presented to and had received approval from the Deakin University Human Research Ethics Committee.

For my interview I had contacted a trusted friend who agreed to interview me and we recorded my interview in a bush cabin in Gippsland, Victoria, in July 2007, and the interviews of the other three men were collected in Rangoon during 2008-2009.

At the first meeting of each participant I briefly discussed my research goals, asked them to read the project description (see Appendix B) and informed consent documents (see Appendix C), and to think about their involvement. I outlined the procedure that I would conduct and record a semi-structured interview on their sexual lives by way of conversation, and this would take around two hours. I asked that in preparation if they could reflect upon their sexual history. I assured them of confidentiality and that they would have the opportunity to review the transcripts of their interview. Appointment times for the interviews were then arranged, and it was agreed with Ralph and Andrew that my Rangoon apartment would be suitable, as it would be free from distractions and it was a safe space. Joel asked me to go to his apartment as he felt more comfortable and this proved to be quite suitable. I had arranged for a resident psychologist to be available should any issue arise during the process and this was communicated to the participants (see Appendix B).

At the beginning of each interview I made sure the consent form was completed and the process was explained again. I gave opportunity for questions but there were none. I then explained the broad areas to be explored, demographics, family and life history, sexual initiation and

education, sexual history and relationships. I showed the recording device and got agreement to commence the interview. The data were later transferred to a computer, with password protection, and transcribed after each interview had been completed.

I found the informal conversational interactional interview (Fontana & Frey, 2000) was the most appropriate approach, in that it was open-ended, allowing maximum flexibility to pursue the conversation in whatever direction appeared appropriate (Patton, 2002). Although predetermined interview questions are not a feature of this approach, I did develop an interview guide, which had tested with my interview, to put some limits on the subject areas to be covered. As such the interviews were semi-structured. The guide also ensured I would cover the same subject areas in all interviews. However, because storytellers' narratives are not always consistent in the telling, depending on audience, time frame, and degree of emotionality, they can be subject to review and reinterpretation on reflection (Plummer, 1995). Therefore, the participants were provided with copies of their transcript for review; Ralph and Andrew returned theirs with no alterations – Joel did not want to review his transcript as he said he felt he had contributed all that he could. I then requested additional interviews to gain deeper understanding and to clarify any aspects of the stories. Ralph and Andrew agreed to follow up interviews and I conducted two more short interviews with Ralph and one more with Andrew. Joel declined the invitation for an additional interview. I transcribed these interviews and

provided to Ralph and Andrew a copy of the transcript for review. There were no alterations, other than Ralph correcting my spelling of place names in Scotland.

3.7 The analysis

The analysis of data is a systematic process of sifting and arranging all information obtained from interview transcripts, field notes and other material collected to gain an understanding of the data and to enable a presentation of the insights that have been discovered (Bogdan & Biklen, 2006). As outlined by Pace (2012) grounded theory can provide the techniques for undertaking the analysis of autoethnographic data.

Strauss and Corbin (2008) refer to this process of data analysis in grounded theory as coding. Coding involves three levels of analyses: (a) open coding, (b) axial coding, and (c) theoretical coding, to gather a complete picture of the information obtained during the data collection process (Charmaz, 2006).

Open coding, involves the identification of significant concepts in the data. For example, this might entail taking the written stories of the researcher or other study participants, and breaking these stories down into discrete incidents – objects, events, actions, and ideas, which are then compared for similarities and differences. Significant incidents are then assigned labels known as codes (Charmaz, 2006; Glaser, 1992; Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

Axial coding is the technique for identifying conditions, actions, and interactions and consequences as a guide to establishing the relationships that exist between concepts (Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

Theoretical coding involves determining how the emergent concepts relate to each other (Charmaz, 2006). The concepts that emerged during open coding are reassembled with propositions about the relationships between those concepts. These relationships, like concepts, emerge from the data through a process of constant comparison (Glaser, 1965; Kolb, 2012) to determine and refine the understandings of the emergent and grounded concepts (Glaser & Holton, 2004; Patton, 2002). How I undertook the analysis is presented below.

3.7.1 Preparing for the analysis

The transcripts were edited to insert pseudonyms for all names to ensure confidentiality. I chose pseudonyms based on my emotional responses to the participants and their stories and used names that seemed to resonate with me. I constructed a series of mind maps (Buzan, 2005) to sort the information into six categories: demographic, life, sexuality, masculinity, health, and cultural issues. These categories were then subdivided to give a map of each case study (see Figure 2.).

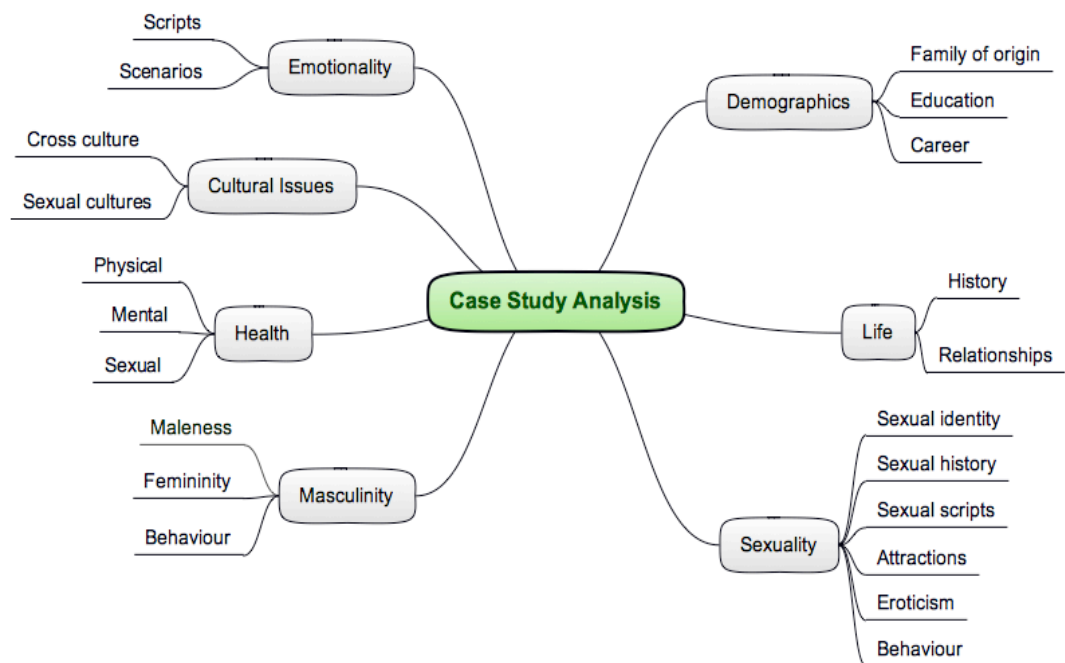


Figure 2. Mapping of the case studies

The case studies were written based on this analysis. I then undertook a constant comparative analysis (Glaser, 1965), which facilitates the development of concepts from the data by coding or categorising and analysing at the same time (Taylor & Bogdan, 1998) This required a close rereading the transcripts looking for descriptions of sexual scripts, emotional scripts and cultural nuances. I also listened to the recorded interviews looking for expressions of feelings and the level of emotional intensity in the story telling. There were many instances of laughter and wry humour, which indicated a certain level of trust and honesty in the telling of the stories. In writing the analysis I focused on the dominant sexual scripts that emerged in the case studies and developed insights

with respect to my own story and compared and contrasted the differences and similarities. This process involved repeated examination of the content of each case study and reflecting on the material in the light of my experience in order to clarify and present the scripts.

3.7.2 The analysis matrix

I developed an analysis matrix (Table 1.), which provided consistency in exploring the cases whilst allowing the freedom to identify relevant themes for further explanation.

Table 1: Analysis Matrix

Analysis Matrix			
A	Narrative sequences of events	The description of each subject's personal history	Facts, memories, stories and reflections
B	Structural analysis of each case using a grid provided by script theory:	Cultural scenarios	Refers to the cultural context in which scripts are set and provides meaning and relevance for the sexual behaviour. The culture (or sub-culture) mediates the instructions or directions (e.g., language, expectation, roles) for sexual behaviour; and the ways in which behaviours are learned for the performance of competent sexual expression
		Intrapsychic scripts	The plans and fantasies by which individuals guide and reflect upon their past, current and future sexual conduct
		Interpersonal scripts	The structured patterns of interaction in which individuals as actors engage in sexual conduct

C	Grounded theory	Analysis of the who, what, when, where, why, how and the consequences of the enactment of sexual and emotional scripts	Determine how scripts are influenced and adapted, and integrated into the sexual repertoire, as a result of the impact of emotional experience on the research participant
D		An analysis of points of interaction of emotions with scripts in each case.	Ascertain the points where emotionality impacts to shape or mediate the scripts

3.7.3 Undertaking the analysis

To undertake the analysis I utilised grounded theory analysis (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) within the framework of sexual scripting (Gagnon & Simon, 1973), and emotional scripting (Russell & Lemay, 2000). I developed a matrix (See Table 1) to analyse the narratives and used Mindmaps (Buzan, 2005) to compare and contrast the data.

There were five phases to the analysis of the data:

1. Creating the case studies.
 - a. The recorded interviews were transcribed and were reviewed by each participant who had agreed to review their transcripts.
 - b. I then incorporated any edits and additions, and wrote up each interview as a case study.
2. Examining each case study taking into account;

- a. Narrative of life events including sexual history, sexual awareness, family, education, career, relationships, masculinity
 - b. A structural analysis using a grid provided by script theory as follows:
 - i. Cultural scenarios - instructions and learning paradigms for undertaking sexual expression.
 - ii. Intrapsychic scripts – self understandings and the plans and fantasies by which the participants guided and reflected upon their past, current and future sexual conduct
 - iii. Interpersonal scripts – the structured patterns of interaction in which individuals as actors engage in sexual conduct
 - c. Conduct a review of each transcript to ascertain the points where emotionality impacts to shape or mediate scripts. I also listened to the interviews for expressed emotions.
3. Use the results of this analysis to conduct a comparative reading of the case studies to determine how scripts are influenced and adapted as a result of the impact of emotional experience on the subject.
4. Scrutinise the narratives for sexual scripts and emotional content. I developed thick descriptions of the case studies to present the details, context emotions and nuances of the social and sexual relationships as gathered in the interviews (Angrosino, 2007).

5. Map the details using mind map categories (Figure 2.) as follows:

Demographics	Age, religion, place of birth, sexual orientation, relationships status, education, profession
Life	Family of origin, education, work history, social relationships, key relationships
Sexuality	Sexual identity, sexual history, sexual scripts
Masculinity	Understanding male identity, meaning of masculinity, gender differences, meanings of male bodies, sexual sub-cultural norms, acquisition of scripts, understanding shame
Health	Physical health, mental health, emotional health, sexual health
Cultural Issues	Cross-cultural issues, country-specific cultural issues

6. Review the material and the dominant themes that emerged from the narratives, describing, scrutinising, and interpreting to form my thesis. It was necessary to be selective, and not all aspects that were recorded in the mind maps were included in the analysis, only those aspects pertaining to my research.

The use of thick description was useful for the task of both describing and interpreting reported social actions and behaviours within particular contexts (Geertz, 1973; Goodall, 2001). Thus in utilising thick description I have endeavoured to accurately describe social actions and to assign purpose and intentionality to these actions. To do this I drew on my understanding as researcher of the context under which the social actions took place. In addition, thick description also assisted in capturing the thoughts and feelings of the participants in my research, and their web of relationships. This then leads to thick interpretation,

which in turn leads to thick meaning for me as researcher and also the participants, and subsequently for the readers of my reporting of the interpretations (Denzin, 1989). As such, thick meaning of findings engenders a sense of authenticity, enabling readers to cognitively and emotively “place” themselves within the research context (Ponterotto, 2006, p. 543).

3.7.4 Analysis

In writing the analysis I focused on the dominant sexual scripts that emerged in the case studies and developed the insights with respect to my own story and compared and contrasted the differences and similarities. This process involved repeated examination of the content of each case study and reflection on the material in the light of my experience in order to clarify and present the scripts. I also scrutinised the transcripts of the case studies for instances of emotionality in the content which I added to my subjective experience of conducting the interviews. The results and my discussion of the analysis are presented in Chapter 5.

The feedback I received from the participants was that this had been the first time they had told anyone their story; that although it was not therapy (Ellis, 2004a), they had found the process useful and that it had assisted in thinking through personal issues; and they all expressed pleasure in being involved in the study. I found the opportunity to interview these men a privilege, and I was humbled by their candor and generosity.

In this chapter I have outlined the rationale for the process of undertaking my research project, the methods used, and I presented the procedure for collection of the autoethnographic data and the analysis undertaken.

Chapter 4: The Case Studies

In this section I introduce the four male participants in this study, and then present each of the case studies analysed from the recorded one-on-one interviews. I will first provide background and historical details and then review sexual history and behaviours of each case.

I, Kim was born in New Zealand, now at age of 59; Ralph at 66 years old is a Scotsman and the oldest of the sample; the second youngest is Andrew at 51, an Anglo-Australian; and the youngest at 35 is Joel, a white American.

4.1. Case study 1 - Kim

4.4.1 Background

I start with my own case. My name is Kim. I was a product of post World War 2 boom years, born of lower-working class parents as the first male but second child into a somewhat dysfunctional family of five siblings. Shy, lacking in self-confidence; and, although scholastically bright, I was unable to finish high school due to family traumas. I did gain entry into engineering training in the Defence Forces and was sent to Scotland at 16, returning to New Zealand at the age of 20. On my return I was drafted to sea with the Navy and travelled the world, having occasional sexual encounters with women.

I seemed to be functioning well enough as a heterosexual man due to my previous experience in Britain. One female partner became pregnant and we were married (as one was expected to do in the 1970s in New Zealand) resulting in our first son. I was discharged from the Navy after six years of service and entered a seminary at age 24 to be trained as a priest in the Anglican Church of New Zealand. I fathered another boy and a girl to my wife before the marriage ended, so now two boys and one girl.

Those years at seminary were a process of self-discovery; in confidence, in academic ability, in giving voice and acting upon attraction to men including sexual encounters. This was followed by a period of discovery of alternative life styles inclusive of ministry as a priest, counsellor, and community development worker. I worked very hard at being available to my children although it was a very difficult time. Although New Zealand seemed a parochial backwater, in fact there was much social turmoil especially in the Church. Racism and sport, ordination of women priests and homosexual law reform were major social issues that pushed the boundaries. This period provided the language of equality, liberation and human rights (Kirkman & Moloney, 2005). The first attempt at homosexual law reform argued on liberation issues failed, but in the 1980s it was successfully achieved on the basis of equality (Mills, 1998). By this time I had had a lengthy sexual relationship with a fellow seminarian, until we both graduated.

This was a time of extreme psychological distress for me as I not only realised my potential intellectually (which was frightening – now I had to own my thinking), but also remade my self-identity as a man who was married and had a family and was also intensely connected sexually with another man – my blond Adonis. There was no counselling available at that time – it was work to be done in isolation. To do this I took an assignment to discuss homosexuality within the context of Christian ethics and this provided a framework, a language and a voice for the sexual revelations that were being exposed. I read books on the issue (McNeill, 1976) and what was most compelling was to realise that others felt the same as I did and I was not some freak or fraud. I also felt that I became complete in myself and sexually when I was able to have sex with a man.

By the early 1980s I had separated from my wife and I was working in the Church, theatre, restaurant work, bar tending and I established a cleaning business. Over the years I developed and honed my gay sexual script by talking with other gay men (as Pastor of a gay Community Church), to discovering gay pornography and books such as “Men Loving Men” (Walker, 1977) “Loving Someone Gay” (Clark, 1977) and “The Joy of Gay Sex” (Silverstein & White, 1977), which I devoured to expand and enhance my sexual scripts.

To increase my confidence I was able to undertake study in sexuality at the San Francisco Institute for Advanced Studies in Human Sexuality

(IASHS, 2011), a graduate school in sexual research. This Institute has offered “Sexual Attitude Reconstruction (SAR)” courses since the early 1980s. There were 30 participants in my ten-day intensive course in 1983 from across the United States, England, Canada and me from New Zealand. The course provides an educational and experiential program for sex educators, therapists, and counsellors. I found this course extremely beneficial and provided experiences and opportunities to meet professionals in the field of sexuality, which really restructured my attitudes and understanding of sexuality, gender, various esoteric sexual practices, and enabled me to do a counselling course specialising in gay and gender issues. All of this really created a surge in my sexual intelligence.

However, I still had difficulty in taking the self-identification of “gay”. There was this notion that gay men were very feminine, or “girlyman” (Hennen, 2008) or “sissyboy” (Bergling, 2001) and I did not identify with that aspect of the identity, but in San Francisco I encountered so many masculine-looking guys who said they were gay that the identity and the script came together. Many years later I had no problem in ticking the “gay” box in anonymous surveys but resisted public declaration of the fact.

I recall a BBC television portrait of Joseph Ratzinger, Pope Benedict XVI and the filmmaker stating quite openly that he was a Roman Catholic and gay, and how the statements of the Pope had affected him (Dowd, 2010).

To this day I have resisted that kind of public disclosure and have safely “passed” as a straight man in society generally. My family of origin, my children, and more intimate, close friends are well aware of my sexual orientation and attraction for men and have always welcomed my partners over the years. Most of the time in my work and, to a lesser extent, in my socialising I felt my sexual orientation was no-body’s business but mine. As I write this I am well aware of the power of heteronormative expectations, and of being complicit in complying.

Being in San Francisco also provided extraordinary opportunities for sexual adventures and new experiences. My time was spent exploring all things sexual, theoretically and experientially, including visiting infamous “South of Market” sex clubs, and the “Tenderloin” (Sides, 2009). I was awed and overwhelmed by the 1983 San Francisco Gay Day Parade, and was a willing participant with various sexual partners. After the closeted existence in Auckland this was so liberating. I was affected somatically as well as sexually and when being seduced by a man my lower limbs would tremble and shake due to the rush of endorphins and adrenaline in my brain (Both et al., 2007).

This was in 1983, at the beginning of the trauma that was to be HIV/AIDS (Morison, 2001). Although there was word about a disease that was killing young homosexual men, there was little known about its genesis and transmission at that time and some months later it was confirmed, late 1983, that I had picked up HIV. In the early 1980s this was

considered a death sentence. On the day I was told with a phone call by my doctor, I resolved not to die, and there must be something profound about this experience. I set about learning as much as was known about this deadly disease and how to prevent its transmission. This was the second major emotional crisis that required me to find new scripts to be sexually competent and to have satisfactory sexual relations without putting other people at risk.

I returned to Auckland after that fate-filled trip to San Francisco as a much more aware young man. I met and established a relationship with Tom, a younger man, which lasted 14 years during which time we moved to Australia in 1987 to further our education. He had an addictive personality and was extremely intelligent, which made living with him either very exciting or traumatic. He was also very promiscuous. I needed to remake my love script to a script that separated sex from love. In a sense there was another emotional upheaval as I sought to rework my understanding of fidelity, loyalty and love.

In my work I had an increasing caseload in counselling, and I began to feel I needed more understanding and skills. I had completed courses in Neuro-linguistic Programming (NLP) (Bandler & Grinder, 1982; Dilts et al., 1979), which were helpful, but not enough. On advice I undertook undergraduate study in Behavioural Sciences and a postgraduate Diploma in Behavioural Health Care at La Trobe University in Melbourne.

I found work in community development and education with a fledging AIDS organisation and ended up devising innovative community-based campaigns to promote condom use amongst gay men and the adoption of safe sex practices. The years raced by and as time went on I became deeply and personally involved in the epidemic for over 30 years as educator, trainer and strategist across the Asia Pacific. Having gained qualifications in psychology and with a licence to practice, I developed skills in sexual therapy and worked with individuals and couples experiencing sexual dysfunction. This was immensely rewarding work.

When I met Sebastian, my current long-term partner (now over seven years), I started to feel I was loved for myself and not what I could provide. Our meeting was serendipitous, when I was working in Laos. I was not looking to be partnered and I had no expectations of this chance encounter going anywhere. I was 53 and he was about to turn 21 and he asked me to help him with his English and to celebrate his birthday with his friends. We spent time together over a number of weeks getting to know each other, dealing with domestic things and finding a common language. Early one morning on entering the bathroom I was stunned to find a school uniform of trousers and white shirt hanging from the shower rail; he was in his final year of University and in Laos all students wear a uniform. I remember thinking, “What am I doing, this kid is still at school!” I was well aware of the “*farlang*” - foreigner or white person in Thai/Lao language (McCamish, 1999) – ‘money boy script’ (Storer, 1999a) from colleagues who had had first-hand experience. This script operates

widely in South-East Asian cultures as a young man seeks out an older male foreigner, feigns affection and protestations of love, provides sexual encounters whilst milking the unsuspecting “money-tree” for financial resources for family, education and eventually a ticket and citizenship in a Western country (Allyn, 1991; Jackson, 1994).

I was introduced to his family and made welcome. At one point I lived for six months with the family in Laos at which point it was somehow negotiated that I would become the benefactor in return for the eldest son. I had failed to realise the full implication of the eldest son script in South East Asian cultures wherein providing for the parents and siblings is a serious commitment (Jackson, 1995).

And indeed I did follow this *‘farlang and the local boy script’*, well aware of the dangers and implications. What happened to us has been reflected in many cross-cultural relationships where intimacy, care, mutual respect and love form a deep and abiding relationship, and being willing to accept the sometimes disparaging honorific “Rice Queen” label (Chuang, 1999). Over the years friends and acquaintances expressed periodic concern for my willingness to be conned and amazement that the relationship survived.

Sebastian and I have travelled the road together and apart as my work and his study allowed, at times rough and rocky and other times like a deep clear pool of togetherness, extraordinarily enriching soul food. We

have learnt each other's likes and dislikes as any couple would – give and take accordingly. He has grown into a mature, beautiful man and has been a source of great pleasure and satisfaction for me, culminating in a ceremony to register the relationship in the State of Victoria, which was conducted by a long time minister friend from Auckland. I am very aware that my children are geographically and emotionally distant from me, which I have regretted for many years. I rejoiced when all three were present and participated in our relationship ceremony in Melbourne. I am now transitioning into a new stage of life as a senior citizen, still living with HIV, still staying fit and sexually active, still working which I intend to do as long as I can.

4.1.2 Sexual history

The sex drive of my youth was subverted by situation and opportunity. I had known that I was attracted to men, and I well remember being sexually aroused by a picture of a well-defined muscular man in my early teens, but really had no idea of how to pursue this ill-defined aspect of my identity. In Scotland I had found women were attracted to me (but no men!) and at one time I served as a “toy boy” to an older woman (twice my age), who taught me intimacy, and developed my sexual intelligence and sexual script with women. At this time, in the later 1960s, Great Britain started law reform on homosexuality, but this was not extended to the Armed Forces. I had no sense of connection with this world of homosexuality or vitriol that surrounded the issue. I was certainly aware

of my attraction to the young men I was in training with, most of us were all physically fit and buffed; but I was not confident enough to do anything about it.

4.1.3 Sexual behaviours

Learning the script for sex with men meant dealing with rejections and missed opportunities. For many years, I was shy and lacking in confidence when around men. In thinking I had no erotic capital, I would miss cues that I was being cruised and would be very reluctant to make the first move. I admired those men who knew what they wanted and went after it. The times when I was confident enough to be the pursuer, the rush of adrenaline was almost overwhelming, and I learnt to deal with the frequent rejections.

My early experiences in sex with men were limited to mutual masturbation, which I perfected, and my first experience of allowing myself to be penetrated is etched in my memory. I so desperately wanted to perfect this behaviour, which I had seen in pornographic movies and had been an insertive partner a number of times.

Trial and error is a great teacher and over the years I have honed the anal sex script, although every experience is uniquely different and varyingly satisfying. With various sexual partners I learnt ways to negotiate new sexual scripts to ensure reduced risk of passing on the

virus. Sometimes I would refuse to continue with a sexual episode if there was resistance to the use of condoms for anal sex.

The reworking of my sexual script including a detailed analysis of risk assessment so I was very clear what activities I would allow myself to engage in. Actually, I found there was little I would not do sexually with another man in the right situation, except for anal sex without condoms. There have been instances of a partner wanting to penetrate me without a condom but I have always refused to allow this to proceed to climax to reduce the risk of infection.

I am convinced this script worked, evidenced by the fact that in a 14-year sexually active relationship with Tom my HIV negative partner, he did not become infected, but did so within one year of our separation. Some years later when we met up again, he proposed that we re-establish our relationship, conditional that condoms no longer be used as we were both positive. At some considerable emotional cost I said I was not prepared to compromise my commitment to safe sex.

I may be over vigilant, but the question remains how did I remain so committed? For most of the 30 years of working in the field I have experienced the devastation that HIV can cause, and the heartache and trauma of so many young men dying far too early. The emotional impact of caring for people dying of AIDS-related illnesses (Benton, 1999), having come to terms with my own portentous future, and the need to

take control of my health and physical well-being reinforces my cognitive understanding and decision making. I believe I have well-established cognitive safe sex mapping and scripts that are now automatic, and I have become very astute in negotiating safe sexual encounters (Emmers-Sommer & Allen, 2005).

4.2 Case Study 2 -Ralph

4.2.1 Background

Ralph at 66 years old is a Scotsman and the oldest of the sample. He lives in Edinburgh in semi-retirement. He was born into a lower working class family – his father a horse-cart driver and his mother a homemaker, who was ambitious and socially mobile. Ralph's father was often ill in hospital and his mother did much of the parenting of the three children – two boys and a girl. Ralph's life script was laid out by his mother – be educated; enter a profession (doctoring first choice); be moneyed; be conservative politically; be engaged with painting and the fine arts; and to be married. He was a sickly child and missed a lot of schooling but he managed to matriculate and started medical school at his mother's initiative.

However, he dropped out, attained a teaching diploma, completed studies in child psychology, and then a PhD in counselling psychology. He worked in the public health service as a child psychologist rising to being Head Psychologist and Associate Fellow of the British

Psychological Society. By all measures he has done extremely well professionally and was offered retirement at a fairly early age. He then took an opportunity to work as a contractor for an international aid agency, hence our paths crossed in Rangoon.

Ralph is a classically trained, talented organist and harpsichordist, and has held Church organist appointments in well-known churches in Edinburgh. His family attended High Church of Scotland where he found the drama and rituals of church fulfilling.

Ralph was very conscious of needing to maintain a public heterosexual persona – to “pass” as a straight man. He says he can turn this off and on. Publicly he is an “Edinburgh Man” meaning privately educated, rugby follower, lawyer or financier, marked out for leadership. His real self is concerned with music, Bach in particular, theatre and long philosophical discussions.

Ralph longs for a rare opportunity and space to be a “fairy”, a “screaming Nelly” (Hennen, 2008). He defines this as his feminine side (Green, 1987). He had a close circle of friends mainly theatre going affluent professional gay men called “The ‘A’ Gays”. Within this circle Ralph maintained close relationships with friends he called his “sisters”. With these men he was able to be himself, his “camp” persona, and as he described it “run shrieking around the flat in a tutu!”

This double script, which he admitted he had trouble synthesising, has one aspect supposedly heterosexual and masculine, which suppresses the inner “fairy”. This originated early in childhood when his mother discovered him playing dress-up dolls with young girls. He said the reaction of his mother was such that he felt “humiliated, embarrassed, shamed and dirty”. The script he developed very early based upon this humiliation was to be constantly checking his behaviour for any signs of femininity that might result in being similarly humiliated or compromised. He said this was not about being gay, more about appearing straight-acting for family and career reasons, but when socialising with friends, things could be different.

Thus, his inner sexual need for men was played out in clandestine ways and he perfected the rituals and the etiquette of “cottaging” (Church et al., 1993). Cottaging, as discussed in Chapter 2, is a term used for cruising to pick up men in public spaces such as parks, public toilets, wasteland and streets.

One such incident led to police entrapment and possible arrest in London resulting in extreme anxiety of being exposed and shamed for some time. Such was the impact of this experience that Ralph reconsidered his teaching employment leading to a new career in psychology. Another consequence of this emotional experience for Ralph was to rework his cruising script, not necessarily reducing his activities, but to be more prudent.

The rituals and scripts for cottaging include observation of the traffic of potential men, then selecting a location where he would be noticed and approached by other men. In his early days, sexual activity was usually mutual masturbation, and it might occur in the same location. At other times, when there was a level of trust, the couple might adjourn to another less public location or apartment for more prolonged sessions, which might include oral sex but less frequently so.

There was also another level of arousal that this script induced. Ralph wanted to portray himself in these situations as a masculine “butch” “James Dean” type. The sexual thrill and arousal was to be cruised – “to be found attractive” by other men – this gave him the thrill he needed.

There was also an element of reward associated with Ralph’s cruising behaviour, for he stated that while at University he would set a study goal at the end of which he would reward himself by heading off to the local park to see what was available. This was also a very social activity when, at times, a group of Ralph’s friends would take off to well-known cruising areas in Edinburgh and urge each other on to pursue a likely target. There were also potential dangers in this from police, and from “rollers” (straight men posing as gay and then robbing their victims).

Ralph described the rituals and scripts for cottaging as complex, especially the need to be cruised by men and to be found attractive –

even if it did not lead to sex. There was a very clear protocol to be followed, “a drama – a choreography to played out in parks”. His need was to be desired, for another man to initiate, to be wanted for himself. He described the rush that came from dopamine and the arousal that followed from being chased; but if there was too much chasing it was a turn off. This was also very mood dependent. He repeatedly stated that the cottaging was a means to an end – to cruise or be cruised – this was the sexual tension and arousal; to be the object of other men’s desire, and this was more important than sex which was for him inconsequential. His desire was also other men’s bodies. If he was able to attract a “straight” looking butch guy there was additional pleasure and satisfaction. This strong masculine butch look/attitude was more important than muscles or penis size – the desire was to be noticed and lusted after.

There is an addictive quality to this behaviour, which Ralph acknowledged, that he felt he was a borderline cruising addict; and this extended across continents and cultures. He stated that the patterns, rituals and scripts were consistent wherever he cruised, in foreign lands, in parks and streets, and he would be able to navigate the environment, and understand the script, even if there was no common spoken language.

Although Ralph was of the opinion that gay relationships should be based on loyalty and fidelity to a partner, he had realised that sexual

monogamy was unusual in long-term gay relationships. He thought there was often cheating and lying with the relationship becoming platonic and living as 'sisters'. He described the platonic relationship with the 'sisters' as being the deepest expression of gay love.

Ralph described his psychological health as vulnerable. Added to this, he had not synthesised the public and private facets of his personality and was paranoid and fearful of letting the real self be exposed. This would mean that if his inner feminine side broke through his public persona it would be his undoing. Emotionally, to overcome his solitary life, he developed what he calls "compensatory strategies" which meant focussing on his career and being very goal-oriented. He spoke of his Protestant work ethic spilling over into his sexuality which meant being very focussed on ticking all the boxes to achieve his goals. In other words, picking up a man was seen as an achievement, which brought a sense of fulfilment. His coping strategies included sharing with his friends, and he found the mathematics of music provided a structure for him. To maintain his emotional health, he would meditate and sought the support of his "sisters". He also had belonged to "Friends of the Western Buddhist Order" which he described as being "very gay"!

4.2.2 Sexual History

Ralph's introduction to sex was at age eight with his uncle. There was no suggestion of this being an unwelcomed sexual encounter. By the age of

10 he was having sex in public toilets, at school, and, as a teenager, with members of his scout troop where he was a scout leader. His cottaging experiences continued into his adult life, university and work. He named 'stranger' sex as his best sexual experience where there was little communication other than the choreography of cruising; and the worst sexual experience was when he picked up a "roller" (straight men posing as gay and then robbing their victims).

Ralph reported that he found relationships difficult and had trouble empathising with his partners' sexual needs, although sex in a relationship was an assurance of love. He said that of all the life scripts that he had developed, the one on relationships he did not get right. Ralph appeared conflicted between casual sex that has no emotional context other than mutual arousal, and the complexities of the emotionality of sex in a relationship. He did not talk of boredom in sex with partners; rather he hinted that relationships for him were essentially platonic.

It would seem that Ralph had not developed a script for maintaining a long-term sexual relationship; rather he sought intimacy with friends in a non-sexual way. Whether this was due to the apparent restrictions of a relationship, he felt it was all too difficult, or he required a multi-partner script to meet his arousal needs, was not made clear in the interview.

It was difficult to tease apart the various scripts that Ralph had developed. He self-diagnosed his symptoms and labelled them schizothymia, which refers to a temperament that has schizoid tendencies characterised by a flat affect and a high degree of introversion (Eysenck, 1950). He explained that it refers to when his behaviour got disinhibited, reckless, and involved transgressing of social rules. He felt that he had developed a survival script, which included his cruising behaviour, and his schizoid public and private persona, as a reaction to his childhood traumatic experience with his mother.

4.2.3 Sexual Behaviours

Although amity or companionship seemed important, this did not mean there was no sex in his long-term relationships with men. In these relationships he tended to dominate sexually as the 'active' partner when it came to anal sex.

Although at one time he worked as a counsellor at a Gay Switchboard and knew the intricacies of safe sex and condom use, he admitted that he never used a condom and often the sex he had was quite "brutal". In teasing out this behaviour, he reflected that there were times when he would forcibly anally penetrate his lovers out of his own need and with little regard for his partner; but he did not consider this as sadomasochistic sex, esoteric behaviour, or rape.

Ralph was conflicted about his butch persona and anal sex. He once allowed a long-term partner to penetrate him but he did not like it and said that having another man's cock in him was not very butch. From this it can be deduced that being penetrated was, for Ralph, a non-butch or feminine role that if he did engage in and found it pleasurable, his self-perception and public presentation of his butch persona would be compromised.

Casual sex with strangers and Cottageing partners Ralph described as "light sex" which meant it was predominantly mutual masturbation and very occasionally oral sex. Anal sex was not a feature. He spoke of the need for touch and enjoyed cuddling and hugging his partners, especially his current partner. There were indications of erectile dysfunction at the time of the study evidenced by a reference to Viagra.

4.3. Case Study Three - Andrew

4.3.1 Background

Andrew, a white Australian male gave his age as 51; born in Sydney into an upper class, socially established, prosperous theatre family. His father, originally from Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) is an international theatre producer and his mother of German/American background was a singer and an actress. Andrew described his mother as loving but very proper and slow to anger, whereas his father was quick-tempered, often absent with work, and acted as the disciplinarian. The parents were

politically conservative, and were Christian, his mother as a Lutheran being more religious than his father.

He was the second son in a family of three boys, one being a stepbrother from his father's previous marriage. He said he was emotionally close to his older brother. At an early age his father's work took them to Britain and the family relocated to London. An *au pair* cared for the boys and he attended a public Church primary school in Wimbledon and went on to preparatory at Kings College. When the family returned to live in Melbourne, Australia, he went to Brighton Grammar until the age of 14 when he enlisted as a midshipman in the Royal Australian Navy. In his childhood the *Boy's Own* books and magazines (Boyd, 2003) were his favourite and Andrew said he always wanted to be a pilot, and then a soldier, and ended up in the Navy.

As a midshipman he was educated and left when he felt he had a calling to be a priest following a 'conversion' at 17. He read extensively about missionaries in Asia and felt called to work as a missionary. He took a job with the Salvation Army Crossroads program before heading off on this epic adventure to be a missionary. When he arrived in Singapore, he said he felt called to stay there, to do some theological study until he ran out of money and returned to Australia. Andrew had some lovely stories of his time in Singapore, and speaks of his motivation to 'change the world' in an evangelical rendering of 'saving'. When he returned to Australia he joined the Salvation Army to work with drug affected youth in

Melbourne for about four years, then went back to study and did a teaching degree. He was a teacher in the Roman Catholic education system until he started work with international philanthropic religious development organisations, with postings in Singapore, Australia and Burma, accompanied by his family. Church now takes a back seat in his life.

He met his wife when he was working as a teacher and got married in 1984. The courting process proved interesting as he also had another woman, a Roman Catholic nun, who was in love with him and wanted to marry. After some procrastination he broke his relationship with the nun to propose to his then-to-be wife. He then broke off the engagement and was unsure until the mother of the bride intervened and they were married – “And so began my heterosexual life.”

His story of his attraction and marriage revolves around similar values, and commonality in life directions. She came from Ladakh, Srinagar, a small kingdom in Tibetan-Himalayas; “an exotic Indian princess.” They were best friends and Andrew thoroughly enjoys their two sons and their relationship. He is still married but finding sexual intimacy is becoming more difficult. He is experiencing sexual dysfunction as a result, meaning he has to work at making love to his wife and often resorts to fantasising about men to do so.

Andrew's key relationships are his family, marriage and his boyfriends. He has one friend from his navy days and no school friends. His community involvement in the past has been with church youth groups, and he is a Taekwondo black belt, still keeping himself fit and flexible.

Andrew's early life was one of privilege, with private schooling, and a protective, supportive family. His enlisting in the Royal Australian Navy as a teenager also provided a supportive and protective masculine environment. He talked about wanting a life of adventure, sexual freedom and risk taking which were all put on hold with marriage and family commitments. His societal script he describes "as a straight healthy heterosexual family man", and then he wryly comments, "*I ended up as a poof*". This statement shows that Andrew is moving through a process of "coming out" publicly as a gay man, passing as a straight-acting man, and struggling with wanting to maintain his marriage because this is valued by him.

We talked at some length about values and how these influenced his decision-making. He said he valued being non-judgmental, faithful in relationships and he needed depth for sexual interaction, meaning sexual intimacy, not just sexual release. He liked being with someone who could understand him as a person. He abhors violence, sex with children, and avoids pain-inflicting activities. He said a number of times that being intimate with his wife was problematic, whereas sex with his men friends was a joy and he experienced no sexual dysfunction with

them. Thus Andrew appears conflicted in his marriage as many of his values and needs were being met except for his sexual needs.

Andrew considers that he is not a typical Australian male and finds it difficult to sit with a group of Australian males who want to talk about the football and racing. He said he is more at ease with gay men or women, finding it easier to talk with them. He likes sport but doesn't want to discuss football team performances. He likes the physicality of Taekwondo, and attributes this to his interest in Asia and learning to speak Chinese and Burmese. He sees Asian men as controlled, powerful and reserved. He was aware of an affectation in Asian people and he thought that the real Asian nature was often hidden. Andrew made the observation that many men who have sex with men have to keep their sexual activities hidden. He felt he tended to be more reserved in his personality, although given the opportunity he could be a camp queen and he likes to parody cross-dressing as a fun thing at parties. He has female friends and finds their gentleness and emotional insight appealing. He does not ascribe to stereotypical gender roles and would prefer to be the carer and not the breadwinner.

Andrew attends to his physical health with exercises, stretches, gym and walking. He said it would be easy for him to become a slob and get out of shape through drinking alcohol and smoking cigarettes. When I questioned him about his mental health he quipped, "I'm totally fucked in the head", and then elaborated about his anxiety and distress at not being

able to resolve the sexual issues in his marriage. He then commented about his sense of fulfilment when having sex with men. Andrew was able to express self-awareness of his emotional wellbeing and was aware of feeling guilty over the situation with his wife.

Andrew expressed an open non-judgemental sexual morality; a paramount issue being that any behaviour undertaken should not harm someone else. He expressed lack of understanding of bestiality, paedophilia and necrophilia, but could acknowledge that people were different. He said that nothing shamed him, and felt he had changed a lot in his thinking about Christianity, and Buddhism was now interesting him.

4.3.2 Sexual history

In answer to the question about sexual identity he said he was homosexual, although he thought he was no different to other boys. His sexual activities started young and he was sexually active with other boys. He remembers well his first sexual experience because the other boy had a big penis – they were posing and masturbating at his home in Wimbledon. At school there were frequent sexual encounters often in groups with other boys, and often with anal sex. He remembers being attracted to one boy in particular who was one of the tough kids. When on sleepovers he initiated mutual masturbation.

There was a period of abstinence during his years in the Navy until his heterosexual activity in his marriage. Andrew started to have sex with other men after a long period of time, when in Indonesia on assignment and describes these experiences as liberating, that the sex was so very different to sex with his wife. He was attracted to an Australian man ten years younger, was completely infatuated with him, and wanted to be with him. The partner was not so enamoured of the situation and discouraged running away together, which Andrew admitted was a much more realistic outcome.

Andrew's experience with the younger Australian man confirmed his attraction to men and he fell deeply in love. Yet, he also spoke about his attraction to Asian men. He connected this with his boyhood and with his best friend at primary school who was a Korean boy, and he made the connection that he had been in love with this friend. His decision to marry his Asian wife, could be attributed to this attraction for Asian exoticness; a reflection of the colonial and postcolonial mystic Orient where the Oriental woman is a projection of European male fantasy based on myths of an exotic seductress (Mills, 1998; Said, 1978) as discussed in Chapter 2.

Yet the man he fell madly in love with in Jakarta was a Caucasian Australian. Andrew told me he is attracted to spunky men who are young with defined skinny bodies, he loves the olive skin and enjoys the gentleness of Asian men, and was fortunate to be introduced into a social

group which provided a number of sexual partners. Andrew has fairly rich sexual fantasies, which helps him in achieving an orgasm when having sex with his wife. He enjoys Asian male pornography and likes to access Thai and Japanese Internet sites. He commented that some men are extremely attractive but not necessarily sexual, and enjoys male closeness and the easy talking together.

4.3.3 Sexual behaviour

Andrew had just one heterosexual experience and that was with his wife. He said sex with his wife was never spontaneous and sometimes difficult for him. Although he said he has no preference for the types of sexual behaviour he enjoyed with men and he always took the “active” role, he did express an attraction to being penetrated. He had always enjoyed oral sex from an early age. Condoms were always used when having sex with men, although Andrew reported one instance of unprotected anal sex. When having casual sex with men (or “stranger sex”) condoms were always used, and he enjoys massages with “happy endings”.

Andrew recalls that as a young man he had been cruised by a man but he resisted, using religion as the rationalisation for refusing. He had some experience of cruising for sex in Jakarta in hotels and bars when out with friends, and in Bangkok he enjoys watching the antics of the boys in Soi 4 (Soi 4 is a small street off Silom Road, in downtown Bangkok, with bars and attractions serving gay men). He does not cruise

for men in Burma or in Australia either. He expressed disappointment that he had delayed acting on his interest in men for so long.

4.4 Case Study Four – Joel

4.4.1 Background

Joel is an energised, quick-speaking, intelligent white American male from the industrial port city of Milwaukee in south-eastern Wisconsin, on the western shore of Lake Michigan: population 600,000. It is noted for its brewing industry and is an important port on the St. Lawrence Seaway.

At 36 years of age, Joel is the perpetual student, having studied most of his adult life and being in graduate school since 1997. He is currently embarking on a PhD. Joel is the youngest of six children, born into a wealthy and upper class privileged, closely knit family. Joel's father is a physician and devoutly Roman Catholic, his mother, with a history of psychiatric problems, tended to keep the family isolated and was not very welcoming of strangers and visitors.

He attended public schooling and the State University taking a degree in Asian Studies, and also studied sculpting in art classes. His studies took him to Japan, where he learnt Japanese, and then switched courses to study South-east Asian Burmese culture and language and at the time of interview he was conversing fluently in Burmese. He has been an editor

and currently working as a resource person to an international aid agency in Rangoon, Burma.

Joel self-identified as a member of the “X” generation, and commented that he felt his generation was cynical, non-trusting, always on the make for something better (and this included relationships). He spoke of lots of contemporaries that had divorced parents, resulting in a need for him to find monogamous relationships. To this extent he considered himself a “married man” as he was in a relationship with a Burmese man at the time. He said he reacted against materialism and capitalism, yet had internalised Calvinistic norms of production and consumerism. This led him to reject Catholicism and explore Buddhism within his Asian studies.

Joel often felt lonely in childhood and although he had friends from school, he was not allowed to bring them to his home due to his mother’s problems with depression. During his teenage years he rebelled against social norms, often adopting a more androgynous “gothic” persona in music and clothing. Although not into recreational drugs, he tended to use alcohol to signify his rebelliousness. He abhorred stereotyping, especially the American cultural expectations. He does not keep contact with friends from school or his hometown.

When we were discussing masculinity he said he didn’t feel he had the right to adopt a masculine persona and it was not until recently that he accepted that he was male, but then he did not want to be a female. He

described men's bodies, particularly gay American males, as something he could not attain, and certainly deprecated the buffed, muscular, hairless look of men in the gay media. He resisted athletics at school, but in his early twenties he wanted to work out to improve his appearance. However, it was not until much later that he did anything about it. At 36 he felt he was getting the body he wanted. Although he didn't have 'six-pack' abdominal yet, he felt it important to be in good shape. As a teenager Joel described himself as fat and as he was currently swimming a lot, was very lean physically and appeared in good health. He had had no contact with sexually transmitted infections and was very aware of protection in male-to-male sex in terms of HIV, especially as his current partner is a person with HIV.

Emotionally he said he had difficulty coping and had practised meditation as a coping strategy, which didn't seem to work very well. There was a history of depression in the family and he had suffered depressive symptoms, treated with medications and therapy. He said he gets annoyed very easily and has trouble coping with stress. Another of his coping strategies is to download gay pornography and escape into another world when watching it.

We had quite a discussion about monogamy and this seemed a dominant issue in Joel's assessment of potential sexual partners, acting as an inhibitor to acting on his desires. He commented that when a man chatted him up and mentioned sex he was disgusted and he rejected any

further advances. Yet, on the other hand, he spoke of his strong sexual needs. As stated earlier, he was always looking for something better and hence missed out on potential sexual encounters for many years.

Although Joel's family were Roman Catholic, he said he had moved on from Catholicism and was now engaging with Buddhism. He felt he should be dealing with his erotic feelings, thoughts and fantasies by focussing on redirecting his sexual energy to being more spiritual. In a previous long-term relationship with a Thai man, whom he felt he had loved very much, he broke up with him when he realised he had other partners, which conflicted with his strong sense of monogamy and stability.

Joel finds having sex with other men outside of his relationship difficult to handle and although he talked of wanting to accommodate his current partner if he wanted to have sex with other men, it was very confrontational. Joel had been pursued by a Thai man and was flattered by this young man's obvious sexual attraction and desire for him, but when it became clear he was more a prostitute or "money boy" and sleeping with men and women, the relationship folded very quickly.

Joel also said he felt ashamed of himself when he acted immaturely especially when he had had a few drinks, lost control of his mouth, and ended up being the entertainment.

Joel worked hard with language and customs, yet he remains a white American man in Burmese culture. Language and communication are not the same and he spoke of instances when there was miscommunication leading to difficult times in the relationship. It was a difficulty for Joel that he was not able to discuss with his partner how their domestic arrangements would work, especially the tension between social expectations, about being with friends and his need for privacy. Joel found sex with his partner to be deeply spiritually meaningful yet was unable to talk with his partner, because of a cultural reluctance to discuss such issues.

His Western status also brought expectations of patronage. When coupled with his strong Calvinistic work ethic, this ensured that he was relatively financially secure, and therefore expected to help with his partner's family's needs as well. This was a difficulty especially when his partner appeared reluctant to search for work. This issue caused quite some stress in as much as Joel looked ahead to having to source treatment options for his partner's HIV and the additional financial strain, and his partner seems incapable of understanding this. Joel reported that a Burmese colleague at work interacts with him in an extremely flirtatious way and yet Joel is unable to deal with this. He finds the situation stressful, because it is very easy to misread the signals in the Burmese cultural context.

4.4.2 Sexual history

Joel was very quick to tell me that he thought his brother was also gay and that it was not talked about in the family. He was also resistant to identify himself as gay and spoke quite scathingly of the typical American gay male, with muscles and the certain gay lifestyle illustrated by the TV series "*Queer As Folk*" (1999). He seemed to be at a loss to find language to describe his sexual identity and, at one time, when he was dating women he described himself as "bisexual" although he now rejects that label and settles for "gay" (after we perused "poofteer", "queen", MSM [man who has sex with men])). He commented that as puberty approached he didn't want to be masculine or feminine. He said he never felt he was properly masculine. He was fat, un-athletic, and overly sensitive, and would be the target of teasing and made fun of in gym class at school. He absorbed these taunts and brooded on them. He commented that in the mid-80s gender ambiguity and the genderless look was fashionable and had had some appeal for him. This may explain some of his apparent ambivalence in his adolescence about who and what he was as a person.

When asked about first ejaculation, he thought he was about 10 and it was a big thing for him because he had learnt to masturbate. He hastened to tell me that he had never had nocturnal omissions and there was a note of sadness in his voice as though he had missed out on something. There had been no mentor or teacher to help him discover his sexuality and he gave credit to "*Encyclopedia Britannica*" (2006).

There were vague references to sexuality as he was growing up. Due to his mother's religious views he was denied permission to attend sex education classes in school and was not exposed to anything other than basic information about physical things. He remembered reading stories about sexual activities of men and women in his sister's "The Hite Report" (Hite, 1976, 1981) and had never heard or imagined such activities.

In terms of acknowledging his attraction to men, Joel never denied his curiosity until one day he caught himself looking at advertisements of men in the underwear sections of department stores. He came to the realisation that he was not attracted to women as much as he was attracted to men. Yet he said that during his high school years he had abstained from sex with men or women for quite some time.

Joel describes himself as incredibly lusty yet searching for and finding sexual mates was problematic for him. He questions himself as to whether he looked neurotic or unappealing, yet he often resisted other men's attentions, often with disgust, especially when they tried to seduce him. His expectations seemed to be that he had to have a relationship with his sexual partners before having sex and on the occasions when he was seduced, he felt there was no love, and he would leave. His conclusion was that he was too intense and scared men away. He was attracted to a Japanese boy when he was in Japan, both aged about 18, but he did not pursue the young man, because he thought he was

straight, but some years later the Japanese boy disclosed his gay identity.

It seems from the descriptions of searching for and picking up men, his attempts were clouded with self-doubt, insecurities, and fears of rejection, and he often misread cues and cruising signals. For example, he expressed how hopeless he was at making eye contact (a common flirting technique in the United States). His ventures into Internet dating were disappointing as well. He reported that he had lots of dates with guys that never went anywhere.

4.4.3 Sexual behaviour

Initially Joel seemed reluctant to discuss personal issues of his sexual interaction with his partner, yet our conversation was remarkably frank and explicit, providing an opportunity for Joel to voice concerns and issues, which he commented was most useful. Joel seemed delighted that his current relationship with his Burmese partner is very sexual; in fact he had never had so much sex as he has had with him. More to the point, he said that this is the most satisfying sex he has had and he felt much of his past sexual experience was unsatisfying. His partner not only helped him to find ways of being sexual and erotic, but the sex expressed the deep sense of love he had for him. He readily admitted that his body image issues and self-consciousness often got in the way and he was turned off. The fact that his partner had made it clear that he

preferred to be passive was very erotically attractive to Joel. But Joel is looking for deeper expressions of love and intimacy and, due to cultural and language barriers, this was not forthcoming and this fed Joel's insecurity leading to problems.

Joel whispered that he likes to have penetrative anal sex. He admitted to having been penetrated anally but prefers to be the top. He said he learnt to have anal sex by watching films of men having sex with each other, and he readily identified with the insertive partner. It was at this point Joel described the intense feeling of being bonded with his partner when he was having sex, especially at the point of orgasm. He felt this was so different from orgasm when masturbating. Joel admitted to being intrigued by the notion of "stranger sex" or anonymous sex, flirted with the idea of it but lacked the courage and gets panicky at the possibility of it happening.

4.5 Summary

The four cases presented are uniquely idiosyncratic and show the influences on the personal and sexual development of culture, class, education and opportunity. These four cases provided the data for my analysis and discussion, which I present in the next Chapter.

Chapter 5: Analysis and discussion

In this chapter I apply the matrix of sexual scripting: cultural scenarios, intrapsychic scripts and interpersonal scripts to the case studies and describe and compare the men's scripts. I also identify the points at which emotionality and emotional scripts interact with the sexual scripts, as each case is idiosyncratic to the man whose interview was recorded, not all issues pertain to each subject. Where relevant I have provided the views of each case starting with my own and then Ralph, Andrew and Joel in that order. Some of the issues were relevant only to me.

The chapter is in seven sections, and each section starts with a brief overview of the topic followed by the analysis of each case study as follows: Kim, Ralph, Andrew, and Joel. I conclude each section with a summary of the findings of the section

5.1 Introduction and my exploration of the case studies

Sexuality is a lifelong process involving feelings, fantasies, and behaviors that promote an adaptive, pleasurable, and competent use of your body to experience affection and intimacy and to build personal identity (Driggs & Finn, 1991, p. 79).

In this section I review and analyse the content of the case studies and it was not so much the differences but the similarities of the stories of the men interviewed, including my own, that stood out. I put this down to the fact that we all grew up in a Western culture with Christianity featuring

prominently in our development, and notably, all of us have a special interest in men and their proclivities. All of us are employed in some form of training or teaching and the helping professions.

5.1.1 Backgrounds to the cases

An overview of the cases is presented in Chapter 4. Here I comment on some particulars of the men in the study. I found some of the differences were more about the generational and geographical contexts in which we grew up. I was born in New Zealand, now at the age of 59; Ralph at 66 years old is a Scotsman and the oldest of the sample; the second youngest is Andrew at 51, an Australian; and the youngest at 35 is Joel, an American. Ralph and I were from working class Protestant backgrounds, whereas Andrew and Joel come from more affluent circumstances. Also all of us either have achieved or aspire to higher education with Ralph and Andrew post doctorate, and Joel and myself completing our dissertations. We were born into different generations; Ralph a war baby, I a baby boomer, Andrew just qualifies as Generation X, and Joel is definitely Gen X, (defined as people born between 1961 and 1981 (Pontell, 2010, p. 134) and as Joel states, “the cynical generation.”

All of us are in same sex relationships of sorts. Ralph is partnering a young Burmese man some forty years his junior. My partner is Laotian, 30 years my junior; Andrew, married to a woman, is drawn to Asian

males, and although he has had a relationship with a Caucasian younger man, his current erotic attraction is from Indonesia; and Joel was in a relationship with a Thai man his own age that finished a year or so ago. He currently is partnered with a Burmese man of similar age.

This manifestation of desire seems to follow the exotic becomes erotic theory of sexual orientation (Bem, 1996), a six-step process of eroticisation that encompasses genetic and biological variables, temperament and arousal encoding in the early stages of sexual development. Bem (2000) also proposes that individuals become erotically attracted to other individuals because of difference, and gives examples of light coloured skinned persons being attracted to darker skin individuals, although this may not be sufficient to generate sexual attraction. This theory has been challenged in that, along with other factors, it fails to account for limerence (Money, 1986), which refers to the attraction that comes from relational interaction (Peplau et al., 1998). Gorsline (1996), commenting on the darker skin eroticism within the United States, comments:

The white supremacist gaze, the gaze of the tourist on the prowl among “exotic men of colour for a cheap thrill”, is deeply engrained in many gay US white men (Gorsline, 1996, p. 134).

Whereas I thought initially that I was attracted to the exotic eroticism of Asian men, their physical attractiveness, athleticism, smooth skin and youthful appearance which they maintain even as they mature, I have

come to realise that men from other ethnicities, Maori, Pacific Islander, South American, Afro-American also feature in my arousal script and fantasies. In terms of emotionality in scripting, such exoticness obviously leads to arousal. There was also the need to overcome cultural and language barriers (Ridge et al., 1999; Sullivan & Jackson, 1999) even though some sexual encounters require no verbal language as in the case of stranger sex for satisfying sexual encounters (Elwood et al., 2003).

5.1.2 Analysis matrix

The matrix for the analysis consisted of the three domains of sexual scripting theory; cultural scenarios, intrapsychic scripts, and interpersonal scripts, and this was the criteria for examining the data. The common and dominating factors that initially emerged were a Western notion of gay male sexual behaviour and to a certain extent gay male identity. This can be attributed to the pervasiveness and omniscience of Western media, especially the Internet (Dowsett et al., 2008). Therefore, in many ways, defining the cultural scenarios of the men interviewed was dominated and normalised by Western definitions of gayness (Sullivan, 2001). I will now discuss the cultural scenarios that emerge from the case studies.

5.2 The sexual scripts

In this section I will present my analysis of the cultural, intrapsychic, and interpersonal sexual scripts and emotionality.

5.2.1 Cultural scenarios within scripts

As presented in Chapter 2, cultural scenarios are the instructions for sexual and other conduct or scripts that are embedded in the cultural narratives. I will start with my own story of cultural connectedness and then review Ralph, Andrew and Joel.

Historically, this sense of connection seems to be more symbolic of the emerging gay consciousness of the 1970's with notions of tribalism (Thompson, 1987), and certainly featured the leather scene and subculture which had emerged in the post World War II decades (Hennen, 2008). This included the camp queens or fairies and much later the stereotypical gay clone, which I will discuss below. Thus the concept of "coming out" into gay subculture was determined by the nuances and the restrictions of the period, and the opportunities available to identify as a gay man. I will overview my case and then Ralph, Andrew and finally Joel.

5.2.1.1 Kim

Growing up In New Zealand I cannot recall any references to homosexuality let alone to any gay subculture (see Brickell, 2008, for an overview), although later in the 1980s I became more of aware of the covert gay subculture and became intimately involved

. In Australia my dalliance with the leather scene was both exciting and educational, and coincidental with my gradual “coming out”. This experience follows that of Weeks (1985), in that it was more of a discovery of self and fluidity of identity than a particular spatiotemporal event (Russell & Bohan, 1999). I found it necessary to find and develop a language to process the experiences in order to create a cognitive map or “lovemap” as Money (1999) postulates. To be able to synthesise feelings, emotions, physical responses and pleasures had been a struggle to establish an identity (Altman, 1996). In New Zealand in the 1970s as a seminarian trying to fit feelings and experiences to the literature I was reading in the context of theological studies, I first started frequenting beats (public places for meeting men and sometimes having sex) and the sauna scene in my late twenties.

My experiences occurred well after I was established as a heterosexual man and father. On arrival in Melbourne and over the next decade, I frequented certain leather coming out sex clubs in Melbourne and Sydney and the notorious leather dance parties such as “Beyond Boys”, which still run today. Drugs, alcohol and sex were constant companions in the atmosphere of masculinity defined by leather, boots, muscles, and accessories such as chains, harnesses, slave boys and rampant eroticism. Sexual activity can be more extreme such as sadomasochism involving anal penetration with objects, dildos, penises, fingers, fists and the associated power rituals of this arena (Hennen, 2008, pp. 151-154).

I circle the edges of these activities, more interested in their bodies than their behaviours.

I well remember my first encounter with the leather sex clubs in San Francisco in 1983 just as the HIV epidemic was emerging, as I previously stated in my case study. I was completing my Sexual Attitude Reconstruction Course at the Institute for Advanced Studies in Human Sexuality, California and as students we were encouraged to explore all that this vibrant city had on offer. I visited a number of leather/sex clubs South of Market and found the experience exhilarating yet daunting. Even though I was developing my gay sex script, I had no experience of this subculture.

In 2005 I participated in a conference in San Francisco as a mature gay man, and reconnected with two acquaintances with whom I had stayed in contact. I was introduced to "Daddy Allan" and I was invited to be his "boy" at the notorious Sunday afternoon at the "Stockade", an infamous San Francisco gay leather bar. I was dressed in full leathers and introduced as his new boy to all these "Muscle Marys" and leathermen. I found this experience quite extraordinary, especially once I had made the connection that Daddy Allan was indeed the Leather Daddy of San Francisco and had opened the first leather bar in San Francisco in the early 70s. The emotional impact of this, other than the excitement of the experience, was the boost to self-esteem. Even though I was out of my own Australasian gay culture, I found I was able to play the role to

perfection. I also had a nostalgic foray back to the leather sex clubs South of Market I had first explored as a much younger man and found I was much more comfortable and assured of myself.

What was more striking in these experiences was that the behavioural scripts I learnt in 1983 stood me in good stead in these venues decades later. What was different was the emotional context and reaction that I had, which had shifted from “a little white boy from New Zealand” to an emotional and cultural “Daddy” identity in my own right. I had been introduced as Daddy Allan’s ‘boy’ and that served to reinforce this identity. But the experience of returning to San Francisco was shot through with the sad recognition that so many of the men I had known had succumbed in their prime to the viciousness of AIDS.

Travelling and working in Asia, the Pacific Islands, and South East Asia, especially into Bali and Thailand, gave me opportunities for relationships with men from other cultures. I had always found the Maori and Polynesian men in Auckland attractive. My earliest memories of this came from high school where I was infatuated with two classmates, one a Maori boy who scared me by his size (he was no older than me but was much more strongly built), and a German-Samoan boy whom I lusted after in my fantasies for many years. He had my ideal fantasy; a tall yet mesomorphic build at 16 years old, coming into manhood with light brown flawless skin, extraordinarily beautiful features and lots of dark hair. I lacked the confidence and had no idea of any script that

could allow me to act on my infatuation, but this boy made my school days worthwhile.

Once I did have a script, I found that I was attractive to Indonesian and Asian men, and reciprocated. In Bangkok I would sit in the French Café on Convent Road, have a coffee and watch the office boys going to lunch, with tight white shirts and black trousers that showed off well developed *derrière*.

My own cultural scenarios in my earlier years were based upon a middle class white sub-culture of clubs, dance parties, drugs, and alcohol. It appears that my experience was not reflected in any of the other men's experience. Ralph talks of dinner parties, concert going, and to a lesser extent bars; Andrew spoke of his more limited experience of gay bars in Bangkok, Bali and Jakarta and we were able to share stories about certain well known haunts in those places. Joel, in his early years, frequented mainly heterosexual drinking places and was somewhat scathing of these venues in Thailand.

In terms of emotionality, the visual and physical stimulation of such events provide a strong sense of belonging to a group or community and the fact that I was usually picked up and had a good time sexually meant that it added to my self esteem, especially as I aged. In the earlier years this sense of belonging was challenged when there was a preponderance of men in the gay subculture known as "Muscle Marys" -

men with well-defined, sculptured physiques (Chuang, 1999, p. 33). In the United States gay culture, The “Chelsea Look” describes the gay men from the Chelsea area in New York with sculpted, hairless, very pumped bodies resulting from dedicated gym workouts (Signorile, 1997, p. 146), also called ‘circuit boy body’ (Alvarez, 2008, p. 186).

Circuit boys or “circuit queens” travelled the bigger cities of the United States and internationally to participate in all night gay dance parties (Signorile, 1997, p. 55). I well recall the many times gazing with awe and lust at these men at the Sydney Gay and Lesbian Mardi Gras and the Melbourne Red Raw parties during the 1990s, always beyond my reach to seduce or be seduced by, but certainly fuel for my fantasies.

Although I was not aware of the “circuit queen” nomenclature at the time, I know I aspired to such esteemed company and to have the confidence to strip off my shirt at a dance party or nightclub. In fact I am more a “muscle daddy” (Hennen, 2008, p. 239), because of my size and age. I have been called a “bear” and at times label myself as ‘bear’, which Hennen (2008) suggests is a blank slate on which the individual inscribes his own particular meaning (p.109). However, it is defined within the gay media as big and beefy though gentle men, often muscular or overweight, with copious amounts of body hair as a signifier (Hennen, 2005). As opposed to the more effeminate ‘queenie’ or faerie types (Hennen, 2008), these men are the more conventional masculine male (Dowsett et al., 2008).

There are bear social clubs in Melbourne and other Australian cities, which act as a focal point for these men and their admirers called 'cubs' or 'otters' or smaller smoother men (Hennen, 2005). I was not drawn to join any of these clubs, as I was not attracted to this physical type - overlooking the fact that I may well have found for myself a young 'otter' in such a venue. However, in the descriptive typology Hennen (2005) subcategorises various physical attributes such as height, beard, and body size, they were not featured in my experience of this subculture. I do agree with Hennen's (2008) observation that such older men sometimes referred to as the 'daddy type', who are mature and self-confident, can be sexually alluring for many younger men. This description applies to me yet it took quite some time to actually feel this self-confidence and sense of attractiveness, coupled with a dedicated gym and physical fitness regime that I continue to this day. I acknowledge that I had issues with body image, striving to have the well-defined, smooth, athletic mesomorphic look that I found erotically desirable. I well understand that maintaining my body mass was and still is an important aspect of my HIV management strategy (Alvarez 2008). The payoffs such as better health, low blood pressure, and stable body mass index are just as important as the attention of younger men. When living in Asia I was frequently solicited for sex by young Asian men; and when I reported this to friends, the comments that were usually made were that my wallet was more attractive than my body, which was only partially true.

5.2.1.2 Ralph

The cultural scenario of Ralph was dominated by his desire not to be seen as a “faerie”, although he spoke of “being camp”, queens, and having “sisters”. There are overtones of this feminisation in Hennen’s description of “faeries” (2008, p.60), see also the description of “camping” in Silverstein and White (1977, p. 35) and of “camp queens” in Todd (1998). As Ralph explained:

I’m really quite a camp person as I call it [...], I mean that’s individual support, the real structured support are being what I call my “sisters”, who are friends of many years standing, and who I can, well in Edinburgh we all live within a stone’s throw of each other, go anytime to talk about anything – er, they know my family and they know all about me.

He was very careful not to be labelled as ‘gay’ in environments where he did not feel safe:

I’m quite happy having a dinner party with three friends I know, but if I had to go to a dinner party with five or six that I don’t know I don’t stay too long – I begin to feel ‘jangly’ and that’s partly because I’m on edge in case I make a mistake – it’s a history of being gay and letting it out of the bag – letting the cat out of the bag you know. I’m most relaxed with those I call my sister ... who are gay men I’ve known for ten, fifteen, twenty years. If we want to scream we scream, and I don’t need to worry about anything. I’m still on the edge and that’s why I’m you know I’m on edge with A and with G – they already know I’m gay I’m still on edge

in case I make a mistake. I've lived my life, hiding my real self and I think just to come back to, *[long pause]* it goes back to playing the dog bit, when I went through puberty I developed a straight-acting persona [...] a James Dean type.

Ralph had a shaming experience as a prepubescent boy when his mother 'caught' him playing with dolls. This led him to develop a heterosexual 'persona' as he calls it, to protect his ego from the ridicule and shaming he expected to receive from authority figures, especially his mother (Green, 1987). To an extent this strategy was so successful, he describes his sense of self as being partitioned, one part in public to school, work, family and church and the other part when he is with his "sisters", his confederates. Ralph remembers this incident of shaming as having a profound impact on him and he resolved not to expose his real self unless he was assured it was safe. Thus shaming became integrated into his sense of self, resulting in him compensating through playing the heterosexual masculine macho type (Babl, 1979) during his time at University (Lanzieri & Hildebrandt, 2011). He developed a very convincing mestizaje identity (Pallotta-Chiarolli, 2010) and script. This led to the development of his sexual script in the cultural scenario of "cottaging", the English equivalent of the Australasian term "beats", or "boxes" in South Africa and "tearooms" in the United States (Dowsett, 1993, p. 56).

As discussed in Chapter 2, cottaging is a clandestine activity although conducted in public places and has an inglorious history since the 18th Century (Church et al., 1993). Cottaging provides opportunity to engage in casual sexual contacts most often with anonymous strangers, hence the term “stranger sex”. Ralph’s experiences that shaped his development and scripts as a gay man were often mediated through sociality with his friends, his “sisters”, a term commonly applied to members of a friendship group in the 1950-60s (Weeks et al., 2001). Ralph also belonged to an exclusive group of music and theatre-loving men called the “A Gays”. The description below is illuminating of issues of class, social status, snobbery and elitism. Here is an extract from the interview:

Kim: So if I were to come to Edinburgh how would I enter the “A Gays”?

Ralph: Well, you have to know someone in the “A Gays”. You have to be willing to entertain people to dinner. The easiest way is to go to one of the concerts and mix at the interval and you’ll see “Lady Pee: there, that’s Ralph Parkinson – a big, tall man, looks butch until he speaks, more a “queen of all she surveys” she’s a “Queen Bee”. The minute, if she accepts you into her circle, you’re made, you’re off, can’t get out of it actually that’s the problem. Yeah during the interval at Usher Hall at what used to be the Scottish National Orchestra – now called something else, or at the opera, you can get in very quickly – if - you’re able to be bitchy about the soprano, oh you have to play the game *[assumes a toffy*

voice] [...] It goes something like “that’s one awful bitch of a soprano-contralto that I have ever heard in my life – did ye hear it dear?”

This group provided much needed social and emotional support for Ralph. They would vet his boyfriends to see if they were suitable in terms of education, position, money, and would be scathing of one from the lower classes. Cover (2004) observes that socially significant domains of ethnicity, race, age and class influence meaning and practice for the individual, often with both positive and negative obligations, such as those demanded by an individual’s social group. Such issues influence scripting.

Ralph had had a plumber for a partner, and this was not acceptable to his cohort of “sisters”, and hence this partner was never included in Ralph’s inner gay social group. He speaks very fondly of the “A Gays” as being a group with whom he could relax and be himself, in contrast to his more public work situation where he had to play out the compulsory heteronormative script. There seems to be little sexual contact between members of the group. Here the “incest taboo” operated, which did not permit sex with friends (Weeks et al., 2001, p. 36). Ralph describes another set of friends with whom he would go cottaging, which fits with Mark Simpson’s “Sex Hunters” (Simpson, 1994b, pp. 46-68) notion of family with all the narcissistic overtones of shared promiscuous lifestyles:

[...] in those days in Edinburgh, this is of interest, cruising cottages was a social thing – not an isolation thing. You’d go out at midnight in a car

with four other people and you'd got to the cottage at the bottom of the mound and you'd sit there in your car watching another car, "Oh, he's great, go in go in." And then you'd run up Carlton Hill chasing this car and another car and it was a great social thing, cruising cottages. We were a group of friends, but I also did it alone, but there were certain social cruising hours; isolation cruising and social at what was called "The Wheel of Fortune", the hill in Edinburgh where there was this toilet and it was circular and it was called the "Wheel of Fortune". Then you would all move to GHQ [*hotel bar*] which was opposite the North British Hotel and then get in the car and go to the Westend, to another place – they all had names. We did this as a group; you would do it with four friends in a car. You'd say, "Ooh I fancy him." "Well go on dear." You know, "Oh but I fancy him – it's my turn." [*shared laughter*] and it would be, "Well you go down, you go down", and you'd go off with him or whatever, you know. It became a game. Well there was that form of cruising – cottage cruising which was really just a laugh.

It is clear that this social activity built a sense of belonging and camaraderie during a period of societal homophobia and repression. This, however, seemed to add an additional heightened thrill to the experiences. Ralph had one particular bad experience with police in Waterloo Station in London when a cute plain-clothes policeman arrested him after an entrapment. This reinforced the development of this public and private persona and caused him considerable distress. At the time he was a teacher in a high school and if it were made public the outcry

and embarrassment would have been very difficult for him, most likely the end of his career. This need for protection of his emotional sense of self meant the development of a sustained identity as a heterosexual and he embarked on ingratiating himself with groups of sportsmen at University, which included alcoholic binges, as he reports:

[...] and that's the real me; the painting, the poems, the music, the harpsichord, the long philosophical discussions that went well into the night, the Bach, listening to the Bach Double Harpsichord Concertos, and so on and so forth, and that's the real me. Whether that's a man or not, whether that's masculine or not, whether it's not recognised - it wasn't recognised as such- but I didn't care about that, you know. I went through a bad patch in University before I gave up drinking I got in with a group of shinty [*hockey*] players from North Ewit, the most butch guys you could ever imagine - butch as hell and they drank nothing but this whiskey called Taliscom Whiskey that is all they would drink - nothing else and for about two years I drank this dreadful – it was probably very good whiskey, but I drank and drank and drank with them, I was drunk and I was trying to run away from being gay really and able to do things under the influence of whiskey with these guys, which we could both deny the next day had happened, “Oh it was the drink” you know”!

Ralph put a lot of physical and emotional energy into constructing and maintaining his mestizaje identity and public heterosexual persona:

[...] I think it was very successful, because my dearest friend Harriett, who fell madly in love with me when I first met her, ah said, thought I

was a rugby player and I was so convincing – I did actually referee rugby when I was with Harriett and I had this ability to be a smouldering, James Dean type, you know, jeans, looking tough [...] I didn't go to discos I went to parties. I'd be sort of quiet, butch kinda looking guy, and of course that's not me at all – I'd rather be at home sewing and knitting quite happily. I never managed to get to bring these two parts of me together – there's a dichotomy. I never synthesised my personality. I never managed to do that. The energies have kept the "mes" apart. I'm slightly schizoid actually, maybe not autistic. The outcomes are the same - more about relating more happily to things than to people. If it's not a schizoid thing then it converges on paranoia. And the paranoia relates to this fear of letting your real self out, and it gets worse – it used to be terrible in places like North Africa, which is one of my favourite holiday haunts – where if you got caught you'd be in prison for 20 years. Oh! Unbelievable, I mean I used to get up to incredible things in these places, and then feel this real paranoia about it; don't want to spend the rest of my life in a Marrakech prison. And there's always been an aspect of my personality that's reckless or disinhibited, or does things; I used to, when we were training *[psychology]* we used to fill out these 16 PF forms, and there was one category "schizophrenia – disinhibited, ignores social rules" – I've got an ability to be quite disinhibited, *[long pause]* almost anger; and on the other hand to be very respectable, the church organist. I was a headmaster at one time - back when I was a teacher; I was a bit mixed up!

The formation of Ralph's personal script was determined by his mother's ambition for him to be socially mobile as a successful doctor or lawyer. Achieving a PhD and being a psychologist and teacher was almost second best. But his sexual scripting was deformed by the necessity to present as a smouldering butch heterosexual in one aspect of his life and having secret lives of "screaming faerie" with his gay "sisters", the clandestine "cottage queen", and the role of gay husband in his partnered relationships. This script and the constant self-surveillance and panopticon gaze, as discussed in Chapter 2, required considerable emotional energy and emotion work (Hochschild, 1979, 1983).

5.2.1.3 Andrew

Andrew's cultural scenario is equally complex in that he maintains his relationship with his wife and family, and has in the past five years acted out his desire for sexual contact with men. He reported that this experience was liberating and fully satisfying. I summarised this scripting to him:

Kim:[*But*] you had a script at home that you thought was sort of non-directional, you went to private schools where you learnt a script in school from your experience with the other boys, you went into the Navy where there was a script to be a particular heterosexual Naval man's man, and then you hit religion, which was a script of total abstinence and a lot of self denial until you were married - where you were meant to find

fulfilment, which didn't actually happen. So really the scripting that you had received didn't serve you very well until you met Steve?

Andrew then makes clear that he had no notion of homosexuality, and that he understood the experiences at school with other postpubescent boys as normal. His formative years in an upper middle class protected family included experiences in private school in Britain, which were filled with guilt-free experimentation with other boys. He readily recognised the feeling and behaviours of the young men as described in Tim Conigrave's book *"Holding the Man"* (1995), set in Australia and gives a revealing account of the love between private school schoolboys.

During his time in the Navy as a teenager he established a long and lasting, platonic relationship with another man, an "unritualised friendship" (Culbertson, 1996), whom he still considers his best friend. Then came a time with Christianity, where there was no sexual activity. Andrew seemed to struggle with ideals of abstinence and overcoming challenges through prayer and self-deprivation with "save the world" idealism. He left the Navy and left Australia stopping off in Singapore for a time, studying theology until the money ran out and he returned to Australia. He developed meaningful relationships with women resulting in a heterosexual marriage. He thus had no opportunity for any formation of a gay identity:

I think that, if when I was younger I realised that I was a gay man and knew heterosexuality is not for me and if I told my parents they would've

been I'm sure shocked - but then got over it, although it is interesting because after I spoke to Pam, she's actually spoken to my Mum about this. I mean you grow up in it and that's what's expected [...] and I've often wondered why I never kind of stopped and said, "No, no I'm different and that is not for me."

In the second interview, our conversations expanded Andrew's initial reflection on his understanding of his relationship with his wife and the men in his life.

You know I've got the level of understanding about sex that I know that Pam wants me to have – you know its like that the coming together of two spirits and there's all this that kind of which I intellectually understand and know now and I think the Steve experience really opened up me to feeling what that meant whereas I, I didn't really understand I mean I'd never felt it before [...] I knew what Pam was talking about, but I just didn't feel it, and that was the difference when I met Steve I did understand and it made me realise all the more how difficult Pam's life must have been up and still remains, because that's what she wants and I don't think - she often says to me I can't have sex with someone I don't love and there's the embodiment of love and passion and that oneness.

Here Andrew is discovering from his experience of being "opened up" to the deep emotional connection with his male lover, how it is for his wife in wanting to know love in the passion of sexual intercourse. This insight creates for him a dilemma, his deep affection and loyalty to his wife and their relationship contrasts to the intensity of the sexual passion and

chemistry with his male partner that is missing in his heterosexual relationship. There is a conflict between the various emotional and sexual scripts he has to somehow integrate. He comments:

I fell totally in love with Steve, after that first night. I kept writing emails from my desk [...] I think what really appealed to me about Steve was the first adult that I actually felt in every way compatible with sexually, and intellectually and emotionally and I hadn't experienced that before, you know.

Kim: and different from being with Pam?

Andrew: Very different!

Although Andrew had had sexual experiences with other boys, as a teenager he was celibate, focussing on his Christian experiences. As a young adult he was incognizant of any other options other than the hegemonic heteronormative script, and it appears that Andrew was in denial of his latent same-sex attraction and desire. On meeting and falling in love with Steve he developed an emotional script and his sense of self became integrated with his homoerotic sexual script. However, this caused cognitive dissonance as he sought to honour his marriage and his relationship with his wife. My conjecture is that the result of this dissonance was his reported arousal difficulties when he needed to be erotic with his wife, whereas with his male partner he had no inhibitions.

5.2.1.4 Joel

Joel, on the other hand, rebelled against the strictures of middle class American society in adopting an alternative “Goth” style during his high school and university years. Although at one time he thought he was bisexual, his sexual experiences with women were few and far between and his knowledge of sex and sexual development was garnered from proficient study of *“Encyclopaedia Britannica”* (2006). His withdrawal into himself seems to be connected with his body image issues and lack of opportunity for sexual encounters, as he comments:

I think now, I think now I made out with girls a lot at certain times I made out with girls that didn’t go anywhere and I had some girl-friendly type girl friends you know what I mean nothing very serious, um, when I graduated High School within days I had I think my first sexual experience with men. There were two right on top of each other - not a lot happened – then a long dry stretch.

Joel’s conservative religious background meant that there was little sex education and his sexual development was acquired through trial and error. His focus was very much on integrity and honesty in his relationships and he had not explored the more esoteric and adventurous avenues for sexual enjoyment. As he had not frequented gay bars, and his few early experiences with men after graduating high school were not very satisfying, it appeared to me that he had not developed a competent gay man sexual script. As he was not immersed in a sexual subculture

there were limited opportunities to create and refine the necessary skills, as he says:

I went to Japan and even though I was attracted to Japanese men nothing ever happened. I'm not attractive or there's something forbidding or I look neurotic, or people can look in my eyes and they know to run in the other direction – I don't flirt, I don't know how, I don't know what the signs are.

As I reflect on the interview with Joel he displayed remarkable erudite mental capacity. His dedication to higher-level education requiring extensive linguistic talent was very evident. He spoke very quickly, apologising a number of times that his thoughts were too fast resulting in garbled speech. I sensed he lived a lot in his head, analysing, ruminating and processing thoughts. He told me:

I'm an incredibly lustful person, it's written in my palms, I think about sex all the time. Part of it though is that thinking about sex is relaxing, especially before I go to sleep, it's a bad habit that I started I think very young. It didn't involve masturbation but it's just, you know like ok, just have a fantasy so I think there's something when I'm anxious there's a natural tendency for me to start thinking about sex, so I don't know if you can break it down or anything in that sense.

This was even more apparent when discussing how he understood his masculinity, and explains:

As puberty approached I did not feel I was masculine, it was not that I didn't want to be masculine or that I wanted to be feminine, I just never felt that I was properly masculine. I was fat, I was un-athletic, and, and I was overly sensitive, so you know in, in athletics class gyms, gym class when er, you know I would get teased and made fun of I took it very you know I just suck it all in and brood on it like my Dad does – he broods.

Joel spoke of the difficulties he had in believing he was attractive. He suffered from low self-esteem and poor body image and at one time was being treated for depression (Drummond, 2005). He seemed to lack impetus to pursue men he thought desirable, and tended to be passive and non-responsive. It seemed to me that the script he was operating out of was one that defined him as having poor body image, undesirable and unworthy of the honest attentions of men, underpinned by notions of propriety, which Foucault refers to as a 'moral code', rules for action, behaviour and conduct (Foucault, 1985). As Joel comments:

I guess I wouldn't say that I don't have this Catholic like evil and dirty; but in that sense I sort of translate into a Buddhist sense of it's problematic. It would be ideal if I could sometimes wish I could redirect that energy into something more creative or I wish that if I'm feeling anxious I could deal with that anxiety and not sort of add on these layers.

Joel is therefore suspicious of any overtures by other men and had very high expectations of any relationship. Joel's sense of masculinity referenced the mesomorphic body build featured in many gay media and

body building culture. He was very clear that he did not identify with the “gay clone” look (Cover, 2004). He rejected any notion of the buffed muscular hunk that was the stereotypical sexually successful gay man in the United States (Alvarez, 2008). I was unsure if this was a rejection because he thought it unattainable during his teenage years or he was simply envious. So he chose gender ambiguity, something similar to pansexual as I discussed in Chapter 2, perhaps because it was safer. This is my conjecture. However, when I met him he was working very hard on improving his physique with exercise, which was more ectomorphic than endomorphic, and he indicated that he was not yet satisfied with his body. I also wondered if Joel’s rejection of the stereotypical gay look was confined to his view of Western (i.e., American) gay culture as his Burmese partner whom I had observed did have a mesomorphic build.

Joel speaks with almost pride that he does not frequent “boy bars” in Bangkok and furthermore finds the disco scene uncomfortable and noisy. He prefers to engage with men at a more cerebral level and has quickly learnt Japanese, Thai and Burmese to facilitate his conversations with men of the region. However, there are difficulties in reading cross-cultural signals and signs resulting in miscommunication and frustration. So his attempts to formulate a satisfactory script with his partner were sometimes problematic.

The cultural scenarios as presented by the four men in this study are not homogenous and although there is some overlap, the men accessed and engaged with the gay subculture as and when it was expedient.

However, all of us accessed these environments to explore our sexual selves, access men and possible partners, and create, practice and hone our sexual scripts. It was within these settings that we learnt the language, could interpret the signs and signals, learnt the rituals and etiquette to ensure we could have our sexual needs met in safety. I have not reviewed issues of safe sex from this perspective and will address this in the next section. I now turn to the next domain in my analysis matrix - intrapsychic scripts.

5.2.2 Intrapsychic scripts

As discussed in Chapter 2, intrapsychic scripts constitute the plans and fantasies by which individuals guide and reflect upon their past, current, or future conduct (Laumann & Gagnon, 1995). In other words, intrapsychic scripts are the internalisation of shared scripts and scenarios. Through rehearsal and performance leading to competence, not only are the interpersonal sexual behaviours refined and honed, but the meaning and symbols inherent in the scripts are internalised (Hynie et al., 1998). There is also the formation and shaping of the individual's attitudes, values, and beliefs, and I contend the development and establishment of a sexual identity(s) that the protagonist accesses as appropriate for the sexual episode that is being performed. I briefly

introduce the intrapsychic scripts of each case and then in the next section turn to a fuller discussion of the “my type” aspects.

5.2.2.1 Kim

In terms of my self-identity as a gay man my intrapsychic script was adjusted to incorporate the acceptance of the “daddy” type (Hennen, 2008), and this was expressed outwardly in bulking up at the gym. There was something about the gym culture I found daunting and, on reflection, it was being around some very attractive muscular young men – did this mean competing with them? There came a point that things had changed and it became clear that my erotic capital had changed, and I became very aware that other men were soliciting me, whereas up to that point I sought and pursued potential sexual partners. I discussed erotic capital in Chapter 2.

5.2.2.2 Ralph

The issue of identity arose with Ralph who was conflicted about his public and private persona. Publicly his behaviour and sexual displays were configured to present a hegemonic masculine identity and heterosexual “butch” persona, as “one of the boys”. Yet in his internal world he wanted to be a “flaming fairy” evidenced by his participation in the “A Gays” theatrical circle of gay men and “his sisters” in Edinburgh, where a lot of camp feminisation of individuals and their roles in the group was manifest, as he comments:

Fantasies? Yeah, fantasies mostly involved around male figures, who I can convince myself I’m not really gay, but I can make gay, a

(inaudible), like in Indonesia I used to fantasize about these army guys who trotted by in the morning with bare chests you know, um, footballers, mostly about straight men, or men I could convince myself are straight – don't have to be straight, but maybe I can corrupt and make gay.

This comment indicates that his intrapsychic script was a feature of his sense of identity as a masculine male and being “one of the boys”, with a carefully guarded attraction to men or rather preferably to be attractive to men, with the intent of “corrupting” them into being gay. Ralph mentioned a number of times that the idea of having sex with heterosexual men was very arousing.

5.2.2.3 Andrew

Andrew's intrapsychic script was firstly formed with experimentation with boys at school, followed by a long period of abstinence during his teenage years. He was attracted to the exoticness of the East and the woman he married was from Srinagar. His homosexual tendencies did not emerge for many years, until being seduced by a Caucasian man, who was forthright in his request, with the line:

I'd like to share your pillow with you!

Andrew found he could not resist this invitation and he embarked on a long illicit affair with this man. His public presentation is as a heterosexual married man, although he admitted at the interview of having a number of different partners in Indonesia whom he found very attractive.

5.2.2.4 Joel

Joel had a poor body image in being overweight as a teenager as outlined above, and then in his 20s feeling dissatisfied so embarking on a program of body transformation wherein he lost the weight, had become very thin and was at the time of interview slowly adding muscle mass. He had not developed an intrapsychic sexual script, as he had no sexual experience till much later in life.

Throughout the conversations, as captured by this project, it is clear there is an ongoing endeavour to derive a sense of self in the lives of the men. Notions of sexuality and actual sexual behaviour can only exist within the context and worldview of the actors involved, drawn from society's cultural scenarios and narratives (Bordo, 2000; Simon & Gagnon, 1986). Two key issues emerged: the sense of identity and agency each man had in the acquisition, development, and refinement of his sexual scripts; and second, making sense of the choice of object of desire and the subsequent behaviours that then become scripted.

In my case, the emergence of a gay identity that was actualised through progressive experimentation with men and the sense that the feelings and sensations were "right and proper" legitimised (or maybe justified) the behaviours. There was in no sense a denial of any previous sexual orientation or a discounting of what was previous, rather an understanding that there was another dimension to my sexual self that somehow made sense and brought a sense of integration. One outcome

I well remember was that I felt that I could then be more authentic in my love making with my then wife and later with the men I encountered.

Here is the extract of the interview:

Interviewer: So what about your marriage relationship?

Kim: That was fine because I felt complete inside, whole and satisfied that I was able to perform more than adequately within the marriage and I don't think I withheld anything – if anything she got more sex than she had before. And, and it was for many years it was not an issue till it became an issue of course as it inevitably does, which ended in divorce.

Intrapsychic scripts are also spatiotemporal, in as much as discovering and fulfilling sexual fantasies require place and context. How to give shape to notions of being passive, active or versatile in a sexual encounter requires experience to test the parameters of both the fantasy and the experience. I found access to sex on premises - male saunas, sex clubs, dance parties, and cruise clubs - provided opportunity for some active voyeurism and participation. I comment on these spaces below.

Negotiating stranger sex, group sex, or some more exotic sex such as bondage, sadomasochism, exhibitionism, needed a theatre for the scripts to be realised. The sexual antics of men on the dance floors of gay rave parties, often under the disinhibitional influence of amphetamines, provided such a theatre. To participate in such antics, I found to be very pleasurable and boosted my self-esteem. The fact that friends told me

that under the influence of drugs men could be very indiscriminate in the selection of sexual partners didn't diminish the experience or the thrill that such encounters generated.

5.2.3 The acquisition of sexual scripts

The acquisition of sexual scripts is essentially an educative process of discovery through experience and the learning and creation of sexual practices and meanings. I asked each man in the study, "How did you learn what to do?" Three of us used books and pictorial resources including print media, advertisements and magazines as offered up by Western cultural outlets (Bordo, 2000). Gay adult erotica has improved with digital copying and Internet facilities offering a wide variety of material to suit all tastes. Erotica was and still is a valuable education tool for many lesbians, gay men, bisexual, transgender, intersex, and queer young people (Borzekowski & Rickert, 2001; Haldeman, 1996; Mutchler, 2005; Spink et al., 2004).

5.2.3.1 Kim

My earliest recollection at about 14 years old of getting from somewhere a copy of *"The New Zealand Naturalist"* (Brown, n.d.), and there was a small black and white photo of a well built young Caucasian man naked (except for bathers), and I was struck by the eroticism of his chest and leg muscles. This picture thus provided many occasions for self-pleasuring and masturbation, and I believe encoded muscular men as the stimulus of my erotic arousal. I was fortunate to find a copy of *"Men Loving Men"* (Walker, 1977), which legitimated my desire as well as

providing a guide to the practicalities of fulfilling my desires. The arrival of the Australian magazine “*Cleo*” (1972- current) with its male nude centerfolds was sought after. Also the magazines “*Playgirl*” (Caldwell, 1973-2011) and “*Drummer*” (DeBlase, 1986-1992; Embry, 1975-1985) fueled fantasy and eroticism. During the 1980s, ‘black market’, poor quality, gay pornography circulated amongst my peers in Auckland and provided an avenue for actually seeing what was possible sexually with men.

5.2.3.2 Ralph

Ralph acquired his sexual scripts by experience that he gained by his cruising of cottages. There were no references to any sources other than his being around gay men. He was at one time a counselor at a gay switchboard and had made a study of gay sexuality in order to be effective.

5.2.3.3 Andrew

Andrew, in responding to the question of acquiring his homosexual script, said, “Never underestimate the value of ‘*National Geographic*’”, yet his descriptions of his early years at school indicated that he learnt a lot from his friends, although he said the dominant script in school was heterosexual with marriage as the objective. However, extra-curricula activities with his classmates included masturbation, oral and anal sex, although Andrew implied he was always active never passive in these encounters with other boys. At one point in the interview Andrew comments:

[...] the script was follow your dick, if there is a hole - stick it in.

Notably, as with myself, there were no sexual encounters with men in the Navy, and for Andrew, the latter part of his teenage years were devoid of sexual contact with anyone. However, this was also the period of his most fervent Christian awareness and sex was sublimated in order to “save the world.” In answer to a question about acquiring and practising safe sex he said that he learnt that from his work in HIV and development and his male partners always made sure that condoms were available.

5.2.3.4 Joel

Joel claimed that *Encyclopedia Britannica* and the *Hite Report* (Hite, 1976, 1981) were elementary in acquiring sexual knowledge, as were conversations with his female siblings. Girlfriends he dated as a teenager taught him how to kiss and with boys it was trial and error. He learnt little from peers and admitted to having a limited repertoire of sexual behaviours. Joel preferred to be inserter or “top” with anal sex, having rarely been penetrated. He spoke of the intensity of the emotional connection with his partner when he penetrated him, and the sense of trust his partner had for him in allowing this to happen. He did not develop a cruising script.

The acquisition of sexual scripts refers to learning and understanding of how to be sexual and at the same time forming a cognitive map of that which is to be arousing and erotic. This leads me to a discussion of ‘my type’ within intrapsychic script formation.

5.2.4 The “my type” within intrapsychic scripts

Intrapsychic scripts, or personal sexual culture, often contain elements termed “my type” (Whittier & Simon, 2001, p. 144), which refers to the biological, physical and characterological traits of others that the actor regards as optimally desirable sexually. This is somewhat different to erotic capital, which refers to the prevailing culture’s view of what is considered erotic as I discussed in Chapter 2. It seems clear to me that there is a synergy between erotic capital and “my type”. The “my type” script enables the screening and selection of sexual partners more manageably in a situation of many possibilities, such as I experienced at Sydney Mardi Gras and Sleaze Ball parties. Types are constructed from larger cultural scenarios such as ethnicity, social class, age (Whittier & Melendez, 2007), body type and perhaps “imprinting”, resulting from our first sexual experience (Bergling, 2007, p. 31). The “my type” script remains personal and idiosyncratic reflecting the actor’s self-concept (Whittier & Simon, 2001).

5.2.4.1 Kim

However, scripts are always amenable to change and eroticism is fluid (Baumeister, 2004). I have found my intrapsychic script of ‘my type’ has changed as I aged. Yet the mesomorph body type [see Figure 3], lean with well-defined musculature, and a rear end that has shape and form, hairy or hairless, brown or white skin is still paramount, reflecting my earliest sexual arousal to a picture of a man posing in bathers in *New Zealand Naturist* (Brown) in 1962.

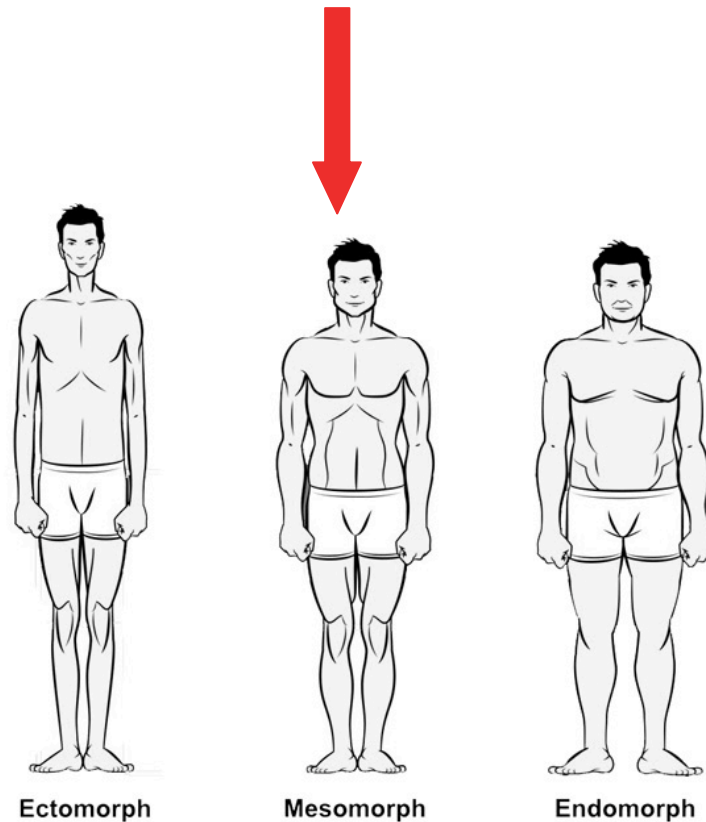


Figure 3. Male body types – (www.muscleandstrength.com)

Even though “my type” is physically mesomorphic, I find the brown skin of mesomorphic Asian, Maori, Polynesian, South American Indian, and Latino men alluring and exotic. Notwithstanding the immediate appeal of the physical, or that desirability is inherent in just the flesh, engagement with a quick intelligence and wit in a man adds an extra dimension.

5.2.4.2 Ralph

Ralph had no particular “my type” in terms of body shape or features, yet he did fantasise about situations with straight men:

Kim: Any particular type of male?

I think I’m eclectic.

Kim: There's no body type that you fantasise about?

No.

Kim: What turns you on? I mean is it just a matter of penises that turns you on?

No, no, no – it's a mostly the way they walk. It's it mustn't be camp – sorry to use that term.

Ralph's intrapsychic script was focussed primarily on being erotically objectified by other men, preferably straight men, as if his erogenous body was powerful enough for men to desire, and to transgress their own sexual scripts. In a sense he was his own "my type" in the intrapsychic scripting stakes and his projected image was the smouldering 'James Dean' type.

Ralph describes the tensions in his intrapsychic script; his obsessiveness in retaining his sense of self as a gay man, which he has to keep hidden, versus his need to "pass as straight" to gain affirmation from the straight-acting men he entices to find him desirable. I discussed "passing" in Chapter 2. His egotistic tendencies of his "my type" intrapsychic script focus attention on him, but always in reference to his desirability to other men and the more masculine or 'butch' the better.

5.2.4.3 Andrew

Andrew's "my type" seemed initially to follow the "exotic becomes erotic" profile (Bem, 2000), preferring Asian men - until he met Steve! He says:

[...] it's not like I'm attracted to every man on two legs no. I think it was interesting feeling that attraction to Steve, because I would've, [*long pause*] I mean, I love, I mean, Asian men appeal to me, and Steve's not Asian.

Andrew felt that Steve had seduced him with his eyes:

With his eyes, with his eyes yeah it was, it was like those I mean --- he just looked at [*me*] and they were like swimming pools.

Kim: And you just fell into those swimming pools of his eyes?

Totally!

Fantasy, desire, and opportunity are all aspects of the fuzzy matrix of 'my type' and the added dimension of falling in love can disrupt and disturb actualities (Jackson, 1993) and Andrew was quick to say that he was in love with this man. He also expressed that he was attracted to men who are young with defined, skinny bodies, and that he loves the olive skin and enjoys the gentleness of Asian men. Here 'spunky' men, means 'men who have attitude and a presence' (urban-Dictionary), and when applied to gay men, it is my understanding that it also refers to a young man with erotic capital (Green, 2011; see also Jackson, 2000; and Madon, 1997).

Andrew also spoke of his attraction to his Asian wife of Nepalese ethnicity and that he found her exotic, but since he had acted on his attraction to men he was finding it more difficult to be aroused by her. This points to a fluidity in the "my type" intrapsychic script.

5.2.4.4 Joel

Joel did not articulate his “my type” in the interview. He clearly did not associate himself with the hegemonic masculine ideal he associated with the ‘gay clone’ (Alvarez, 2008, p. 101) or ‘cult of masculinity’ (Kendall & Martino, 2006, p. 6), as he comments:

I feel like in the United States it has to you know, it [being a clone] means you look a certain way you act a certain way you can even talk a certain way, you live, you know there’s a whole demographic, there’s a whole set of behaviours, now you got to night clubs and you live in the fancy neighbourhoods, and you have your partner, and you have a fancy cars, it’s like I never wanted any of that.

However, Joel stated that his partner Jack completely aroused him and for that Joel loved him. The fact that Jack had found Joel attractive and had pursued him was a major factor in Joel’s attraction to him. It seems in this case that Joel’s “my type” script was predicated on the fact that another attractive man found him attractive in spite of low self-esteem and poor body image issues; and that the sex was pretty special. This may well be a case of love and sexual pleasure intertwined with emotion to support the behaviour, in that love serves to validate sexual activity morally, aesthetically and emotionally.

An act, which may well be characterised as simply a means to an end – a release of sexual tension is transformed into something beautiful, magical and pleasurable by love. As Jackson (1993) states:

To be in love is to make one unique other the centre of one's universe, but it also demands the same of the other. We create for ourselves a sense of what our emotions are, of what being 'in love' is. We do this by participating in a set of meanings constructed, interpreted, propagated, and deployed through our culture through learning scripts, positioning ourselves with discourse, constructing narratives of self (Jackson, 1993, p. 204).

Yet these narratives of self and the interpretations and the meanings we make of the emotion love, and how it is expressed, are set in the context of our relationships, be it with one person or many. The enactment of emotional and sexual scripts are as Jackson posits above constructed, interpreted, propagated, and deployed through the interaction with others in our culture or the culture we may find ourselves within. Now to actually get the guy to have the sex with – cruising scripts.

5.2.5 The cruising script

The cruising script refers to the solicitation for sexual partners in public places and other places where men gather as I discussed in Chapter 2. Only two of us in this study admitted to cruising and I will now discuss the cruising scripts of Ralph and myself.

5.2.5.1 Kim

I never really perfected a cruising script and although I persisted at it for many years, I lacked the self-confidence to cruise aggressively. I also

believe I was not sufficiently aware of pickup signals or was too reticent in following them up. I often felt I had little erotic capital although I knew what I liked in others. On one occasion in San Francisco South of Market Street, a beautiful blond young man caught my eye and we engaged visually – with eye contact (Tewksbury, 1996) but in the absence of the appropriate script I walked on, even after looking back.

Once I discovered sex on premises venues where sex was easy and anonymous and safer than public parks or beats, I had the opportunity to learn and hone skills in oral sex, mutual masturbation, and eventually anal sex. My first long term gay relationship with a younger man provided opportunity for trial and error and firmly encoded my sexual scripts and repertoire.

5.2.5.2 Ralph

Ralph learnt his cruising script through peer group tuition when, after drinks at the pub, they would as a group go to the cruising areas of Edinburgh and embolden each other to follow a potential pick up into the bushes or the public toilets. Ralph's cruising behaviour and cruising scripts were learned by trial and error too, although he was very clear that he needed to be the source of attraction and erotic desire – to the extent that to be cruised even if no sex actually occurred often provided the 'rush' he sought. Over time and with sufficient practice he developed a very successful cruising script that he was able to transfer to other cultural situations, but always with the same intent – to be found sexually

desirable by the other man, evidenced by an erection in the other man. If there was no erection this was read as no desire and the encounter was terminated. Ralph experienced harassment by police and threats from male prostitutes he called “rollers” who would have anonymous sex and then steal one’s wallet. He did not say that he was a victim but reported a number of times as a threat. This made me recall when I was threatened with abuse once on a beach in Auckland but I armed myself with a stick and told him to clear off. The purpose of cruising is to find other men with whom to have sexual encounters and this leads me to the discussion of interpersonal scripts, which shape and guide the interactions.

5.2.6 Interpersonal Scripts

Interpersonal scripts are the structured patterns of interaction in which individuals as actors engage in everyday interpersonal conduct (Laumann & Gagnon, 1995, p. 190). Interpersonal scripts then are the individual actors’ interpretations and understandings of cultural scenarios, and the current social context within which desires and behaviours are expressed. There is also inherent in the interaction the shared meanings between actors of the sexual nuances and behaviours.

5.2.6.1 Kim

I found similar tensions at what was to be a pivotal point in my sense of self and what the future might hold for me. It was drawn in very stark terms – choose to deny my sexual identity to retain my job, my position in

the Church and my family - or lose it all. I can still remember the very powerful realisation that if I wanted to be a whole person there was no denying the reality of who and what I was. The result of that was that my wife left with our then three year-old daughter, and finally some months later came back to claim our sons who had stayed with me. I took advice from my Church superiors and was left with few alternatives (as it had been put to me) and resigned from my position within the Church. This was not a removal from holy orders, rather to leave my job as a parish priest.

As such the acquiring and refining of my interpersonal script had its costs, emotionally, socially and career wise. Later advice indicated that I did have options other than resignation, but by then I was strongly committed to my decisions and events unfolded. I was very clear in my thinking: this is the true and authentic self, and if my wife cannot accept me for who and what I am, that is her choice.

I did entertain a fantastical notion of being able to be what I had discovered about myself and to still carry on with the “old” me. In following through on the very clear choice to claim my homosexuality as being real, positive and not depraved, I am sure I became more honest with myself and hence with others. I jettisoned the first name my parents had given me and I took another with which I was most comfortable with, and, although I never actually went as far as changing it by deed poll, I did claim a new identity for myself with this new name. The result of all

this was a sense of liberation and integrity to my sense of self. This change of name was easy when I moved to a new location and new job, but my family of origin had a hard time understanding it. I admit I lacked the energy at the time to try to make them understand and to the day my father died he never understood why.

The development of my interpersonal script and how I presented myself to the world and who I was, was contingent upon my understanding of myself as “Kim”, and the values of acceptance, welcome and hospitality, which previously had been constrained by circumstance, now flourished. I found I was empathising with Andrew as he told me his story and completely understood his reticence in coming out and needing to resolve the tension in his interpersonal script.

5.2.6.2 Ralph

Ralph was also conflicted with tension in his interpersonal scripts. He is very clear that his cottaging behaviour in his early years was a reaction against the restrictions of his home and his absent father, and later the stresses of being at University. He tells the story:

[...] the next sexual experience I remember was when I went to secondary school about eleven. Going into a public toilet and standing at the urinal – my sister was standing upstairs, we’d been to a jumble sale – and I heard a locked door opening, and I looked round and this guy was standing with a full erection and he said, ”Ya got a light?” “No, I don’t smoke.” [*Laughter*] and I looked at this thing [*penis*] and thought, “Oh

my god, that's so beautiful, I want that, I want that." I mean it was instant, you know, instant.

Kim: And when you say you wanted it did you know what you wanted to do with it?

Ralph: Touch it! Oh! It's something, it's as if there had always been something missing and that was it.

Ralph speaks enthusiastically about the many episodes of cruising men in public places around the world. He describes the behaviours as being mainly mutual masturbation, occasionally fellatio and, rarely, anal intercourse.

There is an addictive quality to his cruising behaviour, which serves to release stress, distraction and escape for a time.

The sexual activity is mostly, you might say it roughly, mutual masturbation, but quite often doesn't involve any, the sexual activity is the cruising. The cruising – the heightened endorphins or whatever they are as a result of the cruising, not the getting there.

Kim: The adrenaline rush

Ralph: Yeah whatever the chemicals are – so for me the promiscuous sexual activity is about chasing and being chased and so on and so forth.

Kim: Do you think you're addicted to it?

Ralph: Yeah, I've known for years, but much less so than I was years ago. As it gets older it becomes less of an issue, but at times of stress it rears its ugly head. For example, having typical behaviour would be in

Babylon in Bangkok, walking round and round and round – then not having sex.

He then explains that there was another motivation in his cruising behaviour:

The essence of my casual sexuality, I'm not talking about relationships - the essence of my casual sexuality has always been that I get excited only if that person is excited by me, my body. Not my wallet, not my career, nothing else. The excitement I get is the body [...] maybe the personality a little bit, but I've got to be convinced he's really randy about me, excited about me, and then I get excited. If, and I can, sense a prostitute, you know with a prostitute that's not the case it's the money isn't it? You know even if they act it. Um, so the minute I suspect or think they're after my money I can't do anything – just can't do it, doesn't interest me, even if they're beautiful the most beautiful guy could walk – but if I thought for a minute that he was not excited by me I couldn't do anything with him.

Later on he further clarifies that the motivation in cottaging, cruising, picking up men in public places, going to saunas is not about the sex per se, it is more about being desired by the other – being the object of another man's desire – and to know that he has achieved this gives him satisfaction. I checked this with Ralph:

Kim: We talked at some length and we have described and discussed the cruising, the choreography, the saunas, the beats, the cottages and all the

rest of it. But what, what was missing I think from our discussion was the way in which, when you have secured a partner whether it be casual, or someone you know; how do you then negotiate what you want to get sexually? Now, I know and fully appreciate that you talk about the cruising as being the major objective of most of your cruising life but the end of that is the actual sexual episode itself and do you negotiate that, that sexual end, having your sexual needs met or not?

Ralph: Hmmm, *[long pause]* very difficult question because I think as I explained to you um the important part of the cruising is not the end. It's the process.

And Ralph became somewhat terse with me, as he seemed to think I was missing the point, which may have been my misjudged and perhaps somewhat offensive metaphor:

Kim: Yes, once you've bagged the prey and decided to go ahead ...

Ralph: There is no bagging in that sense - there is no end - I think the model's not right - to put it at its most fundamental having my sexual needs met are probably not important - that's not the objective, because this is all about self-esteem. I think I explained to you the drive or the goal is to have someone excited - for me to get excited because someone else is excited about me - that's what it's all about [...] it is the thrill of cruising not necessarily the cottaging.

He comments later on escaping into this other space. Cohen and Taylor (1976) describe this as:

[...] a space to cope with the frustration of the routine, the boredom, the lack of individuality – a space to temporarily absent ourselves from reality (p. 94).

Ralph also talks of the experience of cruising as an escape, wherein he finds the freedom to have agency and a sense of control over his enactment of the scripts that are integral to his understanding of himself. He speaks of experiencing this as a drug – which would suggest that disinhibition or release from the constraint of perceived socially defined scripts. As Ralph comments:

[...] whereas, if you've spent three hours [*cruising*] in Lane Park, you've had this very good experience, you've been blissfully unaware of the world, it's like escapism it's like a drug, in fact it is like a drug, but there is no box to be ticked at the end of it because cruising per se is not ah boxed.

From this it can be deduced, that for Ralph, cruising as a script provided an environment wherein he could meet many more needs than just sexual arousal or sexual encounters, this was a space wherein emotional needs are met, the sense of self reaffirmed and self-esteem enhanced.

5.2.6.3 Andrew

Andrew's story exposed a tension between, on one hand, his loyalty to his marriage and the commitment he had made to his wife; and on the other hand, the need to explore his gay identity. Andrew's interpersonal scripts were as a heterosexual professional married man with wife and family; and then his alternative gay-identified social and sexual scripts

with his gay friends, which were more clandestine, and although his wife was aware of his homosexuality, he was very aware of the risk of exposure professionally.

5.2.6.4 Joel

Joel's interpersonal sexual script has not been well developed with men or with women. His limited experiences of sexual activity had been entirely with men, which were often fraught with self-doubt about his attractiveness and body image. He had not developed an effective cruising script and when targeted by other men he found the experience distasteful resulting in very few sexual encounters. As Joel says, he gets suspicious when approached by other men interested in him:

Kim: But there's also a point here about that maybe you weren't able to 'read' others being attracted to you?

Joel: Well let me tell you, I'm instantly suspicious, you know, if someone is looking at me and like "Hmm, ok, ok, watch this guy" but after that I'm like unless I mean [...] my own sort of insecurities make me want to get strong signals from that side before I pursue them because of the fear of rejection; and actually in recent years before Jack, I would misread sometimes, I mean not completely misread, but it would be, it wouldn't be straight men, once or twice it was, but then I'd go to sort of pursue them and they would be like, "What the fuck I'm not interested in you." And I like, "oh, how did I"?

Kim: really miss that one?

Joel: Yeah, and the whole gay thing where, like you know, in the States used to like, used to stare and used to hold it for a certain time, and then you pass each other and then you turn around and make eye contact – hopeless at all that shit – hopeless.

Kim: Casual sex, anonymous sex, stranger sex? Is it always with intent of looking for a relationship?

Joel: Always! The casual sex? The casual sex no! Anonymous sex? No. It's something I'm intrigued by and I like to read about and even flirt sort of with the idea of doing it, with knowing full well that I never would, just because the whole situation when I've ever gotten close to that situation, I just, it just freaks me out. I think, "How can I have sex with a stranger?" So none of those things.

He had been partnered with two men before moving to Rangoon and monogamy was Joel's ideal relationship. With his Burmese partner Jack he reconsidered his ideal:

I've also said to him [*Jack*], I said to him at the beginning and I, I think we agreed on this; I said, "Look, I would ideally like us to be monogamous", he said he wants to be monogamous. I said, "But, look, if you really find yourself in this position where you want to be with another guy, or there's someone you are really intensely attracted to, can we talk about it don't just, and I'll talk about it too". So far it's never happened [...] so yeah, it doesn't happen often, but when I feel like that a man is like making moves at me or flirting with me, my immediate reaction is always to push it away, because it's like I don't want to fuck

up what I have; I don't want to do something inappropriate, so I don't especially in this country I don't want to be seen flirting with somebody. If that ever got back to Jack, I mean I think he would – he knows by now that I wouldn't act on it he might just laugh at it.

His interpersonal script with his current Burmese partner was as benefactor and lover with cultural ambiguities and language difficulties causing tensions and difficulties at times. However, with Jack, Joel was able to hone his sexual script choosing to be the insertive partner in anal sex. He said his experience of being penetrated was not good.

In this section I have reviewed the cultural, intrapsychic and interpersonal sexual scripts of all four cases, which has shown that each case has idiosyncrasies that pertain to age, time, place and experiences. There are also some similarities in the cases, particularly the tensions of being homosexual in a heteronormative world. This resulted, for the three older men especially, in the need to establish and maintain mestizaje identities for personal and professional reasons. I now turn to examine the emotional scripts in the four cases.

5.2.7 Emotionality

In reviewing the scripts that emerged from the data it was striking that the emotions experienced were essential in the formation and refining of the scripts.

5.2.7.1 Kim

I found that the act of penetration by another man had considerable emotional impact; that I was found desirable enough for my partner to gain erection gave a boost to my sexual confidence; that I trusted this man enough for my body to be receptive to his penis; that I was engaging in transgressive sexual behaviour induced an erotic thrill; and the orgasm was deeper, longer lasting and more satisfying (than masturbation).

When enjoying sex with my lover there has always been an emotional connection that deepens the intimacy when I am giving pleasure to him, whether I penetrate him or he penetrates me. Certainly my intrapsychic and interpersonal sexual scripts were enhanced and refined by the emotional responses I experienced as I performed my sexuality.

5.2.7.2 Ralph

Ralph's childhood experience of being "discovered" by his mother when playing with dolls it produced such a sense of shame that he developed different intrapsychic scripts to ameliorate the psychological confusion and distress including his heterosexual "one of the boys" script that became his public persona yet at another level rejoiced in being a "screaming faerie" with his "sisters". At the sexual level, the emotional reassurance that was experienced in his cottaging and cruising scripts reinforced his sexual self-identity of being attractive to men, particularly straight men, played out in his interpersonal scripts.

5.2.7.3 Andrew

In Andrew's case study the intense emotions of limerence ("it was love") he experienced when he met and embarked on a sexual relationship with a man put into question his relationship with his wife. These changes in behaviour were in sharp contrast to his earlier celibacy and later chaste situation. This leads to the conclusion that Andrew was finding that the thrills of courtship, being pursued and seduced by a man, as well as following through on desires and fantasies, offsets the requirements of both partners to venture outside of themselves and become vulnerable to rejection, injury, bad choices, or wasting time (Barash & Lipton, 2001). Such choices can provide the necessary sexual tension that enhances sexual arousal and, as such, can be classified as an emotion (Janssen, 2007, p. 367).

5.2.7.4 Joel

Joel's limited experience meant his naïve sexual scripts prevented him from developing resilient appropriate interpersonal and intrapsychic scripts until such time as he had the confidence to trust himself to be with his partner and enjoy satisfying sexual behaviour. His ambiguity about his gender as a teenager, coupled with body image issues, resulted in a sense of dislocation with his American cultural norms and confusion over his sexual identity. He entertained the notion of describing himself as bisexual:

[...] there are still the occasional moments when I'm like "Oooh, that [female] one's attractive." I mean not that I would pursue it, but, you know, then, and then I'm thinking. "Don't, don't mess with your head." He prefers to self-identity as a man-who-has-sex-with-men, but then he also refers to himself as gay. Furthermore, he indicated a lack of any seduction scripts for men or women, which resulted in no sexual activity until his mid twenties. His soliciting for sex was fraught with anxiety and fear of rejection and very high expectations of any who accosted him.

The fact of the matter is that in every case one way or another each man found himself on a journey to understand the intricacies of their sexual scripts and how to perform these scripts with subjective integrity. Some men were more successful at achieving competent sexual scripts, but in no case did any man seek to embrace heteronormativity as a legitimate sexual pathway.

I discovered in my review of the cases that scripts carried implicit emotional meanings and rationalisations that supported the adoption and integration of the scripts into meaningful sexual lives and to this I now turn.

5.3 Meanings associated with sexual scripts

5.3.1 Kim

I was not conflicted about my sense of masculinity and did not see myself at any time as effeminate, although during my drama training at University I was cast in one production as a mincing flamboyant fool “to get my voice to come out of my chest” I can remember the lecturer telling me. I do think my voice was “light” and this role gave an opportunity to discover my voice and the flamboyant side of myself, which could be seen as similar to Ralph’s “fairies in tutus”.

I have always enjoyed being a man and was not aware of any need to explore transgenderism. I wanted to have sex with men and over the years, the type of men I found attractive tended to be younger with well-developed physiques. The meanings I applied to sex included a sense of intimacy, connection, and mutual pleasure. Certainly when I was partnered with men, either within a relationship or casual partners, there was an exchange that was more than just the exchange of bodily fluids. As Hurley (2002) reflects, there is an escape into another world where the joy of being lost in flesh is that this tiresome self-consciousness disappears, my age, my hair, my inadequate physique disappears and I enter interactions where, at times if it is good, none of this matters. With my long-term male partners for me, sex has always deepened the relationship and is a means to express love and emotion, and to be affirmed in my body and sexuality.

I fully understood the despair of some of my HIV-positive male clients who felt their ejaculate was dangerous and denied themselves sexual encounters. For me as a veteran HIV positive man, I felt it was my responsibility to ensure that I did not allow myself to be exposed to other HIV strains that could compromise my immune system any further. I firmly embraced the condom script and honed it to perfection, and I was more than willing to trade off the loss of pleasure resulting from using condoms for anal sex with the sense of safety the condoms provided.

I have never considered oral sex as a high-risk vector for HIV and continued to enjoy fellatio often. When cruising for sex the intention is always to have an enjoyable sexual encounter – as I have grown older, cruising frequency has diminished and I occasionally seek sexual partners from sex on premises venues. Yet there is a certain thrill in searching out potential partners in public places, bars, dance parties, and stranger sex is, for me, very alluring. I find I become aroused very quickly and get much enjoyment from the encounter regardless of the sexual activity engaged in.

As the relationship with my partner has matured, the sex we shared together has been through stages of being perfunctory and mechanical almost devoid of emotion or care, to that of intense deep longing and connection with mutual empathetic understanding of each other's needs

and desires. As we grew in understanding and appreciation of each other, so did the relationship deepen in intimacy.

5.3.2 Ralph

For Ralph, “sex that works” was associated with feeling good (Davies et al., 1993), but he was very aware that what he wanted sexually was connected to his perceived butch persona to the point that:

The idea of another man's cock in me is not being butch.

It would seem that Ralph’s sexual script was fundamentally about confirming his self-identity as a man and a “man’s man” at that. His memory as a small child of being discovered by his mother playing with dolls and the resulting humiliation created and sustained his drive to appear to be ‘butch’.

This intense emotional reaction to this severe disapproval of what he, at that time, felt was quite natural shaped the development of his self-identity, this seemingly split personality of having to appear manly and his inward desire to act out privately his feminine “fairy” side was carried over in the construction and honing of his sexual script. He spoke of “using his partner” in ways that were not empathetic to his partner’s needs, and he described occasions where he would insist on forcing anal sex even when his partner protested. And although Ralph stated that he saw sex and love as mutually exclusive, he, on the other hand, felt sex was an assurance of love in a relationship.

5.3.3 Andrew

Andrew started with unbridled almost uninhibited sexual activity as a pubescent schoolboy and then moved to celibacy as his energies were directed to religious pursuits in his teenage years. He seemed to have sublimated his attraction for men with his marriage, the raising of his sons and the passionate commitment to international development work in developing countries. Yet the ensuing powerful sexual liaison with another man in a different cultural setting caused a dramatic reconfiguring of his intrapsychic script. This experience was both life-enhancing yet had conflicting outcomes:

Yeah, and it's exciting, and that exactly and so it makes it really exciting [it's] good it keeps you going. So there's a lot of excitement around it I think, but there's also, I guess there's also the guilt that weighs very heavily on, on the betrayal I guess that's it, it can cause, I mean in terms of relationship with Pam, and the family and all those other networks of people who treat me as a totally, straight heterosexual guy and you know, to all appearances, you know, a healthy, heterosexual relationship.

Andrew kept repeating throughout the interview that he valued his relationship with his wife and family. He had discussed his feelings with his wife who was at the time distraught, yet the marriage continued with sexual relations even though they were unsatisfactory for Andrew and, he thought, for his wife as well. He said it was getting harder and harder to maintain the arousal and desire for heterosexual relations. It appeared to me during the interview that this situation intensified both the longing

for and the enjoyment of the sex he had with men. In other words, the emotional dissonance he experienced within his marriage was resolved in his encounters with men. His wife remains his best friend but not his lover.

5.3.4 Joel

Joel in his early years seemed to have distaste for bodily fluids and sex in general. He said he took the “cool Goth look” and it seemed that in embracing the genderless ambiguity of the 1980s, the sexual act conflicted with his sense of propriety. Joel spoke of the meaning of sex in terms of being a form of meditation and transcending to another world. Although in his early years he had few sexual experiences, now in his 30s with a partner he felt very comfortable with, he talked of the sex he was having as providing spiritual meaning. He spoke of his awareness of thinking about sex all the time especially before sleep as a way of relaxing, as a means of reducing anxiety, yet the notion of thinking and fantasising about sex remained problematic for him. When I asked him to describe his sexual fantasies, he started analyzing his relationship, his current partner, and then previous escapades. Another factor was that his partner was HIV positive and he readily learnt about and adopted the use of condoms as protection. Prior to this current relationship there had been few sexual encounters and condoms had not featured.

I found it puzzling that Joel conveyed sensuality in the language he used in the interview, which hinted at numerous sexual encounters and experiences, whereas in reality he seemed to have very little sex before his current partner. I had the sense that it was all too difficult to negotiate and, although he says he felt lust often, it was not until he felt an intimate and empathetic loving connection with his partner that he found he was sexually aroused. The emotional connection arising from intimacy with his lover gives expression and meaning to the banality of lust and arousal.

It took this interaction of the relationship for Joel to be able to develop a script for his sexual life, “I never really had sex until this relationship” and to clarify and separate out the meanings of sex. In the interview Joel seemed to oscillate between self-loathing for having seemingly unbridled sexual thoughts and arousal and the need to find some ethereal or spiritual meaning that would bring some sort of absolution. He repeatedly spoke of his body in negative terms:

So, there is this what if I embraced gender ambiguity, you know just like sort of because I didn't feel, honestly I didn't feel I had a right to adopt a masculine persona, and it wasn't you know, it wasn't until much more recently it's like whatever I'm a guy, you know what I'm saying? I can say it and not feel embarrassed about it – like somebody over in the corner's going to laugh at me and make fun of me – like, “What do you think, who do you think you are, claiming to be a man?”

This powerful, insightful comment of self-perception provides an understanding of the struggle Joel went through to validate his identity and enjoy his sexuality. His current relationship affirmed him emotionally and sexually because he reported that his partner was aroused by him and found him attractive. This dramatic change in Joel's outlook and self-image was enough to keep him working on improving his physical body as well as enhancing his sense of agency as a sexual man.

This supports the contention that each player has agency in the encounter, in as much as that people constitute the social relations in which they live (Stein, 1989), whether this is obvious to the players, or not, as in the case of Joel's partner. Later in the interview, it became apparent that the cultural norms and understandings influenced the dynamics of the relationship (Hatfield & Rapson, 2005), and within the limitations imposed by social economic, political, religious constraints (Roffman, 2007). Although Joel embraced an understanding of Buddhism and tried to live according to the Dharma, his relationship was influenced by familial customs and expectations (Roffman, 2007; Singer, 1973; Weeks, 2003).

A further element that was common to all the men in these case studies is the influence of religion and how that impacted on the interpreting and making meaning of the experiences. Christianity featured in all the case studies, but this emerged more strongly with Joel in his seeking to find meaning within Buddhism. My experience of Christianity and Buddhism

was more liberating in the development of my sexuality and the formation of my scripts, although I know I have been treated quite favourably in my engagement with the Church, remaining a priest and being licensed to a parish.

In summary the interviews also indicated that the scripting question, beyond concerning itself with the meaning of the sexual within social life (the interpersonal and the cultural), must necessarily concern itself with the uses and gratifications the sexual provides specific individual actors (the intra-psychic). The underlying emotional desires and needs heavily influence both the construction and performance of sexual scripting. Furthermore they are reinforced, honed, and adapted by the intrinsic rewards, pleasures, and satisfactions that result from the performance of the scripts, and the abandoning of other scripts that are no longer relevant or salient. Hence all scripts are, in one way or another, fluid and adapted by changes in cultural scenarios, the interpersonal relationships and sexual exchanges and the development and entrenching of the intrapsychic scripts.

5.4 Working the room – enacting the scripts

In this next section I will draw some comparisons between the experiences of each man in the study in relation to cultural scripts, intrapsychic scripts and interpersonal scripts and then discuss some features that were crucial to the performance of the scripts.

5.4.1 Cultural scripts

The cultural scripts that emerged were often complex and interrelated, for example, Ralph's experiences of school and university where he performed his heterosexuality contrasted with the 'A Gays' theatre crowd and the cruising and beats cultures.

I was involved at various times in the leather scene, the rave party sub-culture, South East Asian boy bar scene, the sauna and cruising in sex clubs, beats, internet hook-ups in various cities and was in long-term domestic relationships.

Andrew participated in a limited way with friends in South East Asian bar scenes but not the cruising sub-culture; he maintained a heterosexual married lifestyle with opportunities periodically taken to have sexual relationships with men in his later years.

Joel, on the other hand, participated in heterosexual social settings and marginal subcultures such as the Goths, and was unaware of the cruising scripts in bars in Japan, America and Asia, and rejected the Bangkok boy-bar scene; he then entered a settled relationship. Joel felt no identification with the American gay man, in terms of physique, clothes and image, and associated issues of capitalism and materialism (Alvarez, 2008; Signorile, 1997), but was fearful that he might be left out of the scene.

There were unique scripts for each subculture of the gay world in which we participated that required observation, awareness, mentoring and experience. Ageism, intergenerational sex, and cross-cultural sexuality were also subtexts, which influenced participation in the various subcultures (González, 2007). When a young man in Bangkok showed interest in me at a nightclub, my partner adroitly commented:

He's not interested in the bulge in your pants but the bulge in your wallet,

to which I quickly retorted,

Yeah bulging with your receipts.

This became an ongoing-shared joke. Now I turn to discuss the intrapsychic scripts that were inherent in the cases.

5.4.2 Intrapsychic scripts

Some of the intrapsychic scripts that emerge from the data can be attributed to cultural norms and expectations such as the heteronormative and Protestant work ethic scripts that Ralph so carefully created as his public persona. The ubiquitous, hegemonic, masculinity script was present in the narratives of all four subjects in this study, either seeking to maximise the male physicality aspects with fitness programs, or transgressing notions of gender; and overcoming internalised body image issues as with Joel and myself. Concepts and notions of self identity played out in the intrapsychic scripts ranged from asexual,

bisexual, homosexual, camp, fairy, queen, queer, gay, Goth. I now discuss some factors that can impact on interpersonal scripts.

5.4.3 Interpersonal Scripts

In addressing some of the factors that impacted the interpersonal scripts of the men in the study I will start with ageing and the implications for sexual functioning, then move to keeping up appearances.

5.4.3.1 The ageing script and age-grading

Hurley succinctly states,

Older gay men have limited shelf lives in the supermarkets of sexual desire, even when alcohol, drugs or emotional extremities establish momentary niche markets for the unsuspecting older man. Or should that be enterprising older man? Gerontophilia is not often the “fetish du jour” (Hurley, 2002, p. 419).

In a society in which ageism and homophobia are endemic, to be old is bad enough, but to be old and gay is to double the misery (Jones & Pugh, 2005, p. 256). This could well be the product of self-abasement - a placid acceptance of the status quo on whom and what old gay men and lesbians should be like and how they should behave. Ageist assumptions include beliefs that the elderly are all unproductive, senile, incompetent, overly dependent, asexual and unattractive (Friend, 1991, p. 111). In classifying this view as stereotypic, Friend (1991) theorises a continuum for successful ageing for older lesbians and gay men that has,

at one end, internalised homophobia and the other end affirmed a sense of self. This is achieved through restructuring of the meaning of homosexuality as something positive; a Foucauldian process of reverse discourse of resistance to heterosexism (Foucault, 1978), resulting in increased self-acceptance, high self-esteem, personal empowerment and self-affirmation, all resources that function to promote successful ageing (Friend, 1991).

I found Friend's theory useful but dated, and although Ralph's story resonated with Friend's views, I felt it was not appropriate for me as a baby boomer or the younger men in this study. Our coming out experiences were in a more liberating time (Slevin & Linneman, 2010). Pertinent to this discussion is the concept of age-grading (González, 2007), which shows how the meanings of age influence people's expectations, roles, and forms of understanding status, which has implications on how people manage their social time and their sexualities. Social understandings such as, "You have to act your age" shape cultural sexual scenarios wherein sexual scripts are constructed and organised (Simon, 1996).

5.4.3.2 Ageing and sexual performance

Age-grading with all the expectations of sexual performance are not fixed and are indeed malleable. As a result, sexual scenarios are becoming more complex within social-geographical divisions that can shape our experiences of isolation, marginalisation, shame and pleasure (González, 2007). In addition, age-grading can also influence the performance of

emotional scripts in that social forces shape the meanings of emotional states according to the age cohort one occupies (Lewis, 2000). Thus age-graded sexualities:

[..] produce a range of meanings where notions of exoticism, subordination, sexiness, maturity, vulnerability, sexlessness, effeminacy, weakness, machismo seem to be repeatedly involved while they reflect how our ageing bodies are struggling in our society (González, 2007, p. 44).

This struggle is also present in coming to understand how ageing impacts on sexual functioning.

5.4.3.3 Ageing and sexual functioning

Age also is implicated in the decline of desire and erotic arousal (DeLamater & Sill, 2005), and erotic capital (Green, 2011), and although sexual activity may increase or decrease as men age, the availability of sex continues to be a source of pleasure (Pope et al., 2007). Yet age does influence sexual functioning in some men through issues such as: impotence, erectile dysfunction, loss of libido, longer arousal times, less in frequency of ejaculation, are some consequences of the ageing male body (DeLamater & Sill, 2005; Komisaruk et al., 2006; Levy, 1994; Siegel & Siegel, 2007; Zeiss & Kasl-Godley, 2001). Siegel & Siegel (2007) comment that one difference between older gay men and their heterosexual contemporaries is that ageing gay men are more likely to use erectile dysfunction treatments. One explanation, they suggest, is the greater importance placed on sex and casual relationships in the gay culture, and that gay men's self-esteem is tied to sexual performance.

Any hint of an erection problem and a gay man is quicker to seek treatment (Siegel & Siegel, 2007). There are conflicting perceptions in that older men, in order to avoid being considered “dirty”, should not become erect; yet to age successfully, they should never lose that erection (Calasanti & King, 2005, p. 20).

Ralph reported that he experienced erectile dysfunction and had resorted to the help of medications:

I tried Viagra. It’s funny, I don’t need them with Ming [*current young boyfriend*] – it’s interesting. I’m impotent with anybody else.

Kim: But with Ming you are not impotent?

Ralph: No! He’s [...] I’m tapping my forehead it’s [...] all in the head.

This would indicate that Ming’s erotic capital was sufficient to overcome the sexual dysfunction Ralph had been experiencing with other men.

Andrew reported his sexual difficulties were not so much with his male partners, but with his wife. His description of heterosexual sex indicated that his intrapsychic sexual script for women was problematic as a result of his unacknowledged homosexuality:

I always had to I always had to kind of get myself in the mood - it was never really spontaneous.

Hence his sexual dysfunction was not a matter of ageing rather a question of desire and arousal.

I consider myself fortunate that I have always enjoyed a well functioning libido, although I have noticed that the ageing process means it takes longer to achieve ejaculation. Ralph and I both commented that sexual practices take place within the total social context of human interaction and social relationships, which meet the needs of intimacy, pleasure, and human connectedness (Levy, 1994, p. 302; McCarthy & Metz, 2008).

The number of sexual encounters is less important than the quality of the encounter (Komisaruk et al., 2006). This means adapting and refining sexual scripts to take into account different needs and responses – it is not so urgent to “get your rocks off” than to have skin contact.

Psychological issues can and do impact upon sexual encounters.

Although Joel reported a high sex drive his ability to capitalise on this was compromised by his body image issues and an inadequate pickup script, which realised few sexual encounters. I now focus on issues of the body for ageing men.

5.4.3.4 Ageing men and their bodies

The notion of “doing” masculinity as a performance (Connell, 1995) is closely related to issues for men of ageing, their bodies, desire, and perception of self (DeLamater & Sill, 2005). Bodies in their own right as bodies do matter. They age, get sick, enjoy, engender, give birth (Connell, 1995, p. 51). They perform gender, social scripts, sexual scripts and emotional scripts. Being unable to “do” masculine acts as efficiently as when the body was younger can be an influence in the way older males understand and view themselves and their bodies (M. J. N. Drummond, 2003; Slevin & Linneman, 2010). Hence, the story of ageing

is intimately connected with the meanings we ascribe to our ageing bodies and these meanings are critical in how we make sense of age and ageing (Slevin, 2008). This leads me to the issue of body maintenance.

5.4.3.5 Body maintenance

The body is the theatre by which we perform our masculinity, our sexuality and our emotions and images of self, age, and physical condition (Gonzáles, 2007). My friends and I have often shared stories of encountering many over-weight Western men who crowd the beaches in South-East Asia such as Legian in Bali, and Phuket and Pattaya in Thailand - for me these men are not sexy or attractive or desirable.

Reactions like this are discriminatory, based upon a notion that these men lack commitment to body maintenance, whereas they should be attempting to fulfil the exacting standards of the hegemonic masculine physique. It is often interpreted as laziness rather than inability to attain a goal, which, for many, would be impossible for reasons of genetics, information and insight (Jones & Pugh, 2005; Slevin, 2010). However, it must be acknowledged that some people are attracted to love handles and larger sizes - so called “chubby chasers” (Hennen, 2008, p. 100).

And so to the gym!

5.4.3.6 The gym script and keeping up appearances

Yesterday I went to the gym, this morning my body hurts. As I turn 60 going to the gym has many repercussions. My joints do much better when I do lift weights, I feel better, have more energy and I am working at maximising my flexibility, which enhances the physicality of my sexual

activity. It could be argued that I am resisting ageism (Calasanti & King, 2005), being delusional (Signorile, 1997) and buying into the complex ways that gay culture reinforces youthful and hegemonic masculinity (Slevin & Linneman, 2010); and more broadly I am being influenced by the moral imperative to exercise self-control and will power, and to maintain a trim and muscular body for better health and self-esteem (M. J. N. Drummond, 2003; Duncan, 2007).

On the other hand, it may be more a matter that I am ignoring the perceived paradox:

[...] that gay men who are toned and who epitomize ideals of the male body—developed pectorals, six-pack abdomen, and bulging biceps—and who present themselves in fashionable attire may equally be regarded as insincere and trivial. This emphasis on the body—this narcissism—undermines their value as individuals, which is reinforced by the sometimes-casual nature of gay sex with its emphasis on immediate satisfaction (Jones & Pugh, 2005, pp. 252-253).

But on the other hand I may well be found valued and wanted by another man and if the casual sex gives me sexual satisfaction, then going to the gym has led to rewards in addition to my taut and terrific body. So I go the gym, I hurt - but it is a good hurt - and with care I recover.

The other aspect of going to the gym is the “eye candy” (Alvarez, 2008, p. 166), the bodies on display (Bordo, 2000) and my objectification (Stoltenberg, 1990) of young men working muscles in shorts and singlets

— I don't tend to look at the men of my age other than to compare their strength with mine by the weights they lift. I call my partner daily (when we're not together) and share our private joke about the "ooh" factor, which refers to the number of men at the gym assessed as eye candy. He tells me too when he goes to the gym. If there are any "oohs", he always asks if I give any of them my phone number. I always reply that I have not because, unlike him, I have never been picked up by or picked up any man at the gym!

There are two aspects to this. One is the image of the "lonely old queen" who on turning forty years old is considered not only desperate but also delusional in going to the gym (Signorile, 1997, pp. 266-293). The reality for me, however, is not desperation. It is to maintain my physical health and body mass as I move into yet another decade of living with HIV. This may well be a feature of the baby boomer generation of gay men who survived the disastrous impact of HIV and AIDS and developed protective HIV scripts (Rosenfeld et al., 2012; Sankar et al., 2011). I followed the advice of my physician some twenty-five years ago to "bulk up" as a protective measure against the impact of HIV infection. I would not think this is delusional as Signorile (1997) concludes. The result of many years of exercise is better health, increased confidence, better self-image, increased stamina (Alvarez, 2008), and an affirmation of my masculinity (Connell, 1995).

On the other hand, I find that my “gym pickup script” is not well developed and I realise now that for many years I simply failed to recognise the signals of men seeking locker room sex, which research indicates goes on (Alvarez, 2008), probably more often in those gyms with a gay clientele.

At an emotional level there is for me an underlying fear of rejection, and I am not willing to give the energy, or undertake the emotion work, to engage with men for the sake of a brief encounter. Not only am I concerned with issues of rejection, there is the fear of being disparagingly classed as a ‘dirty old man’ (Calasanti & King, 2005; Fox et al., 1978), the thought of which horrifies me. Hence my emotion impact on the performance or non-performance of my gym script. The other men in my study did not use the gym to solicit for sex, and Andrew and Joel worked out in the gym for health reasons, to maintain flexibility and build muscle. Andrew had a black belt in Taekwondo and hence was very disciplined in stretching and maintaining flexibility.

As I commented above, masculinity is performed through the body (Butler, 1993; Connell, 1995), and for the ageing gay man, resisting the inevitable physical decline is also matched with the psychological and emotional adjustment to perceived and culturally determined notions of ageing and the stigmatisation of being elderly (Slevin & Linneman, 2010). Normative notions of masculinity are strongly tied to youth or rather, looking young, leading to a cultural imperialism of youthfulness, strongly

supported by mass media (Slevin, 2008). Hegemony is insidious because it is internalised in the scripting of masculinity. Although multiple forms of masculinity exist and can be culturally exalted (Connell, 1995), they are constantly in flux (Coles, 2009; Simpson, 1994b), as evidenced by Ralph in his search for inner authenticity. Emotional issues connected with ageing impact on Ralph and me as the older men in my study, and I turn to this next.

5.4.3.7 Emotionality and ageing

The ageing process also has an emotional component with respect to self-image and expectations of sexual encounters. Reassurance of being desired by other men supports and maintains gay identity, and sexual activity, even if only casual encounters, satisfies the need for intimacy, connection and to overcome loneliness and isolation (Pope et al., 2007). Older gay men who hold to the idea that the physical changes in their body reduce physical attractiveness and desirability tend to become distressed by the ageing experience (Pope et al., 2007). An Australian study of gay men reported that with the exception of 25 years and under, all age groups saw themselves as younger than they believe others in the gay community saw them (Bennett & Thompson, 1991, p. 73).

Accelerated ageing refers to the temporal and spatially-based conclusion that gay men feel old before other men because of obsessions with body image (Friend, 1980). Because of the gay community's emphasis on being or appearing young, homosexual men are considered middle-aged and elderly by other homosexual men at an earlier age than heterosexual

men in the general community (Bennett & Thompson, 1991), although this has been refuted by other data (Berger & Kelly, 2002; Lee, 2004). However, there are sexual spaces where older men receive positive responses to their perceived age (Lee, 2004). I have two experiences to relate:

I was with young friends at a Melbourne gay dance venue when I was told by a 25 year old, "I hope I can be out still dancing when I get to your age, it's really good to have role models". This sticks in my mind because I did not perceive myself as being middle-aged or old (at 55 years) and it felt very apposite for me to be dancing with friends.

The other experience was when I was in D J Station nightclub in Silom Bangkok, a gay dance bar for expatriates, tourists and Thai men. Two very cute 'twentysomethings' from Germany approached me in the bar and chatted with me. One commented, "You older guys have made it so easy for us, you fought for gay liberation and we get to enjoy it." I was happy to carry the adulation on behalf of my generation.

In this study, Andrew reported that he very occasionally attended bars and clubs in South East Asia, and the other men seldom, or not at all. I had regularly attended gay nightclubs and all night dance parties for many years for pleasure and for work, including conducting my research on sex and parties (Benton, 1994). I was aware of being older, and if I was cruised by hopeful suitors it was usually by men of similar age, who were not my preference. Although I was not aware of being stigmatised because of my age, I sometimes felt invisible (Bergling, 2004). I was

certainly conscious of not wanting to be seen as a part of the “chicken hawk syndrome” (Bergling, 2004, p. 39) and would rarely initiate any sexual solicitation with younger men. So for many years I would go out to nightclubs and dance parties with younger friends and partners. It usually meant I felt able to join in the dancing and be pleasantly surprised and delighted if cruised by a younger man.

In keeping with reports of examples of the experiences of older men in South East Asia (Lee, 2004), I too had been elevated to the respected position of “Papa” when travelling in the region. This was also evidenced when I attended a reunion of Class 66 (the year I entered the New Zealand Navy at age 16). I had not seen any of these men for forty years and I had this memory of us as athletic teenagers. I was shocked to see my contemporaries – bald, grey, paunchy, and wrinkled – the years had taken their toll and some had died. “Was I the same?” I wondered, and then I had a reunion with a close University friend 24 years my junior whom I had not seen for 10 years and his comment was “You look exactly the same!” Relief! It was then I understood his affection for me, which was mutual. This young man had often accompanied me to nightclubs and dance parties, we often ate and drank wine at each other’s homes, played music, and talked as intimate friends (Weeks et al., 2001).

There are groups and websites for the older gay males (Yoakam, 2002), and although I had a membership for some time with “SilverDaddies”

(<http://silverdaddies.com/>), a website providing contacts for older men and their younger admirers, I did not utilise this resource. In Melbourne older gay men can access “The Boilers” established in 1959 (Willett, 2002) for social support. Maybe it is an urban legend but I recall that name “boiler” contrasted ‘old roosters’ with the ‘young chickens’ of the gay community. There are certain sexual spaces in which older men will experience a positive reaction to the perceived age (Lee, 2004), and often young admirers of older gay men seek out sexual liaisons in such spaces, but these are rare and many men resort to the internet and cruising beats (Pope et al., 2007).

Ralph, although semi-retired, is still working in his field of education in developing countries and I have also myself shown diverse styles of performing the ageing script. As Friend (1991) highlights, older gay and lesbian people, who are active, productive, sexual and self-determining, and who have had experience in reconstructing the arbitrary definitions of homosexuality and gender, can transfer these affirming processes to their identities as older people. Ralph’s report of his psychological functioning, predilections, and the addictive nature of his cottaging and cruising, indicated considerable insight with a level of acceptance that that was how things were. I have commented on the social and sexual interactions with younger men; next I will discuss intergenerational sexual scripts.

5.4.5 Intergenerational sexual scripts

Both Ralph and I were partnered with younger men. Ralph's partner was considerably younger and that was cause for some concern for him. He self-described an element of "father-son" to the relationship, as he noted:

[...] It could only be described as incestuous I think, because it's sexual. Never quite understand what Asian young men see in me sexually as a Westerner, but as you know they do find that attractive. I think there's in fact I know there's an element of wanting to prolong life after I'm gone, which I know a lot of parents obviously have and somehow leave something that will still be here after I'm gone. There's definitely a Socratic kind of teacher-pupil disciple element, probably manifests most in the teaching of English, but there are other aspects to it - like a tabla rasa he knows nothing of the world and is keen to know. And I like that - I like that a lot. And for his sake it's a sexual relationship, and the needs that are being met are not predominantly sexual, because there are lots of different needs altogether as I get older, and as he grows. And so for that reason as I said, I wouldn't be surprised if the sexuality of it wains ... I mean it's a strange kind of love I suppose, by most people's assessment, the love of sixty-six year old for twenty-three year old.

Kim: It's only forty years difference [chuckles].

Ralph: I have no idea what my family are going to make of it and I don't care anymore. Who gets to stop me? Um, I never thought I'd have a relationship with such a big age gap - I mean my last lover was in his late thirties. Well that's it [...] And he keeps telling me. "I don't love you just because you're old." [chuckles] "I know that" I said. "Or because

you've got money." he said, "I love you because you are you." [...] In some ways I'd prefer that he was older. Um, but it's interesting, it's life, but it's a new experience for me with such a big age gap.

This is certainly a deviation from the typical intergenerational gay relationship with such a large age gap, but it appears there was fair exchange of extrinsic resources from the older partner who has intelligence, sophistication, social accomplishments and experience to offer, and the intrinsic resources of the younger man, such as erotic capital, sexual excitement, and availability (Steinman, 1991). Then there are the benefits of companionship, education and exposure to shared cultural experiences. Ralph's younger partner Ming was employed and therefore did not require financial support from Ralph, which did reduce the power differential.

There is a 31-year difference between my present partner and me. My previous partner Tom was 16 years my junior (much to my mother's disgust at that time) and we were together for 14 years. I was not sure that my mother was upset at the age difference or Tom's sometimes-outrageous behaviour at family gatherings.

Yoakam (2002) contends that an intergenerational male relationship can stir up a powerful mixture of homophobia and ageism in a culture that assumes heterosexuality as the norm. Maybe that is the explanation for my mother's initial distress. Many years later when I introduced my new young Asian partner, I expected a tirade of recriminations having known

of her past racist views. All credit to Sebastian, within 15 minutes she was thoroughly enjoying him, and much to my amazement, later in the week, took him on a tour of the city. Maybe ageing brings about tolerance and acceptance?

More broadly in society, physical intimacy and expression are generally only permitted in 'approved' relationships between appropriate partners.

Approved sexual partners should be similar to one another in age: if there is an age difference, the male should be the older of the two.

Relationships should be long-term and involve sexual exclusiveness (Davidson & Fennel, 2002). But the heteronormative script is fluid and there have been shifts in the notion of what constitutes acceptable relationship parameters. Online dating services such as *Cougar Life* (Casual-Affairs-Australia, 2013) provide mature women, designated as "Cougars", with opportunities to date younger men called "Cubs".

Cougars are women aged 35+ with 43 years as the average age, while the ages of the male Cubs range from 18 – 44 years with the average being 26 years. *Cougar Life* claims a membership of 213,000 Australian subscribers with 3 million members worldwide (Casual-Affairs-Australia, 2013). It seems to me to be an example of women exercising their erotic capital with younger men (Hakim, 2010).

Within and outside of the gay community, sexual or romantic association between older and younger men is viewed as reeking of exploitation or recruitment (Bergling, 2004), and can be viewed as a violation of the

sexual hierarchy of the gay community (Green, 2011) as discussed in Chapter 2. The elder is believed to be love-starved and eager to capture lost youth while the younger is portrayed as exploitative of the older partner's wealth and status (Yoakam, 2002). The transgression of the age boundaries in playing the sexual field, often result in harsh criticism of such couplings, as expressed in the language around this issue; the "sugar daddy" (Steinman, 1991), or "chicken hawk" on the prowl; the young hustler or "toy boy" looking for status or security, the "young hustler", the "gigolo", the "money bitch", the "dirty old man", the "cradle snatcher", among other labels, which represent forms of sex for money and sexual predation (González, 2007, p. 36). The assumption automatically places the older partner in the power position, with the younger man relegated to a mere plaything or trophy. The cliché ignores the symbiotic union two people can create when they reach across the generation gap, so long as each brings with him something he can offer the other. On the other hand, it is sometimes assumed that in seeking out younger men, the older man is acting out of some neurosis surrounding sex, ageing and emotional immaturity (Bergling, 2004).

Notwithstanding the above, Rotello (1997) suggests that intergenerational interaction promotes benefits for both the younger and older gay man. Most men relish the opportunity to pursue and mate with others who share common ground relative to their own stage in life, the assumption being that the wider the age gap, the less able men are to find commonality and levels of social, emotional, and age-appropriate

compatibility that most men seek. Often couples with wide age differences result in parent-child or mentor-mentee dynamics that create a power imbalance, although this can be redressed through other power exchanges such as care and support. These dynamics tend to undermine the equality and reciprocity that gives balance and equity to male coupling (Bergling, 2004, p. 142), and support the discriminatory and condemnatory opinions of some in the gay community.

For the older gay man, finding a partner to share intimacy on a physical, emotional and spiritual level can often be a significant developmental experience that both encourages and reflects greater self-acceptance (Pope et al., 2007). But it also requires hard work and commitment to developing new scripts for sexual intimacy and social interaction.

In the earlier days of my relationship with Tom, my first long-term male partner, our relationship script focussed on gaining an education and establishing careers. I was in my third career change and Tom was starting his tertiary education. Our social life revolved around friends and church, which were accepting of our relationship. On moving to Australia from New Zealand as a couple we established ourselves in Melbourne to finish our degrees, find work, and participate in the varied gay culture that Melbourne and Sydney offered. We refined our sexual script to include condoms when I was diagnosed with HIV, which provided protection for the time we were together. Although there was a 14 year-age gap, this did not seem to be an issue, especially as Tom was socially mature,

highly intelligent, with a talent for languages, and an appreciation of the arts, which satisfied my need for stimulating company, but he tended to be self-absorbed. Sebastian, my current partner, also is impressive in his learning abilities, speaks three languages, has a fine singing voice and is emotionally spontaneous and affectionate. Physically, both men are very different from me, with each one having individualistic erotic capital. I am very aware of the exoticness of Sebastian's Asian body. This brings me to discuss issues of ethnicity transgressions.

5.4.6 Ethnicity transgressions

Two of the four men in this study transgressed hegemonic boundaries in terms of age, and three men transgressed in terms of race (Jackson, 2000). The focus here is on Asian men and their relationships with Caucasian men. Ralph's partner in his twenties was Burmese, my partner in his thirties was Laotian and Joel's partner of similar age was also Burmese. They are Asian in that they are men from South-East Asian countries; which consist of Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, the Philippines, Vietnam, Hong Kong, China and hence often lumped together as "Asian" (Sanitioso, 1999). Many in the male gay community view inter-racial, or inter-cultural relationships, as aberrant (Ridge et al., 1999).

There operates a tightly structured hierarchy within the gay community (Green, 2011) as reviewed in Chapter 2, where Caucasian men are

indisputably at the top of the sexual desirability stakes and Asian men are somewhere far beneath them (Jackson, 2000). This is evidenced by the observer's pervasive assumptions of the motivation, purpose, and experience of inter-cultural relationships. This is reinforced by the dominant discourse within white gay cultures which stereotypes Caucasian-Asian homoerotic relations in terms of two opposed models; firstly the exclusion of Asian men as erotically attractive and, secondly, making a fetish of Asian men with their only role being objects of erotic interest.

The dominant narrative in Australian gay cultures legitimises 'race-same' desire (Jackson, 2000, p. 183). Set against the prevailing stereotypical white gay male, Asian men are often viewed in the mainstream gay community as unattractive, physically smaller, softer and somewhat effeminate, and often passive and submissive (Poon & Ho, 2008). The pool of Caucasian men interested in Asian men is perceived to be smaller than the numbers of Asian men interested in white men leading to "competitiveness" in obtaining a Caucasian partner. Also, Caucasian partners of Asian men are reported to more likely be older rather than younger (Ridge et al., 1999), as also evidenced by two men in this study.

The prevailing view as to why older Caucasian men are attracted to Asian men is as a result of the Asian custom of respect for their elders, and that while it would be difficult for most older, white gay men who are not wealthy to find a white sexual partner much younger than

themselves, Asian gay men are more available (Sullivan & Jackson, 1999, p. 4). Another reason, for a strong preference by some white men for partners from other cultures is a sense of alienation from their own culture because of their homosexuality (Poon & Ho, 2008; Sullivan & Jackson, 1999). Furthermore, when coming from a privileged, racial, social, cultural or economic group, it is easier for Caucasian men to engage in poorer cultures because of their position of power. I can attest to the advantage of unearned privilege due to my country of birth, gender, skin colour and access to resources (Pease, 2010). I readily accept the inherent danger of exploitation when I have been working, visiting, or living in Asian countries, I am aware of and acknowledge the power imbalance that can arise (Poon, 2000). However, I felt I was contributing to the economy, and when cultural naiveté and lack of language disadvantaged me (McCamish, 1999), paying for all sorts of services became necessary.

In all three case studies involving interracial relationships, the benefits of privilege flowed to the partners of the Caucasian men (McCamish, 1999). This was not always in being “the money tree” (this referred to the plastic tree that had clips on the branches for supporters and family to make donations when, in Buddhist cultures, a middle class young man entered the temple to be *kubar* (monk), it referenced our supplying funds to the family). There were other less tangible benefits for the Asian man such as learning English, access to education, and access to first world countries through visits and visas. My partner Sebastian was able to

gain Australian citizenship, much to our delight. However, personal benefits that became available to Sebastian, Ming and Jack were considerable and provided resources for their families in keeping with cultural expectations (Poon, 2000; Poon & Ho, 2008). The influence of family in Asian cultures is considerable and necessitates some discussion, to which I now turn.

5.4.7 The Asian familial script and the expatriate script

5.4.7.1 Families

Families in many Asian countries tend to be based on interdependency and collectivism and are highly structured with roles and expectations of family members (Poon, 2000). All three Asian partners in this study took their responsibilities seriously. Sebastian inherited the “Oldest Brother Script” early in life when his elder brother died of malaria at a young age. He earnestly undertook his role as eldest son and as his parents are now ageing, he has assumed a leadership role. His ambition for education and work was to ensure he could make money so that he could support the family and this was strongly encouraged by his doctor father. I too encouraged him to finish his tertiary education in Laos, and supported him in gaining qualifications in Bangkok when we moved there for my work and again later in Burma. During my stay with the family in Vientiane, I was adopted as ‘uncle’ and invited to be “*kubar*” with Sebastian in the village temple, which I considered a rare privilege. This was an important rite of passage for Sebastian and brought kudos and

honour to the family from the village by their sponsorship of me as “*farang kubar*” (foreign monk).

5.4.7.2 The role of patron

There were emotional aspects to playing the role of ‘patron’ in the expatriate script, and at times I felt that I was welcomed as long as I could supply resources to fill the gaps in the family budget such as school fees, celebrations and medical bills. Sebastian and I maintained a long distance relationship through email and phone calls while I was based in Melbourne. Whenever possible we consolidated our relationship by getting together when I was passing through Bangkok or when it was possible to visit Vientiane, and Sebastian’s family always made me very welcome on these occasions.

I was appointed to a two-year posting in Bangkok, and we agreed to live together and Sebastian could attend graduate school. I went to Vientiane to accompany him to Bangkok and on the eve of our departure there was this moment of realisation that there were now consequences of us embarking further with this relationship – it was as though the enjoyable game we had played for two years had now changed to the real thing – I was taking the eldest son out of his family and culture to another country. I knew that Sebastian was very much at ease in Bangkok for he spoke excellent Thai and did not have typical Laotian features. Although Laotian food and music is popular in Thailand, there is a history of discrimination and marginalisation of Laotians by the Thais (Jory, 2000), which Sebastian would often allude to when in Bangkok.

Out of some sense of chivalry and honouring for Sebastian's father and family, and with a certain amount of dread. I asked him to ask his father if he was happy about me taking his eldest son away. Sebastian translated the question to his father and I can only assume accurately for the answer was translated, "Oh sure, I have four other sons." There was an immediate sense of relief at being given permission and approval. Later, I understood more fully that Sebastian's father had desperately wanted his son to have a good education in a foreign country; but then I learnt that if Sebastian had not gone with me, his father had wanted him to join the police force in some provincial town - and that was certainly not Sebastian's plan.

Joel similarly struggled with cross-cultural issues and the emotional demand of Jack's family, made more salient by Joel's uncertainty about his own future and the future of his relationship. In our discussion about the nature of relationships, Joel commented:

So on the one hand we very close in age and I want to have a partnership but on the other hand I'm forced to make all these decisions and I can't be consultative with him, because he doesn't you know, he [sees] the money magically reappear, but he doesn't have expensive tastes, and he's not going out partying and buying Prada, or whatever, but he just doesn't get it. So then how do I address that imbalance in the relationship?

Then the emotional hook comes in for Joel:

[...] And one of the few things he can do I realised is that he can manipulate me emotionally so that you know he kind of mopes and so if things aren't going well he pushes the panic button like, "You want to break up? You want to break up?" I say, "I don't know." *[Shared laughter]* Fuck! So yeah, of course, wherever I go I want to bring him with me I want him to be with me, but then I think, is he going to be happy, or what can we get him to do? You know if I can make \$100,000 a year and just have him be a house husband which perhaps not ideal for him, for his development as human being even if I were in a position to do that for him, you know what I mean? What if I die? What if I get kicked out of this country and I can never come back, what do I do with him? And if you know whenever I try to say something like, "Jack we need to save money because what if you get sick and I need to pay for your medical treatment" it just gets a blank stare. Which thank God so far he's healthy.

Ralph, Joel and I were always at a disadvantage when living in Burma. Joel was considered fluent in Burmese, but Ralph and I were limited to English and the linguistic strength of our partners. Hence, expressing sexual and emotional needs and desires could be problematic, although I was often amazed at the sensitivity of Sebastian in being able to 'read' me and attend to my needs. But we were all faced with the issue of lack of cultural insight into the complexities of Asian families and relationships.

Joel complained of the constant stream of distant relatives that flowed through their home requiring hospitality, time and attention. I sometimes felt left out of important family discussions and debates and would absent myself, which was in turn sometimes viewed as being rude. Ralph supported Ming with resources, enjoyed the relationship, but at times resented the way that Ming would visit, switch on TV, have dinner and leave.

One of the most difficult aspects of Asian culture to understand is that of “face”, which refers to a claimed sense of favourable social self-worth that a person wants others to have of him or her (Ting-Toomey & Kurogi, 1998, p. 187). Self-face is the concern for one’s own image; other-face is the concern for another’s image; and mutual face is the concern for both parties’ images and the image of the relationship. Decorum, politeness, modesty, hospitality, anticipating and then fulfilling another’s need, were all aspects I needed to watch. I found I had to be very careful about what I said to whom and to always be aware of what others might think, and how I behaved. There were rules about public displays of affection, and many times when in the company of gay Asian men in Bangkok or Vientiane I would find myself walking alone. I discovered that others in the community could have construed that in walking with a farang, he would be considered a “rent” or money boy, which would bring about a loss of face (Storer, 1999b). This raises the issue of individualism versus collectivism to which I now turn.

5.4.7.3 Individualism versus collectivism

The difficulty I found being from a Western culture is to understand that there is a lot of complexity within "Asia" and that the divide between "East" and "West" is porous, shifting and often imperceptible due to the proliferation of hybrid experiences. One difference for me in cultural values was the contrast between individualism versus collectivism (Hofstede, 1991). Western values tend to emphasize the importance of the "I" identity over the "we" identity, individual rights over group rights, and personal self-esteem issues over social self-esteem issues, which are features of individualism. In comparison, collectivism favours the "we" over the "I", in-group interests over the individual interests, and mutual-face concerns over self-face concerns (Ting-Toomey & Kurogi, 1998). As noted above, Joel found aspects of this difficult, and I struggled at times to make sense of family and social dynamics. Dealing with such situations required patience and careful monitoring of emotional states. I am also aware that my ignorance and cultural insensitivity caused loss of face for Sebastian and his family at times. How relationships are formed and constituted in Asian cultures are different to Western traditions, although there are some similarities. One example of difference is the issue of polygamy. To gain economic capital a man may take a number of wives. Sebastian's grandfather has three wives. I will discuss polyamory below, but first I want to consider the monogamous versus non-monogamous scripts that emerged in the case studies.

5.5 Working out the interpersonal script.

Interpersonal scripts refer to the way that individuals interact with others to perform their sexual scripts, as outlined above. This necessitates dialogue to reach mutual understanding of how the interpersonal scripts are to be enacted. One important issue is how to accommodate alternative understandings of sexual and emotional fidelity, and to this I now turn.

5.5.1 Monogamous versus non-monogamous scripts

The men in this study at one time or another engaged with the issues around monogamy. The many personal struggles were about engaging with the often-contradictory gay sexual and heteronormative relationship discourses, which include fidelity, commitment, romantic love, infatuation and sexual behaviour. Non-monogamy is not an indicator of relationship failure among gay men (Adam, 2010) and studies have shown that among gay men, longer relationships are more likely to be sexually non-exclusive (Harry, 1984; Hickson et al., 1992; Kurdeck & Schmitt, 1986; McWhirter & Mattison, 1984; Wagner et al., 2000). However, not all gay couples are able to maintain non-monogamous relationships and choose to make a commitment to exclusivity. But this does not mean that those who do choose non-exclusive relationships are psychologically dysfunctional or are acting out of some pathology that arises from their homosexuality (Meyer & Dean, 1998).

Two men in this research (Ralph and Joel) voiced their concerns with partners having sex outside of their relationships and their own struggles with the complexity of emotions and desires of maintaining monogamy. Andrew, living as a heterosexual married man, remained committed to his wife sexually (at least heterosexually), but enjoyed sex with various male partners and fell in love; and myself, who very early in establishing my gay relationships went through a process of rethinking the monogamy paradigm, whilst heterosexually married.

Nothing in this story is as it seems, especially when it comes to promiscuity, non-monogamy, and fidelity. The assumptions of the normalcy and naturalness of monogamy termed “mononormativity” (Barker & Langdridge, 2010, p. 750) form the dominant sexual script or propaganda (Rowan, 1995). It all depends on where one finds oneself on the binary continuum – and that is not fixed, as Andrew and I can attest. Yet for many years I had embraced monogamy as a heterosexual man, because now I realise I was not interested in any other woman than the mother of my children, although after the marriage separated there were occasional episodes with other women – one of whom turned out to be lesbian! But I was not conflicted when I found myself in a whole new world of desire, intimacy and exciting sex with men.

Joel was conflicted about the issues of monogamy:

So that was something about the two guys I went with actually in recent months. I’ve started to feel guilty if I think too much about other guys

unless it's in extremely abstract ways. If it's a guy I know and I think, "Oh am I being unfaithful?" So I think, I think it's a part of my mind I shouldn't go into. I mean at the same time like trying to be a Buddhist practitioner and you're not to condemn yourself and disown it – you're to sort of just think, "Ok that's a thought, let it go, acknowledge it" but what the hell, I've still got all this Catholic guilt in my background *[shared laughter]*. If there's something to feel bad about I'll find it.

Kim: So you are saying that this lust that you are experiencing you divert into other activities or you agonise?

Joel: Ideally I'd like to.

Kim: Yes, or you agonise about it?

Joel: There's a bit of agony in there.

Kim: Yeah, don't act on it though?

Joel: No, I would never forgive myself if I did.

Kim: You see that's interesting that you don't act on it.

Joel: I mean part of it is, wait what do I want to say? Um, my ideal is monogamy. I like stability.

Joel resisted any attempts of other men to seduce him because of the importance he gave to monogamy. At various stages in our relationships Ralph, Andrew and I were confronted with the issue of monogamy and needed to reach an understanding and consensus with our partners, or not.

5.5.2 Agreements or not!

Without any ready made scripts or models with which to construct relationships outside of the monogamy regime, gay men have nevertheless constructed viable arrangements which include ongoing, emotionally committed relationships and short-term sexual adventures (Adam, 2010). In such settings agreements are often made about what restrictions there might be especially in term of disease prevention, the use of condoms, not falling in love, and who to bring home for a threesome “he had to be cute!”. In both of my long-term relationships I have insisted on this arrangement.

Monogamy then serves the function for some men in gay relationships as a ground for establishing and building trust in a relationship, while non-monogamy appears to arise more in couples in relationships of greater duration, who feel confident of their relationship, and are thus ready to deal with ‘risks’ posed by sexual attraction to other men (Adam, 2010). Agreements as to the extent of extra-dyadic sexual activities tended to fall into three categories – sexual exclusivity, meaning no sex with other men outside of the relationship; sexual non-exclusivity meaning sex with other men outside the relationship which could include bringing a partner into the dyad for sex; and an agreement to sexual exclusivity, but where one or both partners secretly engage in sexual activity outside the relationship. There are also varying conditions of freedom (Finn, 2010), or rules about disclosure, bringing men home, use of condoms, staying safe and forming romantic attachments (Finn, 2010; LaSala, 2004). In

this study, Joel and I had formed rules with our partners about the limitations of extradyadic sexual interactions. Joel had made this agreement with his partner Jack:

I said to him at the beginning and I think we agreed on this; I said, 'Look, I would ideally like us to be monogamous.' He said he wanted to be monogamous. I said, 'But, look, if you really find yourself in this position where you want to be with another guy, or there's someone you are really intensely attracted to, can we talk about it, and I'll talk about it too. So far it's never happened.

Joel had a script to deal with any such situations.

It doesn't happen often but when I feel like that a man is like making moves at me or flirting with me, my immediate reaction is always to push it away, because it's like I don't want to fuck up what I have I don't want to do something inappropriate or I don't so I don't.

When the agreements I had made with partners were broken it did not result in a breakdown of the relationship, it usually led to taking action to mitigate the effects or damage that may have arisen such as seeking HIV prophylactics when unsafe sex had occurred. But for many men, such breaches of trust do end in irrevocable breakdown of the relationship (Worth et al., 2002).

5.5.3 Polyamory

When I was researching safe sex practice and drugs in the early 1990s I interviewed a sample of gay men (Benton & Kirkby, 1994). One of the study respondents in answer to a question about relationships stated that he had been in a three-way relationship for over two years. This was a novel idea at the time for me, and opened up all sorts of possibilities; especially when he described with delight being in the middle and being fucked at both ends. So is this being monogamous? It certainly contests the ideal that relationships should only be between two people (Barker, 2005) and reveals the notion of polyamory – a form of relationship where it is possible, valid and worthwhile to maintain (usually long-term) intimate and sexual relationships with multiple partners simultaneously (Haritaworn et al., 2006, p. 515), although often such arrangements are often clandestine (Ritchie & Barker, 2006).

Non-monogamy includes both polyamory and promiscuity. Samuels (2010) and Seidman (1997) make a clear distinction between promiscuity and non-monogamy. One is about just sex and the other is about relationships, which are legitimised by love, intimacy and commitment (Klesse, 2007). Promiscuity on the other hand is a highly value-charged term, for it signifies more than the simple fact that a person may have sex with many multiple partners. Promiscuous sex is also perceived as the self-gratification of sexual pleasures rather than the expression of feelings of love; as being emotionally shallow rather than intimate; and as

bodily objectification of the other rather than as an expression of being interested in the person (Klesse, 2007).

An all-pervasive myth of the promiscuity of gay men persists (Fyfe, 1983), and historically it was seen as reckless sexual abandon, coupled with the AIDS epidemic (Bolton, 1992). The Arnold Schulman film, "*And the Band Played On*" (Spottiswoode, 1993), based on the book of the same name (Shilts, 1987), suggested that the moral flaws of gay male lifestyles appeared to be responsible for the concentration and rapid spread of HIV/AIDS in that community (Rubin, 1997). All the men in this study had multiple sexual partners, some more than others, some anonymously and some enjoyed 'friends with benefits' or 'fuck buddies' (Blasius, 1994, p. 221; Wentland & Reissing, 2011), but only Ralph reported that he had been promiscuous. Perhaps as a consequence of the blatant sexual representation in the media, together with the expedient increase in pornography on the internet, more sexual explicitness in public discourse, and increased visibility and politicisation of erotic matters in feminism, lesbian and gay liberation movements (R. Collins, 2004), there is evidence of normalisation of promiscuity in Western cultures. On the other hand has been a shift in perception as White (1998) makes clear:

'Promiscuity' was a word we objected to because it suggested
'libertinage' and that we wanted to replace with the neutral word,
'adventuring' (p. 299).

Ralph may also be reflecting the discourse of the period of 1970 to the

mid 1980s when gay men were staking a claim for the right to sexual pleasure, and the perceived psychological and social benefits of multiple forms of sexual pleasure with multiple, often unknown, partners (Holleran, 1992, 1997). Promiscuity and the explosion of explicit erotic materials and practices symbolized the reaction and rebellion to the repression of gay men's sexuality by societal norms (Preston, 1993).

5.5.4 Post-infidelity stress disorder

The hegemonic monogamous script does not include promiscuity; and an industry has emerged especially in the United States which provides services, therapy and support groups for those suffering from post-infidelity stress disorder (Ortman, 2009). The prevailing script for responding to the knowledge of a partner's extra-marital sexual liaisons constitute grounds for divorce (Druckerman, 2007). Jealousy is a powerful emotion, but constructing it as a 'negative' emotion while describing it as a 'natural' response to infidelity, serves to maintain the dominance of monogamy (Harré & Parrot, 1996). This view is challenged when emotions are considered as socioculturally determined patterns of experience and expression in interpersonal or other interactions (Blasi, 1999); and the language used to describe extradyadic sex similarly reinforces the monogamy hegemony (Ritchie & Barker, 2006); for example, the word 'infidelity' has many nuances and 'cheating' has negative connotations (Wentland & Reissing, 2011).

As for outcomes, a study in the United States found that non-monogamous couples were just as happy or just as miserable as monogamous ones (Rubin & Adams, 1986). Druckerman's (2007) cross cultural analysis of infidelity found cultural differences in responding to infidelity scripts, and jealousy, shock, and post-traumatic stress disorder were not always considered appropriate responses. Furthermore, Samuels (2010) makes the observation that the field of psychotherapy has difficulty with promiscuity and exposes a moral conservatism that sustains the infidelity industry. Similarly, Rotello (1997) argues for the construction of a gay culture that validates sexual constraint with a shift towards fidelity within gay relationships as a counter-measure to the spread of HIV amongst gay men.

Yet the dominance of hegemonic monogamy is pervasive in other ways as exemplified in "*The Myth of Monogamy*" (Barash & Lipton, 2001). Barash and Lipton spend six chapters exploring and debunking monogamy and argue that monogamy is a myth. In the final chapter they argue that although monogamy has flaws, it ensures the survival of Western civilisation; and that open, unstructured, and non-restrictive sexual relationships are "utopian" (p. 190). Buss (2003) similarly argues that infidelity disrupts marriage bonds and leads to divorce, and jealousy is the evolutionary and proper response to pair bond threats (p. 266).

However, no suggestion was made that people of integrity and morality might choose to engage in alternative non-monogamous arrangements

(Pallotta-Chiarolli, 1995, 2010; Savage, 1998), without the collapse of the edifice of marriage. The debate over gay marriage is similarly conflicted over the notion of compulsory monogamy, which, in part, reflects the dominant heterosexual model of monogamy (Browne, 2011; LaSala, 2005; Weeks et al., 2001; Yip, 1997).

5.5.5 Emotional fidelity script

In this study, Ralph and I both addressed the separation of sex and love – sex being something you do with – well, anybody else who is attractive and willing, and love to be the basis for a relationship of fidelity, something akin to friendship for some (Scherrer, 2010), and that which drives and gives meaning to a sexual relationships for others (J. I. Martin, 2006). This is not to say that anonymous or casual sex with strangers or fuck buddies is devoid of meaning, just that other needs are being met: skin contact, reassurance, and social interaction.

Ralph clearly separated sex from love in his understanding. He was very clear in his analysis,

[...] the function of the sex in the relationship for him [*my partner*] I think is reassurance that I still love him and it serves a limited function but it is not sex as I predominantly see sex – different function.... So yes I think if you are asking about sex and love the whole of sex - there's sex and then there's this bit of sex, which can somehow cement our relationship, but it's not for me sex you know – never could be. [...]

Love - if I think I was honest I would say the deepest love I have – gay love, if we’re talking about gay love, the deepest love I have would be for “the sisters” [*whom*] I’ve never had sex with. If I compare that to the relationships I’ve had, the love in the relationships I’ve had, I think it’s [*the love of sisters*] is probably greater. I’ve always believed that two gay men who come together and they stick together long enough, the relationship is almost no different, whatsoever, from two sisters who stay together after x number of years. I don’t know any gay men, gay couples who are still having monogamous sex after thirty years. They’re either on the ‘randan’ [*Scottish term for an outing, usually at night, often in a group where the goal is to drink, unwind and have a good time (urban-Dictionary)*] or cheating - or they’ve stopped having sex altogether, they’re just like sisters. And if I look at these – if I honestly look at relationships like Tony and Max [*gay couple - long-time friends*], they don’t have sex any more – forty years in or whatever, or Alan and Graham in Australia, separately – their relationship is no different from the relationship I have with my close friend Bruce and I’ve never had sex with Bruce. It’s a love relationship – it’s a gay love relationship they have and sex has gone for various reasons mostly lack of libido but also it may never have occurred in the first place. So the way I see sex - the way I see gay relationships that the love element, true love, which is not about lovey-dovey love or romantic love is really no different from relationships that have always been platonic. I think the sexual aspect in gay relationships is time limited.

Ralph has clearly separated sex from love and the above quote speaks to an emotional fidelity, separated from a sexual exclusiveness. When I entered my first long-term relationship with Tom, monogamy was never mentioned, it was more an unspoken assumption of sexual exclusiveness. However, in due course we moved to a non-monogamous relationship, which in the beginning was confronting:

Tom and I often went to the gay sauna and we would split up to have ‘fun’ for a time and then meet to go home. I became agitated one evening when Tom had seemed to disappear long past our arranged time and I angrily said I was not going to wait around while he was being intimate with other men. His immediate retort was he was only intimate with me and just fucked the other men.

I got some help from a skilful therapist who helped me to differentiate sex from love. As a research participant in LaSala (2005) comments:

“I think one of the special things about being in a gay relationship is we get to define our relationships. We have monogamy of the heart and not the genitals” [49-year-old man in 4 year relationship] (quoted in LaSala, 2005, p. 9).

I came to learn that fidelity meant for me being committed in love to my partner and the importance and integrity of the relationship whilst still enjoying sexual adventures with other men (Adam, 2010). This realisation brought a sense of freedom without negating any of the possible risks of a non-monogamous relationship.

Although there is evidence in the literature that suggests for some gay men non-monogamous relationships are quite successful (see Bonello (2009) for a review), some studies report difficulties in maintaining and negotiating relationship boundaries and expectations (Adam, 2010; Klesse, 2007; Worth et al., 2002; Yip, 1997). Klesse's (2007) study raises some interesting issues around the constructions of democratic egalitarianism and the exercise of power in the negotiation and application of non-monogamous relationships. It seems that the very practical issue of one person getting more opportunity to avail themselves of other partners, and in a sense having more fun, has the potential for envy and jealousy. And then of course there is the complexity of love and romance, and the power of the romance script.

5.5.6 Romance Scripts

Sebastian and I argue about who fell in love with whom first – I always maintain that he fell for me because of my age and large wallet; he says I fell for him because he was young and gorgeous – maybe we are both right! Not that it matters, because our courtship (now that's an old fashioned word), our getting to know each other, was spread over distance and time. The outcome after eight years was a commitment ceremony in Melbourne with family and friends, and the registering of our relationship with the Victorian database. We always expected and practised a non-exclusive sexual relationship, but emotionally it was exclusive. There have been many times that other men have fallen in

love with Sebastian and in the early years he found this very seductive, yet he has always maintained that I am “number one husband”.

The usual romance scripts especially for young gay men prescribe a relationship trajectory of dating, falling in love, sexual exclusivity and lifelong commitment (Adam, 2010). Such scripts often run up against scripts of sex as adventure, pleasure, and exploration, without commitment, as evidenced by Ralph’s story; for much of his sexual life involved cottaging and casual sex. Resolving the tension of how to have a committed relationship with fringe benefits requires levels of honesty, communication and respect, which are necessary to create an alternative non-monogamous script (Mutchler, 2000).

When Andrew first ventured into homosexual sex he followed the romance script trajectory. Steve was the first man who was able to seduce him and the result – he was in love!

I love to talk to you about Steve who made eyes at me across, across the table [*chuckles*] at a most boring bloody meeting, and we were sitting [*chuckles with glee*] and I just couldn’t keep my eyes off him for the whole meeting. He kept meeting my stare, and a group of us went out to dinner and then after dinner we all went back to our hotel, and, or was it before? I think it was before dinner, he said something like, “I’d like to share”. I know exactly what he said, he said, “I’d like to, would you like to share, I’d like to share my pillow with you,” he said [*shared laughter*].

Note the laughter that occurred as Andrew told this story; he delighted in remembering the experience and what happened subsequently. This passage illustrates the limerence that can suddenly or slowly move a script forward (Money, 1999) even as much as sexual chemistry where one is eager to know the beloved quickly, intensely and undressed (Leiblum & Brezsnyak, 2006, p. 57).

Joel's romance script was less dramatic but did not lack intensity, but was often compromised by his low self-esteem and body image issues, which were obstacles to him pursuing a prospective partner. However this time it was different:

I met him here, I came to swim at the hotel and I saw him in the pool a couple of times and I noticed him, and actually my radar sometimes works; and the way it works sometimes is that if I see someone I'm interested in, and if I sort of relax and think about him like, "Now could you be together with this guy." I recall the situation when I first met him and then I realise and think about it. "Oh wait, he's straight"; or "He's way too selfish"; or "He's an okay guy but we wouldn't hit it off," and actually if I do this and I'm able to tune in that way I'm often very accurate. And with Jack I think there was some point that was like, "Oh wow, I really hit it off with him!" Just like you know I got a really good vibe from him and I just talked to him. And we did hit it off pretty quickly.

This illustrates the way that Joel's insecurity, reflected in his self-talk, became more self-affirming as the encounter developed. Joel found this

relationship with Jack was different in the way that love was discovered, and fuelled the quality of the sex.

Yes, I do feel I love Jack in a way that I've never been able to love someone else before. I've always had the desire to love someone that way, but it just hasn't happened, and to me it's sort of like, you have sex with someone because you love them and because you love them you have sex. You know the two kind of beat in a fortuitus circle [...] spiral.

As Joel points out for him, sex in all its manifestations was instrumental in the giving and receiving of love. I now turn to the sexual behavioural scripts.

5.5.7 Sexual behavioural scripts

The premise of scripting theory is that sexual behaviour:

[.....] is the result of elaborate prior learning that teaches us an etiquette of sexual behaviour (Hyde & DeLamater, 2006, p. 40).

A sexual behavioural script is the performance or enactment of an individual's intrapsychic sexual script in the context of a cultural script. As discussed in Chapter 2, the cultural context is multifaceted in that the performances were scripted and fashioned for the men in this study in different ways with different qualities.

Each individual constructs his or her own sexual scripts based on personal experience and social learning and although there are common elements shared by most members of a particular culture, sexual scripts

can differ from one individual to another and are gender specific (Wiederman, 2005), and often follow gender roles (Lippa, 2001).

Behavioural sexual scripts are acquired when a person is initiated and socialised into a sexual environment wherein individuals gain sexual knowledge, values and attitudes (L'Engle & Jackson, 2008; Ward, 2003). Through this process of socialisation, this learning forms the scripts that guide sexual behaviour (Bandura, 1977; Gagnon & Simon, 1973; Simon & Gagnon, 1984). With experience the individual rehearses the sequences of culturally appropriate sexual activities, or choreography (Henriksson & Mansson, 1995), to enable the script to be performed.

Repeated performances give opportunity for refining and assimilating the scripts, and as every sexual interaction is unique, the choreography for the performance of sexual interactions is formed when a person has been initiated into sexual encounters.

In some longstanding relationships, lack of knowledge and cultural expectations may result in repetitive and monotonous sexual activity, resulting in boredom (Kaye, 1993). Exploring sexual behaviours through experimenting with alternative sexual behaviours in different settings requires the learning of new scripts (Adam, 2010). The adventure script or script for erotic adventure refers to having sex with casual or anonymous partners in a broad range of settings and requires learning the choreography of the sexual encounter and the setting which is

incorporated into a new sexual script (McInnes & Bollen, 2000; McInnes et al., 2002). The more exotic scenarios as experienced, for example, in sadomasochism sub-cultural sexual situations, require participants to learn and assimilate the norms and behaviour rules that guide and direct the sexual scripts (Santtila et al., 2006; Weinberg et al., 1984).

In a cruising situation in beats, or cottages, much of the sex is mutual masturbation, with oral sex and anal sex less frequent. Sexual behaviour scripts can also vary with the proclivities and desires of the partner, and these are not fixed. The formulation of the pattern of sexual behaviour within a relationship can shift and change over the life-course of the relationship, and may cease altogether (Bergling, 2004; Siegel & Siegel, 2007).

In this study Ralph reported that most of his activities in cottaging or having sex in public places would be mutual masturbation, and much less frequently oral sex. In his established relationships as a young man he took the role of 'top' or 'butch' meaning the insertee in anal sex:

Kim: There is the concept of top and bottom that are current in gay circles, did you identify with any of that?

Ralph: Yes because in the 50s it was called " butch" or "bitch".

Ralph then went on to clarify the persona and script he had adopted:

I mean you met someone, there was a kind of assumption the 'bitch' one was camp and the butch was not - which was utter nonsense. So when you met someone and you fancied him it was he butch or bitch? People

did drop into these slots the idea of being both was around, but not much.

Um, and I'm afraid I followed the pattern and I self-identified as butch.

At times his "butchness" meant using consensual forceful penetration of his partner. In his current relationship with Ming it seemed that the pattern had continued. He rejected the idea of being penetrated by another man's penis.

Andrew, starting early at school, enjoyed mutual masturbation and there were some failed attempts at anal penetration of his schoolmates. He then had a period of celibacy in his teens when he was going through his "religious stage" and was heterosexual in his marriage. His first homosexual encounter brought opportunities for oral sex, masturbation, and anal sex when he adopted the role of insertee. He said he enjoyed them all immensely.

Joel indicated that he did not have a lot of sex and reserved his description of sex to when he met his current partner.

Kim: This is a sexual relationship?

Joel: Oh yes, very much so. What I can say about that (sigh) it's like I never really had sex until I met Jack –he's been the most sexually compatible [*for me*]. I've been in the situation repeatedly where I'm together with a man with whom we cannot do the things that I want to do. It's not kinky nasty things, but just like - fuck. And we're emotionally and physically compatible that's what I should say. So I don't want to say there's a lot of bad sex because that sounds like there

was a lot of sex being had - but there's a lot of unsatisfying sexual experiences in my history before I met Jack.

Joel then described the emotional connection he had with his partner and this made the sex more intense and emotionally satisfying.

The negotiation in this relationship for sexual behaviour seemed difficult:

I mean one thing about a relationship is that it's not always easy to talk about sex. I want to talk about it and I want to say, "Well, what do you want to do? What do you feel like doing? Shall I do this? Shall I do that? What do you want to do? – Tell me. You know let's talk about it. No what ever you want to do," so it's kind of like, "Do you like this? Do you want to do that?" He says, "Ok, ok, ok," so I mean you can never know. He asked me not to tell you too much about our sexual life, but he did say at one point, "I want to be the girl." So it was kind of like, "it's up to you." It makes me feel weird because I want to make him happy, I don't want to be selfish and spoilt, and I do get self-conscious during sex I mean I do have body issues and I think like, "Oh eww, I don't want to look at my stomach – like ew!" And then I suddenly feel self-conscious and then I feel unsexy and I think, "Oh, shit it's all going to hell."

Three issues emerge from this vignette: the attempt at negotiation of the script is fraught when one actor is indecisive; the feminisation of receiving anal sex, "I want to be the girl" meaning the passive or receptive partner, which tacitly gives Joel permission to be "top" or insertee (which is his preference); the issue of poor body image

impacting upon the performance of the script “don’t look at my stomach – like eww” and then emotional response to self-consciousness renders Joel as “unsexy” and doubt arises that the sexual episode will continue. Joel said he had a high libido, but his repertoire and opportunity were limited by his low body image. He said he had once tried to be receptive anally but did not enjoy it.

My sexual behavioural script was constructed through both unintentional and intentional ways. At age 14 I was ‘touched up’ by a man when I was working at a plant nursery, which may qualify as what Crockett, Raffaelli and Moilanena describe as “situation of sexual possibility” (2003, p. 383). He did seem to spend a lot of time with me when I was working – he talked about masturbation as “playing with yourself”, and then tried to do it to me. I had no idea what was happening, but I was not frightened, rather my curiosity was aroused and I was somewhat beguiled by his attentions. From that day I quickly discovered masturbation, which became the mainstay of sexual relief for many years. Some years later, I discovered probing my anus with various objects increased the intensity of orgasm when masturbating.

However, in company with Andrew, my sexual debut was delayed until my late teens. By this time I was in Scotland and it was there that my heterosexual script was quickly developed and refined by being the “toyboy” of a much older woman, who knew what she wanted and

became my tutor. This experience enabled me to be a successful heterosexual male for many years with a number of women.

Much later my homosexual script was shaped and refined by gay pornography and then experimenting with the behaviours. “Trial and error” was a useful tool for working out how to competently perform as a gay man. Mutual masturbation, oral sex giving and receiving, and later giving and receiving anal sex were incorporated into my “versatile” script, which was immensely rewarding. The pleasure/reward feedback loop of the experiences and the reactions of my partners reinforced and honed the performance of my script. I flirted at the edges of the “leather/daddy” scene avoiding the more extreme bondage and S/M practices.

5.5.8 Safe sex scripts

In the interviews I asked about safe sex and the use of condoms. Ralph had limited experience, Andrew had addressed the issue to some extent, whereas Joel and I had developed, out of necessity, quite sophisticated safe sex scripts, which I will discuss in some detail. But first Ralph and Andrew.

Ralph had been a gay counsellor working on a switchboard in Edinburgh and was well educated about HIV, safe sex and condoms, although he said he did not use them with his partners. Andrew was well aware of HIV prevention issues from his work, but had no need of condoms as a

heterosexual man. His sexual male partner usually provided the condoms and they were consistently used, although not on a single occasion when there was not one available and unprotected anal intercourse had occurred.

Joel expressed different issues; he explained:

It wasn't until Jack that I practiced safe sex- I didn't really have a lot of sex. I deny having any diseases. Jack is HIV positive so that has radically altered things between us. I shouldn't say altered, but I mean that sexuality is all mediated through safe sex. So there are just certain things we don't do, and as you can imagine there's stuff that I mean, there are aspects of it [*sex*] that he won't - we can't even talk about. I mean the only the only thing that we're sort of allowed to talk about is when he gets his [*CD4*] levels checked. But he won't do any counselling, he won't do any anything like that - so anyways we can talk about that in a minute – so safe sex? No, I did not practice a lot of safe sex before that, but then I wasn't having a lot of sex so can't even know.

Kim: So you had to learn to use condoms?

Joel: Yeah,

Kim: How did that happen?

Joel: Well it was either wear a condom or have no sex so...

Kim: So you learnt quick?

Joel: Yeah, [*shared laughter*] yeah, can I say anything else about it?

Kim: Well was that easy? Was it so that you quickly could slip it on?

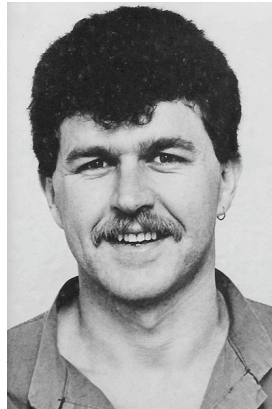
Slip into it so it was becoming automatic?

Joel: Well because, *[sigh]* well because I love Jack, and because he completely arouses me you know within one or two times it was well ‘Yeah ok this isn’t ideal, but whatever’. Because we had, before he found out *[about being HIV positive]*, we did have sex, I think a couple of times - three times - without a condom and of course that was a bit more enjoyable, but again it was me penetrating him. But before that sex, penetrative sex, me penetrating men, usually didn’t work, so I didn’t have many men that I’d ever penetrated in the first place.

Joel became sexually active in the era of HIV and AIDS and certainly was aware of the issues. His low frequency of sexual activity reduced the risk of contracting sexually transmitted infections or HIV. However, when his partner’s HIV positive status was discovered by an HIV test, the options of not having sex or having sex with condoms were starkly contrasted, in spite of the fact that previously sex without a condom with his partner had been more enjoyable. The health promotion education, the risk assessment and cognitive decision-making had led to an established safe sex script (Green, 2008b).

In my case, I was among the first cohort of men in New Zealand who tested positive for HIV, having contracted the virus in the United States in 1983. I had just entered my first long-term relationship with a man (Tom) and I thought that being HIV-positive would certainly end it. But Tom was adamant that we could work something out and we sought advice.

I had known Bruce Burnett (1954-1985), the first man in New Zealand to die of AIDS, and we had worked together to establish the group that later became the New Zealand AIDS Foundation. I found Bruce to be a very intelligent, cute and sexy man and thoroughly enjoyed his company, and through him had met Tony Hughes, a medical researcher working on nascent HIV prevention strategies.



Bruce Burnett (1954-1985)

http://www.pridenz.com/remembering_bruce_burnett.html

I sought advice from Tony on risk reduction in the light of my HIV-positive status. The advice was that information about whether it was a virus and how it was transmitted was scarce (this was 1984), and the only suggestion was to use condoms for penetrative sex. Tom and I had embraced penetrative sex as our preferred sexual activity. Even though up to this stage we had not used condoms (because we had no information about them as a risk reduction strategy), we immediately integrated them into our sex scripts.

However, this was not easy, as there were problems in finding condoms that fitted, were comfortable, what sort of lubricant worked best and how to put them on quickly and efficiently. The results of a study of condom

use in which I was involved in the late 90s, showed that the more adept and practised the user was in putting them on reduced the breakage rate (Benton et al., 1997). As I had practiced with zucchinis, drink bottles, and dildos to perfect my condom script. I was adept enough to be able to put a condom on a man of any-sized penis in the dark.

In the early 1990s, gay pornography started to feature condom use, most notably in Jerry Douglas' *"More of a Man"* (Douglas, 1991), which helped establish my condom script. In this remarkable video, along with some other significant aspects of gay pride and sexual performance (Simpson, 1994b), a close up vignette of applying a condom to a penis was portrayed. In much gay pornography this step is missed and often in one shot the penis is shown naked and then in the next shot is adorned with a condom; the action of application having being edited out. As I was grappling with maintaining an active sex life and doing what I wanted to do, now there was the restriction or barrier of compulsory condom use. In *"More of a Man"* Douglas legitimised condom use for me, and that even the cutest and sexiest man of the day, Joey Stefano, used them and made them erotic (or maybe it was that I found him erotic and the condom became so by association!).

As a matter of some urgency I had to learn to do things differently, to create an alternative sexual script that was safe and ethical (Weeks et al., 2001) which was consistent with my personal integrity and sense of social responsibility. I felt I had a moral obligation to limit the spread of

the virus. Then arose the issue of HIV disclosure and what to say to men with whom I was hoping to have sex, when often I would barely exchange a word throughout the encounter.

I chose to say nothing about my positive status, but to have my own rule – “no condom no sex” - hence overcoming the need to disclose. My rationalisation was that I was protecting myself from contracting diseases that might compromise my immune system, and that it also protected the men I enjoyed sexually was an intended positive outcome. I vividly recall the day I was notified of my HIV status by my doctor over the phone. I then and there made the decision not to succumb to or embrace the death wish (Dean, 2000).

There was one unintended negative consequence of this self-imposed safe script. A couple of years after Tom and I had separated we met up in Sydney. I was still partnerless, and it was obvious that there was still sexual chemistry between us even after 16 years. In the intervening years of separation he had HIV sero-converted, which I found terribly disappointing; because when we separated he was still HIV-negative. He proposed we consider getting back together, and that now we could bareback, meaning condom-free anal sex because we were both HIV positive. I had been researching a paper on HIV superinfection, which suggested that a person with one HIV strain could be “reinfected” with another strain (Levy, 2003), and hence with little further thought, I declined his offer, insisting on us using condoms. After some thought

Tom decided this was unacceptable, chose to leave, and I have not seen him since. He died in 2013.

The safe sex script remains my dominant script, firmly embedded, almost automatic (McKirnan et al., 1996), meaning I always carry condoms and it is not a struggle and does not require extra effort to use them. This strategy serves me well, and on the rare occasions I choose to 'negotiate safety' (Kippax et al., 1993), it is usually with minimal risk. This does seem to contradict the notion that sex and passion are inherently non-rational (McKirnan et al., 1996), or the idea that the greater one's rational control during sex, the less pleasure one is likely to experience (Turner, 1997). I contend that trusting the safe sex script and the rules actually leads to a sense of abandonment within the parameters that I had set for myself. At no time did I consider unprotected anal sex as being instrumental in resolving emotional issues (Ridge, 2004; Snodgrass, 2003), or as an example of psychological dysfunction (Halperin, 2007), although I did use sex to affirm my identity as a gay man, to reassure myself that I was still attractive and to bolster my self-esteem, notwithstanding the immense pleasure in skin contact, sexual arousal and release.

On the other hand, there can be at times a sense of disappointment and rejection when cruising for sex in gay sexual spaces, and not being able to obtain the attention of a desirable man and having to leave unsatisfied. But this is not a pathological state; it is a fact of life. Over time I learnt a

new emotional script around such events, and to map an alternative meaning other than self-loathing and depression (Ford, 2001; Halperin, 2007). Notwithstanding, what may seem my moral superiority in being committed to my 'safe' rule, I am aware that I express my sexual self and desire in the context of a community wherein sexual behaviour as a social activity impacts on me as an individual and collectively on the men I encounter (Rotello, 1997). The formation and maintenance of a safe sex script requires an understanding of what sexual behaviours are risky and the situations that can lead to one picking up or passing on the virus; the skill in consistently using condoms; and the emotional issues that go with having to sometimes forgo pleasure in order to stay safe.

In this section I have reviewed the working out of the interpersonal scripts, which are played out in the context of the cultural scenarios. The issues of monogamy, polymory, infidelity, romance and behavioural scripts including safe sex scripts arose in the analysis of the cases. All sexual scripts, safe or unsafe, are performed in the context of spaces both public and private. In the next section I will explore how various spaces that constitute the cultural scenarios of the men in this study interact with sexual scripts and engender emotional responses. I will commence with a review of scripts and spaces, then consider the closet and the practices of freedom, public spaces, commercial sex and massage, the dance party, gay sex parties, the bar, and finally the domestic space and hotel room.

5.6 Scripts and spaces

In this final section, I will explore the spaces wherein the performance of sexual scripts are enacted, having in mind the purpose of revealing how cultural spaces elicit both the performance of scripts and emotional responses. I will explore the closet, the public space, commercial sex venues, sex on premises venues, the dance party, gay sex parties, the bar, and finally the domestic spaces. These spaces were not common to all the cases.

5.6.1 Scripts and public spaces

Sexual scripts and emotional scripts are constructed and performed in the context of cultural scenarios (in a theatre of desire if you will). We need physical as well as psychic spaces to perform (Mutchler, 2000). Geography exercises power in defining spaces of concealment, resistance, connection, emergence and affirmation for the gay and lesbian community (Gorman-Murray, 2007b). Such spaces include clubs, venues, public spaces such as shopping malls, public toilets, parks, streets and beaches; and people's homes wherein they become both 'private' and 'community' spaces to experiment with same-sex desire and behaviour (Gorman-Murray, 2007b).

Scripts are the very means through which subjectivity is reflexively negotiated and reproduced (Brickell, 2010). Yet the performance of sexual identity does not suggest that individuals consciously and voluntarily choose to perform specific sexual identity practices in order to

construct sexual selves, but rather this corresponds to the concept of performativity of gender, and the stylised repetition of acts (Butler, 1990). Hence sexuality through practice is both constructed and enabled (Chaline, 2010).

Foucault (1986) argues that “space” is fundamental in any form of communal life and hence to the exercise of power within that space. Within a gay culture, markers of the exercise of power could be seen as the “Rule of Attraction” (Bergling, 2007, pp. 29-47), indicating the current image of gay perfection, or issues of age, ethnicity, and colour are all dependent upon the setting. As cultural scenarios are determined and shaped by the spaces that sexual persons inhabit they also construct meaning and emotional scripts, which are shaped by experience and culture (Flowers et al., 2000). Hence spaces provide access, give permission, provide a stage, empower actors to perform, create community and give meaning, which defines and clarifies the various scripts performed according to the identity, desire and need of each actor and, as such, evoke emotion.

There were five categories of space that emerged from this study: the closet, public spaces (cottage, parks, beaches), private/public spaces (circuit parties, sex on premises venues), sex work, and domestic spaces (private homes/hotel rooms). Although I had experience of all these spaces, and certainly Ralph provided descriptions of his experiences, the other two men provided limited information. These are not the limitations

of possibilities for sexual spaces as discussed by Tewksbury (2008), for example, I have not investigated the use of the internet as a sexual space (Sowell & Phillips, 2010).

5.6.2 The closet and the practices of freedom

In this section I will discuss how each man in the study cracked the closet door and then made moves to come into the open.

“The closet” is used as the metaphor for one whose sexual identity is hidden – kept secret from family, from friends, from workmates, from the public, and, for some, even from oneself (Sedgwick, 1993). This is one space that is fraught with silence and invisibility (Weeks & Porter, 1998), yet is a protected space that permits individuals to fashion a gay self and to facilitate the making of gay social worlds (Seidman et al., 1999). But it is also a space of tension, anxiety, and trauma (Davies, 1992; Marcus, 1992). By default, the one in the closet takes on a deceitful or fraudulent character because hegemonic heterosexuality is assumed, and the closeted individual, through panopticon pressures, sacrifices social aspects of sexual identity, and the psychological and relational benefits that come from exercising identity (MacLachlan, 2012). One “comes out” of the closet; that which was hidden is now exposed; that which was silent is given a voice and a language; that which was safe becomes risky.

In a sense, the rite of passage for each and every homosexual is one of coming out of the closet - a coming out which both transgresses and disrupts hegemonic heteronormativity of society (Pallotta-Chiarolli, 2010), and then claiming or being given an appellation. The coming out is from a hidden space to reposition into spaces of sexual openness, freedom, acceptance and support, which can be made safe by distance or setting (Gorman-Murray, 2007b) and, as such, is also a rite of passage into an alternative community (Seidman et al., 1999). Such practices of freedom are about the ethical choices available to people as they seek to transform their intimate lives (Weeks et al., 2001), but this takes courage and support. Foucault argues that the contemporary challenge is not to seek a new morality, rather to reject models of domination and subordination, and to explore pleasure, friendship and autonomy in ways that are risky and dangerous. This is not so much liberation, but resistance to the prevailing structures (Foucault, 1978; Halperin, 1995). From this perspective, freedom is not a given or a goal, but a continuous process of opening up to intimate relationships and families of choice (Weeks et al., 2001), which are always evolving as evidenced in this study. Notwithstanding the transformation of the self in coming out, the case remains that in the homosexual person's everyday life, the heterosexual assumption has to be constantly tested and constantly risked (Weeks et al., 2001, p. 188).

5.6.2.1 Kim

My coming out and recognition of my homosexual desires and longings were at first private that occurred through my researching homosexuality at seminary. There was this moment of recognition of same sex attraction that was featured in the literature and narratives I was studying (Kinsey et al., 1948; Masters & Johnson, 1970; McNeill, 1976; Scanzoni & Mollenkott, 1978; Tripp, 1988; Vasey, 1995; West, 1955). On one hand, this challenged all my assumptions of heteronormativity, whilst on the other hand, named and affirmed my identity and sexuality. It took many years for me to emerge, ever so painfully, from the chrysalis of my previous closeted life to establish myself as a homosexual man. The resolving of my sexual identity and the attraction and desire for men became the defining issue in my theological understanding of my relationship with Jesus Christ and God and the liberation that lies at the heart of Christianity (Robinson, 1972). I have chosen a 'who needs to know' strategy for my life in the Church, and been open with friends as necessary.

This transition was and is still ongoing as I integrate Sebastian into my religious communities. It has been a life of unlearning and discovering to be something new (Venn-Brown, 2004). My journey followed a similar narrative as that of Anthony Venn-Brown (2004) in reframing many of the cultural scripts privileging heterosexual males, especially within the Christian community, and then to acculturate a more appropriate script in keeping with my self-understanding. I feel fortunate that the broad

church tradition has space for those who are more liberal and progressive thinkers and therefore less condemnatory of homosexuality as I described in Chapter 2.

I was outed within my family after I separated from my then wife. The reactions of my family of origin were different; some supportive, some patronising, some indifferent, and my father and I never discussed my sexuality. My children, young at the time, grew to understand me, and have been supportive and accepting of my lifestyle and my partners, and I was able to support my daughter as she explored lesbianism. I have never felt that I was flawed or sick or depraved. I have had the opportunity to explore my sexual self, create my sexual scripts, discover and share love, and ride the waves of agony and ecstasy. Would I do it again? – Of course!

5.6.2.2 Ralph

Ralph's story shows that he had expended much of his sexual and personal capital to maintain a 'butch' masculine public image within hegemonic heteronormativity in order to hide his homosexuality. He spoke of drinking with the rugby boys at University, and if by chance he got to fondle a man "it was the drink!" He developed a public and private persona that enabled him to live a dual personality, to maintain a mestizaje identity; one as the professional teacher and psychologist, and one as a promiscuous gay man cruising for sex alone or with friends. It was of paramount importance to him to maintain his public image of heterosexuality, yet in private he described himself as acting 'camp', a

“Quentin Crisp” type homosexual (Crisp, 1968) or a ‘queen’ (Todd, 1998). Ralph spoke of the difficulty of synthesising these two aspects of his personality, which caused him distress. He continued to live with this duality; a public professional passing as ‘straight’, and a ‘camp’ self when at home and when with friends that he trusts. He was a counsellor on the Edinburgh Gay Switchboard, but this was as a psychologist rather than as a gay man. Ralph angrily related his being outed by a work colleague when working in South-east Asia and how he had felt compromised personally and professionally. The organisation he worked for had taken no action on this, but Ralph was still distressed by this betrayal. He does not advertise his relationship with Ming and I felt privileged to know of it. In effect, Ralph has come out in a limited way – to himself, his sibling sister and selected in-laws, and to his gay friends.

5.6.2.3 Andrew

Andrew realised later in life, or rather admitted to himself, that he was seriously attracted to men, and this caused him some psychological distress as he was married to a woman. His coming out was more private than public and as such, his sexual activity with men was limited to other countries and cities where his anonymity could be protected. He continued to publicly pass as a straight man, because at the time of the study he was leading an apparently ‘normal’ marriage. He comments:

I think there are two things; one is that kind of personal realisation that the *[coming out]* process where it doesn’t involve another person, and I guess in my marriage relationship I’ve allowed myself to do that because it is probably the only way I can survive the relationship. But now, you

know, after I'd had that first encounter with Steve, I worry a little bit because I think I should feel more guilty, more remorseful and that what I actually do – *[but]* I honestly don't. And I think that if I'm in the same situation again as long as I think I'll get away with it there won't be any holding back – I know that; which is a terrible thing to say.

And then there was the psychological dissonance of the reality of Andrew's married life and the passionate desire to be with his lover.

I've really enjoyed being with Pam and having children and family and all the rest of it, and in a way I wouldn't change that for the world – so emotionally, I mean you look on those blessings and think you have a wonderful life, but I, you know, I wonder whether it's enough or not. I don't know and I remember when I first talked to Pam about my sexuality and she said, "You poor thing, how can you stay in a relationship and kind of deny yourself that fulfilment." And that was actually before I met Steve, and it was only after meeting Steve that I realised what she was talking about.

Andrew indicated that was a process of adjustment for him and his wife to find a new way of relating that met each person's needs in an honourable way. His process of coming out is still unfolding.

5.6.2.4 Joel

Joel didn't actually "come out", rather he came to an understanding of himself as different, hence the androgynous Goth style that he adopted as a teenager. His travelling and living in Asia created opportunities for

him to experience other ways of expressing himself and finding his unique identity. At the time of the study he had entered into a relationship that was affirming of him as a man who wanted to be sexual with other men. The fact that he was working to change his body indicated that he was recovering from the debilitating self-image as a consequence of his poor body image.

5.6.2.5 Opening the closet door

Each of us in this study developed unique coming out scripts, which depended on situation and circumstance. Such scripts may be redundant, as suggested in Joel's story, because of the fact that at last homosexuality is becoming increasingly normalised, and the shame, secrecy, and homophobia appears to be in decline (McCormack, 2012; Seidman, 2004; Seidman et al., 1999; Simon, 1996). As a result of social change, same-sex attraction, behaviour, and identity are increasingly recognised as normal and legitimate forms of human relations, and in some places with legal recognition (Hammack & Cohler, 2011).

5.6.3 In Public - the cottage / the beat / the park / the beach

These are spaces where men look for potential sexual partners, and if successful, negotiate sexual activity either in that public space or adjourn to a private or more secluded space.

5.6.3.1 Commonality of the space

The commonality of the cottage / the beat / the park / the beach is that, although structurally different, these are public spaces which men access for the purpose of cruising for potential homosexual activities (Brown, 2008). Cruising also becomes a tactic of resistance that gay men adopt to thwart police regulation of their sexual conduct in public spaces (Dalton, 2008). In these spaces men can pick up or be picked up by partner(s), and either engage in sexual activity on site or move on to another premise.

These spaces engender site-specific sexual activities with idiosyncratic scripts and choreographies, with 'the ambiguous meanings of the backward glance' (Turner, 2003, p. 8) between men in the cruising encounter being dominant. This is the type of interaction that I had with a young man on the street in San Francisco, which I failed to understand and did not respond to appropriately. There is a script which begins with 'the gaze' (Green, 2011, p. 255), once the spark of mutual recognition, through the locking of respective gazes, the dance then begins and plays out in terms of situation, time, weather, safety, other men present either as voyeur or competitor, more often in silence. Each man knows why he is there, the lack of experience and audacity being the limiting factors in moving the script to a satisfying conclusion. Obviously, the seasoned cruiser will have learned to perform, to interpret, and respond to a repertoire of such gestures, but Brown (2008, pg. 927) contends that these basic cruising skills and scripts are developed and practiced in

relation to specific sites. The observations of Ralph, the most experienced cruiser in this study, suggests that he found that there are some basic scripts that seem to be transferable from country to country (Altman, 1996), but that the subtleties of the local area and the cultural scripts required learning. He liked to cruise the Mediterranean beaches and hills for men, and on the streets of Tunisia for men.

Three important observations to the practice of cruising were highlighted by Brown (2008): 1) actions and behaviours are more important to cruising encounters than claimed sexual identities men; 2) a man's conduct and behaviour in the context of a public sex space, and the bodies of the other men within it; and 3) the skills a man utilises in negotiating a public sex environment can greatly enhance his attractiveness within the space.

Firstly, the differentiation between behaviour and identity made it possible for Ralph to exploit the pleasures of public sex sites without compromising his public heterosexual persona. The infamous study of cottaging in St Louis, Missouri, USA by Laud Humphreys (1970) showed the focus was on behaviour not identity, and was supported by a Canadian study (Desroches, 1990; see Frankis & Flowers, 2009 for review of later studies).

Brown (2008) also reported some of the men he studied identified themselves as gay or bisexual, and some cruised as a means of

confirming their sexual identity, including 'conventional' gay identities (Brown 2008, pg. 928). As Hollister (1999) points out that there are distinct 'gay' identities that are site specific; there is the 'gay' of a lesbian and gay social movement organization, the 'gay' of a cruising ground, and the 'gay' of a gay bar (p. 69).

Secondly, Brown (2008) observed that a man's desirability, in this context, is based on the way in which a man conducts himself in relation to the public sex space and the bodies of the other men within it. This in contrast to the more conventional judgements made about attractiveness, or how well the body conforms to dominant models of attractiveness. On the other hand, cute men who came on in an over-enthusiastic or needy manner would often be passed over in the cruising stakes (Brown 2008). Ralph was careful in the enactment of his cruising script, watching and waiting for cues as to when to proceed and when to withdraw.

Thirdly, an important aspect was the ability to operate skilfully in relation to a given public sex environment, and the way a man moves and utilises his body, greatly enhance his attractiveness within the space (Brown, 2008). Different rules of attraction and attractiveness apply compared to other environments. From my experience I was often surprised at the types of men who cruise each other, and Ralph was more concerned with the masculine presentation of other men than their attractiveness.

5.6.3.2 Playing with the dynamics

Ralph and I were the cruisers of public spaces from time to time; the other two men did not report active cruising. The dynamics of the action occurring in the space can take on a life of its own. I am aware of my own script when cruising in public places, which facilitates my interaction with the site and with any other site users. My script includes observation and mapping of the site particularly in parks and beaches; noting entrances and exits, the well-trodden paths that lead to alcoves in the bushes, sight lines, any evidence of recent activity such as litter, the flow of men through the site, what couples are doing where, and therefore I will walk the beat to see how it operates (Atkins & Laing, 2012), especially if I am visiting the site for the first time. I understand the signals and the looks, when to stand still and when to keep moving. I have experienced the thrill of expectation that comes when entering a site of possible adventurous sex (Bollen & McInnes, 2004) and the resignation and disappointment on leaving when it doesn't happen (Brown 2008). On occasions, especially at the beach where the tempo is slower and more relaxed and the code of silence is eased, opportunities for conversation have led to friendships and fuckbuddies. The experience of negotiating cruising spaces in many countries around the world had resulted in Ralph developing a generic script that only needed to be modified to suit the local situation.

5.6.4 Commercial sex / massage

Sex work bridges private space and public space (Atkins & Laing, 2012).

In the public space are street workers and those who use parks and lanes for soliciting and sometimes sex. I have observed male sex workers using 'The Wall' in Darlinghurst, Sydney, and Shakespeare Grove in St Kilda, Melbourne. In the private space are those who work in brothels; solicit through the Internet or personal advertising; and those working from agencies (Minichiello et al., 2001).

From 1999-2004 I was involved in the male-to-male sex industry providing psychological services to escorts working in an escort agency, and at times worked the phones and provided transport. This provided me with insight into the operations and intricacies of providing sex services and also the needs of sex workers (Smith et al., 2008). It is necessary for fledgling workers to not only learn the intricacies of the work but to understand their motivations, and be aware of the rewards and dangers of being a male escort (Smith et al., 2013). I developed a program to assist male sex workers in managing some of the emotional issues that men working in the sex industry encountered (Benton et al., 2001). Such issues included the development of understanding of sexual scripts and sexual performances necessary in providing sexual services (Rekart, 2005; Sanders, 2008); and strategies for preventing emotional and psychological distress that might be encountered (Aggleton, 1999; Earls & David, 1989; Gorry et al., 2010).

There were some men who lacked the psychological resilience and did not last long in the business, for a key factor was the ability of the sex worker to maintain a psychological distance in performing sex work. It was also necessary to have sufficient agency and assertiveness to control the script to prevent physical and emotional abuse and to reduce risk to HIV infection (Joffe & Dockrell, 1995). The escorts that did well were the ones who performed their sex worker script with clients with just the right amount of emotional intimacy to make it seem real.

All four men in this study were domiciled in Burma, and frequently travelled to Bangkok, and hence would avail ourselves of massage. In the tourist areas of Thailand men, women and kathoey provided massage. Jomtein Beach, southeast of Pattaya, a 90-minute bus ride from Bangkok City, is well known as a gay beach, and young Thai men offer massage services on the beach, some of whom blatantly tout for sex (McCamish, 1999). When I have visited Jomtein Beach, I would usually have a massage, but I have not experienced any direct solicitation, although I have seen it happen to others. Massage services were provided in hotel clinics, guests' hotel rooms, commercial massage clinics and clubs where the male masseur usually offers sex as part of the service with the expectation of a sizable tip at the end.

Some temples offered massage without sex and Wat Pho in Bangkok has a massage school and offers massage services to the public. Most masseurs I encountered had a routine and once we were settled into the

massage he would start to solicit for sex. I found I could tell when a boy was less experienced because his timing would be rushed and the soliciting would happen too soon into the massage.

Gay massage services in Melbourne are obtained through the gay magazine classifieds, which may have more of an enticement to pay for sex. And yet there are places for a man to go where all he pays is the modest entrance fee to an establishment constructed for his sexual enjoyment – the sex on premises venue.

5.6.5 Sex on premises – the “erotic oasis”

In Australia there are a number of commercial enterprises providing opportunity for men to engage in casual sex. Sex on premises venues (SOPV) are commercial enterprises such as saunas or bathhouses (North American appellation Haubrich et al., 2004), cruise clubs, backrooms in adult bookshops, and bars catering to a gay clientele that provide separate spaces removed from public areas (Richters, 2007).

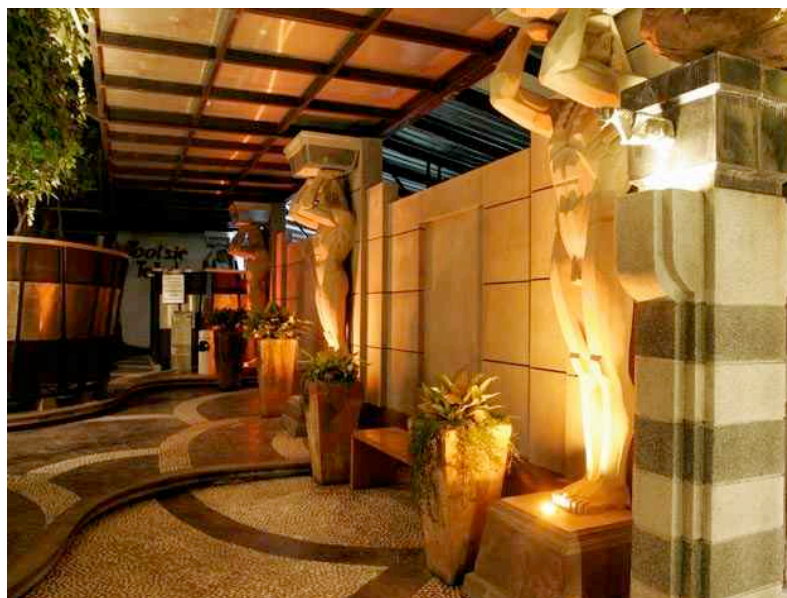
Ralph said he loved saunas, I had used saunas and Andrew had occasionally visited them in cities where he was not known. Joel had not used saunas. Ralph and I swapped notes on Babylon in Bangkok, a well known luxurious and well appointed establishment that offered a suite of services, including steam room, dry sauna, massage, barber, swimming pool, bars, restaurant, movies, multileveled cruising areas, mazes,

darkrooms and cubicles. Whenever I had visited, there would be men from all over the world, many Thai and European men of all ages. I always had a good time and this would be my “erotic oasis” (Tewksbury, 2002, p. 75).



Babylon Bangkok Sauna

http://www.agoda.com/asia/thailand/bangkok/babylon_bangkok_bed_breakfast_gay_hotel.html



Foyer Babylon Bangkok Sauna

http://www.agoda.com/asia/thailand/bangkok/babylon_bangkok_bed_breakfast_gay_hotel.html



Restaurant & pool, Babylon Bangkok Sauna

http://www.agoda.com/asia/thailand/bangkok/babylon_bangkok_bed_breakfast_gay_hotel.html

The term “erotic oasis”, first used by Delph (1978, p. 60), is a location or place that provides men with opportunities to gather and pursue mutually desired sexual interactions in either a public or semi-private setting (Tewksbury, 2008). As suggested by *The Babylon Bangkok Sauna* logo, the “erotic oasis” has allusions to pre-Christian Middle Eastern cultures where homoeroticism and sex between men was not unusual (Boswell, 1980; Dynes & Donaldson, 1992), with the ancient Roman public baths and saunas being locations of sexual activity (Beard, 2009; DeBonneville, 1998; Fagan, 2002).

I have purloined the term for saunas because of the association with the water of an oasis. The quality of the design and construction of saunas and other SOPV, is an important factor in creating an ‘out of time’ space (Richters, 2007, p. 282) similar to a theme park (McInnes & Bollen,

2000), which can either enhance or inhibit the sexual experience and the social interaction between men (Chisholm, 1999).

Learning the sauna script is necessary to be able to relax and enjoy the amusement of the venue. I asked Ralph if he had a set routine to which he responded:

Only that [*the script is*] dictated by the fact you find the locker, have a shower, find the steam room, find the dark room, and then case the whole joint to see what eye contact you get, and make an assessment if this is a sauna you want to be in for an hour or ten hours, you know, depending on the degree of interest, and make a plan from then.

This assessment illustrates that mapping the venue is an important factor because spatial arrangements convey social values that influence behaviour (Richters, 2007; Tattelman, 2005). SOPV have public areas, locker rooms, coffee lounge, computer monitors, regular television lounge or cinema, reading space, gyms and toilets, usually considered sex free zones, but where the cruising often begins. There are semi-private facilities such as steam room, dry sauna, showers, spa pool, swimming pool, porn movie lounges, mazes and corridors; and private spaces, small cubicles or larger spaces that can accommodate a few men, sometimes equipped with slings and other apparatus.



Wooden Sauna
Photo by John F. <http://yelp.com>

And then there are larger backrooms usually with minimal light if at all, sometimes with raised platforms and benches (Richters, 2007; Tewksbury, 2002). As one passes through the various zones, communal to backroom, and it seems that for some men the usual rules of attraction can dissolve - unless obese, very old or ugly, - except in the dark backroom where attraction is determined by touch and reaction (Tewksbury, 2002). The sequences of events from arrival to departure include moments of application and experience, which is how one learns the script. The context is dynamic and evolving as sexual encounters are played out in the space (McInnes & Bollen, 2000); it is the enactment of a determined sequence of sexual acts, a choreographic script, that changes and flows as men enter and leave sexual encounters, and new men arrive to join the dance. There is a fluidity as erotic desire ebbs and flows in the subtle movement of bodies through sexual spaces; the stalking of potential partners, the shifting of attention from the general

possibility of sex to the specific opportunity for sex, the inviting glance, the suggestive movement of bodies, the first contact, and then the sequencing of exploring bodies (Dowsett, 1996).

SOPV serve multiple constructive purposes including providing facilities for relaxing and soothing the body, a place for arranged dates with men for sex because of the facilities provided including sling rooms and orgy rooms, a place to socialise, especially if bar facilities are available, watch movies, and get sexual release. The less tangible benefits come from the tactile nature of sexual activity and engagement, which builds positive self-regard. However, although sexual needs may be met, affectional desires and more emotional needs may not be addressed in such venues (Haubrich et al., 2004). However, as White (1998) observes:

[...] the phrase ‘anonymous sex’ might suggest unfeeling sex, devoid of emotion. And yet, as I can attest, to hole up in a room at the baths with a body after having opened it up and wrung it dry, to lie, head propped on a guy’s stomach . . . smoke a cigarette and talk to him late into the night and early into the morning [...] well, nothing is more personal, more emotional. The best thing of all were [sic] the random, floating thoughts we shared (p. 300).

A pervasive issue is that of HIV and the practice of safe sex. Condoms and lubricant are readily available in all areas at no cost. The non-verbal culture of much of the sexual activity means opportunity for safe sex negotiation is reduced (Haubrich et al., 2004; Richters, 2007) although

McInnes & Bollen (2000) report negotiation over sexual activity occurs and Tewksbury & Polley (2007) refute the non-verbal culture. I found that generally loud conversations are not acceptable especially in cruising areas, but I have frequently negotiated with my potential partner what we would do and during the sexual episode provide feedback on levels of enjoyment. But as Tewksbury (2002) comments:

Silence is important in most erotic oases, as a way of both maintaining anonymity and protecting oneself from committing to a course of action before deducing whether others are seeking similar lines of action (p. 81).

In all the years of being HIV-positive I can recall only two occasions where there was an attempt to negotiate the non-use of condoms. I have always held to the belief that it is my responsibility to police what happens to my body and my safe sex script has proven reliable, whilst recognising that cognitive-emotional dissonance and the use of alcohol and other mind-altering drugs may compromise other men's intentions. Learning to ride and to be a ride in the playground of SOPV has been a complex process, made possible through ongoing participation in the learning of the scripts and then practising sexual enactments in these contexts (McInnes & Bollen, 2000). Although not every visit to a SOPV is a fabulous experience, I have found, as did Ralph, that these spaces provide opportunities for emotional, social and physical rejuvenation, and are very welcomed after a night on the dance floor.

5.6.6 The dance party

The dance party was something else all of its own. From the data in this study, I was the only attendee at such events. I had been an HIV educator for some years and had been intimately involved in planning and managing some all-night dance parties for the Victorian AIDS Council in the 1990s, often held at Shed 14 Docklands; but these were modest affairs compared to the 'circuit parties' (Alvarez, 2008; Signorile, 1997); the Sydney Gay & Lesbian Mardi Gras (SGLMG) party and Sleaze Ball, the White parties, and the Black Parties that were such a feature of the international gay world (Bardella, 2002a). Circuit parties began in the mid-1980's as part of an effort to raise gay men's awareness of AIDS as well as to raise funds to combat the disease and help those communities and individuals impacted by the epidemic's distressing outcomes (Ghaziani, 2005). Circuit parties, however, are more than just fundraisers; these events are powerful expressions of defiance in the face of the backlash, overwhelming odds, and homophobia surrounding AIDS (Lewis & Ross, 1995; Westhaver, 2005). These events "suffused with (quasi-) religious qualities" (Bardella, 2002a, p. 86) brought together divergent groupings within the gay community, creating a celebration of "our gay family" (Ghaziani, 2005; Westhaver, 2005), where friendships are renewed and new ones formed (Alvarez, 2008). These events by their nature blur the boundaries and performance of masculinity that transgressed conventional masculinity. As Bardella (2002) observes:

One of the most astonishing sights of a ‘circuit party’ is the materiality of thousands of masculinized ‘buffed’ bodies intermingled and intertwined in a vast network of (not so masculine) gestures and embraces, and adorned by macho as well as camp accessories (p. 87).

There is another cultural imperative fundamental to the gay worship of muscularity and is intimately connected to HIV and its impact on individuals and the gay community. The inner quality of the self has been increasingly equated to its outer appearance; when health is a ‘virtue’, not only does the ‘soft’ and emaciated body represent a sign of moral weakness, but the diseased gay body can constitute a symbol of personal degeneration (Bardella, 2002a). Further these events also act as opportunities for mourning the loss of friends and lovers (Signorile, 1997).

I attended many of the SGLMG, the annual event celebrating sexual and gender diversity on the first weekend in March. These famous dance parties started in 1980 (Carbery, 1995), and Tom and I travelled from Auckland to attend our first one in 1986. The dramatic theatrical events were extraordinary and I was moved to tears when the final song was Sister Sledge’s 1979 song “*We are Family*”.

On moving to Melbourne in 1987, after some years, I eventually plucked up the courage, and for five years participated in the Mardi Gras Parade. I always attended the ‘Party’ on such occasions. The annual “Sleaze

Ball” always held in October were fundraisers for the SGLMG and I attended one in 1994, a stupendous and unique experience; because this space evoked for me an unforgettable emotional response. On reading Bollen’s analysis of the 1994 Sleaze Ball (1996), the emotions and memories were richly evoked and I vividly recall the experiences I had at that event. I danced, I looked, I marvelled, I got aroused, I touched, I was touched, I kissed and I was kissed, and I was intimate with some very cute and sexy men. To say the name “Sleaze Ball” elicits delicious memories of experiences of ‘immanent transcendence’ (Bardella, 2002a), and a visceral response. The event and the space created a “container-like context for sexual adventurism” (Bollen & McInnes, 2004, p. 26) where in safety, amongst like-minded men, erotic transgressions occurred. Such events were not only reinforcing of my identity as a gay man, but also were a celebration of my sexuality with others and a sense of being accepted by my ‘tribe’ (Slavin, 2004; Westhaver, 2005).

At another SGLMG party in the late 1990s, another wonderful event was emotionally significant. I had been heavily cruised for some time by a strikingly handsome tall young man, whom I eventually ‘allowed’ to pick me up and I spent a wonderful weekend in a luxurious apartment in Sydney. To my mind he was ‘porn star’ quality and the sex was memorable. In fact I continued to visit him for over six months when I was in Sydney. Such are the opportunities at SGLMG events. There are other tribal spaces wherein sex can take place – the sex party.

5.6.7 Gay Sex Parties

The sex party is another space within the gay subculture that evokes emotional responses. Sex partying can occur within dance parties, including circuit parties, at sex on premises venues, and can be private or public events (Hurley & Prestage, 2009). Venues can include gay bars, cruise/sex clubs, and dance clubs.



Club 80 Melbourne Cruise Club
<http://www.dewhois.com>

I attended a number of the “Beyond” parties in Melbourne, which attracted men interested in leather, where space was set aside for cruising and sex. Although at times I was intimidated at these events by the masculinity on display, I found the range of different body types exciting, as well as the opportunity to engage sexually with other men. I developed a script that included finding a space to view the dance floors, to dance and, at certain times, to check out the action in the spaces allocated for sex, which often resulted in interesting experiences. The

sense of elation and expectation of a good night was not quite as intense as that experienced at the circuit party. Nevertheless, these events provided opportunity for the refinement of my sexual repertoire and practical sexual literacy (McInnes & Bollen, 2000; McInnes et al., 2002). They provided opportunity for recreational sex in a safe space (Hurley & Prestage, 2009) and a boost to my self-esteem.

A less exotic space, but more public, where I can buy a drink and have a conversation or perhaps get lucky – a space for homosocial activities – is the bar.

5.6.8 The bar

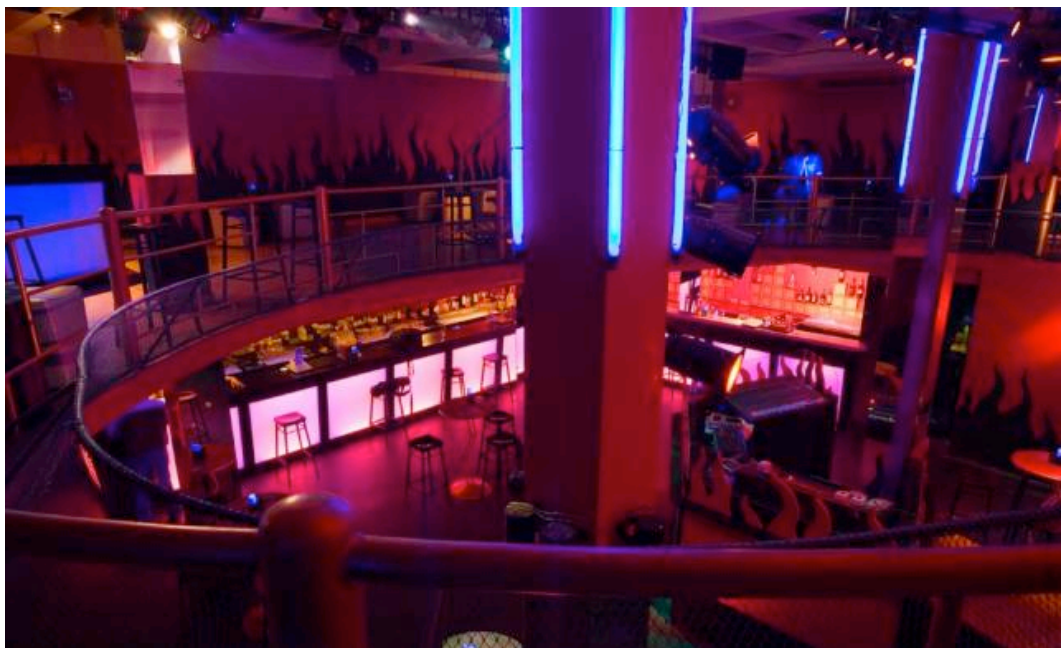
I walk into a bar catering for gays in Melbourne or Sydney or Bangkok and the 'bar' script kicks in at a sexual level and emotional level. The space is pregnant with promise of what might be that night; there is a buzz in the air increasing in intensity as the crowd fills the space. Often as not, expectations are not realised, but for me each time I enter a bar I feel confident that this time it will be different.

Joel had different experiences of participating in bar activities:

I find socialising in bars extremely unpleasant. I find it, the noise, the music, all that completely overwhelming trying to meet or talk to people late at night when it's loud and you can't having a conversation - being with a group of strangers I find very unpleasant. So the few times that I've been into gay bars and there was a period that I went particularly

with a friend of mine, you know it - nothing ever happened!. ... People never talked to me and I rarely talk to people sometimes I would dance and in the end I just you know stopped doing it – it wasn't fun. So I've never been one of these guys who can sort of like just go down to the bar - talk to a guy - take him home - get really wasted and end up in bed with some stranger – not me [chuckles].

For Joel the promise inherent in the space, the liminality, did not occur, resulting in his withdrawal from the space and the experience. His dislike of bars reinforced his strong positive emotional scripts about his preferred setting for intimacy. Whereas for me, the experience of entering 'DJ Station' nightclub Silom Soi 2 Bangkok was much more enticing, and my emotional script was one of excitement.



Level 2 DJ Station Soi 2 Silom, Bangrak, Bangkok
<http://bk.asia-city.com/nightlife/article/bangkoks-best-gay-clubs>

DJ Station was, and still is, a popular venue for expatriates, tourists and Thai men. It is very popular, and always crowded and hot, with the dance floor jammed with men dancing very close together, mostly shirtless. This is a space for performance and displays of masculinity, queer sexuality, and flamboyant camp. This is a social space busy with the exchange of symbolic goods (Slavin, 2004); music, alcohol, a staged entertainment show of drag queens and dancing boys, opportunities for socialising, cruising and sometimes sex. Being on the crowded dance floor often means being groped and touched up by other dancing men. It is a space that is alive with energy, sexual tension and promise.

DJ Station is also a space that requires navigating and mapping to understand how it works. For example, the second floor bar provides the space for foreign and Thai men to meet. I was always careful not to over-interpret the looks and groping that I encountered. I was always aware of my “Caucasian-ness” which for many Thai men signalled I would have access to resources. There was one episode where a Thai man cruised me, asked if we could leave and go to my hotel, which we did and it resulted in a night of very enjoyable sex, where I could see that he was attracted to me, and my erotic capital was not the size of my wallet. I found him similarly desirable. I am also aware that as a tall Caucasian I may appear exotic to Asian men, which raises my erotic capital in that space, but not in others.

On the other hand, I have also attended gay nightclubs in Sydney where I found the scene intimidating (Slavin, 2004). I had difficulty reading the space, especially when I was alone. I found myself comparing my body to other bodies and often felt my erotic capital lacking. As Slavin (2004) comments on one particular venue, “Bodies in this nightclub are self-consciously masculine” (pg. 278). I did not feel any more comfortable when I visited a club that seemed to cater for more effeminate men. In a sense my emotional script longed for an identification with the performers in the space; a tribal sense of affirmation and collective belonging (Westhaver, 2006), and a desire to be “socially recognised” (Westhaver, 2005, p. 359). I did find that being with friends in such spaces satisfied those needs, and as such seemed to be an extension of my domestic space.

5.6.9 The domestic space of home / hotel room

In this study, domestic spaces were seen as places of habitation alone or cohabitation with partners and sometimes partner’s family members, as Joel discovered in Rangoon. Ralph and I had been accommodated in hotel rooms or apartments for lengthy tours of duty on assignment with international organisations for many years. Both of us maintained a residence in our respective home countries for vacations and stay overs between assignments. Andrew lived with his wife and family in the family residence of his home country and then in a suitable apartment in Rangoon. He too frequently stayed in hotel rooms when visiting other

cities for business. In Joel's case he spoke of his family home in the United States, and then of his apartment that he shared with his live-in partner in Rangoon.

Ralph's partner Ming had his own apartment and would frequent Ralph's apartment on most days, sometimes staying over. When I was living in Rangoon my partner Sebastian would take vacations with me travelling from Bangkok and I would occasionally host Australian guests and friends. During a period of work in Bangkok, Sebastian and I lived together in our apartment with frequent visits from colleagues and friends visiting Bangkok.

I make no distinction between home and hotel room, both were places of safety and privacy and were spaces for 'living', including sexual activity. The bedroom space provided sleeping arrangements and with a large bed gave ample opportunity for sexual activity. This did not preclude using other parts of the house or apartment for sexual activity including bathrooms, kitchens, patios and lounge rooms. Ralph certainly found sanctuary in his own home where he said he could perform his true self:

[...] running around the flat in a tutu [...] sewing and knitting.

His home was his retreat, although from time to time he would take men home whom he had picked up at a cottage or in the park for sex.

Gorman-Murray's (2006) study of the uses of the home by Australian gay men indicated a script of easy movement of bodies and embodied sexual

activities between beats and bedrooms with some gay men treating the beat as an extension of their home and stretching the home to be both public and private spaces.

I always utilised a safety script on the rare occasions I took men from the bar back to my Bangkok hotel room. Although I was apprehensive about security, I found that this script had always proven sufficient. When gay male visitors were staying with us in Bangkok, and after a night out at the sauna or the bars, occasionally a stranger would appear at the breakfast table, with much delightful teasing of the guest afterwards. In this way the home is stretched between sauna and bar spaces, and the private and the public imbricate: gay men's homes become 'public' spaces of gay subculture and socialisation, and gay-friendly bars and restaurants become homelike places facilitating 'private' selves (Gorman-Murray, 2006, p. 62). On one occasion in Bangkok after a late night at a bar, I was invited as one of a crowd of bar patrons to a man's home for more alcohol, drugs and dancing and striptease resulting in pairing off for sex, thus the domestic space was an extension of the bar but because it was 'private', overt sexual activity between men could occur, which could not happen at the bar.

The queering of domestic spaces includes converting areas into private sex clubs. On a visit to friends in San Francisco in 1983, I was taken to a private home in Pacific Heights, a well-to-do area, where the basement had been converted into a playroom lined with black plastic and various

slings, ropes and pulleys, benches, with towels, condoms and lubricant at hand. This was a case of extending the fuck club to the home. But there are risks in such a set up; the week before I visited, a man was found dead hanging from a noose. In a commercial space the monitoring by staff such a situation may well have prevented such an occurrence. The domestic space is imbued with emotions and feelings synonymic with the notion of 'home'. This word 'home' can be associated with feelings of love and elation, comfort and ease or with pain and trauma, broken hearts and separation. The home is also a space for performance of and assurance of sexual identity and community through behaviour, socialisation and materiality (Gorman-Murray, 2007a, 2008), outrageously and humorously portrayed in the television series "*Queer Eye for the Straight Guy*" (Collins & Metzler, 2003-2007). This show challenged the idea of a hegemonic masculinity by gay men to present different variations within personal and domestic spaces (Morrish & O'Mara, 2004). However, it has been argued that the show is problematic in that the five gay characters are used to reinforce heteronormativity (Clarkson, 2005). Vargas (2010) contends that the show's producers use the homosexual characters as props to privilege, reinforce heterosexual masculinities, and straight relationships by turning working class straight men into middle class straight consumerists, and furthermore excludes lesbians.

The domestic space is a canvas on which human emotions are enacted and relationships formed and broken. The word 'home' is not always

attached to the notion of a solid structure but rather to a fluid space within which self-representations flow (Menicucci, 2005), wherein care and nurturing are sought and provided, and safety and security are ontologically assured (Dupis & Thorns, 1998). The home is also often conceived as a place of belonging, intimacy, security, safety, relationship, and selfhood. And the home is considered a safe space in which to enact 'outlaw' sexuality (Kentlyn, 2008, p. 331). This applies perhaps even moreso to the enactment of non-normative gender behaviours as evidenced by Ralph's flamboyant 'dancing in a tutu' within the safety of his home. Yet although privacy is often seen as inherent in the concept of home and, thus, a guarantee of freedom from surveillance, the queer home and the sexual and gender performances that take place within this private space are still subject to scrutiny by family, friends, and neighbours. This includes the lesbian and gay partners themselves in relation to their enactment of sexual scripts with each other and with outside partners, their homemaking practices, and the ways they do their 'coupleness' and 'family' (Kentlyn, 2008, p. 335). Yet this scrutiny is not necessarily experienced as prejudiced, homophobic, or unduly constraining, rather the queer home can be a crucial site for the construction and expression of queer identities and celebration of sexual diversity.

5.7 Summary

All of the men described in the case studies were from different Western countries and different age cohorts and were subjected to familial and cultural scripts as to how to perform their masculinity and make sense of their sexual identity. In the first part of this Chapter, I have been selective in the choice of areas to review, conscious of wanting to both describe and analyse the cultural, intrapsychic, and interpersonal sexual scripts that emerged from the case studies and the points where emotions and emotional scripts interact. I discussed the acquisition of sexual scripts and how cruising scripts were performed, and in each case at various points opportunities were presented and taken to explore how to construct and enact appropriate sexual scripts.

Confliction and confusion arose from the transgressing of heteronormative ideals, which were moderated by sexual experiences and the honing of homosexual scripts. There were risks in performing cruising scripts for sexual encounters in the form of harassment by police and the threat from gay bashers, as well as the emotional dysfunction that can arise from casual anonymous sex. I explored the development of the different individualistic erotic proclivities of the intrapsychic script in the fuzzy matrix of “my type” and concluded that one man’s fantasy is not everyone’s, even though there are familiar stereotypes of gay male desire.

Next I reviewed the issue of ageing and how it impacts on sexual and emotional scripts including the ageing body, and sexual performance. Interestingly, Ralph's erectile dysfunction was not an issue with his much younger Burmese partner – such is the power of erotic capital. Indeed, as two men in the study had younger partners, I sought to identify some of the issues involved in intergenerational coupling, which is often derided amongst gay men.

Dealing with cross-cultural issues and the expectations of roles within families of origin was important, as three of the four men in this study had partners of different ethnic backgrounds. The performance of interpersonal scripts necessitated a dialogue with partners, and in committed relationships how monogamy issues were resolved and the place of the emotional fidelity script. Following this I briefly discussed romantic scripts and then an appraisal of the men's sexual behaviours and safe sex scripts.

The final section explores the spaces wherein the performance of sexual scripts and emotional scripts are enacted for the purpose of revealing how cultural spaces elicits both the performance of scripts and emotional responses. I have endeavored to signal where and how emotionality was implicated in the sexual scripts and in the spaces and situations that the scripts are performed. In analysing the four cases studies for this thesis, each of the interviewed men had a unique story to tell, although there were some overlaps. The place of birth, culture and the epoch of world

history that we grew up in had a profound influence on the acquisition, internalisation, and performance of our sexual scripts. The emotions expressed at the different stages of learning and executions of our sexual scripts were unique for each of us and profoundly influenced the meanings attributed to our scripts and how they were to be exercised. There are important components of bodily and emotional interactions in these scripts, but these are not merely cultural signals “arbitrarily assigned out of the big code book in the sky” (R. Collins, 2004, p. 224). Rather, these components are learnt, honed, adapted and reinforced by the intrinsic rewards, pleasures, and satisfactions that result from the performance of the scripts, and the abandoning of other scripts that are no longer relevant or salient. This is accomplished through a reflexive process of engagement with oneself and others within an emotional and sexual environment to produce competent sexual scripts that can lead to sexual and emotional satisfaction. In the next section I will present my conclusions.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

In this chapter, I draw my conclusions from the analysis of the case studies. I will review the frameworks by which this thesis has been formulated, namely sexual scripting, emotionality, and the impact of hegemonic masculinity. I then revisit my research question and methodology before presenting my conclusions, the limitations of this study, my recommendations, and suggestions for further research.

6.1 Terms

6.1.1 Sexual scripting

Sexual scripts theory, an interactionist conceptualisation of the sexual self and erotic interactions, remains an ingenious paradigm in making sense of the ways sexuality becomes interwoven with the everyday social fabric of our past and present lives (Jackson, 2007). It is based on social scripting theory, with the basic assumption that people follow internalised scripts when constructing meaning out of behaviour, responses, and emotions (Weideman, 2005). Hence the sexual self is not only seen as actively “doing sex” (Jackson, 2007), but also as making and modifying sexual meaning as the result of a reflexive process of engagement of the self with others in sexual situations. Sexual script theory posits that for a sexual transaction to happen, essential elements need to be present: a situation, actors, a plot; as well as more intrinsic

elements such as desire, opportunity, space, and another person(s). And to ensure that something sexual actually happens, one or both of the actors need to organise behaviours into an appropriate script. Sexual script theory therefore provides a dramaturgical metaphor to frame sexual expression and behaviour, and to provide meaning and referential elements, which can be analysed and reworked according to new situations and experiences.

At first, for me, sexual scripting seemed to be a compelling theory for understanding the performance of sexual acts. It was not until I unpacked the different dimensions in undertaking my research, that the messiness of sex was revealed. I am not just referring to body fluids, condoms, lubricants, or other props that might be included in spicing up eroticism (Gates, 1999). I refer here to the messiness of the intricacies of desire and erotic attraction, erotic capital, situations, locations, rituals, attire and the necessary competencies required for cruising, performing sexual choreography and enactments, all of which require specific cultural sexual scripts. For instance, once having developed a script for solo-pleasuring, and, although, it did provide release of sexual tension, as a script it was sexually self-limiting. It was certainly not conducive to having emotional and relational needs met.

To meet relational needs required constructing various intrapsychic scripts for sexual identity and orientation, how to operate that identity in different settings to attract, engage and captivate a potential partner in

the hope of having a good time. Learning to negotiate the interpersonal scripts of the various manifestations and entanglements of our couplings with others takes commitment and insight. Scripts are necessary to transact agreements for polyamorous or monogamous relationships, esoteric sexual practices including with those who have an erotic leaning towards sadomasochism, transvestism, being bisexual, polysexual, transsexual or platonic friendships. And all this script production is drafted in the context of hegemonic notions of gender roles normativity, and heteronormativity. Originating sexual scripts that transgress social norms requires courage, passion and determination.

Sexual scripting can provide the framework for understanding the production and enactment of sexual episodes but they are individualised through the fleshing out of sexual desires and ambitions in differing milieu or sexual fields (Green, 2011). Hence, sexual interaction and engagement are not predictably monochrome, but a dance of colourful choreography as dramatic and passionate as any tango, always open to fresh expression through encounters with other individuals.

The broader and multidisciplinary field of sexology suggested two divergent ways of theorising sexual desire, which I discussed in Chapter 2. In summary, on the one hand are the biological essentialists, such as sociobiologists and evolutionary psychologists, who maintain that the origin of our sexual desires lies in our genes and is directed toward reproduction. According to this view, human sexual desire is universal,

and while there may be changes over time and place regarding what particular things give rise to particular preferences or behaviours, sexual desire itself exists independently of time and culture.

On the other hand, social constructionists claim that human sexual desire is entirely the product of the meanings we make of it. In its most radical form, social constructionists maintain not only that such things as societal perceptions of homosexuality, monogamy and fetishes are constructed, but also that sexual desire itself is radically amorphous and open to any inscription, independently of any physiological function. I adopted the latter model in this thesis. As my subjects were all male, theorising of masculinity helped to frame the work, and the social and cultural understandings of the contexts to these men and this work was found in Chapter 4.

6.1.2 Hegemonic masculinity

Hegemonic masculinity is a powerful and potent designation of structural productions and enactments of gender and power and acts to reinforce heteronormativity against which all other expressions of gender and sexuality must transgress, yet at the same time upholds heteronormativity (Jackson, 1999). As such, hegemonic masculinity shapes expectations and performances of men and is indifferent to individualistic eroticism and sexual desires and attractions. Any man seeking to develop his intrinsic sexual identity and sexual script must first

come to terms with the domination of heteronormativity and hegemonic masculinity, and transcending the harmful aspects of their socially prescribed masculinity scripts (Brooks & Elder, 2012). Such work will inevitably result in deep personal emotional issues for resolution, which can be either the makings of a man or his undoing.

6.1.3 Emotionality

The word “emotionality” usually refers to an individual’s predominant *intensity* of emotional reactivity and typically has encompassed emotional reactions to stress and often-negative reactions. Emotional well-being includes the notions of sense of optimism, life satisfaction, resilience and happiness. However, “emotional” is also often used to refer to a general matrix of experience within which behaviour is embedded, set in the context of emotional syndromes, constituted from existential beliefs and social rules. Emotional appraisal and expression are also set in a cultural context and as such emotional scripts guide and govern emotional responses.

In this thesis I was not trying to quantify or measure emotionality, my aim was to explore emotions in the context of men’s sexual scripting. As I have endeavoured to illustrate, there is an integral relationship between emotionality and men’s sexualities and sexual scripts. The emotions of desire, arousal, lust, longing, thrill, love, excitement, shame, adventure and the intensity of these feelings combine to impact on motivation and

behaviour. The giving and receiving of sexual pleasure is an emotional interaction.

6.2 Research Aims

The purpose of my project was to explore the role and significance of emotions in impacting upon and shaping how men learn what to do sexually, including the incorporation of feelings and desires into the development and performance of their sexual scripts.

My research question was thus:

How do men negotiate emotionality in learning and regulating their sexual scripts?

6.3 Method

I found that using autoethnography as an approach enables me to explore the landscape of men's sexual scripting and to see how emotionality was implicated in their performance of the scripts through four case studies collected by way of qualitative interviews from expatriate Caucasian men in Rangoon, Burma; myself Kim, a New Zealander, aged 59; Ralph, a Scotsman aged 66; Andrew aged 51, an Anglo-Australian; and Joel aged 35 a white American. All interviewees identified as men who engaged in sex with other men; three of us were in a relationship with Asian men, and one was in a heterosexual marriage with a wife and family of two grown sons. The data was collected during

2008-2009. A trusted friend in Australia in mid-2008 interviewed me, which provided the basis for the interview guide; and I conducted the interviews with the other men in Rangoon in late 2008 and early 2009. The interviews were transcribed and the case studies developed and were presented in Chapter 4.

The case studies revealed multi-faceted, unique stories of men's sexual and emotional lives. Sexual scripting theory helped me to engage with the data and applying grounded theory, I reflected upon these stories and narrated the autobiographical aspects of my story in relation to the other men in the study. I then used a matrix of three domains of sexual scripting to explore the case studies. The domains were cultural scripts, intrapsychic scripts and interpersonal scripts. The emotional aspect within the scripts was more difficult to ascertain, however it was evident that the performance of sexual scripts contained an emotional quality that influenced and sustained the scripts as they were performed. However, the process of scrutinising oneself and the process of engagement with the other men's stories revealed things about myself, which while insightful, were simultaneously emotionally challenging (Ellis, 2004b).

In addition to describing the scripts as presented in the interviews, I also selected key areas that I considered had impacted on the formation and performance of the men's sexual scripts and the nature of the relationships they enjoyed.

Section One addressed cultural scenarios and how sexual scripts were acquired and used to obtain sexual partners as in cruising; this was followed by Section Two, where addressed the intrapsychic creation of erotic desires as in the fuzzy matrix of “my type” in intrapsychic script formation. In Section Three, I presented the interpersonal scripts of each man, which highlighted the variability in establishing and maintaining relationships. In Section Four, I teased out some comparisons between the experiences of each man in the study in relation to cultural scripts and these included: ageing and the impact of ageing on desire and sexual performance, body maintenance and the gym script; emotionality and ageing; intergenerational sexual scripts and ethnicity transgressions. In Section Five, I considered some important issues in the accommodation of alternative understandings of sexual and emotional fidelity, which included negotiating monogamous and non-monogamous scripts, polyamory, emotional fidelity and romance scripts, concluding this section with a discussion of sexual behaviours and safe sex scripts. In Section Six, I explored the spaces wherein the sexual scripts are performed, having in mind the purpose of revealing how cultural spaces elicit both the performance of scripts and emotional responses.

6.4 My conclusions

All of the men described in the case studies were from different Western countries and different age cohorts, yet were subjected to familial and cultural scripts as to how to perform their masculinity and make sense of

their sexual identity. I have been selective in the choice of areas to review, conscious of wanting to be both descriptive and analytical of the cultural, intrapsychic, and interpersonal sexual scripts that emerged from the cases, and to ascertain the points where emotions and emotional scripts interact.

I discussed the acquisition of sexual scripts and how cruising scripts were performed. Next I reviewed the issue of ageing and how it impacts on sexual and emotional scripts including the ageing body and sexual performance. As two men in the study had younger partners, I sought to identify some of the issues involved in intergenerational coupling. Dealing with cross-cultural issues and the expectations of roles within families of origin was important as three of the four men in this study had partners of different ethnic backgrounds, which thus mitigates the expression of desire. The performance of interpersonal scripts necessitates dialogue with partners, and, in committed relationships, how monogamy issues are to be resolved. The place of the emotional fidelity script is foundational. I have briefly discussed romantic scripts and then gave an appraisal of the men's sexual behaviours and safe sex scripts. The final section explored the spaces wherein the performance of sexual scripts are enacted for the purpose of revealing how cultural spaces elicit both the performance of scripts and emotional responses. I have endeavored to signal where and how emotionality was implicated in the sexual scripts, spaces, and situations in which the scripts were performed.

Although all males and females are biologically and neurologically designed with the potential to engage in sexual activities (Erickson-Schroth, 2010), there are many aspects to be negotiated to fulfil sexual desires. Notwithstanding the biological imperatives that underpin essentialism, social constructionists have convincingly argued that gender, culture, place, and social contexts are implicated in human sexual interaction (Beckmann, 2009; Butler, 1990; Plummer, 1982; Seidman, 2010; Weeks, 2003). Social constructionists would hold that sexuality and sexual identity are produced in the milieu of human society and cultures (Ross et al., 2012; White et al., 2000), that create normative categories to define sexualities such as the binary distinction of heterosexuality and homosexuality (Jackson, 1999) and that alternative expressions of sexual identity, preference and behaviour are flexible and fluid (Boon, 2008; Rice, 2010).

As discussed in Chapter 2 and above, sexual script theory (Gagnon & Simon, 1973; Simon & Gagnon, 1984) provides a framework for understanding how an individual seeks sexual satisfaction either as an act of self-stimulation or through engaging in sexual encounters with desirable partners. The three integrated levels, realms or aspects of social life of the theory, as presented in this thesis, are; the cultural scenarios, the intrapsychic, and interpersonal relations (Simon & Gagnon, 2003; Whittier & Simon, 2001). Each aspect contributes to the construction and performance of the each sexual script. As

demonstrated in this thesis a person's script is highly individualistic and necessarily constrained and formed by cultural norms, expectations, experience, age, and opportunity (Kimmel, 2007). Learning to negotiate such intricate webs of intimacy is an ongoing process and requires understanding of one's sense of sexual and cultural identity in the context of gender formation, enactment and performance within specific gender role scripts. Performing the masculine role in the context of hegemonic masculinity (Coles, 2009; Connell, 2005b) can for some gay men result in constructing complicit and compensatory masculinity to pass as a heterosexual (Bridges, 2013; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Likewise learning behavioural sexual scripts requires a certain determination to overcome the ineptness of adolescent fumbling, and to anchor sexual behaviour scripts appropriate to one's sexual orientation and erotic desires (Savin-Williams & Diamond, 2004; Whittier & Melendez, 2007). As the literature on ageing and sexuality (Davidson & Fennel, 2002; Gonzáles, 2007; Hurley, 2002; Kaye, 1993) highlights patterns of sexual behaviour scripts that have become habituated. Many gay men experiment with sexual adventurism (Bollen & McInnes, 2004; McInnes et al., 2002) in alternative forms of sexual expression and sexual sub-cultures (Hennen, 2008; Santtila et al., 2006).

Emotions are also a function of brain processes (LeDoux, 2012), but the meaning and expression of emotions are regulated and controlled by the social context and cultural understanding (Averill, 1985; Menon, 2000; Miyamoto & Ryff, 2011; Parkinson, 2012) as discussed in Chapter 2.

The social constructionist approach posits that cultural emotional scripts contribute to the development of emotion scripts and shape the way the individual comprehends and expresses his or her emotions (Bartsch & Hübner, 2005; Boiger & Mesquita, 2012; Fischer, 1991; Fischer et al., 1990; Johnson-Laird & Oatley, 2004; Menon, 2000; Turner & Stets, 2006). In addition, emotions are evoked by situation, memory and place (Bondi et al., 2007). Revisiting a place and space that recalls emotional response will evoke similar emotions especially when geographies are associated with sensory experiences (Bondi, 2005; Cattin & Vanolo, 2013). People also shape and create spaces for mutual emotional and material support and relationship building (Gorman-Murray, 2008). Relationships also construct their own emotional and sexual scripts (Adam, 2010; Boiger & Mesquita, 2012) setting parameters on the limits and expectations of each partner in terms of what can happen where and when and with whom including fidelity and non-monogamous scripts (Nardi, 2007; Sabini & Green, 2004; Stanislav & Sprecher, 2011). These scripts are further complicated by cross-cultural factors with cultural expectations, language, and roles (Heelas, 1996; Poon, 2000).

As described in Chapter 5, cultural scripts govern not only emotions but also sexual behaviour scripts and each cultural arena has a distinctive script as illustrated by the cruising scripts in Chapter 5. These sub-cultural scripts also evoke strong emotions in terms of space and place, particularly such spaces as beats in public spaces (Corzine & Kirby, 1977; Tewksbury, 1996), streets (Turner, 2003), the internet

(Apostolopoulos et al., 2011; Nicholas, 2004), sex on premises venues (McInnes & Bollen, 2000), the dance party (Lewis & Ross, 1995; Slavin, 2004; Westhaver, 2006), and gay bar scenarios (Slavin, 2004) where one's erotic capital (or lack of it) impacts on sexual interactions (Green, 2008a, 2011). In each of these sub-cultural settings the sexual script, the cultural script and the sexual behaviour script, and the emotional script need to become integrated into a composite script that will be appropriate and effective to enable a credible performance of sexual interaction. In this composite script, each component script will have varying influence that is determined by the experiential familiarity of the sexual situation and the degree of rehearsal already undertaken. It is a case of more practice will lead to more effective outcomes as the choreography becomes habituated. In order for sexual negotiations to be successful, shared meanings, initiation, emotions, interaction dynamics such as communication, setting up scenarios and directing or being directed, and the wider contextual influences, all play a role in sexual choreography (Ridge, 2004).

As canvassed in this thesis and illustrated through the case studies, is the complexity of sexual interactions and the impact of emotions and emotional scripts, emotional geography, cultural scripts locations, in addition to the unique dynamics of each persons' sexual self-awareness of identity, erotic desires and proficiency in performing the scripts of sexual interactions.

The appraisal of the literature in this thesis, which focused on social constructionist approaches to sexual scripting, emotionality and gender, presents attested and credible explanatory theories for the phenomenon of human sexuality. How these various scripts intersect to support and in a sense construct each other (J. F. Collins, 2004; Crenshaw, 1991) does not appear to have been the focus of theorising about these scripts. As intersectional theorists note, using fully interactive, engaged, co-constructed, and arranged aspects of social life and identity can create complex, sometimes contradicting social experiences (Choo & Ferree, 2010). I contend that such interactions of sexuality, identity, desire, gender and emotions are present and influential in the construction and performance of sexual scripts. This thesis goes part of the way in presenting the intersectionality of these aspects as revealed in the cases of the four men studied in this autoethnographic project.

In analysing the four cases studies, each of the men interviewed had a unique story to tell, although there were some overlaps. The place of birth, culture and the epoch of world history that we grew up in had a profound influence on the acquisition, internalisation, and performance of our sexual scripts. My focus was predominantly on determining the development and performance of the sexual scripts and the structure of my case studies meant that emotionality was inferred rather than explicit. However, the emotional responses felt by an actor in the performance of sexual scripts and the emotional response of other actors in the space of

performance brings about adaptation and refinement of the sexual scripts.

6.5 Limitations

My initial analysis of the data was, at first, my subjective appraisal, which was filtered by my theoretical presuppositions and expectations. These were later subjected to review through using the grounded theory approach to interrogate the data. I might have obtained a more robust and perhaps different understanding had I questioned the participants further on their perceptions of issues that arose for me after I had concluded the interviews. Indeed, the views expressed in this thesis are my own and in no way considered definitive and, therefore, can be subject to alternative interpretations. Two key issues emerged which I feel were not fully developed in the case studies: first, the sense of identity and agency each man had in the acquisition, development, and refinement of his sexual scripts in relation to emotionality; and second, making sense of the choice of object of desire and the subsequent behaviours that then become scripted in the context of emotional scripting. Further research may elucidate these issues. However, as Fredman (Fredman, 2004), contends, there is no one theory that will provide a universally correct, all-encompassing, description and explanation of emotion because emotions are culturally derived, performed and open to constant transformation. Living and performing within a heteronormative Western masculine culture, the transgressive

nature of the scripts in my case studies indicated that for the men in this study to have their emotional, relational and sexual needs met required them to demonstrate agency to alter and adapt dominant scripts as necessary. The analysis of cultural scenarios, intrapsychic and interpersonal scripts indicated that age, space, location, opportunity and imagination, coupled with a certain amount of considered risk-taking, provided a theatre for rich and meaningful sexual lives to be enacted for each of the men in the study. And, as this thesis illustrates, the cultural and the sexual interact with patterns of idiosyncratic desires that are social, erotic and emotional. These desires are expressed in sexual and erotic settings and spaces, which are complex, present and visible (Whittier & Simon, 2001).

6.6 Recommendations

I contend that sexual scripting and emotionality will have implications for sex therapists and sex educators, particularly those developing safe sex scripts.

Those of us working in the sexual counselling and therapy professions may well find an analysis of the what, where, and how, of the sexual scripts being enacted, is a useful tool in working with clients (Atwood & Klucinec, 2011). For example, as much as sexual scripts are flexible and adaptable (Masters et al., 2013), they require attention to keep them rewarding and useful. They may have been satisfactory at an earlier

point in the individual's life, but they may become dysfunctional, redundant or cease to be effective. This can include an examination of the cultural scenarios, the intrapsychic, and the interpersonal scripts of the client's sexual behaviour (Gagnon et al., 1982), and, if necessary, coaching the client to enable him or her to successfully navigate new sexual scenarios (Britton, 2005).

When working with couples, whether same-sex or opposite sex, it may be helpful to clarify the similarities and differences in how each member of the couple views their own script and the shared script they developed together. Perhaps, more importantly, what meanings does each couple member ascribe to certain behaviours or steps in the sexual sequence. Rather than validating one partner's script over the other's, therapists can challenge the couple to construct their own shared sexual scripts, perhaps incorporating aspects of the old scripts and exploring new behaviours and meanings (Weiderman, 2005), and enhancing sexual competence. Shifting attention from performance evaluation to exploring the emotional scripts at play opens up deeper levels of intimacy and erotic spontaneity. The attention shifts from, "am I performing or responding correctly?" to "am I enjoying this?" and "what will intensify the pleasure?" (Ellison, 2012). This approach is supported by innovative programs in sex therapy, for example *The Good Enough Sex (GES) Model* (Metz & McCarthy, 2012) which promotes healthy male, female and couple sexuality (Kleinplatz, 2012), and issues of the impact of ageing (Shifren & Hanfling, 2013).

People can become wedded to emotional scripts as well, and to bring to light the culturally determined scripts, in contrast to understanding the reasons for how we react emotionally to certain situations, can be an illuminating and positive experience. For example, as discussed in Chapter Four, the fidelity script can be reworked to mitigate the impact of feelings of jealousy and betrayal. This is not so much a denial of those feelings, but rather to understand that there are alternative ways of emotionally responding to situations of infidelity. Similarly, that feeling of a sense of rejection or being passed over when pursuing or cruising a partner in the hope of a good time, can be reframed so that not succeeding in a particular endeavour is not seen as necessarily a discounting of the self, but as a reality check about who might find the individual appealing.

An exploration with a client of the feelings and the sexual scripts associated with locations and settings may also be beneficial. This may include how sexual fields shape and influence the construction and enactment of sexual scripts, and the emotions that are triggered in such settings. It might also be advantageous to the client to gain an understanding of the interconnection between what is felt and enacted in different locations. The difference in the emotions and behaviours of sexual episodes in public spaces such as beats or cottages, or in semi-public arenas located in saunas and sex clubs, can be contrasted to the emotional and sexual scripts of more private and intimate spaces as in the home or the bedroom. Increasing a client's awareness and

understanding, clarifying what is done and why, and the associated feelings may strengthen sexual competence and the performance of sexual scripts.

In sexuality and safe sex education programs, it is vital to include an examination of each of the domains of sexual script theory from the perspective of risk and risk assessment (Emmers-Sommer & Allen, 2009). In an HIV/AIDS prevention curriculum for older adults (Altschuler et al., 2004), there was no mention of how to modify sexual scripts to make them safer, which assumes that sexual scripts are not able to be amended. The persuasive cultural sexual spontaneity script has implications for risk assessment, because the sexual spontaneity script lacks scenes in which actors can discuss issues of sexual health and prevention, and furthermore, this reinforces the myth of sexual spontaneity (Dune & Shuttleworth, 2009). In relation to more general sex education, understanding how sexual scripts are formed and adapted to meet an individual's needs and desires would enhance sexual competence and sexual satisfaction.

6.7 Further research

Further research to investigate the interaction of emotional scripts and sexual scripts is necessary to tease out how emotional scripts influence the enactment of sexual scripts, and how they intersect to support and construct each person's idiosyncratic script. Furthermore, research is needed into how this relationship of sexual scripts with emotionality could

be integrated into sexual therapy and counselling as a therapeutic tool to assist clients in analysing and refining sexual relationships.

Investigating more precisely the sense of identity and agency required for the acquisition, development, and refinement of sexual scripts would benefit client and therapist. In addition, an assessment of, and preparation for, the emotion work required to develop appropriate emotional scripts associated with the adapting or constructing new sexual scripts would assist those clients seeking alternative sexual scripts. Further study into the implications of emotional responses within sexual scripting may uncover additional layers of complexity in sexual scripts and further reveal the influence of emotion on the development of sexual scripts.

Finally, the emotions that were expressed in the interviews occurred at different stages of learning and executions of our sexual scripts, and were unique for each of us. Such idiosyncratic emotions profoundly influenced the meanings we attributed to our scripts and how they were to be exercised. There are important components of bodily and emotional interactions in such scripts, but these are not just cultural signals. Rather, these components are learnt, honed, adapted and reinforced by the intrinsic rewards, pleasures and satisfactions that result from the performance of the scripts, and the abandoning of other scripts that are no longer relevant or salient. This is accomplished through a reflexive process of engagement with oneself and others within an

emotional and sexual environment to produce competent sexual scripts that lead to sexual and emotional satisfaction. Thus our sexual lives are fulfilled and enriched by our lived experiences and the enjoyment of our bodies in relation to others who fulfil our erotic and sexual desires.

Postscript



“Men by daaram” by Olivier Jollant (2005)
<http://daaram.deviantart.com/art/Men-35881191>

Soon after I embarked upon this project that is this thesis, I came across this photograph of a group of men that appears as a frontispiece, and here again at the conclusion. Olivier Jollant’s (2006) photo is of men at the gate at the Place de la Bastille in Paris, at the end of the 2006 Gay Parade. They are resting or dancing to music. As Jollant writes on his blog, “Men from Paris...gay or not, I don't know...just men”. I find the photo provocative, for I recall a similar scene at the end of a SGLMG

party - sexy men of my tribe - all shapes and sizes, alluring and tantalising. The photo captures for me a sense of belonging, a confirmation of my identity, and of my desire. It is the culmination of me learning to be a gay man amongst other men; of having done the work to develop sexual scripts within that space that are readily transferable to other locations. The picture evokes and affirms my love for my partner and friends, and the emotional scripts that were expressed in the shared experience of the party. But, most powerfully, the picture induces for me the expectation of an erotic thrill at the possibilities of enacting embodied pleasure; a habitus wherein the rules of attraction are played out, erotic capital is expended, geographies of emotion are realised, and the culmination and reward of having integrated the relevant aspects of my masculine, emotional, and sexual scripts.

*We shall not cease from exploration
And the end of all our exploring
Will be to arrive where we started
And know the place for the first time.* - T.S. Eliot, (1942).

Appendices

Appendix A: Interview Outline

Appendix B: Plain Language Statement

Appendix C: Consent Form

APPENDIX A – Interview Outline

Domain	Theme	Sub theme	Prompt questions
Demographic information	Age, religion, education, profession, relationship status, country of origin, sexual orientation		Tell me about yourself?
Masculinity	Life history	Family of origin Education Work history	Tell me about your family background/ Education/ work
	Social relationships	Friendship networks Relationship with partner	Describe your social networks Tell me about your partner
	Sexual orientation	Definition of self identity	How would you describe your sexual identity? When were your first aware of this?
Health	General personal health	Physical health Fitness level Nutrition	Tell me about your health
	Sexual health	Dysfunction Potency Patterns of sexual behaviour	What difficulties might you experience when having sex?
	Mental/emotional health	Brain functioning	What psychological issues might you be experiencing? Do you have any emotional issues?
Sexual history	Recall Key moments	First ejaculation First intercourse Best sexual episode Worst sex episode	Tell me about your sexual history.
	Behaviour learning Script development	Sexual behaviour Condom use Safe sex issues	What do you prefer to do sexually? How do you protect yourself from STIs and HIV?
Sexuality	Sexual education & Demythologising of sexual myths	Sexual information Understanding sexual myths	How did you learn about sex?
	Self awareness and self knowledge	Awareness of sexual self, needs, desires, arousals and communicating to partner	How did you learn this? How do you talk with your partner about sexual and relationship issues?
	Sexual empathy	Understanding partner's desires and understanding communication	How do you communicate about your and his sexual desires?

		from partner	
Expatriate culture/social/subculture	Appreciating gender influences Meanings of masculinity Meanings of male bodies Awareness of sexual sub-cultural norms Acquisition of scripts Understanding shame	Understanding cultural constraints Understanding different sexualities Reading the male body Moving between sexual sub cultures Process of learning scripts What shames men sexually	What are the constraints for you in being sexual in a different cultural context? How do you know what the other man wants when English is limited? Tell me about the way you went about working out what to do in these situation. Tell me about incidents of being shamed.

APPENDIX B - Plain Language Statement



Plain Language Statement

Version1 Dated 1st November, 2007

Site Yangon

Full Project Title:

Assessing the impact of emotionality on sexual scripting for adult males and the implications for changing sexual behaviours.

Short Title: Emotionality in sexual scripting

Principal Researcher: Mr Kim Benton

This Plain Language Statement and Consent Form are five pages long. Please make sure you have all the pages.

1. Your Consent

You are invited to take part in this research project.

This Plain Language Statement contains detailed information about the research project. Its purpose is to explain to you as openly and clearly as possible all the procedures involved in this project before you decide whether or not to take part in it.

Please read this Plain Language Statement carefully. Feel free to ask questions about any information in the document. You may also wish to discuss the project with a relative or friend or your local health worker. Feel free to do this.

Once you understand what the project is about and if you agree to take part in it, you will be asked to sign the Consent Form. By signing the Consent Form, you indicate that you understand the information and that you give your consent to participate in the research project.

You will be given a copy of the Plain Language Statement and Consent Form to keep as a record.

2. Purpose and Background

The purpose of this project is to find out how emotions affect the way men learn what to do and how to be sexual; and what feelings and desires help men have good satisfying sex. The results of the project will help to develop programs that can be used to prevent the spread of HIV through making sexual activity safer by taking into account men's feelings, desires and ways of being sexual.

A total of four people will participate in this project.

Previous experience has shown that the way people have sex is largely determined by earlier learning. The enjoyment of satisfying sexual encounters requires that people have a level of sexual knowledge, self-awareness, and are able to discuss their desires with partners as required. These abilities are called “sexual intelligence”. Medical science has known for over 25 years that HIV can be picked up and passed on through the type of sex people do. Some sex has more risk than other sorts. Changing the way people have sex is therefore the main way to prevent the spread of HIV. To further understand this link between sexual intelligence and making sex safer (or less risky), the research will examine stories of European males about their sexual lives to understand their sexual development. This study will contribute to the development of public health programs, as the results will inform educators, trainers and field workers working in HIV prevention.

You are invited to participate in this research project because we are looking for a cross section of unique individual stories that reflect the way that men learnt to be sexual.

The results of this research may be used to help Kim Benton obtain a doctorate.

3. Procedures

Participation in this project will involve

- Meeting with the researcher and reading and clarifying the Plain Language Statement and signing the Consent Form
- You will be given a thematic guide to help you think about your story. You can present the story in your own words by way of a conversation with the researcher. Two appointments for time and place will be arranged where you and the researcher will not be disturbed or overheard. At the first interview you will be given a unique code (special name & number) for your story to prevent identification.
- The conversation will be recorded on a digital recorder and then later typed by the researcher. The typed manuscript will be made available for you to review your story. You will have a week to check it over. At a second appointment there will be opportunity for you to make any changes and to allow the researcher to use the material for analysis. You may not choose to meet to check the manuscript, and that is your decision. In this case the researcher will proceed to use the material as though you had agreed.
- The first appointment is expected to take between 1-3 hours: the second appointment is expected to take less than 1 hour.
- The commitment asked of you is to reflect on your story; to share your story as honestly as possible by way of conversation that will be recorded during the 1-3 hour interview; and then once the conversation has been typed you will have an opportunity to check and think about the content, and at a second appointment a week later, make any changes.

4. Possible Benefits

Possible benefits include an opportunity to gain insight into the way you think and behave sexually. It is expected that the findings will assist in the prevention of HIV through informing behaviour change strategies leading to the promotion of safer sexual practices in the community.

5. Possible Risks

It is not expected that there will be any physical risks, side effects or discomforts from the conversation. However, the process of reflecting on what you do sexually and thinking about your sexual history might be distressful for you.

A health care professional has been engaged to provide assistance to participants. Please free to call the psychologist should you wish to seek counselling as a result of participating in this study. The researcher will pay all fees. (Contact details in the Appendix).

You are free to suspend, cancel or withdraw from the research at any time for whatever reason. All recordings will be erased in your presence should this be necessary.

6. Privacy, Confidentiality and Disclosure of Information

Any information obtained in connection with this project that might identify you remains confidential. It will only be disclosed with your permission, except as required by law. All recordings and transcripts will be identified by a unique code and stored in locked containers at School of Health and Social Development, Deakin University, Melbourne, Australia for a period of not less than seven years after which time recordings will be erased and typed manuscripts destroyed. Access will be only for purposes of utilising the data for research purposes.

If you give us your permission by signing the Consent Form, we plan to publish the results in peer review publications and to utilise the findings by informing sex educators who conduct trainings with organizations working in HIV prevention.

In any publication, information will be provided in such a way that you cannot be identified, as all identifiers will be altered or removed, and information will be consolidated, however extracts from transcripts of your story may be used.

7. Results of Project

Participants will be provided with copies of the recordings and/or transcripts on request. The research findings will be made available electronically to participants, provided contact and access are available. The results will not be made available locally in Myanmar.

8. Further Information or Any Problems

If you require further information or if you have any problems concerning this project (for example, any side effects), you can contact me as the researcher:

Mr Kim Benton,

No. 226, 4th Floor, Wizaya Plaza,

U Wisara Road, Bahan Township, Yangon, Myanmar (office)

Email: kimburnet@myanmar.com.mm Tel: +95-1-248 195; Fax: +95-1-248 194

A/H: Grand Mee YaHta Residences – Yangon +95-1-256 355; Fax: +95-1 256 360.

9. Other Issues

If you have any complaints about any aspect of the project, the way it is being conducted or any questions about your rights as a research participant, then you may contact:

Professor Caryl Nowson,
Chair- Deakin University Ethics Subcommittee- HMNBS,
221 Burwood Highway, Burwood, Vic, 3125, Australia.
Telephone +613 9251 7272; email: caryl.nowson@deakin.edu.au
You will need to tell Professor Nowson the name of the researcher above and quote the project number EC **[number]** -2007.

10. Participation is Voluntary

Participation in any research project is voluntary. If you do not wish to take part you are not obliged to. If you decide to take part and later change your mind, you are free to withdraw from the project at any stage.

Your decision whether or not to be involved in the study, or even if you do take part and then withdraw, will not affect your relationship with anyone involved with Deakin University.

Before you make your decision or have any questions about the research project, you can ask me, or my supervisor:

Dr Maria Pallotta-Chiarolli,
School of Health and Social Development
Faculty of Health, Medicine, Nursing & Behavioural Sciences
Deakin University
221 Burwood Highway, Burwood, Victoria, 3125, Australia
Telephone No: +613 9251 7198: Fax No: +613 9244 6017
E-mail: maria.pallotta-chiarolli@deakin.edu.au

You can ask for any information you want. Please sign the Consent Form only after you have had a chance to ask your questions and have received satisfactory answers.

If you decide to withdraw from this project, please notify me, or my supervisor, before you withdraw. This will allow us to inform you of any associated risks or special requirements linked to withdrawing.

11. Ethical Guidelines

This project will be carried out according to the *National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Research Involving Humans* (June 1999) produced by the National Health and Medical Research Council of Australia. This statement has been developed to protect the interests of people who agree to participate in human research studies.

The Human Research Ethics Committee of Deakin University, Melbourne, Australia, has approved the ethical aspects of this research project.

12. Reimbursement for your costs

You will not be paid for your participation in this project

Name Card of Consulting Psychologist

Drs. Sjoukje W. Zijlstra, Pun Hlaing International Hospital (PHIH) Child and Adolescent Psychological Service Centre Pun Hlaing Golf Estate Avenue, Hlaing Thar Yar Township, Yangon, Myanmar : Phone: 951 - 684 323 ext. 2005 ;Fax: 951 - 684 324 Email: sjoukjez@yangon.net.mm
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APPENDIX C – Consent Form



DEAKIN UNIVERSITY HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

Consent Form

Version 1 Dated 1st October 2007
Site Yangon

Full Project Title:

Assessing the impact of emotionality on sexual scripting for adult males and the implications for changing sexual behaviours.

Short Title: Emotionality in sexual behaviour change

I have read, and I understand the Plain Language Statement version 1 dated 1st October 2007.

I freely agree to participate in this project according to the conditions in the Plain Language Statement.

I will be given a copy of the Plain Language Statement and Consent Form to keep.

The researcher has agreed not to reveal my identity and personal details if information about this project is published or presented in any public form.

Participant's Name (printed)

Signature

Date

Name of Witness to Participant's Signature (printed)

.....

Signature

Date

Declaration by researcher*: I have given a verbal explanation of the research project, its procedures and risks and I believe that the participant has understood that explanation.

Researcher's Name (printed)

Signature

Date

* A senior member of the research team must provide the explanation and provision of information concerning the research project.

Note: All parties signing the Consent Form must date their own signature.

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