

Sociological Aspects of Homosexuality

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THREE TYPES OF HOMOSEXUALS

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LONGMANS

2 HC GROUP (HOMOSEXUALS/CONVICTED)

A. DESCRIPTION OF THE GROUP

In the spring of 1961 all the inmates of three London prisons (Brixton, Wandsworth and Wormwood Scrubs) who had been convicted of homosexual offences with other men aged twenty-one or over were interviewed by the research worker. In the autumn of the same year a further 16 men were seen at the three prisons in order to make up the group to a total of 50.

All these men answered all the questions put to them in so far as it was within their capacity to give a reasonable reply. The relationship established during the interview was nearly always good, and most of the men were prepared to talk openly and frankly. A research worker, coming from outside the prison, stands a much better chance of obtaining truthful answers than those officers and others working in the prison who are in regular contact with the prisoners. But this is a group of men who regard with suspicion any investigation into their sexual offences, and the quality of the response is not as uniformly high as it is for the four non-prison groups.

All the interviewees were put into ten-year age groups between twenty-one and sixty. In this group and four of the other groups, at least 36 (72%) of the men were under forty; the only exception is the PC group where 21 (42%) were under forty. The average age of the group was 34.5 compared to an overall average of 35.5. At the time of their arrest, 30 of the HC group were living in London, five in other cities and large towns, 13 in small towns and two in rural communities.

Six of this group were married, another six were divorced or separated and 38 had not been married. When they were asked about their religion, 18 prisoners replied that they were Church of England, nine were Roman Catholic, four were Non-Conformist and four others mentioned other sects; 15 said they did not belong to any Church. More men attended church in this group than in any group except the other prison group (PC).

The HC group was the least well educated of all the groups. Only three attended school beyond the age of fifteen, although 13 of the remaining 47 did receive some kind of part-time education at some period of their lives. This group was also the least successful in the Verbal Reasoning Test. Of the 84 men who came in the top three (out of 10) classes, only four were in the HC group. Whereas 27 of the 89 who were in the lowest three classes were in the HC group;

if all six groups were equally represented in the lowest three classes, the expected number would be 15. (The verbal reasoning test is described in Section F of the Appendix.)

Judging from the occupation of the father or substitute parent, two could be said to have come from upper middle-class homes, eight from lower middle-class homes and 36 from working-class homes; four could not be rated. Questions about their own occupations revealed that two held supervisory jobs, 13 had non-manual occupations and 33 had manual occupations. There were 26 men who were unskilled manual workers and this is twice as great as the number of unskilled manual workers in any other group; there were 60 unskilled manual workers in all six groups and 43 per cent of these were in the HC group. Before their arrest, 26 earned under £500 a year, 47 under £1,000 a year and none of them earned more than £1,500; all the other five groups had at least one person earning over £2,000 a year. The national average wage at the time these interviews took place was £765 a year.

The appearance of each person was rated by the research worker on two six-point scales. This is a purely subjective assessment made at the time of the interview, but in so far as all 300 were rated by one person, it can be expected to have some consistency. On the Robust/Delicate Scale, 114 were put into the two most robust classifications, but only 11 of these were in the HC groups; if all the groups were equally represented, the expected number would be 19. On the Masculine/Feminine Scale 164 were put into the two most masculine classifications, of which 15 were HC men; the expected number would be 27.

The HC group, then, is about the same age as the other groups, comes from the same kind of areas and attended church more often than most of the other men in the sample. They were the least well-educated group, the least successful in the verbal reasoning test and came further down in the socio-economic scale. They appeared to be less robust and less masculine than any other group.

B. CRIMINAL RECORD

A famous London magistrate¹ once said that 25 per cent of those convicted of homosexual offences are men with criminal records. Some people took this to mean that a quarter of all homosexuals commit other offences, on the assumption that those who come before the Courts are a representative sample of all homosexuals. But several researches (Liddicoat, 1961; Westwood, 1960; Parr, 1958; Lambert,

1. Mr Frank Powell in an article in *The Star* in January 1958.

1954) have shown that most homosexuals do not come into conflict with the law. But the results of this research suggest that when convicted homosexuals are considered as a separate group, then 25 per cent may well be an underestimate.

By definition all of the 50 men in this group had been convicted of a sexual offence, but 20 (40%) had also been convicted of a non-sexual offence, 19 of them more than once. Of the remaining 30 men who had not been convicted of a non-sexual offence, 14 had more than one conviction for sexual offences, and eight of these more than two convictions. So only one-third (32%) of this group are first offenders.

Most prison officers assumed that homosexuals operated largely in criminal circles and it is not difficult to see why they make this assumption. During the course of discussions about homosexuality the research worker often came across words like 'unnatural' or 'perverted', but inside the prisons the staff were more likely to use words like 'degraded' or 'corrupt' or 'degenerate'. Close association with a particular type of homosexual has made most prison officers believe that homosexuality is inevitably connected with other serious character defects and more than one officer suggested that if these men were not in prison for a homosexual offence, they would still be there for some other reason.

In England and Wales¹ a homosexual can be charged under eight legal headings, as follows:

<i>Offence</i>	<i>Maximum sentence</i>
Buggery	Life
Attempted buggery	10 years
Assault with intent to commit buggery	10 years
Indecent assault on a male	10 years
Gross indecency between males	2 years
Persistently importuning – On indictment	2 years
On summary conviction	6 months
Bye-law indecencies	£5 fine

The legal designation of the above charges is often changed to a lesser charge between the arrest and the court proceedings. The actual charge depends on the evidence available, the plea of the defendant and the usual practice of the police in a particular area. In some areas many cases of indecency are dealt with under bye-laws, whereas the same activity in other areas might lead to the

1. The legal position is slightly different in Scotland.

charge of gross indecency which carries a much higher penalty. Therefore two similar homosexual acts can result in different charges depending on other circumstances. The distinction between these legal designations is not useful here and so the offences have been reclassified into four mutually exclusive categories, as follows:

<i>Homosexual offence</i>	<i>No. in HC group</i>
Importuning	22
Homosexual act with an adult in public	16
Homosexual act with an adult in private	12
Homosexual act with a minor in public or private	0

These figures refer to the HC man's last offence, i.e. the offence for which he was serving a term of imprisonment at the time of the interview. So it is surprising to find so many (44%) of this group in prison for importuning which is usually dealt with summarily. In fact half (11) of these were given a sentence of over one year, and three of them were given the maximum sentence of two years.

Section 32 of the Sexual Offences Act 1956 states: 'It is an offence for a male persistently to solicit or importune in a public place for immoral purposes.'³ Proof of annoyance or obstruction is not necessary and a man can be convicted of this offence although he has not at any time spoken to or touched anybody or attempted to do so, and no person has complained as to his conduct or alleged that he has been solicited.¹ And it has been held by a Divisional Court that there is no distinction between persistently importuning and persistently soliciting.² Radzinowicz (1957), reporting on sexual offences in 14 districts of England and Wales recorded in 1947, found that 27.2 per cent of all adults convicted of importuning were imprisoned.

In this group 16 men were sent to prison for their first-ever offence and two of these were for importuning; of the others six were for homosexual acts in public and eight for homosexual acts in private. A further five cases had previously been convicted for importuning and were now serving their first prison sentence for the same offence. It is clear, then, that not all judges and magistrates consider importuning to be a minor offence, and not all men charged with this offence are treated with leniency.

Of the 22 men in prison for importuning, half (11) of these men have been arrested for sexual offences only, but the other half have

1. *Horton v. Mead* (1913) 1 K.B. 154; 23 Cox 729.

2. *Field v. Chapman* (1953) C.L.Y. 787; *The Times*, 9 Oct. 1953.

been charged with previous non-sexual offences, 10 of them more than once. Although this is the first sexual offence for seven of them, five of these have convictions for non-sexual offences. Six of the 22 have a long series of convictions for both sexual and non-sexual offences.

Seven men were serving prison sentences for their first importuning offence, but four of these have been convicted for more than one

Table 2.1 *Length of prison sentence (HC group)*

Offence	Sentence			TOTAL
	2 years and over	1-2 years	under 1 year	
Importuning	3	8	11	22
Homosexual acts in public	4	6	6	16
Homosexual acts in private	7	3	2	12

Table 2.2 *Previous prison sentences (HC group)*

Offence	First offence ever	First time in prison	Others
Importuning	2	5	15
Homosexual acts in public	6	3	7
Homosexual acts in private	8	0	4

Table 2.3 *Total number of convictions for sexual and non-sexual offences (HC group)*

Number of offences	Importuning	Public acts	Private acts
One sexual offence	2	6	8
Two sexual offences	3	2	1
More than two sexual offences	6	2	—
One sexual offence and one non-sexual offence	1	—	—
One sexual offence and more than one non-sexual offence	4	3	3
More than one sexual offence and more than one non-sexual offence	6	3	—

non-sexual offence. This suggests that their sexual misconduct was regarded as being merely another symptom of their general lawless behaviour. Of the 22 men arrested for importuning, 11 (50%) had also been convicted for non-sexual offences and 15 (68%) had previous convictions for sexual offences.

When a man has been fined or put on probation and then appears in court for the same offence a few years later, the magistrate may well feel that only a prison sentence will act as a deterrent. But there is another factor which should be noted here. It is a striking fact that nine of the 12 HC men who were rated 'fairly effeminate' or 'very effeminate' have been convicted of importuning, whereas only four of the 15 HC men rated 'fairly masculine' or 'very masculine' are in prison for this offence. When only the 15 men with several convictions for importuning are considered, it is found that six (out of eight in the whole group) are rated 'very effeminate' and only one (out of eight in the whole group) is rated 'very masculine'. It is known that the effeminate man makes up only a small proportion of the homosexual population – only 28 (14%) were found in all four variant groups. The following paragraphs suggest reasons why a higher proportion (24%) is found among convicted homosexuals and why a man who looks like the stereotype of a homosexual is more likely to be arrested for importuning.

Table 2.4 *The relationship between appearance and importuning*

Type of offender	Number	Masculine/Feminine Scale					
		1	2	3	4	5	6
		%	%	%	%	%	%
All four variant groups*	200	31	21	21	13	8	6
All HC Group	50	16	14	30	16	8	16
All Importuners	22	9	9	27	14	14	27
Recidivist Importuners	15	7	7	13	13	20	40

* Including child molesters.

There may be a few homosexuals who stop importuning after they have been convicted of this offence. It is more likely that the majority do not stop importuning, but use more caution; they might avoid public lavatories where nearly all arrests for importuning are made, and look for willing partners in streets and parks where the chances of being apprehended are less. But there is a minority who are regularly arrested for importuning. Some of these are male prostitutes and in their case it seems to be an unavoidable risk of

the trade. But the number of male prostitutes seeking partners on the streets is very small. A man who sets out to sell himself to other men runs into a difficult problem; he must go to an area where his clients will expect to find prostitutes, and he must be dressed and he must act in such a way that his clients will recognize him; this means that the police do not have much difficulty in recognizing him. Consequently the male prostitutes who work on the streets are soon apprehended and, if they are to be believed, it is not necessary for them actively to solicit a man before they are arrested.

They know me. I've only got to walk down Piccadilly and they run me in. (HC 31 is a male prostitute and has been arrested eight times for importuning.)

But it seems possible that the police sometimes assume a man is a male prostitute because he is effeminate. At all events there is another type of homosexual who is often arrested for importuning although he may not be a prostitute. There were several men in this group who had been arrested several times for importuning and the only thing they have in common is that they are all very effeminate.

Three times I have been arrested by the same policeman. He told me whenever he sees me, he'll arrest me. Once he dragged me out of a car to arrest me. Another time I was waiting for my affair at a street corner. (HC 42 with five convictions for importuning.)

You don't have to do anything for importuning. If the C.I.D. think you're importuning, they'll nick you for it and it is no good arguing. (HC 19 with four convictions for importuning.)

The policeman said: 'I know you. You've been in before and I'm going to take you in again.' (HC 13 with 12 convictions for importuning.)

The police have a difficult job. Obviously they cannot arrest someone for importuning unless they are there at the time the offence is committed. They are not likely to catch anyone in the act if they are standing there in uniform, and if they are in plain clothes inevitably they are accused of entrapment. Some of the following stories appear to have the ring of truth about them.

I went into the W.C. at Villiers Street on my way to the Royal Festival Hall. I really did need to go there and I did what I wanted to do and started to walk out. At the end there was a fairly young chap and as I went out he turned round and looked and smiled. So I went back into the place. We stood there for a bit. This chap was looking and leaning over, but I didn't do anything because there was another chap at the other end. Then suddenly both of them jumped on top of me. I thought they were going to rob me, but they were plain clothes men. At the station I pleaded

guilty. I didn't think anyone would believe me if I told them what really happened. (HC 25. First offence. Three months.)

On the way home I looked in a shop window and got talking to a man. He asked if he could come home with me and he said he'd give me £2 if he could have sex with me. We walked on a bit and then another C.I.D. man came up and they both grabbed me and took me to the station. I got six months for importuning. I'd never heard the word before. It's true I would have had sex with him and he didn't have to offer me £2. I didn't know anything about renting then. By the time I left prison, I knew all about it and all about how they make money on the game. (HC 20 describing his first arrest; since then he has been convicted of importuning on four more occasions.)

I was no more importuning than flying but I'd been in before (once before for importuning and several times for non-sexual offences), and so I let my lawyer persuade me to plead guilty so as to get a light sentence. Eighteen months is a light sentence? (HC 36)

I had been to the London Pavilion and I came out with the man I'd been sitting next to. We talked for a bit and then he left. Then the police came up and arrested me. They said they'd seen me accost four men. I asked them to help me find the man I'd been in the film with. He hadn't been gone five minutes. But they wouldn't listen. (HC 14)

It is one of the problems of research in prisons that so many prisoners protest that they are innocent. There is no way of checking on these stories, but it does seem possible that an individual policeman may sometimes misjudge the situation and assume that a man who looks like a homosexual must be importuning. And it is also possible that a magistrate is more likely to believe the policeman's evidence than the story of an effeminate man standing in the dock.

I don't want to go back on the game. I want to work. But the trouble is the police know me and they think I'm still on the game. If they see me around, they think I'm looking for trade. I was picked up at the Piccadilly Circus Underground and I wasn't doing anything. I'd just come up from the tube and handed in my ticket and a minute later they picked me up. Now I daren't even go down there. If I want to use the Underground and I'm near Piccadilly, I walk to Leicester Square or Green Park. (HC 8 with five convictions for importuning.)

I was so drunk I don't remember what happened. The Judge said I was still responsible for my actions. But all I can remember is drinking in the bar with a crowd of the lads. But I'm not homosexual. I made a fool of myself by pleading guilty. The police said I would only get a fine. (HC 40. First offence. Six months.)

They just picked me up for importuning because they couldn't pin a drug charge on me. Fair enough. I was selling the stuff, and that carries a far

higher sentence than importuning. (HC 38. First sexual offence, but with three non-sexual convictions.)

The 16 men who were arrested for homosexual acts in public were usually caught *in flagrante delicto* either in a public lavatory or in a park.

There seem to be two types of men who are liable to be caught in this way. The first type gets involved in a homosexual situation in a thoughtless or fortuitous way; only rarely does he take part in homosexual activities and he does not appear to have a strong homosexual drive, but in moments of stress or weakness, he succumbs to temptation; of course he appreciates that what he is doing is wrong and he is likely to suffer from strong feelings of guilt afterwards, and yet he seems to enter into these activities in a casual way, without being aware of the dangers and the serious consequences if he is caught in the act.

If you had told me a month ago that I'd get mixed up in a thing like this, I'd have said you were out of your mind. . . . For some time while the wife was carrying the baby, she's been having trouble internally and she's been suffering a lot. For the last three months I haven't been able to touch her and it's six months since we slept in the same bed. I don't know if this is the reason. I don't want to make excuses. Anyhow one lunch time I went to the toilet which is in a park just across the road from where I work. In there was a young man and he showed me that he had a hard on. Well, quite frankly I was a bit intrigued and after looking at him for a bit, I went up to him. Then the park keeper came in and grabbed hold of this chap, saying he'd been keeping watch and he knew this young chap had been in the toilet for over half an hour. The park keeper told me I could make a dash for it, but I thought I ought to see it through. To tell the truth I felt horribly guilty and peeved with myself for letting myself do a thing like this. I'd blotted my copy book and in a sense I wanted to be punished. So I went with them to the station and made a statement. What I didn't realize is that the law is heavily weighted against the honest. When it came up in Court, the magistrate was told that I had no past record and an excellent character, but he gave me 21 days - I suppose because this other chap was so much younger. Of course it was a terrible shock. My wife expected me back that day and I haven't seen her since, so I don't know how she's taken it. She was very good about it when I told her about going to the police station. She said it was her fault, but I told her she mustn't blame herself. (HC 24. Aged 39. Engineer earning £1,050 a year.)

Well I must say I was stupid drunk at the time and I was caught playing about with another man. (HC 50. First offence. Three months.)

I just drifted into it. I'd dropped it altogether for years. If I hadn't fallen ill (and so been off work) and run into this chap by mistake one day, it

wouldn't have started again. (HC 5 and married. First offence. Two years.)

I had a quarrel with my affair, in fact we broke up. If that hadn't happened, I wouldn't be in here. I started going with just anybody, trying to forget the quarrel. I met this chap near where I work and we went on a bomb site. Someone saw us and telephoned the police. (HC 47. First offence. 21 months.)

I went into the toilet and I saw things going on between others. Two were wanking each other off and two were admiring each other. Then three of them left and this left an old man who pulled his trousers down and pushed his backside at me. I said, 'You'll get locked up for that.' Just then the police came in and took us to the station. The detective said he believed my story but he persuaded me to plead guilty. I wanted to make as small a splash as possible because my mother has a weak heart. (HC 45. First offence. 18 months.)

Until I was caught, I never did it in public. I knew the risks and I knew it was a silly thing to do. (HC 22. First sexual offence. 12 months.)

But there is another type who make regular visits to public lavatories to seek other homosexuals. More often than not, they are not looking for a willing partner to take home, but prefer mutual masturbation in the lavatory because this activity is quick and anonymous. Some of these men are lonely or inadequate characters who are unable or unwilling to sustain a homosexual affair of any length. Others are not in a position to have a homosexual friend; three of the 16 were married and seven more were living in conditions which made it impossible for them to take homosexual partners back to their homes.

But there are others among the type who make regular visits to lavatories who find some attraction in the danger or the sordid surroundings. All the men in the four variant groups were asked if the illegality of homosexual acts added an extra zest to the experience. Of the 200 who answered this question, 42 (21%) said that they gained an extra thrill from knowing that what they were doing was against the law, and 25 of these were in this HC group. The remarks of several of these prisoners show clearly that the law is not a deterrent to them.

My whole life is against the law and I admit I get some kick out of it. (HC 38)

It just doesn't worry me any more. It isn't too bad in here, you know. If they provided a few more cigarettes and a bar, they could throw away the key. The food is no worse than in the army and it's an easy life. (HC 48)

I don't do it because I want to do these things. I get very lonely outside. When I get out, I miss the companionship of the schools and prisons, and

by the end of three or four months I want to get back in the nick. (HC 23. Aged twenty-four, with many convictions.)

If two men were involved in a public homosexual act, the charge was usually gross indecency as well as indecency under a bye-law; if there was no one else present other than the police officer, the man was usually charged with importuning. The sentences varied considerably and it is difficult to find from a study of the 16 cases why some men got far longer periods of imprisonment than others. As one man went into Court, his lawyer said to him, 'I'm afraid we've got the wrong Judge'; he was sentenced to 21 months for his first offence. Four men got over two years, six got 1-2 years, and six got 12 months or less.

The reconviction rate for the first type is probably low. Although they entered into the homosexual relationship casually and without thought, the arrest and the appearance in Court is a great shock. As these men do not appear to have a strong homosexual drive, it is possible that they have learnt their lesson and a term of imprisonment for a first offence may be unnecessary. In this group nine of the 16 were in prison for their first sexual offence, but three of these had been convicted of non-sexual offences.

Nearly half of the men (17 out of 38) convicted for importuning or for public homosexual acts had also been convicted for non-sexual offences, whereas only a quarter (three out of 12) of the men arrested for homosexual acts in private had convictions for non-sexual offences.

The 22 men arrested for importuning and the 16 men who committed homosexual acts in a public place would still be in prison even if the main recommendation of the Wolfenden Committee had been accepted and the law amended. This leaves a total of 12 men who were charged with committing homosexual acts with adults in private.

Table 2.3 shows that four of these had previous convictions. One had served a previous sentence of 12 months for a homosexual act in a public place and he believes this led to his latest arrest.

A chap came and joined the firm. He was an obvious queer. . . . It happened five or six times, then he left and we didn't see each other any more. About a year later he was caught with someone else and because of my previous record, the police got on to me. I made a statement admitting some things, but I didn't admit buggery, though. (HC 46)

The other three had a long string of non-sexual offences although this was the first sexual offence in each case. One man had seven previous convictions for stealing clothes or money. At the time of his

arrest he was sharing a flat with another man who was interviewed by the police because they suspected him of receiving stolen goods. After a series of calls and a thorough search of the flat, the police decided to drop the charge of receiving against the other man, but charged them both with homosexual offences. (HC 30)

The second man had eight previous convictions for non-sexual offences including three for possessing drugs. This time he got four years for homosexual acts with two men who were living in the same hostel. The other men got two years and three years. (HC 18)

The third man had seven convictions for theft. The last time was when he stole £16 from his employer:

I never thought he'd report me (because they were having regular homosexual relations together). It might have been his wife who gave me up. I was so wild I told them all about the sex. (HC 16)

This leaves eight men who were sent to prison for their first offence in private with an adult. The situation that led to their arrest is retold in each case using their own words where possible.

My friend was picked up for being drunk and disorderly. The police tried to pin a job on him. They kept him there all night and in the end he confessed about us, so as to explain where he had been the night he was supposed to have done the robbery. I think he really confessed so as to get out of the station. People do funny things when the police question them for hours. . . . (When he discovered that his friend had told the police everything they wanted to know) . . . I thought I might as well admit it, and I admitted it with two other men which was a mistake. My friend got 18 months but I got four years. The Judge said I was the corrupter. (HC 11. Charge buggery. Sentence four years.)

After he had been at work a few weeks, we had conversations about sex and love and he told me he'd been around with several men. Then it started to be quite a regular thing with us, usually at night after we'd been left to lock up (at their place of work). We grew very fond of each other and I think other people must have seen it. At any rate tongues began to wag. (After three years) the police suddenly appeared at night when we were alone in the (workshop). I heard later that they kept a watch on it several nights and noticed that on some nights we left rather late. On the night they came, they looked around but they didn't see nothing. But they followed Jim home and took him to the station. He was kept there a long time and in the end he gave the whole game away. When the police told me that he'd admitted it, I made a statement and admitted everything. The police thought others were involved and questioned me for a long time, but there weren't no others. They got very annoyed and said they'd throw the book at me unless I admitted there were others. (HC 10. Buggery. Seven years.)

I still don't know who first set the police on to me. I came home late from work one night and I found the police waiting for me. I don't want to make excuses for myself, but I'd been working long hours and I was very tired. (He was a foreman engineer earning £900 a year and had said earlier in the interview: 'Work has been my downfall. If I hadn't been working such long hours I'd had never have got into trouble.') The police said if I came down to the station, I'd soon be back and it wouldn't interfere with the work next day. I didn't even take a packet of cigarettes with me. I was there for eight hours, never alone for a moment. Eventually I was persuaded to make a statement. It was only then that I realized that they hadn't the faintest idea who the other man was. They asked questions and made up a statement from it, bit by bit. I was a fool to sign it. I told my defending counsel about this but he never mentioned it in Court. If I knew what I know now, I'd have realized the police had nothing to go on until I let the cat out of the bag and got a lot of other people into trouble as well. (HC 15. Buggery. Four years.)

It all came out when this other chap was arrested and he told the police that I'd been visiting him. I made the mistake of admitting it. I thought if I pleaded guilty, I'd get it all over quietly. (HC 35. Gross indecency. 12 months.)

We sucked each other off and then the next thing I know he was trying to choke me. I went out for the count. When I woke up, he was standing over me fully dressed and then helped take me to the hospital. I was in a terrible mess. My jaw was smashed. I think he must have stamped on my face. I was in hospital for two months. I had to have an operation on my face. The police kept coming to see me, asking who'd done it. They even came to the rest-home where I went next. Just about then another man was caught and at the police station he admitted having sex with me. I gave in then and told them everything. (HC 6. Buggery. Four years.)

I don't know how they found out. I was picked up one day and I told them everything I'd done in the last four years (i.e. since his first homosexual experience at the age of 20). (HC 12. Buggery. Five years.)

The seventh man, who was a teacher, felt sure that an ex-partner had reported him to the police. They had lived together for three years and then, after a violent quarrel, they had parted. A few months after this the police interviewed him:

Although the police immediately assumed that I had interfered with the boys and questioned many of them, there was not the slightest truth in it.

He told the police he was only interested in adult males and made a statement. (HC 4. Gross indecency. Two years.)

The eighth man was caught in one of the chain reactions that are started by one man incriminating several others, who in turn incriminate still more men. This man also made a statement and gave the names of his partners. (HC 39. Buggery. Five years.)

All eight men made statements and pleaded guilty. It is also interesting to note that six of the eight were charged with buggery. This may be because when a homosexual act is committed in private, it is usually possible for buggery to take place, if both men agree to this, whereas in a public place this may be impossible. Another possible explanation, however, is that once a man has agreed to make a statement, he can be led on to admit buggery without being aware that this is regarded as a much more serious crime and subject to far severer penalties. Seven of the 14 men who were serving sentences of over two years had committed homosexual acts in private, whereas only four of the 16 men who committed homosexual acts in public were serving sentences of over two years. Most people would regard a homosexual act in public as the more objectionable offence, but only those with previous convictions were serving long sentences. First offenders for this offence received shorter sentences than men whose first offence was in private with another consenting adult.

C. TREATMENT

Only one of the 50 HC was receiving psychiatric treatment in prison. In all, seven of this group had received treatment at some period of their lives; two had sought psychiatric help as out-patients after their first arrest for a homosexual offence; three had been in-patients at mental hospitals for reasons not directly connected with their homosexuality, and one other sought out-patient treatment for non-sexual reasons. Two of the seven had been treated for less than three months, three for less than a year, two for over a year, while the one man at present under treatment in prison had only been attending for a few weeks and seemed unlikely to continue for long.

I've been seeing the psychiatrist here, but I don't feel at ease with him. There are a lot of things I don't tell him. (HC 1).

It is typical of this group that none of them sought treatment before their first arrest, and yet a large number demanded psychiatric aid after their first conviction for a homosexual offence. The case records of this group are full of complaints about the lack of facilities for psychiatric treatment in prison.

I told the doctor when I was first sent to prison that the Judge said: 'I'm going to send you to prison, not Borstal, because in prison you'll get proper treatment.' The doctor said: 'The Judge wasn't speaking to you. He was speaking to the general public.' (HC 33)

I've asked many times for treatment but they don't take a bit of notice. (HC 46)

I'm not like most homosexuals. I don't go the full extent. I've never done it and I don't want to. That's why I'd like to have some treatment. (HC 21)

I saw the prison psychologist but he said he couldn't do anything for me. (HC 41)

It may be difficult to view these complaints with sympathy when it is clear that none of these men made the effort to seek treatment before they got into trouble. But it should be remembered that it is not easy to arrange for psychiatric help under the National Health scheme, and any other method would be far too expensive for most of these men. First of all the man has got to take the decision to ask for help. Many of them find it extremely difficult to make the first move. Even when he has got as far as arranging for regular visits to a psychiatrist, it may be difficult or embarrassing to get permission to do this during working hours, and there is a limit to the number of people a psychiatrist can take for evening sessions.

Then the moment comes when he is arrested, and suddenly he is ready and anxious for psychiatric treatment. It is a mistake to disregard this sudden change of heart, for it is an opportunity that should not be missed. Most psychiatrists would agree that the prognosis is poor for a homosexual who is quite content with his condition, and this is precisely the state of mind of most of these men before they run against the law. It is the weeks and months immediately following their arrest when for the first time many of them become aware of the social consequences of their deviation and actively wish to rid themselves of their homosexual tendencies. This is the golden opportunity, the chance to help and treat these men who would not otherwise be interested in the offer of psychiatric assistance.

It is a pity that more cannot be made of this opportunity. For the man who is fined, or put on probation, or discharged on condition he receives treatment, there is some hope that the chance will not be missed. But for the man who is sent to prison, it is most unlikely that he will receive treatment despite assurances from the magistrate or the judge.

The prison psychiatrist is put in an impossible situation. He must know that he cannot see all those who ask for treatment. With the limited time at his disposal, he decides to select those men who are most likely to benefit from treatment. Most people would agree that this decision is the only possible one in the circumstances. But where does it leave the other men who have not been selected for treatment?

It would be possible to tell them that they cannot have treatment in prison because in the opinion of the psychiatrist it would not do them much good. A few of the prisoners in this group have been told as much, and not surprisingly it produces a feeling either of despair or cynicism; it is easy for the homosexual to tell himself that he cannot be helped, he cannot be blamed and therefore has a right to continue with his homosexual activities.

More often the prisoner is not told anything. His request for treatment is passed to the authorities and this is the last he hears about it. Sometimes a man may be seen briefly by the psychiatrist. In this group 10 of the men had an interview with a psychiatrist, or a doctor or a psychologist (they were not always sure if this interview was connected with their request for treatment). Others do not have even a preliminary interview, but are turned down on the basis of their record because, for example, they are too old or unintelligent or have too many previous convictions. Whatever the reason, there is no doubt that these decisions cause much resentment and the men leave prison convinced that they are either beyond help, or that no one cares.

This is an unfortunate state of affairs although it would be a mistake to make too much of it. In the present state of psychological knowledge there is little doubt that there are some men who cannot be helped. It can also be argued that there are others who will derive so little benefit from a course of treatment that it is hardly worth the time and money – and it should be remembered that psychiatric treatment is always costly.

I've talked to friends who've been to psychiatrists. It doesn't seem to have done them much good. And anyway when it comes right down to it – I don't think I want to be cured. (HC 47)

I've seen three doctors, not to become normal, but because I wanted to change my sex. (HC 42)

They say you've got to have a good head-piece on you before they can cure you. (HC 19)

Nevertheless, the present situation is that there are many men sent to prison who are under the impression that they have been 'promised' treatment by the judge or magistrate. And each year there are men leaving prison who are resentful and embittered about the lack of treatment facilities. In such circumstances the chance that they will give up homosexual activities is remote. Although reconviction rates for homosexual offences are not so high as for many other offences, most of the homosexuals who leave

prison go out with the determination not to get caught again, but not with the idea of giving up homosexual practices.

There are some men, however, who even after arrest and prison sentence, do not think that psychiatric treatment can help them.

One is not in a position to change. It's not a question of human frailty. Some things are possible, some things aren't. This isn't. (HC 15)

I saw a specialist once. He said there really isn't anything that can be done, which I am sure is the right answer. (HC 22)

The doctor sent me to a psycho, but she admitted she couldn't do much for me, so I never bothered after that. (HC 30)

I don't see the sense in treatment. A friend of mine had it and it didn't do him no good. (HC 36)

In the army an officer asked if I wanted treatment but I said, 'No, I'm quite happy as I am'. He said: 'But you may get into trouble', but I didn't think so then. (HC 23)

The chap I saw said the only thing he could do was give me tablets that would cut down all the sex, including sex with the wife. Well, what's the good of that? (HC 6)

These views are firmly expressed, and yet almost any variation in the prison routine is welcome. Such men may regard a weekly session with a psychiatrist simply as a waste of time. Certainly that is what many of the prison officers would think. And yet here is the chance to give some form of treatment to men who would not dream of seeking it outside prison. And it is not beyond the realms of possibility that many of them would derive some benefit from it, despite their initial hostile attitude to the idea.

But perhaps this is taking idealism too far. Obviously the first objective should be to increase the staff of the prison medical service so that those who ask for treatment, and so are at least receptive to it, shall be given the opportunity. Eventually we should try to assist those who need help even if this means that the first part of the treatment is to overcome strong psychological objections.

D. HOME BACKGROUND

Much of the literature on homosexuality has stressed the importance of the background and in particular the influence of a disrupted home or marital disturbance of the parents. Allen (1958), Henry (1950), Jonas (1944) and many others have suggested that disrupted homes may be a basic factor in the development of homosexual tendencies. Kolb and Johnson (1955) placed particular emphasis upon the parental role in promoting homosexuality. West (1959)

compared 50 homosexuals with 50 controls and concluded that a characteristic of the homosexual group was a combination of an over-intense mother and an unsatisfactory father. Bieber (1962) puts much evidence on 'the over-closeness and seductiveness' of the mothers of homosexuals and the hostility of the fathers.

In this group, before the boy was twelve, the mother had died in six cases, and the father had died in nine cases; in four other cases the parents were divorced, the boy remaining with his mother in each case.

Table 2.5 *Disrupted homes (HC group)*

Reason for disrupted home	Under 12	12-18
Mother died	6	5
Father died	9	4
Parents divorced	4	2

The number who lost their mothers is not significantly different from any of the other five groups, nor is the number of divorced parents. In the four variant groups, however, the number who lost their father in early childhood (31 out of 200) is significantly higher than the number in the non-homosexual groups (10 out of 100).

Other reasons besides death or legal separation may cause one parent to be absent for a long period. If either the mother or father was dead or absent from the home for a period of over five years between the age 0-15, the HC man is classified as coming from a disrupted home. Six of this group were brought up in institutions. Apart from these, 31 came from homes where both parents were present, three were brought up by step-mothers or aunts, and in 10 cases there was no man in the home. In this HC group 38 per cent came from disrupted homes compared with 35 per cent in the four variant groups and 24 per cent in the non-homosexual groups.

Although it is accepted by most investigators that the early home environment is particularly important in the development of homosexuality, Westwood (1960) in his study of 127 self-confessed homosexuals found that 30 per cent came from homes where both parents were present, whose parents' marital relations were average or better, who got on well with their fathers, whose mothers were not possessive, and who described their childhood as happy. Using the same process of elimination here, it is found that 16 per cent of this group appear to have enjoyed a happy, secure, unemotional home life as a child. Among homosexuals not in prison, the percentage is 28 per cent; but this will not surprise the many researchers who have

found that a common factor in a prison population is that most of the inmates come from insecure or unsatisfactory backgrounds. This suggests that some convicted homosexuals may have more in common with other prisoners than with other homosexuals.

Table 2.6 *The number of HC men with undisturbed backgrounds*

Total number in HC group	50
Number from disrupted homes	$\frac{19}{31}$
Of these 31, the marital relations of the parents were poor in 9 cases	$\frac{9}{22}$
Of these 22, the mother was reported to be possessive in 9 cases	$\frac{9}{13}$
Of these 13, the relations with the father were bad in 2 cases	$\frac{2}{11}$
Of these 11, the man's childhood was described as unhappy in 3 cases	$\frac{3}{8}$
HC men from undisturbed backgrounds	8

The HC men tended to leave their family home at an earlier age than in any other group. By the time they were seventeen, 20 (40%) had left home, compared to an average for all six groups of only 23 per cent. By the time they were twenty, 31 HC men had left home; 12 of them for reasons outside their own control, but four decided to leave home for reasons specifically connected with their homosexual condition, and 15 for other reasons. By the age of thirty, all but 12 had left home and only six were living at the parental home at the time of their arrest.

I felt I wasn't understood at home. I was always a bit effeminate, even then. So I went to the West End and started to run around with others like me. I found their company preferable. (HC 36)

Belfast is a big place, but by this time I was too well known all over the city and so I thought I'd better come to London. (HC 47)

I wanted to see the world. (HC 49)

I came to London to better myself as it was called in those days. (HC 22)

My mother tricked me into a mental hospital and once in there I couldn't get out. (HC 3)

Father made me leave because the sight of me made him sick. (HC 16)

All but eight of this group were reared in conditions which were unsatisfactory in some way. This confirms the findings of the many researches both on homosexuality and on criminal behaviour, but as will be seen in later chapters, a close study of the backgrounds of many men will often reveal indications of insecurity or deprivation.

E. CONDITIONS BEFORE PRISON SENTENCE

As all the prisons visited were in London, it is not surprising that 30 of the HC group were living in London at the time of their arrest. But only eight of the 30 who lived in London were born there; seven were born in cities or large towns, 10 in small towns and five came from rural areas. So only 27 per cent of the men who now live in London were born there. According to the 1951 census 46 per cent of the population living in the metropolitan area were born in London. This is in accord with the strong tendency for homosexuals to migrate to London. In the non-homosexual groups 58 per cent of those who lived in London were also born there, compared with 38 per cent in the four variant groups. Thus the movement towards London is more pronounced in this group than in any of the other homosexual groups.

None of the eight HC men who were born in London moved elsewhere, but 25 of the 32 men who were born outside London moved to larger communities; only two of the eight who were born in a rural area still live there. Thus it can be seen that homosexuality is essentially an urban phenomenon, with a tendency for homosexuals born in small towns and rural areas to move to London and the larger conurbations.

Only five of this group owned property of their own; before they were sent to prison, 40 lived in rented rooms, flats or hostels and six were still living with their parents. Twenty-four lived alone, 14 with their families (six of these were married with children), and 12 shared with other men (seven of the other men were homosexual).

All these men were questioned about the physical opportunities for bringing back homosexual partners to their homes. For nearly half (24) this group it was impossible, but the other half had found a place where they could have homosexual relations with friends (10) or with casual pick-ups (16). The physical opportunities to have homosexual relations with casual partners was higher than in the other homosexual groups, but the frequency of homosexual acts

in their own homes was much less than in the HO group, many of whom lived with their regular partners.

The questions about work revealed that the two prison groups contained many more unskilled or semi-skilled manual workers, and this was the only group where over half (26) were unskilled manual workers. Over half (26) were earning less than £500 a year, which was less than the national average at the time of the interview. Sixty-seven (22%) of the 300 men in all six groups were earning over £1,000 a year, but only three of these came from the HC group.

But although the men in this group are less skilled and less well paid, they seem to be as happy in their work as the other groups, and far more content than the two patient groups. Thirty of the men in the HC group expressed satisfaction with their work compared with 23 in the HP group and 19 in the NP group.

It was not possible to give much time to questions on leisure and therefore the information is not very thorough. The most that was attempted was to find out from each man if he had any particular interests that took up a lot of his spare time and a few other questions gave the research worker a general impression of his leisure time activities. Then he was placed into one of five general categories. The last of these categories was headed *Vague* and it was used when the man seemed unable to describe to the interviewer how he spent his time away from work. In this group 10 men were put in this category which is twice as high as the average (5) for all six groups. The other men were equally divided among the four remaining categories (*artistic, intellectual, outdoor, and social*), but few of them took a strong interest in any particular leisure activity.

F. EARLY EXPERIENCES

As noted in the first section of this chapter, the men in this group were less well educated than the men in the other groups. Only seven of this group attended a boarding school, whereas an average of 10 people in each of the six groups boarded at school during some period of their education.

But the extent of formal sex education received at school is not significantly less in this group. Only 56 of the 300 men received any kind of sex education at school and seven of them were in the HC group. Three men can remember receiving instruction on sexual matters from their parents. This includes one man who was instructed both by his parents and at school, so 41 received no sex education.

It was mostly 'don't do this and don't do that', but it did contain a little information. (HC 22 on sex education at school.)

We used to have lectures (on sex education), but they didn't tell me anything I didn't know. (HC 9)

The teacher did try but he was more embarrassed than we were. . . . My mother told the girls things, but not to us boys. (HC 48)

It was him (his step-father) what put me off women. He talked a lot to me about V.D. and prostitutes. Looking back, I think he got a kind of kick out of telling me, but I was only 12 and he frightened me away from girls. (HC 33)

I never got a lesson on sex in my life. (HC 15)

Until I was seventeen I thought children came out of the navel. (HC 38)

All talk about sex was absolutely prohibited. (HC 43 at a R.C. school.)

As so few had received any formal education, enquiries were made from each man as to how he found out about sexual intercourse. Most seem to find out from other boys, but so many (22) men were unable to answer this question that it is not possible to give any precise figures.

It was passed down the line as it was bound to be in a school with boys aged nine to fifteen. (HC 24)

By instinct. I just picked it up. I can't remember anyone telling me. (HC 48)

It comes natural, don't it? (HC 1)

It was even more difficult for most of the men to say how and when they first heard about homosexuality. But from the ones who could answer, it is interesting to find that some had considerable homosexual experience before they had heard about homosexuality, at any rate by that name; whereas others knew about it, or at least accepted that they found men more sexually attractive than girls, before they had ever had an overt homosexual experience.

I always knew I was different, but I didn't hear the word (homosexuality) until I was sixteen. (HC 36, whose first homosexual experience was when he was fourteen.)

I knew I was different in some way. I just didn't fit in, 'tho I didn't know about homosexuality until a long time after that. (HC 31 talking about his first homosexual experience.)

From about the age of twelve I knew I was more attracted to men than females, although I didn't do anything about it then. (HC 7)

At sixteen or seventeen I realized I was inclined to males but nothing happened until I was nineteen. (HC 49)

It had always been an attractive idea to me long before I started. (HC 37)

As many of the men were introduced to homosexual activities while they were at school, all the men were asked about the

prevalence of homosexuality at the schools they attended, even if they did not take part in such activities. In the HC group, 15 said homosexual activities were very frequent, 12 said that homosexual practices were discovered occasionally, and 23 said that none of the boys took part in homosexual activities at their schools as far as they knew. These figures are not significantly different from those found in the other groups.

He was the super athlete of the school. Everyone thought he was terrific and when he asked me to go for a walk in the woods, it was the last thing I expected. (HC 33, at the age of fourteen at a boarding school.)

It was all very secret, but a lot went on. (HC 35, at a boarding school.)

I knew it went on. Some of the boys asked me to come down to the lavatory with them, but I wouldn't do it. (HC 10, at a day school. First homosexual experience at the age of twenty-two.)

I remember a couple of men making advances to me, but I always turned them down. Sex (between boys at school) was just a giggle in those days. (HC 29 at a day school.)

We used to wank each other but I never heard of anyone having real sex (i.e. anal intercourse). (HC 36 at a day school.)

Six of the seven boys who attended boarding school reported a high rate of homosexuality, compared with nine of the 43 boys at day schools. One of the three (33%) boys who had received a better education reported a high rate of homosexuality at his schools, and 14 of the remaining 47 (29%) also made similar reports. This confirms the findings of another research (Schofield, 1965) that there is a greater chance of finding schoolboy homosexuality at boarding schools of all types, but boys who stay at school beyond fourteen or fifteen do not seem to be much more likely to take part in schoolboy homosexual activities.

It has been suggested elsewhere (Westwood, 1952) that the amount of homosexual activity at school is unlikely to be an indication of a homosexual history beyond the age of twenty-one. To test this hypothesis, each man was asked whether or not he still knew any of his schoolboy partners. If he still knew them fairly well, he was asked if he was certain they were homosexual, if he suspected it, or if he was sure they were not.

In this group 36 either no longer knew any of their sexual partners during schooldays or else did not have homosexual relations at school, but 14 replied that they were still friends with at least one of the boys who participated in homosexual activities with them. In two cases the other partner was known to be homosexual, and in the

remaining 12 cases the men felt sure that their ex-partners were not homosexual.

I should think about 50 per cent of those who were at the Children's Home with me are still queer. (HC 30)

They grow out of it. I know several lads I used to muck around with, but they're all quite normal now. (HC 39)

I know others have these experiences and shake it off, but somehow I didn't. (HC 4)

As a matter of fact my last landlord was one of my old school chums. He liked to mess about as much as I did in those days, but now he's married with three lovely kids. (HC 47)

All four of the boys who attended an Approved School or a Borstal reported extensive homosexuality at these institutions, and usually in situations associated with bullying and violence. In some Borstals there is a 'Daddy' or gang leader who is strong enough to enforce his will. A new boy entering such a Borstal is initiated, usually by receiving a beating up from some of the older boys, and sometimes this involves homosexual activities. The stories told by ex-Borstal boys put the research worker in a difficult position. It is probably not unfair to suggest that ex-Borstal boys are less truthful than most, and some of them are shrewd enough to see that a story of being forced into homosexual relations is a good excuse for later homosexual activities. The suggestion is that he cannot help being the way he is, because he was seduced when he was young. This is not only a face-saving explanation to give to the authorities when he is charged with performing some homosexual act, it also acts as a sop to his own pride; it is no good making any effort to control his homosexual impulses because he was corrupted in his youth. Such is the attitude of mind, and one can see how it produces a strong incentive to embellish a story about seduction at Borstal. Nevertheless in the opinion of this research worker, at least one of the stories has an element of truth in it.

I was threatened with being beaten up if I didn't. I refused twice and was beaten up each time. The third time I let them do it. Mind you, there must have been something there, otherwise I wouldn't have gone on doing it after the first time. I hated the violence part of it, and it's true I had no choice the first time, but I did have inclinations that way. (HC 38. First-ever homosexual experience aged seventeen in Borstal.)

All the men were asked about their very first homosexual experience. Sometimes it was difficult for them to distinguish between simple schoolboy curiosity and other forms of homosexual experience. In this group 32 people first experienced homosexual

relations before they were seventeen, and in 22 (69%) of these cases it was with another boy; in 15 cases with a boy about the same age and in seven cases with an older boy. The first homosexual experience is often the result of casual experimentation between two boys and is usually a physical reaction with very little emotion attached to it. It is little more than childhood sexual play of the kind experienced by many adolescent boys who later develop strong heterosexual interests.

Much more significant is the first experience with an adult, either when the HC man was a boy or when he himself was also an adult. Ten boys had their first experience with an adult before they were seventeen, five had their first experience with an adult when they were between seventeen and twenty, and eight more had their first experience as an adult with another man.

Table 2.7 *Age of first homosexual partner (HC group)*

Age of partner	Age at first homosexual experience					TOTAL
	Under 13	13-16	17-20	21-30	30+	
Younger	—	—	—	—	1	1
Same age	5	10	3	—	—	18
Older boy	4	3	—	—	—	7
Adult	2	8	5	4	4	23
TOTAL	11	21	8	4	5	49*

* One HC man maintained that he had never had a homosexual experience leading to orgasm.

Table 2.8 shows that in six cases the first partner was a casual pick-up, in two cases it was a family friend, and it was a teacher and a relative in the other two cases. In these 10 cases the very first partner was an adult. In a further 21 cases the HC man had at least one adult partner before he had reached the age of seventeen, although his very first experience was with another boy. In these circumstances the first experience with an adult was usually a pick-up, but in five cases it was with a family friend, in three cases with a member of the armed forces and twice with a relative and twice with a teacher.

I had intercourse with a soldier when I was fourteen. It wasn't the first time, but it was the first time with a man. I was nervous and yet excited. After that I had it whenever I got the chance. (HC 30. Started with boys when he was twelve.)

Table 2.8 *The first adult partner (HC group)*

Type of adult	First-ever experience	First adult partner	All first adults
Pick-up	6	12	18
Family friend	2	3	5
Armed Forces	—	3	3
Relative	1	1	2
Teacher	1	1	2
Workmate	—	1	1
TOTAL	10	21	31

I knew what I wanted but I didn't know how to get it. One day I was at home with my uncle and everyone else was out. I got the subject round to sex and then I asked him to do it to me. He wouldn't, and so I said I'd scream my head off if he didn't. . . . (Eventually) I persuaded him to do the full thing and it wasn't the only time. We went on doing it on and off for about six months. . . . It wasn't quite as bad as it sounds. I'm not often wrong about men and I knew he wanted to. Only he was nervous because I was so young. (HC 16, when he was fifteen.)

I don't want to give you the impression that he (a teacher at his school) was some awful type who fiddled around with half the school. There was very great affection between us, and the sex part was only a small part of the friendship. (HC 4, when fifteen.)

I met an elderly man at Southend and this was my first experience. For a long time I'd known about it and wanted it to happen, but when it did happen, I was rather disappointed. The whole thing seemed to be over-rated. (HC 7)

It has been suggested that the effects of early sexual experiences with adults has been exaggerated, and that the social effects of a homosexual relationship between a youth and an adult are more important than the sexual effects. In this group the 31 men who had early homosexual experiences with adults were asked to comment upon the subsequent influence of such an experience.

It hurt, but it was a nice sort of hurt. It had some influence. After that everything seemed to fall into place. (HC 14)

I blame my brother for all this. I'm pretty certain that is the cause of all my trouble. (HC 28 had homosexual experiences at the age of eleven when his brother was fifteen. His brother is now married with three children and 'definitely not homosexual'.)

It was just casual. Something new, but not very exciting. (HC 47)

I wasn't all that struck on it. (HC 44)

At first I wanted to find out what it was all about, but when it happened I seemed to take it for granted. As far as I can recall I seemed to like it. It seemed to please me. (HC 17)

If I hadn't started then, I would have started a bit later, wouldn't I? (HC 11)

Long before I let anyone do anything to me, I used to go out wearing my sister's make-up. (HC 42)

I'd knocked about with queers for over a year before I had my first experience. They were a bit older than me - the rent boys of Birmingham, they were. I had an idea what they were up to, but I didn't face the fact, not at first. I just liked their company. (HC 16)

It started me off because before long it was known (at the Borstal) that I did it. So naturally I got more invitations and I must say, once the violence aspect was over and now that I was not being forced into it, I enjoyed getting these invitations. And after all I was a bit effeminate even before all this happened. That is why the hard nuts picked me out when they decided to rape someone. (HC 38)

None of those who had their first adult partner after the age of twenty-one felt that this experience had any influence on them, but 12 of the 31 who had experiences with adults in their youth felt that in some way this had influenced their subsequent development. But as the quotations above indicate, few seem to harbour any resentment or indeed seem to regret the experience. For most of them it is just a useful explanation to excuse their later behaviour, and 16 others clearly stated that their early homosexual experiences had no subsequent influence on their sexual development.

G. HOMOSEXUAL EXPERIENCE BEFORE PRISON

The frequency of homosexual acts is usually periodic and depends in many cases upon the opportunities encountered. It was necessary to spend quite a long time on this question with all groups in order to get an average frequency that was more than guesswork. With other groups the man could be taken back over the previous weeks and months and by getting him to describe each sexual encounter, it was possible to obtain a fairly accurate average frequency. However, with the two prison groups this method could not be used as it was necessary to have some idea of the frequency before arrest, and in some cases this was two or more years ago. A few of them were having regular homosexual activity in prison, but these frequencies were not considered to be sufficiently typical to allow comparisons with other groups. Most of the men in prison did their best to try to remember their frequencies in the weeks before their arrest, and the

later questions on promiscuity provided a further check. It seems probable that the information on frequencies is not much less accurate in this group than in the other groups.

Only one man claimed that he was having no overt homosexual relations and this is far less than any of the other three groups. Throughout the range, the frequencies of the HC men were generally higher. Twenty-one HC men were having eight or more sexual acts in a month compared to 11 HO men, six HP men and two PC men. Only the heterosexual frequencies of the NO men approach this high rate; 17 NO men were having sexual intercourse eight or more times a month.

At the other end of the range the men who were having homosexual relations three times or less each month (including those having no overt homosexual activities) are much more numerous in the PC group (44), HP group (40) and HO group (32); about half (26) the HC men had these lower frequencies. Once again it is the heterosexual frequencies of the NO men that most nearly approach this and indeed, throughout the range, the frequencies of the two groups are remarkably similar.

Discounting the men who did not admit to any sexual experience, the percentages for these two groups are shown in Table 2.9

Table 2.9 *A comparison of HP and NO sexual frequencies*

HC Group		NO Group	
Frequency of homosexual acts per month	49 %	39 %	Frequency of sexual intercourse per month
0-1	27	17	0-1
2-3	24	33	2-3
4-7	6	6	4-7
8-11	14	17	8-11
12+	29	26	12+

Thirty-four of the 39 NO men were married and were therefore under no social restriction as regards the frequency of sexual intercourse. Thirty-seven of the 49 HC men felt free to take part in homosexual relations whenever the opportunity occurred and therefore can be said to feel free from social restriction. To a greater extent than any of the other homosexual groups, those in the HC group were less concerned about the social disapproval of homosexuality, and it is interesting to note the similarity between the

heterosexual and homosexual frequencies in the two groups which were least affected by social restraints.

A limited enquiry was made into the sexual techniques preferred by the men in the four variant groups. The pattern of behaviour is quite different in the PC group, and no useful comparisons can be made with the three homosexual groups. About one-quarter (26%) of the HC men preferred passive anal intercourse, and a similar preference was expressed by 24 per cent of the HO men and 20 per cent of the HP men. But there the similarity ends, for 34 per cent HC men preferred active anal intercourse compared with 12 per cent HO men and 8 per cent HP men; the HO men and the HP men usually preferred some technique other than anal intercourse. The large proportion of HC men who preferred to play the active part in anal intercourse fits in with the later suggestion that there are more bisexual men in this group compared with the other homosexual groups. In the HC group 11 were rated Kinsey 3 or higher compared with four in the HP group and none in the HO group.¹

It does not follow, however, that bisexuals always prefer to play the active part in anal intercourse. A dichotomic classification into active and passive is not useful and does not describe all cases. The same person may be active with one person, passive with another, and both active and passive with a third. Furthermore Chesser (1958), Bergler (1956), Glover (1957), and others have noted that a large proportion of homosexuals do not like anal intercourse. Braff (1962) writes: 'The homosexual community shows a diversified pattern of sexual practice which does not routinely permit a classification of active or passive.' People who divide homosexuals into active and passive do not always make it clear whether they are referring to the sex position adopted, or whether they are describing personality traits.

The men in this group were also asked to try to remember the number of different partners they had in the month previous to their arrest. Some were able to do this quite accurately, but for others it was difficult or impossible. However, the inaccuracies in

Table 2.10 *Number of sexual partners in the month*

Number	HC	HO	HP
None	4	15	27
One	15	20	11
2-5	20	13	9
6+	11	2	3

¹ The complete Kinsey Scale is shown on page 122.

the Table apply only to the more promiscuous men in the group.

It is difficult to make comparisons with the other homosexual groups as 15 HO men and 27 HP had no homosexual relations in the previous month. However it is clear that the HC men are the most promiscuous. Twelve HP men and 15 HO men had more than one partner in the month before their interview, but 31 HC men had more than one partner in the month before their arrest.

As the number of homosexual acts depends in many cases upon the number of opportunities which arise, each person was asked where he usually found a sexual partner. A few of them left it to chance and did not actively seek partners in any particular place. But most of them were able to state where they most often had found partners and others used to go to favourite places or streets where they had often found partners in the past.

Nearly three-quarters (36) of the HC group found their partners in public places such as public lavatories (15), bars (12) and streets (9), whereas only eight men usually found their partners within their own group (6), at homosexual parties (1) and by introduction (1). Three men did not answer this question because their homosexual activities were with one partner only and three more did not meet many homosexuals or had very few homosexual experiences. In the other two homosexual groups an even larger number did not answer this question for the same reasons. Nevertheless it is possible to make a comparison between the three groups.

Table 2.11 *The place where sexual partners were most often found*

Group	In public		In private		TOTAL	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
HC	36	82	8	18	44	100
HP	21	64	12	36	33	100
HO	14	52	13	48	27	100

Considering only those who go out to seek homosexual partners, the HC men are much more likely to go to public places. Furthermore this applies to most members of the group, whereas less of the HP and HO men seek their partners in public places and a larger number of the men in these groups do not go out looking for partners at all.

When they were asked where their homosexual activities usually took place, it was found that about half (46%) the HC men used their own homes. This is not very different to the HO group in

which 48 per cent said these activities occurred in their own home. But 12 (24%) of the HC men said they usually took place in a public lavatory; this is four times as many as there are in the HO group (6%) but not many more than in the HP group (20%).

Before they were imprisoned the men in HC group had more sex than the men in the other homosexual groups and almost as much as the men in the heterosexual control group. More of the HC men preferred active anal intercourse and this suggests their preferences as well as their frequencies were closer to the heterosexual control group than to the other homosexual groups. They were also more promiscuous than the other homosexual groups and they were more likely to find their partners in public places.

II. HETEROSEXUAL EXPERIENCE BEFORE PRISON

In the previous section it was suggested that the HC group contained more bisexuals than the other homosexual groups. Further confirmation of this is provided by the answers given to questions on heterosexual experiences. In this group 16 men said that they had felt a strong sexual attraction for girls. Only five HP men and four HO men experienced a similar attraction. More paedophiliacs (PC group) were strongly attracted to girls; 22 of them were strongly attracted to a girl at some period of their lives. The two control groups were not asked this question.

At some period of their lives, 12 HC men were having regular heterosexual intercourse compared with four HP men and three HO men. The extent of regular heterosexual intercourse is higher in the PC group (21) and, as expected, much higher in the NO group (31).

When the extent of heterosexual intercourse is confined to the previous year, the pattern changes slightly. There are still more HC men who had sexual intercourse at least once in the year before their arrest; there are 11 such HC men compared with only one in the HO group; but there are eight HP men who had at least one experience of sexual intercourse in the year before their interview. This is probably a reflection of the continued efforts of the HP men who were under psychiatric treatment to make some kind of adjustment to heterosexuality.

In all, 30 men in the HC group had experienced sexual intercourse at least once although eight of these had not had intercourse more than twice. All 30 were asked if they preferred heterosexual or homosexual relations. Ten said they preferred heterosexual intercourse, 14 preferred homosexual behaviour, and six were unable to make up their minds. Comparing these figures with the two other homosexual

groups, 19 HP men have had sexual intercourse at least once and one of them preferred heterosexual to homosexual relations; in the HO group 17 have had sexual intercourse and none of these stated a preference for heterosexual relations.

When the remaining 20 HC men who had never had sexual intercourse were asked if they thought they would develop heterosexual interests at a later date, only two felt they would and three more were unsure. None of the eight men whose experience was limited to sexual intercourse on one or two occasions only felt they would develop heterosexual interests.

Six of this group were married and living with their wives. Three of them were still having regular sexual intercourse with their wives. Three men were separated from their wives and another three were divorced; two of the 12 men who had been married admitted extramarital relations during the period they were living with their wives. The 38 unmarried men were asked if they intended to get married. Only seven of them could see this as a possibility, three hoped to get married soon and four eventually; only two of these men were under thirty. Although it might be thought that unmarried men under thirty are more likely than the older ones to express a wish to get married, in fact 18 of the 20 men under thirty said they had no intention of getting married.

Although this group contains 22 men who had experienced sexual intercourse on more than two occasions, it is clear that few of these men are capable of settling down to a stable heterosexual relationship with one partner. Only six of these men are living with their wives compared with 34 in the NO group and 17 in the PC group.

When all the heterosexual and homosexual history was taken into account, it became possible to rate each man on the Kinsey Scale. None of the HC men were rated Kinsey 0 (exclusively heterosexual), but eight men were considered to be more heterosexual than homosexual (Kinsey 1 and 2); only two HP men were so rated and no HO men were thought to be more heterosexual than homosexual. Thus, more men in the HC group came into the top half of the Kinsey Scale than in either of the other two homosexual groups, but they are still a small proportion of the whole group. In fact nearly three-quarters (37) of the group were considered to be more homosexual than heterosexual (Kinsey 4-6) and almost a half (23) were rated as exclusively homosexual (Kinsey 6).

A summary of the results obtained from the HC group is given at the end of the next chapter when a direct comparison is made with the other prison group.