

strongly or very strongly attracted all had regular girl friends, eleven of them before they reached the age of twenty-one. Of the forty-five (35%) contacts who never had a regular girl friend, all but six of

6 HETEROSEXUAL INTERESTS

A. GIRL FRIENDS

WRITERS have suggested that homosexual tendencies may sometimes be the result of nothing more than shyness and the lack of opportunities to mix in the company of girls. Kinsey (60) writes: 'There are some males whose homosexuality is undoubtedly the product of inherent or acquired timidity or other personality traits which make it difficult for them to approach other persons for any sort of social contact.'

Homosexuals in this sample were asked when they first started going out with a regular girl friend. The difficulty with this question is that it is not possible to define too closely what is meant by a *regular* girl friend, but so far as can be ascertained, nearly two-thirds (65%) of this sample had a girl friend whom they met fairly often for a year or more. Sixty-two (49%) had a girl friend before they were twenty-one and a further twenty (16%) developed a serious friendship with a girl after reaching that age. Half of this last group were men who had received a better than average education and the fact that they did not have a girl friend until after twenty-one may not be significant (from Table A5b/Drw). It is expected that in a heterosexual group a proportion of males will not have much contact with the opposite sex until past their twentieth year and this will apply particularly to boys educated at all-male boarding schools.

The intensity of the relationships varied from an emotional love affair down to a fairly casual friendship. Some of the contacts had a girl friend in name only, because 'it was the thing to do' or 'because all the other lads had girls'.

The greatest difficulty a homosexual has to contend with is having to put up a show for friends and relations. . . . It was bad enough in my young days when every young man was expected to take out a girl. But nowadays everyone knows about homosexuality and the miserable youth has to go through the motions of taking an interest in a girl to prevent fingers being pointed at him.

Table Drw/G2 shows that there are forty-two (33%) contacts who had what they described as regular girl friends but who claim that they have never been sexually attracted to any girl. These contacts appear to have had the opportunity to develop an interest in the opposite sex but some other factors inhibited the development of sexual attraction. The fourteen (11%) contacts who have been

TABLE Drw/G2
Regular Girl Friends and Sexual Attraction

Age of going out with Girl Friend	Extent of Sexual Attraction				Total
	V. Strongly	Strongly	Somewhat	Not at all	
- 16	1	4	9	17	31
17-21	3	3	9	16	31
21+	—	3	8	9	20
Never	—	—	6	39	45
Total	4	10	32	81	127

them have never felt any sexual attraction towards a girl. These results show that nearly all the contacts had ample opportunity to mix with members of the opposite sex, had they wished to do so.

The question was phrased: Have you *sometimes* felt sexually attracted to girls? Questions of this kind are influenced by a tendency to describe present attitudes and forget or rationalize past feelings. To this extent the answers are inaccurate, but it seems fairly clear that nearly two-thirds (64%) of the sample had not found any girl to be sexually attractive at any period of their lives.

I can't stand women or their ways. Far from finding them sexually attractive, I find them repulsive.

This feeling of repulsion is probably stronger in an invert since it is generally conceded that a heterosexual has passed through a homosexual stage, but an invert has never known heterosexual feelings. [In a letter.] I could no more sleep with a woman than you could with a man—perhaps even more so. I'm a hundred per cent. homosexual. I don't know about you. Perhaps you are only ninety-five per cent. normal.

This does not mean that all the contacts avoid the company of women. Other writers have noted that some homosexuals tend to choose older women for their closest friends. The phenomenon seems to be common enough for homosexuals to recognize this tendency in themselves, and older women are occasionally to be found in homosexual coteries.

I used to have fairly close women friends and especially two older ones, but on the whole they're a dull lot, you know. I'll have nothing to do with those terrible hags, the so-called 'queer's woman'. You find them wherever you go—London, Paris, Amsterdam—sitting around the queer clubs, dispensing motherly advice and ever on the look-out for a free gin.

I have masses of women friends, most of them older. They all know I'm homosexual. Just the same, several of them say they're going to marry me. Homosexuals get on well with women because they both love to talk about men.

The tendency to befriend older women should not be regarded as universal. A quarter (24%) of the sample said their women friends tended to be older, but over a third (39%) said their women friends were about their own age. Forty-one (32%) said they had no women friends.

B. HETEROSEXUAL INTERCOURSE

Just under a half (42%) of the group had some kind of experience of heterosexual intercourse. Those who had not had any such experience were asked if they thought they were capable of heterosexual intercourse. Fourteen (11%) of those who had not had coitus thought they were capable of it, fifty (40%) said they were not, and ten (8%) were not sure whether they were or not. The question did not ask if they were *physically* capable, and the contact was left to bring in mental factors if he wished, as some of the answers below will illustrate.

Flushed with drink and with two hot bodies in the same bed, it might happen. But it's hard to believe that I would ever get into such a situation.

If I shut my eyes and grit my teeth, I suppose I could do it.

One is held back by the fear that one may not be able to rise to the occasion.

It [the engagement] only lasted a few weeks. I was appalled when I had to put my hands on her breasts. I realized then it would be no good. I'd be sick.

Rather less than a fifth (17%) of the group had experienced coitus before they were twenty-one, and more than a third (35%) before they were thirty. But these figures will be misleading unless the frequency of heterosexual intercourse is considered at the same time. Of the total number (42%) of contacts who had heterosexual experience at some period in their lives, twelve (9%) reported that they had often had such experiences, eleven (9%) had occasional experiences, but as many as thirty (24%) had not had more than one or two experiences. So only about three out of seven of those who performed coitus had done so more than twice and only 18 per cent. of the whole group can be said to have taken part in heterosexual intercourse for any length of time.

Those who had only one or two heterosexual experiences were

either persuaded to attempt it by friends or set out to prove to themselves that they were not homosexual. A youth is sometimes under strong pressure from others in his group to join them in sexual adventures with the local girls. This often seemed to be the case when the contact was serving overseas in the armed forces.

A friend egged me on. It was a dare.

When I was in Egypt I had a friend I liked very much and when he wanted to go with the others to a brothel, it would have looked suspicious if I hadn't joined them.

The only time was when I was in the army in Germany. I'd become very attracted to another soldier. I wasn't sure if he was queer but I hoped he was. We went out together quite a bit. One night we picked up two girls and we had them together in the same room. I had to go on with it because he was bashing away on the next bed, but my main memories of that night are that he was so obviously enjoying himself, I knew it was useless trying to make him.

All the other lads went in [to the brothel in Germany] so I more or less had to.

Twelve (9%) of the contacts had their first heterosexual experience with a prostitute and five (4%) with a pick-up. The distinction here is that the first was paid and the second was previously unknown to the contact but did not require any financial inducements. Most of these contacts set out on their first heterosexual adventure as an experiment with a specific objective in view and without being over-concerned about the sexual attractiveness of the girl. They wished to prove to themselves that they were not homosexual, or, at the least, that they were capable of heterosexual intercourse. In such circumstances and with such aims so clearly in view, it is not surprising that the experiment was not always a success.

I saved up and when I'd got enough I went to the West End and found a prostitute. I went back to her place with her but I couldn't do anything. I really tried. I even bought a contraceptive. But it was no good.

Eight of the ten contacts who were married had their first heterosexual experiences with their wives; one had premarital intercourse with a friend and one never had heterosexual intercourse with his wife or anyone else. Twenty-eight (22%) contacts had heterosexual intercourse with friends or acquaintances.

It was at Oxford and I invited this girl down to an end of term dance. I knew before I invited her that she would want sex. The whole thing was planned as a dirty week-end. It was an experiment and not a success. I didn't enjoy it either physically or in any other way. I don't think I would repeat the experiment; I certainly won't set out to do so, though I don't say it couldn't happen again.

During the summer vacations I was a guide for a youth travel association. There's always a certain amount of glamour in that position and in each party I took to Italy, one or more girls attached themselves to me. I actually got into bed with two of them. With Betty I got as far as undressing her and then all desire left me. Then there was a sort of French farce situation with Heather in a hotel bedroom when an Italian walked into the room at a vital moment of the proceedings and came back two minutes later to apologize. That was too much for me.

She was a psychologist—a very bohemian type. When I failed to get an erection, she accused me of being a homosexual. I denied it in spite of the fact that she said there was nothing to be ashamed of. But I wouldn't admit it to her because she was a bit of a know-all.

Thirty-eight (30%) undertook their first heterosexual experience either to prove that they were not homosexual (13%) or to satisfy themselves that they were capable of heterosexual intercourse (17%).

I've had several girl friends because I wanted to be normal and get married. One girl inveigled me back to her house and tried to get me worked up for sex but I was horrified. I had to dash out of the house. When I was eighteen my father said, 'I don't suppose you've ever had a woman.' This made me decide to try. I took a girl home, but it was no good.

My doctor's wife was convinced that I was normal and she set out to prove it to me. At her insistence we had sex together. I didn't like it nor did she. I may say this was before either of us had heard of *Tea and Sympathy*. Her husband was a very jealous man and used to say I was the only person he would trust with his wife. I suppose I was the only homosexual he knew. Well, he was wrong, but neither I nor his wife had any desire to repeat the experiment.

Sometimes premarital intercourse was recommended by doctors and other advisers. Although there may be cases when this kind of advice may be justified, it seems more likely to lead to misunderstanding and disappointment. An experience of this kind falls far short of what is meant by sexual fulfilment. When all the man wants to do is prove something to himself without feeling much interest or affection for the unfortunate girl who is unwittingly a part of the experiment, then the chances of sexual satisfaction are slender. Furthermore, one failure in heterosexual relations may be enough to convince the man that he is not capable of them and that marriage is impossible for him.

The thirty (24%) members of this sample who tried heterosexual intercourse on one or two occasions and then gave up trying may have been mistaken if they assumed that a failure could only mean that they were homosexual. Quite apart from the mental attitude arising from the experimental nature of the act, the sordid surroundings and the possible feelings of guilt about premarital

intercourse will all contribute towards making the experience unrewarding.

About two years ago I was vaguely attracted to a German girl. We did some necking and I was delighted to find I got an erection. The necking got more passionate but when she led me on I just folded up. I don't know whether I was scared or what. I'm afraid it was too much like a scientific experiment and there wasn't enough real feeling attached to it. I tried having sex with a girl at about the age of eighteen—twice, as a matter of fact, but it didn't work either time. So I thought I was incapable of sex with girls and it wasn't until I tried again three years ago [when he was thirty] that I knew I could. I think the reason it didn't work the first time was because I was a bit drunk, and the second time it was rather sordid—it was on the floor and too uncomfortable.

On the other hand it is too easy to say that homosexuality is sometimes caused by fear of subsequent heterosexual failures. Many men who are now happily married and sexually adjusted have memories of impotence or other difficulties when they first attempted coitus; but they continued to seek heterosexual experiences. Most of the homosexuals did not try again. Although in a few cases fear of heterosexual failure may reinforce a homosexual disposition, it is also possible that these homosexuals would not have attempted to have heterosexual intercourse even once if they had been left to make their own decisions. The disapproval of premarital intercourse is far from strong in most strata of our society and in some circles sexual conquests often provide the opportunity for boasting. All the social pressures should drive the homosexuals towards heterosexuality. Therefore it is very significant that 82 per cent. of this group have had heterosexual relations not more than twice, if they have experienced them at all.

Contacts were asked: Do you feel that there is still a chance that you may develop heterosexual interests at a later date? Seventeen (13%) reckoned they had already developed heterosexual interests (although only eight had engaged in coitus in the last year), and nine (7%) did not feel able to answer the question. Of the remaining 101 (80%) contacts, only ten (8%) felt they would develop heterosexual interests.

I hope one day to get some pleasure out of it. [Aged thirty-three.]

I think I'll always be bent, but perhaps only half-bent. All my mates are normal. I like sex with queers but I don't like them as people. [Aged twenty-four.]

No. It's quite wrong for people to try and get the best of both worlds. [Aged thirty.]

Not a chance. I'm gay for life. [Aged twenty-two.]

It might appear nonsensical to ask this question of a man over forty without any heterosexual experiences so far. But there are some accounts of homosexuals turning to heterosexuality late in life, just as there are cases of married men who commit their first homosexual offence at the age of fifty or over. However, the results in this sample are as expected and only the younger contacts were optimistic about the chances of developing heterosexual interests; five (4%) of them were under twenty-eight, and the remaining five (4%) were under thirty-eight. There were thirty-seven (29%) contacts under the age of twenty-eight in this sample and twenty-six (21%) of them felt they would not develop heterosexual interests (from Table A1/G9).

C. MARRIAGE

In the past homosexuals were advised that marriage would solve their difficulties and some homosexuals still believe that their problems will be resolved if they can find the right girl to marry. Equally often a woman will agree to marry a man whom she suspects of being homosexual in the hope that she might be able to 'reform' him.

Recent writers on the subject have deplored this method of solving a man's homosexual difficulties. 'It cannot be too strongly insisted on that no homosexual should ever marry to rid himself of homosexuality.' (2) 'Least of all will marriage provide a solution. Yet many people do believe that they will be able to control their homosexual tendencies once they are married. There is no physical abnormality about most of these men and the unfortunate girl who is chosen more as a remedy than as a mate will not suspect that anything is amiss. The man may be able to perform the sexual act to his wife's satisfaction, but this is no guarantee of cure. The results of such a marriage can have the most dire consequences which will bring tragedy and shame not only upon the man, but upon the blameless wife and children.' (119)

All marriages have some problems and the homosexual-heterosexual marriage has too many points of strain to be adjusted in most cases, although there are some exceptions. Sometimes a homosexual marries an older woman and seems to live a contented life although the sexual side of the marriage is imperfect or negligible.

Cory (25) maintains that it is possible for the married homosexual to have a circle of acquaintances unknown to the wife and also occasionally to gratify his desires without divulging his homosexual activities to his spouse. He believes it is possible to make a success of such a marriage: 'The married homosexual is usually well adjusted to his dilemma and perhaps finds one of the best com-

promises known to the group. He admittedly accepts his life as a conscious accommodation, but precisely because he is aware of his shortcomings, he strives all the more to contribute to the building of a successful union with his wife. He offers her care and compassion and understanding. He seeks to compensate for that area of his being which is reserved and unattainable by becoming all the more outgoing in the areas in which he can establish rapport.'

Allen (12) gives two examples of marriages that might have worked out successfully had it not been for conscription: 'It would be untrue to insist that all such marriages are failures. I remember two cases of young men who consulted me during the war. In each case, a young homosexual had found a woman older than himself who was sympathetic, kind, and helpful. In each case, the result was a happy marriage. The wives 'mothered' them and they had no anxieties. Their sex life, no doubt, was a pale shadow of the average sex life, but their life was happy enough. Then came the war. Both young men were called up and served in the Royal Air Force. . . . Now these young men, in spite of their marriages, remained basically homosexual. The effect of putting them among healthy young men, often in situations where the other young men were washing or bathing, half-clothed or naked, was like asking the average man to live in a similar situation with attractive women. The two homosexuals were nearly driven insane by stirred-up sexual feelings which they dared not express, and had to be invalidated.'

Ten (8%) of the contacts had at one time been married; four of these were still living with their wives, five were divorced or separated from their wives, and one was a widower.

The number of married men in this sample is too small to be able to draw any conclusions about the married homosexual. It certainly does not represent the large number of married men who will take part in homosexual activities. In a research of this kind it is extremely difficult to persuade married men to volunteer to give information. Kinsey found that the homosexual activities of married men were more difficult to unravel than almost any other phase of sexual relationships.

It is impossible to estimate what proportion of the total homosexual population is married, but it is probably higher than most people suspect. Radzinowicz (93) found that 'although the proportion of unmarried adult [sexual] offenders was much higher among homosexuals than among heterosexuals, nevertheless almost a quarter of the homosexuals were married at the time their offence was committed'. Sherwin (105) comments on the 'amazing number of married men who have quietly and secretly indulged in some form of homosexual relationship during the course of their marriage'.

Cory (25) says that it is 'common practice' for one homosexual to ask another if he is married when acquaintanceship is first made.

All the contacts were asked if they had ever had a married man as a sexual partner. For the highly promiscuous homosexual who enjoys 'one night stands', it is probable (despite Cory) that he will not know enough about his partner to know whether he is married or not. Even so, seventy-one (60%) contacts had taken part in homosexual activities with married men and eighteen (14%) said they had many sexual partners who were married.

I've had lots of married men. One threatened to leave his wife for me, but I begged him not to.

I've been to bed with quite a lot of married men. They usually want something they can't get from their wives.

I once said I wouldn't dream of going with a married man but then I thought, if that's what he wants, he'll get it somewhere, so why not from me.

Members of the general public who continue to classify people either as heterosexual or homosexual will find it difficult to realize how many homosexuals marry. Sometimes the man tells the girl before they are married. More often than not this merely acts as a further inducement to proceed with the marriage. Cory (25) comments: 'Seldom have I heard of women who were discouraged by such a revelation; rather they are so filled with love, tenderness, and what they mistake for understanding, that they are able to delude themselves into the belief that homosexuality was only a temporary substitute, a childlike stage which the sweetheart and intended groom will soon have left behind.'

One contact who is thirty-three has been friendly with a girl for ten years. Two years ago he heard from a mutual friend that the girl was in love with him.

So I felt it was up to me to say I was not happy about our friendship. She asked for the reason and hinted that I was impotent. I thought it best to tell her that I was homosexual. Her reaction was 'Let's marry anyway'. She felt sure I would change, and even if I did not, she was confident that we could build a marriage out of mutual respect. I would have hated this. You may say it's fear or irresponsibility, but is it fair to take the risk? Thank heavens she has now accepted the situation and our friendship has not been spoilt. Three months ago she got engaged to a mutual friend.

Homosexuals marry for a variety of reasons. Sometimes it is the hope that this will provide the solution to their problems. Sometimes it is simply a desire to please the family. The pressures

from the father 'to carry on the line' or from the mother's wish to have grandchildren can be very strong indeed.

I got engaged to this girl simply because I wanted some peace and quiet at home. There had been some terrible family rows—about my arty friends. She lived in Switzerland and we only saw each other occasionally. It seemed a possibility when she was away but I always knew after I'd spent a week with her that it wouldn't work.

Fear of loneliness or disenchantment with the impermanence of the homosexual way of life may persuade a man to marry. In some unhappy cases the man finds himself drifting aimlessly towards a marriage and he finds he cannot bring himself to disclose his doubts for fear of the distress and humiliation it would cause. The bride waiting at the church may be waiting for a confused homosexual, and those apparently motiveless suicides on the eve of marriage may have a homosexual explanation.

For others, especially for those in prominent positions, marriage may be a façade to mollify the gossip and suspicions of the general public. Some ambitious homosexuals may feel that marriage is essential to the advancement of their business careers.

Of the ten married men in our sample, one was still having intercourse with his wife, eight did so in the past but have now stopped, and one had never had any heterosexual experiences with his wife. This man married a woman whom he knew to be Lesbian before the marriage took place. Many homosexuals consider the possibility of finding some kind of social adjustment by marrying a Lesbian, but most of them reject the idea. Only seven (6%) of the unmarried contacts said they would like to marry a Lesbian. Although at first the idea may seem attractive to some homosexuals, further consideration usually convinces them that a Lesbian is unlikely to provide the qualities they hope to find in marriage. In any case Lesbians and male homosexuals do not seem to mix very much and so there are few opportunities for the man to find a Lesbian who will make a suitable wife.

Perhaps a Lesbian. But only to divert other people's attention from me being unmarried. It would help me in my work to be married—in my social life, too. But I wouldn't think of marrying someone who did not know I was homosexual.

From the social point of view I ought to get married. If I don't get an affair before I'm thirty-five [he is now twenty-eight], I'll try to marry a career woman. Many of these women are slightly Lesbian.

Nine contacts had taken part in homosexual activities before they were married; seven continued to have homosexual relations after they were married, two avoided all homosexual experiences until after they separated from their wives, and one had no homo-

sexual experiences until after his wife died. Five of them reported sexual difficulties with their wives.

Of the ten married contacts, only five can be said to have made a satisfactory sexual adjustment,¹ but the total number is too small to be able to draw any conclusion from this. Four of the ten married contacts had children.

The research worker was unable to meet any of the wives of the married homosexuals in this sample. This was unfortunate because much useful information could be obtained from an enquiry into the wives of homosexuals. Martensen-Larsen⁽⁸¹⁾ enquired into the family constellation of the female partners of homosexual men. He found that they were often the eldest child, more often had younger brothers than sisters, and in a significant number of cases had lost both parents. He suggested that their childhood experience of looking after their younger brothers was being repeated, and their main satisfaction from the marriage was not sexual, but a desire to take care of the homosexual.

The unmarried contacts were asked if they hoped to marry. One in four said they hoped to marry eventually and the others (67%) felt that any kind of marriage was quite out of the question for them.

I would be very dishonest to marry a girl unless I was sure I didn't want any more sex with men. But if I feel quite sure of myself, then I'll marry. I'd like to. I hate to think of old age as a queer, getting lonely with no security or real home. [Aged twenty-three.]

I want to marry, if I can lick this thing. [Aged thirty-nine.]

It's a big problem. This sort of business ought to taper off. As one develops mentally, pure sex ought to be under control. I am hopeful that sex will cease to worry me. If that happens then I should like to find a woman and I think we could have quite a decent marriage based on companionship, providing this is understood from the start. [Aged forty-four.]

Man should marry for love. If there is love, there is sex. So any kind of marriage is impossible for me. [Aged forty-eight.]

I know some homosexuals who've got married and it's ruined the lives of all of them, children included. [Aged thirty-three.]

The thirty-two (25%) contacts who said they hoped to marry were asked about the kind of marriage they had in view. Such questions are hypothetical and even a normal unmarried man might find them difficult to answer. The replies cannot be

¹ It is, of course, difficult to be precise about sexual adjustment. One contact said the sexual relations with his wife were 'very successful' and yet he left her to go and live with a man. Another contact said: 'The wife was clever and she made it as good as she could, but she wanted too much of it.'

considered reliable, as many of the contacts had obviously not given the matter much thought.

Slightly more than half (seventeen out of thirty-two) stated that they would want to have sexual intercourse with their wives and all these contacts wanted to have children. Fifteen seemed to be less concerned with the sexual side of the marriage. Eight (6%) of them said they hoped to marry a woman who would make no sexual demands, some specifying a comrade with mutual interests, others a domesticated woman. Seven (6%) said they wanted to marry a Lesbian. Exactly half (sixteen out of thirty-two) said they would be upset if their wife was unfaithful; but twenty thought they might have homosexual relations after they were married, two were doubtful, and ten said they would not.

It's not impossible to have a good marriage and still have men occasionally.

I wouldn't like to guarantee that I'd miss a chance if it comes, but I wouldn't go out of my way to look for it.

I may be able to restrain myself, but I'll never grow out of wanting it.

I'll have finished with homosexuality by then.

We'll have to wait and see.

The reasons for wanting to get married were usually personal and social, such as the fear of loneliness in old age, the desire for children, pressure from parents, disappointments with male lovers, and occasionally a genuinely deep affection for a girl. The sexual side of marriage was only very rarely a motivating influence.

Nearly a third (32%) of the contacts expressed regret that they were unable to be the fathers of children although they had in fact given up all idea of getting married.

I'd have given anything to have two or three children of my own.

As I see my nephews grow up, it hurts to realize I shall never have children.

I regret it very much. They are a kind of fulfilment. There is something lacking in a man's life if he has no children.

I hate to feel I'll pass through this life without leaving someone behind with my name.

I'd like children if someone else would produce them for me.

This need for a family is felt very strongly by some homosexuals. With no children to carry on the name and no family to work for, some of the older ones are filled with a feeling of hopelessness and uselessness. It is not impossible that the moral deterioration to be observed in a few homosexuals as they approach later life may be caused by these regrets and by the absence of the stabilizing influence

of a family. But some of the other contacts felt it would be quite wrong for them to have children.

It would be dishonest to get married and very unfair on any children we may have. What chance would a child have with a homosexual father?

It would be cowardice and dishonesty of the first order to marry, even if your wife knows about it. Though I enjoy the company of women, the thought of physical contact appals me. Even if I got to the stage of managing sexually for five minutes in order to produce a child, I still think it would be a dishonest thing to do, much as I would like to have children.

I can't bear children—isn't it awful? I love puppies and kittens, but babies are so revolting.

Six (5%) contacts were married and had no children. Four (3%) were married and had one or more children. Seventeen (13%) hoped to marry and have children, while fifteen (12%) hoped to marry a woman who would make no sexual demands. The remaining two-thirds of this sample were equally divided between those (32%) who felt they could not marry but very much regretted they had no children, and between those (35%) who were not interested in starting a family.

D. BISEXUALS

Kinsey (68) objects to the use of the word *bisexual* because it has been used in biology for animals that include the anatomy of both sexes. Perhaps *ambisexual* would be a better word for those individuals who take part in both heterosexual and homosexual activities. Both words raise the same difficulties as *heterosexual* or *homosexual* when used as a noun which stands for types of individuals (referred to in Chapter 1), but in this report the word *bisexual* is used to describe an individual who reacts psychosexually to both males and females and does not refer to the constitution of the person.

Bergler (13) says that there is no such thing as bisexuality and maintains that the term 'exists only as a flattering description of the homosexual who is at times capable of mechanical heterosexual activity'. On the other hand Bailey (5) seems to imply that bisexuals can be heterosexuals who commit homosexual acts, for he makes the distinction between 'a true homosexual or simply one who has acquired the habit of indulging in homosexual practices'.

In this sample twenty-three (18%) contacts had more than two experiences of coitus and only eight (6%) of these had heterosexual experiences over the last year (from Table G-3a/G-3b). There is a

slight tendency (not statistically significant) for those who have never had heterosexual intercourse to have lower homosexual frequencies than those who had occasional heterosexual experiences (from Table G-3a/P-6).

Henry (9) prefers to regard an individual according to the pleasure derived from repeated homosexual relationships and defines a bisexual as a man who gets equal pleasure from both types of activity. If preference rather than performance is used as a criterion, then eleven (9%) contacts in this sample could be termed bisexual. When contacts who had any experience of heterosexual activities were asked about their preferences, two (2%) said they enjoyed heterosexual practices more than homosexual, nine (7%) said they enjoyed both to the same extent, and forty (32%) said they preferred homosexual activities. In two cases the answer was not known.

Good sex with a girl is better than good sex with a man. It's more straightforward. It works better—physically, I mean.

It's two different things. One can't compare them any more than one can compare the taste of an apple with an orange. Homosexuals tell me that if I'm lucky enough to get sexual satisfaction from a girl I ought to be able to give up sleeping with men, which is reasonable enough in a way. But it's a bit like saying that because I enjoy the taste of apples I should stop eating oranges.

He [the psychiatrist] kept urging me to go bed with a woman. I'd always been meaning to with Joan, a girl I'm devoted to. So I told her what the man said and she said 'Right-o!' My dear, this made me even more confused. It was just like being in bed with a boy. So I thought to myself, what is all the fuss about. So now I go to bed with girls and boys.

Even when those who had more than two heterosexual experiences are considered alone, the preference is still for homosexual activities. Ten out of the eleven who had occasional heterosexual intercourse preferred homosexual activities, and four of the twelve who had frequent heterosexual intercourse preferred homosexual activities—six of this last group had no preference and two preferred coitus (from Table G-3a/G-7).

Much of the heterosexual activity of the contacts in this group was motivated by social pressure and a desire to experiment rather than by genuine sexual attraction for the female partner. For this reason it was thought that a better indication of the heterosexual propensities of the contacts would be given by rating each individual on the scale formulated by the late Dr. Kinsey.

Eighty of the ratings given by the research worker were compared with ratings given by two independent judges. A large measure of agreement was found (see Appendix B) and so the

ratings for all 127 contacts are regarded as reasonably accurate. Nearly two-thirds (61%) of the sample were given a rating of 6 on the Kinsey Scale (i.e. exclusively homosexual). Almost a quarter (24%) were rated as 5 (predominantly homosexual but incidentally heterosexual), seventeen (13%) were rated as 4 (predominantly homosexual but more than incidentally heterosexual), and only two (2%) were rated as 3 (equally heterosexual and homosexual). None of the individuals in this group was judged to be 2, 1, or 0 in the scale (i.e. predominantly or exclusively heterosexual).

Some writers distinguish between *true homosexuals* and *facultative homosexuals* (considered in the next section), and the distinction depends sometimes on causative factors, sometimes on sexual propensities. The perennial discussion on the relative contributions of hereditary and environment to the development of homosexual tendencies is not appropriate to this research. But if the sexual orientation is taken as the criterion, then nearly all the contacts in this sample are true homosexuals, in the sense that their heterosexual interests are slight.

E. FACULTATIVE HOMOSEXUALS

The definition of a homosexual used in this research leaves out a large number of individuals who take part in homosexual activities from time to time, but whose sexual tendencies are not predominantly directed to other men. They would probably fall somewhere between 1 and 3 on Kinsey's scale and there is some doubt as to whether they can strictly be called *homosexual*.

Bloch⁽¹⁴⁾ first described these men as *pseudo-homosexuals* and other writers have adopted this term. Hoch and Zubin⁽⁵⁵⁾ say the sexual outlets of the true homosexual are seldom or never heterosexual, but there are also a large number of men, 'who are essentially pseudo-homosexuals, taking part in these activities accidentally, incidentally, experimentally, and as inferior substitutes for heterosexual behaviour'. These men have also been described as *acquired homosexuals*, but probably the most accurate description is *facultative homosexuals* because this term implies that the behaviour is partly optional and partly contingent.

Unfortunately many of the previous researches on this subject have classed as homosexuals a great many individuals who would be better classified under the heading of facultative homosexuals. The proportion of facultative homosexuals would be especially high in those studies that have taken homosexual offenders in prisons as their subjects. The majority of homosexuals manage to avoid any direct conflict with the law and many of those who do get arrested are the inexperienced homosexuals, or perhaps are not

homosexual at all. Neustatter⁽⁸⁷⁾ writes: 'It is one of the objections to "morality drives" that it is the wrong type of offender who is rounded up; the psychopathic voluptuary or the male prostitute who knows the ropes, merely invites the police to prove their case against him, which they very often cannot do without an admission.'

It is doubtful if any of the individuals interviewed in this research can be classified as facultative homosexuals. This is not very surprising, for nearly all facultative homosexuals would be insulted if it were suggested that they were homosexual. Until an individual is prepared to recognize his own homosexual tendencies, he is not likely to volunteer to give information in a research of this kind.¹ But it has been possible to learn something about these facultative homosexuals, especially as a few (19%) contacts preferred these people as sexual partners and so were able to supply information about them. It may seem unwise to attempt a description of these men when all the information obtained about them is second-hand. But reference to them cannot be altogether omitted since they are pertinent to the general background of the research.

Hirschfeld² suggested three main types of pseudo-homosexuals, viz.:

- (i) Those who indulge in homosexual practices for purposes of gain, i.e. prostitution and blackmail;
- (ii) those who indulge in abnormal circumstances such as in prison, in the armed forces, and in other all-male environments; (iii) those who 'allow' homosexual relationships.

The first type are considered in Chapter 8 of this report. Their numbers are small but their anti-social influence may be great.

The second type is more common, especially in exceptional circumstances such as wartime conditions. It is well known that homosexuality is often found in all-male environments—in ships, barracks, monasteries,³ and hostels for workmen in isolated places. A study⁽¹¹⁹⁾ of several ex-prisoners of war at an R.A.F. Rehabilitation Centre showed that a few individuals had difficulty in reverting to heterosexuality when they were no longer segregated from female company, but for most people it seems to be a case of *faute de mieux*. In this research there are several cases where a contact has had

¹ One of the contacts reported that when he tried to persuade a sexual partner to volunteer for an interview, he was met with the retort: 'But I'm not queer. I'm just playing the queers.' When another contact told his regular partner about the research, he replied, 'Be sure and tell him I'm not queer.' This man engages in homosexual activities with the contact two or three times a month and he also has occasional heterosexual intercourse.

² Quoted by Havelock Ellis on page 83 of Vol. II of his *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*.⁽³¹⁾

³ For a description of the homosexual influence in monasteries see *The Six Thousand Beards of Athos* by Ralph Brewster.⁽¹⁶⁾

homosexual relations with a man while serving overseas in the armed forces and then has heard later that the man has married and apparently made a successful heterosexual adjustment.

I suppose Jack was my first love but I don't think I meant much to him. After six months I was posted back to England. I saw him a few weeks later when he came back, but once Jack was back with his normal pals and his girls, he hadn't much interest in me. Years later I was at an exhibition and I ran into Jack. He was on his honeymoon and he introduced me to his wife. He still sends me a Christmas card every year and each time he writes 'I'll never forget' on it.

In places like Singapore it was the married men who got the most frustrated and they were the ones who'd start the sex.

Given two things—a liberating element like alcohol and a restrictive element like being in a closed circle—in some way cut off from women for a time—and about any man can be made. At Oxford after Bump suppers, or at the end of the rugby season, you'll find these super sportsmen almost queuing outside the rooms of the known queers, and I must admit I was one of the University courtesans. On one of these nights the captain of the rugby team insisted on climbing into my bed.

Most of the men who form Hirschfeld's second type of pseudo-homosexuals revert to heterosexuality and this seems to be particularly true of men in the lower income groups—possibly because an excursion into homosexuality is less likely to be followed by feelings of guilt or a fear that they may be homosexual.

It is the third type who occasionally 'allow' homosexual acts that are most difficult to classify or understand. Throughout this survey the research worker heard about these people who were called 'normal' by the contacts but who were nevertheless prepared to take part in homosexual activities with the contacts.

Biologists and anthropologists have suggested that every human being has the potentiality for indulging in homosexual behaviour (36; 83; 119) and psycho-analysts have long maintained that all men have a homosexual component in their personality. Dr. Karl Menninger (85) says: 'Psychoanalytically, we do not feel at all that homosexuality is the nasty little part of the individual which crops up now and then and with which some individuals are unfortunately afflicted to a more conspicuous extent. We take the position that everybody has in his personality a very large amount of homosexual demand, along with his heterosexual demand.' How far this demand is consciously recognized and overtly satisfied is unfortunately beyond the scope of this research.

Some slight indication may be given by the answers contacts gave when they were asked about homosexual relations with men who were bisexual. The ambiguity associated with the word bisexual does not apply here. In the homosexual vernacular a man

'who is bi' is a man who is known to have heterosexual relations as well as homosexual relations without taking into consideration the extent of, or the preference for, either form of activity. It therefore covers a wide field and may include individuals who are almost but not quite exclusively homosexual, but nevertheless it provides some clue to the extent of homosexual activities by facultative homosexuals.

Eighteen (14%) contacts said they had often had homosexual relations with men who claimed to be bisexual; twenty-seven (21%) sometimes, thirty-four (27%) hardly ever, and forty-eight (39%) said they had never had a partner who claimed to be bisexual.

Over the last two years I have known a boy who I suppose you would call normal, if you must make that distinction. At any rate he goes to bed with many women. Once or twice a month he comes to stay the night with me. He's always the passive one when we have sex.

In the army a boy attached himself to me and grew very fond of me. I'm sure he was normal, but one night he lay on my bed and wouldn't go to his bunk. When I suggested he went, he said, 'I'll do anything you want me to', so we had sex. But the next day he wouldn't speak to me. I came to London and was in lodgings and shared a room with the landlady's son. He was a fireman like me and the same age. I had a lot of sex with him, two or three times a week for two years. It was love on my side though not so much on his side. Then he started courting this girl and about two months before he got married he stopped having sex with me. I still see him, in fact I spent a night in the same bed but he wouldn't have any of it no more.

At one time I used to pick up a lot of Americans. They'd come back to my place for a drink and they'd sit and talk about women for hours, but they stayed the night and we'd have mad sex. Next morning they pretended they were so drunk they couldn't remember anything that had happened on the night before. That's all right if that's how they want it, but it's a bit much when they ring up a week later and come round for more.

Two weeks ago I went into a shoe shop. I was served by a good-looking assistant of about twenty-five. He played every trick in the book to get me interested—sly remarks, like you want it to slip in easily, rubbing my legs, and putting my foot against his penis. He then said he would deliver the shoes personally. That afternoon he came in and within five minutes of entering the flat he'd come and rushed out. I met him a few days later in the street and suggested another meeting when we could take our time. But he said it was impossible because he was married. What does it all mean? He took the lead all the way. All I wanted was a pair of shoes.

Homosexual acts are committed in a state of intoxication by individuals who otherwise appear to be entirely heterosexual; or an occasional act may be carried out for the sake of curiosity or because

no suitable heterosexual outlet is available. Contacts have had sexual partners who have been let down by their girl friends and by married men whose wives are pregnant. Some men seem to think they are not being unfaithful to their wives if they choose men instead of women for extra-marital relations.

I met a driver who used to work at our place. He was with his wife who was pregnant. He asked if he could come round and see me and he did the next evening. We had sex but he didn't come again. I think he was just feeling a bit frustrated.

I had a big affair with a sergeant in the Scots Guards. He used to explain in his thick Scots accent that he used to have sex with me so that he was not tempted to go after women and so betray his wife.

Many of these encounters described by the contacts were with men who chose male partners only on isolated occasions or in exceptional circumstances. But this is not always the case. Jefferiss (61) suggests that some men have regular homosexual intercourse because 'the male consort is less clinging and cheaper, not requiring so much courting and money spent on him' and also because there is 'no risk of making the partner pregnant or being trapped into matrimony'. But a man who regularly turns down the opportunities for heterosexual intercourse in favour of homosexual relations may be rationalizing when he says it is easier or safer to do this.

It is very difficult to distinguish between the facultative homosexual who occasionally agrees to homosexual relations and the true homosexual who has made a partial but incomplete adjustment to homosexuality. A married man who from time to time engages in passive anal intercourse could in fact be described as a *pseudo-heterosexual*. He may perform regular and successful coitus with his wife and yet obtain the fullest gratification in homosexual relations. It may be that the heterosexual activity is not 'genuinely or fully in line with the psycho-sexual phantasy and impulse, and which therefore does not achieve adequate psycho-sexual satisfaction'.⁽⁹⁾

Scott (102) makes an important point when he refers to 'the common mistake, not only among lay people, that so-called facultative or bisexual homosexuals are necessarily free to choose whatever sexed partner is available. Many males who have sexual relationships with both men and women, and who are perhaps married, are every bit as much tied to their bisexual pattern as a man of Kinsey rating 6 is tied exclusively to his men.'

Many of these men might really be true homosexuals. The fact that they have heterosexual relations may make them seem 'normal' to the contacts—and possibly to themselves—but a thorough investigation into their sexual orientation would prove otherwise.

A further complication is provided by the psychopathic personalities who have multi-sexual propensities. Although the term psychopath has been much used and misused in recent years, it is still a psychological term describing a character disorder rather than observable behaviour. It was not possible to make judgements about the mental condition of the contacts and it would be wrong to describe any of this group as psychopaths, especially as there is no general agreement about the meaning of the word.⁽¹⁰²⁾

Medical literature contains several examples of psychopaths who will indulge in homosexual activities when the opportunities arise. Most psychopaths have some kind of sexual disturbance, but this does not always include homosexuality. A man may be a psychopath *and* a true homosexual, but more often the connexion between this gross character-anomaly and homosexuality is extrinsic.

The dividing line between the true homosexual and the facultative homosexual may be nebulous, but it is possible to make some distinction between (i) the true homosexual who only seeks other men as partners, (ii) the true homosexual who has made some kind of heterosexual adjustment but still desires homosexual relations, (iii) the facultative homosexual who is predominantly heterosexual but who will take part in some form of homosexual activity on rare occasions or in exceptional circumstances, and (iv) the psychopath who may indulge in any kind of sexual activity as the opportunity arises.