

Sociological Aspects of Homosexuality

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THREE TYPES OF HOMOSEXUALS

MICHAEL SCHOFIELD



LONGMANS

6 HO GROUP (HOMOSEXUALS/OTHERS)

A. DESCRIPTION OF THE GROUP

This group consists of 50 self-confessed homosexuals, none of whom have sought psychiatric treatment or have been convicted for a homosexual offence. None of these men had been convicted of non-sexual offences apart from motoring offences.

The method used to obtain this group is described in Section B of the Appendix. All these men had volunteered to help in a previous research (Westwood, 1960). When they were interviewed this time, they were asked a few new questions, but most of the questions were similar to those asked two or three years earlier. In none of the 50 cases were inconsistencies found between their earlier answers and their replies at the later interview. This is an indication of a high level of reliability in the responses.

Most of the men in this group were under forty, and 16 of them were under thirty. It was a well-educated group; all but 19 had received some form of education beyond the statutory minimum age and 10 had received full-time education beyond the age of eighteen.

The HO men did very well in the Verbal Reasoning Test. Of the 84 men who came in the top three classes, 27 were in the HO group. If all six groups were equally represented in the top three classes, the expected number per group would be 14. Only three HO men were among the 89 men in the lowest three classes. The expected number is 15. The HO men scored much higher in this test than the other homosexuals, and were above the average for all groups.

Most (39) of this group lived in London, but 27 of them were born elsewhere. Of the 24 men born in small towns or village communities, 21 have now moved to London or other large urban centres.

The HO group contained fewer married men than any other group. Only four (8%) had been married and three (6%) were now divorced or separated from their wives. In the other homosexual groups 20 (20%) had been married at one period of their lives and 13 (13%) were still living with their wives. In the PC group 28 (56%) had been married and 17 (34%) were still with their wives.

Although there were nine HO men who said they regularly went to church, most of this group seemed to be less interested in religion than the men in the other variant groups. The figures for church attendance in the HO group are much more like those in the non-homosexual groups. In Table 6.1 the percentages are given for the HO group, the two non-homosexual groups, and the three other

groups. It can be seen that over half the other three variant groups go to church at least once a year, whereas less than a third of the HO group, or the non-homosexual groups ever go to church.

Table 6.1 *Church attendance in the six groups*

Frequency of attendance	HO	NO + NP	HC + PC + HP
	%	%	%
Regularly	18	12	20
Sometimes	8	6	15
Hardly ever	10	18	20
Never	64	64	45
No. (100%)	50	100	150

The social class, rated by the father's occupation, was slightly higher than the average for all six groups. The fathers of 26 HO men had been in supervisory jobs; 18 fathers were in semi-skilled or unskilled manual jobs. There were more non-manual workers among the fathers of this group than in any other group; the 30 in the HO group compares with an average of 19 over all six groups, and an average of 25 when the two prison groups are excluded.

Their own occupations tended to be higher up the social scale than their fathers'. In the HO group 36 men had supervisory jobs compared with an average of 19 in all six groups. There were eight HO men in semi-skilled or unskilled manual work compared with an average of 21 in all six groups. Furthermore the HO men seemed to know how to make money. Ten of them were earning over £2,000 a year and only five other men (out of 250) had incomes as high as this. In the HO group there were 20 men making over £1,000 a year and only the NO group has more men who are paid as much. The HO men were paid far more than either of the other homosexual groups, far more than either of the patient groups, and still more than either of the prison groups. There is little doubt that the community sets a high economic value on the work of some homosexuals.

By using the Hall Jones Scale for rating their own occupation and the occupation of their fathers, it is possible to get some indication of social mobility within the six groups. Table 6.2 shows that there is considerable movement up and down the scale in all groups, with a general tendency for the son to be higher up the scale than the father as machines replace men doing routine manual work. But

there are also differences between the groups. The HO and NO men are more likely to move up, while the HC and NP men are more likely to move down; in the HP group there seems to be movement in both directions, and there are similar indications in the PC group, but a trend may be masked in this group by the large number of men who did not know their father's occupation. Comparing the three homosexual groups with the two non-homosexual groups, there is practically no difference in social mobility.

Table 6.2 *Movement up and down the social scale in the six groups*

Movement up or down social scale	HO	NO	HP	NP	HC	PC
Number who have moved UP the social scale	24	21	18	12	8	12
Number who have remained on the same level	19	16	14	12	17	14
Number who have moved DOWN the social scale	7	12	13	21	19	11
Number whose father's occupation is unknown	—	1	4	5	4	13
Number whose own occupation is unknown	—	—	1	—	2	—

Henry and Gross (1938) state that homosexuals always descend the social scale, but they were studying only underprivileged case histories. The HC group which is similar in character to their group would seem to confirm their statement, as only eight went up the scale and 19 went down. But if the other two homosexual groups are compared with their respective control groups, a quite different picture emerges. Taking the NO and NP groups together, it is found that 33 went up and 33 went down; but in the HO and HP groups 42 ascended and 20 descended the social scale. This suggests that social mobility among homosexuals is just as likely to be upwards as downwards.

Young (1941), Terman and Miles (1936) and many others have suggested that homosexuals are more likely to be found in non-manual occupations. Table 6.3 has been constructed by classifying as manual or non-manual all the occupations of both the father and the son, and recording where there is a change one way or the other.

Table 6.3 shows the overall trend from manual to non-manual jobs in all groups. It also shows that the homosexuals are more likely to change to non-manual jobs than the others, although this trend is not very pronounced. These two tables on social mobility have

shown that there is little difference between homosexual and non-homosexual groups.

Table 6.3 *Movement between manual and non-manual jobs in the six groups*

Occupation of father and son	HO	NO	HP	NP	HC	PC
Father manual, son non-manual	13	9	12	7	7	6
Father non-manual, son manual	2	6	2	4	4	—
No change	35	34	31	34	33	31
NK	—	1	5	5	6	13

B. HOME BACKGROUND

In the HO group 26 per cent came from disrupted homes compared with 39 per cent in the three other variant groups (HC, PC and HP), and 24 per cent in the two control groups (NO and NP). This suggests that an unsatisfactory background is not always a part of the homosexual's history. In the HO group the most usual cause of disruption was the death or absence of the father; 10 HO men were brought up in circumstances where there was no man in the home and two had step-fathers. In six cases the father had died before the HO man was twelve years old.

Another 16 (32%) of the men in the HO group said that they did not get on well with their fathers; this compares with 41 per cent in the three other variant groups and 20 per cent in the two control groups who reported poor relations with their fathers.

He was a testy, two-faced man. (HP 13)

He was always a bit jealous of me and the attention I got from my mother. (HC 35)

I always had a lot of respect for him and I could never understand why all the things he said to me turned out to be quite wrong. (HP 9)

I was hardly aware of my father until I was about six. He was a very busy man and hardly ever there. He had a will of iron and we didn't get on very well together. I used to contradict him whatever he said. (HP 18)

The last quotation brings out the point that the father may have very little influence on the child although he is present in the home. He may have little interest in the upbringing of his children, or he may be the weaker partner in the marriage. When they were asked who they thought was the more dominant of their parents, 33 HO men chose their mother. The mother was chosen more often than the father in five of the six groups but in no other group did more than half think the mother the dominant partner of the marriage. It

would be a mistake to place too much emphasis on these results as the men are being asked to judge a question of dominance without being able to compare it with other homes. But some of the remarks show clearly that the father was a weak or inadequate personality.

He was always the sleeping partner in the marriage. He never encouraged me in any way. We had nothing in common. (HP 40)

He never said anything to me. He took no interest in me at all, or in anything else much. Home was a place to eat and sleep. He never did anything else there. (HO 42)

The trouble was that so much emphasis was put on his business. He was not interested in human relationships except those that affected his business. He was often away and did not have much influence on me. (HP 23)

Dad was an invalid. Mum went to work and Dad did the dinner and all the washing. He practically brought me up. (HC 44)

The number of homes where the relations with the father were poor or non-existent (because the father was dead or absent) is always higher in the homosexual groups than in the non-homosexual groups, but this difference is less pronounced in the HO group, and indeed the difference between this group and the non-homosexual patient group is very small in this respect.

The homosexuals were more likely to think that their mothers were possessive or over-protective when they were children. Only 16 per cent of the men in the two control groups thought this about their mothers compared with 45 per cent in the three homosexual groups.

I was spoilt like an only child because my brothers were so much older than me. (HC 41)

I was treated quite different from the others. When they had to go out, I had to stop and stay with my mother. I always slept in the same bed as my mother. I was shy as a child and my mother felt she ought to protect me. My brothers and sisters were sent out potato picking, but I never was. (HP 19)

Yes, she was possessive, although not ruthlessly. I was completely under her influence, but then I think I was the kind of child who could easily be possessed. (HP 18)

She never let us go out and play with the other kids. Her standards of cleanliness and tidiness were very high. She was a very domineering woman and she looked down on the other children in the neighbourhood. (HP 11)

She was very keen that I should have nice manners and be polite. Not to drop my 'hs' and things like that, but I don't think she was possessive. (HC 1)

A little bit protective but it didn't come off because I was rebellious. (NP 20)

She sent me away to camps and things like that and generally encouraged me to stand on my own two feet. (NO 48)

In the HO group 10 men were reared as the only child (average for all six groups = 11.2); 20 others were reared as the youngest child in the family (average = 15.2); 15 had sisters but were the only son in the family (average = 9.3). Although the HO men are more likely to be the youngest child or the only son or both, this tendency is not noticeable in the other homosexual groups. Nor are there any indications that a homosexual is likely to be the only child of his parents.

G. CONDITIONS AT THE TIME OF THE INTERVIEW

All but one of the HO group had left the parental home at the time of the interview. Over half (27) had left before the age of twenty, and 45 had left before the age of thirty. When they were asked why they had left home, 21 gave reasons which were outside their own control, but 28 decided to leave home of their own accord, including nine who said that their homosexual condition was the main reason.

In this group 18 lived alone, six with relatives or non-homosexual friends, but 26 shared accommodation with a homosexual friend. This is the only group where a substantial number of homosexuals had set up house with other homosexuals. This is partly because more men in this group have accepted their homosexual condition, and partly because more of these men had affairs (see Section E of this chapter). It does not always follow that when one homosexual shares a flat with another they will automatically have sexual relations together, but obviously it is a possibility if not a probability.

Seven of the HO group lived in their own property and 19 lived in premises where the landlord was not present. In 23 cases the landlord was on the premises, but in 10 of these cases the landlord himself was homosexual. This is the only group where it is a not uncommon feature for a man to live in a house owned by another homosexual, and is another indication of the degree of adjustment to their condition by these men. A man living in a house owned by another homosexual is almost certainly moving in a social circle dominated by homosexuals.

When each man was asked if he could bring a sexual partner to his room, only eight said this was quite impossible; one of these was living with his wife. As already noted 26 were sharing with another homosexual, and the other 16 were able to bring in pick-up or casual partners. Thus 42 (84%) had so arranged their lives that

homosexual activities in their home was a possibility. None of the other groups approached this figure; only 27 HC men, 19 HP men and 24 PC men could have their male sexual partners in their home, and in only 26 of these 70 cases were they able to bring in pick-up or casual partners.

In the first section of this chapter it was noted that the men in the HO group earned higher salaries and were given higher socio-economic ratings than the men in the other five groups. They were also more likely to enjoy their work and more often had good relations with both employer and workmates. Table 6.4 shows that their level of work contentment was higher than any of the other three variant groups, far higher than the NP group, and only the NO group approached the HO figures.

Table 6.4 *Work contentment in the six groups*

Work contentment	HO	NO	HC	PC	HP	NP
Very happy in his work	23	16	11	13	8	10
Good relations with employer	46	39	33	35	25	23
Good relations with employees	38	34	29	33	23	18

I enjoy teaching and, although it is poorly paid, I do not need the extra income as a family man with children probably would. (HO 9)

I like helping people and as I'm sort of domesticated, a job at a hospital suits me just right. (HO 46)

There's one man who has got it in for me. He knew at once I was gay and made some very humiliating remarks. It hasn't helped me in this job. Personally I'm a bit suspicious about him. It takes one to know one, I always say. (HO 40)

The extraordinary thing is that people do know without quite admitting it to themselves. The people at work are always pulling my leg, but their attitude would be different if they really knew. If I was arrested or something like that. (HO 6)

The first section of this chapter noted a slight tendency for homosexuals to turn to non-manual work, but the preference for artistic work noted by some writers (Henry, 1950; Campbell, 1945) is not apparent among the 150 homosexuals interviewed in this research. Only 11 had occupations that could be described as artistic. All the men in the three homosexual groups were asked if being homosexual had influenced them in the choice of their careers. In most cases the choice had already been made before they had accepted their homosexual condition. But seven HO men, 15 HC and 15 HP men did

say that their homosexuality had influenced their work situation in some way.

It's through what I am that I've lost so many jobs. I don't know what it is, but I always seem to give myself away. (HC 28)

I chose to be a ballet dancer very early. One has to if one is going to be any good. You know many people say ballet dancers are always homosexual. Well, the best dancers start going to dancing school when they are six or seven. You can hardly call them homosexuals at that age. (HP 8)

It makes a difference to my work. For example I've been expecting a telephone call from a man this week, but he hasn't rung up and I've been so disappointed, I've hardly done any work this week. (HP 21)

It has also been suggested (Jefferiss, 1956) that homosexuals tend to congregate within an industry, or in a particular firm. But the wide range of occupations found in this research suggests that this is not the case. Some of the men made it clear that they would prefer to keep their sex life quite apart from their work.

I think the manager may be queer. He's quite camp in his clothes. But I wouldn't like him to know about me. (HO 31)

My chairman is queer and one time when travelling together he made a pass at me. I didn't want to get mixed up with him, yet I thought he would resent it if I refused. Nothing happened and the incident has never been mentioned again, thank God. (HO 36)

If I knew a man was homosexual, I wouldn't engage him. But there are several homosexuals working here whom I have engaged because I didn't know at the time. They are all good workers and I wouldn't think of dismissing them. But if they are so obvious that I can spot it at the first interview, then I don't want the complications. (HO 12)

The appearance of the men in the HO group did not seem to vary at all from the other 250 men who were interviewed. On the six-point Robust/Delicate Scale 114 men were placed in the two categories at the robust end of the scale; 19 of these were HO men and the average per group is 19. In the two categories at the delicate end of this scale there are 12 HO men and the average per group is 12. On the Masculine/Feminine Scale 29 HO men are at the masculine end of the scale and this compares with an average of 27 per group. Five HO men are at the feminine end of this scale and this compares with an average of 7 per group. It is clear, therefore, that the appearance of the HO men is not noticeably different in any way. Those who claim that they can recognize a homosexual instantly must be using some other clue besides appearance. More probably their claim means that they have no difficulty in recognizing some

At the engineering firm (when he was fifteen) I used to be sent to the stores. The storeman once told me to get up the ladder and while up there he started feeling me. I told him to stop but when I came down I followed him into a small private room and we had a wank. A bit later I told some of my mates about it and they just laughed and said Fred did that to all the boys. He was a standing joke. They used to say, 'Are you feeling randy? You'd better go and see Fred.' I went several times during the time I worked there. (HO 5)

I met a man on a train (when he was twelve) and he asked me to come with him to the toilet on the station. I didn't like it and I was very frightened when I got home. I felt sure my mother would be able to see what I'd been doing. (HO 23 had no further experiences until sixteen when he had homosexual relations with a boy of the same age.)

When I was sixteen I met a man in a park. He said he was about twenty-seven. We went behind some bushes and he started to suck me off, but I got frightened and ran away. . . . I only had two more men after that until I joined the navy, then I had plenty. (HO 36)

Three-quarters of the group had started homosexual practices before the age of seventeen. These activities were most often with boys of the same age. Only a small proportion (16 per cent of the whole group) had a homosexual initiation by an adult.

E. HOMOSEXUAL EXPERIENCE

Ten men in the HO group claimed that they had not had overt homosexual relations in the last year. The other men were having homosexual experiences less frequently than the HC men, but more often than the HP and PC men (see Section G of Chapter 4). There were more HO men in the middle range of frequencies than in the other groups.

Once or twice a week. That's enough. If one overdoes it, one doesn't enjoy it so much - like everything else. (HO 11)

With just the right amount of sex I feel relaxed and I'm a much pleasanter person. (HO 4)

When the HO men were asked which sexual technique they preferred, only 18 stated a preference for anal intercourse; six of these preferred to be active and 12 passive. The largest proportion of men in this group stated a preference for a technique that is best described as genital apposition. This is a preference for a situation where orgasm is produced, not by manual stimulation of the genitalia, but by the close proximity of the whole body. Many homosexuals sleep nude with their partners without ever having anal intercourse. This may happen because both men wish to play the

active part, or because one of the men has aesthetic or cultural objections to anal intercourse. Others dislike anal intercourse because it usually involves rear entrance and therefore means that the passive partner must turn away and lie face down while the active partner is above or to the rear.

Those who dislike anal intercourse will choose mutual masturbation if their main interest is physical satisfaction as in the PC group, but will choose genital apposition if they are more interested in some kind of emotional relationship as in the HO group. In the three homosexual groups 41 (27%) stated a preference for genital apposition and in the HO group alone 21 (42%) preferred this technique. Anal intercourse was the stated preference of 62 (41%) men in the three homosexual groups, of whom 18 (36%) were in the HO group.

All the men in the three homosexual groups were asked to describe their ideal sexual partner, and then were asked if they ever attempted to persuade men who are normally heterosexual to take part in homosexual activities with them. Nearly a quarter (24%) of the HC men seek non-homosexuals as partners, but this was rare among the HP men (10%) and the HO men (8%); the HP men sometimes expressed an interest in non-homosexuals but did not actively proselytise like the HC men.

This is part of the problem that worries many people, some of whom seem to regard homosexuality as a kind of infectious disease. But the explanation is not as sinister as some people fear and has been put quite simply (Schofield, 1964). Homosexuals are sexually attracted to men, not women, not imitation women and not effeminate puffs. When they were asked to describe their ideal sexual partner, nearly all of them emphasized physical attributes that were essentially masculine. It is therefore not surprising that some homosexuals will try to tempt other men.

The reason why so few homosexuals are interested in non-homosexuals is because most of them hope to find a permanent relationship with another homosexual. There is no doubt that a homosexual can experience a very strong emotional attachment to another man. This intense feeling has many of the same observable features as one found in the love of a man for a woman. Many people are surprised to learn that most homosexuals seek companionship and community of interest as well as sexual satisfaction. Some homosexuals do develop relationships as loyal and as closely knit as the best kind of marriage, but they do so in the face of enormous obstacles. There are none of the factors which stabilize conventional marriage and all the social pressures tend to lead to the break-up of these friendships.

All the homosexuals were asked about these emotional attachments and persuaded to describe their *affairs* past and present. For the purposes of this research an *affair* is defined as a strong emotional friendship between two men which has lasted for over a year.

These affairs were common in the HO group, but in the other two homosexual groups they were less likely to occur. Half (25) the HO men had current affairs and another 13 had had affairs which had now come to an end. Thus only 12 HO men had never enjoyed some kind of lasting emotional friendship with another man; but 26 HC men and 35 HP men had never had such a relationship.

It is unlikely that a man will admit, even to himself, that he has fallen in love with another man until he has got to the stage of accepting his homosexual condition. This is probably why so few men in the HP group have had an affair, although it is remarkable that eight HP men who are at present undergoing treatment also have a current affair. Few of the HC men had any difficulty in accepting their homosexual condition and it is unlikely that they felt any reluctance before embarking on a love affair with another man. But it is probable that many of these men are unable to sustain a long emotional relationship with either a man or a woman. Table 6.5 shows that the affairs of the men in the HC group were more likely to break down than in the other groups. Furthermore many other HC men described strong emotional relationships which had broken up, often violently, in less than a year and so do not qualify for inclusion in this table.

But 16 of the HO men have affairs which have been going on for more than five years, and eight of these have continued for over 10 years. The two past affairs which lasted over five years came to an end through circumstances beyond the control of the two HO men; in one case the partner died, and in the other the man accepted a position overseas.

Table 6.5 *Duration of the longest past or present affairs in the homosexual groups*

Duration of affairs	HO	HC	HP
Present affairs	25	7	8
1-5 years	9	5	6
5 years	16	2	2
Past affairs	13	17	7
1-5 years	11	13	4
5 years	2	4	3
None	12	26	35

Some of the HO men believed that the affectionate side of an affair was more important than the sexual part. It is a mistake to assume that all homosexual affairs are based upon physical gratification. Some of them went so far as to say that if they had to choose between love and sex, they would choose the former.

When I fall for a person, to begin with I don't want sex. I have it, of course; but I'd be quite content to simply be there with him. (HO 12)

If I was in love with a person, I wouldn't care if he had no sexual organs. (HO 16)

But others resented the suggestion made by some churchmen that love between two men may be permissible as long as the relationship is not sexual.

You can't have love without sex. Sex is an expression of love. (HO 15)

Perhaps sex is not the major part, but it is important. I value the love and affection I get from Paul, but I would not want to do without sex entirely. (HO 44)

The 37 men in the three homosexual groups who had had affairs in the past were asked why they had come to an end. In nine (24%) of the 37 cases the partner had died, or left the country, or been sent to prison. In 12 (32%) other cases the men gave answers that signified that the social pressures had been too great. The burden of concealment from employers, relatives or friends provoked anxiety and frustration until one or other of the partners felt they would be happier apart than together.

It's almost impossible for me to live with another man. Parents, my job, public opinion – it's impossible. (HO 1)

I'm frightened of the publicity. People would soon start to talk. (HO 4)

I've always wanted to have an affair but somehow it has always petered out. . . . I know there are happy and successful affairs between two men but I don't think it would work for me. (HO 38)

They say that love is blind. It was months before I realized how effeminate he was. But in the end it got on my nerves the way other people always looked at him, so I told him we couldn't go on. This is the only time I've dropped someone. They usually drop me. (HO 2)

In the remaining 16 (43%) of the cases the cause of the breakdown was sexual in the sense that infidelity by one partner led to quarrels and jealousy.

The affair came to an end when a friend asked me to befriend a boy who'd just come to Newcastle. He was lonely and like a fool I encouraged him to come round and see us. Then I discovered he'd been coming round

when I wasn't there. When I taxed Richard with this, there was a big row and he knocked me about a bit. We tried to patch it up, but it was never the same. (HO 33)

It's hard to understand how it happened. We spent every moment together and there were no signs of a break-up. Then suddenly he brings this other person back and they stayed the whole night together. From then on things just broke up. (HO 8)

He started going with others. The trouble is I like the glamorous type and it's hard to tie them down for long. I've started on five affairs but I'm not going to have any more. I'm too possessive. (HC 1)

He fell for someone else – not by any means the first time. But this time it rather suited my books to leave him. Yet in a way I was hurt and sorry to go. (HO 3)

Sex burns itself out. (HO 13)

Kinsey (1948) writes: 'Long-time relationships between two males are notably few. Long-time relationships in the heterosexual would probably be less frequent than they are, if there were no social custom or legal restraints to enforce continued relationships in marriage. But without such outside pressures to preserve homosexual relations, and with personal and social conflicts continually disturbing them, relationships between two males rarely survive the first disagreements.'

Cory (1951) believes that the predatory instincts of the male make an alliance between two men more likely to break down for sexual reasons and he quotes Kinsey to support his argument: 'The human female is much less interested (than the male) in a variety of partners. This is true of her pre-marital and extra-marital histories and, again, it is strikingly true in her homosexual relations.' Cory argues that when the naturally promiscuous male meets the naturally discriminating female, she acts as a restraining factor, but when the naturally promiscuous male meets another male, the restraints are few. Other writers (Liddicoat, 1961; Parr, 1958) have noted that female homosexual relationships are much more stable than male homosexual relationships. This seems to suggest that the low success rate of male homosexual affairs may be due to some masculine personality feature, rather than a flaw in the homosexual personality as some writers (Greenspan and Campbell, 1945; Henry and Gross, 1938) have suggested.

Even so it is remarkable that three-quarters (76%) of the HO group have had affairs at some period of their lives, and half (50%) of them still continue. Since a third (32%) of this group is under thirty, it is possible that more of the younger HO men will find partners with whom they can establish a rewarding and long-lived

homosexual friendship. The number of men with successful affairs in this group is higher than the figures given in most of the literature on this subject. The reason for this difference is that the men with successful homosexual affairs do not often come into conflict with the law, do not often seek psychiatric aid, and do not often visit the homosexual coterie because they find enough satisfaction and contentment in a secure home life.

F. HETEROSEXUAL EXPERIENCE

All the men in the four variant groups were asked if they had ever felt a strong sexual attraction for a girl. In the PC group, which has few of the characteristics of the homosexual groups, 21 men reported a strong sexual attraction and 11 more said they had felt some sexual interest in a girl at least once in their lives. In Section H of Chapter 2 it has been noted that the HC group contained more bisexuals than the other two homosexual groups, and this is reflected in their answers to this question; 16 HC men reported a strong sexual attraction and a further eight said they had felt some sexual interest in a girl at some period of their lives.

But the figures for the other two homosexual groups are much lower. Only four HO men and five HP men had ever experienced a strong sexual attraction for a girl. The number of men who declared that they had never taken any sexual interest in a girl is high in all four variant groups, and particularly high in the HO group. In fact 18 PC men, 26 HC men, 26 HP men and 32 HO men had never been attracted by the opposite sex.

The girl who proposed to me was such a wonderful girl that I realized that if I was not attracted to her I would never be attracted to anyone. (HC 43)

I'm minutely attracted to some girls. But the girls who attract me look like boys - the young, short hair type. (HP 11)

I've always been scared of them, except the married ones. The trouble is that I'm always being taken for a ladies' man. It's because I'm quiet and domesticated. If a woman is bringing in the coal, I'll always get up and help her. (HO 6)

I think I can truthfully say that I've never really been attracted to a girl. When I was eighteen I thought I was attracted to my cousin, but I'm not sure I just wasn't trying to take my mind off men. (HP 22)

I find women are getting harder and harder to bear. (HO 25)

As the last quotation makes clear, some men are clearly uncomfortable in the presence of women. But many more of these men seek

and enjoy the company of girls as long as they are not expected to show a sexual interest in them.

None of my women friends are possible candidates for marriage. I don't usually meet single women. But I enjoy mixed company. It has an element which is sadly lacking in male company. (HO 34)

Some of the nurses were Lesbians, and I got on fine with them as long as they were true Lesbians. (HC 30)

I enjoy the company of women except when they try to get me into a sexual situation. For example we had a staff dinner and then six of us went on to a club. All drifted away but one who suggested going to a coffee bar near where I live. I knew she wanted me to ask her back to my room. I don't like being put in a position like that. (HO 3)

It was noticeable how many homosexuals mention close friendships with older women.

I like the motherly sort. Some women like us queers for company. But not for sex. Of course there are others that try to make us. They like to think they've had a virgin boy. (HC 16)

I find I'm reserved with women of my own age and younger. I get on with older women much better. (HO 14)

I have difficulty with elderly spinsters who occasionally fall for me. But that is not a homosexual problem. Most vicars have to deal with a similar sort of problem, even the married ones. (HO 15)

Only three HO men and four HP men ever had a period of their lives when they were having regular heterosexual intercourse. The heterosexual frequencies of these two groups are much lower than those of the other groups, including the HC group. In fact 33 HO men and 31 HP men had never experienced sexual intercourse compared with 20 HC men and 14 PC men who had no heterosexual experience. Seven NO men and seven NP men had never had sexual intercourse.

If ever I am with a girl and she expects it, I pretend to be drunk and pass out. (HO 23)

It's not very likely to happen. If I get drunk at a party I suppose it could happen, but I can't see myself laying siege to a woman's virtue. (HO 28)

I think a naked woman is a most ugly sight. Horrible. (HC 30)

I had a landlady who wanted to seduce me. Once she got me in her room and plied me with drink. She locked the door so I couldn't get out. I left the next day. (HP 33)

I remember a time when I arranged to go camping for a weekend with a chap I knew. I discovered too late that two girls were coming with us and all four of us slept in the same tent. He paired off with one of the girls, so

of course the other tried to pal up with me. What a night. She wouldn't let me sleep. I just wasn't interested so in the end I got up and slept outside with the dog. (HP 32)

When the extent of heterosexual experience is confined to the previous year (or the year before arrest in the case of the two prison groups), the pattern changes slightly. In the two groups with very low heterosexual frequencies, only one out of the 17 HO men with heterosexual experience had sexual intercourse within the last year, but eight of the 19 HP men with heterosexual experience had sexual intercourse in the last year. In the two groups with higher frequencies, 13 out of the 30 heterosexually experienced HC men, and 14 out of the 36 heterosexually experienced PC men had sexual intercourse in the year before their arrest. Thus the heterosexual experiments of the HP men were continuing but attempts at heterosexual adjustment had been abandoned by all except one of the HO group. Some of the HC men continued to have heterosexual adventures, but the heterosexual life of most of the PC men was over although more of them had been married and more of them had a previous history of regular heterosexual experiences.

I found it was a very messy business. It was never very successful. (HC 4)

I thought I'd try it, but it didn't come up to my expectations. I thought it was all rather sordid. (HC 7)

I did it just to please the doctor. But as I told him later, going with a woman doesn't make a queer normal. It's not as easy as that. (HC 20)

It was Christmas and we were both pretty tight at the time. I got into bed with her. She was more than willing and I wanted to prove something to myself. Of course it's silly to go to bed with somebody with that idea in mind as I now realize. And it is no surprise that it wasn't much fun for either of us. (HP 12)

I'd had a lot of drink. She forced me into it. In fact as I told her several times later, I never forgave her for it. (HP 3)

In all 17 men in the HO group had experienced sexual intercourse at least once, although 13 of these had not had intercourse more than twice. All 17 were asked if they preferred heterosexual or homosexual relations. Two said they liked both equally, 15 preferred homosexual behaviour and none stated a preference for heterosexual intercourse. Table 6.6 shows a very wide difference in the preferences expressed by the four groups. The HP group is similar to the HO group with 13 men stating a preference for homosexual relations, although all 13 men are currently under treatment. But 10 HC men

and 30 PC men say they prefer heterosexual activities although they are in prison for homosexual offences.

Table 6.6 *Stated preference for heterosexual or homosexual behaviour in the four variant groups*

Preference	HO	HP	HC	PC
Prefer heterosexual	—	1	10	30
No preference	2	5	6	1
Prefer homosexual	15	13	14	5
No heterosexual experience	33	31	20	14

It's not very satisfactory with men. It's like just mucking about with women, or having to stop half-way because she's afraid. It's not like the full thing. (HC 46)

I enjoy it with women as much as with men. Either way sex is not very important in my life. (HC 22)

If it's a nice bloke I'd rather go with him. If it's a nice girl I'd rather go with her. (HP 19)

I did have sex with her once. She was a friend, though not a very close one. I regarded it as sexual relief, nothing more. It can't be compared to sex with a man. Not in any way. . . . I might do it again. It depends on the atmosphere — whether I particularly want sex that night and whether it is handed to me on a plate. I wouldn't put myself out for any girl. (HC 20)

For the first few years of marriage I began to think it would work out, but it became more and more difficult for me to have intercourse, and we packed it in a couple of years ago. In all these years we have been together, I have never been able to bring myself to look at my wife in the nude. (HP 27)

There were no physical difficulties in the act of sex, but as time went by, I couldn't help contrasting the effect it had on me with my homosexual experiences. I never discussed this with my wife or anyone else. I found myself making excuses, like being too tired, and I avoided sex whenever I could. (HP 23)

When the 33 HO men who had never had sexual intercourse with a woman were asked if they thought that they might develop heterosexual interests at a later date, only one felt that he would. Among the 31 HP men with no heterosexual experience, 12 thought they would develop heterosexual interests and six more were unsure. It is to be expected that the men who seek psychiatric help are more

optimistic about their chances, but it is surprising that there are 13 currently under treatment who do not think that they will ever have sexual intercourse. On the other hand, all but one of the HO men seem to have adjusted themselves to their condition and show no interest in the prospect of heterosexual activities.

One HO man was married and living with his wife, and three were now divorced or separated. As already noted in this section, only one HO man had had a heterosexual experience during the last year, but this was not the married man, nor any of the three HO men who had had regular sexual intercourse at some period, but a man who was making the experiment for the first time.

In the HP group there were four men having regular sexual intercourse; three of these men are married and the other is engaged. Three other HP men are married and living with their wives but these three did not have sexual intercourse within the last year. There is one man in the HO group and another in the HP group who have never had sexual intercourse with their wives; both of them are now divorced.

None of the four HO men who had been married admitted extra-marital relations during the period they were living with their wives, but three of the eight HP men who were married did admit this. Yet three of the four marriages in the HO group broke up although there had been no infidelities, and two of the HP men who have admitted infidelities are still with their wives. This suggests that the marriages of the HO men came to an end for specific homosexual reasons rather than general instability. This suggestion is supported by the results in the previous section of this chapter where it was found that the HO men were much more likely to be able to settle down to a long affair with another man, whereas the HP men seemed less capable of sustaining an emotional relationship with a man.

For 47 HO men marriage was a possibility, in the sense that they were unmarried or divorced. But 43 of them felt sure they would not get married and the other four said it was unlikely.

I've thought about it, but I wouldn't marry unless I could find a woman who understands, and it is difficult to find such a woman. (HO 35)

I can see the considerable social advantages of getting married but it would be quite unfair to the girl. (HO 19)

I don't want to ruin someone else's life as well as my own. (HO 8)

No. It's quite wrong for people to try and get the best of both worlds. (HO 47)

The reasons for not getting married were not always so altruistic. Sometimes the reasons given showed signs that the man was not eager to face the responsibilities of family life.

I think my family background has set me against family life. The early death of my father and my mother's struggle to bring up a family made me resolve, when I was young, not to undertake that responsibility. Now it is too late, but I have no regrets. (HO 25)

Just occasionally I have felt I would like to be normal. Life would be so much easier. But I'm integrated now, so it's silly to want to change. I'd love to have sons of my own but I've never wanted a wife. And after all there are compensations. I can do as I like. Thank God I'm not responsible to anyone. If I want to listen to a concert, I do. I wouldn't like the monotonous existence of marriage. I don't mean that it's a poor existence. Many of my married friends are very happy, but I know it's not for me. (HO 13)

I've seen at close quarters the mechanics of bringing up children - bottles, pots, mess. It's not for me. (HO 34)

Others believed quite sincerely that they could never manage to consummate the marriage.

I would not marry unless she agreed that there would be no sex with her. (HO 5)

Our marriage wouldn't have worked out. I would have tried my very best, but the sex side wouldn't have been any good. (HO 1)

A sexless marriage would be cheating. I've no time for queers who get married. (HO 20)

Table 6.7 gives the ratings on the Kinsey Scale for the three homosexual groups and the PC group. It shows clearly that the PC group, and to a lesser extent the HC group, are far more heterosexually orientated than the HO or HP groups. In fact none of the HO men and only two HP men were thought to be more heterosexual than homosexual.

It is usually assumed (Bieber, 1962; Curran and Parr, 1957) that the greater the heterosexual interests, the better the prognosis for treatment. If this is true, the psychiatrists have no easy task before them when treating the HP men, for nearly all of them are more homosexual than heterosexual and 19 of them are exclusively homosexual. On this reckoning the doctors would have stood a better chance with the men in prison (PC and HC) than with their own patients (HP).

In the PC group there are 27 men who are more heterosexual than homosexual, and in the HC group there are eight so rated. It has

Table 6.7 Kinsey ratings for the four variant groups

Rating on Kinsey Scale	HO	HP	HC	PC
0 Exclusively heterosexual with no homosexual	—	—	—	2
1 Predominantly heterosexual only incidentally homosexual	—	—	6	17
2 Predominantly heterosexual but more than incidentally homosexual	—	2	2	8
3 Equally heterosexual and homosexual	—	2	5	3
4 Predominantly homosexual but more than incidentally heterosexual	1	12	9	2
5 Predominantly homosexual but incidentally heterosexual	14	15	5	10
6 Exclusively homosexual	35	19	23	7
X No socio-sexual contacts or reactions	—	—	—	1

been noted in Chapter 3 that the PC men have few of the characteristics found among homosexuals and perhaps it is not surprising to find so many rated low on the scale. It is more remarkable that 13 HC men are rated Kinsey 3 or less. Does this mean that bisexuals are more likely to be sent to prison than men who are exclusively homosexual? It would certainly seem to suggest that men who are rated Kinsey 6 are more likely to accept their condition and therefore are more likely to make some kind of adjustment that leads to community integration. It may follow from this that men who limit their homosexual life to occasional incidental adventures are more likely to get into trouble with the police. But this would be only one of several factors that lead a man on to the path to prison. Indeed almost half the HC group are exclusive homosexuals, and so it is clear that there must be other personality differences between the convicted homosexuals and the HO men.

G. THE THREE HOMOSEXUAL GROUPS COMPARED

Although the research was designed to show up the difference between three pairs of groups, in fact there are more striking differences between the three homosexual groups (HC, HP, HO) than between the two pairs of homosexual and non-homosexual groups (HP and NP, HO and NO). For this reason the last section of this

chapter will list the main quantitative differences found in the three homosexual groups. The values for p are given as before, but it must be remembered that these three groups were not matched for age and education. As it happens the age range of the three groups is very similar, and the HO and HP group had similar grades of education, but the HC group had many more of the less well educated grades ($p = .001$).

Table 6.8 Age groups in the three homosexual groups

Age	HO	HP	HC
21-30	16	25	20
31-40	20	16	17
41-50	7	5	10
51-60	7	4	3

Table 6.9 Educational grades in the three homosexual groups

Educational grade	HO	HP	HC
A	10	5	1
B	7	11	2
C	14	13	13
D	19	21	34

HC men are likely to appear more feminine ($p = .001$). HO and HP men were neither more masculine nor more feminine.

There is no difference between HO and HP men on the Robust/Delicate Scale. The HO men tended to be more robust than the HC men (NSS), and the HP men were more robust than the HC men ($p = .02$).

HC men are more likely to attend church regularly than either HO or HP men ($p = .01$).

The occupations of the fathers did not differ in the HO and HP groups. There were more fathers who were manual workers in the HC group than in the HO and HP groups ($p = .01$).

The differences were much more marked in their own occupations. There were more HP than HO in unskilled jobs ($p = .001$); more HC than HO in unskilled jobs ($p = .001$); and more HC than HP in unskilled jobs ($p = .01$). HC men were more often manual workers ($p = .001$). There were more HO men than either HP or HC men in supervisory work ($p = .001$); more HP than HC men were

supervisors ($p = .005$). The HO men earned more than the HP men ($p = .005$) and more than the HC men ($p = .001$); the HP men earned more than the HC men ($p = .005$).

Compared with the HP and HC men, the HO men were more likely to have good relations with their employers ($p = .001$), with their fellow workers ($p = .001$), and they were more likely to enjoy their work ($p = .001$); there were no significant differences between the HP and HC men in these respects.

The HO group did better than the HC group in the Verbal Reasoning Test ($p = .001$), and the HP group was also better than the HC group ($p = .001$); the HO group did slightly better than the HP group ($p = .02$).

More HP than HO expect to get married ($p = .001$); more HP than HC expect to get married ($p = .02$); slightly more HC than HO expect to get married (NSS).

This expectation of marriage reflects the hopes of the men under treatment. But when activities rather than desires are considered, then the HC men are found to be much more bi-sexual as the next six items will show.

HC men are more likely to have had regular sexual intercourse at some period of their lives ($p = .005$).

More HC men than HO men have had sexual intercourse in the last year ($p = .001$); there is little difference between the HC and HP men in this respect.

More HO men said they were not capable of heterosexual relations (NSS).

Considering only those who had both heterosexual and homosexual experience, heterosexual relations were preferred by the HC men more often than the HO men or the HP men ($p = .005$).

More HP than HO men thought they would eventually develop heterosexual interests ($p = .001$); more HC than HO men said they had already developed heterosexual interests ($p = .001$). There was only a slight difference between the HP and HC group in the number who thought that they would not develop heterosexual interests; more HC men said they had already developed these interests and more HP men said they would eventually develop these interests ($p = .01$).

The HO men were the least likely to feel a sexual attraction for girls ($p = .005$), while the HC men were the most likely to feel this attraction ($p = .01$).

Many of the HP men tried to widen their heterosexual interests where they could. As far as activities were concerned they were far less heterosexual than the HC men, but where it was a matter of

determination and will-power their heterosexual interests approached those of the HC men. But on the Kinsey Scale, the HP men were closer to the homosexual end with the HO men, whereas the HC men tended to be in the middle (bisexual) grades ($p = .01$).

More of the HO men had their first homosexual experience under the age of sixteen (NSS). The HC men did not tend to start earlier than the HP men.

Strong feelings of guilt after homosexual activities were much more likely to be felt by HP men than by HO or HC men ($p = .001$). The HO and HC men did not differ in this respect.

Slightly more HP than HO men said that they went out of their way to avoid homosexual temptations ($p = .05$); more HO than HC ($p = .005$) and many more HP than HC ($p = .001$) tried to avoid these temptations.

HP men were more likely to say that their homosexual experiences left them dissatisfied ($p = .02$); HO and HC men did not differ in this way.

More HO than HP men claimed that they had come to terms with their condition ($p = .001$); more HC than HP made this claim ($p = .001$); more HO than HC ($p = .02$).

The last four items show that the homosexuals under treatment have not accepted their condition. Most of the others seem to have made a successful adjustment, the HO men more often than the HC men.

The close friends of the men in the HO group are more likely to be homosexuals, than in the HP group ($p = .001$) or the HC group ($p = .01$).

HO men are more likely than HP men to mix socially in a homosexual group ($p = .001$); HC men are more likely than HP men to be in a homosexual group ($p = .005$); HO men tend to be in a homosexual group more often than HC men ($p = .02$).

HO men are more likely to have a current affair than the men in the other two groups ($p = .001$). Few HC or HP men had current affairs but more HC than HP men had had affairs in the past ($p = .01$).

There are less promiscuous men in the HO group than in the HC group ($p = .005$) or the HP group ($p = .01$). The promiscuous men in the HC group have many more partners in a year than the promiscuous men in the HP group ($p = .001$).

The men in the HC group are more likely to get V.D. than the men in either of the other groups ($p = .02$).

The sexual partners of the HC group were more likely to be pick-ups, whereas the partners of the HO group were more likely to be friends ($p = .001$); the sexual partners of the HP group were as likely to be pick-ups as friends (NSS).

HO	HP	HC	HO
_____	no difference _____	_____	more feminine
_____	no difference _____	_____	more delicate
_____	no difference _____	_____	regular church attendance
_____	no difference _____	_____	from manual workers' homes
more in skilled jobs - - - - -	in between - - - - -	_____	more in unskilled jobs
more often supervisors - - - - -	in between - - - - -	_____	less often supervisors
good relations with employers _____	_____	no difference _____	_____
good relations with workers _____	_____	no difference _____	_____
content with work _____	_____	no difference _____	_____
best at verbal reasoning - - - - -	in between - - - - -	_____	worst at verbal reasoning
_____	expect to get married - - - - -	_____	in between - - - - -
_____	no difference _____	_____	do not expect to get married
no sexual intercourse in last year _____	_____	no difference _____	regular sexual intercourse
_____	no difference _____	_____	more prefer hetero. to homo.
not 'capable' of hetero. _____	_____	no difference _____	_____
not attracted to girls - - - - -	in between - - - - -	_____	attracted to girls
_____	no difference _____	_____	middle of Kinsey Scale

HO	HP	HC	HO
started homo. acts early _____	_____	no difference _____	_____
_____	feelings of guilt _____	_____	no difference _____
_____	avoid temptations - - - - -	in between - - - - -	do not avoid temptations
_____	left dissatisfied after homo. acts _____	_____	no difference _____
_____	not come to terms - - - - -	in between - - - - -	come to terms
_____	not adjusted to condition - - - - -	in between - - - - -	adjusted to condition
_____	close friends not homo. - - - - -	in between - - - - -	close friends homo.
_____	not in a homo. group - - - - -	in between - - - - -	in a homo. group
current affairs _____	_____	no difference _____	_____
_____	no affairs - - - - -	_____	in between - - - - -
least promiscuous - - - - -	in between - - - - -	_____	affairs past or present
_____	no difference _____	_____	most promiscuous
_____	_____	_____	most likely to catch V.D.
sex partners are friends - - - - -	in between - - - - -	_____	partners are pick-ups
least likely to proselytize - - - - -	in between - - - - -	_____	most likely to proselytize
_____	lower sexual frequencies _____	_____	no difference _____
_____	no difference _____	_____	prefer anal intercourse
_____	no facilities for sex - - - - -	in between - - - - -	facilities for sex in private
homo. acts in private _____	_____	no difference _____	_____
_____	no difference _____	_____	seeks partners in public

HC men are more likely than HO men to seek non-homosexuals as partners ($p = .005$); HP men expressed an interest in non-homosexuals more often than HO men, but they did not actively proselytize like the HC men (NSS).

There were only small differences in the sexual frequencies of the three groups. The HC men tended to have higher frequencies than the HP men ($p = .02$), and the HO men also had slightly higher frequencies than the HP men (NSS); but there was little difference between the HC and HO groups in this respect.

As regards a preference for a particular sexual technique, there was no significant difference between the HO and HP men. The HC men preferred anal intercourse more often than the HO men ($p = .05$) and more often than the HP men ($p = .01$).

HO men were able to take their sexual partners to their own rooms more often than the HP men ($p = .001$), and more often than the HC men ($p = .005$); this facility was more often available to HC men than HP men ($p = .05$).

Men in both the HC and HP groups were much more likely than those in the HO group to take part in homosexual activities in a public place ($p = .001$); there is virtually no difference between the HC and HP groups in this respect.

The HC men were also more likely to seek partners in a public place ($p = .02$); in this case there was no difference between the HP and HO men. A reasonable inference from the last three items is that the HO men usually have the facilities for homosexual relations in private and use them; HC men have these facilities but do not use them; and HP men do not have these facilities.

The results detailed in this section can be summarized in the form of a diagram. It should be noted that the shortened phrases used in the diagram express tendencies comparative to the groups, not a tendency within a group. Thus 'attracted to girls' means that the HC men are more likely than HO or HP men to be sexually attracted to girls; it does not mean that most of the HC men are attracted to girls.

A study of the diagram shows that the HO group is never the middle (in between) group. The HP is the other end of the progression (when there is one) on questions of marriage, heterosexual wishes (as opposed to activities), guilt feelings, homosexual adjustment, group membership, love affairs, sexual frequencies, and facilities. The HC group is the least like the HO group on questions of appearance, social class, verbal reasoning, heterosexual activities (as opposed to wishes), promiscuity, proselytism, sexual techniques, and importuning.