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Homophile "Dis-ease": A Product of the Social Environment

T. R. DeRoche

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HOMOPHILE "DIS-EASE":
A PRODUCT OF THE SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT

A Thesis

Presented to
The Faculty of the Department of Sociology
The College of William and Mary in Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment
Of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts

by
T. R. DeRoche
1972

APPROVAL SHEET

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

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587395

DEDICATION

Dedications salute all those fallen energies
 who died in the midst of battle.
Body counts oscillate as do the living, and
 certainly those alive laugh at the dead.
Each soldier mans his strategy like
 pearl handled pistols...
 the cowboys drop
 one by one.
Bombs explode and tanks rumble by
 charred remains...the sting of burning flesh
 lasts so very long.
Miraculously,...one side wins, and
 eulogies and dedications flow
 like used fraternity beer.
So the smoke clears, and poker chips roll
 to the teller,
 and the paratroopers all fly away...
 they seek to pull another cord.

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The socio-emotional energies extended to me (in absentia) by Richard Brautigan, Richard Farinia, Ken Kesey, and Tom Wolfe are recognized as having been foundational to my sociological perspective and to my life. They are the true sociologists of the world today. They have taught me to laugh and cry in the face of absurdity.

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ABSTRACT

Exploring the relationship of homosexuals to their social environment, this thesis presents the hypothesis that homosexual "dis-ease" is a function of this relationship.

A survey of the literature pertinent to the issue of homosexuality shows the basis of traditionally accepted views of the homosexual individual and catalogs the major influences on these views from the Bible to the popular publications of the 1970's.

The homosexual community of Southampton, Long Island, New York, serves as the locus for direct observation of a current, specific manifestation of the homosexual phenomenon.

These observations point to the inadequacies of traditional conceptualizations of homosexuality in light of the data produced, and demonstrate that, given a situation which eliminates the necessity for continual defensive posturing, the homosexual adopts a full potential perspective toward self and community and can become free from "dis-ease".

HOMOSEXUAL "DIS-EASE":
A PRODUCT OF THE SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT

CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Since the desire for sexual experience is one of the most compelling of man's drives and occupies much of his conscious or unconscious time, deviations from what is defined as normal sexual behavior are not surprising. One such variant form of expression is that of homosexuality; human behavior which emphasizes either overt or psychic sexual and socio-emotional relations between members of the same sex.

Homosexuality has long been regarded as deviant behavior. A survey of literature dealing directly or indirectly with the homosexual phenomenon reveals a variety of ways that societal views of homosexuality have been formed, and reviews the attempts of professionals to deal with the issue. Existing literature shows that homosexuality has been, and is, generally regarded as a disease to be cured rather than a phenomenon to be understood. Most of history and nearly all of literature, both classic and contemporary, completely neglects the possibility that a socio-emotional and sexual relationship between members of the same sex may be as functional in the stabilization of personality and maximization of human potential as heterosexual activity.

This view of homosexuality has resulted in the "dis-

eased" homosexual; an individual who cannot function with comfort or ease in society because he is regarded by the mainstream of society, as well as by professionals, as sick, unclean, and existing in a pathological environment. This regard by society as a whole evokes a defensive posture on the part of homosexuals which disallows effective participation in community and totally undermines any process of self-actualization. Thus, a "dis-eased" homosexual may easily grow to be a truly diseased, neurotic individual (in the sense that he may exhibit behavior destructive to himself or others).

It is the proposition of this thesis that given a supportive environment, homosexuals can become well adjusted, fully functional components of a total community. Observation of the homosexual community of Southampton, Long Island, New York, supports this proposition. Once a homosexual is removed from an all-encompassing defensive posture, there is evidence which suggests that he can not only assume functional roles as a homosexual dealing with himself, but as a homosexual operating within the context of a heterosexual environment.

In examining the various behavioral components which comprise the life styles of the individuals observed for the purposes of this thesis, it becomes evident that traditional conceptualizations of the homosexual phenomenon are inadequate. The individuals observed came to be regarded by the writer of this thesis as "enlightened" homosexuals. The "enlightened" homosexual is an individual who, in the context of a non-hostile environment, transcends the forces

(biological, psychological, social) working on him and begins to operate in an existentially honest way, postulating real freedom of choice. With this postulation comes a resultant objectively observable personality structure which definitely removes the individual from the ranks of diseased persons.

Homosexuality as deviant behavior, as a disease, is then by contrast seen as a function of a social definition which becomes internalized as a self definition. It is the contention of this writer that while the ability of the homosexual to escape "dis-ease" is due in large part to a supportive social structure, the final factor in the escape from disease, from perversion, is made within the individual as a "leap of faith" which manifests itself in a need to discover essence through existence, rather than accepting self definitions from a generally hostile environment. With this contention in mind, the observation and documentation of what these "enlightened" homosexuals are doing and being provides the only key for understanding the phenomenon.

CHAPTER II
SURVEY OF THE LITERATURE

Section A

Classical Foundations

Three contradistinct sources have served to form the basis of the classical foundations of contemporary sexual mores: the Judeo-Christian interpretations of Biblical proscriptions of sexuality; Sigmund Freud's pioneering investigation of the infrastructure of man's mind; and Alfred Kinsey's 1948 publication of Sexual Behavior In The Human Male.

With respect to the homosexual phenomenon, Judeo-Christian ethics draw from a wide range of resources. The Bible, church tradition, sorcery-witchcraft, and certainly the hallowed definitions of the "natural" and the "valued" — all these and other ambiguous elements are potential resources for the ethicist.

Most cultural prejudices against various forms of deviant behavior have at least some dimension of latitude. They are shared with others and rooted in common, although partial experience. While the Judeo-Christian ethic has a high degree of general adherence, apparent in it is a conspicuous lack of experientially rational or consistent thought. Throughout the centuries, Old Testament doctrine

and New Testament Gospels have afforded the world-wide God fearing masses the blind zeal necessary for Christian theology to condemn all homosexuality as a sin,...punishable by incredible social consequences ranging from ostracism from the church and community to criminal legislation providing for imprisonment, castration, or death.

Troy Perry, a Pentecostal minister with graduate degrees from Chicago's Moody Bible Institute and the Midwest Bible College, and founder of Los Angeles' 1500 member Metropolitan Community Church (whose congregation is entirely gay) has pinpointed the biblical locus classicus of divine wrath against homosexual behavior. Perry recognizes that Christian theology has based its condemnation of the homosexual on one story in the book of Genesis (Gen. Chs. 18 and 19), four verses of scripture in the Old Testament book of Leviticus (Lev. 20:13-16), and three verses from the New Testament writings of Paul (Rom. 1:26-27; I Tim. 1:9-10; I Cor. 6:9).

The Sodom story of Genesis has provided the Judeo-Christian tradition with its central tenet against homosexuality. In this account the city of Sodom is reputed to have been destroyed by God for the sin of its inhabitants. And that sin has traditionally been identified as homosexual relations, since the narrative speaks of the men of the city clamoring for male visitors who have come into their midst in order that they might "know" them.

The Old Testament laws of Leviticus are emphatic in prohibiting male homosexual activity, even to the point of

attaching the penalty of death (Lev. 20:13). Here homosexuality is condemned along with the sins of adultery (Lev. 20:10), incest (Lev. 20:11-12), bestiality (Lev. 20:15-16), sorcery and witchcraft (Lev. 20:27), eating such food as rabbit (Lev. 11:6), oysters, clams, shrimp, or lobsters (Lev. 11:10-12); and eating steak too rare (Lev. 17:10). This book also prohibits men from becoming priests if they are blind, lame, humpbacked, short, or flat-nosed (Lev. 21:17-24).

Of the three direct scripture references to homosexuality in the New Testament, the most widely quoted is the one damning overt homosexual expression, Romans 1:26-27 (KJV): "For this cause God gave them up unto vile affections: for even their women did change the natural use into that which is against nature; and likewise also the men, leaving the natural use of the women, burned in their lust one to another."

In I Timothy 1:9-10 (KJV) Paul places those who "defiled themselves with mankind," under the same condemnation as murderers. He again takes up his crusade against all who cannot live up to the "Word" in his first letter to the Corinthians. "People who are immoral or idolaters or adulterers or sensual or given to unnatural vice or thieves or greedy—drunkards, abusive people, robbers—will not have any share of God's kingdom."

Certainly, the background of religious motives suggests that some of the harsher attitudes of religious groups toward sex offenders may be rooted deep in reaction form-

ulations against forbidden impulses within those who have the harse attitudes. T. Erikson ("Notes on the sociology of deviance." Social Problems 9: 308, 1962) suggests that "deviance is not a property inherent in certain forms of behavior; it is a property conferred upon these forms by an audience which directly or indirectly witnesses them. Sociologically, then, the critical variable is the social audience...since it is the audience which decides whether or not any given action or set of actions will become a visible cause of deviation."

The religious community is an audience, participating as a major part of society at large and affecting the legal permissions and proscriptions of various types of sexual behavior; with the result being an inevitable fusion of secular law and religious belief. Wayne Oates, in his essay entitled "Religious Attitudes and Pastoral Counseling" in Sexual Behaviors: Social, Clinical, and Legal Aspects (H.L.P. Resnik and M.E. Wolfgang, 1972) recognizes that the religious community has its own pronouncements and, as such, is a critical audience capable of taking specific positions concerning sex deviations.

What then becomes apparent is the essence of the churches' and synagogues' criticism of sex offences. Their interpretation of the nature of sexuality is seen as essentially heterosexual, nonincestuous, and family centered. The creation story of Genesis establishes the role of both male and female, with the purposes of companionship, procreation, and the subjugation of nature to the intentions

of God by the extension of man.

The portrait of Old Testament sexuality shows that deviations from the sexual norm were dealt with harshly both in judgement and punishment. Homosexual behavior was repugnant to the Hebrews, and their law said: "You shall not lie with a male as a woman; it is an abomination" (Lev. 18:22). Death was the punishment. An extension of the condemnation of homosexual behavior is seen again in the Old Testament as transvestism was also recognized as an abomination to the Lord (Deut.22:5). An "abomination" had several connotations, such as uncleanness, indulging in practices of or related to idols and idol worship, attempting to reverse the "natural" order of things, and being unnatural.

An insight into the rationale behind the Hebrews' morbid sentiments toward homosexual behavior might lie in their demographic instability with respect to the ratio of male to female. Old Testament sexual life included a multiplicity of wives and unattached females in an era when a warring nomadic existence was the order of the day; the population balances between the sexes were askew, there being many more females than males. What was paramount to the maintenance of the Jewish nation was essentially a massive population, i.e. physical strength through numbers.

New Testament considerations of the phenomenon of homosexuality introduce a new concept into the treatment of sex offenders through the teachings of the Apostle Paul. Though Paul's credentials certainly may be questioned, his letters bridge the gap between the scriptural and the con-

temporary attitudes of religious persons toward sexually deviant behavior. His letter to the Romans deals harshly with homosexual practices, much in the vein of Old Testament proscriptions. However, he reflects his awareness that he does not have the power to put offenders to death; he simply says that they deserve to die (Rom. 1:26-32). Oates (op. cit. p. 232) recognizes this as a shift in the punitive attitude toward deviant sexual behavior from a socio-legal treatment to a more refined one of exclusion and "mental capital punishment" held by a person who does not have the legal authority to put his wish into action.

In his letter to the Corinthians, Paul establishes a diagnostic wisdom for differentiating between types of sexual offenses. He relates that these offenders not only commit these abominations among themselves, but they teach others to do likewise. This comment no doubt has served as fuel to the myth of homosexuals leading little children down the "paths of sin."

The five above mentioned references to the condemnation of homosexual behavior have formed the folk mores of popular religious attitudes today. This nexus of beliefs has transcended the ecclesiastical body and firmly established itself in the sanctioned norms, both formal and informal, of the Western population at large. Thus, one will find large segments of the commonality insisting on strict adherence to every word of the Bible in a literal sense. By inference, then, a person found expressing a sexually deviant

behavior such as homosexuality, bestiality, necrophilia or exhibitionism should be put to death.

In this context, it is ironic to note the sexual stability of Jesus Christ, the New Testament Savior of the World. Specifically, he never mentioned homosexuality in any of his teachings. There can be found nothing along the lines of "Come unto me, all you heterosexuals who, if you have sex or intercourse, and I will accept you as the only true believer." In fact, if Christ lived today, he would probably be labeled as a homosexual. When you have a man in society who is raised by his mother and no father during adolescence (Mary's husband, Joseph, is last heard from in the scriptures when Jesus is 12 years old), who never marries or dates women, who is constantly in the companionship of twelve men or alone in secret places, who allows one of those men to have body contact with him (John 13:21-26), and is taken into custody by the police after another male kisses him -- you would have, according to the Judeo-Christian doctrine, a homosexual.

While the Bible served as the basis for the formulation of the sexual mores of the general public regarding homosexuality, it was the writings of Sigmund Freud (1856-1939) that established the foundation for professional inquiry concerning this phenomenon. Freud's work was the starting point for countless theorizations about the homosexual phenomenon and initiated the systematic analysis of those causal forces which he assumed served to distort the

characteristic (normal) processes of life. In essence, Freud laid the cornerstone of psychoanalytic theory, and hence provided a tool with which to investigate the etiological bases of deviant behavior. No other theory has as yet had the same dramatic impact, the same world-wide effect, nor been applied in so many socio-psychological constructs.

Freud assumed that, fundamentally, mental life is structured by underlying forces which always produce the same effects under the same conditions. The mechanics of this structure were brought to light in the first form of his theory. Here, the psychology of the individual was divided into a conscious and an unconscious, the latter of which contained the more basic factors of emotional life, strongly sexual (libidinous) in nature. Operating between the two spheres was a censoring mechanism which mediated the individual's recognition of self, and established patterns of interaction with external forces.

Later, Freud conceived the central elements of the personality which are today recognized as the tenets of conventional psychoanalytic theory. The mind is composed of three portions or parts: id, ego, and super-ego. The id consists of instincts, "original tendencies," or "impulses" which are possessed at birth. The id impulses are not adaptable to social life and must be repressed or expressed in socially acceptable ways if one is to maintain himself in social life. Essentially, this is a frustration of drives common to all men. The super-ego is the embodiment of the moral codes

of society, and the ego attempts to direct the impulses of the id to the aims sanctioned by the super-ego. The id usually is tamed, but often the impulses remain in the unconscious -- the ego represses or forces them into the unconscious because they are painfully in conflict with social conventions. In this construct, the id has taken over many of the phenomena of the original unconscious and the super-ego now embodies the functions of the former censor.

Freud established that the individual with deviant tendencies is a person who has failed to tame the id impulses sufficiently, or who has failed to transform them into socially acceptable ways of behaving. Deviant behavior is therefore a direct expression of instinctual urges. These urges may either take the form of symbolic expression of repressed desires as in the case of dreams, or actual behavior in variant form which may be the result of an ego which has become maladjusted because of conflicting forces exerted on it by id and super-ego.

Freud then established the concept of a basic life force which is channeled into and through the ego and then invested in the self, persons, and external realities. He referred to this basic psychic energy as the libido. The libido streams into the ego from various organs of the body, producing a "dynamic manifestation of sexuality" integrated into all life and life processes. An example would be the nature of sexual excitation, beginning in the sex organs and progressing through the whole body in an ever-increasing

reaction of emotion and physical response.

The libido has a dual nature, a potential for good and evil. Freud saw the libidinal instincts as a polarity of two opposing qualities: eros, the creative, positive, life-supporting, self-preserving instinct; and thanatos, the destructive, negative, "death wish." Thus, man's highest achievements are the result of eros libido, which are opposed to deviant behavior forms recognized as stemming from thanatos libido.

Coupling these internal elements with the dynamic external institution of the family, Freud maintained that these were essential to the development of personality. The libidinous impulses of man even in the infantile state were crucial to the stylization of behavior. Each new social achievement by the individual corresponded to the molding of libidinous impulses as the infant passes through states from auto-eroticism to oral (breast feeding and other mouth centered activities), anal (toilet training or the holding in or the pleasurable expelling of feces), and genital phases (recognition of attached penis or clitoris, and further development from puberty onward, when the sex drive is fully realised and directed toward the opposite sex, i.e. hetero-eroticism). Of particularly profound importance were the later stages of libidinous molding. In the course of development the child tends to anchor its love impulses on the parent of the opposite sex. This takes the form of Oedipus model in the male, or the Electra model in the female.

To Freud then, a boy suffers from anxiety lest his father rob him of his male member, and so castration anxiety is one of the strongest influences in the development of the child's character. As the boy grows older, he discovers his own sex and wonders about others, including what his mother has. When he learns that women have no penis, this knowledge can cause what Freud theorized as "disgust, which in the years of puberty may become the cause of psychic impotence, of misogyny and of lasting homosexuality."

For full normal development the child will have to transfer its sex interests to some member of the opposite sex other than a parent. If this final transfer is interfered with by some action or inaction of the ego, thus failing, there is a tendency for the individual to regress to some previous stage of libidinous development.

Freud's interpretation of the homosexual phenomenon was based on the responses of his patients with respect to their early pre-adolescent and adolescent phases. He observed that in all his male homosexual patients there was a very intensive erotic attachment to a feminine person, as a rule the mother. This experience took place before the age of 5 and was later forgotten. This attachment involved too much love from the mother herself, and was usually compounded by a passive or absent father during childhood. Freud then theorized that as the years passed, the boy represses his love for his mother by taking her place, essentially identifying himself with the mother. In effect, he becomes a woman. Freud claimed that further research proved

that the homosexual remains fixed in his unconscious with the memory picture of his mother. Thus he avoids women because they could cause him to be disloyal to his mother. Role conflict then becomes fixed, and resocialization through psychoanalysis is necessary for the individual to overcome his socio-sexual neurosis and later adopt a "normal" heterosexual love of other. Essentially Freud established his etiological explanation of homosexuality as a phenomenon with its causal factor located in the structure of the family and its malfunctions.

The limitations of such a theory, regardless of its then avant-garde posture toward homosexuality, are extensive. Perhaps the most critical argument against an etiological theory based on the family and its structural dynamics is the difficulty the researcher finds in all theories that depend on an individual's memories of his childhood and that call upon him for hearsay recollections not only of himself, but of his parents. Contemporary research literature shows that an incredibly high proportion of patients of psycho-therapy work very hard to bring out more and more self-denigrating materials to assure the therapist that he, the patient, is really working hard and searching for the true motives of his neurosis.

In reading Freud's works today, the attempt to assess personality in terms which are almost wholly sexual, and the neglect of forces outside the family in the individual's development appear as glaring inadequacies. Certainly Freud's formulations were in part a product of the Victor-

ian society which spawned them; and although this in no way minimizes their real value, new valuations and evaluations of sexuality are needed for new social orders. Social science research into homosexuality was for too long tied to a Freudian theoretical basis which provided no mechanism for the understanding of such factors as peer group pressure and reification, urban versus rural socialization, and the very important factor of the recognition of a variety of selves by an individual.

At the turn of the century, there had begun a subtle recognition that sexual norms were changing. This fact alone precipitated a flow of literature aimed at "uncovering" the long shrowded issue of sexuality. However, most of the early sex studies were either based on blatantly pejorative sexual valuations or functionally inaccurate methodology. Regardless, their very existence indicated that human sexuality was becoming increasingly accepted as a legitimate area of study.

Katherine B. Davis in Factors In The Sex Life Of 2,200 Women (1927) sought to illuminate the values and practices of older, college educated women. Gilbert V.T. Hamilton studied two hundred married people in depth for his A Research on Marriage (1929). In the 1930s Lewis M. Terman refined then current methodological techniques for his Psychological Bliss in Marital Happiness. As William L. O'Neill points out in his 1972 survey The American Sexual Dilemma, the early efforts of literature delving into sexual research "paved the way for Alfred C. Kinsey and his col-

leagues to make the most ambitious effort to explain American sexuality."

In the 1940s Alfred Kinsey was already a noted zoologist working at the University of Indiana. He was inspired to begin his now-famous research task when, in preparing to give a course on sex-education, he discovered that too little was known about sexual behavior to properly discuss it. Kinsey was a taxonomist who had observed and classified enormous numbers of insects. Thus, unlike other previous sex researchers, he was prepared to deal with human sexual behavior on the scale necessary to achieve something like accuracy. He and his colleagues, Wardell Pomeroy, Paul Gebbhard, and Clyde Martin set the goal of recording 100,000 interviews to survey the sexual histories of Americans in depth. Essentially, the grand design was to try to find out — by means of face-to-face interviewing followed by statistical analysis of the facts they had collected — what people did sexually. Though Kinsey died before reaching his original goal, his two basis studies (Sexual Behavior in the Human Male and Sexual Behavior in the Human Female, published respectively in 1948 and 1953) had over 18,000 lengthy interviews with individuals of every variety to draw upon. The efforts of the Kinsey team have proved to be the starting point and foundation of nearly all the sexual research to be undertaken from the time of his death to the present.

Wardell Pomeroy, in his recollections of Kinsey in Dr. Kinsey and The Institute For Sex Research (1972) argues

that if Kinsey had lived, he might have been unable to continue in his original methodological inquiries. He was having differences with his staff on matters of priorities and definitions. However, Kinsey clung dogmatically to the thesis that the instrument he was using—the interview in the framework he had constructed —was the chosen instrument and he had no intention of abandoning it, or even modifying it significantly. Apparently, several members of his staff felt that there were dead ends in the interviewing technique which could be cut off. The research went on, and the two publications mentioned above established sex research as a truly legitimate and important field of scientific research.

With respect to this thesis, the Kinsey Reports had three major errors which unfortunately served the public and professionals with essentially erroneous summations of the homosexual phenomenon. I would argue that regardless of the value of the total "enlightening experience" his sex research offered to the world, the homosexual suffers his "dis-ease" in part due to the poor handling of the phenomenon by the Kinsey team. The errors were methodological in nature, and later served to establish "almost" truths of homosexuality.

The first error was to break the age groups in the wrong places. According to United States Census practice these divisions occur as follows: 14 and under, 15 to 19, 20 to 24, 25 to 29, and so on. The Kinsey team divided the groups into 15 and under, 16 to 20, 21 to 25, 26 to 30, and

so on. Thus, the five-year age breakdowns could not compare directly with the United States Census age divisions. Further, in recording sexual behavior in the age groups, the individual's sexual history was used even if it did not extend through an entire five year period. For example, if an adolescent boy had a homosexual experience early in his 16th year at a rate of once a week, his experience would be included in the category ranging to 20 years of age. It is now recognized as quite usual for homosexual experiences to occur in adolescence, but the meaning of this experience at 16 years rather than 20 years is quite different. In placing these two ages within the same category, an erroneous picture of the occurrence of homosexuality in young males is presented.

The second error was the gathering of homosexual histories primarily from prisons, notorious gay bars, and police files. This gathering of data resulted in a sample which was not nearly representative of the whole spectrum of homosexuality.

The third error was the overweighing of two sample areas: prisons and college freshmen. Kinsey used these two areas to bolster his one-hundred percent samples. The statistical weight of sexual histories taken from either category is highly questionable. Instances of homosexual experience in either environment must be considered in terms of availability of heterosexual outlets, peer group pressures, and the nature of authority figures governing the quantity and quality of potential sexual outlets. In any case, such environments certainly represent exceptional

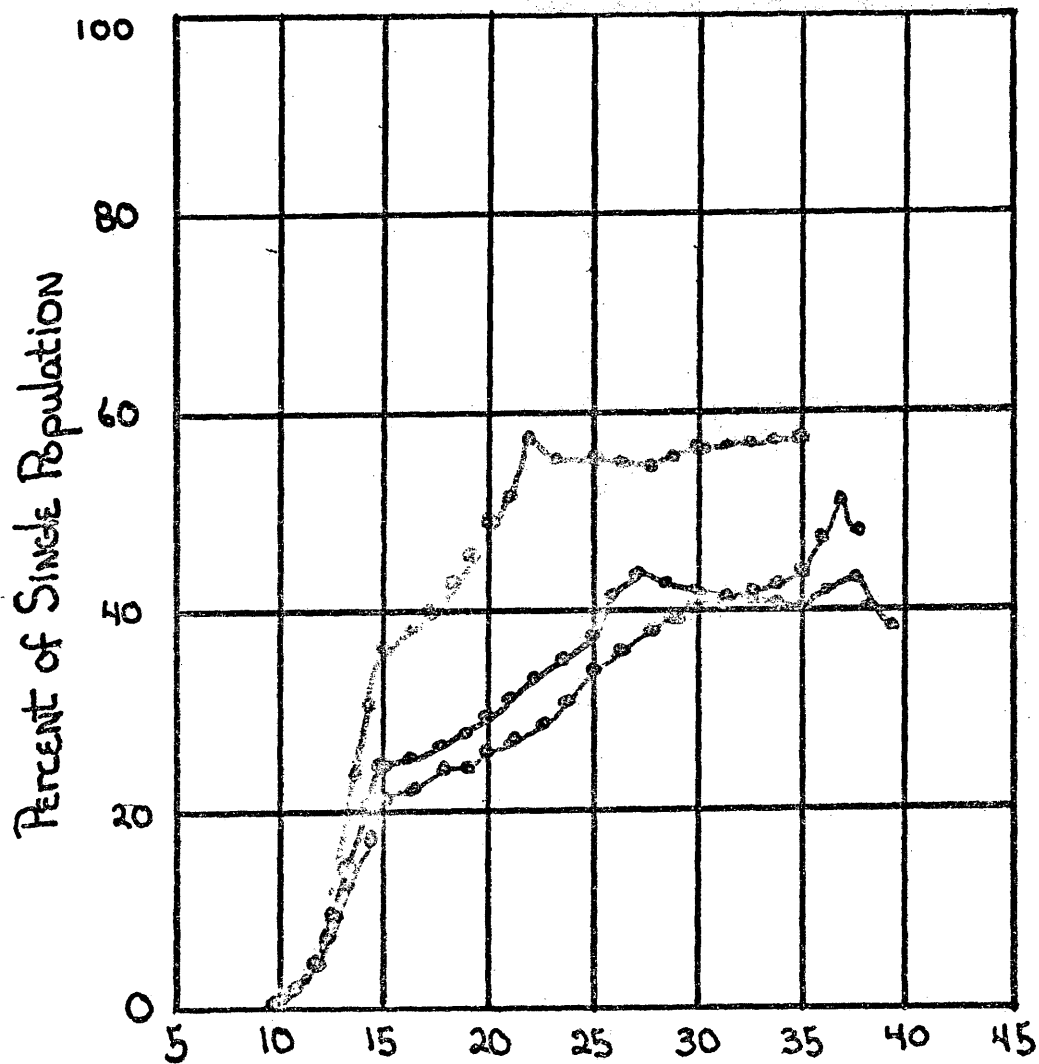
rather than normal psycho-social situations.

Figures 1 and 2 offer, from the data Kinsey and colleagues collected, what appears to be the accumulative incidences of homosexual outlets for single and all males in three educational levels. These three levels were offered instead of the nine levels considered in the interview samples. The original sample had groups divided into the following years of schooling: 0-2, 3-4, 5-6, 7-8, 9-10, 11-12, 13-14, 15-16, and 17 plus. The last category included all who had done any graduate work. A considerable portion of Kinsey's homosexual data gathered for the 13 years plus category came from college freshmen. In the original group divisions, college freshmen would be assigned to the restricted category of 13-14 years education. By reducing the group divisions to only three (i.e. 0-8, 9-12, and 13 +), the sexual experience of a college freshman would be combined with those of graduate students, business men or professionals, again producing a highly questionable view of the usual nature of homosexual experience for males.

In Figure 3, Kinsey offers a breakdown of the homosexual data for several occupational classes and correlates them with educational levels. What is obscured by incredibly small print placed beneath oversized and bold faced print in the original text is the fact that these data's source are from single males of the age group 16-20. Thus when correlated with the Chapin-Warner 10-way breakdown of occupational classes (0. Dependents, 1. Underworld, 2. Day Labor,

FIGURE 1

HOMOSEXUAL OUTLET: SINGLE MALES
accumulative incidence among single males,
in three educational levels

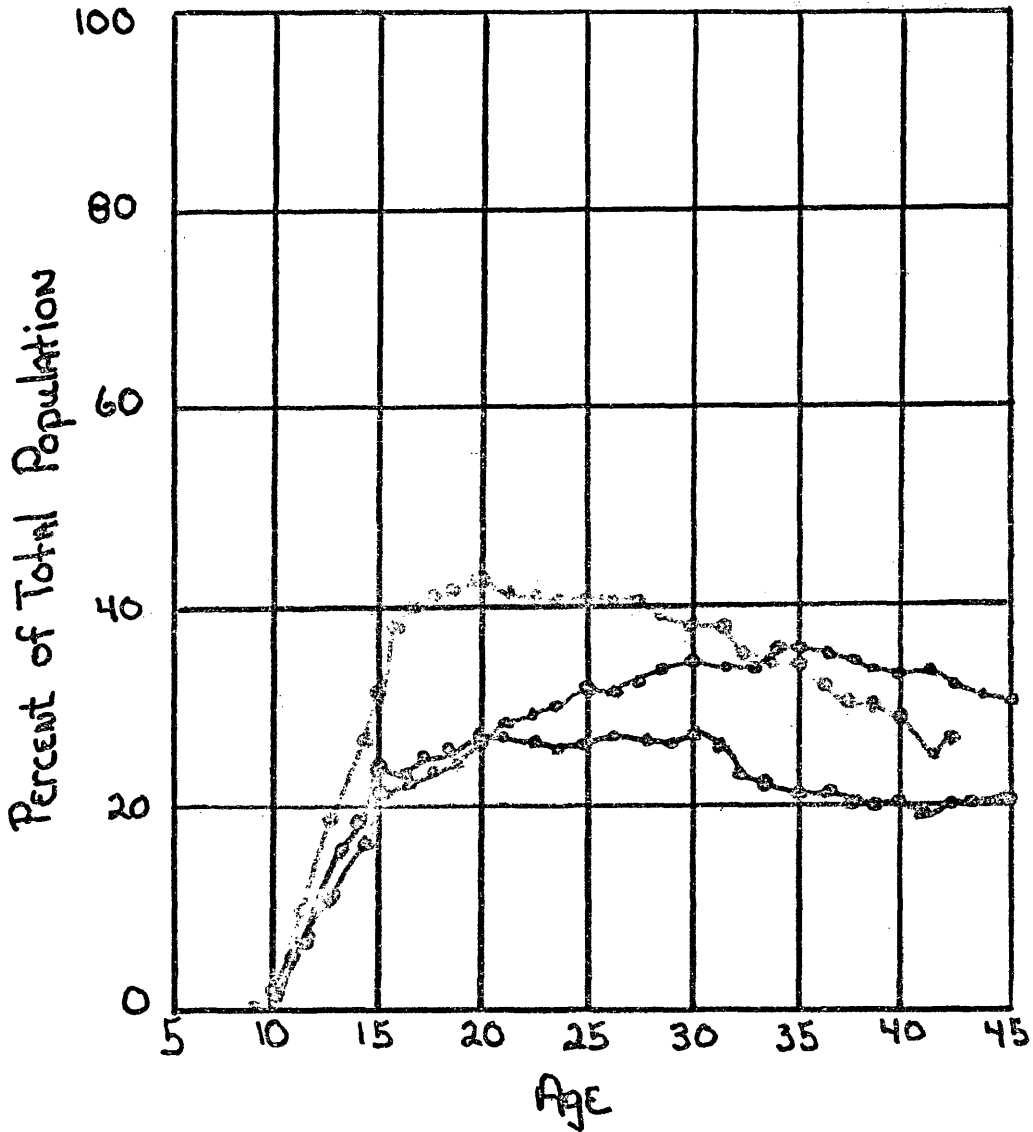


Educational Level 9-12
Educational Level 9-12
Educational Level 0-8
EDUCATIONAL LEVEL 13 +

(Kinsey, 1948: 629)

FIGURE 2

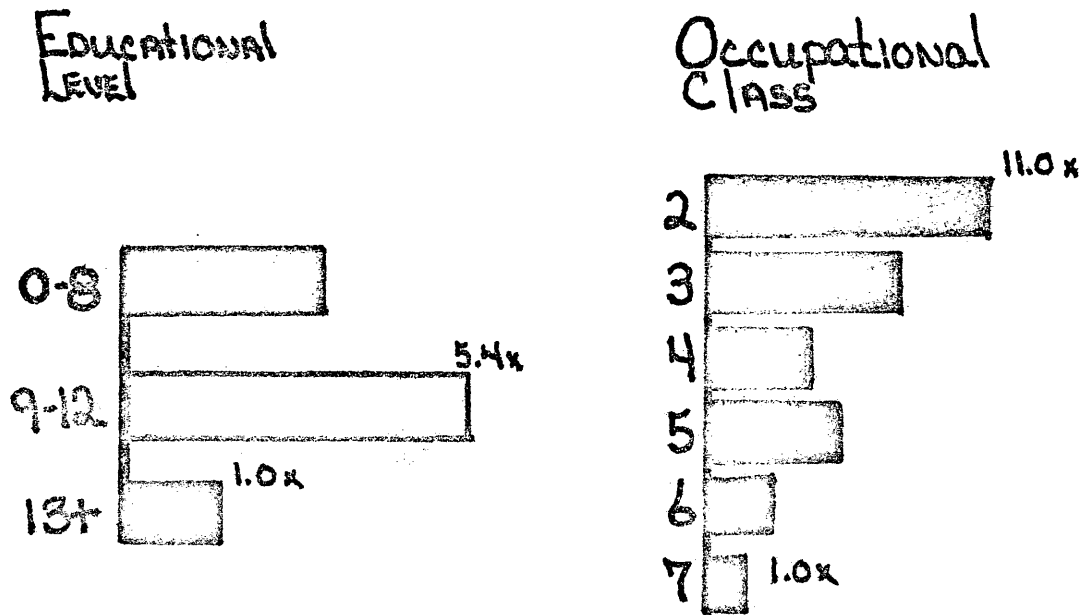
HOMOSEXUAL OUTLET: ALL MALES
accumulative incidence in total U.S. population
for three educational levels



Educational Level 9-12
Educational Level 0-8
Educational Level 13+

(Kinsey, 1948: 627)

FIGURE 3
HOMOSEXUAL OUTLET



(Kinsey, 1948: 361)

3. Semi-skilled, 4. Skilled Labor, 5. Lower White Collar Group, 6. Upper White Collar Group, 7. Professional Group, 8. Business Executive Group, 9. Extremely Wealthy Group) it appears that homosexual outlets in the 7, 8, and 9 categories are nearly non-existent. In fact, there was no data offered for the last two of these categories. It is certainly questionable to put much weight on the responses of first year college students or 20 year old business executives (if there are any such people) with respect to sexual experiences. According to the above figure, the mass of homosexuals (interviewed as a representative sample) are high school dropouts, who are day-laborers or semi-skilled workers. Kinsey's data indicate that homosexual behavior is a correlate of low educational achievement and lower status oriented occupational areas. This is simply not true. Inaccurate assumptions such as the one drawn from the above surveys plague legislative and social science literature, insuring the maintenance of jaundiced views of the homosexual as definitely deviant from the middle class norms of America. Again such assumptions, when based upon "chance" samples located in freshmen dormitories, penal centers, and pick-up bars simply are not sufficiently cogent to an accurate survey of the spectrum of homosexuality within the United States population.

In 1952, Erdman Palmore published the article "Published Reactions to the Kinsey Report" (Social Forces, Dec. 165-170). More than 63% of the published articles were favorable to the overall content of the Kinsey Report.

TABLE 1

PUBLISHED REACTIONS TO THE KINSEY REPORT
 Total of 124 published reactions to the Kinsey Report

Reaction	Number	Percent
Completely favorable.....	48	38.7
Mostly favorable.....	31	25.0
Neutral.....	6	4.9
Mostly unfavorable.....	21	16.9
Completely unfavorable...	18	14.5
Total	124	100.0

(Palmore, 1952: 170)

A breakdown by disciplines of the published reactions offers some indication to the additudinal array of the respondents.

While on the one hand most sociologists reacted favorably to the Kinsey research, some obvious flaws in methodology have prompted several noted social scientists to criticize the report. Most notably, Dr. Margret Mead criticized the concentration on orgasm, the use of volunteers only, the methods of interviewing, and most specifically, Kinsey's concept of "normality." With respect to her last criticism, Kinsey's subjective determinations of just what was "normal" or "abnormal" are open to serious questioning. Kinsey used the term "abnormal" as applied to medical pathology, i.e. conditions which interfere with the physical well-being of the living body; and applied it in a social sense as being applicable to sexual activities which cause social maladjustment. Though it would be unfair to say that Kinsey did not "wrestle" with the problems of definition, the outcome did project the traditional valuation of sexual deviancy.

Most psychologists reacted unfavorably to Kinsey's treatment of psychiatrists and of psychoanalytic theory. Kinsey expressed the impression that such "sexual irregularities" as "excessive masturbation, pre-marital intercourse, responsibility for pre-marital pregnancy, extra-marital intercourse, mouth genital contacts, nocturnal emmissions, homosexual activity, or animal intercourse, always produce psychoses and abnormal personalities, is based upon the fact that the persons who do go for professional help or advice

are "upset by these things" (Kinsey, 1948: 201).

Kinsey's remarks on the Freudian concept of "sublimation" also triggered controversial reactions from the psychologists. While Freud (1938) implied that it was possible for an individual to divert his sexual energies to such "higher levels" of activity as art, literature, science, and other socially acceptable channels, Kinsey felt that his data showed that there was a steady increase in the number of low-rating (frequency of sexual activity) males after the age of 35; thus, Kinsey attributed this to these individual's lower intellectual capacity and dull sexuality. Kinsey's samples were again heavily weighted with individuals from the lower end of the Chapin-Warner 10-way occupational breakdown; specifically from classes 2, 3, 4, and 5. In the Kinsey data, interviewees from these classes had lower educational achievements than did individuals from classes 6 through 9. The assessment drawn from his available data then, low mental capacity...low sexual expression.

From here the reactions went to polemic corners. Lawyers seemed to have adopted the Report as "standard ammunition" in cases involving sexual behavior. Educators in general seemed to feel that the Kinsey Report indicated the need for increased and intensified sex education. Catholic clergy generally condemned the Report, while Protestant and Jewish groups generally accepted it. Penologists stated that Kinsey had utterly failed to convey the dread enormity of the problem. They felt that he had underestimated the sex-stimulants, frustration, and distortions

of sexual behavior in prisons. The public reacted favorably by a large majority. A Gallup Poll found that five out of six persons who had opinions thought that it was a "good thing."

Kinsey's statistical findings were hailed as being highly significant. The two most mentioned incidence statistics were: 37 percent of American males, at some time in their lives engage in homosexual activity, climaxed by orgasm; and 97 percent of American males engage in forms of sexual activity that are punishable as crimes against the law. While these findings were certainly significant in terms of bringing sexual practices into public view, their statistical significance in regard to the study of "deviance" is clouded by definitional and methodological inadequacies.

Statistical weaknesses received high criticisms throughout the reactions. One statistician said, "...There are numerous errors in the way the figures add up and are presented There are also errors in analyzing and interpreting the findings.... Many of the most startling of Kinsey's conclusions have no statistical base" (Wallis, 1950: 72). Another weakness was that of Kinsey's overall sampling techniques. It was pointed out that the sampling was not proportionally representative of the total male population in America. Groups such as college men (first year) were over-represented, and some groups such as farmers and Catholics were under-represented. Other groups such as Negroes and Southerners and Westerners were not represented at all. High on the list of criticisms was Kinsey's use of all volunteers for his data.

Here the thought was that volunteers (many of whom were paid) have a tendency to exaggerate and perform for the interviewers.

The most serious criticism of the Report was that: "... two ways of getting large figures for the study were consistently used. These are using the mean rather than the median or mode, which always gives, in a skewed curve, a higher figure because of the undue influence of a few persons; and, using accumulative incidence figures!" (Knight, 1948: 57-71).

Palmore recognized that weaknesses in Kinsey's interviewing methods were criticised almost as many times as was the statistical issue. These criticisms centered upon six areas. First, memory recall, especially of ages when certain events happened and of frequencies of certain events, is subject to emotional needs for both exaggeration and minimizing. Second, conscious honesty and cooperative answering cannot alter the well documented fact of denial of certain past events. Third, retrospective confusion of fact and fantasy is quite likely to cause many interviewees to declare that certain events happened when in actuality they were only vivid fantasies or dreams. Forth, it was felt that with few exceptions, events are never recorded in memory in terms of figures, however, Kinsey's interviews often asked questions which began 'How many times...? Fifth, even though events are remembered by associations with other events in the context, a considerable lapse of time most likely distorts events by retrospective alterations. Sixth, though the question was chosen on an objective basis, the reason that a

particular question was chosen may be one of bias.

In rebuttle, Kinsey used several checks to point out the reliability of his data. These consisted of retakes to see if the interviewees were consistent over time; comparison of spouses to see if they agree; comparison of sex partners, homosexuals and prostitutes to check for agreement; the use of different interviewers results; and hidden cross checks in the follow-up interviews.

As a result of these checks for validity, Kinsey found that some of his data appeared accurate and other aspects did not. He found that the following types of data declined in accuracy from 1 to 4:

1. Incidence figures.
2. Vital statistics.
3. Frequency figures (rates of outlets).
4. First knowledge of sex phenomenon.

Kinsey's concentration on orgasm to the exclusion of other meaningful factors brought about a host of critical remarks. "Kinsey has translated sex into an impersonal, meaningless act...omitted the most important aspect of sexual patterns, its emotional meaning.... This puritanical attitude is extraordinarily destructive of interpsychic and interpersonal relationships' (Eisenbud and Mead, 1948: 5).

With 20 years of retrospect to call upon, Pomeroy (1972) offered an array of contributions to the public community at large, from the Kinsey Reports. One of the major contributions to overall sex research was that a significant portion of the legal profession took his work seriously. This of course may either be positive or negative depending on

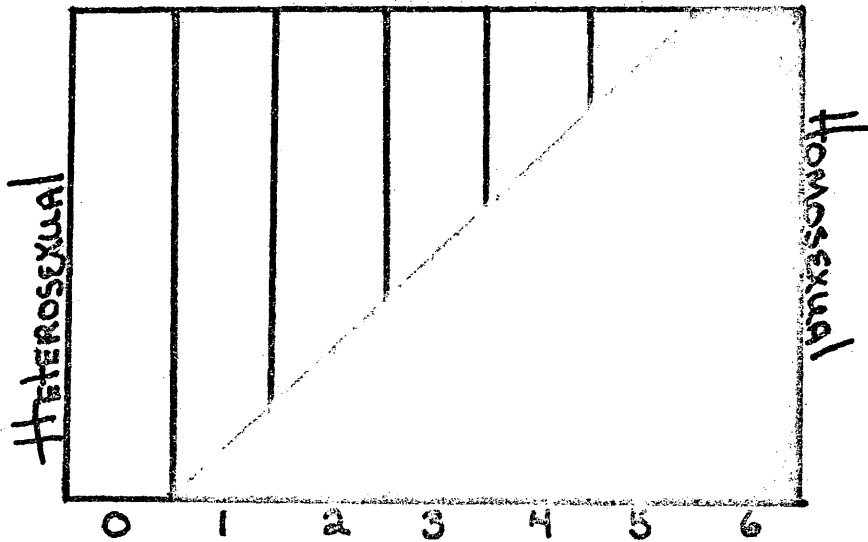
whether or not you are a homosexual. A good many judges read his books, and no doubt this fact influenced their handling of cases involving sex. The research also had the far-reaching effect of getting through to laymen and challenging conventional morality. Pomeroy felt that many of them got over their initial shock, and in a sense, Kinsey's work paved the way for the present sexual evolution, often mistakenly called the sexual revolution. The original two volumes on male and female sexual behavior were published by many people for the popular press media forms such as newspapers, magazines, and paperbacks. The physical dissemination of the work is in and of itself a creditable achievement.

The overall contributions of the Kinsey Report which in some manner touch upon the homosexual phenomenon number four; two peripheral and two directly communicable. With respect to the first two: the fact of the research itself — for the first time a large body of comprehensive sex information was gathered, analysed, and presented to the public at large; and the establishment of The Institute for Sex Research itself, — the ongoing institution with data repositories unequaled anywhere else in the world. The latter two contributions have perhaps had a more marked effect upon the homosexual phenomenon. First was the establishment of base lines. These were products of a broad assault on what people do sexually. Pomeroy does acknowledge that these base lines were not always what the Report said they were. For example; the magic 37 percent of males who have had

one or more homosexual experiences, was in Pomeroy's words, "no doubt overestimated." It was later felt that 33 percent would have been closer to the mark. Regardless, it was recognized that the difference between 33 percent and 37 percent was not important. What was essential was that few people would have believed, before the Report, that a third of American males had had at least one homosexual experience. Secondly, and perhaps of principle importance to the social science community was the 0 to 6 scale (see Figure 4). This scale for measuring homosexual behavior was of prime importance in breaking away from the confines of classifying homosexual and heterosexual behavior as two separate, compartmentalized entities. The 0 to 6 scale could tell the sexual history of an individual by simply applying the appropriate number to the individual's history. The Kinsey team developed the scale by a compromise value placed upon the individual's conceptual psychological response as well as his overt behavior. For example; suppose a man is married, having intercourse with his wife three to four times a week, and having infrequent homosexual experiences once a month. From these data alone the research team could classify the individual as a 2. But if the number of times the individual masturbated with the accompaniment of male fantasies, coupled with other inclinations toward men which were not overt, were added to the original data, this individual might psychologically be a 4. It was recognized that an individual might have no overt homosexual experiences and still be classified as a psychological 4; however, taking into account

FIGURE 4

HOMOSEXUAL/HETEROSEXUAL 0 TO 6 SCALE



- 0 Exclusive Heterosexual / No Homosexual
- 1 Predominately Heterosexual / Incidental Homosexual
- 2 Predominately Heterosexual / Plus Incidental Homosexual
- 3 Equally Heterosexual / Homosexual
- 4 Predominately Homosexual / Plus Incidental Heterosexual
- 5 Predominately Homosexual / Incidental Heterosexual
- 6 Exclusive Homosexual / No Heterosexual

(Kinsey, 1948: 648)

overt and non-overt behavior, this exemplified individual would be an overall 3. This scale allows a greater degree of latitude in the communication and discussion of homosexual behavior. It is indeed a major positive contribution.

These then are the major contributions, both positive and negative of the Kinsey Report. Since the first data were published in 1948, nearly every study on sexual behavior has used some aspect of the Kinsey research as being foundational to further investigation of human sexuality. In a Fall 1973 survey of the library of the College of William and Mary, of a random 100 sexual research books published after 1950, 100 percent of them made reference to the Kinsey study. The sheer magnitude of this fact cannot be overlooked. The Kinsey Report had been the Bible of sexual research for the past 25 years.

What is ironic is that though the overall effect of the Report was incredibly positive with respect to the simple recognition of human sexual behavior in the United States, much of the stigmatization of "homosexual types" has been established and maintained by the Kinsey data. This typology has been drawn upon by most of the 1950s and early 1960s texts regarding human sexual behavior. As a result, there has been a nearly total exclusion of homosexual types which are well educated, wealthy, professional and of high status. In the public mind, these individuals do not exist.

Section B

The Post-Kinsey Discussion

The "textbook revolution" dating from the mid-1950s to the present has brought about an incredible aggregate of post facto legitimations concerning the "visibleness" of the post-Kinseyian sexual evolution, and nowhere has the effect of sexual visibility been more recognized than in the textbooks of Sociology. Oddly enough, though the increasing visibility of heterosexual relations and deviations has become an important topic area in most socio-sexually relevant chapters, such as "Changing Social Norms," "Marriage and the Family," "Freudian Psychoanalysis," "Deviant Behavior," etc., homosexuality and perhaps more importantly homophilism has been a near constant area of neglect.

For example, in the Fall of 1973, the Departmental Library of the Department of Sociology at the College of William and Mary had 18 nationally recognized textbooks which by title offered an array of conceptualizations, observations, and theories which dealt with the depths of "social life" and "sociology" on the introductory level. Certainly, the introductory level central text of any discipline is a crucial foundation for the framework of social theory and its ramifications. Of the eighteen major introductory sociological textbooks, 12 made no mention of homosexuality at all. This in itself is unusual since all of

these texts had chapters on "Deviant Behavior" and "Sexual Mores." There were, however, leading connotations as to the abnormality of sexual deviations beyond socially sanctioned norms. Usually these areas were covered under topics which expanded on prostitution, drug addiction, homicide, and rape. Explanations of such behavior patterns were inevitably followed up by discourses on "mental disturbances" and "mentally abnormal patients." And nearly all references to deviant behavior of the type indicated above had a physical environment of ghettos, prisons, or interior metropolises (see Table 2).

Of the six remaining textbooks, two were blatantly biased in regard to contemporary 20th century sexual norms and psycho-sexual maladies. Leznoff and Westley used Kinsey data and police files in their article "The Homosexual Community" in Modern Sociology: An Introduction To The Study of Human Interaction. (Gouldner and Gouldner. eds., 1963). Their focus is indicated by the following quote from their introduction: "The psychological isolation of the homosexual from society, his dependence upon other deviants for the satisfaction of sexual needs and self-expression, the crystallization of social roles and behavior patterns within the deviant group, the reciprocal obligations and demands within the homosexual community, and their significance for the larger society in which they occur, are but a few of the areas of theoretical interest to the sociologist." (Underlining, this writer). Leznoff and Westley continue with this summation of the function of the homosexual group.

TABLE 2

LIST OF INTRODUCTORY SOCIOLOGY TEXTS CONSULTED

- Sociology and Social Life. Young and Mack, 1965.
Sociology. Broom and Selznick, 1955.
Sociology: A Systematic Analysis. Quinn, 1963.
Sociology. Horton and Hunt, 1964.
Principles of Sociology. Young and Mack, 1965.
Sociology: The Study of Human Relations. Rose, 1956.
Principles of Sociology. Freedman, Hawley, Landecker,
Lanski, and Miner, 1952.
Sociology: An Analysis of Life in Modern Society.
Green, 1972.
Sociology. Ogburn and Nimkoff, 1964.
Readings in General Sociology. O'Brien, Schrag and
Martin, 1957.
Sociology in Use. Valdes and Dean, 1965.
Sociological Analysis: An Empirical Approach Through
Replication. Straus and Nelson, 1968.

"The primary function of the homosexual group is psychological in that it provides social context within which the homosexual can find acceptance as a homosexual and collective support for his deviant tendencies.

In the 1967 publication of Readings in Sociology by Schuler, Hault, Gibson, and Brookover, the only mention of the homosexual phenomenon rests in Ruth Benedict's classic essay on "Continuities and Discontinuities in Cultural Conditioning." Originally published in Psychiatry (Vol. I., 1938, pp. 161-167), Benedict's only contribution is an anthropological description of the Keraki Indians of Western New Guinea. Her observations of the life cycle of the Kerakis show a succession from passive homosexuality, to active homosexuality, and finally to heterosexuality for the purpose of child getting.

Of the three remaining texts, one gives an attitudinal survey on the issue of homosexuality, and the remaining two, Sociology (Horton and Hunt, 1972), and Sociology: The Study of Human Interaction (Dressler and Carns, 1969), offer some indication of revision of public acceptance of the homosexual phenomenon.

The Substance of Sociology published in 1967 and edited by Ephraim H. Mizruchi offers some interesting insights into the public's awareness of deviant behavior and homosexuality. (See Table 3 and Table 4). A total of 180 subjects listed 1,154 items (mean of 6.4 responses per subject) of deviant behavior recognized by the respondents as answers to the question "What is deviant?" The interviewees were

TABLE 3
 "WHAT IS DEVIANT?"
 Responses of 180 interviewees

Response	%
Homosexuals.....	49
Drug Addicts.....	47
Alcoholics.....	46
Prostitutes.....	27
Murderers.....	22
Criminals.....	18
Lesbians.....	13
Juvenile Delinquents.....	13
Beatniks.....	12
Mentally Ill.....	12
Perverts.....	12
Communists.....	10
Atheists.....	10
Political Extremists.....	10

(Mizruchi, 1967: 240)

TABLE 4

DESCRIPTIVE TRAITS OF THE HOMOSEXUAL
Responses of 134 interviewees

	<u>%</u>
Sexually abnormal.....	72
Perverted.....	52
Mentally ill.....	40
Maladjusted.....	40
Effeminate.....	29
Lonely.....	22
Insecure.....	21
Immoral.....	16
Repulsive.....	14
Frustrated.....	14
Weakminded.....	12
Lacking of self control.....	12
Sensual.....	11
Secretive.....	11
Over-sexed.....	10
Dangerous.....	10
Sinful.....	10
Sensitive.....	10

(Mizruchi, 1967: 239)

then asked to encircle descriptively the most important traits of the homosexual.

In surveying these texts, it becomes apparent that sociologists have neglected or distorted the issue of homosexuality as far as material offered for college level sociology courses is concerned. Rather than giving an open-ended view of the matter, these texts have generally maintained the stigmatization of homosexuals by refusing to deal with such matters as homophilism or the nature of responsibilities in the maintenance and nurturing of lasting relationships between members of the same sex. The writers and editors of these works have generally failed to recognize their responsibilities to the people they attempt to describe: they have failed to realize that in the case of variant behavior, irresponsible or incomplete description of behavior serves to formulate and rigidify norms which then militate those people described. The majority of these texts are definitely part of the problem rather than part of the solution.

The "professional inquiry" into homosexuality has been marred by its revolving around two major flaws: the first being simplistic and homogeneous view of the psychological and social contents of the category "homosexual", and the second, a nearly exclusive concern with the most difficult and least rewarding of all questions, that of etiology.

Irving Bieber et al., in Homosexuality: A Psycho-

analytic Study (1962), offers the prevailing image of the homosexual and the substantive concern of the literature in psychiatry and psychology. "While some exceptions are allowed for adolescent homosexual experimentation, the person with a major to nearly exclusive sexual interest in persons of the same sex is perceived as belonging to a uniform category whose adult behavior is a necessary outcome and, in a sense, reenactment of certain early and determining experiences." Note the lack of recognition of emotions, love, and relationship responsibility in Bieber's categorical outline of the homosexual. This over-generalized etiology has been accepted by both professionals and the public at large.

Simon and Gagnon's essay "Homosexuality" in Social Problems: Persistent Challenges (McDonagh and Simpson (eds.), 1969) recognizes that the process of labeling and stigmatizing behavior not only facilitates the work of legal agencies in creating a bounded category of deviant actors as the "normal burglars" and the "normal child molester" as suggested by David Sudnow ("Normal Crimes," Social Problems, 1965: 255-276), but it also creates an image of large classes of deviant actors all operating from the same motivations and for the same etiological reasons.

The emphasis on an etiological perspective toward homosexual behavior allows the homosexual's sexual object choice to dominate and control the imagery of him and has let this aspect of his total life experience appear to determine all his products, concerns, and activities. The labeling of the

homosexual, be it positive or negative, then allows the acts of the individual to be interpreted through the framework of his homosexuality. Thus, as any homosexual artist knows, his creative activity is interpreted in terms of his homosexuality, rather than in terms of the artistic rules and conventions of his particular art form. The homosexual painter's energies are then scanned for an excessive or deficient use of phallic imagery or vaginal teeth, while the dramatist's plays are examined for gender exchange through an Albertine ploy. Certainly, this purely sexual aspect of the homosexual's life as a pre-possessing concern of the non-homosexual professional, would not occur so frequently if the interest were directed toward a heterosexual. What is quite evident is that the presence of sexual deviation seems to give the sexual content of an individual's life an overwhelming significance. To focus solely on this particular issue-aspect of an individual's life is ludicrous. It serves only to reify an already too narrow conceptualization of a broad spectrum of individuals. Simon and Gagnon argue that homosexuals vary profoundly in the degree to which their homosexual commitment and its facilitation becomes an organizing principle in their lives. What is realistically involved is a complex outcome less likely to be explained by childhood sex alliances to and of a particular parent, but the consequences of the establishment of the commitment itself.

The professionals' concentration on the Freudian analysis of the homosexual phenomenon has severely limited their ability to analyze the act of commitment...the most important issue facing every homosexual. What has taken place is a relative

shift in the normative framework used by psychologists and psychiatrists alike in their consideration of homosexuality. The rhetoric of sin has been replaced by a rhetoric of mental illness. The focus becomes concerned with the psychological characteristics necessary for an individual to survive within specific social systems and institutionalized situations. Unfortunately, this shift in rhetoric has taken place within a preferential context, i.e. directed toward heterosexual behavior.

"Social Forces and the Neurotic Process," Lawrence Kubie's essay in Explorations in Social Psychiatry (Leighton, Clausen, and Wilson. eds., 1957: 138-164) indicates that major psychic wounds are increasingly viewed as par for the human condition and few survive the relationship with their parents without such wounding. (note here the emphasis on the Freudian approach). Since nearly all individuals face this problem, the issue realistically becomes one of whether or not these wounds, when exposed to social situations, interfere with the individual's handling of self, or for that matter, handling of the surrounding community. Instead of the exceedingly vague and somewhat utopian goals standardized by traditional white America's middle class Protestant ethic, questions of a more pragmatic nature now confront the individual. Is he self-supporting? Has he learned to cope with his environment, both social and physical? Can he accept himself? Does he manage to conduct his affairs without denial of freedoms by authoritarian agencies? These then are the questions put forward to contemporary man. However, contemporary man is still viewed by professionals as being heterosexual. If the heterosexual can meet minimal stan-

dards of mental health, carte blanche activity is legitimized. However, the presence of homosexuality is recognized as immediate evidence of major psycho-pathology. The homosexual, regardless of his positive adjustment in nonsexual activities remains suspect throughout society.

When I have shown here are the critical limitations which plague the post-Kinseyian literature concerning the homosexual phenomenon. Though the importance of the overall contributions of both Freud and Kinsey cannot be overlooked, or for that matter even minimized, to establish "catch-all categories" for homosexuality based on either of these two classic researchers' work is to accept the inaccurate methodology and inadequate theorization underlying both.

In addition there are contributors to the post-Kinseyian literature who even manage to make serious errors in the interpretation of the Kinsey data. I am not simply referring to a casual misinterpretation of graphed figures, but to a thoroughly erroneous reading of a direct statement. An example of this presentation is Marshall Clinard's Sociology of Deviant Behavior (1957). On page 221 where Clinard summarizes his homosexual conceptualizations, he writes, "Kinsey reports that about 33 per cent of the male population has had some homosexual experience and that about 6 per cent have actually committed sodomy, or sexual relations with another male, which is a criminal offense." Clinard's footnote to that quote (Kinsey, Pomeroy, and Martin, Sexual Behavior in the Human Male, 1948: 650-651), when cross referenced, shows that neither of those figures has been interpreted correctly. What Kinsey does say

is that "37 percent of the total male population has at least some overt homosexual experience to the point of orgasm between adolescence and old age." The reference which Clinard makes about the 6 percent committing sodomy is non-existent.

Clinard goes on to say that "most homosexual relationships are of a transitory nature, occurring perhaps only once or twice over a number of years or as a result of a unique social situation." Evidence gathered through conversations with homosexuals active throughout the period of Clinard's research indicate that his samples were only those taken from prisons and other one-sex communities.

This type of research and inaccurate assumption making drawn from homosexual mythology is not atypical. The "textbook revolution" supposedly facilitated by professionals throughout the post-Kinsey period served to perpetuate popular illusions concerning homosexual activity. It was not until the "cultural revolution" of the mid-1960s that serious reappraisal of sexual attitudes through texts was started, and predispositions to traditional valuations of sexuality began to erode.

One area of professional inquiry, which by its very nature goes beyond the textbook standard of explanatory generalizations, is the highly specialized investigation into micro-phenomena. These projects, almost by definition, are the products of highly specialized technicians and theorists. Their goal is total knowledge into a particular phenomenon. It is because of the status/prestige position of these researchers that their literary efforts are especially important with

respect to opinion forming properties.

Within the 10-year period 1960 through 1970, two such specialized writing periods are in evidence. What is particularly unusual about these periods is the degree of change which takes place between them. This change is the product of a period of tumultuous social change and evolution in American history recognized as the 60's "cultural revolution."¹

A review of the professional literature between 1960 and 1966 indicates an overall emphasis directed toward treatments and theorizations of cures for the homosexual. The provocateurs of this period are the specialized behaviorists of psychology and psychiatry: their conceptualization being that homosexuals represent those individuals suffering neuroses established early in age by sex-role maladjustment, be it the product of parental influence, hormonal dysfunction, or environmental controls. The major emphasis here is on the need for a cure; an assumption proposed for the pathologically deviant homosexual, and unfortunately extended to the overall homosexual community.

In Psychotherapy: Theory, Research, and Practice Miller, *Per*
Bradley, Gross and Wood ("Review of Homosexual Research (1960-

¹For the purposes of this research, the 60's "cultural revolution" is recognized as that period between the summer of 1965 and November of 1970. Reference points include the San Francisco based Haight Ashbury hippie phenomenon (".. .San Francisco with flowers in your hair.."), through the death pangs of the movement, the November 1970 moratorium (product of crises which included the Jackson State and Kent State murders, the bombing of the Madison Research Center in August and ultimately the invasion of Cambodia by U. S. ground forces).

1966) And Some Implications For Treatment", (1968) deal with the controversy as to whether or not homosexuality is necessarily a pathological syndrome always associated with neurotic patterns. Their review of twenty-three articles represents a considerable portion of the relevant research during that 7-year period.

Beiber, et al. (1964) and Frey (1962) see homosexuality as a choice of symptoms by a primarily neurotic person. Attempting to lend some empirical evidence to this argument, Cattell, et al. (1962) reported that 16 profiles of homosexuals were similar to those of neurotics.

Evelyn Hooker (1959) reports data to refute this position. Her research uses the findings of three psychologists who examined the Rorschach protocols of 30 homosexuals and 30 heterosexuals, and shows that two thirds of the homosexuals were average to superior in adjustment. She concluded that some homosexuals may not be characterized by any demonstrable pathology. Virginia Armon (1960) reported similar results with respect to female homosexuals. Miller and Hannum (1963) found no differences between a group of homosexually involved females and a group of non-homosexually involved females in a prison system.

There exists evidence to support both sides of this controversy. One position assumes that homosexuality must be eliminated for an individual to be a reasonably well adjusted participant in society. The other implies that since homosexuality is not an outgrowth of neurotic patterns, a legitimate therapeutic goal could be the elimination of

current undesirable symptoms without the necessary elimination of the homosexual behavior.

With respect to the dynamics of homosexuality, studies centered on four general areas: (1) paranoia hypothesis, (2) genetic hypothesis, (3) role-conflict hypothesis, and (4) family patterns. The most numerous theorizations are found in the area of paranoia hypothesis. Klaf (1961) found that out of 100 homosexuals, paranoid ideation was prominent in 24.4 percent of the males and 18.2 percent of the females. Klaf suggested that there is an association between homosexual behavior and paranoid ideation. Moore and Selzer (1963) found similar results, while Watson (1965) found no evidence for this position. Generally, the studies relating to paranoid hypothesis of homosexuality present inconsistent results due to the inadequacy of methodology. For the most part, the majority of experiments include no control groups, no statistical analysis of results, and no controls against the investigator's biases. The validity of the paranoid hypothesis has thus far been non-demonstrable.

In an attempt to test the genetic hypothesis of homosexuality, Prichard (1962) examined the chromosomes of a number of male homosexuals and found the normal number of male complement of one X and one Y chromosome in all his subjects. The intersexuality hypothesis of blurred biological distinction between male and female was rejected by most research efforts during the seven year period.

Brenda Dickey (1962) reported a failure to substantiate the role-conflict hypothesis. She found that subjectively

adequate homosexual males were those who tended to identify with the masculine norms of the dominant culture. Contrary to the role-conflict hypothesis, Dickey's data indicated that feelings of adequacy are associated with job satisfaction, preference for leisure time with heterosexuals, idealization of the role of the typical heterosexual male and identification with the typical heterosexual male.

Experimental evidence dealing with particular family patterns among homosexuals are by far the most consistent of the research areas. Chang and Block (1960) in a study in identification of male homosexuals reported supporting evidence for the Freudian theory that homosexuality in males is based upon over-identification with mother figures and under-identification with the father figure. West (1959) examined the backgrounds of 50 homosexuals and 50 control subjects and found that the homosexual family patterns were more significantly characterized by an over-intense mother and an unsatisfactory relationship with the father. Ullman (1960) found similar results in a study of 636 inmates of a California prison. On the basis of subject responses he found that the typical homosexual family pattern included: (1) mother who participated too much in training activities (bossing, criticism, and discipline), and (2) fathers who participated too little in maintenance activities (attention, praise, love, etc.). Bene, et al., (1965), reported similar family patterns.

With respect to treatment concerns, Beiber, et al., (1962) reported that of 106 homosexuals and bisexuals who



undertook analysis, 29 (27%) became exclusively heterosexual. The duration of treatment ranged from 150 to 350 hours. This investigation was severely criticised because of the lack of firmly set methodological procedures. Mintz, (1966) reported that out of 10 homosexual men who had volunteered treatment and remained in combined individual or group therapy for two or more years, all evidenced improved general adjustment. Hadden (1966) reported on private sessions of 1 to 1½ hours held with groups of individuals. In some cases the sessions continued over a ten year period. Of 32 subjects, 12 had shown marked heterosexual adjustment and decrease of neurotic traits. Stone, et al., (1966) studied the effects of group or individual therapy and found that those homosexuals in mixed groups benefited more than those in private therapeutic situations.

Rashman (1961) describes a hormonal treatment which consists of the administration of an emetic mixture by subcutaneous injection. While the noxious effects of the injection were being experienced, the patient was shown slides of dressed and undressed men. In the second half of the treatment, the patient was shown slides of nude and semi-nude females approximately 7 hours after the administration of testosterone. After analysis of results with a three to five year follow-up program, it was concluded that 25.5 percent of 47 patients were permanently improved. Rashman indicated that the study could be improved with the use of control groups and the use of positive rewards for the heterosexual

pictures.

Feldman and McCulloch (1964) in their systematic approach to the treatment of homosexuality by controlled aversion, had twelve subjects examined while under an anticipatory avoidance paradigm. Their procedures consisted of projecting photographic slides of males which were previously arranged by the subjects in a hierarchical order of attraction. The subjects continue to look at or remove these photos by use of an electric switch. In eight seconds, an electric shock is administered to the subject if a particular picture is not removed. Almost always the subject learns to anticipate the coming shock by removing the picture before eight seconds. The procedure begins with males at the bottom of the hierarchy, and when this photo is removed a photo of the most attractive female (chosen previously) is presented. Thus, the male stimulus is a signal that something unpleasant is about to happen and the female stimulus is a factor in anxiety reduction. At the end of a nine month period, only one individual was evaluated as having dropped homosexual activity and increased heterosexual activity. Solyom and Miller (1965) treated six male homosexuals by associating electric shock with male nude photos and the termination of shock with the pictures of nude females. These researchers found no change in autonomic response to male pictures, but there was an apparent responsive increase to the female pictures.

The approach of all the research done during this pre-cultural revolution period emphasized the necessity of

changing the homosexual's valuations toward his sexuality. Helping the homosexual to idealize and identify with the heterosexual male was seen to be the most efficient way of eliminating the paranoid ideation held by most of the homosexual research participants. Though this approach to homosexual research became the hallmark of psychological literature, the use of external forces such as drugs, shock, and picture association kept pace in the field. It was not until the cultural revolution began to analyze the importance of adjustment to one's self, sexuality, environment, etc., that a shift in the psychological approach became evident.

During that period recognized as the "cultural revolution," the major contribution toward a better comprehension of human sexuality came via the research efforts of William H. Masters and Virginia E. Johnson. Whereas the researches of the Kinsey team told the world what men and women remembered that they did sexually under the conditions of society in the 1940's, the work of Masters and Johnson provided for the first time a thorough and objective knowledge of the physiology of human sexual response and an initiation of therapeutic methods for primary psycho-sexual inadequacies. Their eleven year study began in 1954 and culminated with the 1966 publication of Human Sexual Response (Boston: Little, Brown, 1966). The methodological program was simply to observe natural sexual activity in the laboratory. With physiology as their frame of reference, their observations centered on the responses of the male penis,

muscles, skin, testes, and vital signs (breathing rate, heart rate, blood pressure), and the responses of the female vagina, clitoris, nipples, labia, skin, muscles, and vital signs, during the phases of excitement, plateau, orgasm, and resolution in connection with intercourse. Masters and Johnson's second book, Human Sexual Inadequacy, (Boston: Little, Brown, 1970) published in April, 1970, reports their clinical findings from their eleven year study of sexual dysfunction begun in 1958. Their second research effort sought to understand what makes men impotent even when they have an attractive and loving partner, and why women are unable to reach orgasm even when sexually and romantically involved with a man who really cares. "A conservative estimate," write Masters and Johnson in Human Sexual Inadequacy, "would indicate half the marriages (in this country) as either presently sexually dysfunctional or imminently so in the future."

Though the research efforts of Masters and Johnson did not focus on any one particular aspect of social sexuality and its variations (i.e. sado-masochism, voyeurism, prostitution, homosexuality, etc.), their "scientific" treatment of the issue brought about a legitimation effect to again openly confront the taboo of sex.

Follow-up literature included An Analysis of Human Sexual Response (Boston: Little, Brown, 1966) by Ruth and Edward Breecher, and Understanding Human Sexual Inadequacy (Boston: Little, Brown, 1970) by Fred Belluveau and Lin

Richter. The public needed a laymen's approach to comprehension of the original data. This apparently was the conception of the publishing house.

To say that this period of literature was completely dominated by Masters and Johnson would be a critical overstatement. Who can forget such notable works as Everything You Always Wanted To Know About Sex...But Were Afraid To Ask by Dr. David Ruben (1969), and his follow-up effort, Any Woman Can (1971). Also, one of the original Kinsey team was again active during this period. Wardell Pomeroy published Boys and Sex (1968) and Girls and Sex (1969).

The emphasis of this literature was to meld the external impulses of society which became manifest through the "cultural revolution's" search for self and liberation of self, with the "blessings" of professional doctors and Ph. D.'s whose focus was directed toward "know your sexuality...then seek to know your self." Recognition of the public's thirst for what may be termed "white collar porn," brought to the best seller lists a surge of material by a mass of would-be "sex is o.k. specialists." Included in this library of orgasmic research are I'm O.K. - You're O.K. (Harris, 1967), Group Sex (Bartell, 1971), Sex Talk (Brenton, 1972) and What Shall We Tell The Kids (Olshaken, 1971). What is especially interesting when considering this literature is not necessarily the content or focus of the aggregate, but rather the influence upon future literary efforts. From here, the "do it if it feels good" literature flows in two complementary directions.

First is the array of literary products which took their linear foundation from white collar porn. This series was designed to give the public maximum sexual excitement, while avoiding legal hassels by insuring its socially redeeming qualities. Unfortunately, the public's maximum sexual excitement came via minimal literary craftsmanship. Thus, instead of the early underground efforts which offered "writhing white stallions galloping into honey pots full of seething thermal pudding," you had "his pulsating penis danced toward my waiting vagina." The assumption here being that if it made the best seller list, the public's mental stress about their sexual hangups would dissipate.

The first of this series was The Sex Life Letters (Greenwald and Greenwald, 1968). Here a doctor and his wife edited for the public hundreds of letters from individuals who spoke of every conceivable sexual fact and fantasy, and then some. Problems of impotency on the honeymoon, penis size, arguments of clitoral or vaginal orgasm, group sex, size of breasts, unique intercourse positions; were discussed to the point of sheer boredom. About the only redeeming social quality was having the editors give their names on the front cover.

Next the best sellers The Sensuous Woman (J, 1969) and The Sensuous Man (M, 1970) raced into home libraries. Escapades, through sexual fancy and fantasy brought bulging pocket books to both J. and M. (note only initials this time). These efforts spawned the publication of Her (1970), Him (1972), and Us (1973), all by anonymous authorship. Here,

exploits reaching near underground porno proportions again made the lists of those books being most read.

The next development, however, shows something of an ironic twist. The aura of permissiveness and sexual visibility brought about a return of prostitution's golden era. Here one of New York City's top prostitutes turned a literary "trick" which capitalized on the mystique of the world's oldest profession. The Senuous Hooker (Sprague, 1972), The Wholesome Hooker (Anderson, 1973), and Xaveria (Hollander, 1973) all made the New York Times "Best Seller List."

Though the public's excitement about these literary efforts waned a bit, the flow continued from early 1972 through the latest publishing period. The Happy Hooker (Hollander, 1973) by Xaveria Hollander, Letters To The Happy Hooker (Hollander, ed., 1973) by Xaveria Hollander, Pauline's: Memoirs of a Happy Hooker (Tabor, 1971) by Pauline Tabor, Gentleman of Leisure: A Year in the Life of a Pimp (Hall, 1972) by Susan Hall, and ultimately, The Brothels of Nevada (Engles, 1973) by Robert Engles, gave the public the first hand "nitty-gritty" of dollars and sex. The Brothels of Nevada goes so far as to offer detailed descriptions which include "star ratings" for every House in Nevada; directions, phone numbers, availability of liquor, porno flicks, taxi and plane service, etc. This wealth of information is yours for only \$1.95.

What is important here is the trend toward openly

discussing the disavowal of traditional sexual taboos. This flow of literature served to initiate a surge of open confrontation with the issue of homosexuality. Of special importance is the fact that the authorship of these efforts began to change from Ph.D.'s and M.D.'s to homosexuals themselves. I shall deal with this aspect of homosexual literature in a following section of this thesis.

The second part of the literature from the "sex is O.K. specialists" came in the heels of three sociological works from the high point of the cultural revolution. Future Shock (Toffler, 1970), The Greening of America (Reich, 1970), and The Human Agenda (Gorney, 1972), all dealt with the evolution of human values in relation to the new abundance, the new sexuality, the new biology, and the overall new life-styles of America. This socio-psychological approach would come to emphasize the ultimate necessity for the total human encounter; the need for strong emotional contact with a sense of mutual awareness, trust and the maintenance of personal freedoms while confronting individual loves. This other side of the evolution of sexual visibility moved away from the direct approach of the physiologists (i.e. either the works of Kinsey, Masters and Johnson, Pomeroy, or J., M., and Anonymous), and firmly established itself in literature by discussing the importance of love in role manifestations, love in socialization, love in reciprocity, and perhaps most important, the role of love in coming to understand and cope with the self. This area too would become a

major foothold for the case of homosexuality as a legitimate form of expression through love.

The essence of the "cultural revolution" brought about a causal shift in perspective to the highly specialized, micro-phenomenalistic investigation of homosexuality. The Skinnerian behaviorists still plodded along with aversion techniques, drugs, and shock treatments; however, a humanistic approach to the socio-psychological considerations of homosexuality was coming to the fore. This humanistic awareness of sexuality extended to the whole person, regardless of the individual's preference for one, or for that matter, a variety of sexual outlet types. Thus, so to speak, a new flowering of literature dealing with the homosexual phenomenon raced to meet the public.

Edward Sagrin, in a survey essay for Contemporary Sociology (January, 1973) entitled "The Good Guys, The Bad Guys, and the Gay Guys," reviews a sample of this post-"cultural revolution" material. Sagrin's attitude toward the literature can be summarized in the following quote. "Adding the books here reviewed and those that, for lack of space and other considerations, are referred to or listed, I count some 10,000 pages printed about homosexuality that have recently come off the presses. Its enough to blow your mind (or something)." Sagrin divides his reviewed authors into the Good Guys and the Bad Guys. The former, glorified because they oppose anti-homosexual legislation, reject the concept of homosexuality as a sickness, detest the word "cure" for its irrelevancy and impossibility, and

proclaim that whatever evils inhere from the gay world derive from social condemnation. The Bad Guys, though they no longer speak of sin and immorality, now focus on sickness, cures, and of the difficulties which are aggravated by, but not created by the social environment.

McCaffrey (1972), Oberholtzer (1971), and Weltage (1969) are the editors of authors who, though pretending neutrality, come off on the side of advocacy. In toto, they contain approximately 40 different articles on the homosexual phenomenon.

The aversion therapists, Feldman and Mac Culloch (1972) present data which relates that they had little success with influencing homosexuals to adopt heterosexual components, but considerable success with enhancing the heterosexual component in bisexuals. Of 63 patients undergoing therapy, 41 were declared successes, either completely or substantially moving to heterosexuality.

Sagrin describes the behaviorists as being largely ignorant of etiology, neurotic adjustments and the philosophical underpinnings that support the behavior. To the behaviorists, what is essential is to deal with the behavior itself. To bring about change, the patient must be punished for homoerotic responses and rewarded for the reverse. Shades of Pavlov!

Hatterer (1970) also follows much the same approach of the pre-cultural revolution behaviorists. He believes that change to heterosexuality is of the utmost importance, and sets out to convince his patients of this.

Weinberg (1972) and Churchill (1971) speak strongly against cure, and focus on the normal, healthy, self-fulfilling aspects of homosexuality. Churchill tends to argue not so much for the homosexual and the total concept of homosexuality, but for what has come to be known as AC/DC sexual behavior (bisexuals).

Williams and Weinberg (1971), though striking the "good guy" stance, present findings which are for the most part obvious and unimportant. Essentially, young men who were homosexually promiscuous before entering the service were more likely to be involved with on-base sex activities. Those individuals who had sex with other military personnel were more often apprehended than those who found their pleasures elsewhere. After discharge with "Less Than Honorable Conditions," these individuals carry the burden of this label into society. Sagrin points out, however, that these individuals do recognize that the nature of this type of discharge is essentially concealed in American society. Discharge papers, whether they be honorable, dishonorable or any other type simply do not carry the weight they once did. People are beginning to inspect the whole person instead of his military record.

Karlen (1971) approaches the concept of homosexual deviance best, in that he offers the idea of "potential" instead of latency. With respect to Freud, he proposes that all human beings are capable of being molded to the point where they are able to participate---or wish to ---in a large variety of sexual patterns of which homosexuality

is but one. It is a pattern of adjustment that arises under conditions of stress, and can be related to theories of defense against aggressiveness and aggression and the need for dependence. For Karlen, homosexuality is a perversion of instinctual drives in the Freudian sense, but it is not a sickness since it is so often unaccompanied by concomitant symptoms other than those apparently caused by stigmatization. Though Karlen accepts the view of change, the desire for change does not imply previous sickness, hence it is not cure or therapy: that one embraces a new life pattern does not imply that the abandoned one was a symptom of an underlying sickness or illness.

Overall, this new flow of homosexual literature tends to recognize the individual as more than his or her particular sexuality. The Good Guys apparently have broken the conspiracy of silence on the one hand, and on the other, insured a degree of objective research into the spectrum of sexual behaviors, apart from the consideration of cures and treatments. One particular movement of this group now focuses on the necessity of fulfillment of the total person by recognizing the potential for love as the important building block of self. There has been a shift to the "standard of love" in humanistic research.

The total phenomenon of love has been one of the most neglected areas of research, avoided by most disciplines. In 1954, Abraham Maslow, in an article for Harpers wrote, "Particularly strange in the silence of psychologists. Sometimes this is merely sad or irritating, as in the case

of textbooks of psychology and sociology, practically none of which treat the subject...More often the situation becomes ludicrous. As a rule the word 'love' is not even indexed in psychological and sociological works" (Maslow, 1954). Of the eighteen introductory textbooks found in the Departmental Library of the Department of Sociology at the College of William and Mary, only six mentioned 'love' in their indexes. Of these six, all were published after 1968 (1 in 1968, 2 in 1970, 1 in 1971, and 2 in 1972). On the academic level, the phenomenon of love has not received any truly serious consideration.

However, the emphasis which became directed toward the subject of love produced a rare form of sociological-psychological literature. These efforts radically departed from traditional anthropological considerations of the essentially non-emotional, reciprocal properties of a relationship between man and woman, child and parent, or man and man (in the universal sense). Though their presence is not recognized in the "textbook arena," several sources have produced a more modernistic approach to the valuations of self and love on all levels: affection, friendship, eros, and empathy.² Considerations such as Shostrom's (see foot-

²Everette Shostrom hypothesizes that love can be seen in a developmental context and that given sufficient love in various stages of growth, one can then encounter other human beings adequately as a mature adult. The distortions of the encounter however, are usually learned in these stages of growth. Four stages of love are proposed. (Otto, ed., 1972)

1. Affection (Ages 1-6) is a helping, nurturing form of love. It involves the unconditional giving or agape type

note 2) are made with respect to the individual as a total unit; the individual as one half of the partner to partner unit, and to the individual as a functioning unit with responsibilities to the overall macro society. The "fingerprints" of the cultural revolution's design for coping with self and coping with the environment are recognizable throughout.

Most prominent among this literature are three anthologies in which the locus of evaluation of behavior is firmly established as being within the individual. There is involved in this treatment of new valuations a process of letting oneself down into the immediacy of his experiencing, endeavoring to sense and to clarify all its complex meanings. These hallmarks of experiential examination are Person to Person: The Problem of Being Human (Rogers and Stevens, eds., 1967), The New Sexuality (Otto, ed., 1971), and Love Today: A New Exploration (Otto, ed., 1972).

The essays within Rogers and Stevens' work indicate the shift in perspective which takes place in the new orientation toward self and love. It is hypothesized that

of love that characterizes the love of parent for child. It is hypothesized that affection is learned during the first six years of one's life, and that the quality of affection one receives during this period from one's parents in part determines the degree to which one can be affectionate later in life.

2. Friendship (Ages 6-12) is defined as a peer love on a common interest level, and a respect for each other's equality. Friendship is a love which has a "chosen quality". Friendship first develops between the ages of six and twelve, prior to adolescence, and is usually strongest between mem-

there is an organismic base for an organized valuing process within the human individual which he shares with the rest of the animate world. It is the capacity for receiving feedback information which enables the organism to continually adjust its behavior and reactions so as to achieve the maximum possible self-enhancement. However, this valuing process in the human being is effective in achieving self-enhancement only to the degree that the individual is open to the experiencing which is going on within him. One way of assisting the individual to move toward openness to experience is through a relationship in which he is prized as a separate person, in which the experiencing going on within him is empathically understood and valued, and in which he is given the freedom to experience his own feelings and those of others without being threatened in doing so. Herein lies the dimension of love.

The New Sexuality illuminates the varied dimensions of an emergent and dynamic force, the "new sexuality" which is the outgrowth of individuals' quest for self-understanding. One of the pervasive characteristics of the "new sexuality"

bers of the same sex. Simply, little boys like little boys and little girls like little girls. In love and marriage, friendship means doing things together, sharing common interests, recognizing each other's uniqueness and individuality.

3. Eros (Ages 13-21) is the romantic form of love which is characterized by such factors as inquisitiveness, jealousy, and exclusiveness, as well as sexual or pure carnal desires. Eros first develops during the teen years when sexual maturity begins. In our culture, often the basis for selecting a mate is "romantic love" and the experience of strong elation in which the individual feels "this is it."

is a sense of growth, of emergence, and of experimentalism. Never before has there been so much experimentation in modes of sexual self-expression. The emphasis here goes beyond the focus of books on sex techniques -- known as "plumbing manuals" in the publishing trade -- it lies in the responsibilities involved in maintaining the love relationship. A considerable portion of the essays in this anthology focus on sex and individual development. Surveyed here are the roles of emotions, sensory awakening, and sex as a regenerative force, with respect to personality growth.

Love Today: A New Exploration, posits the need for a new and creative society which emphasizes the necessity for and development of love in man. This love sense is needed to help overcome the tremendous sense of alienation perpetuated by most individual's inability to maintain communication lines of physical and mental awareness between self and other individuals. This design for a new society fosters caring, empathy, trust, openness, sharing, and sensitivity to what the other person is feeling. The environment should aid the person and be conducive to the evolutionary fulfillment and actualization of the total human potential. The emphasis of this society will be on the affective domain, the recognition and communication of feelings, on self-understanding and self awareness, on the continuing development and growth of caring

4. Empathy (Ages 21+) is a charitable altruistic form of love which is expressed by a deep feeling for another person as a unique human being. It involves compassion, appreciation, and tolerance, and potentially increases with age.

persons, and on the recognition that the life of an individual can be an art form; which then has the correlate that the individual can be the artist of his own becoming.

Within the scope of this society's boundaries, it is recognized that the actualization of personal potential is inseparable from the regeneration of institutions. The fact that personality is dependent for its functioning on environmental inputs is accepted. This includes both interpersonal and physical environment as well as the institutions with which the individual comes in contact. It is emphasized that for the individual to reach his potential (an ongoing process) he must not only be recognized as being productive in society, but he must also be productive in relation to his sense of self. This sense of self is predicated on the individual's recognition of his own sexuality, regardless of the extent to which he is heterosexual, homosexual, bisexual, autosexual, or celibate.

Section C

St. Oscar Wilde:

A Case for Homosexuality in the Arts

Homosexuality has come to be recognized as a major social concern and behavioral phenomenon. D.W. Cory (The Lesbian in America, 1964) conservatively estimates that in the United States alone there are at least four million men and one million women whose predominant (or exclusive) interpersonal sexual relations are with members of their own sex. Homosexuality is also a pervasive phenomenon. It is found in virtually all infrahuman species, in all strata of human society, and in all geographical areas.

Until recently, the homosexual phenomenon was regarded almost exclusively in terms of morality. It has only been within the last few decades that other perspectives such as genetic, physiological, sociological and psychological have been considered. The latter two of these perspectives appear to be the most promising in leading the researcher to a clearer understanding of homosexuality and its consequences to the individual with respect to personal adjustment and commitment.

Homosexuality is regarded by many scholars as having been present since man evolved. In his essay, "Homosexuality Through the Ages," Eric Dingwall suggests that homosexuality is as old as humanity itself. Dingwall holds that examples

of homosexuality have been recorded from the earliest times and noted among a great range of peoples. The fact that it occurs in primitive peoples as well as in advanced cultures indicates that it is not the result of cultural decay or degeneration.

Homosexuality among males and females is described in many of the most heralded pieces of classic literature. I have already dealt with the Hebrew scriptures' references to homosexual practices as being the prototype of the Judeo-Christian traditions of regarding homosexuality as sinful and demanding punishment. However, the case for homosexuality gets a positive push from both Plato and Shakespeare. Plato's Symposium, written about 380 B.C., equates homosexuality with the finest love of which man is capable; he proposed these relations as a means of attaining man's yearning for the beautiful. Shakespeare wrote several of his most classic sonnets to a young man. It is also recognized that Shakespeare created many situations in his comedies where, because of disguised identities, homosexuality is clearly implied.

The Well of Loneliness, Radclyffe Hall's classic novel of Lesbianism, is a description of the direct and covert pressures applied by Western societies against homosexuality. The homosexual phenomenon is also the theme of many recent novels and plays by authors such as James Baldwin, Tennessee Williams, Jean Genet, Lillian Hellman, Gore Vidal, Jean Paul Sartre, James Purdy, John Knowles and Edward Albee. Of course, these art forms depict an incredible array of per-

spectives of the homosexual phenomenon. Genet's Our Lady of the Flowers depicts his bizarre but enlightening masturbation fantasies while in prison (Genet, 1963). Isherwood's A Single Man (Isherwood, 1964) relates the story of an aging college professor who has experienced joy and frustration because of his homosexual orientation. Each work investigates a specific aspect of homosexuality as opposed to the attempt by "inquiring professionals" to describe the gestalt. Thus, some consider the pleasures of homoerotic sex; the quest for identity; the guilt, shame, and self doubt; the ironic, witty, and humorous; the suppression of genuine emotions and potentialities; and the attempts to survive despite persistent problems and the hassles of living itself.

The author most associated with homosexuality in the arts, Oscar Wilde, suggested the more sordid side of "the love which dare not speak its name" in his novel The Picture of Dorian Gray (Wilde, 1892). It was Wilde's sexual preferences and his flamboyance that brought the wrath of Victorian England down upon him; however, it has also made him the patron Saint of the homosexual today.

Oscar Wilde, the Irish poet, dramatist, novelist, and critic whose sybaritic aestheticism and supercilious cynicism closed the nineteenth century on the note of scandal in the arts, has become the Jesus Christ/Joan of Arc martyr image of the homosexual world.

Oscar Wilde shocked and outraged the age of Victoria with his finely honed wit and caustic dandy flamboyance.

He attacked the wealthy, sub-aristocratic society which rode the high crest of the new industrial wealth and had made their definition of respectability a watchword and talisman. Wilde cut deep into a moral code which insisted on the purity and innocence of domestic life and private conduct, together with a utilitarian and pragmatic standard for political and economic behavior.

To Wilde, the term "middle-class" became a satiric epithet for the dull, unimaginative, hypocritical masses whose supremely deficient appreciation of the art of living and the living of art made them 19th century Philistines. By the end of the 1880s, Wilde had become an international headline figure. Although he totally embraced the "art for arts sake" philosophy of such eminents as Pater, Ruskin, Rossetti, and Whistler, he acknowledged that "though society was a bore, to not be a part of it was a tragedy." It was at this time that Wilde came more and more under the spell of such French writers as Baudelaire, Flaubert, Huysmans, writers of the "decadent" school. The influence of this genre are clearly reflected in his poem The Sphinx (1893), his play Salome (1891), and his more famous short novel The Picture of Dorian Gray (1892). The latter of these works evoked insinuations of secret and criminal vice, and cruel hedonism, later to be used against Wilde in his trial.

Quite suddenly, Wilde's importance as a literary figure rose to incredible heights. Within a few years he had presented four plays in London, two of them playing simultaneously. Lady Windermere's Fan and The Importance of

Being Earnest both appeared in 1892. In 1893 Wilde brought forth A Woman of No Importance, and in the early months of 1895, he presented An Ideal Husband. His fame became the talk of the literary world. However, at the pinnacle of his popularity and prosperity, Wilde's conduct became a tragic dramatization of hubris. Intoxicated with success, he became presumptuous and arrogant. These propositions of his artistic credo illustrate the working of his mind: "To introduce real people into a novel or play is a sign of an unimaginative mind....The colours of a flower may suggest to one the plot of the tragedy....Everything in art matters except the subject....The first duty in life is to be as artificial as possible....In all matters, style, not sincerity, is the essential....To love oneself is the beginning of a life-long romance....There are no real emotions left—only extraordinary adjectives." It was this very separation of living and feeling that isolated Wilde from his friends and eventually brought him into a fatal confrontation with the law.

It was difficult for Wilde's public (the world) to understand the scandalous trial which turned upon the disclosures of Wilde's bi-sexual nature. To the public eye, Wilde appeared to be leading a normal domestic life: in 1884 he married Constance Lloyd and had two children, one in 1885 and 1886. However, the patriarchal duties of home-life seemed not to fulfill Wilde's real personal needs. Privately, Wilde sought other fancies. Sometime about the late 1880s he evidently became involved in pederastic af-

fairs with several young English gentry. Rumors were set out by hostile critics after the publication of The Picture of Dorian Gray. The novel insinuated the theme of homosexual love and clandestine sexual indulgence in remote, sordid, waterfront hideaways. These rumors however, were just that... only rumors. Wilde's coup de grace eventually came from a source which he had not foreseen.

Wilde met Lord Alfred Douglas at one of London's elaborate theatrical dinner parties by way of an introduction from poet Lionel Johnson. Immediately, Wilde was struck by this young, handsome, aristocratic dandy. From the onset, their affair became more than the traditional friendship. In the company of Lord Douglas, Wilde made flash visits to Cairo and Paris in search of exotic adventure. As the rumors became more intense, Wilde became even more restless. Their adventures were scarcely veiled in the scandalous novel by Robert Hichens, The Green Carnation. This 1894 work left little doubt in the public's mind, as Wilde's favorite buttonhole, almost his signature, was a green carnation.

The crucial figure in Wilde's downfall was the father of Lord Douglas, the Marquess of Queensbury. The Marquess was determined to separate his son from the scandalous company of Wilde. He played on Wilde's frivolity and malignant power. The Marquess left a card for Wilde at his club, on which he had insultingly inscribed the word "sodomite" — an improper word, improperly spelled. Wilde decided to sue the Marquess for libel.

At the trial, Wilde was prepared for an easy triumph; however, the Marquess had also prepared his defense well. The latter brought forward too many witnesses to Wilde's sexual deviations, which he had bought for the occasion. Wilde belatedly withdrew his action. The State then intervened and successfully turned the prosecution against Wilde in criminal court. Wilde's legal counsel was inept and incompetent. In the collapse of his defense, Wilde's talent, his health, and his life were also involved. He was sentenced to two years hard labor; a punishment from which he never recovered. Wilde died in November of 1900, living under an assumed name in Paris.

The exploits and ultimate trial of Oscar Wilde has served to pace the homosexual of today. His attitude toward the masses, his philosophy of living as an art form, his cynicism of a hypocritical moral code, all have served to elevate him to martyr standing. Today Wilde's adventures and philosophies have been brought to the attention of homosexual communities by a variety of media sources. Most effective, however, have been the organized homophile leagues which circulate news letters, sponsor seminars, clinics, and "teach-ins", and provide funds for continued research into the background of homosexual history. Their rationale being to establish a foundation from which to build an effective social movement. Speaking ideologically, the tone of many of these organizations is one of "stand up to the example before us" and "you've got the right to present the

self you want to."

With respect to the "enlightened" homosexuals which I observed through the research period, the majority were thoroughly familiar with the exploits of Wilde, and many considered his lifestyle to be exemplary.

The life of Oscar Wilde is typically called upon to substantiate one of the most erroneous myths involving homosexuality: that the homosexual is more artistic and gifted than most individuals. This interpretation of homosexual lifestyles usually occurs after correlating the number of homosexual and "homosexual types" involved in the arts. Contemporary socio-psychological research now offers an explanation which leaves this assumption on an equivocal foundation. Essentially, artistic expression is a product of early socialization, with correlates in peer play and associations. As an individual withdraws from participating in the active play of the schoolyard, or for that matter, never has the opportunity to establish his behavior in informal peer association, he begins to experience the loneliness and aloofness which disallows further peer association. As this absence manifests itself farther and farther away from the informal peer associations, the individual seeks outlets other than the experience of rough-and-tumble peer play. On reaching that time of life when musical, artistic, and theatrical opportunities are presented, usually in upper grade school, he turns to these activities to terminate his loneliness. It is a factor of outlet availability combined with positive and negative reinforcements.

Although artistic innovation is not exclusively a homosexual contribution, it is a distinctive characteristic which emphasizes certain mechanisms and social patterns of behavior as by-products of the social environment. The generalized oppression by the "straight world" necessitates that the homosexual develop skills simply to survive. However, three particular factors contribute to the tendency of many homosexuals to foster concernment in those kinds of activity which lead to later interests in the arts and in acting: First, passing as a "straight" is the normal homosexual way of evading negative sanctions. Second, social abrasion heightens sensitivity. Third, specialized skills are transmitted within a given subculture.

Humphreys (1972) notes that from the time a homosexually oriented person first becomes aware that he or she is different, or "queer," in a very basic way from others, he or she begins to develop acting skills, experimenting with different roles, testing the repertoire of identities in the hope that some of the less stigmatizing ones may be validated. The art of passing as a "straight" is an acting art, and many homosexuals have an edge over others that varies with the number of years they have practiced. Experience in passing cultivates a sensibility of innovation for new styles. Such behavior celebrates art nouveau, the unexplored realms of saucy dissonance. As exemplified in the work and lifestyle of Oscar Wilde, it may be bawdy and impudent, smart and irrepressible—but always boldly imaginative and creative.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

I first traveled to the Hamptons in September of 1968. Having just completed three years of active duty in the Naval Air Corps, I was to become enrolled in the sociology program of Southampton College of Long Island University.

Throughout my undergraduate career at Southampton, and until my graduation in December of 1971, I came in contact with a wide variety of people in the small community; some of whom were homosexual. These initial contacts were primarily a result of my interest in the arts and in the unique merchandise of the small shops of the Hamptons. By circumstance, these two areas are the forte of the homosexual community.

After graduation and a short stint with a metropolitan area magazine, I returned to Southampton to pursue the comforts of a locale I had come to enjoy. Job opportunities were in short supply, thus I sought part-time employment as an odd job specialist. Successful returns from this vocation first came from owners of Job's Lane shops; an area monopolized by homosexual entrepreneurs. Soon I had managed to assume some degree of reputation as a painter, carpenter, and general maintenance man, and perhaps most important

of all, as an individual more interested in earning a living than who I earned it from. This then was the beginning of the first trusting relationships which came about between myself and the Hamptons homosexual community.

Throughout the greater part of 1972 and again in the late spring and summer of 1973 I was given full-time employment by a long-established resident of the homosexual community; an individual whom I had first come to know the year before during my "unemployed period." Though he was fully aware of my heterosexual orientation, he was also cognizant of the fact that I desperately needed work. I was immediately impressed by this individual's openness and kindness.

Also participating in this business were four young men; all homosexuals who had come to Southampton several years before to establish their own talents. I was to eventually become very close to all five individuals, a product not of our personal sexual orientations, but of our mutual interaction of ideological perspective and outside interest areas.

As I associated more and more with these individuals in a social environment, apart from an occupational orientation, we had the opportunity to discuss the more personal aspects of our lives. As mutual participants in this newly formed peer group, we were all very much interested in each other. It occurred to me that the behaviors of these individuals and their peer group (which I also came to know) were essentially inconsistent with material presented to me

as a student of sociology on the undergraduate level. Their behavior was also incongruent with the socialization I had received with regard to the matter of homosexuality.

As my interests in these perceptions of the homosexual phenomenon became more acute, I sought information which might account for the inconsistencies I was aware of. Specifically, I saw no indication of manifestly neurotic behavior or of personality structures which could be considered as deviant. The literature I was able to secure from the University library (Bieber, 1962; Chang and Block, 1960; Feldman and Mac Culloch, 1964 and 1965; etc.) only served to reify my earlier perception of homosexuality as an illness necessitating cure, or as legally punishable deviant behavior. It was not until reading Mark Freedman's Homosexuality and Psychological Functioning (1971) and Laud Humphrey's Out of the Closets (1972) that I was sure that other individuals were also aware of a non-pathologically oriented perspective of homosexuality. My own unfolding conceptions of the nature of personal potential influenced by Person to Person: The Problem of Being Human (Rogers and Stevens, 1967) and The New Sexuality (Otto, ed. 1971) made clear to me the need for a reevaluation of the phenomenon of homosexuality.

After living, working, and socializing in the Hamptons community, it was apparent that the sociological literature and the "world-out-there" socialization I had received was drastically inconsistent with the behavior I was observing. There were no violent sex crimes, no child molesting, no

"screaming fag" hangouts, and no washroom assaults on those members of the community who were evidently not homosexual. Essentially, everything which was supposed to happen in a homosexual community ... was not happening. Instead, this thoroughly active community had a thriving tourist trade during the summer, and was a flourishing college town throughout the year. The surrounding communities were well known for their incredible aesthetic beauty. Quiet bays, fishing villages, and an ever-active ocean had long ago brought relief from the hassels of New York City life for an increasing number of artists, writers, and theater stock. The correlation between "arts and crafts" types and homosexuality could easily have been made and left at that. However, there is evident in the Hamptons a fashion of living which from indications I received, exists no where else in America.

It occurred to me that my friendship with members of the homosexual community and my general acceptance into the overall community might allow for a formalized investigation of homosexuality; the product being this thesis.

The criteria for observations centered on my acceptance by the community at large as a working participant of that community. As a working participant I had normal access into a variety of enclaves within a social context. Thus, I in no way attempted to be a "researcher" in the formalized sense of the word. I did not circulate survey letters or questionnaires, nor did I ever follow a research criteria other than simply being aware of my environment and change within that environment, and making note of any

interesting subjects which might later be an aid in presenting my observations of the community. Though I did structure my interactions with individuals of the community in such a way as to gain answers to socio-psychologically relevant questions, this action was never construed as being anything other than my normal interaction with community members. I felt that if I revealed my plans to write about the community, distortion in formal and informal communication might come about. The question of ethics, with respect to violation of trusts and friendships became critical to the presentation of this thesis. Thus I have taken great care to insure the anonymity of community participants and still not take away from the tremendous insights given to me by those individuals.

From the onset of my research, an anthropological style investigation centered on participant observation which sought to examine and analyze the cultural properties of several groups within the community, and interaction and synthesis between those groups. The systemization of my observations took the form of elaborate note cards which included information about individuals such as educational experience, occupation, age, childhood backgrounds, religions, etc. The design for most of these categories were formulated in Sexual Behaviors of the Human Male (Kinsey, et. al., 1948). My means of collecting data was basically remembering my conversations and interactions until I could return home to formalize the information on my note cards. I would then organize these pieces of information to fill

out the as yet unanswered portions of those note cards. Constant contact with the members of the community served to continually reify or alter my data, and helped to insure the accuracy of information collected. The results of this process of information gathering are presented in Chapter V of this thesis, "Observations."

For the purposes of contrast with the Hamptons homosexual community, a sketch of the ideotypical homosexual can be drawn, based in part on Mizruchi's work. (See Table 4, page 41.) Apparently, in the minds of the majority of people, the homosexual is regarded as an individual necessarily extrinsic to any community as a whole. The fact that he exhibits sexual behavior which varies from that of the majority of people places him outside the functional society. The homosexual is thought of as a sick individual, and the nature of his sickness is construed as being in some sense communicable; therefore, he is isolated. The obverse of this conceptualization seeks to place the isolation of the homosexual within the homosexual himself -- it is thought that he, by nature, prefers to be secluded, secretive, and removed from the community. The conceptualization then becomes that of a semi-deranged person sneaking through dark alleys or hiding in small dirty apartments, avoiding the light of day, and speaking only to those whom he knows to be "like" him.

There are two distinct ramifications of society's isolation of the homosexual. On one hand he is seen as a potentially dangerous pervert seeking the opportunity to molest small children and is thus feared and hated. On the other

hand, he is viewed as weak, effeminate, impotent and "swishy," incapable of extending a firm handshake and ineffectual in all areas of life, and is thus ridiculed. Most people seem to think that a homosexual is readily identifiable in terms of personality and expressive behavior. An affected way of speaking, a predilection for certain colors or certain styles of clothing, a preference for cats rather than dogs as pets, a more rhythmic way of walking, an expressed interest in cooking or furniture; all are seen as damning evidence of homosexual inclination. The individual who exhibits this type of behavior is considered fair game for "homo" jokes and is not to be taken seriously in any capacity.

Within the category of "fags" subject to ridicule (as opposed to the "dangerous pervert") is the "screaming queen" prototype. This portion of the ideotype of the homosexual comes from the more or less liberated homosexual of the large metropolitan area. These people are seen as flagrant libertines who dress outrageously (often setting trends in clothing styles), and live outrageously. Their behavior includes participation in wild orgies, excessive use of alcohol and other drugs, lack of any emotional commitment to other people, and the complete absence of a personal moral standard. This homosexual type is viewed with ridicule and indignation by the majority, but this attitude is mixed with a certain hint of envy, since these homosexuals are seen as having escaped many of the problems and responsibilities of the "normal" individual.

The ideotypical homosexual can then be seen as a com-

bination of several different stereotypes, including the "dangerous pervert," the "impotent swish," and the "screaming queen." These stereotypes have in common the fact that in all cases the homosexual is regarded as exterior to the functional world of business, families, and social pleasures. The ideotype of the homosexual which is held by most of society can be seen to be quite incongruent with the actual behavior and life styles found among members of the Hamptons homosexual community.

In contrast to the ideotypical homosexual is the case of an individual whom I shall call Wayne. (The following sketch traces an actual case history, with details changed to assure the anonymity of the subject.)

Wayne is 29 years old. He was born in Lancaster, Pa. and attended a large and prestigious university from which he received a degree in structural engineering. He has taken graduate courses and expects to complete a Masters Degree sometime in the near future. In the interim, he is running a small clothing emporium which specializes in unusual imports. The merchandise and arrangement of the shop reflect Wayne's eye for design and his preference for the understated but sensual in clothing and accessories. His own attire is more conservative than the merchandise he handles, and his personal appearance is in no way calculated to draw attention. Wayne wears his blond hair short and prefers casual sporty shirts and slacks. His demeanor is that of an extrovert: straightforward in approaching other people, at ease conversationally, obviously of above average intelligence,

and interested in a wide variety of subjects and activities.

Wayne has both business and social contacts with the wealthy residents of Southampton. He attends parties with these people and sells them clothing. Most of these people are aware of Wayne's homosexual preference; the issue being understood rather than stated. Wayne has been "married" for three years to a man who works in another shop. They live together and are usually seen together at social events. Within the framework of this "marriage" there is room for occasional short-lived involvements with other men, but Wayne clearly operates within a commitment which is very real to him. The personal, social, and financial resources of the partners are combined.

Wayne had had no overt homosexual activity until his second year in college. Until that time, he dated women, enjoyed their company, and in fact came close to getting married. Repeated disappointments in love with the opposite sex, combined with a very close friendship with a roommate led to Wayne's first experience with homosexuality. He expresses his "switch" in terms of finally finding the emotional and intellectual intimacy that had been missing in his life.

In his current contacts with women, Wayne evidences an interest that is personal rather than sexual. He has not had sexual relations with a woman for four years and does not seem to be inclined toward the "AC - DC" syndrome. Wayne probably has more close friendships with women (both "straight" and lesbian women) than the average man, and women seem to find him an interesting and stimulating companion.

It is doubtful that a stranger to the Hamptons could spot Wayne as a homosexual. He simply does not fit the usual ideotype of the homosexual: his involvement in the total community of the Hamptons, his lack of discomfort in relating to people, and his generally conservative life style are not congruent with any of the widely held stereotypes of homosexuals. Wayne has found a way to exist within a diversified community and thus escapes the identifying tags usually placed on homosexuals.

A comparison of the traditional ideotype of the homosexual with the actual homosexual life styles I encountered is implicitly basic to the methodology of the participant-observer. In pointing out the Hamptons community as a specific and unusual case, a contrast is implied between the "usual" homosexual community and that of the Hamptons. Miz-ruchi's work (Table 4, page 41) provides some objective data concerning the usual ideotype of the homosexual, but for the participant-observer, the ideotype to be used for contrast will always exist in some part within the framework of his own socialization and experiences. Some measure of bias thus is inherent in the method.

The bias held by this observer can perhaps best be termed as that of the "existentialist" or "humanist." The term "existentialist" is used broadly to denote an interest which is more concerned with current (and perhaps future) phenomena, than with causal forces. Some investigation of causality was obviously necessary in determining the "whys" of the Hamptons community, but the more important part of

the investigation was the fact that the community did exist and thereby provided information contrary to traditional ideotypes. Along these same lines, the term "humanist" is used to denote a vested interest in contributing to a substantiated view of these people as whole persons who cannot be defined solely in terms of their sexuality.

CHAPTER IV

BIOGRAPHY OF THE HAMPTONS COMMUNITY

Quite obviously there are other thriving homosexual communities in America; however, the uniqueness of this tip of Long Island deserves description in other than universally accepted academic terms. The lifestyle of the Hamptons is one of an informal prose, and the biography, a history as it were, is here presented in that same fashion. It is doubtful that a Simmel or a Weber, or a Benedict could capture the true motion of this community...for only a Tom Wolfe, a Kerouack or a Kesey could do it justice. It is in the latter's style that such a culturally significant view is given.

WELCOME TO THE FABULOUS HAMPTONS!!!! The chic T-shirt trade has reached out from kinky Manhattan, 90 sweaty miles along the Long Island Expressway to mingle with other vogue fashions of Palm Beach, Paris and St. Tropez. The Hamptons exist as an entity unto themselves...a history of the rich, the arts and the ocean...all that the mass of America sees as "jet set" and opulent.

Cross the Throgs Neck Bridge with the "crush" of Fun City behind, the habitat of a million commuters lie on either side. Communities immortalized by Pete Seeger's "ticky-tacky" visions of sameness sprawl the North-South borders of Long Island. Enclaves of the nation of commuters, most of Long Island provides the "security blanket" for the mainstream of

middle and upper middle class workers. The WASPS, the Jews, the Doctors and Lawyers make every conceptualization of status and mobility a bastardization. Here the hundred mile-an-hour world of executive martinis and placing the kids in Princeton, make the coronary a way of life.

What lies beyond this realm of suburbia haunts the mind of all who recognize that utopias do exist. Passed through informal lines of communication, the biography of the world beyond, the peninsula wandering into the Atlantic, provides the chimerical goal to all who can afford the time and monies necessary to develop the resources of the tidal plains. Those organizations which did recognize the possibilities of this area in the late fifty's and early sixty's have now transformed quiet beach communities and lonely havens of the rich into one of the acknowledged "in" spots of the world. Posh shops now line the classic harbour village streets to afford the dreamers from middle Long Island a playground for weekends and summer resort away from steaming Big Apple. And tucked into this utopia, exists a community which the playgrounders never see...never will see. The gold paved roads hide all which might offend. Eyes so wide open never take the time to see the art form of community. For one must live there... live there in every sense of the word to feel the pulse which prevades so quietly. Here, uniqueness lies in history.

The "settlers" of the Hamptons can be divided into two major groups with classifications of each. The first group consists of original inhabitants; the Shinnecock and Montauk Indians, and early Dutch colonialists who presented themselves

shortly after arriving at the Plymouth colony in Massachusetts. Though the few remaining Indians who have survived the "rape of Gods chosen salvationists" now serve the community as plumbers, laborers, and migrant workers, their homeland, like all others in the United States, has been reduced to acres of reservation instead of miles of freedom. Of the original colonialists to inhabit the land, these "bonikers" as they came to be known thrived as farmers and masters of the fishing industry. The realization that the ocean did have limitations served as impetus for many to develop the land which was naturally suited for potatoes, cauliflower, and other acid-based field crops. The natural hard wood forests became a fuel haven for the rapidly expanding demands of the sailing industry. With the forests raped and the fields full of potatoes, the ocean natives ebbed to decay. The Montauks were less luminous than the lighthouse General Washington had constructed at the Point.

This development reached an acme in the early 1900's when masses of black migrant laborers were needed to man the fields. However, the history of these peoples follows the same paths as those throughout the nation as modernization of the farming industry took place. Large communities of Blacks, Indians, and every possible cross, found that unemployed life in the Hamptons was a misery they would endure for decades.

Salvation for a few was to come at the turn of the century and on into the depression years. New York City had become an international playground for theater and the arts. Money was alive on Broadway, and when the bright lights and

pace became too much for the Rockefellers, the Posts, the Penneys, Morans and Pershings, the life in the "country" provided the necessary time for relaxation. The massive and magnificent ocean estates flourished amid the cauliflower. Field hands and migrants workers (those who were fortunate) became the maids and servants of incredibly lavish "country homes." Acre after acre turned from plow field into sprawling lawns and orchards dotted with massive Tudor and Jeffersonian structures resembling hotels instead of country cottages. And these were the nice wealthy. Soon to arrive were the "other" clan.

As Prohibition made its mark on the "Great White Way," lonely and quite Montauk Point became the clandestine headquarters for Rum Runners and bootleggers. These industrious entrepreneurs sailed their trade up the Atlantic for night-time rendezvous with the "speak-easy" clients. Notables such as Black Jack Bouvier and others who capitalized Prohibition into the accumulation of tremendous fortunes could not help but recognize paradise in their midst. They established super-wealthy dynasties which became securely entrenched in Hamptons real estate. Oh what a bountiful harvest!

The second major group of Hampton inhabitants did not arrive initially until after World War II, and then again in the mid 1960's. This group can be divided into two classifications. The first classification consists of a relatively large body of Soho type actors, writers, and artists who left New York City soon after the war and established themselves

first on Fire Island, and then on into the Hamptons. Essentially their lifestyles were such as to draw only minimal attention among the local inhabitants; for these areas were as yet relatively unpopulated except for seasonal rich, migrant laborers, and established bonikers. The latter of these groups offered only minimal resistance to these new residents. Here, the ocean and pleasant environment of lonely dunes and quaint villages provided an ideal locale for these "strange" people from the city. Their art form of living was carried out in relative calm. It was not until the mid 50's that curiosities sparked a continual flow of rumors. For it was at this time that the soon to be heralded names of such artists as De Kooning, Pollack and Jackson splashed across the art world. Their Dionysian lifestyles also splashed the isolated Hampton dunes...in the form of bathing beaches minus bathing suits. By the time any of the local residents could muster up enough courage to actually verify the rumors themselves, it was already too late. The underground communication lines had already spread the word....the new "settlers" had conquered the wilderness.

The other classification of this second invasion into paradise came about as a quirk of the Second World War. Montauk Point proved to be one of the most strategically located landmasses on the east coast for early warning installations and large gun placements. But of course, even George Washington knew that. He too recognized the Montauk's value in protecting the Metropolitan area.

As these installations needed to be manned, and lines of communication needed to be open, a network of rail and road was developed to relieve the archaic paths established earlier in the century. It was also necessary to overcome the transportation problem to insure adequate routes for the massive aircraft production center of Grumman Industries (30 miles west of the Hamptons) as well as Brookhaven National Laboratories, the integral center of the Manhattan Project. This may have been the only time in history that the Bomb and the arts were so closely associated. The Bomb proved to be an unfortunate consequence of the war...it ended it, thus also ending the industrial complex.

The phasing out of the war effort in the mid fifty's saw hundreds of thousands of middle class Americans left jobless and seeking homes. For those who found the mounting hostilities of New York City uninviting, the "country" offered an alternative to the rivet guns lifestyles of the homefront warrior. Thus the roadways which once serviced the war effort now provided access to the once hidden Hamptons. No one seemed to mind, not even the abstract impressionists.

The middle class phenomenon in the Hamptons, with its gradual rise from post-war unemployed personnel to small business participants and then on into the 70's to successful entrepreneurs is a story in itself. So stunned were these middle class people by the mansions on the sea, it was nearly two decades before anyone really took notice of the "gay guys in the dunes." By then, the presence of homosexual activity in the Hamptons was of minor importance compared to the

challenges of middle class achievement.

The focus of this thesis centers not on the dwindling Montauks or the bonikers or the Bouviers, but on those initial Soho types whose energies have produced in the Hamptons a phenomena reaching considerably farther than that of their middle class neighbors or the ocean dynasties. They have produced the "Fabulous Hamptons." Ancient watering hole of "weekend cruisers" and "dandy-lions".

In an aura of secrecy and acknowledged defiance of traditional mores, a population of individuals has risen from tucked away artist colonies and nudist beaches to now assume figurehead positions in literature, art and the theater, media, fashion and decorating, real estate and building. With success, secrecy has fallen by the wayside. Their presence in the Hamptons is felt in nearly every institution, from alternative school educators and University Ph.D's, to florists and antique dealers, and from clergy and law professions to restaurateurs and magazine editors. The common denominator in this phenomenon lies in the fact that nearly all are male and as a correlate, nearly all are homosexual. A silent revolution has occurred under the eyes of middle America.

Here lies a community whose institutions have become a dominant part of an already recognized and socially legitimized community, while at the same time openly defying the traditional mores of that sanctioned community. The critical concept in this recognition is the essence of defiance...for it has been a consistent and quiet defiance. It has come about without the violence of the black liberation movement, or for

that matter, the gay liberation movement in most other areas of the country. Indeed, this has been a quiet revolution. . .so quiet, that it is as yet unrecognized to the mass of America.

By "quiet revolution", I am referring to the fact that no direct action was taken by the homosexual community. Their only active participation has been to "not make waves" and work diligently at their crafts. Ironically, their success in the Hamptons is the product of a unique stratification system. Unique, in that the distribution of lower, middle, and upper class stratas is such that the quiet entrance of this new population has come about without violent reaction.

Specifically, the strata which would typically offer the most resistance (the middle class) are themselves in a very tenuous position. They have never become firmly entrenched in a community where the wealthy are so dominant. The obvious status and mobility differences between the middle and upper class is such that the middle class has little or no power in the community. Frankly, in the minds of the wealthy, there exist only two classes in the Hamptons: those who are and those who are not. Thus, relatively speaking, most of the energies of the middle class are directed toward establishing themselves in the midst of the ever-present realization that they will never achieve a par level of status. Their only threat comes from those who have the power "above" them, not from any group "below" them.

Ironically, the group which could offer the most resis-

tance (the power wielding upper class) simply has not. They have recognized that the services offered by the homosexual community, i.e. gourmet catering, florist shops, theater and arts, etc. can not be had from the straight middle class community. Thus, their consideration of the incursion has been one of benevolence. Both of these communities in effect and inspite of the middle class, recognize the value of the other. The wealthy want their services, the homosexual community needs the wealthy to keep their businesses flourishing. In the classic sense, one hand indeed washes the other. Thus the homosexual community has had easy access to the availability of "contacts" in the community at large. Since their presence offers no direct threat to the wealthy community, they have the blessings, as it were, to carry on their businesses as they wish. The middle class simply has no base from which to offer resistance. Thus, the healthy growth of the homosexual community has come about without the usual problems of entrance into the official community.

What is especially unique about the Southampton homosexual community, as opposed to the homosexual communities of Atlanta, San Francisco, Provincetown, or Palm Beach (these being bonified working communities as opposed to the communities of New York, Washington, or Chicago which only offer the availability of outlets) is the degree to which the homosexual has risen to a relative degree of power. Since many members of the population of the Hamptons are either nationally

or internationally recognized for their talents in the arts and theater, they have achieved a type of status which is separate from and valuable to the wealthy. Whereas the communities of Provincetown and Fire Island offer much the same physical environment, only the Hamptons offer a full time, year round working community which, by its affiliation with the wielders of power, is in large part an influencing factor in the decision making qualities of that community. This is as opposed to the Provincetown and Fire Island communities which offer only seasonal recreation and as of yet have not allowed any effective power base from which the homosexual communities can work.

The Hamptons homosexual community is also different from the city communities, most notably recognized in San Francisco and Atlanta. The availability of an underground network affords these communities with functioning capabilities apart from the mainstream of society, as opposed to functioning as an integral part of society.

Over the course of the research period I had ample opportunity to speak with individuals who had been affiliated at one time or another with every aforementioned community. The consensus of opinion was that only in the Hamptons could there be the overall freedom to actively participate in the community as a whole. Thus, since there was not a hostile environment to force this community into clandestine behavior, they were free to enter any part of the overall community they wished. Without antagonisms from external sources, thus

negating anxiety and trauma, this community stands alone as an obvious example of the potential of its members. Operationally, the overall community functions as well as it does because of the cooperation of all its members, both "straight" and "gay". It exists as a one-of-a-kind example of a multi-variable community which has adapted well to the talents and potentials of all its members.

CHAPTER V
OBSERVATIONS

Sample Population Breakdown and Biological Gender Affiliation.

Over the course of the research period, this writer came in contact with, and gained socio-emotional familiarity with forty-eight individual members of the active homosexual community in the Hamptons. Though contact with a considerable number of other homosexuals did come about, it is my feeling that only the aforementioned individuals became sufficiently trusting to share with me information which was either minimally or not at all distorted to my heterosexual orientation. All observational notations are then taken from this population.

Throughout the descriptions of this community I shall refer to the terms "married" or "marriage" with respect to homosexuals. These terms are used with their traditional connotations in every respect except that of opposite gender pairing. Though the legal complexion of this type of conubiality may be questioned, homosexual marriages in this community carry with them most if not all the formalized mechanisms of heterosexual marriage, i.e. will making, transfer of estate, life insurance policies, mutual mortgage responsibilities, etc. Thus, instead of marriage in the heterosexual sense, I shall use these terms to describe

the sacrosanct union between two homosexuals or two lesbians. Further consideration of the institution of marriage with respect to homophiles shall be discussed later under the section heading, "Homophile Marriage."

The breakdown of the sample population includes three basic categories: unmarried homosexual males; married homosexual males; and married lesbian females. The numeric breakdown follows:

24	unmarried homosexual males	(24)
9	married homosexual males	(18)
3	married lesbian females	(6)
	total	<hr/> 48

It is recognized by this researcher that the overall homosexual community had a relatively small number of active lesbian members; however, it is also felt that as the community becomes more firmly entrenched and stable, more lesbians, both married and unmarried, will become active participants. Generally, there appeared to be little or no chauvenistic attitudes directed toward lesbians in the community by homosexuals. In fact, one of the pervading attitudes throughout the community was the complete lack of concern about any individual's choice of sex affiliation. The knowledge that they had to work and live together in the face of an antagonistic external world produced an incredibly strong sense of community among them. My awareness of this came about only **after** I had been accepted into the community as an individual who was also threatened by the external world. The use of the term "threatened" is extended here in its broadest sense. Though there was no direct

threat to this community, it was recognized throughout, that the mass of America, the external "world out there" could be a potential threat. The bond of communal sense which came about because of this awareness was visible whenever any individual members of the homosexual community dealt directly with members of the heterosexual community.

Race-culture Group.

This consideration is one of race-cultural backgrounds, rather than racial background in the exclusively biologic sense; the individual's place of birth, ancestral home of parents, and place of residence during childhood and adolescent years decide the race-cultural group to which an individual belongs. Of the forty-eight individuals of the sample population, all but one were American or Canadian White. That one individual was Northern European Germanic.

Of particular importance to this overall classification of race-cultural group is the recognition that all members of this community, both lesbian and homosexual, came from a thoroughly random distribution of regions of the country. One might have expected that a majority of its members would have come from the urban north-east, a factor of the geographical location of the community itself. What was evident from the start was that many of the individuals had traveled to the east coast in search of an outlet in an occupational sense, heard about the Hamptons from a variety of informal communication lines, and then moved to this community to "settle down." I say "settle down" because of the observation that many of these individuals had already partic-

ipated in a considerable number of active homosexual communities throughout the nation, and sought this community to firmly establish themselves in society as opposed to using it as a transient way-station in between moves. This is probably a factor in explaining the relatively large number of people in this community who were of married status. The observation by this researcher that the community of the Hamptons was not a transient locale for its members was brought about because of the number of persons who had taken out mortgages on homes, started full-time businesses, and bought peices of property on which to build future homes.

For those individuals who were not full-time community residents, (that is, they lived in the Hamptons but commuted to the City to work) the extension of the Long Island Expressway from Brooklyn to Riverhead (9 miles west of Southampton) offered easy access to New York. Until the Expressway was completed, many of these individuals had been only summer and weekend residents of the community. The shift to full-time status is evident throughout. Interestingly enough, the draw of the "country" has become a strong factor in many of the members leaving their City jobs and establishing new businesses in the Hamptons.

The one individual from Europe was a member of a group who were thoroughly familiar with the Hamptons. His occupation was that of artist and film director, and he had come to this community to work with other members of his profession. This is the usual course of events for a number of individuals from outside the U.S. It is also true for a

number of Americans who sought to develop their talents in this community. Usually, however, their presence is of a transient nature, soon to move to another center to continue their occupation.

Age Variable.

Unique to this community was the absence of very young adults (18-24) and the preponderance of middle-aged individuals (25-50). Using a five year, five-way breakdown (i.e. 25-30, 30-35, ...45-50), the forty-eight individuals fell into the following categories:

25-30 years.....	8
30-35 years.....	19
35-40 years.....	16
40-45 years.....	3
45-50 years.....	2

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The six lesbians were members of the first two age groups; four in the first group, and two in the 30-35 year age group.

I highly suspect that the reason for the number of middle-age individuals is the tendency to "settle" in the Hamptons. Whereas many younger homosexuals might still be caught up in identifying their selves in the many outlets (professional and sexual) which a city has to offer, the members of the Hamptons community were for the most part already individually stable in both regards. Their valuations of marriage, family, business, and community were essentially of a conservative nature. This conservatism is evident throughout most of the observations of the com-

munity, whether it be drug usage, radicalism, overt promiscuity, etc.

Educational variable.

From the onset of research into the community, the educational variable was critically important to the mindset of its individual members. I suspect that much of the freedom from threat of external forces which was universally felt by the community's members is a product of this variable. Using Kinsey's 9-way breakdown on the basis of the number of years completed in one's educational history, this researcher and his assistant were able to ascertain the following description of educational levels:

0-2.....	0
3-4.....	0
5-6.....	0
7-8.....	0
9-10.....	0
11-12.....	1
13-14.....	6
15-16.....	29
17 +.....	12

48

The last group includes all those who have done any graduate or professional school work. Of interest in this breakdown are the number of individuals who successfully completed college level and graduate work. The importance of this breakdown can in no way be minimized, especially when one considers that most of these individuals were involved in the educational system before status by educational level became important in the United States. Of course, this is a breakdown of formal educational levels.

When considering education, one must be cognizant of

informal experiential educational achievements as well as formal levels. Thus my assistant and I sought information as to a variable which we have labeled "wordliness." Obviously this is a very subjective type of consideration, but none the less, essential in considering the individual as a whole.

With Southampton as a geographical reference point, we sought information with which generalized categories could be established as to travel experiences of the population. The following is a breakdown of that information:

Travel outside territorial U.S. (Europe)...	81%
Travel to U.S. West Coast.....	49%
Travel outside territorial U.S. (Canada and Mexico)...	62%
Extensive U.S. travel.....	78%
North-east coast travel only.....	0%

Obviously, certain individuals belonged to several categories, but on the whole it was apparent that nearly the entire community had had extensive experience in continental and inter-continental travel. This was probably a factor of the educational level, age, financial capabilities, and the number of professional and sexual outlets available only in scattered geographical areas. Also, interests in cultural and intellectual centers throughout the world appeared to be an important factor in many of the individual's travel plans.

Information gathered through the research period might also be important when considering the typical biographical sketch of a male homosexual as having been indoctrinated to his homosexual orientation while in primary and secondary prep schools. Of the forty-two male homosexuals

of the sample population, only 3 had had prep school experience. All three however, had their first recognized homosexual experience while at college. Of the 6 lesbians of the sample population, none had attended either all girl prep schools or all girl colleges.

Occupational Class of Sample Population.

This thesis uses the 10-way breakdown of occupational classes (which Kinsey used) based on the classes developed by Chapin (1933) and W. Lloyd Warner (Warner and Lunt, 1941, 1942; Warner and Srole, 1945), and modified by Hollingshead (1939). The classifications are an attempt to designate the social status by the work the individual is engaged in. The 10-way breakdown follows:

(0)	Dependents.....	0
(1)	Underworld.....	0
(2)	Day-labor.....	0
(3)	Semi-skilled labor.....	0
(4)	Skilled labor.....	3
(5)	Lower White Collar Group.....	2
(6)	Upper White Collar Group.....	12
(7)	Professional Group.....	20
(8)	Business Executive Group.....	9
(9)	Extremely Wealthy Group.....	2

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This breakdown might be expected when one considers the educational achievement (formal and informal) and age of the sample population. Having the credentials and sufficient time to work through the system, most of these individuals have been able to maintain a relatively high rate of upward mobility. It was noted as well that most of the sample population have been equally mobile on the horizontal plane. Many individuals were thoroughly familiar with a variety of occupational skills

and had had previous experience in a well diversified spectrum of occupations.

With respect to occupational classes 4 and 5, it is interesting to note that four of the six lesbians were in these categories. I do not feel, however, that this was the product of behavior on the part of male homosexuals in the Hamptons community, but rather the product of the disenfranchisement of women as a whole in the United States. Though all the lesbians had reached a high rate of achievement in their individual occupational classes, they were not allowed access into the upper occupational categories before coming to the Hamptons community. It is felt by this researcher and his assistant that this is a changing phenomenon. Specifically, most of these women were in some manner active in the liberation movement and were sophisticated enough to have already established a firm sense of self. It was apparent that their sexual preferences in no way inhibited the degree to which they were involved in their work. Each had a strong sense of talent achievement in their respective occupations, and were conscious of the potential for upward mobility.

This sense of potential for upward mobility was also visible in the ranks of male homosexuals. For those individuals actively involved in the arts, it was almost universally felt that "their dues had already been paid" in the preliminary stages of their adult life, and that this period was one of refining their individual talents, one step prior to their achieving national and international recognition.

Several of the population had already received such recognition.

Being successful in their talents and not feeling a sense of alienation from their respective work areas seems to have been an important dimension in their individual perspectives of self. This factor of non-alienation appears to be a product of the types of work members of the Hamptons community were involved in. Most members had chosen occupational areas which offered them some form of direct recognition of accomplishment, and immediate returns for their talent. I found this to be a very enlightening aspect as to why these individuals were as stable with their external environment as they were.

Occupational Class of Parents.

It was felt by this researcher that the occupational class of one's parents might be some indicant of the achievement of an individual. My investigation shows that the individual members of the Hamptons community had about as wide a variety of class distribution of parent as could be had. Lower, middle (lower and upper white collar groups), upper middle and professional, and wealthy parentages were almost of equal distribution. Though it was certainly easier for those from the more well-to-do families to effectuate their own occupational class, it was apparent that those of the lower class backgrounds had applied considerable energies in attaining their present status-rank. Having all had college or graduate school experience was surely a factor in the attainment of occupational class.

Be it a product of their chosen work areas or occupational class of parent or self, many if not all of the sample population showed tremendous drive in their talent areas. This drive seemed to be a factor of extensive pride in their respective accomplishments rather than for social status achievement. Competition among members of the community in areas of overlapping skills is not in any sense minimized. A keen awareness of the achievements of other members of the community was an important aspect to all. Many members, though bonded by a close community affiliation, were actively aware of status competition on the social level. Thus, expensive cars, fine clothing, material possessions etc. were as much a part of this community as any heterosexual community. This was especially true with respect to the unmarried male homosexuals...a phenomenon observable in any community, be it heterosexual or homosexual.

Religious Groups.

I was very interested to see if there might be a correlation between the number of homosexuals and their respective religiosity. Thus, I adapted Kinsey's 4-way breakdown based upon membership, attendance, or any degree of activity or nominal connection with a religious group in any period of the individual's life. The breakdown follows:

Protestant.....	23
Catholic.....	11
Jewish.....	14
Other.....	0

All members had had at one time or another some degree of religious affiliation; however, this appeared to be an affiliation in the early stages of life. There was obviously a high degree of correlation between the religious group of parents and the religious affiliation of the community members.

Religious Adherence.

Though all the members had had some degree of religious affiliation, the variable of adherence showed some notable information with respect to the members' overall sense of religiosity. Using Kinsey's 4-way breakdown showing the degree of active connection with a particular religious group, (1. actively concerned with a religious group, either as a regular attendant or as an active participant in organized church activities; 2. fairly frequent church attendance or activity; 3. infrequent church attendance or activity...holiday attendance etc; and 4. practically no church attendance or activity, although the individual's background may still be classifiable as Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, or Other.) the following data was obtained:

1.	Active.....	2
2.	Fairly frequent.....	5
3.	Infrequent.....	11
4.	Practically none.....	30

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It is interesting to note that those individuals who responded as being either active or having fairly frequent participation in church activities (1 and 2) were all Jewish. It was generally felt by this researcher that most of the

Protestants and Catholics chose to attend church on high holidays (Christmas, Easter, and Thanksgiving) only. It was recognized that the overall degree of religiosity was low. Most of the community seemed to have divorced their affiliation with the church. This seems to have been a product of educational (formal and informal) and occupational areas. Such was the level of achievement in their respective occupations (particularly in the arts) that most members felt that religious adherence was absurd. This factor seems to be a direct correlate with the existential orientation toward living which many members adhered to. Specifically, that each individual was directly responsible for his own potential and the direction that potential of living took. This philosophy was evident throughout the community.

Previous Heterosexual Relationships.

The issue of previous heterosexual relationships had not originally been thought of by this researcher as having any significant bearing on this study. Quite frankly, it simply never occurred to me that any members of the community had had any form of heterosexual relationships prior to their coming to the Hamptons. I believe that this was in large part due to the pervasive aura of commitment which was displayed by many members of the community to their respective lovers. So total was their commitment that this researcher was often overwhelmed by the behavior displayed. In fact, I had seldom observed such behavior between heterosexual couples. However, it was during one of my "back porch rap sessions" that I learned that several members of

this community had had previous heterosexual relationships, and that at least two members were deeply involved with women throughout their college years.

I had previously been under the assumption that if the primary and secondary socialization processes effectively produced what has come to be termed the "homosexual type," this individual would more than likely assume the conventional homosexual role. My assumption was based for the most part on textbook explanations and informal social communications. As I was to learn, it was an erroneous assumption.

As might be expected, of the 48 members of the sample population, I was to become closer to some than to others. This was especially true of those members who were of the youngest age group and who were of more or less the same ideological disposition. The discussion of previous heterosexual relationships took place with members of this group. Thus, I have no reason what ever to doubt the authenticity of their narratives. Neither member seemed in any way disconcerted by the presence of the other homosexual. It appeared that each had already been familiar with the other's previous experiences, and in no way felt embarrassed or threatened by revealing "confessions" as it were.

Essentially, each narration followed the same basic formulation. In both cases, each individual felt that he had at least one time in his life been totally in love with a woman. To the best of their awareness of their experiences, each had been totally involved in complete "courtship" pro-

cedure, following from the first-date experiences to sleeping with their heterosexual lover. Both had had several previous minor emotional love affairs with other women, thus I assumed that each was not under the influence of a "first-time" infatuation.

What had transpired over the course of their respective affairs, was that each had reached that stage of a love relationship wherein the couple is living with one another. Over a period of time as each individual came to know more and more about his lover, each felt serious doubts about the "lastingness" of the relationship. It was recognized that these women, as in all their previous relationships, could not satisfy the basic elements of a mutually reciprocal love affair on a full-time basis. Though each felt that their sexual desires were being fulfilled, and that the sexual desires of their lovers were also satisfied, it was recognized that intellectual, psychological, and security needs were not being fulfilled. Self realization and potential seemed to have been stultified as the relationships continued. It should be remembered here that both these homosexual males had been involved in graduate level work, belonged to that group of the community which also had considerable travel experiences, and were now pursuing demanding occupations...one as an educator and the other as an architect/interior decorator. It was felt by this researcher that occupations such as these demand considerable awareness of society as a whole and of their personal responsibilities in dealing with themselves and their cohorts. Their decis-

ions to terminate their heterosexual affair came about as the result of not having non-sexual needs fulfilled.

In both cases, each felt dejected after their experience and had gone through a period of fundamental disenchantment with members of the opposite sex. It was during this period of disenchantment that each became involved in their first homosexual experience. Though unsure, naive, and apprehensive of the ensuing affairs, each had felt that he was indeed exploring an experience which was worthwhile. Though neither's affair turned out to be extensive, each had felt that the relationship as a whole was positive. Whereas both felt that basic security and psychoemotional needs were not fulfilled with their heterosexual partners, it was recognized that such needs were stimulated to a higher degree with their homosexual lovers. Eventually, after each had gone through several affairs with other homosexuals, they were introduced to each other by a mutual friend and had fallen deeply in love with each other. They had been living with each other ever since; a period of over three years. For two of those years, they were officially recognized in the community as having been married.

I inquired as to the frequency of such past heterosexual relationships with respect to other homosexuals in the community. Each felt that having such affairs was not atypical. This was in spite of the fact that each was familiar with many homosexuals who had never been heterosexually involved.

I surmised that many homosexuals turn to other males

for companionship, intellectual and psychological needs, and socio-emotional desires because of previous bad affairs with women. In the case of one of these individuals, he had been given a "Dear John" several weeks before his engagement. This supposition was concurred with by both homosexual individuals. They felt that their lives at present provided the most potential for full growth in all capacities. Neither had felt such potential when involved in a heterosexual relationship. Their decisions to become active homosexuals were based on the fact that their new homophile relationships were thoroughly more need-satisfying than any past relationship. It should be recognized here that both felt that they freely chose to become homosexuals after having already experienced a heterosexual affair of serious content. Neither had been pressured by an external force or involuntarily persuaded into their initial experience. They had simply sought friendship and companionship, found a person who could give them a high degree of amicability, and found that person to be of the same sex. They had been homosexuals ever since.

I found that the philosophies presented by both individuals were supportive of the existential ideology previously alluded to. Each man felt that he had been totally in control of his behavior and aware of the ramifications of that behavior. Though thoroughly understanding the traditional taboos of such behavior in society, each had weighed the possible consequences and had proceeded to foster such a relationship.

I was curious as to the changes if any in their lives when each had become totally committed homosexuals as opposed to "closet queens." In both cases, after an initial period of unstable role identification, it was felt that each was aware of his personality and unafraid of external threats from society. The parents and families of both of these individuals were told of their decisions to become active homosexuals, and had eventually accepted their decisions. Though both families were initially shocked by their son's behaviors, and had attempted to dissuade them from their decisions, neither family disowned them. Their judgements were eventually respected, and each son's lover was accepted into the household of the other. Apparently, each family became aware of the fact that their sons were happier and more productive than they had ever been before. Though I could not secure information which correlated the number of my sample population whose parents and families were aware of the community member's homosexuality, it was generally observed that the frequency was high. In fact, I met the families of several of the community members by the end of the research period. None seemed apprehensive of their son's behavior in my presence, even though they were aware of this researcher's heterosexual orientation. I believe that this feeling generally prevailed throughout the community.

Male/Female Role Identification.

One of the first observations I made was the total lack of identification by any of the community members with

the traditional homosexual types usually referred to by the heterosexual world. In essence, there were no butch/femme, dyke/queen, of buck/bitch role identifications. This lack of role identification was a private as well as public phenomenon. What was recognizable on a very subtle level, however, was a difference in passive/active personalities. I observed this difference in all nine homosexual marriages as well as the three lesbian marriages. In each of the cases there existed a qualitative dissimilarity in the aggressive posture between the partners. One of the individuals in all cases offered a stronger personality type than the other.

I observed more of the same type of behavior when my heterosexual assistant and I socialized with our homosexual friends at a large gay bar located in the Hamptons. This institution had long been established as a homosexual bar and was large enough to entertain nearly five hundred persons on any given evening. We participated in such socializing nearly a dozen times over the course of the research period. In every visit to this to this bar, whether with or without our homosexual friends, we recognized every possible personality type which we had previously been aware of in the heterosexual world. There was a near perfect distribution of of aggressive, good-looking, well dressed types, with equally handsome, quiet types. There were the fast movers and the wall flowers, great dancers and "sit alone at the bar" types, flashy dressers and conservative dressers. Essentially, there existed at this institution every

"bar type" I had ever been aware of...and then some. Ironically, the head bartender of this particular establishment was a middle-aged heterosexual female...putting her children through college; and the individuals who served drinks were usually young homosexuals earning money by working during the summer, in between college semesters. They were at no time hostile in any manner to my female assistant or myself, even though I felt sure of their awareness of our heterosexuality. No doubt, our initial introductions by our homosexual friends aided in this lack of hostility.

Though throughout the research period I could find no generally accepted, universal trademark of the homosexual, there was a tendency by many to adopt similar fashion styles. This included the wearing of neck and wrist jewelry, shorter hair styles, and if one were looking for a mate with sado-masochistic inclinations...wearing a set of dangling keys from either your left or right front pants pocket respectively. All of the community were generally well dressed and groomed, and for the most part showed some degree of awareness of the "better" foods, wines, fashions, and automobiles. This was no doubt a product of their higher socioeconomic status as well as the generally accepted trends set by the avant garde members of the community. Fashion and culture consciousness was evident throughout the community. I believe now that this consciousness was highly regarded by the external straight community. The easy entrance of the homosexual community into the overall com-

munity was no doubt facilitated by this recognition.

Homophile Marriage.

Of the nine homosexual and three lesbian marriages I observed over the research period, each appeared to be as total a union as there could be between two persons, regardless of gender affiliation. Each had confided vows of responsibility, love, and mutual maintenance of the marriage to their respective lovers. Usually, though not in all instances, the symbolic gesture of exchanging wedding bands took place. If wedding bands were not exchanged, engraved pieces of gold or silver wrist jewelery (called love bands) were given to each other.

A serious attitude toward what was recognized as "setting up house" was taken by all the married couples. There were no instances of behavior which might indicate a transient nature in any of the relationships. Each marriage appeared to be a stable, working relationship of shared responsibilities, with a focus on mutual growth through each other. These "families" exhibited such behavior as taking out joint checking and savings accounts, mutually being legally responsible for the signing of mortgages, loans, and business interests, and pooling each other's personal wealths into one unit from which to work. Household responsibilities of cooking, cleaning, home maintenance, etc. were generally shared equally between each member. This was also true for those members of the community who shared business interests as well.

As far as socializing and entertaining in the home or publicly, I felt that most couples shared equally their responsibilities as host or escort. Though I was aware of internal problems which occurred privately (as in any relationship involving more than one person) at no time did any one individual publicly belittle or degrade his lover. I found this to be tremendously appealing considering the behavior of many heterosexual marriages I had observed. Arguments did occur between couples; however, as I said, they were of a private nature. For the most part, public behavior was exemplary at all times.

The private sexual behavior of the married couples showed serious concern as well for the sharing of responsibilities. Those individuals who did relate their sex roles spoke of taking part in both the male and female sex behavior. Sexual stimulation, though not distinguishable with either a male or female orientation, did however, allow for both active and passive sex behavior. Usually, the individual with the stronger personality type took the aggressive posture in sexual relationships as well; however, this was not necessarily the rule. I was unable to obtain information regarding the sexual personalities of all of the members of the community. The older, more conservative types were not as free with their descriptions of their private lives as were the younger members of the community.

I do believe that the institution of marriage between homosexuals is as viable a relationship as the heterosexual marriage. In all instances, the communion between married

individuals of the community was as serious a bond as this researcher had ever been aware of. The issue of homosexuality was secondary in nature as opposed to the primary nature of love between individuals.

The Community: Homosexual, Lesbian, and Straight.

The sense of community which pervaded throughout the Hampton's population was the essential fiber which formed its posture. I believe that the foundation of this posture was a universal feeling of security...a security which allowed each member of the community to participate freely in all aspects of association. It meant that an individual was not judged simply by his or her sexual preferences, but by the individual's talent, energies, and personality stability as a whole.

Without the direct threatening powers from either the middle or upper classes, the homosexual members of the community were able to become actively involved in developing their individual talents and occupational skills, establish homes and families, and perhaps most important of all, stabilize a personal sense of self. Identity of the individual became a product of the community identity.

The mechanics of this pervasive sense of community stemmed from the awareness of a mind-set which was not limited by sexual boundaries. I believe that this mind-set was the common denominator of the community as a whole; an "existential attitude" as it were, an attitude which stressed the active role of the will rather than of reason in confronting a hostile external environment. Here the indi-

vidual is regarded as having a nature which consists of decisive actions rather than inner or latent dispositions. Critical to this mind-set was an orientation of control and responsibility...to the individual as well as the community. There was no external benevolent force which looked out for the members of the community. If they were to succeed as responsible, productive members of society, it would have to be by their own merits. This attitude allowed for consideration of a person as a whole, without speculation as to a person's value by virtue of his or her sexual affiliation. Thus, those who adopted this working mind-set were able to function effectively in any group situation, whether it be homosexual, lesbian, or straight. Sexual boundaries were transcended in order that the intellectual and socio-psychological needs of individual members were of primary concern.

It should also be noted that to some extent, the phenomenon of "common plight" aided this sense of community. There can be no minimizing the fact that these individuals were thoroughly familiar with the hostilities perpetuated against them by the mainstream of society. However, their personal stabilities and the stability of the community as a whole greatly facilitated their dealing with these external hostilities.

Deviations From the Conservative Norm.

It was felt by this researcher that any deviations from the relatively conservative norm of the Hamptons community might be an indicant of ensconced psychoses. Thus,

over the course of the research period I sought information which would give me some indication of the degree to which members of the community might seek methods of escaping from reality. Specifically, I was most interested in alcoholism, drug use, overt promiscuity, sado-masochism or extreme forms of radical liberation ideology.

It was less than surprising to find that though many members of this community could certainly afford financially to become involved with drugs or alcohol, and that the availability of addictable properties were plentiful, none of the forty-eight members of the sample population actively participated in such escape forms. I believe that this was representative of the overall homosexual population as well. The Hamptons in summer is a resort community. Much of the social activity revolves around both formal and informal gatherings which present an incredible array of party luxuries. These range from the best wines, bourbons, and champagnes to exotic forms of cocaine, hashish, and hallucinogens. Though many of the sample community were familiar with the taking of these depressants and stimulants, I found that the overall climate was one of abstention. Those who did participate in such functions did so privately, and used only the more mild forms of marijuana and marijuana derivatives. There was one exception however, as with the use of marijuana, amyl nitrite was used by several members of the younger (25-35 years) age group to heighten perception while participating in art forms or sexual stimulation. Amyl nitrite is a nitrogenous compound used in

the therapy and relief of heat pain, asthma, and more commonly as a stimulant for coronary patients. Low doses produce considerable behavioral and psychological arousal while higher amounts usually result in sedation and a general reduction of activity. This volatile compound is available in ampules or 'pearls' which are broken to release the fumes, then inhaled by use of a 'popper' (a small metal tube which allows small quantities of the substance to be inhaled while being able to control the flow as desired). The effect which was sought was a rushing excitation which lasted from 3 to 5 minutes to heighten one's sexual stimulation before orgasm. It should be recognized however, that the use of this drug and the casual use of marijuana were more a product of drug usage in this particular age group as opposed to a reality escaping mechanism. Here the drugs were used to heighten pleasure potentials instead of as ends in themselves.

With respect to the issue of overt promiscuity, I found that none of the members of the sample community exhibited any form of public behavior which could be construed as overly promiscuous. I should perhaps qualify that statement to say that 'public' refers to mixed company of homosexuals and heterosexuals. It was recognized that several of the actively aggressive personality types would at times evince behavior to other unmarried homosexuals which would indicate their interest in the other person. This usually consisted of referring to one's potential lover in the feminine gender with physical behavior such as patting on the

ass, hand to hand touching, or putting one's arm around the other's waist. For the most part, however, this behavior was done in private or only in a close circle of friends. One lasting quality of this behavior was the continued reference to other homosexuals in the feminine gender. Thus, an exclamation of hostility between two homosexual males might be, "She's such a bitch!" This gender reversal was not recognized in the jargon of the lesbians of the community. Here gender affiliation always remained feminine. As I became more closely associated with the community, I too was often referred to in such a manner. Its usage connoted a total trusting and final acceptance of me into the community. My heterosexual assistant and I were usually referred to as, "the girls."

Many of the sexual tales which concern the issue of homosexuality usually include some direct reference to sado-masochistic practices in sex play. I found such behavior to be non-existent. For the most part, members of the sample community had adopted sex roles and behaviors which accepted traditional conceptualizations of sex play. Here, anal intercourse, cunnilingus, and fellatio replaced the traditional penis-vagina intercourse. In light of recent information gathered by Research Guild, Inc. for a comprehensive survey of sexual behavior and attitudes of Americans, such sexual behavior as the three styles mentioned above do not appear to be deviant (if deviant is considered to be variation from the norm). For age groups 25-34 (from a sample which roughly matched that of the entire American population),

nearly 85% of the male and female population had experienced both fellatio and cunnilingus within the past year, and nearly 50% of the males and 30% of the female population experienced anal intercourse for the same period. Overall, sexual practices appeared to adopt as conservative a norm as was displayed with alcohol and drug usage.

Though many of the sample community regularly received homosexual newsletters which kept them up to date on legislative battles, seminars, and educational outlets with a homosexual reference, none of the population participated in any form of radical liberation tactics such as those demonstrated by the Purple Palm Society or the Lavender Panthers. The former is a low-keyed educational outlet which demonstrates their belief that homosexuality has its place in the overall society along with every other group. Their usual mechanism for such demonstration of feeling is assembly, rallies, and parades. On the other hand, the Lavender Panthers, a San Francisco based, stiff-wristed team of gay vigilantes has taken to the streets with full armament and self defense tactics. Their aim is the protection of other homosexuals from muggings and beatings by members of the straight community. Neither of these styles has been adopted by members of the Hamptons community. I believe that their success in the overall community with respect to business and occupational skills has been a product of this lack of radical ideology. Members of the community seem to rely more on individual talents rather than draw undue attention by placard waving or mass assembly.

Social Change and the Homophile Mind-Set.

Despite the gay liberation efforts of recent years, homosexuality appears to be strongly and widely disapproved of in the United States. In a four-year study by the Institute for Sex Research at Indiana University, 3000 adults were asked among other questions, "To what extent do you think homosexuality is obscene and vulgar?" Almost two thirds of the respondents answered "very much," 18.6 percent replied "somewhat," 7.4 percent said "very little," and 7.5 percent said "not at all." When asked to compare prostitution, masturbation, premarital and extramarital sex and homosexuality, respondents found the last two most objectionable (86 percent in each case) and objected least to masturbation (48 percent) and premarital sex by an adult male with a woman he loved (47 percent). The horizon for wide acceptance of homosexuals by the mass of society appears to be quite dim.

What has been a promising aspect of the homosexual liberation movement is the accomplishments of such communities as the Hamptons. Here, perceptible differences in attitudes between homosexuals, lesbians, and straights have come about with positive significance. The adoption of a mind-set which considers the whole person instead of just one's sexuality has been critical to the development of an overall sense of community. Recognition on the part of some homosexuals that they can be productive and live their lives to full potential, while at the same time operating within an overall heterosexual society has done much to facilitate

the development of the Hamptons community. Social change has been very slow; however, it is believed by this researcher that awareness exhibited over the research period by members of the sample community would indicate a shift in attitudes by homosexuals and heterosexuals as well. The most positive indicant of this shift is the acceptance of a variety of heterosexuals into the homosexual community. The word of the Hamptons community is spreading...there is much hope that with an increased awareness of all parties concerned, full participation by both homosexuals and heterosexuals in a societal environment can come about.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

To the extent that the observations made over the course of the research period are valid, I would argue that much, if not all of the "dis-ease" experienced by many homosexuals is a product of the social environment. The most pervasive element of this "dis-ease" is considered to be a prolonged defensive posture which prohibits the homosexual from freely participating in the actualization of self, and the actualization of self in community. To the extent that this state of "dis-ease" is maintained over a period of time, anxiety and trauma often lead to advanced conditions of psychoses which include schizophrenic and manic-depressive behavior. These neurotic states are reified by the aversion of society as a whole, both professional and layman, to consider the possibility that love between individuals of the same sex may be a valid and functional form of personal interaction.

It is recognized that three contradistinct sources have served to maintain the myth that love between homosexuals is not capable of actualization: the Judeo-Christian interpretation of Biblical sexual norms, Freudian psychoanalytic theorization, and the presentation of data by Alfred Kinsey and associates.

Old Testament proscriptions against homosexuality were based on tribal law which served the needs of a nomadic people. Security in numbers was the only effective way to deal with a hostile environment. Thus, it was necessary to prohibit homosexual relationships to insure a higher frequency of procreation. Though the general tenor of the New Testament indicates a less restrictive legalistic and moral code, and the introduction of a spirit of responsible freedoms, the interpretation of the Gospel by Paul exerts considerable pressure against homosexual activity. Paul's interpretation of the Gospel has been adopted by the Christian world and has served as the foundational element of contemporary sexual mores.

Though the research efforts of Sigmund Freud have produced what is now recognized as the first major "stepping stone" into the investigation of human sexuality and personality types, his analysis of causal forces which he assumed distorted normal behavior are certainly open to serious question. Neurotic states brought about by the conflict between the ego and id serve as the basis of his psychoanalytic theory. This theory purported that the etiology of homosexual behavior was concurrent with Oedipal theory, that being the rivalry of a son with his father over the affection of his mother. This rivalry produced a distortion of role-set and eventually led to a homosexual orientation. Though the research efforts of Freud cannot be minimized, it is necessary to note that many post-Freudian psychologists have adopted his over-generalized theories of neuroses without

considering the possibility that homosexual behavior may actually minimize neurotic states. Thus instead of recognizing homosexuality as a definite pathological condition, homosexual behavior in many instances may lead an individual to maximizing a sense of self within a social context. This theoretical assumption has not until recently been explored.

In the American mind, perhaps the most important work dealing with homosexual behavior came from the efforts of Alfred Kinsey and associates. Their essential contribution being the documentation and publication of data which indicated the extent to which homosexual behavior took place in America. Kinsey's information indicated that 37 percent of the total male population has at least some overt homosexual experience to the point of orgasm between adolescence and old age. To the public then, this accounts for nearly 2 males out of every 5 that one may meet. The ramifications of the Kinsey Report (which included extensive information as to the overall sexual behavior of American males) became foundational to social, legal and clinical aspects of society. On the surface, the Kinsey data appears to be a positive factor in relating the proportions of the American population involved at one time or another in homosexual activities. However, careful scrutiny of Kinsey's research techniques and presentation of data reveals that serious questions can be raised as to the validity of his conclusions.

Thus to many social scientists of the late 1950s and early 60s, the combination of Kinsey's data with Freud's over-generalizations as to the nature of homosexual pathol-

ogy produced an abundance of literature which distinctly labeled the homosexual as being "deviant," "sick," or "ill" (in a psysiological sense), and needing of "cure". This attitude when combined with the Judeo-Christian ethic which prohibited variations from the sexual norm, produced a universal stigmatization of homosexual activity. This stigmatization, with all its tremendous negative connotations is reified by the mainstream of society, and produces in homosexuals the continued defensive posture which is here recognized as "dis-ease".

By the mid 1960s, a period of social change defined as the "cultural revolution" presented a shift in perspective as to an individual's sexuality. It became recognized that expression of one's sexuality was a natural function of the whole person. This led to the belief that a person should be free to formulate his or her own sexuality in terms of the individual's own desires, needs, and personality factors. Focus was placed on maximizing the full potential of the individual.

By 1970, the pace of the "cultural revolution" had slowed considerably. It was during this time however, the powerful capabilities of mass media was recognized as an instrument of cultural and social change. Thus, for many homosexuals, the first efforts toward liberation were effectuated. This post-"cultural revolution" period saw the advent of powerful personality types, identifiable for their charismatic properties. The identification of homosexuals with these personality types points back to the latter part

of the 19th century, and the exploits of Oscar Wilde, the precursor of this influence. Given a cause, a martyr, and a social situation which for the first time recognized the sense of community felt by homosexuals, the homosexual writer began to establish himself in the literary world. For the first time in American history, the homosexual phenomenon began to firmly entrench itself into the mainstream of society.

As communities of homosexuals began to develop in scattered areas of the country, one such community stood out as being thoroughly integrated into a heterosexual environment. That community is here recognized as the Hamptons community of Long Island, New York.

It was observed that behavior in this community was inconsistent with traditional conceptualizations of homosexuality. It was felt by this researcher that there existed some quality which differentiated this community from other homosexual communities; that quality being the lack of "dis-ease".

After establishing functional definitions of homosexual aspects of the community, i.e. the verification of lesbian, homosexual, and heterosexual members of the overall community, and confirming the degree of commitment of each member's sexuality, an anthropological style research was carried out for a period of twelve months. Specifically, though my residence in the Hamptons community was established over 5 years ago, only observations of the last year have been recorded and analyzed in this thesis.

My investigation of the homosexual phenomenon was as much concerned with the nature of socio-emotional personal relationships as it was with purely sexual behavior. The importance of the former consideration in this thesis makes a clear distinction between this investigation and previous explorations into the etiological aspects of homosexuality. It was felt that an impersonal, empirical approach would not allow for the degree of intimacy which was necessary for the investigation of the more subtle intellectual and emotional mechanisms of the community. It was also recognized that living, working, and socializing in the community not as an "official" researcher or "pretend" homosexual, but as a heterosexual who had freely chosen to participate in the workings of the social system, would allow for a more free exchange of communication.

It was recognized that the particular nature of this community was determined by the peculiar social structure of the Hamptons, that being the lack of an entrenched middle class when the homosexual community first began to establish itself. As a correlate of this fact, the dominant strata of exceptionally wealthy came to fully accept the homosexual community because of the occupational services offered by the homosexuals. These centered on the services of catering to the entertainment and social needs of that wealthy strata. By the time a middle class had evolved and reached a relative degree of community power, the homosexual community was already functioning throughout the community as a whole. Since there were no directly focused threatening powers from

any of the strata (no occupational areas overlapped) each class functioned effectively without producing a sense of "dis-ease" on either of the other classes. The nature of this community then, was its lack of "dis-ease" and the manifest potential for self actualization on the individual and community level. There appeared no formal or informal harassment of the homosexual community, nor were individuals of that community relegated to preconceived role-sets based upon informal sex mythology or generalized Freudian conceptualization.

My observations of the Hamptons community showed that the most pervasive characteristic associated with a lack of "dis-ease" was the near complete absence of mechanisms which are traditionally associated with either a defensive posture or escaping from reality. This can be attributed to four elements of the community: the unusual social stratification of the community; the high level of both formal and informal educational achievement by members of the homosexual community; the relatively high economic (culturally significant) status enjoyed by most members of the overall community; and a strong sense of community based on personal achievement by individual members and concurrent national and international recognition.

My observations of the Hamptons community indicate that once a homosexual no longer has to maintain a continuous posture of defense, he is capable of becoming an eminently well adjusted individual; one who can come to recognize the potentialities

of active participation in community. Without "dis-ease", there is reason to believe (as evidenced in the Hamptons community) that homosexuals can and do adopt a full-potential perspective with respect to the establishing of families, homes, businesses, and self.

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